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Hiɛ 'face' Metaphorical Extensions in Gã

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Abstract:
The paper addresses the semantic shifts, extensions and metaphorical use of hiɛ'face' in Gã (a Ghanaian language). It focuses attention on the semantic patterns and pragmatic nature of the metaphor and its usage in a variety of contextual features. In Gã, the body part expressions and bodily functions have extended meanings that still have some relationship with the original words. The body parts thus act as the productive lexical items for the semantic and metaphoric derivation. I will consider the body part hiɛfrom its physical and cognitive representations. The paper also looks at the positive and negative domains of hiɛ, 'face' expressions. The data are taken from the Gã Bible and personal conversations with Gã scholars. The paper illustrates that there is a strong relation between a people's conceptual, environmental and their linguistics systems.

Keywords:*Cognitive semantics, metaphor, body-part language, Ga language*

1. Introduction

The term 'Gã' refers to the people, their town and their language. They are an ethnic group that occupies Accra and its environs. The Ga people are organized into six towns including: Gã Mashie (Accra Central), Osu, La, Teshie, Nungua and Tema. There Gã villages in the Eastern Region of Ghana. There are also several Ga speaking villages in the Greater Accra region outside Accra. The Gã people are patrilineal. The primary occupations of this ethnic group include farming, fishing and trading in imported goods.

Linguistically, the Gã is a Kwa language, which is part of the Niger-Congo family. Gã is one of the sixteen languages in which the *Bureau of Ghana languages* publishes materials. The language is taught in schools, especially in South-eastern Ghana. Most of the non- Gã people living in Accra or who grew up in Accra can speak the Gã language.

The language was first sometime around 1764 by a Moravian missionary, Christian Jacob Protten, whose father was a Danish soldier and his mother a Gã. In the mid-1800s the German missionary, Johannes Zimmermann, with the assistance of the Ghanaian historian Carl Christian Reindorf, and others worked on the grammar of the Gã Language. They published a dictionary and translated the entire Bible into the Language (Reindorf, 2018). The Bible has been translated into the Gã language, and today there are several versions. However, the orthography has seen several revisions since 1968. Apart from a few books and other materials published in the Gã language the most accessible source of grammatical expressions including metaphors is the Bible, apart from the daily speech heard in the media (esp. radio and television) and in everyday conversation in homes, office, marketplace, churches, and on the streets of Accra.

In addition to the native speakers, there is a large population of Ghanaians who speak Gã as their second language, especially those who through urban migration have relocated in the city of Accra and its environs. Thus, it is a widely spoken language with a sizeable amount of literature and also taught in schools. Various radio stations are dedicated to both Gã.

With particular reference to the topic under discussion, there is not much work done on the Gã language. For example, among other works, Otoo (2017), in discussing *ye*, 'eat' attempted to fill the gap that existed in research into the lexical semantics from the cognitive approach in the Gã language.
Agyekum looked at Eye metaphorical extensions in Akan (Agyekum 2015e) and the sociological concept of face in Akan communication (Agyekum 2004a). There is yet more to be done in this area of metaphor in Gã and this is what the present research attempt to contribute to.

There are a lot of face expressions in Ga. However. this paper will focus such expressions including *hiɛnɔkamɔ*, *'hope,' hiɛshikamɔ*, *'wisdom,'hiɛjoomɔ*, 'greed', *hiɛkɔɔ*, 'covetousness', *hiɛkpãtãmɔ*, 'perish', *hiɛshishwiemɔ*, perish', *hiɛgbele*, 'shame', and *hiɛtumɔ*, 'disapproval or displeasure', *hiɛdɔɔ*, 'seriousness, busyness, viciousness', *hiɛnɔkpamɔ*, 'forgetfulness and *hiɛtserɛjiemɔ*, 'fun.'

2. Metaphor, Cognitive Semantics and Conceptual Metaphor

This paper is rooted in cognitive semantics. Cognitive semantics, a part of cognitive linguistic movement, holds that language is a part of a more general human cognitive ability, and so can only describe the world as people conceive. Cognitive semantics is the psychologically and cognitively oriented approach to semantics. Cognitive semantics studies both pragmatics and semantics (Cruse, 2000). It relates linguistic expressions to human cognitive experience. As observed

by Agyekum (2005, 2002), many expressions of emotions, perceptions, cognition, intellect, locatives and the face concepts in pragmatics are derived from body parts.

The Conceptual theory introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) is used in this paper. Since its inception, this theory has been given lots of attention and has seen further development by several scholars (Gibbs 1994; Kovecses, Radden 1998, Lakoff, Turner 1989, Lakoff 1990). The hypothesis forming the basis of the conceptual theory is that metaphor is no just a stylist feature, but that thought itself is metaphorical. The implication here is that metaphor is not restricted to the domain of figurative language, it is part of our everyday language. Besides, metaphor underlies our thinking processes, hence its use in almost all human activity.

