



**TITLE: METAPHOR AND BILINGUAL COGNITION: THE CASE
OF AKAN AND ENGLISH IN GHANA**

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DECLARATION

I hereby do declare that apart from references to works which have been duly cited, this work is the outcome of an original research I conducted, and that it has not been presented, in part or whole, for another degree elsewhere.

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ABSTRACT

This study employs a cognitive linguistics approach, conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) to investigate bilingual conceptual representation. The study analyses the metaphorical and metonymic expressions commonly used among Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana to talk about different aspects of two basic emotion concepts (ANGER and FEAR) when they speak English. On the one hand, findings from psycholinguistic research on the nature of the bilingual mental lexicon appear somehow inconclusive. On the other hand, cognitive linguistics research on human mental representation tends to focus on evidence from native/monolingual populations. Consequently, this study combines methods from the two related fields of research to explore the nature of the bilingual conceptual representation. In other words, the study analyses bilingual figurative language in order to test two psycholinguistics claims about bilingual conceptual representation. In order to do this, the study includes a cross-linguistic/cross-cultural analysis of the conceptualisation of ANGER and FEAR in Akan and English. A combined method of elicitation and native speaker's intuition was used to collect conventional metaphorical expressions of ANGER and FEAR (in English) among Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana. Conceptual metaphors that are believed to underlie these metaphorical expressions were then inferred for analysis. The bilingual metaphors (both linguistic and conceptual) were analysed in the light of conventional metaphors (linguistic and conceptual) of the two concepts among native/monolingual speakers of each of the bilinguals' two languages, Akan and English. Findings from this study show further support for the shared storage hypothesis. The findings also confirm the assertion that the bilingual's conceptual structure is not a simple addition of the cognitive processes associated with each of his/her languages (Kroll and De Groot 1997) but rather a product of a complex

interaction between the two or more languages of the bilingual in intricate ways - what Pavlenko (2009) has called “a conceptual restructuring”.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my family - my two young sons, Kojo and Kobby, who were deprived of a mother's full attention for most part of the period of writing this thesis, and to my Kwaku for being such a devoted and supportive husband throughout. I also dedicate it to my parents and siblings, including Sarah, for their tremendous support throughout the period of this programme.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

COMPL.	Completive Aspect
Compl.	Complementizer
COND.	Condition marker
CONJ.	Conjunction
Det.	Determiner
Disc. Mark	Discourse marker
INDEF.	Indefinite article
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
Nom.	Nominal Marker/Morpheme
Neg.	Negative Marker/Morpheme
NP	Noun phrase
Prog.	Progressive Marker
Plu.	Plural marker
Rel.	Relative Marker
Redup.	Reduplicated form/reduplication

1SG	First person singular pronoun
2SG	Second person singular pronoun
3SG	Third person singular pronoun
1PL	First person plural pronoun
2PL	Second person plural pronoun
3PL	Third person plural pronoun

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CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This study explores the potential advantages of using a cognitive semantic approach to figurative language analysis and human mental representation - conceptual metaphor theory (CMT), to investigate bilingual conceptual representation. The main aim of this study is to use linguistic data as evidence in order to contribute to the on-going debate about whether bilingual mental representations of two languages are stored in separate storage systems or a shared/common storage system. In other words, the study explores whether inferring conceptual representations from linguistic evidence may shed any new light on the nature and organisation of the bilingual conceptual system, an aspect of the bilingual mental lexicon.

The study, therefore, examines metaphorical and metonymic expressions about two conceptual domains (ANGER and FEAR) to infer how the two emotion concepts are conceptually represented among Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana when they speak only one of their languages, English. However, in order to achieve this, the conceptual representations of ANGER and FEAR in native/monolingual Akan and English are also examined. The bilingual representations are compared with the conventional conceptual representations of ANGER and FEAR in native/monolingual Akan and English which are believed to be accessible to fluent Akan-English bilinguals. This is to allow for comparison between the native/monolingual representations and the bilingual ones in order to determine whether the bilingual representations conform to or are different from any or both of the native/monolingual representations.

The study is conducted under the broad cognitive tradition – combining methods from psycholinguistics and cognitive linguistics. Using elicited data to corroborate

intuitively generated data (in the case of the native/monolingual data), three sets of linguistic data were prepared for analysis. The first set of data consists of conventional metaphorical expressions of ANGER and FEAR in native/monolingual¹ British/American English. Conventional metaphorical expressions in native English were collated from previous studies of conventional conceptual metaphors in English that were based on native speakers' intuition, (e.g. Lakoff 1987, Kövecses 1990, 2000, 2002) and from the British national corpus, BNC (e.g. Sirvydé 2006). In addition, 15 native British English speakers in north-west England who were aged 18 years and above participated in focus group discussions and also completed written questionnaires to generate metaphorical expressions about the two concepts.

The second set of data consists of conventional metaphorical expressions of ANGER and FEAR in native/monolingual Akan in Ghana. Approximately 280 native/monolingual speakers of Akan in rural and semi-rural ethnic Akan towns in Ghana also aged 18 years and above participated in focus group discussions to generate conventional metaphorical expressions about ANGER and FEAR in native/monolingual Akan. Due to possible high levels of illiteracy among native/monolingual participants, there were no written questionnaires. Instead, the questionnaire tasks were orally incorporated into the focus group discussions. The final set of data consists of commonly used (conventionalised) metaphorical expressions of ANGER and FEAR in English among fluent Akan-English bilinguals in urban Ghana, who are native speakers

¹ I use the terms interchangeably in this study to refer to the varieties of British/American English and Akan which are available to both monolingual and non-monolingual native speaker populations of the respective languages (Cf.1.2)

of Akan and second language speakers of English. Approximately 120 participants² aged between 18 and 41 resident in urban Ghana participated in focus group discussions to generate metaphorical expressions about ANGER and FEAR.

A short film was used as a stimulus for the elicitation (to create a quasi naturalistic context for the elicitation, and to possibly evoke the two emotions among participants). A more detailed description of the data, their elicitation and analysis are outlined in chapter four. The next section provides operational definitions for key terms and concepts in this study.

1.2 Key terms

This section provides operational definitions for some key terms that occur frequently in this study. The term ‘native/monolingual’ (Akan/English) refers to any of the native varieties of Akan and British/American English. While I do not wish to claim that all speakers of these native varieties are monolingual, on the basis of the status of Akan and the language distribution in general in Ghana (see chapter 3), it would not be too ambitious to speculate that the average native Akan speaker who lives in a native Akan community is very likely to be monolingual. Considering the current position of English as the world’s lingua franca, it may not be surprising that many native English speakers who live in native English communities are monolingual as well. Secondly, granted that there are a few non-monolingual Akan/English speakers in such

² The nature/ style adopted for the focus group discussions does not allow for an exact quantification of participants (see sections 4.6.2 and 4.6.3 for detail).

communities, I wish to assume that conventional linguistic forms of the varieties of Akan/English spoken in such communities are accessible to both pure monolingual native speakers and bilingual/multilingual native speakers of such varieties. Finally, ‘Akan-English bilinguals’ shall refer to native speakers of any of the varieties of Akan in Ghana who speak English as a second language (see chapter 3).

In addition, I shall use the term *linguistic metaphors/metonymies* to refer to the metaphorical and metonymic expressions that are used to talk about the two conceptual domains in the two languages. However, I shall use the term *conceptual metaphors/metonymies* to refer to the conceptual representation (the way in which human experience is represented or construed in the mind) that arguably underlie and give rise to the linguistic representations or metaphorical expressions. Consequently, I use the term *bilingual linguistic metaphors* to refer to the ordinary, everyday metaphorical expressions or ways in which Akan-English bilinguals talk about ANGER and FEAR in English. I shall also use the term *bilingual conceptual metaphors* to refer to the conceptual representations that are believed to underlie the bilingual metaphorical expressions. Finally, I shall use the term *conceptual structure/organisation*’ to refer to the underlying knowledge system that is stored in long term memory.

1.3 The problem

Over the past century, research on bilingual cognition has moved from investigating the relationship between bilingualism and intelligence (Saer 1923) through investigating the relationship between bilingualism and divergent thinking styles (Lambert and Peal 1962) to the nature of the bilingual’s mental representation of his or

her languages, often discussed in terms of memory storage and the representations that result from such storage (Kroll and De Groot 1997, Paradis 1997). Currently, there are several cognitive psycholinguistic models of the bilingual mental representation all of which are based on one of two competing cognitive psycholinguistic hypotheses about bilingual mental representation. The two main hypotheses are the separate storage hypothesis and the shared/common storage hypothesis (Kollers 1963). The two hypotheses are represented in figures 1.1 and 1.2 below.

The Bilingual Mind

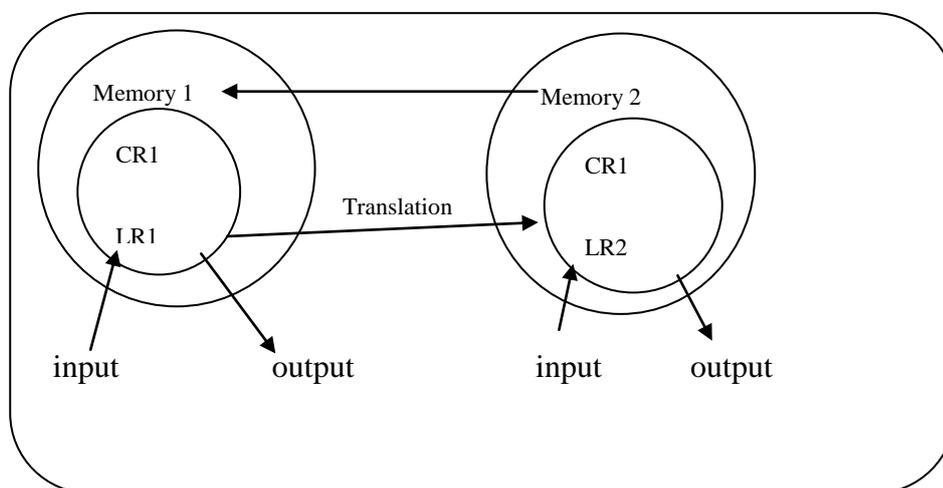


Fig.1.1: My interpretation of the separate storage hypothesis.

In fig. 1.1, the conceptual representations of the bilingual's respective languages (CR1 and CR2) are stored in separate memory stores together with the linguistic representations (LR 1 and LR 2) in the bilingual's mind. According to this hypothesis, the only connection between the two memory stores (M1 and M2) is a translation process. Consequently, bilingual linguistic expressions in each language are believed to emanate from language-specific memory stores.

Even though there is research evidence to support this hypothesis (Rose and Carroll 1974, Scarborough, Gerard and Cartese 1984), Baker (2006) refers to this hypothesis as

the ‘naive view’ of bilingual mental representation in view of recent research (Kroll and De Groot 1997, Paradis 1997, Bialystok 2001) which suggests that the bilingual’s languages seem to interact beyond mere translation, corroborating the shared/common storage hypothesis (see fig.1.2 below).

The Bilingual Mind

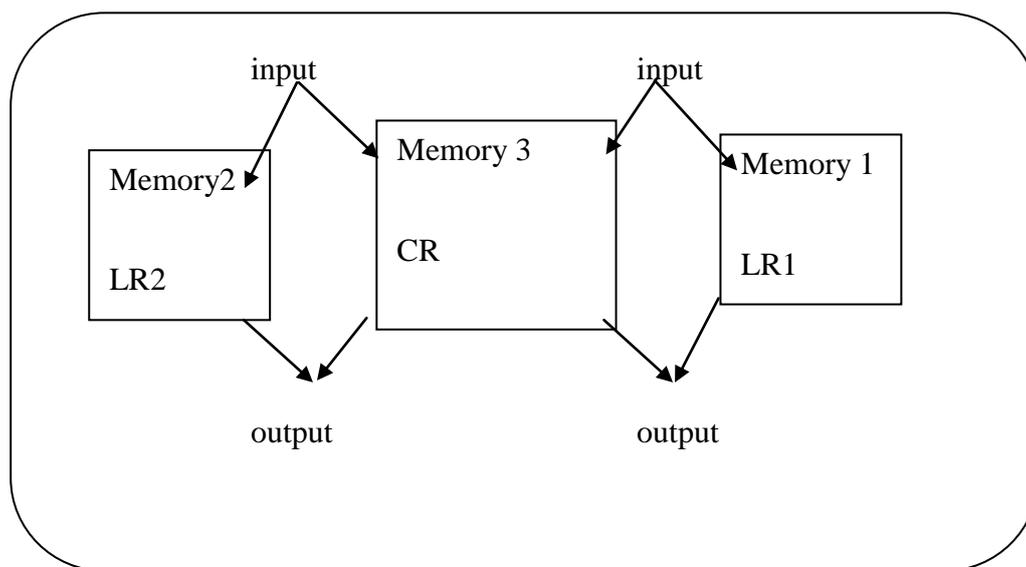


Fig.1.2: My interpretation of the shared storage hypothesis.

In fig.1.2, even though the bilingual stores linguistic information of his/her two languages in two separate memory systems, non-linguistic information about concepts from the bilingual’s two languages are stored in a common conceptual system in the bilingual’s mind. Consequently, the linguistic representations (LR) of concepts in the bilingual’s two languages both feed and emanate from this unified system of conceptual representation (indicated by output and input arrows respectively). Indeed, there is a lot of research evidence (e.g.Chen and Ng 1989, Paradis 1997) in support of the shared storage hypothesis.

The evidence notwithstanding, bilingual researchers who subscribe to linguistic relativity, i.e. the belief that different languages influence the content and processes of

thought differently, (e.g. Pavlenko 2005), challenge the idea that bilinguals have one integrated source of thought. They argue that if indeed languages, through their structure, and particularly customary discourse, influence the content and processes of thought then different languages will influence thought differently. Thus, the question of whether access to multiple linguistic representations necessarily result in creating different or separate conceptual systems in the bilingual mind or not remains unanswered in psycholinguistic research. Indeed, several studies from psycholinguistic research have shown conflicting reports.

On the one hand, even though linguistic data are used as stimuli in these studies, in most cases the conclusions are based on non-linguistic evidence such as reaction time and eye movement. In addition, many of such studies tend to employ quantitative analytical frames exclusively for analysis, missing out on any additional evidence qualitative analysis might produce. On the other hand, cognitive linguistic approaches to studying human mental representation, e.g. conceptual metaphor theory (CMT), use linguistic evidence as the basis to make psychological inferences. However, much of the data used as evidence have come from native/monolingual populations.

