

TSUI, HEART EXPRESSIONS IN THE GĀ BIBLE

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***Abstract:** The paper explores the metaphorical and metonymic expressions of the heart in Gā (a West African language) within the framework of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory propounded by Lakoff and Johnson. The aim is to examine the ways in which tsui, ‘the heart’ is used in the Gā Bible to express human experiences. The data are gathered from personal conversations with Gā scholars and the Gā Bible. The data revealed the underlying conceptual metaphoric and metonymic patterns and their expressions of various aspects of emotions, modes of rationality and interpersonal relationship in the Gā language. This demonstrates that there is a clear relationship between the linguistic systems of a people and their conceptual and cultural experiences.*

Key Words: Cognitive semantics, Ghanaian Language, Heart, Metaphor, Metonymy.

Introduction

Recent decades have seen a lot of research exploring the conceptualization of body parts in several languages. A few significant studies on understanding the sophisticated relationship between the body, language and culture are Yu, Niemeier, Berendt and Tanita, Dzokoto, Agyekum, Ansah and Afreh.¹ Their studies have examined how

¹ Ning Yu, “The Chinese Heart as the Central Faculty of Cognition,” in *Culture, Body and Language: Conceptualisations of Internal Body Organs across Cultures and Languages*, ed. F. Sharifian, R. Dirven, N. Yu and S. Niemeier (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2008), 131-168; S. Niemeier, “Straight from the Heart: Metonymic and Metaphorical explorations,” in *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads: A Cognitive Perspective*, ed. A. Barcelona (Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter, 2003), 195-213; S. Niemeier, “To be in Control: Kind-hearted and Cool-headed. The Heart-head Dichotomy in English,” in *Culture, Body and Language: Conceptualisations of Internal Body Organs across Cultures and Languages*, ed. F. Sharifian, R. Dirven, N. Yu and S. Niemeier (Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter, 2008), 349-372; Erich A. Berendt, and Keiko Tanita, “The ‘Heart’ of Things: A Conceptual Metaphoric Analysis of the Heart and Related Body Parts in Thai, Japanese and English,” *International Communication Series XX*, no. 1 (2011): 65-78; V. Dzokoto, “Different ways of feeling: Emotion and Somatic Awareness in Ghanaians and Euroamericans,” *Journal of Social Evolutionary and Cultural Psychology* 4, no. 2 (2010): 68-78; K. Agyekum “The Pragmatics of ‘Ano’ Expressions,” *Ghana Journal of Linguistics* 2, no. 1 (2013): 1-17; G. N. Asante, “Culture in Embodied Cognition: Metaphor/Metonymies of Fear in Akan and English,” *Metaphor and Symbol* 1, no. 1 (2014): 131-146; Esther

internal body organs like the heart have been used in conceptualizing emotions, attitudes, reasoning, etc. Yu has made a detailed analysis of the emotions linked with the heart.²

The most significant works done on the heart in Ghanaian languages are those of Afreh and Bisilki and Yako.³ Afreh investigates the emotion types and attitude types expressed in the constructions involving the heart in the Akan language of West Africa. Bisilki and Yako provide documentation and analysis of anger metaphors in Likpakpaln, a little studied Gur language in the Northern Ghana. A few significant studies have been done on Gã linguistics. Otoo explores lexical semantics from the cognitive approach in the Gã language with focus on the pragmatic implications and relevance of the extensions derived from the verb *ye* 'eat'.⁴ However, there is no study that specifically explores the metaphorical and metonymic conceptualization of the internal organs in the Gã language. This is the gap the researcher attempts to fill. The question is, how do the Gã people conceptualize the heart and what significant aspects of modes of thinking do their heart-related expressions reveal?

Dirven et al. observe that universally, bodily experience is a fertile ground for the conceptualization of emotions and abstract thought in general.⁵ In Gã, *tsui*, the heart, is an internal body part conceived as the site of emotions and feelings. This paper explores the use of *tsui* expressions in the Bible and how they are metaphorically and metonymically conceptualized. The study is done within the framework of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory.⁶ The aim is to examine the types of metaphorically and metonymically conceptualized *tsui* expressions

S. Afreh, "The Metonymic and Metaphoric Conceptualisations of the Heart in Akan and English," *Legon Journal of the Humanities* 26 (2015): 38-57.

² Ning Yu, "Body and Emotion: Body Parts in Chinese Expression of Emotion," *Pragmatics and Cognition* 101, no. 1 (2002): 341-367.

³ Afreh, "The Metonymic and Metaphoric Conceptualisations", 38-57; Abraham. K Bisilki and Kofi Yako, "'The Heart has Caught Me': Anger Metaphors in Likpakpaln (Konkomba)," *Sociolinguistic Studies* 15, no 1(2001): 65-89.

⁴ R. Otoo, "Metaphorical Extensions of Ye (Eat) Verb: The Case of Gã," *International Journal of Linguistics*, 9 no. 6 (2017): 132-145.

⁵ R. Dirven, H. Wolf and F. Polzenhagen "Cognitive Linguistics and Cultural Studies," in *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*, ed. Dirk Geeraerts and Hubert Cuyckens (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 1209.

⁶ George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1980).

found in daily conversation and in the Gã Bible. The paper employs the mappings for the heart proposed by Niemeier,⁷ which also Afreh adopted.⁸ Niemeier identified the following mappings for the heart in the English language: *the heart stands for the person; the heart is a living organism; the heart is an object of value and the heart is a container*. This paper focuses on these mappings to establish that they also exist in the Gã language of Ghana.

The work will be useful for linguists, specialists of Kwa languages, teachers of Gã at all levels of the education system and also theologians in the field of mother-tongue hermeneutics. Concerning the theoretical contribution to the fields of linguistics and Biblical studies, the paper shows that the Gã language, like other international languages, is amenable to scientific studies and is *at par* with the internationally prestigious languages in its contribution to studies in cognitive linguistics.

Metaphor and Metonymy in Cognitive Linguistics

This section engages previous studies regarding the theoretical issues on the concept of metaphor and metonymy. Metaphor and metonymy have been extensively explored topics since the 1980s. We cannot imagine a language without these two forces inherent in the basic structure of human speech.⁹ From the traditional point of view, both of them are conceived as mere figures of speech. Ullman observes that metaphor and metonymy are the basic structure of human speech.¹⁰ However, cognitive linguistics suggests that they are cognitive instruments and a way of thinking about people. Cognitive linguistics focuses, not on the creative usage, but rather on the strategies underlying both the creative usage and everyday usage.

This section discusses previous studies and theoretical issues relating to metaphor and metonymy, the general descriptions of metaphorical mappings, image schema, and the typical metonymic domains.