The term metaphor is a rhetorical device in which an object, concept or action is represented by another apparently unrelated thing. It involves analogy by relating two things with a single word or phrase. Lakoff & Johnson (1980), suggest that our conceptual system is fundamentally metaphorical in nature. They note that 'the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another' (1980:5). Agyekum (2002) opines that meanings of metaphorical utterances cannot be deduced from literal senses of the words alone, and therefore there is the need to understand and rely on the literal as well as the conceptual meanings. Occasionally, the metaphorical meaning could be just a slight semantic extension of the literal meaning. Kovecses (2002: 4) observes that there is a continuum of metaphorical extensions. In order to successfully analyze metaphors and their meanings, one has to understand their semantics, pragmatics and cognitive concepts. While the semantics deals with their intrinsic and extended meanings, the pragmatics is meant to ''deconstruct' the metaphor, to unload the 'loaded weapon' of language'(Mey 1993: 64-65).

One of innovations brought to the study of word meaning by is conceptual metaphors. This paper makes use of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). This paper applies the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). There are several principles that define the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. The first is the 'Unidirectionality of Metaphor' which notes that, conventionally, source domains can structure target domains, but not vice versa. Therefore, whereas target domains like DEATH can be understood in terms of JOURNEY, the reverse cannot be the case. For Lakoff and Turner (1989), unidirectionality can still thrive even in the case where two metaphors share the same domain. The second principle claims that, in a metaphor, only an aspect of a target concept is brought to the face (highlighted) by the course, leaving out (hiding) other aspects of the target simultaneously. For example, in the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR, only the adversarial quality of war is highlighted, other aspects like the fact that arguments can sometimes be peaceful is hidden (Evans, Green 2006). The third principle is the 'invariance principle' (Lakoff 1990). This principle puts restriction on the kind of source domains that can structure them. For example, there is the argument that though DEATH can be structured in terms of agents like DEVOURER in a metaphor like DEATH IS A DEVOURER, it cannot be structured in terms of agents like LECTURER in an unattested metaphor like DEATH IS A LECTURER (Asante and Ma 2015).

Conceptually, metaphor is rooted in physical experience as well as mental. Conceptual metaphor is a term that entails salient representation of our perceptions to the world embedded in culture. According to (Semino, 2008:5), conceptual metaphor is 'systematics sets of correspondence or 'mappings,' across conceptual domains, whereby a 'target' domain is partly structured in terms of a different 'source' domain.' For conceptual metaphor theorists, metaphor is a linguistic phenomenon as well as a mode of conceptual representation. Semino (2008:6) argues that theorists of cognitive metaphor emphasize the fact that target domains correspond to areas of experience that are relatively abstract, complex, unfamiliar, subjective or poorly delineated, for example, emotion, time, death or life. He adds that, in contrast, 'source domains typically respond to concrete, simple familiar, physical and well-delineated experiences such as motion, bodily phenomena and physical objects and so.' Earlier, Lakoff and Johnson (1980:177), have observed that, 'many aspects of our experience cannot be clearly delineated in terms of naturally emergent dimension of our experience.' Citing this as the case for human emotions, abstract concepts and mental activity, they further argue as follows:

Though most of these can be experienced directly, none of them can be fuller comprehended on their own terms. Instead, we must understand them in terms of … typically other kinds of entities and experiences.

Yu (2004:664), opines that within the Cognitive Metaphor Theory, the meanings of linguistic expression are rooted in human cognitive experience. Agyekum (2013) observes that 'a cognitive-based theory of language takes human perceptions, parts of the body and the understanding of the world in structuring human language.' The *hiɛ* 'face' expressions in Gã language support this notion exposed by Agyekum. Most of the *hiɛ*, 'face expressions in Ga are based on extensions of meanings. As Traugott (1982) argues, meaning shifts, more often, from concrete to abstract. This is where conceptual metaphors become significant, as they employ a more abstract concept as target and a more concrete concept as their source.

3. Methodology

The data for the analysis were gathered through unstructured interviews and recordings at various social gathering (traditional weddings, baby naming ceremonies and funerals). Some expressions were picked up from Gã news from FM stations and Gã movies/plays on TV. I also recorded some from sermons preached in Ga on FM radio and TV and also took notes from sermons interpretations in Gã in some churches in Accra. Others from Gã songs and proverbs. I collected some data from various written sources, the main one being the Gã Bible. I confirmed the list and the meanings with some Gã traditional leaders well versed in the use of the language and some Ga academics who are native speakers of the language.

4. Hiɛ 'Face' Expressions in Gã

4.1. Structure and Analysis of Hiɛ 'Face' Expressions
        Most Gã body part expressions are compound nouns. The internal morphological structure falls under the basic structures below.