Therefore, this study proposes a predominantly qualitative approach, based on CMT, in studying the bilingual mental lexicon - using linguistic evidence to make inferences about the bilingual mental representation. The objective is to see whether a qualitative study of bilingual linguistic data will bring a fresh insight in the research on the bilingual mental lexicon.

1.3.1 Rationale

While several laboratory-based and task-based experiments have been used in a number of psycholinguistic studies (e.g. Kolers 1963, Rose and Carroll 1974, Cummins 1980, 1981, Kroll and De Groot 1997) to investigate bilingual mental representation, to the best of my knowledge, there is no study on bilingual mental representation that has applied the conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) approach to investigating bilingual mental representation. The rationale for this study is two-fold. On the one hand, laboratory-based and task-based experiments that are typically analysed in quantitative frames have shown conflicting evidence regarding the nature of the bilingual mental representation. For instance, Pavlenko (2009) outlines methodological weaknesses that are inherent in such studies. Consequently, I wish to suggest that a change in methodology might show fresh insights in research in this area.

On the other hand, cognitive linguistic research, while primarily drawing conclusions about human cognition by qualitatively drawing inferences from linguistic evidence, appears to rely on native/monolingual language users to draw conclusions about human cognition. However, as De Groot and Kroll (1997:2) have rightly observed, bilingualism is a common human condition, and to be able to ‘gain a genuinely universal account of human cognition will require a detailed understanding of how both monolinguals and bilinguals use language as well as the representations and processes involved’. In other words, while figurative language has been used to investigate the nature of monolingual conceptual representation in cognitive linguistics, using figurative language to investigate bilingual conceptual representation is a relatively unexplored area.

Although there have been some cross-linguistic research on the universality or cultural specificity of conceptual metaphors, (e.g. Kovecses (2002)), such studies have

used and compared data from monolingual speakers of different languages. In recent times however, there is an increasing awareness that using bilingualism as a special lens on research may yield fresh insights (Pavlenko 2006). For instance, De Groot and Kroll (1997) wonder if the kind of insight cross-linguistic studies provide, namely that different languages affect thought processes differently are applicable to the bilingual individual. Thus, although both traditional psycholinguistic approaches and traditional cognitive linguistic approaches may have several methodological weaknesses (see 4.4 below for detail), combining the strengths of these two related traditions may yield fresh insights in research. This study, therefore, aims to bridge a gap between these two sub-fields in cognitive science research.

1.4 Aims/Objectives

The overarching goal of this study is to contribute to the on-going debate about whether the two different conceptual representations bilinguals have access to through their two languages are stored separately in their minds or stored together in a shared (common) storage system. My specific objectives are: (1) to explore how the gap between psycholinguistic and cognitive linguistic research on human mental representation may be bridged by using linguistic evidence to infer how two domains of experience, ANGER and FEAR, are conceptually represented among Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana when they speak only one of their languages, English;

(2) to explore what new light the inferred conceptual representations may shed on the nature and organisation of the bilingual conceptual system.

In line with these aims and objectives, the study seeks to address the following research questions.

1.5 Research questions

The current study aims to answer two main questions, the first subsumes several sub-questions.

1. What do conceptual metaphors of ANGER and FEAR among fluent Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana reveal about how (the emotion) concepts which exist in their two languages are represented in their conceptual system?

However, in order to answer question 1, the following sub-questions need to be answered first:

1a. What linguistic metaphors do native/monolingual British/American English speakers use to describe ANGER and FEAR, and what conceptual metaphors may underlie such linguistic metaphors?

1b. What linguistic metaphors do native/monolingual Akan speakers in Ghana use to describe ANGER and FEAR, and what conceptual metaphors may underlie such linguistic metaphors?

1c. How are the conceptual representations in the two native/monolingual languages similar or different?

1d. What linguistic metaphors do fluent Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana use to describe ANGER and FEAR, and what conceptual metaphors may underlie such linguistic metaphors?

1e. How are the Akan-English bilingual metaphorical conceptualisations of ANGER and FEAR different from or similar to each or both of the native/monolingual conceptualisations?

2. How may the conceptual metaphors of fluent Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana be interpreted in terms of the two main psycholinguistic hypotheses about bilingual conceptual representation and organization?

It is important to note that many metaphors for emotions have a metonymic basis. Subsequently, I will consider metonymy as well in order to answer these research questions.

1.6 The choice of conceptual metaphors

This section attempts to justify the use of conceptual metaphors in this study. Although not focussing on bilingual mental representation in particular, conceptual metaphor theorists investigate human mental representation through the study of metaphorical language. They work under the assumption that language may be a window onto human cognition and that linguistic expressions in part reflect cognitive processes. For example, Lakoff and Johnson (1980:3) submit that metaphor is pervasive in ordinary, everyday life, not just in language but also in thought and action and that our concepts structure how we perceive the world. However, since we are normally not aware of our conceptual system, they propose that linguistic structure may be a good evidence of what our conceptual system looks like.

This, they argue, is because language or communication is based on the same conceptual system we employ in thinking as well as other non-verbal behaviour. Consequently, conceptual metaphor theorists propose that metaphorical language is a manifestation of metaphorical thought. For this reason, conceptual metaphor theorists systematically analyse the ordinary conventional ways in which language users express

one conceptual domain in terms of another to point linguistic patterns to underlying conceptual structure and organisation. Findings from such studies have suggested a strong relationship between linguistic organisation/structure and conceptual organisation/structure.

My primary motivation for investigating bilingual conceptual representation through conceptual metaphors stems from this cognitive linguistic claim about the relationship between language and conceptual representation. My main thesis in this study is that if the study of conventional conceptual metaphors allows access to the conceptual structure and organization among monolinguals/native speakers (as has been shown in the cognitive linguistic literature), then the study of bilingual conceptual metaphors may allow an equal or similar access to bilingual conceptual structure and organisation. In other words, since the study of metaphor reveals cognition in general (Sirvydé 2006), the study of bilingual metaphors may reveal bilingual cognition as well.

1.7 The choice of anger and fear

The choice of ANGER and FEAR was motivated by three factors. In the first place, ANGER and FEAR are typical abstract and subjective conceptual domains that are often understood via cross-domain mappings (cf. 2.5.1). Secondly, both are emotion concepts in the sense that they both denote and trigger emotions. According to Lakoff (1987:380), such concepts tend to have ‘an extremely complex conceptual structure which gives rise to a wide variety of nontrivial inferences’. Finally, the concepts are basic emotion concepts - fundamental to both Akan and English cultures. At least, words that refer to these concepts exist in the two languages, e.g. *abufuw* ‘anger’ in Akan, making comparison between the two languages appropriate.

The pilot to this study focused on the conceptual metaphors of LOVE and ANGER. LOVE was dropped from the current study because results from the pilot study revealed that some metaphors of LOVE in English, as they have been discussed in Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Kövecses (2002) are not based on LOVE as an emotion but rather on LOVE RELATIONSHIPS. For instance, during the data collection stage of that study, I realised that in the case of LOVE, questions that would elicit linguistic responses similar to what Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Kövecses 2002 used as instantiations of conceptual metaphors of LOVE in native/monolingual English concerned love relationship rather than love as an emotion (see LOVE IS A JOURNEY in Lakoff and Johnson 1980:44-5).

The second reason for dropping LOVE from the current study is that the elicitation of metaphors of LOVE among Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana produced very little data. This may be attributable to the fact that in Akan culture sexual relationships tend to be taboo topics. Since love as an emotion and love relationships often overlap with sexual feelings and sexual relationships, the participants might have found an open discussion of LOVE face-threatening, hence the scanty data. If that was true for the Akan-English bilinguals, then eliciting data through focus group discussions on the topic of love would be extremely face-threatening to native/monolingual Akan participants.

1.8 Evidence

This section suggests what might count as evidence in making psychological inferences from linguistic data outside a laboratory. CMT proposes that conceptual mappings are stored in (and retrieved from) long-term memory. This claim allows us to test the two psycholinguistic hypotheses about bilingual memory storage outside the laboratory. On the one hand, we may reinterpret the separate storage hypothesis to

predict that Akan-English bilinguals will store both linguistic and conceptual representations about ANGER and FEAR in two separate, language-specific memory systems. Consequently, their lexical representations (metaphorical expressions) about the two concepts when they speak English will be retrieved from the English store only. If this hypothesis is true, then we would expect Akan-English bilingual metaphors (both metaphorical and conceptual) in English to reflect same or similar representations to those in native/monolingual English.

On the other hand, the shared/common storage hypothesis may be interpreted to predict that while Akan-English bilinguals will store lexical representations about ANGER and FEAR in two different language-specific systems, they will store conceptual representations from the two languages in a shared/common system. If this is true, then we would expect Akan-English bilingual metaphors in English to reflect a mixture of conceptual representations from both native/monolingual English and native/monolingual Akan representations. That is not to say that we would expect the bilinguals to use Akan words when they speak English. Instead, we would expect the bilingual linguistic metaphors to point to underlying conceptual metaphors that are similar to the ones found in both of their languages.

Assuming that Akan-English bilinguals have access to the linguistic representations (and therefore the conceptual representations) of the selected domains in both languages³, the use of native Akan and English data is to enable us to determine (by

³ I do not wish to claim that Akan-English bilinguals have access to real native/monolingual British/American English contexts in Ghana. However, I wish to argue that through modern technology (e.g. movies, popular music, TV, Internet) Akan-English bilinguals are likely to be familiar with many of the conventional metaphorical expressions used to talk about anger and fear in English. In addition, (Lakoff 1987:380) submits that many of the conventional metaphorical expressions that are used to talk

comparison) whether fluent Akan-English bilinguals retrieve conceptual representations from one only or both of their languages when they speak only one of their languages. This is why the study used only one set of bilingual linguistic data. In other words, the idea is that representations from only one of the languages are adequate to test the two hypotheses.

1.9 Overview of Study

Akan speakers in Ghana have very little socio-cultural motivation to be bilingual in other Ghanaian languages. However, there are huge socio-economic advantages of being bilingual in Akan and English in Ghana. The ethno-linguistically complex nature of urban populations in Ghana often demands (fluent) Akan-English bilinguals, like any other group of bilinguals in urban Ghana, to use their two languages on a regular basis. Many Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana learned to speak English (as a second language) from the classroom. However, in more recent times, globalisation through mass media (e.g. TV, radio, popular music, movies and the Internet) provides exposure to native contexts of English use among such bilinguals today. Thus, it may be hypothesised that fluent Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana are likely to be familiar with conventionalised linguistic expressions of the two selected basic emotion concepts in both Akan and English. Are the concepts the linguistic expressions instantiate stored in

about anger and fear in English are idioms. Since the mastering of idiomatic expressions is fairly emphasised in second language teaching and learning contexts, fluent Akan-English bilinguals are likely to be familiar with these idiom-based conventional expressions of anger.

a single system or two separate systems? The findings of the study suggest a common storage of the concepts.

1.9.1 Organisation of Study

The rest of the thesis is organised as follows. Chapter two reviews the literature on bilingualism as well as the relationship between language and cognition, especially regarding the conceptual representation of language in cognitive semantics and psycholinguistic research. Chapter three presents the sociolinguistic profile of Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana. The chapter begins with a brief description of the sociolinguistic contexts in which English is learned in Ghana. It provides a brief overview of the current linguistic situation in Ghana, i.e. language distribution in Ghana and the place of English in it. It also presents a brief sociolinguistic survey of Akan, as well as linguistic practices among bilinguals in Ghana. Chapter four describes and presents the rationale for the methodology adopted in this study. It describes the kinds of data and sources of data, the data collection methods as well as the theoretical framework for analysis.

Chapters five and six analyse the data and present the findings of this research which show support for the basic assumption of the common storage hypothesis and all the models that have emanated from it. The linguistic evidence suggests that the bilinguals may have extracted conceptual representations that underlie the conventional metaphorical expressions about anger and fear from the two languages and that this repository of conceptual information about the two concepts extracted from the linguistic representations (conventional metaphorical expressions) in the two languages are accessible to them irrespective of which of their two languages they speak. Chapter

seven summarises the findings of the study and draws conclusions based on the findings. Finally, the chapter discusses the implications of the study, reflects on challenges and makes recommendations for future studies.

CHAPTER TWO: BILINGUALISM, COGNITION AND CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews some key literature on bilingualism and aspects of (bilingual) cognition. The first part of the chapter discusses issues and problems relating to definitions and terminologies in the study of bilingualism and suggests that the traditional approaches to defining bilingualism need revisiting. The second part focuses on aspects of cognition, particularly psycholinguistic studies of bilingual cognition including different hypotheses and models of the bilingual mental representation pointing out some inconsistencies and inadequacies of these models. The final part is a brief overview of the cognitive linguistic literature on human mental representation, focusing on CMT, a cognitive linguistic approach to investigating conceptual representation, and how it may be an alternative or complementary approach to psycholinguistic approaches to studying the bilingual mental lexicon.

2.2 Issues in defining bilingualism

Bilingualism may be roughly defined as the ability to use more than one language. However, Li Wei (2000) points out that defining bilingualism is a rather difficult thing to do because bilingualism is a complex phenomenon with many different dimensions. Consequently, there does not seem to be any adequate definition for it resulting in the proliferation of definitions in the field of bilingualism (Mackey 1970:583). Indeed, Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) attributes the lack of a homogeneous definition, which she claims has contributed to a conceptual confusion in the field, to the fact that the many

dimensions of bilingualism attract researchers from different disciplines into the field, and that these researchers base their definitions on particular dimensions of bilingualism specific to their areas of interest or discipline.

For instance, while sociologists or sociolinguists base their definitions of bilingualism on the functions of the two languages - what they are or may be used for in the speech community (Weinreich 1968, Mackey 1970), theoretical linguists base their definitions on the linguistic competence of the bilingual, i.e., how an individual masters two languages. To this end, Bloomfield (1933) defined bilingualism as ‘the native-like control of two or more languages’. Such competence-based definitions of bilingualism have received several criticisms, principal among which are: (1) that they do not adequately discriminate between language knowledge and language use; (2) that they do not clearly explain the basis for comparison, i.e. who constitutes the normative (native) group; and (3) that they do not specify the required level of competence (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981). Baker (1993) has also described Bloomfield’s definition above (and therefore competence-based definitions) as extreme and maximalist as well as ambiguous, arguing that it is not clear what ‘control’ means, nor is it clear who constitutes the native reference group.