⁷ S. Niemeier, "Straight from the Heart: Metonymic and Metaphorical Explorations," in *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads: A Cognitive Perspective*, ed. A. Barcelona (Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter, 2003), 195-213.

⁸ Afreh, "The Metonymic and Metaphoric Conceptualisations", 38-57.

⁹ Stephen Ullman, *Semantics: An Introduction to the Science of Meaning* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1979), 223.

¹⁰ Ullman, *Semantics*, 223.

For the last four decades, that is from the 1980s, cognitive linguists have discussed metaphor as a conceptual phenomenon associated with human thinking and behaviours. Lakoff and Johnson argue that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but also in our thought and action.¹¹ The Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), formulated by Lakoff and Johnson, defines metaphor as “understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another.”¹² Thus, there exists a mapping from a “source domain” to a “target domain.”¹³ To explain this further, one concept (the target) is understood in terms of the other (the source).¹⁴ This implies that the *conceptual domain (x) is the target domain (y)*. When we speak about arguments in terms of war. We may conceive *war* as the source domain, which is mapped onto the target domain of *argument*. In other words, mapping knowledge from the domain of war onto the domain of arguments helps in understanding one in terms of the other.¹⁵ One would not have to stay for too long among Ghanaians without hearing the Akan expression *ɔbra ye ɔko*, “life is war.” This underpins the Ghanaian’s tendency to view their daily ordinary experiences in life in terms of warfare.

According to Lakoff and Johnson, most of our concepts are metaphorised to construct some other spatial metaphors. Gibbs and Colson posit that image schemas can be defined as dynamic analogue representations of spatial relations and movements in space.¹⁶ An *up-down* schema, also referred to as the *verticality* image schema, is derived from our preconceptual bodily experience of gravity.¹⁷ A container schema is an image schema which involves physical and metaphorical boundaries. This schema originates from the experience of one’s own body. The path schema comprises movement from one place to

¹¹ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 3.

¹² Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 5.

¹³ George Lakoff, “The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor,” in *Metaphor and Thought*, ed. A. Ortony (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 202-251.

¹⁴ Kurt Feyearts, “Refining the Inheritance Hypothesis: Interaction between Metaphoric and Metonymic Hierarchies,” in *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads: A Cognitive Perspective*, ed. Antonio Barcelona. (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000), 60.

¹⁵ Lakoff, “Contemporary Theory,” 207.

¹⁶ R. W. Gibbs and H. Colston, “The Cognitive Psychological Reality of Image Schemas and their Transformations,” *Cognitive Linguistics* 6 (1995): 349.

¹⁷ George Lakoff, *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind* (Chicago-London: University of Chicago, 1987), 276.

another (physical and metaphorical). The path schema mimics a journey, as every journey has a starting point (departure), an end point (destination/arrival) and a direction. Image schemas are commonly found in the *tsui* expressions. My discussion will include how *tsui* metaphor is constructed based on image schemas, such as the up-down schema, the container schema and the path schema.

Metonymy has been traditionally understood as the use of a word to replace another if both words are contiguously related. From the point of view of cognitive linguistics, metonymy is conceptual. The functions of metonymy are to provide mental access from one conceptual entity to another entity. Metonymy involves a domain mapping of one entity onto another. We can understand this in terms of the conceptual relation ‘A stands for B.’

Metonymy is a process by which “people take one well-understood or easily perceived aspect of something to represent or stand for the thing as a whole.”¹⁸ Langacker explains the cognitive nature of metonymy, noting that metonymy is a process that consists of mentally accessing one conceptual entity via another entity.¹⁹ Blank explains metonymy as “a linguistic device based on salient conceptual relations within a frame network.”²⁰ For Kövecses metonymy is a cognitive or perceptive process that allows conceptual entities, targets or vehicles to be mentally accessible to one another within the same ICM of the domain.²¹ From a cognitive perspective, Radden and Kövecses define metonymy as “a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same idealized cognitive model.”²² They explain that the vehicle gives access to another entity (the target) in a single domain. For Barcelona, conceptual metonymy can be understood in terms of a source to target conceptual domain mapping, in which the

¹⁸ Raymond W. Gibbs, *The Poetics of Mind: Figurative Thought, Language and Understanding* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 321.

¹⁹ Ronald W. Langacker, “Reference-Point Constructions,” *Cognitive Linguistics* 4 (1993): 30.

²⁰ Andreas Blank, “Co-presence and Succession: A Cognitive Typology of Metonymy,” in *Metonymy in Language and Thought*, ed. Klaus-Uwe Panther and Günter Radden (Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1999), 174.

²¹ Zoltán Kövecses, *Metaphor in Culture: Universality and Variation* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 145.

²² G. Radden and Z. Kövecses, “Towards a Theory of Metonymy,” in *Metonymy in Language and Thought*, ed. Klaus-Uwe Panther and Günter Radden (Amsterdam - Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1999), 17-59.

target domain is mentally activated by the pragmatic function that links between the two domains.²³

In summary, metonymy is an essential cognitive process that helps us perceive human-related terms. In metonymy, a body part can be used as a reference to the whole body, the person or human nature or character. The body part for the whole person metonymy is present in many languages.²⁴ For example, Lakoff and Johnson state “We need some new faces around here.”²⁵ This means “we need new people around here.” The face, which is a part of the body, is used in reference to the whole body or person. A biblical example of the the part that stands for the whole metonymy is “I am not worthy that you should come under my roof” (Matt. 8:8). Here, *roof* stands for *building* in the sense which part of an object stands for the whole object. One mentally accesses a whole building via a salient part, the roof.

Metaphors have an evident metonymic basis. Metonymically, a part (heart) is used to stand for a whole (person). However, there is the metaphorical conception of selecting a particular feature of the person (honesty, wickedness) that is associated with a part of that whole. Ibarretxe-Antunano note, “the selection in the target domain of only some of those prototypical properties that characterize the physical source domain.”²⁶ Referring to this as the Property Selection Process, she adds that it is the selection of properties from the source domain in the target domain that metaphorical mappings are constrained.²⁷

Language and Data for Analysis

Gã is a Kwa language, which is part of the Niger-Congo family. The Kwa language family is composed of about 30 languages spoken along the coast of West Africa, from the south-eastern quadrant of the

²³ A. Barcelona, “Clarifying and Applying the Notions of Metonymy within Cognitive Linguistics: An Update,” in *Metaphor and Metonymy in Comparison and Contrast*, ed. R. Dirven and R. Porings (Berlin - New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2002), 246.

²⁴ Zoltán Kövecses and Peter Szabó, “Idioms: A View from Cognitive Semantics,” *Applied Linguistics* 17, no. 3 (1996): 341.