Structure 1 [NP [body organ] + Adj.] [suffix]] Nominal → NP
hiɛ   dɔ   ɔ   hiɛdɔɔ
face   hot   SUFF   'seriousness'

Structure 2 [NP [body organ]] + NP [N]] Nominal → NP
        hiɛ   gbele   hiɛgbele
face   death   'shame'
Structure 3 [NP [body organ] + Adj.] [suffix]] Nominal → NP
hiɛ   joomɔ   hiɛjoomɔ
        face   bitter   SUFF   'greed'

Structure 4 [NP [body organ]] + VP [V] [suffix]] Nominal → NP
        hiɛ   kɔ   ɔ   hiɛkɔɔ
        face   bite   SUFF   'covetousness'

Structure 5 [NP [body organ]] + VP [V] [suffix]] Nominal → NP
        hiɛ   kpãtãmɔ   hiɛkpãtãmɔ
        face   spoil   SUFF   'perish'

Structure 6 [NP [body organ]] Postpos. Assoc.] + VP [V] [suffix]] Nominal → NP
hiɛ   nɔ   ka   mɔ   hiɛnɔkamɔ
        face   upon   lay   SUFF   'hope'

Structure 7 [NP [body organ]] Postpos. Assoc.] + VP [V] [suffix]] Nominal → NP
hiɛ   nɔ   kpamɔ   hiɛnɔkamɔ
        face   upon   slip   SUFF   'forgetfulness'

Structure 8 [NP [body organ]] Postpos. Assoc.] + VP [V] [suffix]] Nominal → NP
        hiɛ   shi   ka   mɔ   hiɛshikamɔ
        face   downlay   SUFF   'wisdom'

Structure 9 [NP [body organ]] Postpos. Assoc.] + VP [V] [suffix]] Nominal → NP
hiɛ   shi   shwiemɔ   hiɛshishwiemɔ
        face   down   fall   SUFF   'disgrace'

Structure 10 [NP [body organ]] NP [N]] + VP [V] [suffix]] Nominal → NP
hiɛ   tserɛ   jiemɔ   hiɛtserɛjiemɔ
        face   tear   remove SUFF   'entertainment'

Structure 11 [NP [body organ]] + VP [V] [suffix]] Nominal → NP
        hiɛ   tumɔ   hiɛkpatamɔ
  face   squeeze SUFF   'disaproval'

        We notice from the discussion above that a body part expression in Gã comprises an obligatory part body part NP and (i) noun or (ii) a simple or complex VP comprising a verb and a postposition or an adjective. Body part expressions may also possess prefixes or suffixes.
        The ***hiɛ***'face' metaphors are based on physiological, psychological and the socio-cultural function of the face.
         The face is a very active part of the body referred to in speech. Thus, many expressions that have to do with utterances and interactions are derived from *hiɛ* 'face'. Below is a table with the binary features [+, -], indicating how the Gã people conceptualize a particular word as being positive of negative.

	Ga	Literal Meaning	English Equivalent
1	hiɛdɔɔ [±]	hot face	seriousness, busyness, viciousness
2	hiɛgbele [-]	face death	shame
3	hiɛjoomɔ [-]	bitter face	greed
4	hiɛkɔɔ [-]	biting face	covetousness
5	hiɛkpãtãmɔ [-]	face spoiling	perish
6	hiɛnɔkamɔ [+]	face laying on	hope, expectation
7	hiɛnɔkpamɔ [±]	face slipping over	forgetfulness
8	hiɛshikamɔ [+]	lying face	wisdom, prudence
9	hiɛshishwiemɔ [-]	fallen face	disgrace, shame
10	hiɛtserɛjiemɔ [±]	torn-face removing	entertainment, leisure
11	hiɛtumɔ [-]	face squeezing	disapproval, anger, frown

Table 1: Hiɛ Expressions and Their English Equivalents

4.2. Analysis of Hiɛ Expressions

The expressions related to 'face' also follow the general structures given, that is, they are made up of an obligatory N [body part] and (1) a verb, (2) a verb + adjective, (c) another noun, (d) a postposition of a combination of two or more of these.

4.2.1.*Hiɛ* + Verb (+suffix)

In such a construction the noun *hiɛ*'face' is followed by a verb with or without a suffix.

[NP [body organ]] + VP [V] [suffix]]   Nominal
[hiɛ   kɔ   ɔ]   hiɛkɔɔ
[face   bite]   'covetousness'

In the expression *hiɛkɔɔ*the person is understood to desire that which belongs to another.
[1] *Kristofoitsiɔamɛhekɛjɛɔhiɛjoomɔkɛhiɛkɔɔ ... ahe.*
'Christians also guard against greed and covetousness.'

In the concept of *hiɛkɔɔ*'covetousness,' the face is conceptualized as a mouth with its teethgripping the property with his or her teeth, biting it viciously. *Adamhiɛ kɔɔniianɔ*, (lit. his face bites things. Example: *hiɛkɔɔ ji mɔ ko niinieyɔɔlɛnihiɛ kɔɔnɔ loo ashweɔni nine ashɛnɔ,*'covetousness is greediness for anything belonging to someone else.'

Another expression that comes under this structure is *hiɛkpãtãmɔ*'perishing'. Let us consider the following:
[NP [body organ]] + VP [V] [suffix]] Nominal
[hiɛ   kpãtãmɔ]   hiɛkpãtãmɔ
[face   spoil]   'perish'

The statement *Adamhiɛ ekpãtã*, (lit. his face is blistered as a result of decay or corruption), means 'Adam has perished.' In the Ga language perpetual destruction is attributed to the face. The destruction of the face means the perishing of the whole person, as the face as a part of the body is employed to represent the whole body. The death or annihilation of the person is linguistically related to the decaying, blistering or spoiling of the face. In Ga thought a person is his or her face. This is the sense in which a body part represents the whole body. Thus, to have one's **face** destroyed is to have the whole body destroyed.