Baker (1993) acknowledges the need to distinguish between language ability (degree) and use (function) in defining bilingualism. He argues that the four language skills typically used as indices of a person’s linguistic competence (listening, speaking, reading and writing) all emphasise language ability but not function. Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) proposes a fifth language ability, thinking, which Cummins (1984) refers to as ‘cognitive competence in language’ and defines as the ability to use one or more languages as an instrument of thought or for reasoning and deliberation. Baker (1993) advocates that the fifth language ability, cognitive ability in language, should be

considered as an aspect of speaking ability, a position which appears to lean towards the argument that speech is conceptually necessary for thought (cf.2.3.1). However, while this has been a popular tenet in both philosophy and linguistics in the past (Wittgenstein 1953), evidence from recent research seems to suggest that cognitive competence in language is not necessarily dependent on speaking ability. For instance, it has been argued that in the process of child language acquisition children show signs of cognitive competence in language well before they are able to speak (Steinberg and Sciarini 2006).

Another major criticism of the competence-based definitions of bilingualism concerns the criteria for the selection of particular language ability as the basis for establishing bilingualism. For example, whereas some people have a speaking ability only in a second language, others have reading/writing ability only and cannot engage in any natural context-based spoken discourse in a second language. Are any of these groups of people more or less bilingual than the others? In other words, which of the five language abilities must one have in a second language to be classified as bilingual, and what is the criterion for selecting particular language ability over the others as the factors that determine bilingual ability.

Again, how should the level of language ability or competence necessary to establish bilingualism be measured? For instance, are passive/ receptive bilinguals who can only, but fully, understand a second language without speaking, reading or writing it, more or less bilingual than people who have less highly developed levels of more than one of the language ability in a second language but who are nonetheless very functional in terms of actual natural language use? Against this backdrop, the maximalist definitions of bilingualism indeed appear vague.

In his concept of ‘incipient bilingualism’, however, Diebold (1964) proposed the

minimalist approach to defining bilingualism, which allows people with minimum knowledge in a second language to be classified as bilinguals. Based on Diebold's concept, Kroll and De Groot (1997:170) define bilingualism to include 'all individuals who actively use, or attempt to use, more than one language (even if they have not achieved fluency in the second language)'. This approach allows people who know nothing beyond forms of greeting and response in a second language to be categorised as bilinguals. Thus, however one looks at it, competence-based definitions of bilingualism, whether minimalist or maximalist, can be problematic in the sense that they can either include everyone or no one as bilingual.

By contrast, function-based definitions of bilingualism focus on what languages are used for or may be used for in society. While Weinreich (1968) defined bilingualism as the practice of alternately using two languages, Mackey (1970:554) asserts that 'bilingualism is not a phenomenon of language; it is a characteristic of its use. It is not a feature of the code but of the message. It does not belong to the domain of *langue* but *parole*'. Mackey further suggests that the definition of bilingualism should be based on interconnections among the various language abilities where each language ability can be seen as a continuum in which speakers may have different competences for the respective languages at different levels and in different contexts.

Such function-based definitions have become the basis for defining bilingualism among more recent researchers in the field (Dako 2001, Guerini 2006), who view bilingualism as a 'spectrum or continuum' which runs from relatively monolingual second language learners to highly proficient (near native) second language speakers or users. This approach to defining bilingualism provides a better framework for dealing with the complexities inherent in bilingualism as a phenomenon as it enables researchers to focus on a particular point within the continuum and to draw conclusions

that are not over-generalised or oversimplified. I shall return to defining bilingualism on a cline in section 2.2.1 and chapter three where I discuss problems with terminology and bilingualism in Ghana respectively.

2.2.1 Issues of terminology

In the same way as definitions of bilingualism are not homogenous, terms that are used to label different types of bilinguals and levels of bilingual abilities are not homogeneous either. In the first instance, while several researchers (e.g. Hoffmann 1991, Li Wei 2000, Romaine 1995, Skutnab-Kangas 1981) use the term *bilingualism* to mean the knowledge and use of two or more languages by an individual or a community, it is not always clear whether the term should be used to label individuals or communities that know and use exactly two languages only or whether it should include those who know and use multiple languages. In other words, it is not always clear in the literature whether the terms *bilingual/bilingualism* and *multilingual/multilingualism* are interchangeable.

Secondly, there does not seem to be any consensus on whether the individual or their community should be the focus of bilingualism studies. In this regard, Mackey (1970) puts the bilingual individual at the centre of the phenomenon, arguing that even though language is the property of a community, bilingualism is the property of the individual. In his view, bilingualism supposes the existence of two languages, but it does not suppose the existence of a bilingual community. However, Romaine (1995:8) points out that ‘bilingualism exists in the cognitive systems of individuals as well as in families and communities’.

In this study, I shall use the term bilingualism in the general sense in which Li Wei

(2000) and others have used it, i.e. the use of more than one language by an individual or a community. This is because there is a close relationship between individual bilingualism and group bilingualism, namely, while individual bilingualism may affect group bilingualism, group bilingualism may also affect individual bilingualism. For example, whereas the level of bilingual ability of each bilingual individual in a language community may impact the eventual choice and use of language in that community, language distribution and use in a particular language community may also affect the final bilingual abilities the bilingual individual achieves.

Another major issue with terminology in the study of bilingualism is that some of the many different terminologies that exist to describe different kinds of bilinguals (see Li Wei 2000) are either vague or overlapping. For instance, Weinreich (1968) identifies two groups of bilinguals: compound bilinguals and coordinate bilinguals. On the one hand, the term *compound bilingual*, which refers to bilinguals whose two languages were learned at the same time and usually in the same context, is often interchangeable with the terms *ambilingual*, *equilingual* and *balanced bilingual*, i.e. a bilingual whose mastery of their two languages is roughly equivalent (Li Wei 2000:7). These are rather vague terms in the sense that they potentially include people who have the same levels of less developed language competencies in their two or more languages. However, such bilinguals are referred to *semilinguals* in the literature - a term which Skutnabb-Kangas (1981:249) describes as a political rather linguistic or scientific concept that forms part of an argument about power and oppression.

On the other hand, the term *coordinate bilingual* refers to a bilingual whose two languages were learned in separate contexts and who is fluent in both languages but with more dominance in one language. The term subsumes another term, *subordinate bilingual*, which refers to a bilingual who exhibits interference in their language use by

reducing patterns of their L2 to those of their L1. This way of categorising bilinguals is potentially problematic particularly in highly multilingual communities where patterns of second language acquisition do not fall neatly into Weinreich's categories and where language dominance may depend on the domain of language use. For example, certain bilinguals have more dominance in one language ability, e.g. speaking, in one language but more dominance in another ability, e.g. writing, in another language without significant interference (as occurs among some Akan-English bilinguals (cf. Chapter 3). Are such bilinguals coordinate or subordinate bilinguals?

In addition, what kind of bilinguals are people who show dominance in different languages depending on the communicative domain, for instance, an Akan-English bilingual lawyer who shows English dominance when describing legal procedures but Akan dominance when describing an Akan cultural festival? What should be the basis for categorizing bilinguals with these different shades of bilingual abilities and competences as either coordinate or compound bilinguals? In view of the level of complexity involved in bilingualism as a phenomenon, especially in highly multilingual communities, it is not surprising that the parameters for defining bilingualism has moved from competence-based indices to function based ones.

In more recent years however, there is a further shift to defining bilingualism on a cline or continuum parallel to that found in the studies of pidgins and creoles (Stewart 1965, Bickerton 1975). On this continuum, the standard varieties of the bilinguals' languages are the end points of their bilingualism. The variety closest to the standard variety is called the *acrolect*. The variety farthest away from the standard (at the beginning of the continuum) is called the *basilect* while the variety between the *basilect* and the *acrolect* is called *mesolect* (Bickerton 1975). Such an approach will allow bilingualism researchers to rightly situate a particular bilingual research on a specific

point in the continuum and draw conclusions that are neither over-generalized nor under-specified. This is particularly necessary because not only are there different categories of bilinguals but also different categories of bilinguals have different levels of competence in different language abilities in their languages. In addition, bilinguals tend to need different levels of competence in these language abilities in different contexts of language use. In other words, people who know more than one language have different levels of different language abilities and have different needs or use for the different abilities in different communicative contexts. In this study, therefore, I use the term ‘fluent Akan-English bilinguals’ to refer to Akan-English bilinguals who fall between upper mesolectal and acrolectal levels of the Akan-English bilingual continuum in Ghana. Chapter three provides a more detailed discussion on Ghanaian language-English bilingualism continuum in Ghana. In figure 2.1 below I locate fluent Akan-English bilinguals on the Akan-English bilingual continuum in Ghana (with respect to English proficiency only).

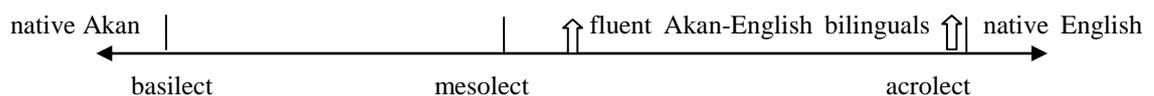


Fig.2.1: The Akan-English bilingual continuum in Ghana.

2.2.2 Approaches to studying bilingualism

Mackay (1970:583) observes that bilingualism is a complex phenomenon that has several dimensions. As a result, the study of bilingualism is interdisciplinary. Even in linguistics, researchers from different sub-fields have studied bilingualism from specific perspectives: theoretical linguistics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, second

language learning etc. However, it is the psycholinguistics sub-field that has devoted most attention to the study of aspects of bilingual cognition. Section 2.4 below, therefore, reviews some of the key literature in psycholinguistic research on bilingual cognition, but first, I provide a brief overview of the debate in the literature about the relationship between different aspects of cognition.

2.3 Cognition

According to Seth (2009), cognition refers to processes such as memory, attention, language, problem solving and planning. However, Evans (2007:17) states that cognition relates to all aspects of conscious and unconscious mental function, in particular the mechanisms and processes as well as the knowledge involved in various tasks, ranging from perception (low-level tasks) to decision making (high-level tasks). Thus, cognition may be said to relate to mental function in general. However, the question of whether or not certain kinds of mental activity are central or peripheral to cognition, and whether or not they are worthy of academic research has been debated for centuries. This section presents a brief overview of the debate on the relationship between language and cognition, emotion and cognition, and language and emotion. Considering the fact that the current study draws conclusions about conceptual representation of emotion concepts based on inferences from linguistic evidence, such a review is important to the study.

2.3.1 *Language and cognition*

The debate about the relationship between language and cognition, which is often discussed in terms of the relationship between language and thought, has raged for centuries in several academic disciplines including philosophy, the cognitive science tradition, in particular cognitive psychology, the psychology of language, psycholinguistics, and linguistics generally.

In philosophy, the question has been whether or not and to what extent natural language is involved in thought. While anti-realist philosophers, e.g. Wittgenstein (1953), argued that language is conceptually necessary for thought, realist philosophers (Russell 1921) argued that thought is independent of language, i.e. that thought is imagistic, and that possession and manipulation of mental images need not involve or presuppose natural language. However, there is a third group of philosophers who take a middle position in the argument (e.g. Carruthers 1996). Such philosophers distinguish between conscious thought and non-conscious thought and submit that while conscious thought involves language, non-conscious thought is independent of language. (See also Steinberg and Sciarini 2006).

In linguistics, this notion has come to be known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Sapir 1929, Whorf 1956). Basically, this hypothesis assumes that language affects thought, i.e. the language we speak affects the way we perceive reality. There are two versions of this hypothesis, a strong and a weak version. The strong version, linguistic determinism, posits that language determines thought, i.e. linguistic categories both determine and limit cognitive categories. However, the weak version, linguistic relativity, suggests that language may not necessarily determine thought. However,

linguistic categories and usage may influence not only thought but also certain kinds of non-linguistic behaviour. Even though these views may not be directly relevant to the current study, they appear to be the basis for the two main psycholinguistic hypotheses (and the models emanating from them) about bilingual mental representation and storage. For instance, on the one hand, the separate storage hypothesis (cf. 1.3) appears to have been influenced by the linguistic determinism argument. On the other hand, the shared/common storage hypothesis (cf. 1.3) appears to have been influenced by the argument that language is independent of thought. Cognitive linguists generally subscribe to the weaker version of the linguistic relativity argument (Evans and Green 2006).

Another dimension to the language and cognition debate is the relationship between bilingualism and cognition. In this regard, several theories were propounded in the past to suggest that bilingualism negatively affects cognition. One such folk theory is the Balance Theory of bilingualism (Baker 1988), which assumes that there is a restricted amount of room for language in the bilingual brain. Consequently, the theory represents the two languages of a bilingual in two ways: (1) a weighing scale where an increase in the knowledge of a second language leads to the diminishing of the first language, (2) two half-filled balloons in the brain, where the monolingual person has one full balloon. The two half-filled balloons are kept separate in the brain with no interaction between them save translation. Indeed, this was the basis for the separate storage hypothesis of the bilingual mental lexicon. However, more recent research in the field provides counter-evidence to this theory, debunking the arguments about the detrimental effect of bilingualism and restricted room in the brain (Bialystok 2001). The next section presents a brief overview of the debate in the literature about the relationship between emotion and cognition.

2.3.2 *Emotion and cognition*

Emotion may be generally defined as the awareness of some mental state that may have bodily manifestations. While pointing out that emotion is difficult to define, Oatley and Jenkins (1996:96) provide a three-part working definition of emotion as follows:

- (1) An emotion is usually caused by a person consciously or unconsciously evaluating an event as relevant to a concern (goal) that is important;
- (2) The core of an emotion is readiness to act and the prompting of plans; it can compete with alternative mental processes of actions;
- (3) An emotion is usually experienced as a distinctive type of mental state, sometimes followed by bodily changes, expressions or actions.

In her prototype theory of graded categorisation, Rosch (1975) identifies *happiness*, *sadness*, *anger*, *fear* and *love* as basic-level (prototypical) emotion concepts that are possibly universal (cf. Kövecses 2000). While Oatley and Jenkins' (1996) definition of emotions reflects several aspects of Evans' (2007) definition of cognition above, they observe that 'emotions have traditionally been regarded as extras in psychology, not as serious mental functions like perception, language, thinking and learning' (Oatley and Jenkins 1996:122). In semantics, emotion concepts were considered as consisting of feelings only and devoid of conceptual content (Lakoff 1987). Thus, the debate about whether or not emotion is central to cognition or whether it deserves academic/scientific study has informed research for many centuries. William James (1884, 1890) was the first to emphasise the psychological nature of emotion. By linking emotional states to bodily states, James laid the foundation for empirical studies of emotion in psychology (Oatley and Jenkins 1996).

However, recent findings from research in cognitive science, namely, cognitive neuroscience, cognitive psycholinguistics and cognitive linguistics, show support for emotion as an intrinsic part of cognition. For instance, Seth (2009:3) contends that current thinking about the relationship between emotion and cognition ‘emphasizes their interdependence in ways that challenge a simple division of labor into separate cognitive and emotional domains’. Such studies have brought to the light the potential advantages that a study of emotions may have on cognition research in general (Lakoff 1987), and bilingual cognition research in particular (Pavlenko 2006).