²⁵ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 38.

²⁶ Blanca Iraide Inarretxe-Anthunano, “Metaphorical Mappings in the Sense of Smell,” in *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics*, ed. G. Steen and R. Gibbs (Amsterdam - Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1999), 34.

²⁷ Inarretxe-Anthunano, “Metaphorical Mappings,” 38.

Ivory Coast to the south-western corner of Nigeria. It is spoken by most of the ethnic groups in southern Ghana, especially in and around the capital, Accra. The native speakers of the language are also known as the Gã or Gãs. And they also refer to Accra, their main homeland as Gã. Apart from the native speakers of the language, who are the inhabitant of Accra, the language is widely spoken as a second language by a large population of Ghanaians who through urban migration have relocated to Accra and its surrounding towns. The language is taught in Ghanaian schools.

It is possible to extract a lot of figures of speech from spoken Gã in everyday conversation, the television and the radio. While several books have been published in the Gã language, the Bible remains the most accessible source of grammatical expressions including metaphor and metonymies.

The data for analysis was drawn from daily conversational speeches and the Gã Bible. I conducted unstructured interviews with some scholars who are native speakers of Gã to confirm or disconfirm some interpretations of the metaphors. After that, I extracted from the data, which expressions are metaphorical and which are metonymic. I then grouped the data as arranged in this work. The translated version from the Gã language into English is mine. The Gã Bible was published in 1866. Since then, there have been some changes in the Gã orthography which led to the revised editions and revisions. The Gã scriptures in this paper were taken from the 2008 version of the Gã Bible.

Conceptualizations of the Heart in Gã

The four major metonymic and metaphorical mappings identified by Afreh can also be found in the Gã language.²⁸ In the following section, I present the following: the heart for a person; the heart as a living organism; the heart as an object and the heart as a container.

The Heart for the Person

A. The heart as a movable object

²⁸ Afreh, "The Metonymic and Metaphoric Conceptualisations," 44.

In Gã the heart is conceived as a *movable entity*. Gã people visualized the heart as an entity that can move upwards or in a downward direction and settle down.

1. *Etsui enyɔ emli* - His/her heart has fallen into his/her inside [abdomen] (= He is Satisfied/appeased)
2. *Etsui ete nwei* - His heart has gone up (= He is angry/upset)
3. *Ha otsui aba shi* - Let your heart come down (= Calm down! or be patient!)
4. *Mitsui eba* - My heart has come (= I am angry)
5. *Etsui gbaa enaa* - His/Her heart smites his mouth (= His heart disturbs him/ he is quick-tempered)
6. *Etsui shaa le* - His heart shoves him (= He is quick-tempered)

Example 1 indicates the settling of the heart in a container. The expression is literally “his heart has collapsed/his heart sank within him.” When the heart falls down in the inner chamber, *mli*, within which it is located, we have a sense of calmness and satisfaction. The expression is similar in meaning to another popular expression *etsui etɔ*,²⁹ “his heart is satisfied,” which literally refers to the point of ultimate satisfaction where one is full after eating and wants no more. In that sense the heart is also conceptualized as a living organism that eats.

The fly-settle duality has negative and positive connotations respectively. These connotations are motivated by the effect that these sensations have on the body. *Tsui* is an entity that moves. When it settles down in a place, it means the absence of anxiety - one is glad, relaxed.” The expression *tsui ni nyɔɔ mɔ mli ye shihile mli* (Psalm 148:13b) connotes a life of joy and contentment. A similar expression is *mitsui mli efili le ye Yehowa hewɔ*, “my heart rejoices in Jehovah.” The expression in 3 literally means “Let your heart move in a downward direction” and instructs a person to calm down. When the heart comes down, then the anger is gone. Other times one is advised *ha otsui anyɔ omli*, “Let you heart settle inside you!” This indicates the lowering of the heart into the stomach/abdomen.

²⁹ M. E. Kropp Dakubu, ed., *Ga-English Dictionary* (Legon: Institute of African Studies, 1973), 215. Dakubu explains this expression as “being satisfied” or “being alright.”

An alternative to the expression in 2 is *etsui nɔ ewo*, “his heart has gone up” (s/he is angry). In 2 and 3, we see an up/down orientation. The correlation of *up* with emotions of fear, anger and distress, while down correlates with calmness/satisfaction arises from the conceptual metaphors up is bad and down is good. here, we see a Gã folk model which gives attention to the up-down orientation in which the heart going down maps onto a desirable (positive) emotional state. contrarily, the heart going up maps onto an undesirable emotional state (denoting a negative value). The opposite view is held by Maalej who observes that it is rather the downward movement that is motivated by the conceptual metaphor ‘down is bad.’³⁰

The heart can also come and go away (4). When the heart comes, it implies the presence of anger. One should not be upset when his heart stays where it should. When the heart comes out, then it means it is out of control. Thus the heart stands for anger. This, in Gã thinking, anger is a force that can drive the heart to rise up (2) or to come out (4). The coming of the heart connotes the negative emotion, anger and that is bad; this suggests that near is bad and far is good. Another expression indicating the place of the heart outside the body is *ehiɛ etsui yɛ edeŋ*, “he is holding his heart in his hand” (= He is impatient or hot-tempered).³¹ Thus, the heart is an object which its owner can manipulate negatively anytime, anyhow and anywhere.

In example 5, the heart is conceived as being capable of dealing a blow to the mouth when the person is irritated. A quick-tempered person is described as one whose heart smites his mouth without restraint. In Gã thinking, anger gives the whole person a hefty shove, and the heart is responsible for this action as indicated in example 6. Here, we see ‘shoving’ as a metaphor for impulsive behaviour. This notion could instantiate the metaphor that *anger is a shovel*. When a person is angry, the Gã conceives of his/her heart as having taken control of the whole person. Both 5 and 6 indicate that the heart is a living organism capable of violence.

³⁰ Zouheir Maalej, “The Heart and Cultural Embodiment in Tunisian Arabic,” in *Culture, Body and Language: Conceptualizations of Internal Body Organs across Cultures and Languages*, ed. Farzad Sharifian, Rene Dirven, Ning Yu, and Suzan Niemeier (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2008), 395-428.

³¹ Dakubu, *Ga-English Dictionary*, 215.

B. The Heart as Changeable Object (in Temperature)

In Gã, the heart is also conceptualized as a heated solid to express high temper. This is expressed in examples 7 and 8.

7. *Etsui ewo la* - His heart has caught fire/ is on fire (= He is angry).
8. *Etsui he edɔ la* - The side of his/her heart is heated with fire (= He is fuming with rage).
9. *Etsui he edwɔ* - The sides of his heart have cooled down (= He is no longer angry).