[2] *Hewoonyiɛɔhiɛkpãtãmɔ hiɛ (Prov.16:18)*

Pride goes before a destruction

Another is, *mɔfɛɛmɔniheɔenɔyeɔlɛhiɛ akakpãtã*, whoever believes in him should notperish (John 3:16). Here, it literally means anyone who believes in his should not have his/her face spoiled.

Still another expression that comes under this structure*hiɛtumɔ*, 'disapproval, anger, frown.' Let us see the following:
[NP [body organ]] + VP [V] [suffix]] Nominal
[hiɛ   tumɔ   ] hiɛtumɔ
[face   squeeze] 'disapproval'

The expression *hiɛtumɔ*, (lit. face squeezing), is an expression of disapproval and discontent.' In the Ga language emotion is attributed to the face as well. In Ga *etuehiɛ,*'he has frowned his face',is a common expression of an unhappy mood.The emotion of unhappiness and anger shows and on the face in the pulling of the facial muscles, thereby putting pressure on the face. The FACE IS A CONTAINER of emotions and squeezing the container expresses anger, disapproval and unhappiness. The English equivalent is a face that is downcast or a fallen countenance.
[3] *lilɛiniwieɔmɛiahelɛkɛhiɛtumɔ baa*, 'a gossiping tongue brings a downcastface.'
One Biblical example is *Kain mli wo la...nietũehiɛ (Gen. 4:5)*, 'Cain was angry...and he frowned his face.'

4.2.2 .*Hiɛ*+ Adjective (+Suffix)

Certain *hiɛ*metaphorical expressions are composed of the body part plus an adjective, then comes a suffix. Expressions which fall under this category include *hiɛdɔɔ* and *hiɛjoomɔ*.

[NP [body organ] + Adj.] [suffix]] Nominal

[hiɛ   dɔ   ɔ]   hiɛdɔɔ

    [face   hot]   'seriousness'

The Ga expression *Adamhiɛ edɔ*, literally, Adam's face is hot' may have both positive and negative connotation depending on the context in which it is used. On the positive side, it means 'Adam is busy or active or serious.' An example is:

[4] *Gbekɛyoolɛnyɛhiɛ edɔyɛokpɔlɔniawoɔnibiiahenyɔmɔyɛ he*

   'The girl's mother was busy at the counter.'

The positive connotation also carries earnestness: *OkɛHiɛdɔɔataoYehowajɔɔmɔsɛɛgbɛ*, 'Earnestly seek the Lord's blessing.' An example in the Ga Bible is*mimumɔ…taoɔbokɛhiɛdɔɔ* (Isaiah 26:9), 'my spirit searches for you with earnestness (hot-face). Another example is *Hiɛdɔɔniamɛkɛaatsuamɛnitsumɔiahenii (1Tim. 3:8*, 'They will perform their assignments with seriousness.'

Where the carries negative connotations, it means 'Adam is wild or vicious.' An example is:

[5] *Satan kɛesamaŋfoinihiɛ edɔlɛ*

   'Satan and his vicious henchmen.'

 [NP [body organ] + Adj.] [suffix]] Nominal

     [hiɛ   joomɔ] hiɛjoomɔ

    [face   bitter] 'greed'

The Ga expression *Adamhiɛ jooɔniianɔ*, (lit. Adam's face is bitter on things), means 'Adam is greedy'. The word *hiɛjoomɔ*has negative connotations*.* Examples of the use of the compound form of the word is, *hiɛjoomɔ ji nɔ ko he akɔnɔbabaoonianaafe nine*, 'Greed is inordinate or rapacious desire.'

[6] *Kristofoitsiɔamɛhekɛjɛɔhiɛjoomɔkɛhiɛkɔɔ … ahe*

   'Christians also guard against greed and covetousness'

4.2.3 .*Hiɛ +* Noun

In such a construction the noun *hiɛ*'face' is followed by a verb with or without a suffix.

    [NP [body organ]] + NP [N]]   Nominal

[hiɛ   gbele]   hiɛgbele

    [face   death]   'shame'

In the expression *hiɛgbele* the person is understood as having his face dead. That which is dead must not be exposed, no wonder the Gã will usually bow down the head in shame in trying to hide the face. *Gbele*, 'death' is feared, despised and embarrassing. In a society where honour and shame mindset is strong, shame mimics death that is why some who has done something shameful will wish they were dead and even commit suicide.

[7] *Gbekɛniajajeeelɛlɛ, ewoɔemamihiɛgbele.*

 'A child left unrestrained brings shame on his mother.'

Adamhiɛ egbo, (lit. Adam face die), 'Adu'sface is dead'.Example: *Nakainɔŋŋ Israel shĩalɛ hiɛ egbo*, 'So the house of Israel has been put to shame.' The expression means 'Adu is ashamed or disgraced.' It is used in describing a person who has lost his or her honour. An example in the Ga Bible is, *Hãamena…koniamɛhiɛagboi*(Isaiah 26:11), 'let them see it…so that their faces may die.