For example, Lakoff (1987:380) asserts that emotion concepts have ‘an extremely complex conceptual structure which gives rise to a wide variety of nontrivial inferences’. Oatley and Jenkins (1996:122) also conclude that emotions are not extras but the very centre of human life. Currently, research on emotion concepts in both psycholinguistics and cognitive linguistics abounds (Dzokoto and Okazaki 2006; Kövecses 2000, Soriano 2003). In the next section, I review some studies in cognitive linguistics/cognitive psycholinguistics that have focused on the language of emotion concepts.

2.3.3 *The language of emotion concepts*

According to Kövecses (2000) research in cognitive science has paid particular attention to the study of emotion language or emotion lexicon. The general findings from these studies are that the language used to talk about emotion concepts across cultures is largely metaphorical and often makes somatic references (Kövecses 2000, Dzokoto and Okazaki 2006). Interestingly, similar research findings were the basis for giving emotion language scant attention in research in the past (Kövecses 2000). The

popular assumption then was that figurative expressions, e.g. metaphors, were epiphenomenal and fancy language and therefore uninteresting and irrelevant.

In terms of how emotion concepts are manifested in language, Kövecses (2000) identifies and distinguishes between two kinds of emotion-related vocabulary: words that express emotions (e.g. *yuk!* when one is disgusted) and words that describe the emotions they signify (e.g. *angry*, *sad*) and argues that cognitive linguistic research on emotion lexicon emphasises words that describe emotional experience rather than those that express emotion concepts because the majority of emotion-related vocabulary is descriptive rather than expressive. The current study therefore focuses on descriptive emotion lexicon.

Furthermore, there is the question of the kind of meaning emotion language carries or expresses. In this regard, Kövecses (2000) enumerates several views that have been put forward. First of all, there is the label view which is based on referential theory of meaning. It proposes that emotion language carries referential meaning. The implicational view proposes that emotion language carries connotative meaning, and therefore the meaning of emotion language varies from culture to culture. On the other hand, the prototype view regards emotion concepts as structured scripts, scenarios or cognitive models. There are two schools of thought within this view: the experientialists and the social constructionists (See Kövecses 2000 for detail).

The experientialists (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1987, Russell 1991) propose that emotion scripts are motivated by human universal experience of how the human body and brain function in relation to the environment. This is known as the

embodied cognition thesis⁴. They therefore posit that emotion concepts that are based on universal human experiences, (e.g. getting angry and a rise in bodily temperature) are universal or have a universal meaning.

The social constructionists (e.g. Lutz 1988) agree with the notion that emotion concepts are scripts/scenarios but they disagree with the experientialists' claim that the conceptualisations of emotions are the same across cultures. Instead, the social constructionists argue that emotion concepts are socio-cultural scripts/scenarios or constructs whose properties depend on particular aspects of a given culture. According to this view, different cultures will have different conceptualisations for the same emotion concepts because different cultures give concepts different socio-cultural salience. Evidence from more recent cross-cultural studies on the conceptualisation of basic human motion concepts (Breugelmans et al 2005; Kövecses 2000, 2005; Lutz 1988; Maalej 1999, 2004) suggests that indeed, each of these views is right in its claims to a certain degree.

This has led to the proposal of the embodied cultural prototype view (Kövecses 2000, 2005; Maleej 2004), which synthesises the two diverging prototype views and proposes that the conceptualisation of emotion concepts across cultures is based on both universal human embodied experiences and more specific socio-cultural constructions of such experiences. In other words, embodied cultural prototype theorists believe that bodily motivations have a socio-cultural salience and social constructions have a bodily basis. That is to say that while the general conceptualisation of such concepts is grounded in universal human experiences,

⁴ The embodied cognition thesis is explained in more detail in section 2.5.

different cultures attach different cultural salience to specific realisations, elaborations or construals to these near-universal conceptual metaphors. The debate about the universal vs socio-cultural nature of emotion concepts is further explored in chapter seven. However, the next section looks at literature that focuses on the relationship between bilingualism and cognition.

2.4 Psycholinguistic research on bilingual cognition

Early psycholinguistic research on bilingualism and cognition tended to focus on the relationship between bilingualism and intelligence. In the 1920s, several studies, (e.g. Saer 1923) focused on measuring intelligence differences between monolinguals and bilinguals. The dominant results from this type of research, which was based on verbal IQ tests, were that bilinguals were inferior to monolinguals on verbal IQ, confirming the then popular belief at the time that bilingualism led to lower intelligence (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981, Baker 2006). Baker calls this period ‘the period of detrimental effects’. However, in the 1930s, Baker’s ‘period of neutral effects’, research in this field found no difference between the levels of intelligence among monolinguals and bilinguals. For instance, Pintner and Arsenian (1937) found a zero correlation between verbal and non-verbal IQ on the one hand and Yiddish-English bilingualism and English monolingualism in verbal and non-verbal IQ tests on the other hand.

In the 1960s, Baker’s ‘period of additive effects’, there was a dramatic shift in thinking concerning the relationship between bilingualism and cognition. The emphasis in research moved from the relationship between bilingualism and intelligence to the relationship between bilingualism and general intellectual development, divergent thinking (the ability to reorganize), metalinguistic awareness and sensitivity to

feedback cues (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981). Findings from such studies showed a positive correlation between bilingualism and cognition (Lambert and Peal 1962). Anisfeld (1964) also reported that bilinguals were better at tests that required symbolic manipulation and mental activity.

The research findings in the 1960s are the foundation for recent research on bilingualism and cognition which focuses on a range of thinking styles, strategies and skills of the bilingual. Mental representation of the bilingual's two languages and the processing that emanates from such representation is one aspect of bilingualism and cognitive function that has received much attention in psycholinguistics since that period. For example, Weinreich's (1968) categorization of different kinds of bilinguals was based on how concepts of the bilinguals' two languages were believed to be encoded in his/her brain - while compound bilinguals were believed to have a fused conceptual representation, coordinate bilinguals were believed to have different conceptual systems for their two languages, and sub-coordinate bilinguals were believed to interpret L2 concepts through L1 words. All the current psycholinguistic theories/models of the bilingual mental lexicon which are discussed below are influenced by one of these positions.

Indeed, most current models of bilingual processing and representation assume that while the morphological and syntactic representations (forms) of the bilingual's languages are stored separately, meanings and concepts of the bilingual's languages are largely, if not completely, shared. This position is justified by the fact that most bilinguals are able to translate most words from one language to another. For instance, Pavlenko (2009) draws evidence from findings from cross-linguistic priming and picture naming studies that suggest language interference from one language in picture naming tasks in another language (Kroll and Sunderman 2003) as well as studies on

how bilinguals map form to meaning in their two languages (e.g. Kroll and De Groot 1997). In what follows, I present an overview of the basic assumptions and tenets of some of the current models of the bilingual mental lexicon in psycholinguistics.

2.4.1 The separate underlying proficiency model of bilingualism

This model was developed by Cummins (1980, 1981) to correspond to the separate storage hypothesis (cf.1.3). It assumes that the bilingual has a separate and independent storage system (both forms and meanings) for each of his/her languages. It also assumes that the only channel of interaction between these independent systems is a translation process. This model leans towards the modular view of language that presumes a restricted amount of room in the brain for language. However, recent research findings suggest that the brain's capacity for storage is big with enough cerebral living quarters not just for two but more languages (Paradis 1997, Bialystok 2001).

2.4.2 The common underlying proficiency model of bilingualism.

Cummins' (1980, 1981) second model, the common underlying proficiency model, which is parallel to the shared storage hypothesis, assumes that there is a common underlying proficiency (CUP) for the bilingual's two languages. Using the 'double iceberg analogy' to capture the concept of 'CUP' the model represents the bilingual's languages pictorially in the form of two icebergs that are fused together at the base positing that even though the two languages of the bilingual are visibly different in form in outward use, both languages operate through the same central conceptual

processing system, and that both languages feed the same central conceptual processor. In addition, this model claims that while bilingualism may help the bilingual's cognitive system to develop, both languages need to be well developed in order for the bilingual to process cognitive challenges.

Evidence in support of this model have come from several sources including (1) experimental studies of bilingual information processing (Katsaiti 1983), (2) studies on the relationships of L1 and L2 cognitive/academic proficiency (Cummins 1979), and results from bilingual education programmes (Baker and de Kanter 1981). Indeed, Paradis's (1985, 1997) 3-store hypothesis is another version of this model. Paradis (1997) contends that the bilingual has three interconnected but distinct sub-systems: two linguistic systems encoding the phonological forms plus their syntactic properties that are stored in linguistic memory, and one conceptual system, a repository of non-linguistic units of knowledge that is stored in conceptual memory. In other words, Paradis proposes that the bilingual has two lexical representations for the two languages and a common conceptual representation for both languages. Indeed, current models of the bilingual mental lexicon, including the ones I discuss below are all variants of the common underlying proficiency model.

2.4.3 *The distributed feature model (DFM)*

This model, also known as *the Conceptual Feature Theory*, was put forward by De Groot (1992) as another approach to modelling words and concepts in bilingual memory. It posits that 'words in each of the bilingual's languages activate conceptual features that are assumed to be distributed, such that particular concepts correspond to sets of activated features' (Kroll and De Groot 1997:187). In a translation-based study,

De Groot (1992) found out that bilinguals translated concrete and cognate words faster than abstract words and concluded that the representations of concrete words and cognates are largely if not completely shared across the bilingual's languages while abstract words share fewer semantic features. This, she argues, is because concrete words have perceptual referents that are for the most part shared across languages. Therefore, concrete words possess true or close to true translation equivalents across languages.

However, because abstract words depend on context for interpretation, their translation equivalents will tend to share fewer features across languages. Consequently, conceptual mediation between words and concepts in the bilingual's languages will be more accessible for concrete words and cognate words than it will be for abstract words. While this model pays attention to cross-linguistic differences in lexical and conceptual representations, it does not accommodate bilinguals whose two languages are typologically unrelated and cannot have cognates whatsoever, e.g. English and Akan.

2.4.4 The revised hierarchical model (RHM)

This model posits that 'both lexical and conceptual links are active in bilingual memory but the strength of those links differs as a function of fluency in L2 and the relative dominance of L1 to L2' (Kroll and De Groot 1997:178-179). First proposed by Kroll and Stewart (1994), the model further posits that the link between words and concepts is stronger for L1 than for L2. Consequently, conceptual access among bilinguals who are less proficient in their L2 takes place via L1 equivalents, a process known as lexical mediation, which creates a kind of asymmetry in the links between

concepts and words in the bilingual's two languages so that the L1 may activate conceptual memories which weak bilinguals may not find words for because their weak L2 does not provide lexical support for them. However, as the bilinguals become more proficient in the L2 they develop direct conceptual links between the two languages. This process is called conceptual mediation. Thus, this model focuses on the consequences of the developmental sequence in L2 learning.

One study whose findings support this model has been conducted by Keatley et al. (1994), who reported asymmetries in the magnitude of semantic priming among bilingual participants who were highly fluent in both of their languages. However, van Hell and De Groot (1998) challenge this model's inability to account for cases of partial and complete non-equivalence between words and concepts in the bilingual's languages. Another weakness of this model is that it was designed to account for out-of-context translation performance only. Finally, this model appears to run parallel to Weinreich's (1968) distinction between compound, co-ordinate and sub-ordinate bilingual, a distinction which is difficult to make especially in highly multilingual communities where language acquisition patterns do not neatly fall into Weinreich's distinguishing criteria (cf.2.2.1).

2.4.5 The modified hierarchical model (MHM)

Proposed by Pavlenko (2009), this model builds on the Revised Hierarchical Model, particularly the idea of developmental progression from lexical mediation to conceptual mediation in L2 learning. It also retains the notion from the Distributed Feature Model that the bilingual's lexicon has shared or partially shared conceptual representations. However, the Modified Hierarchical Model brings additional dimensions on board

including (1) the organisation of the bilingual conceptual store, and (2) levels of mental representation.

First of all, Pavlenko suggests three possible ways in which the bilingual conceptual store may be organized, i.e. that representations in the bilingual's conceptual store may be fully shared, partially overlapping or fully language-specific. She further suggests that in the case of fully shared representations, three possible things may happen: (i) conceptual equivalence - where bilingual representations reflect those in the monolingual lexicons leading to target-like performance in both languages; (ii) partial (non) equivalence – where bilingual representations result from conceptual transfer, convergence or partial restructuring; (iii) conceptual restructuring or conceptual development – where bilinguals readjust the category structure and boundaries of a particular concept in accordance with the semantic constraints of the language or where they acquire multimodal representations of the concept that allow them to map new words onto real-world referents in a way similar to the native speakers of the two languages.

Secondly, Pavlenko (2009) considers semantic representations and conceptual representations as different kinds of mental representations and advocates for the separation of the two systems of representation in the study of the bilingual mental lexicon. She laments the practice in the psycholinguistic literature where aspects of semantic representation including lexical properties (e.g. word frequency) and semantic properties (e.g. polysemy) are confused with conceptual representation (e.g. categories) and enumerates instances in psycholinguistic research where semantic transfer is equated with conceptual transfer. Pavlenko (2009) defines semantic representations as the implicit knowledge of links/mappings between words and concepts and asserts that

semantic representations are structured by lexical concepts, i.e. linguistic categories that are linked to words and develop in the process of language socialisation.

She further argues that since lexical concepts are dynamic and distributed in the sense that they are multimodal representations that include visual (mental imagery), auditory, perceptual and kinaesthetic information, they vary across speakers of different generations, expertise and experience so that the same word may activate different mental representations among different speakers. Nevertheless, lexical concepts can be systematic in similar settings and therefore allow speakers of the same language to perform identification, categorisation, comprehension and inferencing tasks along similar lines. On the other hand, conceptual representations are defined as the implicit knowledge of links/mappings in the structure and boundaries of conceptual categories.

Pavlenko's (2009) hypothesis is largely informed by research findings from studies such as Stepanova Sachs and Coley (2006) whose study investigated how two concepts that are linguistically labelled as *envy* and *jealousy* in English and their equivalents in Russian are conceptually represented in monolingual speakers of English, monolingual speakers of Russian and Russian-English bilinguals. Their study found clear linguistic and conceptual differences in monolingual speakers of Russian and English: while the monolingual English speakers used *jealous* and *envy* interchangeably to describe 'being unhappy due to romantic rivalry and being unhappy due to someone else's successes' respectively, monolingual Russian speakers never used the equivalents interchangeably. Instead, the first situation was designated by the Russian equivalent of *jealous* while the second situation was designated by the Russian equivalent of *envy* exclusively.