In different situations, an object can have different temperatures. Therefore, the heart as an object may be viewed as possessing the property of warmth and coldness.³² If emotions are hot, then we can argue in favour of the metonymic principle: the psychological effect of emotion stands for that emotion. This is because body temperature rises when we experience emotion.³³

The usage of thermal metaphors in reference to a person's character is widespread in many languages.³⁴ Temperature is a feature to take into account because it has consequences on the metaphorical uses of the heart in Gã. The hot-cold duality has negative-positive connotations. In Gã, the heart is conceptualized as *changeable in temperature*; it is usually described as hot or cool. Such descriptions of the heart are employed for behaviour types that belong to the antonym of anger and calmness. In Gã, a person with a 'hot heart' is an angry person as expressed in 7 and 8. A similar expression is *ewo itsui mli la*, "he is putting fire into my heart" (= He is getting me upset/annoyed).

This imagines a Gã baker's traditional oven made of earth in which she sets firewood ablaze to heat it up before packing the dough inside. Since heat can leave the Gã with negative feelings, the heat locked up in the oven mimics the emotion of anger. Thus, we have the instantiation of the metaphors the heart is a container of emotion, the heart is an entity, anger is fire, high temperature is bad and 'up' is bad.

³² Zhou and Jiang, "A Corpus-Based Contrastive Study," 98-112.

³³ R. Gutiérrez Perez, "A Cross Cultural Analysis of Heart Metaphors," *Revista Alicantina de Estudios Ingleses* 21 (2008): 25-56.

³⁴ M. V. Escandel Vidal, *Introducción a la pragmática* (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1993), 228.

People with ‘hot-heart’ are quick-tempered and the ‘cool-hearted’ are patient and calm. Thus, *hot* is conceptualised as negative emotion while *cool* is conceptualised as a positive emotion. A similar expression is found in *etsui ntswa*, “his heart is boiling” (= He is angry or afraid). A person who has calmed down may be described as having a cool heart (9). In Gã, the “cold-hearted” person is one who is appeased or calm, the opposite of an angry person. This is in contrast with the cold-heartedness in English which means “lacking affection or warmth; unfeeling.” Therefore, Gã conceptualization of the heart as possessing a changeable thermal condition in relation to temper could instantiate the metonymy increase in heart-heat for anger and the physiological effects of emotion stand for that emotion.³⁵

C. The heart as a solid [hardness of heart, softness of heart]

Afreh observes that:

The heart, for Akan speakers, is sometimes perceived as a full entity which may be present, or even totally absent; it is not visualized as half-present as in English. Whereas in English the notions of presence and absence of the heart are used to describe people who are considered heartless and wicked, in Akan the notions are deployed to describe people who are regarded as impatient or quick-tempered.³⁶

The comments above referred to the Akan speakers are true of the Gã people as well. The heart, *tsui*, is sometimes perceived as an entity which can be present, absent or even dead. The Gã notion of the presence of the heart is employed to refer to a person who is quick tempered or impatient (10). The same expression could also mean patience in another context. In Gã, the expression *eye tsui* (lit. “he has a heart”) may be positive regarding a person who possesses qualities like ‘patience, endurance and longsuffering or negative concerning a quick-tempered person. Thus it has both negative and positive connotations depending on the context.

In 11 we have an expression of the absence of a heart having a negative connotation only, meaning the absence of patience. The example in 12 is an encouragement of a person to calm down, which reflects

³⁵ Gutiérrez Perez, “A Cross Cultural Analysis,” 41.

³⁶ Afreh, “The Metonymic and Metaphoric Conceptualisations,” 46.

the positive meaning of patience in 10. A similar expression is *eha le tsui*, “he gave his a heart” (= He consoled him).³⁷ This instantiates the metonymies “the heart stands for patience.” Thus, the expression *eye tsui* instantiates both the metaphors of the heart for patience and the heart for impatience depending on the context in which the expression is used. However, the expression *na tsui* does not always mean patience but also approval. For example, *Mɔnɛ ji misuɔmɔ bi ni minaa ehe tsui le*, “this is my love-child about whom I have heart” (This is my beloved son whom I have approved” (Matthew. 3:17).

10. *Gbeke le ye tsui waa* - The child really has a heart (= The child is really patient [+ve]) or the child is really impatient [-ve]).
11. *Gbeke le be tsui koraa* - The child does not have a heart at all (= The child is quick-tempered/impatient).
12. *Na tsui* - Get heart (= Take heart/ be patient).
13. *Etsui egbo* - His/her heart is dead (= S/he is satisfied)
14. *Etsui ehii* - His/her heart is not good (= He is quick-tempered)

In 13 a living organism can die, so the Gã has similar thinking about expiration of a body part. The death of a body part means it once lived. The expression *etsui egbo* in example indicates the loss of function of the heart which once worked. However, when the Gã conceptualises the heart as being dead, it connotes positive emotions. It means to be overjoyed so much to the point that you feel there almost no life left within you. It means “to be extremely happy.” For example, *ni wɔke wɔ tsu nɛɛ ke le nɔɔ ni etsui gbo*, literally, “as soon as we gave her this house of ours, her heart died.” This means “as soon as we gave her our house, she was overjoyed.” Thus, in Gã, someone who is overjoyed may be referred to as having a “dead heart.” There is also the common expression *egbe mi kolaa*, “he has killed me completely” which means “he has made me completely happy or satisfied.” One wonders why happiness (a positive emotion) is associated with death (a negative state, lifelessness) in Gã thinking.

Example 14 indicates that a bad heart represents a quick-tempered person because such a person is conceived as being bad. This refers to one who lacks control over his heart, one who has an unrestrained heart. However, a good heart can be expressed with the Gã term *tsuijurɔ*. The word *tsuijurɔ* is literally, ‘right heart’ and by implication

³⁷ Dakubu, *Ga-English Dictionary*, 215.

‘approval.’ Someone with such a heart possesses qualities like sincerity, honest-heartedness, goodwill, gladness of heart, merry of heart and joy of heart. An example of its use is *Bo ohe tsuijurɔ minaa*, meaning “I have approved you” or “I am well-pleased with you” (Luke 3:22).

The metaphor of *the heart as solid* has a metonymic basis in that it takes one detail of the disposition of a person to stand for the whole moral framework of the person.³⁸

15. *Etsui wa* - His/her heart is hard (= He/she is a difficult person)
16. *Etsui esa* - His/her heart is mature (= He/she is a courageous person)
17. Ezek. 11:19: *majje amɛ tsui ni wa tamɔ tɛ lɛ amɛmli ni mahã amɛ loo tsui* - I will remove from them their heart of stone and give them a heart of flesh.
18. 2Kgs. 22:19: *otsake otsui, oba ohe shi ye mi, Yehowa, mihie* - You have changed your heart, you have humbled yourself.
19. Exod. 7:3: *shi mahã Farao akpliŋ etsui* - But I will let Pharaoh harden his heart (= I will let Pharaoh become stubborn).
20. Psa. 22:14b: *Mitsui esere ye mimli tamɔ wo agbaku* - My heart has gone stale in me like wax.