4.2.4. *Hiɛ +* Postposition + Verb (Suffix)

There are some hiɛ metaphorical expressions that are composed of the body part followed by a postposition, which is locative, and then a verb as can be found in the structure below.

    [NP [body organ]] Postpos. Assoc.] + VP [V] [suffix]] Nominal

    [hiɛ   nɔ   ka   mɔ]   hiɛnɔkamɔ

    [face   upon   lay]   'hope'

Adamehiɛkãnɔ, (lit. his face is lying on it), 'he is hopeful, expectant.' An example in the Ga Bible is,*niamɛhiɛkãmihewalɛlɛnɔ*(Isaiah 51:5), 'and their face is lying on my strength.'

[8] *Jalɔiahiɛnɔkamɔlɛbaafeemiishɛɛ*

'The expectation of the righteous ones is a rejoicing.'

The passage above is literally in the Gã, 'In your face-looking-on is your strength.' Hope or expectation is expressed in focusing on a thing or a person. The face becomes like a 'mental eye' which is set on an object. To say you hope in somebody mean your face is lying on the person. An example in the Bible is *hiɛnɔkãmɔ mli nyɛhewalɛyɔɔ* (Isaiah 30:15), 'In your hope is your strength.'

Another hiɛ metaphorical expressions belonging to this structure is:

[NP [body organ]] Postpos. Assoc.] + VP [V] [suffix]] Nominal

[hiɛ	nɔ	kpamɔ]	hiɛnɔkpamɔ
[face	upon	slip]	'forgetfulness'

In Gã, *hiɛnɔkpamɔ*is a slip of memory and here it is the face that is the thinking organ. *Adamhiɛ ekpanɔ*, (literally. Adam face has glossed over it). This means, 'Adu has forgotten it.' Another example is *ehiɛkpaaniianɔ, he forgets things* suggests that in Gã thought, *hiɛ* (face) is equivalent, in function, to the brain *(jwɛŋmɔ,* mind*)*. FACE IS MIND. The face is the centre of memory.

[9] *Israelbiileŋmɛɛamɛheamɛhaeshani ji hiɛnɔkpamɔ*

'the Israelites often yielded to the sin of **forgetfulness'**

Some examples in the Gã Bible are: (a) *ejaakɛ**ohiɛaaakpa**…hiɛgbelelɛnɔ* (Isaiah 54:4), literally, 'because your **face will miss**…the shame' and (b) *mi-Nuŋtsɔlɛ**hiɛ ekpa**minɔ!* (Isaiah 49:14), literally 'Lord's **face has slipped over** me. In both cases to say the face has 'missed' or 'slipped over' something or somebody means to forget that thing or person.

Still another **hiɛ** metaphorical expressions belonging to this structure is:

[NP [body organ]] Postpos. Assoc.] + VP [V] [suffix]] Nominal

[hiɛ	**shi**	**ka**	**mɔ]**	**hiɛshikamɔ**
[facedown		lay]		'wisdom'

In Gã, *gbɛlɛ ka shi*, means a highway, a broad road. Thus, the expression *ehiɛkãshi*, suggests one's face is lays broad or wide. In other words, that one can see broadly. For example, *Ada**mhiɛ kãshi**, (lit. Adam's face is lying down), means 'he is level-headed, skillful, discreet, prudent, wise, reasonable, well-balanced, sensible.' A Bible example: *Bi ni hiɛ kãshihãaetsɛnáamiishɛɛ*, 'A wise son makes his father rejoice.'

[10] *ahãhiɛshikalɔileahiɛshikamɔlɛafite*

'I will make the wisdom of the wise men perish.'

Still another hiɛ metaphorical expressions belonging to this structure is:

[NP [body organ]] Postpos. Assoc.] + VP [V] [suffix]] Nominal

[hiɛ	shi	shwiemɔ]	hiɛshishwiemɔ
[facedown		fall]	'disgrace'

Adamhiɛ eshweshi, (lit. Adam face has fallen), (lit. Adam's face has fallen down). The expression means Adam has been disgraced. It pictures a piece of cloth veiling the face, which due to an immoral act, falls off, ending on the ground. The face is a veil.

[11] *Amɛhiɛshishwiemɔlɛ mli baawakwraafe be kukuoo mli hiɛgbelekɛhiɛshishwiemɔ henumɔ ko kɛkɛ (Isaiah 45:16)*

'Their humiliation will be more than a temporary sense of disgrace and shame.'

4.2.5. *Hiɛ + Verb + Verb (+Suffix)*

There is a *hiɛ* metaphorical expression that is composed of the body part followed by a verb, and then another verb as can be found in the structure below.

[NP [body organ]] NP [N]] + VP [V] [suffix]] Nominal

[hiɛ	tserɛjiemɔ]	hiɛtserɛjiemɔ
[face	tear remove]	'entertainment'

The term *hiɛtserɛjiemɔ*means 'entertainment, relaxation, recreation or leisure'. Literally, the word reflects the removal of a torn-face. Sometimes the word*hiɛtserɛ*, without the verb *jie*, is used in reference to 'fun' or 'leisure'. Example, *be niayeɔkɛjieɔhiɛtserɛlɛ hu baanyɛekɛnaagbai aba*, 'the amount of time spent in entertainment can also cause problems.'