However, whereas there were linguistic differences between monolingual English speakers and Russian-English bilinguals, irrespective of the language the bilinguals

spoke, in the conceptual task, the bilinguals behaved more like the English monolinguals than Russian monolinguals, using the two linguistic labels in both English and Russian interchangeably to describe the jealousy and envy situations described above. This finding, the researchers conclude, suggests that becoming fluent English speakers may have had a conceptual consequence of highlighting the similarity between the two concepts (as perceived in monolingual English) among the bilinguals.

Stepanova Sachs and Coley's (2006) study points to the limitations of a semantic level analysis, e.g. translation tasks, in dealing with conceptual issues such as adequately identifying boundaries within and between concepts. For example, we might treat the Russian equivalent of jealousy as a conceptual equivalent of envy if all we had was translation report even though that is not the case as suggested by Stepanova Sachs and Coley's findings. In other words, while the linguistic labels of the concepts in the two languages might be taken as conceptual equivalents in a translation-based analysis, the actual structure of the concepts in the two languages show clearly that they are not conceptual equivalents.

This is the basis for Pavlenko's call for distinguishing between semantic and conceptual levels of mental representations arguing that such differences in conceptual structuring, which show clearly in a conceptual level analysis, may be blurred in a semantic level analysis such as translations. In other words, while semantic-based tasks, e.g. tasks that examine interlingual connections of the bilingual, may illuminate semantic representations, they do not necessarily illuminate the structure of conceptual representations. Consequently, the model posits that bilingualism leads to conceptual restructuring, a gradual process that takes place in implicit memory, which in turn is stored in long-term memory and that since spontaneous language use draws on implicit memory and therefore long-term memory, it is possible to infer conceptual

restructuring from the systematic verbal performance of bilinguals. This provides a further support for using linguistic data in this study. From these studies it appears that the identification of different levels of mental representation is crucial to modelling bilingual mental representation.

Current research in psycholinguistics on the bilingual mental lexicon generally separates the mental representations of linguistic forms from the representations of meanings of the bilingual's languages. However, there is a new debate in more recent literature (e.g. Pavlenk 2009) about the need to further distinguish between the mental representations of linguistic knowledge representation (semantic representation) from non-linguistic knowledge representation (conceptual representation) that underlies the linguistic knowledge. For instance, from a neuro-scientific perspective, Paradis (1997) asserts that translation equivalents in two languages are not necessarily conceptual equivalents because translation equivalents in two languages may not necessarily activate the same mental representation (see also De Groot 1992, Pavlenko 2009, Stepanova Sachs and Coley 2006).

Lexical Concepts and Cognitive Models, LCCM theory (Evans 2006, 2009) is one cognitive linguistic approach to studying meaning that distinguishes linguistic meaning representation from conceptual meaning representation. Evans (2006, 2009) discusses meaning representation in terms of semantic representation and states that human meaning representation consists of two distinct but interrelated representational systems: a linguistic system (semantic structure) and a conceptual system (conceptual structure) each of which is structured differently. The linguistic system is structured by *lexical concepts*, i.e. linguistically encoded packages of information that are conventionally associated with linguistic forms. The conceptual system is structured by *cognitive models*, i.e. units of non- linguistic knowledge that *lexical concepts* provide

access to (also known as semantic potentials). In other words, whereas the linguistic system of meaning representation encodes semantic structure, i.e. linguistically encoded ‘packages’ of information which are conventionally associated with a particular linguistic form, the conceptual system of representation encodes conceptual structure, i.e. information about the organisation of non-linguistic knowledge.

Like Pavlenko (2009), Evans (2006, 2009) asserts that these two systems are both distinct with divergent functions and interrelated: lexical concepts act as ‘scaffoldings’ for conceptual structure on the one hand and semantic structure shapes conceptual structure on the other hand. Indeed, Paradis (1997) makes a similar assertion when he submits that mental representations may be extracted from linguistic utterances. However, linguistic utterances are elaborated in the conceptual system before they are verbalised, a corroboration of the cognitive linguistics position about the cyclical relationship between language and cognition.

However plausible the idea to distinguish one level of mental representation from another in the investigation of how the bilingual’s two languages are mentally represented may be there seems to be some difficulty in defining these levels in the literature. First of all, there is a lot of inconsistency in the terminology used to describe the various levels of mental representation (Francis 2005). For example, some researchers use the terms *semantic representation* and *conceptual representation* interchangeably; others use one term exclusive of the other (Pavlenko 2009).

In principle, the LCCM approach to differentiating levels of meaning representation is not entirely different from some psycholinguistic approaches, (e.g. De Groot 1992, Paradis 1997, Pavlenko 2009). However, the introduction of the two key constructs *lexical concepts* and *cognitive models* to differentiate linguistic meaning representation from conceptual meaning representation is significant as they may help reduce the level

of ambiguity and vagueness or even confusion. This notwithstanding, the use of the term *semantic* in LCCM both as a super ordinate term (*semantic representation*) representing both linguistic and non-linguistic knowledge representation and as a subordinate term (*semantic structure*) representing the organisation of linguistic information is potentially problematic.

In view of the arguments about the need to separate semantic (linguistic knowledge) representations from conceptual (non-linguistic knowledge) representation in the bilingual mental lexicon, perhaps, the basic question concerning the bilingual mental lexicon should be revised as to whether or not when an individual has encoded linguistic information about a particular concept from two languages he/she necessarily has two corresponding cognitive models about the concept or there is only one cognitive model that is available to him/her irrespective of which of his/her two languages he/she speaks. In the next section, I look at the cognitive linguistic literature on human mental representation in particular human conceptual representation.

2.5 Cognitive linguistics and conceptual representation

Cognitive linguistics is an approach to the study of language and the mind that emphasizes the role of meaning, conceptual processes and embodied experience, and the way in which they intersect (Evans 2007). Cognitive linguistics basically assumes that thought is metaphorical, i.e. various figurative processes fundamentally shape human cognition. This is believed to reflect in metaphors - the ways in which more concrete concepts are systematically used to reason about or structure less concrete, more abstract concepts (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Gibbs 1994). Thus, metaphor is believed to be a central feature of human language because figurative language reflects

figurative thought, conceptual organisation as well as certain fundamental properties and design features of the human mind.

A related assumption in cognitive linguistics is the idea that conceptual meaning is central to language, and that linguistic structure reflects conceptual meaning structure. However, there is a cyclical relationship between linguistic structure and conceptual structure that allows linguistic structure not only to reflect conceptual structure but also to shape it (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Evans 2006, 2009). In other words, the assumption is that while linguistic structure encodes and externalises conceptual structure, conceptual structure emerges from communicative function among other things (Evans and Green 2006).

Consequently, cognitive linguists posit that the systematic organisation in linguistic structure reflects, in many ways, a systematic structure in the human conceptual system and that the observable properties of language are one way to reconstruct the properties of the human conceptual system. For instance, both Talmy (2000) and Langacker (1987) have linked semantic structure (how linguistic knowledge is organised) to conceptual structure (how non-linguistic knowledge is organised) and argued that rather than merely referring to things in the world, semantic structure reflects conceptual structure.

A third basic tenet of cognitive linguistics is that human experience and therefore cognition is, at least, partly, embodied, i.e., that we make sense of our world/environment through how our bodies interact with the environment. Therefore, the human mind, and therefore language, cannot be investigated in isolation from human embodiment (Evans and Green 2006:44). Since both metaphorical thought and embodied cognition are believed to manifest in figurative language (e.g. metaphor and metonymy) cognitive semanticists consider the study of metaphorical language as one

major tool for studying human conceptual representation and organisation. Conceptual metaphor theory, CMT, has emerged as the main theory in cognitive semantics that models how linguistic structure systematically reflects conceptual structure and organisation. The next section gives a brief overview of the basic tenets of CMT.

2.5.1 Conceptual metaphor theory

A conceptual metaphor is generally defined as the systematic structuring or restructuring of one conceptual domain (the target domain), a coherent organization of experience, in terms of another conceptual domain (the source domain), through the projection of knowledge structures of one aspect of experience to reason about a different aspect of experience (Kövecses 2002). Conceptual metaphors are often expressed in language (linguistic metaphors). As a result, CMT claims that metaphorical expressions in language point to underlying conceptual metaphors, i.e. linguistic metaphors or metaphorical expressions allow us access to the human conceptual system and organisation because they are the surface realisation of cross-domain conceptual mappings.

CMT theorists (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1993) claim that ‘the generalizations governing metaphorical language are not in language, but in thought: they are general mappings across conceptual domains’ (Lakoff 1993:1). Consequently, they point linguistic metaphors to underlying conceptual metaphors. For instance,

Kövecses (2002:8) posits that the knowledge structures of PLANTS⁵ are used to understand SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS in English. He uses the following italicised linguistic expressions in English as the basis for his conjecture:

2.1.

- (a) He works for the local *branch* of the bank.
- (b) Our company is *growing*.
- (c) They had to *prune* the workforce.
- (d) The organization was *rooted* in the old church.
- (e) His business *blossomed*.

Subsequently, Kövecses postulates the conceptual metaphor SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE PLANTS (in 2.2 below) as the conceptual metaphor underlying the English linguistic expressions in example 2.1 (a-e).

2.2.

<i>Source:</i> PLANT		<i>Target:</i> SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
(a) The whole plant	⇒	the entire organization
(b) A part of the plant	⇒	a part of the organization
(c) Growth of the plant	⇒	development of the organization
(d) Removing a part of the plant	⇒	reducing the organization
(e) The root of the plant	⇒	the origin of the organization
(f) The flowering	⇒	the best stage, the most successful stage
(g) The fruit or crops	⇒	the beneficial consequences

⁵ In line with a general cognitive linguistics practice, small capitals are used to represent conceptual metaphors and to distinguish them from linguistic metaphors that are in lower case and italicised.

CMT points to converging evidence of metaphorical thinking in other human systems apart from language, e.g. gesture (Cienki 2008) and morality (Lakoff 1996) and suggests that metaphorical expressions in language constitute just one manifestation of metaphor in the human conceptual system. In CMT, a conceptual metaphor involves two conceptual domains, a source domain and a target domain, where the target domain is understood in terms of the source domain. While the source domains capture more familiar, concrete and clearly delineated domains of experience, target domains represent less familiar, less clearly delineated and more abstract conceptual domains.

According to Evans and Green (2006), even though target domains tend to be higher-order concepts and relate to more complex and experiential knowledge, they tend to be grounded in more basic embodied experiences. Kövecses (2002) identifies typical source domains as relating to the human body, food, animals, plants and physical forces while target domains typically relate to domains of emotion, morality, thought, human relationships etc. For instance, in the SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE PLANTS metaphor above, plants, a more concrete, more familiar domain (source domain) provides structure for social organizations, a less concrete domain of experience (target domain).

However, Grady (1997) has contested this view arguing that the distinction between target and source domains/concepts relates to degree of subjectivity rather than how clearly delineated or abstract a concept is (Evans 2007:168). In his primary metaphor theory, Grady (1997) explains the differences between source concepts and target concepts thus: (primary) source concepts are relatively simple aspects of sensory experience, e.g. proximity, warmth which derive from sense-perception of the external

world. Consequently, primary source concepts, they are said to have image content (see also Evans 2007).

On the other hand, primary target concepts, though also relatively simple, are said to be phenomenologically real aspects of subjective experience, e.g time, intimacy etc. Primary target concepts are believed to ‘constitute subjective evaluations or responses to sensory experience with respect to which they are correlated (Evans 2007:169). For instance, the correlation between making a pile and increase in height results in the primary metaphor MORE IS UP where increase in height is a subjective evaluation or response to the adding of more material to the pile.

Primary source and target concepts have been referred to by Evans and Green (2006) as ‘foregrounded cognitive operations’ and backgrounded cognitive operations respectively. The motivation for primary metaphors, therefore, they argue, is for primary target concepts to be structured in sensory-images in order to foreground otherwise backgrounded cognitive operations. In primary metaphor theory, primary metaphors may combine to produce complex or compound metaphors which are known as conceptual metaphors in CMT.

Grady’s argument may be said to be premised on the assumption by the proponents of CMT that conceptual mappings are not based on any pre-existing similarities between source and target domains. Instead, the mappings are motivated either by the abstractions of links in our physical and embodied experience (image schemas) or a perceived structural similarity between source and target domains, as has been shown in the ORGANIZATIONS ARE PLANTS metaphor above. Image schemas, which are believed to be pre-conceptual and inherently meaningful, derive from sensory and perceptual experience that arises as a result of our interaction with the environment (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). In other words, image-schemas are abstract concepts that

consist of patterns emerging from repeated instances of embodied experience although they are not rich or detailed concepts, e.g. THE HUMAN BODY IS A CONTAINER (Evans and Green 2006:179).

In spite of the apparent disagreements with regards to the exact relationship between source and target concepts as well as the motivation for the mappings between them, conceptual theorists in general agree on, at least, one thing - that metaphor is a conceptual mapping across conceptual domains, and that these mappings are non-reversible, i.e. features are mapped from source domains to target domains always so that a reverse mapping is likely to result in differences in meaning. In addition conceptual mappings are believed to carry entailments, additional information/knowledge about the source domain, which allow for making further inferences about aspects of the target domain that are not explicitly shown or stated in the mapping.

Conceptual mappings also simultaneously highlight and hide aspects of the target domain, i.e., in the metaphorical mapping process, only certain aspects (entailment potentials) of the source domain are utilized to structure the target domain. The aspects that are utilized are said to be highlighted while those that are not utilized in the mapping are said to be hidden. This is what is known in CMT as partial mapping. For instance, our folk knowledge about plants include the fact that they have leaves which may wither; they can die from drought; they may rot and fall; they may be processed into food or furniture, or may be used as fuel. However, not all of these additional pieces of information get mapped in the SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS ARE PLANTS metaphor above or its elaborations. Nevertheless, our knowledge of the entailment potential makes it possible for us to elaborate the conventional mappings, creating or understanding novel metaphors. The partial nature of the mapping process explains why several source domains structure a particular target domain, or vice versa, each

source domain highlighting different aspect of the target domain while hiding other aspects (cf. Goatly 1997, 2007).

When conventionalised, conceptual metaphors are believed to reflect the deeply entrenched ways in which a speech community thinks and reasons about specific domains of experience. The metaphorical correspondences are believed to have become a fixed part of the conceptual system of the given speech community (Lakoff 1993). Consequently, linguistic metaphors that manifest conventional conceptual metaphors also tend to be conventional. In other words, conventional linguistic metaphors are a linguistic manifestation of deeply entrenched ways of thinking about domains of our experience. Such conventional metaphors are claimed to be stored in long-term memory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980).