The Gã expression *etsui wa*, ‘his heart is hard,’ demonstrates how the heart is conceptualized as a solid. In Gã, the heart is seen as a changeable and manipulatable object. Gã speakers use the heart to articulate negative emotions, the heart could be conceptualized as hard – *the heart is a solid*. Afreh observes that the hard materials can be perceived to be metaphorically connected with ‘hard’ feelings of the people involved.³⁹ The expression in 15 is used metonymically in the sense that the description of one part of a person, indicating his/her disposition, to stand for the moral standing of the whole person.

In this example, the hardness of heart indicates stubbornness,⁴⁰ ruthlessness and incorrigibility. Thus, the metaphor ‘the heart is a solid’ refers to negative emotions. Afreh observes that Akan speakers conceptualise the heart as solid or hard and such an expression describes

³⁸ Afreh, “The Metonymic and Metaphoric Conceptualisations,” 46.

³⁹ Afreh, “The Metonymic and Metaphoric Conceptualisations,” 38-57.

⁴⁰ Dakubu, *Ga-English Dictionary*, 215.

someone who is unyielding or difficult.⁴¹ This is the exact understanding of the Gã people. This understanding is found in examples 16 and 19. However, the heart of flesh (*loo tsui*) in 17 indicates positive emotions of understanding, compromise and readiness to yield. Example 18 suggests that a change of heart has the potential to transform its content from evil to good. Thus, the content of the heart is replaceable. Another example can be found in Luke 10:13: *Tiro kɛ Sidon atsu ye jikule ametra kpekpe le lamlu mli ametsake ametsui jeeɲmɔ*, “If...had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago, sitting in sackcloth and ashes.” Zimmermann translates the noun *tsuitsakemɔ* as ‘repentance.’⁴² In 19 the soft heart can be hardened. Thus 18, 19 and 20 indicate that the heart is a changeable object. It can be either hardened or softened, which implies a change of emotions from positive to negative and vice versa.

Example 16 refers to a mature heart in terms of full growth. It connotes both negative and positive meanings depending on the context in which it is used. The negative connotes stubbornness while the positive fearlessness or not being faint-hearted. The noun *tsuisale* means bravery. Having in mind the ability of the heart to fly due to fear, the Gã conceives the mature heart as being incapable of flying. Thus, metonymically, maturity stands for stability.

D. The heart as an anthropomorphised entity (someone being one’s heart).

The Gã people conceive the heart as the seat of emotions. For instance, the heart of the person in love is employed to stand for the person.⁴³ This idea belongs to the body part for the person metonymy, which is part of the synecdoche the part for the whole. most gã expressions that contain the heart are motivated by the conceptual metonymy the heart for the person. The linguistic examples below illustrate this metonymy:

21. *Bgeke nɛɛ le epapa tsui kolaa ni* - This child is really the father’s heart (= This child is the father’s beloved).

⁴¹ Afreh, “The Metonymic and Metaphoric Conceptualisations,” 45.

⁴² J. Zimmermann, *A Grammatical Sketch of Akra or Ga Language* (London: Forgotten Books, 2018), 316-317.

⁴³ Afreh, “The Metonymic and Metaphoric Conceptualisations,” 38-57.

22. *Mike mitsui fɛɛ eha bo* - I have given all my heart to you (= I love you with all my heart).

In 21, the metonymical heart refers to the person as a whole, thus it is not the body part, heart, but the whole person who owns the heart is the one loved by the father. In 22 the heart also refers to the totality of the person. Thus one can give his or her whole self to another in love.

Below are biblical examples of how the heart as a member of the body is rather conceptually referred to in expressing some characteristics and experiences of the whole person:

23. Prov. 13:12: *Hienɔkãmw ni baaa mli mra le, ewoɔ mɔ tsui hela* - Hope deferred makes the heart sick.
24. Songs of Song 5:2: *Beni miwɔ le, mitsui ka* - I slept but my heart was awake.
25. I Chron. 16:10: *mɛi mi taoɔ Yehowa sɛɛgbɛ le atsui anyɔ amɛmli* - Let the heart of those who seek the Lord rejoice!
26. Psa. 84:3: *Mike mitsui kɛ migbɔmɔtso fɛɛ laa kɛ miishɛɛ hãa Nyɔnmɔ hiɛkãalɔ le* - My heart and my flesh cry out for the living God.
27. Psa. 28:7: *Yehowa ji mihewalɛ kɛ mitɛɛ; eno mike mitsui fɔɔ* -The Lord is my strength and my shield, my heart trusts in him.
28. Ezek. 33:31: *shi amɛ kɛ ametsui fɔɔ amɛsɛɛnamɔ nɔ* - but their hearts pursue their own gain
29. Job 29:13: *mihãa okulafo tsui nyɔɔ emli kɛ nyamɔ* - And I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy.
30. *etsui nnsu* - His heart is gasping for breath (=he is in distress)
31. 2 Cor. 4:8: *Afɛfãa wɔ ye he fɛɛ he, shi kele wɔtsui esuuu* - We are hard pressed on every side, yet not crushed.
32. Psa. 22:14b: *Mitsui tete kɛ mi wieɔ nyɔɔɔ* - My heart counsels me in the night seasons

In Gã, the heart is human-like because the heart is conceptualized as anthropomorphised, a human-like agent who can be sick, awake, rejoice, cry, trust, desire, and sing. In example 23, the same idea of ill-health of the heart in the Hebrew Bible is found in Gã. The sickness of the heart is expressed in the ill-health of the whole body visibly. In 24 we see the capability of the heart sleeping and waking up like a

person. Though the heart is a part of the whole body, the whole body may be asleep **but** the heart could be awake. Both may not necessarily sleep or wake up at the same time. In 25, we have the concept of the heart rejoicing as the whole person does. However, joy is not the only emotion of the heart. The heart can express grief too, as found in 25. See also Isa. 15:5: *mitsui miīye miihā Moab*, “My heart cries out for Moab.” In 27 we see that the heart is capable of expressing the human characteristics of trust. The heart is also conceptualized as desiring profit as expressed in 28, which could imply that the heart has the tendency to become covetous. Example 29 indicates that the heart sing on behalf of the person of whose body it is part.