[12]*hiɛtserɛjiemɔniamɛkɛamɛhewoɔ mli yɛgbɛ ko nibɛŋkɛɔwɔŋjamɔnɔ.*

'the having of a good time in some way that may border on idolatry.'

4.3. Positive and Negative Character Traits in hiɛ 'face' Expressions

Lakoff (1987) views metaphors as conceptual rather than linguistic. He sees metaphor as a means by which the meanings of concrete and familiar lexical items (source domain) are extended to attract entities (target domain). According to him, in metaphorical extension of lexical items, there is one-to-one mapping which the source is linked to its subject.

This section discusses *hiɛ*'face' expressions one semantic domain namely good character traits. We will see whether an expression is thought to be vices or virtues in Gã culture. Thus, characteristics are categorized as virtues (positive) or vices (negative).

4.3.1. Positive Face Expressions

Certain expressions derived from hiɛ 'face' project strong virtues. They refer to character traits that are acceptable and highly recommended in Gã society. Such positive expressions include *hiɛnɔkamɔ*'hope, expectation', and *hiɛshikamɔ*, 'wisdom, prudence, smartness'. Hope and wisdom are two highly cherished virtues among the Gã people.

The Gã people have high expectation (*hiɛnɔkamɔ*) of one another. The expression *ihiɛ ka onɔ*, 'my hope is in you', is an expression of trust. A synonymous face expression is *hiɛnɔfɔɔ*, which literally means to cast one's face on a person or a thing. Example: *Adamkɛehiɛefɔwɔnɔ*, (lit. Adam has thrown his face on us),Adam is putting his hope in us. An example in the Gã Bible is,*amɛkɛamɛhiɛefɔɔɔ...MɔKroŋkroŋlɛ...nɔ* (Isaiah 31:1), literally, 'they did not put their face on the Holy one.' (See also Isaiah 36:6). This expresses the trust in a dependable person that he or she will deliver a promise.

The term *hiɛshikamɔ* suggests that wisdom has to do with the face, a center of intellect or thought processes. Thus, if Gã thought maps the face unto the mind, then FACE IS BRAIN.

4.3.2. Negative Face Expressions

There are also expressions derived from hiɛ 'face' that project strong vices. They refer to character traits that are unacceptable and highly discouraged in Gã society. Such negative expressions include *hiɛjoomɔ*, 'greed', *hiɛkɔɔ*, 'covetousness', *hiɛkpãtãmɔ*, 'perish', *hiɛshishwiemɔ*, perish', *hiɛgbele*, 'shame', and *hiɛtumɔ*, 'disapproval or displeasure'. *Hiɛjoomɔ* and *hiɛkɔɔ* aretwo highly despicable vices among the Gã people. Greed and covetousness are similar in meaning; therefore, these words are interchanged sometimes. However, technically, there is a slight difference between them. While greed describes the desire to gather and hold on to possession by any means whatsoever, covetousness refers to the desire for someone else's possessions. What can be said of these English words can also be true of the Gã terms. *Hiɛjoomɔ* (bitter face) is to the taste as *hiɛkɔɔ* (biting face) is to the teeth. The expression *hiɛkɔɔ* indicates that in Gã thought PROPERTY IS EDIBLE. *Hiɛjoomɔ* suggests that PROPERTY IS SWEET, and it tastes bitter to lose it. Therefore, one's face musttaste bitter in order to repel others from one's property. These words are sometimes used interchangeably. Both *hiɛkɔɔ* and *hiɛjoomɔ* are vices that represent the unwholesome desire for what belongs to others. They express the character of a person who is overly possessive. One who has *hiɛkɔɔ* wants to take from others while the one who has *hiɛjoomɔ* wants to keep what he has to himself and does not want others to have it, which character connotes stinginess and malevolence*.*

The Gã word *kɔ* 'bite' is a concrete action word which involves seizing or taking hold of an object by means of the teeth. Thus, then Gã expression of covetousness mimic the vicious desire for another person's property, that is biting it, definitely with the intention to consuming it. An example of the use of this expression for covetousness below is found in the Bible: *Ohiɛakakɔonaanyonɔ ko nɔ*, 'do not let your face bite your neighbor's property (Exod. 20:17). In the example above, the face has been metaphorically extended to be an animate that can bite or chew up one's neighbor's belongings, whether houses, or spouses, servants, animals or any other possession. Thus, in Gã thought regarding greed or covetousness, FACE IS MOUTH. This is a context in which one body part assumes the functions of another in the expression of character.