There are different kinds of metaphors. Grady (1997, 1999) distinguishes between metaphors that give meaning to individual concepts in a language and those that structure an entire domain of experience, primary and compound metaphors respectively. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) categorises metaphors into structural, orientational and ontological. Orientational metaphors, which give a concept a spatial orientation, e.g. HAPPY IS UP, are so called because they have to do with spatial orientations such as up-down, front-back, in-out etc. Such metaphors are believed to arise from our physical and cultural experience to structure most of our fundamental concepts. For instance, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that the HAPPY IS UP SAD IS DOWN metaphors in English arise from our experience of the relationship between happy or sad states and our bodily posture.

Ontological metaphors, on the other hand, structure intangible experiences or concepts such as ideas, emotions, activity, events etc. in terms of objects and substances in our physical and cultural environment, especially our own bodies, thereby

allowing us to categorise such concepts, refer to them and reason about them (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:25). Ontological metaphors are of two kinds: (1) entity and substance metaphors, e.g. THE MIND IS A MACHINE and (2) container metaphors, e.g. THE HUMAN BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS.

Typically, both orientational and ontological metaphors are image-schematic in nature and therefore *correlation-based metaphors*. In other words, both orientational and ontological metaphors may be said to be motivated by experiential correlations between source and target concepts, e.g. quantity and vertical elevation or anger and a rise in bodily temperature. However, according to Evans and Green (2006), *resemblance-based metaphors* are motivated by a perceived structural similarity or resemblance of some quality which may be physical or not. Resemblance-based metaphors whose comparison is based on some physical resemblance are called image metaphors (Lakoff and Turner 1989). While resemblance-based metaphors are very common in poetic language, correlation-based metaphors are very common in ordinary, everyday language use. To a large extent, the metaphors discussed in this study are more ontological and therefore correlation-based in nature.

Closely connected to conceptual metaphor theory is research on conceptual metonymy which is ‘a conceptual operation in which one entity, the vehicle, can be employed in order to identify another entity, the target, with which it is associated’ (Evans 2007:141). Very often, metaphor and metonymy interact to create what Goossens (1995) calls ‘metaphonymy’ in many ways such as when a metaphor is derived from metonymy or when a metonymy is found within a metaphor. Thus, this study makes references to linguistic expressions that instantiate both conceptual metaphor operations and conceptual metonymic operations (see chapters five and six for how metaphor and metonymy interact in the metaphorical conceptualisation of anger and fear in the data).

Even though conceptual blending theory (Fauconnier and Turner 1996) and mental space theory (Fauconnier 1994) are alternative approaches to modelling conceptual representation in cognitive linguistics, the current study focuses on CMT because it is the main theory in cognitive semantics that emphasises long term memory and conventionalised metaphors; the other two emphasise online meaning construction and processing (including metaphors), and the construction and understanding of innovative metaphors respectively. The next section presents an overview of bilingual cognition research that used metaphorical language as data.

2.5.2 Metaphor and bilingual cognition

In recent times, several psycholinguistic researchers on bilingualism have investigated how metaphorical language relates to various aspects of bilingual cognition. For instance, Saygin (2001) has used a translation-based task experiment to observe cross-linguistic transfer of metaphors in order to investigate metaphor comprehension and production in Turkish-English bilinguals. His findings pointed in the direction of earlier findings about translation advantage from L2 to L1, i.e. that translation from L2 to L1 is faster than translation from L1 to L2. His conclusion is similar to that made by Stepanova Sachs and Coley (2006) and Pavlenko (2009) - that learning a second language may have consequences for conceptualisation.

In another study, Martinez (2003) conducted four experiments to investigate figurative language processing among Spanish-English balanced bilinguals - to ascertain whether figurative language meaning is automatically activated in bilinguals as it is believed to happen among monolinguals. His findings suggest that figurative meanings are automatically accessed in monolinguals and bilinguals alike. However, he

notes that the level of language proficiency in both cases may affect one's ability to access metaphorical language automatically, corroborating Kroll and Stewart's (1994) developmental progression argument. Dewaele (2006) has also investigated the factors that affect language choice for expressing anger among multilingual speakers and found out that generally, L1 was the preferred language for the expression of anger among his participants. However, L2 can become the preferred language after a period of socialisation, and that multilinguals who feel more proficient in any of their languages used that language to express anger more than those who feel less proficient.

Sirvydė's (2006) corpus-based cross-linguistic study focused on how cultural patterns of thought and worldviews shape the conceptual metaphors of fear in English and Lithuanian. A major finding from this research is that Lithuanian makes the attributes of source domains related to nature more salient than English does. While these studies may bear certain similarities with the current study, the current study is different in many respects, particularly, in terms of methodology. For instance, while data for many of these studies were derived from laboratory-based experiments, the current study uses ethnographic methods in collecting data. Again, whereas many of these studies largely employed quantitative tools for analysis, the current study employs a qualitative approach to the analysis of the data.

The closest study to the current one in terms of methodology is Stepanova Sachs and Coley (2006), which focused on the habitual use of words that refer to two emotion concepts: *envy* and *jealousy* among both monolingual and bilingual speakers of English and Russian as well as Russian-English bilinguals. The key question in their study was whether the discrepancy in the way labels map onto categories of emotions are a reflection of how respective speakers categorize emotions, and especially whether a single individual who speaks these two languages has different conceptual

representations of these emotion concepts. The findings from their study suggest that becoming a fluent English speaker may have had a conceptual consequence in highlighting the similarity between the two concepts among the bilinguals (see discussion above).

Their study points to two significant dimensions in the current study. For example, the distinction between lexical representation and conceptual representations may shed more light on the bilingual conceptual structure and organisation. In addition, the use of CMT potentially allows us to examine the nature of the conceptual structure itself. Consequently, any conceptual consequences of Akan-English bilingualism may become more obvious. For instance, the ability of metaphors to highlight and hide semantic features may better reveal similarities and differences, a fusion or separation of the two monolingual cognitive models the bilinguals have been exposed to.

2.6 Summary

This chapter has reviewed some key literature in bilingualism studies, especially psycholinguistic research on aspects of bilingual cognition and particularly paying attention to cognitive psycholinguistic and cognitive linguistic models of (bilingual) mental representation. The chapter has pointed out how the existing models and approaches to defining bilingualism appear inadequate in accounting for certain kinds of bilingualism, especially, in highly multi ethnic/multilingual communities. It has also argued that while traditional psycholinguistic studies on bilingual mental lexicon have shed a lot of light on bilingual mental representation and organisation, the conceptual metaphor theory approach to investigating mental representation may shed more light on the nature and organisation of the bilingual mental lexicon, especially the bilingual

conceptual system. The next chapter discusses the socio-linguistics of bilingualism in Ghana.

CHAPTER THREE: BILINGUALISM IN GHANA

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the sociolinguistic profile of Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana. It describes the types and sub-types of Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana. Situating Akan-English bilingualism in the broad sociolinguistic/multilingual milieu in Ghana, the chapter discusses how the linguistic situation, including language policy in Ghana creates different kinds of bilingualism in Ghana in general and Akan-English bilingualism in particular. These are discussed in the light of issues of definition and terminology in the bilingualism literature, proposing a more careful look at issues of definition and terminology in bilingual studies to adequately address the complexity of patterns of bilingualism that exist in highly multilingual communities.

3.2 The linguistic situation in Ghana

3.2.1 Indigenous languages in Ghana

The ethnologue (Lewis 2009) lists 79 languages in Ghana which belong to the Gur, Kwa and Mande sub-groups of the Niger-Congo language family (Lewis 2009). These languages are distributed over a speaker population of approximately 24.3 million people spread over ten geographic/administrative regions. Figures 3.1 and 3.2 below show the language map of Ghana as well as the administration map of Ghana.



Figure 3.1: The language map of Ghana (ethnologue online 2009).

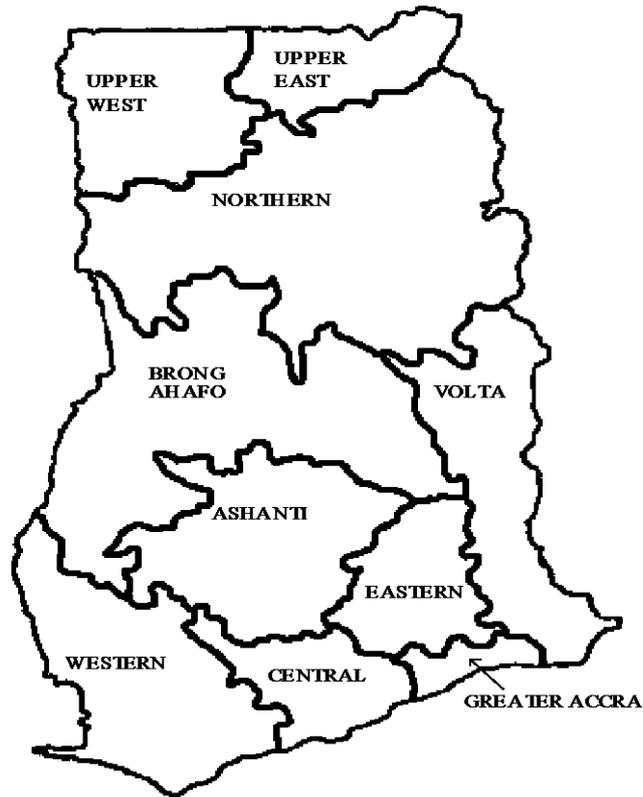


Fig.3.2: A map showing the administrative regions of Ghana.

It is important to note, however, that it is not always clear whether language documenters use ethnicity as the basis for classifying these languages or not. Indeed, a cursory look may suggest that the 79 languages are ethnic-based, namely that there are as many ethnic groups as there are languages in Ghana. However, a more careful examination shows that often times, a language group consists of a cluster of ethnically autonomous but linguistically related groups. In other words, there are more ethnic groups than language groups in Ghana. For example, Akan, the largest indigenous language group in Ghana, consists of a cluster of ethnic groups including Agona, Asante, Akuapim, Akyem, Assin, Bono, Breman, Fante, Gomoa, and Kwahu. Each of these groups has a distinct variety of Akan. Even though all varieties are largely mutually intelligible, each dialect group considers themselves as a distinct ethnic group from the others. Thus, what is generally referred to formally as an ethnic- language

group in Ghana more often than not actually consists of a cluster of related ethnic groups.

According to the 2000 population studies figures (Ghana Statistical Services 2002), the Akan ethnic group alone constitutes 49.1% of the national population; Mole-Dagbani 16.5%; Ewe 12.7%; Ga-Adangbe 8%, and Guan 4.4%. These figures which are represented on a chart in fig.3.3 below also roughly correspond to language distribution in Ghana.

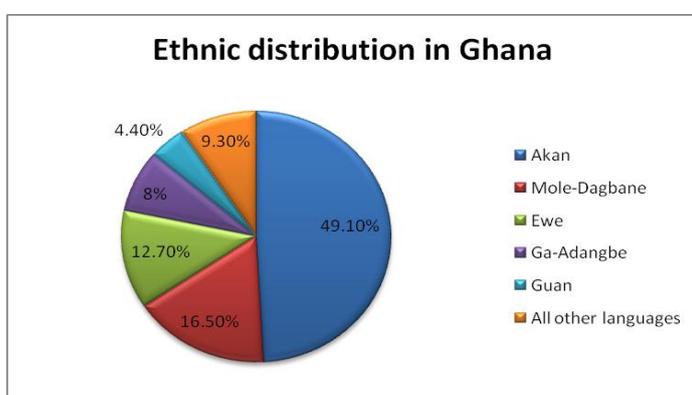


Fig.3.3. Ethnic-based language distribution in Ghana

From the chart above, it is obvious that there are unequal levels of vitality for the 79 languages. For instance, while 90.7% of Ghana's population is constituted by only five ethno-linguistic groups, the remaining 78 language groups constitute only 9.3% of Ghana's population. Again, from the chart, it is obvious that Akan is the largest ethnic-language group in Ghana. The status of the Akan as the most widely spoken indigenous language in Ghana is discussed in the next section.

3.2.2 Akan- the ethnic majority language in Ghana

This section describes Akan, the most widely spoken indigenous language in Ghana, both in terms of L1 speakers and L2 learners, and discusses what factors may account

for its emergence as the most widely spoken indigenous language in Ghana and outside Ghana, both in the diaspora and border regions. According to Dolphyne (1988), Akan belongs to the Kwa group of languages, of the Proto Tano, Volta-Congo language group. The native Akan speaking people comprise a cluster of ethno-linguistically related people who live mainly in the forest belt of southern Ghana (and Cote d'Ivoire), occupying the sections between the rivers Bandama in Cote d'Ivoire and Volta in Ghana. Figure 3.4 below shows Akan-speaking areas in Ghana (see also fig. 3.1 above).

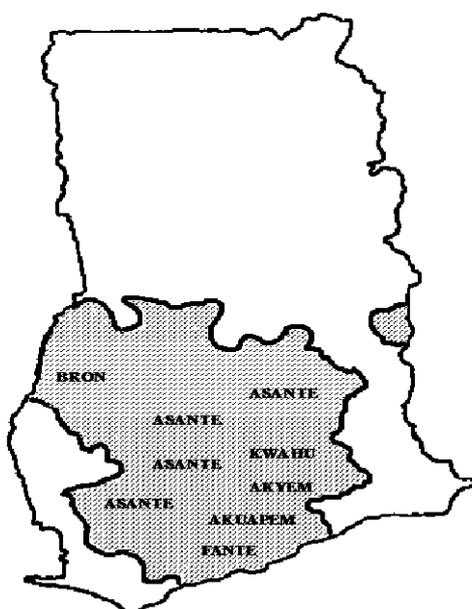


Figure 3.4: The Akan-speaking areas in Ghana.