However, there is also metonymy where the whole body stands for the body part. In Gã, the word *mli* is a common body part. *Mli* refers to the internal lower parts of the torso, including the abdomen or stomach. A rich variety of expressions centre on it. 1 Sam. 2:1: *kekē Hana sōle ye jei ni ekēē, Yehowa, ohā mimli eflī mi* (“And Hannah prayed and said, ‘My heart rejoices in the LORD’”). The Gã does not translate the Hebrew, *libbî*, my heart. It rather represents the heart with ‘mli’ meaning “the inner parts.”

Example 30 and 31 paint a picture of a person who carries some weight on his heart, one desperately desiring oxygen. This is what happens to the “one whose heart is being eaten” (*Eye tsuinaakpɔtɔmɔ*). A similar expression is *enaā mumōhe*, “he has no place for his breath” (he is worried, in distress). In 31, what is translated *esuūu* (=does not gasp for breath) is the Greek στενοχωρέω (*stēnōchōrēō*), meaning, “to hem in closely narrowness of room, distress, cramp, anguish or calamity.”

In 32 the heart is credited with the human attribute of speaking in giving advice. In the Hebrew Bible, apart from the heart, the intellect is also associated with the kidneys. Thus in the example, the Hebrew expression translated “*mitsui*” (my heart) is *kilyōlāy*, which is literally “my kidneys.” This rendering of the kidneys in the Hebrew text as heart in the Gã translation suggests the Gã understanding of the heart as the locus of the intellect.

The Heart as a Living Organism

In Gã, the heart could be conceptualised as a living organism. it could be regarded as an autonomous entity with the ability to fly about. When the heart is seen as moving in the upward direction; the person whose heart is taking this flight is considered to be panicking.

33. *mitsui fã* - My heart flew (away) (=I feared)
34. Psa. 27:3: *keji asafo ko gba ta ewo mi po, mitsui efan* - Though the army besiege me; my heart will not fear.

In Gã, the human body is metaphorised as a container and the heart is metaphorised as the content. Thus, the heart is an entity in a container. Fear has the ability to move the heart about in its container, the chest. The flight of the heart is an indication of fright. In 33 and 34, we have the idea of the heart taking a flight. By implication *tsui fã* means to be afraid, panic, troubled, shaken, terrified, disturbed, horrified, dismayed, frightened or that which is alarming. See also Rev. 12:12: *Bele esaaa akɛ efɛɔ wɔ naakpɛ akɛ efɔn efa babaoo ye gbɛ ni fãa mɔ tsui nɔ le* - “It is should not surprise us, then, that vice is alarmingly prevalent.” Fear causes instability in an entity; to have one’s heart fly indicates agitation and restlessness of the heart. Thus, we have the underlying metaphoric patterns, the heart is an entity and fright is a mover of an entity.

The Heart as an Object of Value

The heart as a Coveted Entity

Gã people perceive the heart as an entity or an object. They see the heart as a thing of great value to its owner. Just as Afreh says concerning the Akan of West Africa, in Gã the heart can be a coveted entity.⁴⁴ This is indicated in 35 with the concept of a stolen heart. The heart is fragile and can be destroyed.⁴⁵ Examples of expressions that illustrate this include 36 and 37.

35. Songs of Song. 4:9: *Minyemi yoo, miyemfro, oŋɔ mitsui* - My sister, my bride, you have stolen my heart.
36. Psa. 69:20: *Ahorabɔɔ ehã mitsui ekumɔ, ni ehã miyoyoro* - Scorn has broken my heart and has left me helpless.

⁴⁴ Afreh, “The Metonymic and Metaphoric Conceptualisations,” 48.

⁴⁵ Afreh, “The Metonymic and Metaphoric Conceptualisations,” 49.

37. Psa. 34:18: *Mitsui fɛɛ ejwara* - My heart is broken within me
Bgeke nɛɛ le epapa tsui kolaa ni - This child is actually the father's heart (= This child is extremely loved by the father).
38. *Mike mitsui fɛɛ miha bo* - I have given my whole heart to you (= I have shown you great love).
39. *Bgeke nɛɛ ka mitsui nɔ* - This child is resting on my heart (= This child is very dear to me).
40. *Etsui shweo ekɔɛ* - His heart vomits the father (= He longs for his father).

The heart as a whole is understood as a sort of protected treasure, an object of great value to another person as in example 38 or one's self, as in example 39. To give out one's whole heart is to totally yield one's self to another. Thus, the heart is a precious gift and could be understood as a kind of sacrificial offering. this *gã* understanding suggests that the heart is a coveted entity and the heart is a prize. In a sense, example 38 also suggests the conceptualization of the heart as a person. Metonymically, the child as a whole person becomes a substitute for the heart of the father. Thus, the father can hardly survive without this 'implanted' heart.

Example 40 refers to a child lying on someone's heart as a bed. It is when one is so dear to you that you are willing to provide your heart as a couch for that person. Thus, the heart is a bed for a loved one. Anyone who finds love in the heart of another person has a coveted place to rest. A *Gã* person could also say *etsui ka moko nɔ* ('his heart is lying on somebody' = He loves somebody), for where your dearest is, there your heart will find rest indeed. The expression is also one of hope or great expectation from the one on whom the heart is lying.

Besides a person, a 'matter' could also find a resting place in the heart: *sane nɛɛ ka itsui nɔ waa*, "this case/ matter is lying on my heart very much" (= This case/matter is very dear to me). One could alternatively say, *sane nɛɛ itsui ye mli*, 'my heart is in this case/matter' (= I am interested in this case). It is an expression of genuine approval. As was the case of Pontius Pilate and Jesus, one may endorse a decision, wash his hands, and say *itsui be mli*, "my heart not in it" (= I am not part of this). One will not fully sacrifice/waste his precious heart in a matter he has no genuine interest in.

Example 41 describes homesickness on the part of a person who misses his father. Homesickness is conceptualised in Gã as ‘throwing up’ the object longed for. Thus, the heart is the locus of affection.

The Heart as a Manipulable Object

Examples 42 - 46 show that the heart is a manipulable object. In Gã thought, the heart is a delicate object which can be destroyed. Consider the expression:

41. *Kwɛ ni okatse mitsui* - Be careful you do not tear/pluck [destroy] my heart (= Do not disappoint me).
42. *Kaafite itsui* - Do not spoil my heart (= Do not trouble me).
43. *Eyɛ tsuinaakpɔtɔmɔ* - It gets the mouth of the heart rotten (= It is an eye sore)
44. John 14:1: *Nyɛkayea nyɛtsui* - Do not eat your heart! (= Do not be troubled!).
45. *Etsui miɪye* - His heart is wearing away (= He is desperate, worried).
46. John 14:27 *nyɛtsui akayea* - You hearts should not be wearing away (= Do not be troubled/worried).