With regard to*hiɛtumɔ*, the frowning of the face, it is evident that one's attention is directed to facial expression which could easily be read by others watching. Frowning the face is 'making a face', an English expression. Frowning wrinkles or folds up the face. It is sometimes, an indication of the face anger or discontent within, which by extension, makes the FACE A CONTAINER OF EMOTIONS. What removes this emotion is wisdom as expressed in the Gã translation of Ecclesiastes.8:1: *Nileehãa...gbɔmɔehiɛtumɔlaajeɔ*, 'A man's wisdom makes...the sternness of his face change'

4.3.3. Face Expressions with Both Positive and Negative Connotations

There are also expressions derived from hiɛ 'face' that have both negative and positive connotations. They refer to character traits that could be acceptable or unacceptable. Such expressions include **hiɛdɔɔ**, 'seriousness, busyness, viciousness', **hiɛnɔkpamɔ**, 'forgetfulness, **hiɛtserɛjiemɔ**, 'fun, entertainment, leisure.' Whether the meaning is positive or negative can be detected according to context.

The word **hiɛdɔɔ** refers to a 'hot face' bears positive meanings like 'seriousness' or 'business'. The positive expression of *hiɛdɔɔ* 'seriousness' can also synonymous with *hiɛwaa* 'forcefulness'. The word *hiɛwaa*, literally 'hard face' is sometimes used in describing a person who is serious in the sense of being industrious or hardworking. In Gã thought, a soft-faced person cannot not face tough situations. Hence, we can infer that with regard to the face, a common metaphorical extension of hard/soft position may be expressed as HARD IS FORCEFULNESS, SOFT IS WEAKNESS.

However, it could be used in the negative context to mean 'viciousness'. In the negative sense another expression of 'absence of coolness' is employed to connote viciousness or wildness. It is the context in which the expression is used that tells whether the meaning is positive or negative. For example, *Adam**hiɛ ejɔɔ**,* (lit. Adam's face not cool) implies he has a cold face. The expression means 'Adam is not calm'. Another way of describing a person who is not calm is, *ehejɔɔ*, 'his/her body is cool'. The implication here is that the temperature of the face is mapped on the character of a person. If the face is hot for a good purpose of reason, the 'hot face' is positive in meaning. If the face is hot for a bad purpose of wrong reason, then 'hot face' has a negative meaning. From the discussion above, low face temperature maps unto virtue, but high face temperature maps unto both virtue and vice, depending on the context in which the expression *hiɛdɔɔ*is used. Thus, Temperature Is Character.

4.4. Other Uses of Hiɛ 'Face' Expressions

The list of Gã face expressions that have not been the focus of this paper but worth taking note of include:

- *Adamekwɛetsɛ hiɛ*, (lit. Adam has looked his father face), 'Adam has looked at his father'sface'. The expression above has two meanings: (i) a positive meaning expression expectation – Adam is expecting his father. (ii) a negative meaning implying Adam has shown disrespect to his father.
- *Adamhiɛ wa*, (lit. Adam face hard), 'Adu'sface is hard'. The expression means Adam is forceful. It is used in describing a daring person and sometime one who is hard-working. One whose *face is hard* is a determined go-

getter.(iii) *Adamhiɛ esɔ,* (lit. Adam's face has lighted/shone at'), 'Adam is pleased with....'An example in the Gã Bible is,*ehiɛesɔɔɔ Kain kɛefɔlelɛ* (Gen. 4:5), 'He was notpleased with Cain's offering.' It suggests that the face is light-holder. Actions that pleasing to it or acceptable by it causes the face to be lighted up.

- *Adamhiɛ yɛnyam,* (lit. Adam's face is bright), Adam has honour. An example in the Gã Bible is, *nyɛwoaYehowa hiɛ nyamyɛbokãgbɛ* (Isaiah 24:15), 'May you clothe the Lord's face in the Eastern part.'
- *Adamhiɛ kã he,* (lit. his face is lying beside it), 'he is intentional, deliberate.' Example, *shihiɛjoomɔni hiɛ kã he,* 'but willful greed.' Example *Kɛji hiɛ kã he jio, hiɛ kãaa he jio, osharaiyɛnukleamujiwoo he waa,* 'Whether intentional or not, nuclear pollution is dangerous.'
- *Adam hiɛ kyii,* (lit. Adam face is heavy), which means *eyɛanumnyam*, 'he has honour.' The expression, *hiɛ kyii,* refers to one who is reverent or respectable. Example: ITim. 3:8 *sɔɔlɔbilɛ hu esaakɛamɛfeegbɔmɔini hiɛ kyii,* 'Deacons also must be reverent.'
- *Adamhiɛ emɛ*, (lit. his face has waited). The opposite of this expression, *ehiɛemɛɛ* means 'the face cannot wait at a place.' Example: *nietesukuulɛehiɛemɛ no hewɔlɛakɛlɛbashia, '*when he went to school, he did not like the place, so he was brought back home.' When you go to a place and you like it, you want to wait or stay longer, and you feel you have settled or fit into the place. The Gã will say *your face has waited* in that place. The expression carries a sense of acclimatization, getting accustomed or attracted to a place. (vii) *Adamkãehiɛ, Adam rebuked him.* An example in the Gã Bible is *kɛjionyɛmitɔonɔlɛ, kãehiɛ* (Luke 17:3).
- *Adamhiɛ etserɛ*(literally, Adam's face torn/cleared/shattered). *Leebi be ni wain lɛetserɛyɛNabalhiɛlɛ, eŋalɛbɔlɛnibiinɛɛfɛɛ.*'In the morning, when Na'bal was sober, his wife told him these things.' Example: *Etsuishiŋmɛɛlɛehagbɔmɛiakpekpeiabɔahiɛetserɛamɛ* (Isaiah 2:2,3; 2Cor 5:18, 19). 'His patience has made it possible for millions to come to theirsenses.'
- *Ohiɛ ahi hejɔɔmɔgbilɛ no,* literally, 'let your face stay on the day of rest.' That is 'You shall keep the Sabbath day.' To keep the sabbath is to guard it in the sense of obeying the rules regarding its observance – what to have to do and what you ought not to do on that day.
- hiɛ kã - *nyɛŋɔnyɛgbɔmɔtseilɛnyɛdamɔshiakɛafɔleníhiɛ kã*, 'present your bodies a living sacrifice (Rom. 12:1).'