Akan is a tonal language with three major dialects in Ghana, namely, Fanti/Fante⁶, Twi and Bono. Twi, the largest dialect in terms of number of speakers, is constituted by the following major sub-dialects: Asante, Akyem, Kwawu and Akuapem. The Fante

⁶ Both spellings are acceptable. However, in this study, I shall stick to the second spelling 'Fante'.

dialect is constituted by the following major sub-dialects: Agona, Gomoa, Breman and Assin. The Bono dialect also has several sub dialects (see Bota 2002 for a detailed description of Bono dialects). To a very large extent, the various Fante and Twi dialects are mutually intelligible. However, mutual intelligibility with some Bono dialects, especially, those along the Cote d'Ivoire border may be minimal for many Twi and Fante dialect speakers. Figure 3.5 below represents the Akan language group in a tree diagram:

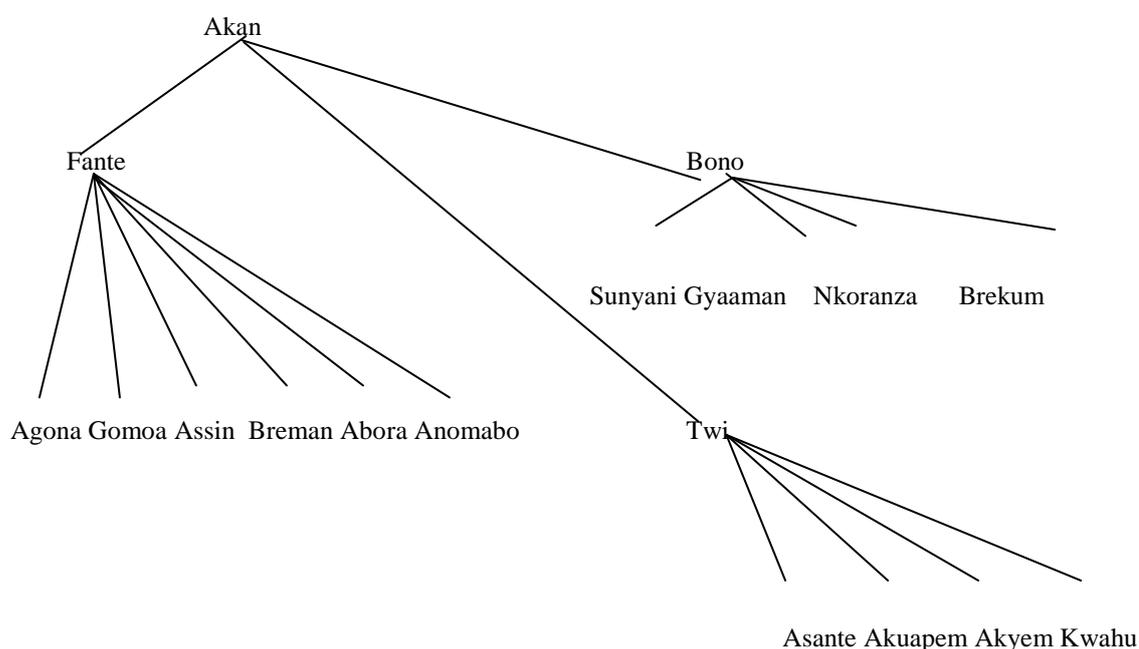


Fig.3.5: The major dialects and sub-dialects of Akan in Ghana – the second tier represents the three major dialects while the third tier represents the major sub-dialects of each major dialect.

In addition, while there is no standard written version of the Bono dialect, there is a standard written form of the Fante dialect, and two standard written varieties of the Twi dialect (Asante Twi and Akuapem Twi). Akan is a well studied language if not the most studied Ghanaian language. There is a lot of published material in/on Akan (Fante, and the two major Twi sub-dialects). Dating back to the pre-colonial missionary period, these publications cover a range of topics, including learning materials (Bellon 1972 [first published in 1911], Rapp 1936), linguistic descriptions (Balmer and Grant

1929, Welmers 1946, Akrofi 1965, Dolphyne 1988), dictionaries: (Christaller 1933, Kani 1953 [first published in 1881]), and readers (Adaye 1948, Asamoah 1975). Currently, the linguistics department of the University of Ghana, Legon, runs undergraduate and post graduate degree programmes in Akan, where theses and dissertations are written in and on Akan.

Even though there is no official legislation on Akan as a national language in Ghana, in practice, it is. Akan is the fastest growing Ghanaian language in terms of acquiring non-native speakers. The reasons for this development are not far-fetched. First of all, according to 2000 population census report, 49.1% of Ghana's population are ethnic Akan. This means about half of Ghana's population are potentially native speakers of Akan. Guerini (2006) also reports that 44% of Ghana's population (aside from the native population) speaks Akan either as a second language (L2) or vehicular language, i.e. used as a means to an end.

For instance, Akan is an important language of trade in the Ga-speaking national capital, Accra and indeed, in other market centres in Ghana, (e.g. Tamale, the Northern regional capital) where Akan is not a native language. This is because much of private economic activity (markets, shops, public transport etc) is dominated by the ethnic majority Akans. In addition, private broadcasting, a more recent phenomenon in Ghana is contributing to the status of Akan as the fastest growing indigenous language in Ghana. This is because several private-owned radio stations, including those outside ethnic Akan regions, are Akan-based producing about 95% of their programmes in Akan.

Furthermore, the Akan group is seen as a socio-politically powerful group, especially because of its socio-political history. For example, while pre-independence Akan groups had powerful kings, (e.g. the Asantehene), four of the “Big Six”⁷ during the struggle for independence were Akan. Again, out of the 11 presidents and heads of state Ghana has had since independence, seven have come from the Akan group. Finally, the coastal states of the Akan group are known to be the citadel of formal education in Ghana. Formal education in Ghana started from the Fante coasts, creating many great national scholars such as Sir Kobina Arku Korsah, Ghana’s first Black Supreme Court judge. Thus, Akan enjoys its current status of vitality because it is a dominant culture and a dominant language in Ghana, i.e. it has the largest native population (49.1% of the national population) with a history of vibrant social, economic and political development that dates back to pre-colonial times.

3.2.3 *Other languages in Ghana*

In addition to these indigenous languages, other languages are spoken in Ghana for various reasons. For instance, Hausa, originally a northern Nigerian language but which has become a west African trade language, is widely spoken in Ghana and it is even used in national radio and television broadcasting by the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, the only government-owned radio and television station, and the only broadcasting station with a nation-wide coverage. This development may be

⁷ The term refers to the six elite freedom fighters who championed the fight for Ghana’s independence from British rule.

attributable to the fact that Ghana is a member of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) which encourages free movement and trade within member countries.

Another non-indigenous language in Ghana is French. All immediate three neighbouring countries, i.e. Togo to the east, Cote d'Ivoire to the west and Burkina Faso to the north are francophone countries. Again, the existence of strong socio-economic relations between Ghana and these countries, especially among the people who live along these borders, has resulted in the acquisition of different levels of proficiency in French among a section of the Ghanaian population. Finally, English, a colonial legacy, is the official language in Ghana, the prescribed language for all formal and official communication. Against this background, Obeng (1997) has described Ghana as 'a highly multilingual country, with English, Akan and Hausa emerging as important lingua francas', and the sociolinguistic situation in Ghana as highly heterogeneous with emerging forms of diglossia. The next section focuses on the place of English in this highly heterogeneous linguistic context.

3.2.4 *English in Ghana*

English is the official language in Ghana. It is the language of government – the judiciary, the legislature and the executive, i.e. the president officially addresses the nation in English, the language of the courts is English and the language for parliamentary deliberations is English. It is also the medium of instruction in formal educational institutions or institutions of learning. In fact, it is the preferred, if not the required language for all transactions in the formal sector, particularly in urban areas.

Even though English is the official language in Ghana, it is not the first language of most English-speaking Ghanaians. In many places in Ghana, English is learned mostly in the classroom usually at an age when the child or learner has already acquired an L1 and possibly one or more other Ghanaian languages. This is particularly so in rural Ghana as well as certain urban areas where there is relative linguistic homogeneity as a result of relative ethnic homogeneity in the population. For instance, even though we may generally associate urbanization in Ghana with linguistic heterogeneity, Kumasi, the second largest city in Ghana is linguistically more homogeneous than Koforidua, a relatively smaller city. This is because Kumasi is the capital of ethnic Asante Twi speaking region, the Ashanti region. However, Koforidua is the capital of an ethnolinguistically diverse region, the Eastern Region. The ethno-linguistic composition of the Eastern Region include: Akan (Akuapem, Asante, Kwawu, Akyem), Adangbe (Krobo, Ada), Ewe and Guan (Larteh, Kyerepong) etc.

Thus, in more linguistically heterogeneous urban areas in Ghana, for example Accra, the national capital, and Tema, the largest port and industrial city, English is now being learned as L1 by many children (Ansah and Mensa 2005). The variety of English taught at school in Ghana models standard British English (SBE). Nevertheless, the variety of English spoken in Ghana is uniquely Ghanaian, in many ways different from Standard British English even though the written variety is close to SBE. It is important to note that unlike other non-native varieties of English (e.g. Nigerian English) that have been codified the Ghanaian variety has not been codified. Nevertheless, I shall use the term *Ghanaian English* (GE) because the Ghanaian variety of English is distinguishable in many respects from other non-native varieties, e.g. Nigerian English. The next section reviews how Ghana's language policies (in

education) over the years may have contributed to the current linguistic situation in Ghana.

3.3 Language policy in Ghana and its effects on the language situation

In this section, I present a brief historical overview of language in education policies in Ghana from colonial times, showing how they may have affected and shaped the current linguistic situation in Ghana through time.

Before British colonial rule, language contact had already been established between some ethnic groups along the coast of the then Gold Coast and several European nations (Portuguese, Danish, Dutch and English) through trade and merchandise. This resulted in borrowing of lexical items from the European languages into Ghanaian languages. For example, the Akan words for ‘bread’ *paanoo* and *brodo* are borrowed from Portuguese and Dutch respectively. Again, the Akan word for ‘footwear’, *mpaboa* comes from Portuguese. Throughout this period (1529-1925), during which formal education was introduced in Ghana, the language of administration and formal education depended on which European group was in control at any given time (Agbedor 1994).

However, when Christian missionaries arrived in Ghana, the situation changed. The missionaries were also interested in formal education of the people of their mission field. They also established schools. However, they had different language in education policies. The missionaries developed the Ghanaian languages and used them as media of instruction in the first three years of primary education (Owu-Ewie 2006). Since there were more missionary schools than those of the ruling European groups, the use

of Ghanaian languages in education became so deeply entrenched that according to Bamgbose (2000), when the colonial government took over the administration of education in Ghana in 1925, the policy could not be reversed even though this policy was not an official government legislature but a private policy by the Christian missionaries.

From 1925, when British colonial rule was established the language of government administration was English, and has remained so since. However, policies on the language in education have changed several times. For instance, between 1925 and 1951, the language of education at lower primary (class 1-3) was the child's first Ghanaian language. English replaced the Ghanaian language from primary 4 to university. From 1951-1956, the policy was that a Ghanaian language was used only for the first year (class 1) and English thereafter. Ghana gained political independence from British rule. Interestingly, however, the first Ghanaian administration (1957-1966) adopted an 'English only' language in education policy. With the overthrow of the first government in 1966, the previous language policy (Ghanaian language at first year only) was restored from 1967-1969. Again, the arrival of a new political administration (1970-1974) saw a return to the 1925-1951 policy where a Ghanaian language was used in the first three years of education (See Agbedor 1994 for detailed discussion).

From 1974-2002, the language policy was slightly modified, maintaining the use of a Ghanaian language in the first three years of education. However, whereas in the previous policies, a Ghanaian language could be any of the 79 languages (with the various dialects and subdialects), the 1974-2002 policy defined a Ghanaian language in terms of any of nine selected languages (Akan [Akuapem and Asante Twi and Fante], Dagbani, Dagaare, Ewe, Ga, Adangbe, Gonja, Kasem and Nzema) known as 'languages of the locality'. These languages received budgetary allocations from the

government for their development (teacher training, curriculum development and publications). For example, the Bureau of Ghana Languages, a governmental publishing institution founded in 1951, published material in these languages for pedagogical purposes. In addition, translations of important national information or documents, for example, on health, the abridged version of the constitution etc., are published in these languages as and when it becomes necessary.

Of the nine languages, only five (Akan, Dagbane, Ewe, Ga, and Nzema) are used in national radio and television. Even then this usually takes the form of summary translations of national news or specially designed educational programmes on issues of national concern (health, agriculture, government policies, elections etc) at certain times of the day or week. In effect, what this policy said was that irrespective of the child's native/ethnic language, the language of education was to be the dominant language in the locality where the child went to school. For instance, Ga-speaking children whose parents went on a work transfer from Accra to a Dagaare-speaking community were to receive formal education in Dagaare whether they understood it or not. What this policy did in effect was that children whose L1s were not used as language of education in the first three years of formal education had to learn one or more of the so called 'languages of the locality', in order to receive formal education. This invariably made many Ghanaian children bilingual in other Ghanaian languages.

This longest lasting language in education policy since independence (1974-2002) was changed in 2002, when the then new 'New Patriotic Party' (NPP) government announced an 'English only' policy. Among other things, the government's decision was informed by the realisation that the previous policy was abused by some schools, especially, in rural Ghana where some teachers never used English in the classroom throughout primary school education - English was taught only as a subject, but never

became the language of instruction. As a result, the then minister of education alleged that competence in English language was compromised, with some students not being able to speak or write 'good' English sentences even by the time they complete secondary education (Ameyaw-Akumfi 2002).

While this move by the government provoked various criticisms and fierce debate from Ghanaian linguists, educationists, etc., many parents could not agree more with the government's decision. Many of the criticisms against the new language policy were followed by a call on government to reconsider the policy, challenging the sense or essence of projecting monolingual ideologies in multilingual classrooms⁸. The criticisms may have socio-political undertones. However, the nature of the politics is international rather than local or national; it is a question of Afrocentric/PanAfrican ideology versus an imperialistic one. Indeed, several African scholars (e.g. Ngugi 1986) believe that the continuous use of former colonial languages as the national or official language in African countries indicates a lack of absolute freedom and independence from colonial rule.

For instance, the threat of the then president of Kenya, Arap Moi, to ban all radio broadcasts in languages other than English or Kiswahili in Kenya in 2000 was criticised in very strong terms. According to BBC news report (2000), the president's move was described by an article in *The Nation* as 'a linguistic genocide, a direct contradiction to Pan African efforts to rehabilitate African languages and culture in a post colonial era'.

⁸ The College of Arts and Social Sciences of the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Ghana organized an intra-faculty seminar for students in March 2007 under the theme 'Projecting Monolingual Ideologies in Multilingual Classrooms in Ghana: A Critical look at the English only language in education policy'

Indeed, at the sixth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the African Union organisation at Khartoum, Sudan in 2006, the assembly declared 2006 as the year of African languages. So strong were the criticisms against the 2002 English only language in education policy in Ghana that the NPP government revised it in 2007. The current policy (since September 2007) thus states:

- (1) ‘the medium of instruction in Kindergarten and Lower Primary will be a Ghanaian language and English, where necessary (Ghana Education Reform 2007:1).
- (2) English is the medium of instruction from Primary 4 in the school system. This means that success in education at all levels depends, to a very large extent, on the individual’s proficiency in the language

(MOESS, Teaching Syllabus for English Language, September 2007).