The Gã conceptualizes the heart as an object of value that is so fragile it could easily be plucked, torn apart or decay. In 41, emotion is involved. A person deeply in love is warning the other party not to break his or her heart.

Speakers of Gã attribute the properties of objects to the heart. This idea is also found in the Akan language in which the heart is considered to be a treasure or something of value to the owner and to others.⁴⁶ In example 42, the heart is a fragile and delicate object, which if not carefully handled can be spoilt. A person with a spoilt heart is a troubled, worried or annoyed person. A synonymous expression is *kaakpɔtɔ mitsui*, “Do not crush/mash my heart!” (= Do not worry/trouble me). That which is offensive to see or hear may also be described as being nauseating. In Gã thought, an abomination and socially unacceptable behaviour are understood as causing the mouth of the heart to be rotten as in example 43. The expression *tsuinaakpɔtɔmɔ* means doing something that irritates or enrages another person.

⁴⁶ Afreh, “The Metonymic and Metaphoric Conceptualisations,” 38-57.

In Gã, the heart could be conceptualised as an edible thing (object). The noun *tsuiyeli* connotes anxiety (42).⁴⁷ The expression *kaaye itsui*, “do not eat my heart”, means “do not disturb/worry me;” eating the heart amounts to destroying life. Thus, in Gã thought, being troubled is tantamount to being consumed. Examples 45 and 46 show that the heart can be conceived as wearing off. Such an experience would cause pain to the heart, which could be understood as emotional distress.

The Heart Is a Container

In Gã, the heart is conceptualised as a container that may either be open or closed with a door. The heart can be occupied by emotions, folly, intellect, words or a person.

The Heart as a Container for Emotions

The Gã people visualize the heart as a container that can be filled with emotions, both positive and negative. Among the Gã people, the heart is conceived as the seat of emotions. Among the emotions connected to the heart regarding the container metaphor are joy and sorrow.

47. Lam. 5:15: *Wɔtsuiiaŋ mishɛɛ fɛɛ sɛɛ ɛfo* - Joy has vanished from our hearts
48. Psa. 13:2: *ni maye awerɛho yɛ mitsuinŋ gbi muu fɛɛ* - How long ...everyday have sorrow in my heart?

The heart is a container for emotions. Included in its content is joy, which is presented in 47 as being volatile and capable of appearing and escaping. Joy is an experience that happens in the heart as expressed in Exod. 4:14: *ni kɛ ena o lɛ eeɛnya ohe kɛ etsui fɛɛ* (“When he sees you, he will be glad in his heart”). Example 48 shows that the heart does not contain only positive emotion like ‘joy’ but also negative like ‘sorrow.’ In Gã, the emotion *awerɛho*, ‘sorrow,’ is an edible thing and its consumption takes place in the heart. The Gã conceptualises the heart as locus of emotions.

The heart as an open container (a heart overflowing)

49. *etsui eyi obɔ kɛ teke nɔ* - His heart is filled and overflowing

⁴⁷ Dakubu, *Ga-English Dictionary*, 215.

50. Acts 5:3 *Anania, mæeba Satan yi otsuiŋ obɔ...?* - Ananias, why have you allowed Satan to fill you
51. Eccl. 9:3: *Gbɔmei atsuiiaŋ eyimɔ obɔbɔ kɛ eƒɔŋ kɛ sɛkɛyeli nifeemɔi* - The hearts of men moreover are full of evil and there is madness in their hearts

In example 49, the heart seems not to be big enough to accommodate all its contents so it overflows. Generally, the expression has positive connotations of overflowing joy. However, it could also indicate negative content which could be evil as shown by example 50. There Satan finds in Anania's heart a home where he is in full control. Thus, fullness is absolute control. In other words, the heart is a container that can be filled with a spirit-person, the devil. As indicated in 51, the heart is a container of vices. Included in its content are evil and insanity. Thus the heart is understood as the locus of virtue and thought: see also Prov. 26:25: *ejaakɛ yiŋtoɪ fɔɔji eyi etsui mli obɔ* ('because evil intentions have filled his heart'). Another example of sin as content is in Psa. 66:18: *Eji minya nɔ sha ko he ye mitsuiŋ kule Nuntsɔ lɛ boŋ*, ('If I regard iniquity in my heart the Lord would not have listened'). Again the heart is a container for foolishness: Psa. 51:7: *Buulufeemɔ kpɛtɛ nyɛ gbekɛ tsui he* ('Folly is bound up in the heart of a child').

The heart as a Gated Container

The Gã people also conceptualise the heart as a dwelling place:

52. *ekɛ mi ewo etsui mli* - He has put me inside his heart (=S/he is begrudging me)
53. *eŋɔ mi kpɔ ye etsui mli* - He has tied me up in his heart (=He begrudges me with passion)

Example 52 implies a person has held another bound in his heart. In Gã, the heart is conceived as a container in which a person the held in bondage. One who cannot forgive another is conceived as holding his/her victim bound in the heart as he continues, in bitterness, to reminisce on the hurt and bitterness caused him by the victim. In other words, the heart can be a prison in which an offender can be held. The heart is a container with a door and we can get *in* or *out* of the container, suggesting the presence of *in/out* image schema. This is Gã conception of the heart as a place of detention. Example 53 suggests that the Gã conceives the heart as a place where the offender can be

held bound with little hope of escape. In Gã, forgiveness means ‘to offer a gift.’ The expression *eenye mi ye etsui mli* (“he hates me in his heart”) can eventually lead to the withholding of ‘the gift’ and the offender potentially being locked up in the heart of the offended, never intending to forgive. Thus, the heart is a container with a door that can be closed. Both 52 and 53 yield the metaphor, *the heart is a jail*.

54. *Etsui mli fann* - His heart is full of light
55. Mat. 5:8: *Ajɔ meɪ ni tsuii amlɪ tse lɛ* - Blessed are the people whose hearts are clean
56. Psa. 119:11: *Mikɛ owiemɔ lɛ eto mitsui mli koni mikafee esha mishi bo* - I have hidden your word in my heart that I might not sin against you.
57. *Mini oosusɔ ye ostui mli?* - What are you thinking in your heart?
58. Luk. 9:47: *Beni Yesu na ametsuiiaŋ susumɔi lɛ...* - “When Jesus saw thoughts in their hearts...”