Another frightening expression refers to the death of the face. *Adamhiɛgbonyogbonyo*, (lit. his face is corpse corpse), meaning 'his face is totally lifeless'. The word *gbonyo* is basically 'dead person.' However, it could be used to describe 'bad report, dishonest gain, wicked advice, negative attitude, sinful thing, improper conduct. When it is used to describe the face, it means 'ugly person'. The metaphor here is UGLINESS IS DEATH and FACE IS CORPSE. The face becomes the mirror into which one looks to determine beauty and ugliness.

5. Summary

To sum up our discussion so far, we will begin by saying FACE IS AN ENTITY. An entity is a separate unit that is complete and has its own character (Macmillan English Dictionary). Face is and entity that can move about. Motion is the movement of an object. *Hiɛ* expressions indicate that the face metaphorically, is an object that can move about, by lying down, falling down, slipping over, squeezing, being withdrawn, being thrown away, and even by waiting.The word *hiɛ*is expressed in the action words *hiɛkɔɔ, hiɛnɔkpamɔ, hiɛtumɔ, hiɛtserɛjiemɔ* and *hiɛshishwiemɔ*. The words above explain the concept of the face as structured in Ga everyday conversation, as a moving object that can also come to a halt. Thus, FACE IS A MOBILE PHYSICAL OBJECT, that can be manipulated. It is obvious that the face itself could not fall, lie down, slip over another thing, wait or even eat, but if a people think of the face of the face in terms of kinetics, then they can see the face move from one place to another or relocate, trip over and object, stand or lie down, wait or move on. They can then employ these imagined external dynamics ofthe visible body part to express the invisible emotions and values of the person to whom this body part belongs.

Both*hiɛnɔkpamɔ* 'forgetfulness' and *hiɛshikamɔ* 'wisdom' suggest that the Gã people consider the face as a seat of intellect or reason. Thus, FACE IS MIND/BRAIN. Again, expressions like *hiɛkɔɔ*, 'covetousness', *hiɛjoomɔ*, 'greed', consider the face as a seat of values or morality. That is FACE IS CHARACTER. Then again, *hiɛtumɔ* 'the sternness of the face' which connotes disapproval and anger, *hiɛshishwiemɔ* 'disgrace', *hiɛgbele* 'shame' *hiɛtserɛjiemɔ*, 'entertainment', *hiɛdɔɔ* 'seriousness or viciousness', *hiɛwaa*'forcefulness' and *hiɛnɔkamɔ* 'hope' are expressions that consider the face as a seat of emotions. Thus, FACE IS AN OBJECT.

6. Conclusion

This paper has studied the Gã body part term *hiɛ* 'face' and its metaphorical extensions. The word hie a part of the body that is part of the head carrying the eye, nose, mouth and ears and used in the identification of a person also has extended meanings. The face is the source for the production of semantic and metaphoric expressions. The Gã word hie is laden with impressive word formation.

This paper has established that for the Gã people, there is a mapping and correlation between our external experience and our internal emotional and cognitive states based on cognitive semantics and embodiment. Like the Akan language as suggested by Agyekum (2003, 15), there is a tendency to borrow concepts and vocabulary from more accessible physical and social world to refer to less accessible world of reasoning, emotion and intellect.

Employing Agyekum's method in discussing the semantics and pragmatic uses of the Akan word *ano*, 'mouth', we put the Gã face expressions into two categories; positive and negative , though some of them were either positive or negative depending on the context in which they are employed. In the structure of the *hiɛ* 'face' expression all the body part expressions were compound nouns. Agyekum (2003) in his discussion of the Akan word *ano*, 'mouth' posits that the

structure of *ano* expressions have an obligatory body part followed by a verb, adjective, another noun a postposition or a combination of these. The same came be said of *hiɛ*, the Gã word for the face.

In this paper we have examined how face is metaphorically structured in Gã common everyday expressions. The purpose has been to confirm the claim of conceptual metaphor theory, that metaphor is persuasive, both in thought and everyday language. We have noticed that metaphorical ex pressions of face are pervasive in the Gã language. We have identified several expressions to explain these concepts that; FACE IS A MOVING OBJECT among others

Considering all the discussions and illustrations above, I would like to conclude that metaphor is not only a stylistic feature in the Ga language but also a matter of conceptual structure.

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