Again the Gã conceive the heart as a container of virtues, vices, words and thoughts. It is the locus of morality. Example 54 indicates a heart in which nothing can hide. This instantiates the metaphor the heart is an illuminable container. It carries connotations of honesty, genuineness and innocence. Afreh observes that, in Akan, the container metaphor is used to describe honesty or purity.⁴⁸ As expressed in example 55, the same notion can be said of Gã where the heart is seen as a container with a clean inner part. This yields the metaphor that the heart is a container with a clean interior.⁴⁹ Thus, we see a cultural value in this Gã linguistic expression where the clean interior symbolises purity and honesty. Such a heart does not harbour evil.

The Gã language conceptualizes the heart as a receptacle for words, messages and issues of life. A common expression that confirms this understanding is *Mikɛ sane lɛ ewo mitsui mli*, “I have hidden the matter in my heart” (= I have kept the matter in my heart). Example 56 indicates the Hebrew thought that the heart is a safe for keeping God’s word. The same can be said of the heart being a secure place for storing God’s law: as indicated in Psalm 51:7: *nye maŋbii ni mimla lɛ yɔɔ*

⁴⁸ Afreh, “The Metonymic and Metaphoric Conceptualisations,” 50.

⁴⁹ Afreh, “The Metonymic and Metaphoric Conceptualisations,” 50.

nyetsuiian ('You people who have my law in your hearts'). In the same sense, the Gã people have the understanding that *sane* (word, message) is kept in the heart: *eke sane le eto etui mli* ('he has hidden the matter in his heart'). As indicated in example 56, in Gã, the heart is conceptualized as a container in which a message or information can be stored, a sort of storage device in which sensitive matters can be hidden. Hence, the metaphor the heart is a container. It is a place where feelings can be harboured. That the Gã conceive the heart as a place where one can keep matters dear to him, and even the word and laws of God, suggests the metaphor, the heart is a storehouse or the heart is a 'safe'.

In 57, we gather that in Gã, the heart is also a locus for the processes of thinking and decision-making, hence the common Gã question, *Mini osusuo ye otsui mli?* ("What are you thinking in your heart?"). The heart is conceived of as having the capacity to think. This implies that *tsui* is the locus for the processes of thinking, and a locus for decision-making. The common question, *mini yoo otsui mli?* ("What is in your heart?") demands answers regarding what one is thinking. Thus, as expressed in the Gã Bible and ordinary day conversation among the Gã people, the Gã language conceptualizes the heart as a *topos* where persons (human and spirit), virtues, vices words and thoughts are contained.

This idea is expressed in 58 where the heart is conceptualized as a container of thought and intentions, thereby instantiating the metaphor that the heart is a container of thoughts.

Discussions

The data reveals the negative and positive domains of *tsui* 'heart' expressions. In terms of semantics and pragmatic uses of the heart, we will notice that some of the *tsui* expressions are positive and others negative. However they are some that could either be positive or negative, depending on the context in which they are used.

Gã language contains many related metonymy and metaphors that refer to emotions or feelings, thoughts, morality and so on. From the study of the *tsui* expressions, we can extract five typologies as explained below.

The first typology is seeing the heart as a locus of emotions. The underlying conceptual frame is ‘the heart as an entity.’

When the heart as an entity flies in indicates fear, when it moves in, it indicates anger and away, when it is hot it means anger. Apart from these negative connotations, the positive aspect involves the settling and the coolness of the heart, both indicating calmness. As a delicate object, the heart can also be broken, plucked, worn off or destroyed. All these indicate distress and worry and desperation. As a living organism, the heart can gasp for breath, die, wake up, desire, be sick, throw up, speak, sing, cry and grieve. The heart is also conceptualised in Gã as a container of emotions with its contents including such negative emotions being anger, fear, anxiety, and grief and positive emotions including joy and satisfaction. Of all the *tsui* expressions of emotions, anger-related expressions dominate. The Gã’s view of emotion, specifically, joy, worry, grief, anger, and fear, coded in the language, is primarily cardio-centric. This is what makes the heart the fundamental metaphoric vehicle for emotion concepts.

In a second typology, *tsui* is conceived as the locus of love and affection. The heart, representing the whole person, can be given out as a gift of love (21) and one can find rent on a loved one’s heart (40) and one’s heart can long for a dear one.

The third typology is where *tsui* expression is used as a locus of courage. The adjectives used in describing the heart in this sense are “mature”, as expressed in example (16). The fourth typology is the locus of morality. The heart as an entity can be hard representing stubbornness or soft representing a yielding personality (15, 17 and 19). The heart is also a container of vices including evil (51) and grudges (52). It can even accommodate the devil himself (50) and hold offenders in detention (53). The nature of the interior of the heart as a container can be used to express the virtues of an individual. A good person has a well-lit (54) and clean (56) heart. This container is also for the storage of God’s word (56).

The fifth typology is the locus of intellect. In example (57), we encounter the heart as a living organism that can think and example (58) suggests that the heart is a container in which thoughts can be stored. Thus, the Gã language conceives as the seat of intellectual faculties

which could be understood in terms of the intellect, understanding, mind and memory.

Conclusion

In this paper, we discussed the four conceptual patterns in Gã relating to *tsui* ‘heart: the heart as a person, the heart as a living organism, the heart as an object of value, and the heart as a container.’⁵⁰ Furthermore, we examined the conceptual metaphoric and metonymic patterns of *tsui* expressions. This paper has unveiled how the functional use of *tsui* and related expressions in the Gã Bible reveal cultural constructs of communication style through the analysis of the underlying conceptual metaphors. Thus, this adds to the existing body of research work on cognitive linguistics, communication studies and Bible translation.

There are various *tsui*-related metaphors based on the image schema. The experience of the heart coming or appearing in example 4 illustrates a path schema; the heart is perceived as a moving entity which starts moving from somewhere that can be understood as the departure point of the path and then appears. The ‘arrival of the heart’ indicates that a person is upset or angry. Concerning the image schema for the emotion of a person, anger is up and patience is down; fear is up and absence of fear is down. This implies that negative emotion is up and positive emotion is down. In Gã thought, the heart has a bounding surface and an in-out orientation. Examples of the *tsui* expressions that reflect the container schema are 54 and 55 where the inside of the heart, as a container, is lit and clean respectively. The part for the whole metonymy functions actively in Gã culture. This is reflected in the *tsui* expressions in examples 21 and 22.

The data also reveals that in Gã anthropology *tsui* is at the centre of emotions, thought and volition. We have noted that these expressions shape the Gã understanding of human relations, morality, emotions, and rationalities in their modes of thinking.

This study has demonstrated that there is a general tendency to adopt vocabulary from the more accessible physical world (in this case the

⁵⁰ Niemeier, “Straight from the Heart,” 195, 199-209.

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heart) to refer to the less accessible world of emotion, intellect and reasoning.

In this era of globalization, the need to enhance cultural awareness has become inevitable to guarantee more effective and smoother cultural communication.

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