Table 3.1 summarises Ghana’s language in education policies since independence.

Year	Policy summary
1957-1966	English only.
1967-1969	L1 at class 1 only; English thereafter.
1970-1974	L1 from class 1-3; English from class 4 onwards.
1974-2002	L1 (defined) from class 1-3; English thereafter.
2002-2007	English only.
2007-Present	L1 (defined) or English from KG-class3; English thereafter.

Table 3.1: post independence language in education policies in Ghana.

3.3.1 Issues in these policies

From the account so far, it is clear that the various planners of language in education policies in Ghana over the years have attempted to meet the language needs of a highly multilingual population whose education must necessarily position them to be able to interact not only with people of different ethnic backgrounds in their local community but also with people from outside their local community in a world that is becoming increasingly more globalised. More importantly, several of the policies seem to have recognised the importance of mother tongue education to the overall personal and educational development of bilingual children (Cummins 2000, Baker 2000, Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). Unfortunately, the various policies appeared inadequate in addressing the language needs of this highly multilingual community as is reflected in the fluctuations for over 50 years all in search of a language in education policy that will be suitable for a highly multiethnic/multilingual population. Focusing on the 1974-2002 policy, the longest lasting language in education policy in Ghana, I shall suggest in this section that while bilingual education is necessary in Ghana, the constant fluctuations of language in education policies over the years may be attributable to a failure in the implementation of these policies. This failure in implementation in turn may be attributable to the fact that the policies may have been inadequate in addressing the sociolinguistic realities of a highly multiethnic community where people have fluid multilingual identities.

According to Freeland (2003) very often the asymmetrical relations that exist between ethnic groups within multiethnic communities are reflected and reproduced through language. However, she cautions that using such asymmetrical relations as the basis for language policy and language planning, including language in education

policy may produce language policies that treat ethnic groups and cultures (with their languages) as clearly bounded and internally homogeneous. Indeed, recent research on highly multilingual/multicultural communities, e.g. Nicaragua (Freeland 2003) has shown that such models of bilingual education are inadequate for language planning and language in education policy in complex multilingual societies.

While the 1974-2002 language in education policy espoused the benefits of mother tongue education in Ghana, it was inherently problematic. First of all, identifying the child's mother tongue in certain instances within such linguistically heterogeneous contexts may be difficult. This problem is captured in the following quote from Jespersen (1922: 146-147) below:

The expression 'mother tongue' should not be understood too literally; the language which the child acquires naturally is not, or not always his mother's language ... but of those with whom the child comes into closest contact from the age of 3 or so, thus frequently servants but even more effectually playfellows of his own age or rather slightly older than himself.

Even though this definition dispels the temptation to equate the child's mother tongue to the language of his/her ethnic origin, it may still not be entirely adequate in identifying a child's mother tongue in certain linguistic contexts. In fact, recent research in bilingualism suggests that defining mother tongue in complex multilingual contexts is not a straightforward thing at all (Sebba 2000). Indeed, some researchers, (e.g. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985; Skuttnabb-Kangas 1981; and Pattanayak 1981) contend that in multilingual communities it is possible to find people with more than one mother tongue. This is the case for many children in Ghana. For instance, how would we define the mother tongue of a Ghanaian child of Ewe-speaking parentage, who lives in an Akan-speaking community in Accra and attends an English only

medium private school in a predominantly Ga-speaking neighbourhood, and speaks all four languages fluently from an early age? Thus, identifying the child’s mother tongue or even determining which of the child’s mother tongues should be used as a medium of instruction in education in Ghana could be problematic.

For instance, from the demographic information about the 57 Akan-English bilingual participants in this study, by self report, 58.8% of the participants were ethnic Twi, 19.7% ethnic Fante, 10.7% ethnic Bono and the remaining 10.7% reporting that they were not ethnic Akans at all even though they clearly indicated that they were native speakers of Akan. However, when they were asked to indicate their L1, 78% of the participants indicated it as Twi, 7% Fante, 2% Bono, 9% English and Akan, 2% English and 2% others. This shows that participants’ ethnic identities do not neatly correspond to their linguistic identities. Figures 3.5 and 3.6 below show ethnic group and first language distribution of the 57 Akan-English bilingual participants.

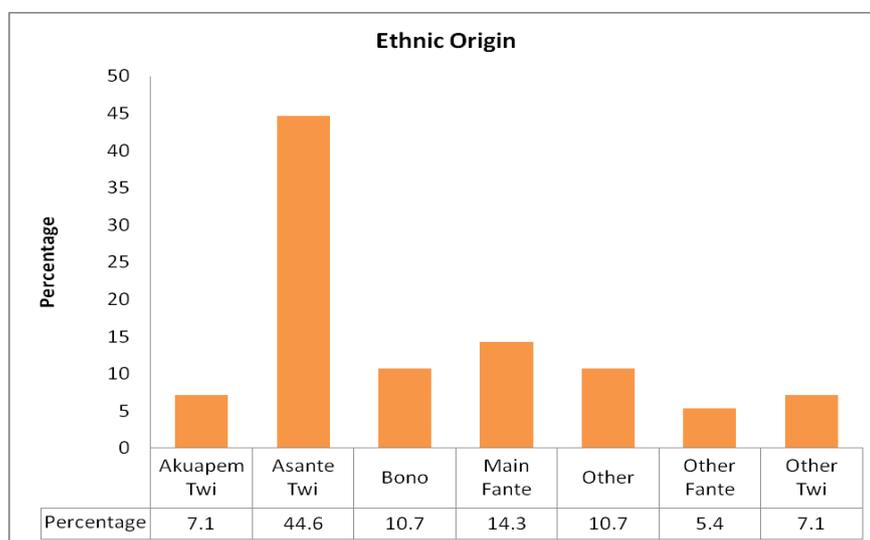


Fig. 3.6: The distribution of ethnic origin in Akan-English bilingual participants.

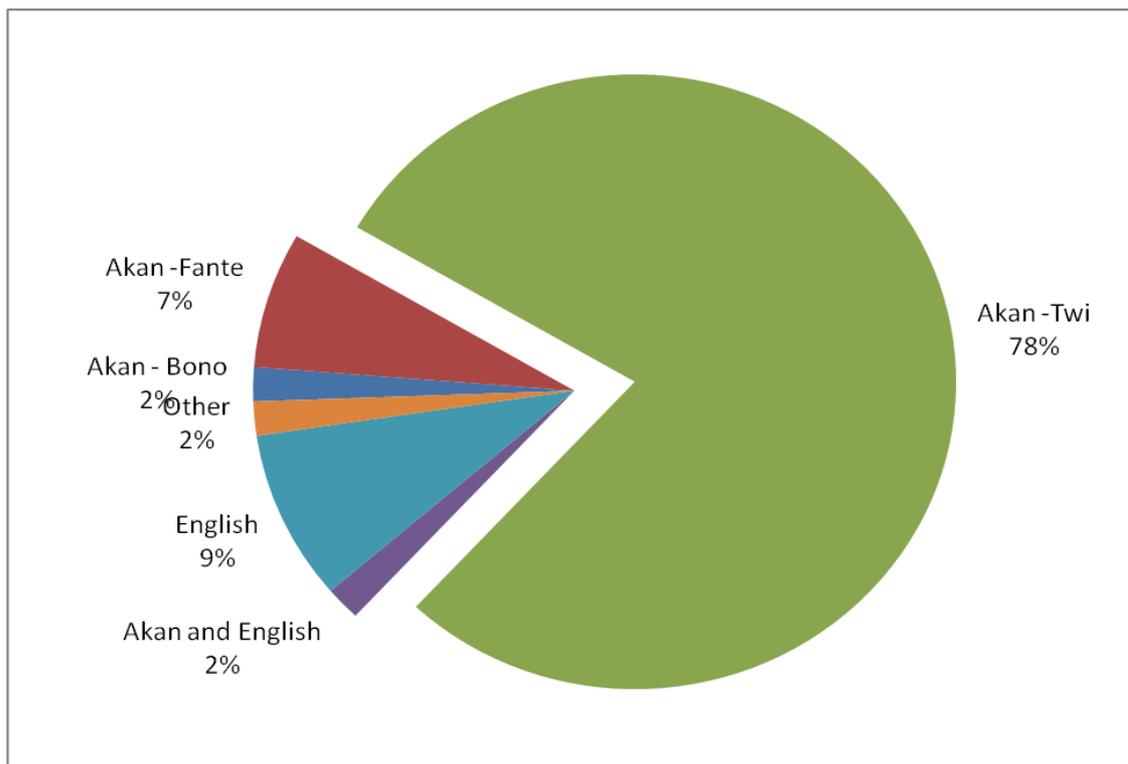


Fig. 3.7: L1 distribution of the 57 Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana.

Figures 3.6 and 3.7 above show clearly that in highly multiethnic/multilingual communities where one's mother tongue does not necessarily correspond to the language of their ethnic origin, identifying or determining the mother tongue or first language of a child may be an extremely complex task. Thus, any language in education policies that are based on assumptions that simply equate a child's mother tongue to the language of the child's ethnic origin in complex multiethnic/multilingual communities may fail to achieve their objectives.

Another short-coming of the 1974-2002 language in education policy in Ghana was the selection of only nine out of the 79 indigenous languages as languages of the localities. This is because assuming that all the 79 languages have native speakers, including school-going children (which they do), the policy deprived several children of the benefits of mother tongue education it sought to achieve. The policy seemed to have assumed, at least that was how it was interpreted, that children living in a

particular geographic region (locality) where a particular Ghanaian language is widely spoken automatically acquire that language as a mother tongue. In effect, what this policy said was that irrespective of the child's mother tongue, the language of education was to be the dominant language in the locality where the child went to school whether the child was positioned to receive instruction in that language or not. Even more problematic was the fact that the selected languages of the localities were not always even the dominant languages in several communities.

Indeed, the concepts of a dominant language and locality are very fuzzy. What counted as a dominant language - was it the ethnic language of a given geographic/administrative region or the language spoken by the majority of the people in that area? For instance, the native language of the capital city, Accra, is Ga. However, Ga is not the most widely spoken language in several parts of Accra. With a rather high rate of rural-urban drift, large groups of native speakers of other Ghanaian languages have settled in Accra, the most urbanized city in Ghana. To a large extent, such fine details of the policy were left to the discretion of the policy implementers. A typical example of this situation is when the implementers of the 1974-2002 policy decided that only Akuapim Twi would be used as the medium of instruction for schools in Akan-speaking towns of the Eastern region even though for many of the Akyem, Kwahu and Asante speaking areas in the Eastern region, Akuapem Twi was neither the mother tongue nor a dominant language.

Thus, inherently, this policy was discriminatory, forcing children from minority language backgrounds living in majority language localities or children from an otherwise dominant language that was not supported by official legislation to adopt another language or dialect (which may be very unfamiliar) as their mother tongue in order to receive formal education. Consequently, this language policy invariably made

many Ghanaian children bilingual in other Ghanaian languages as children whose mother tongues were not used as the language of education in the first three years of formal education had to learn one or more of the so called 'languages of the locality' in order to receive formal education. In other words, even though the letter of the policy espoused mother tongue education, the spirit of the policy encouraged mother tongue education for children from local majority language groups and second language education for children from minority language groups.

Thus, this policy could not address the linguistic needs of the Ghanaian population because it did not consider the sociolinguistic realities of such a highly multiethnic/multilingual population especially Ghana's urban population. One result of the complexity of multilingualism in urban Ghana is the gradual shift from Ghanaian languages to English in several domains of language use among educated Ghanaians among whom cross-cultural/ethnic marriages are high (Ansah and hMensa 2005). Indeed, there are Ghanaian children who acquire English as L1 (see fig. 3.6) a fact the 1974-2002 policy either ignored or overlooked. Perhaps, the 2002 language policy in education was a proactive measure by the government to solve such problems inherent in the 1974-2002 policy. However, the 2002 policy did not solve the problem either for the rural child or a child growing up in a relatively linguistically homogeneous community where the child's first real and possibly only encounter with English could be at school.

The current policy seems to have taken several of these factors into consideration in making room for the use of English or a Ghanaian language where possible. Another thing the current policy does is to include pre-schoolers in the policy, which none of the previous policies did. As it stands, there is more opportunity for children to be taught in their L1. In other words, on the one hand, children who speak English as L1 get to be

taught in English right from the pre-school stage (four years old). On the other hand, while children who speak Ghanaian languages get to be taught in their L1s, they also get to be familiar with the English language, from 4-9 years old, long before it becomes the sole medium of instruction. As is obvious from this section, language in education policies in Ghana over the years have contributed to the current linguistic situation in Ghana. The next couple of sections look at some specific consequences of Ghana's language in education policies on the current linguistic situation in Ghana.

3.4 Consequences of language policy in Ghana I: Bilingualism in English and Ghanaian languages

Ghanaian language-English bilingualism is one consequence of Ghana's language policies over the years where the ability to command English is often a by-product of formal education. Ghanaian language-English bilingualism in Ghana has been described by Sey (1973) as a cline or a continuum where one's level of competence in English corresponds to their level of formal western education creating different types of Ghanaian language-English bilinguals in Ghana. Sey (1973) identified four stages on the Ghanaian-language-English bilingualism cline in Ghana which correspond to the number of years one has had formal contact with English.

Sey (1973) described bilinguals in his first stage (the farthest from native English) as people with 7-10 years of elementary education, i.e. six years primary education and up to four years middle school education, as incipient bilinguals. His second stage comprises people who have had 14-17 years of formal education, consisting of 7-10 years elementary education plus 4-5 years of secondary education and possibly two more years post secondary education. His third stage corresponds to people with

university level education and beyond. He calls his final stage (closest to native English) the stage of ambilingualism, i.e. where the bilinguals have virtually equal command of both of their L1 and L2. However, he concludes that the last stage is so rare that it can easily be ignored in the Ghanaian context. Table 3.2 summarises Sey's four stages of Ghanaian language-English bilingualism in Ghana.

Stage	1:Incipient bilinguals	2:	3:	4: Ambilinguals
Years in School	7-10	14-17	17 +	17 +
Category of people	Primary/middle school levers	Post secondary school levers, e.g. teachers and nurses	University graduates	-

Table 3.2: Sey's four stages of English bilingualism in Ghana

Based on these stratifications, Sey (1973) describes 'Ghanaian English', tentatively, as the variety of English spoken by 'educated Ghanaians', where the educated Ghanaian is described as anyone who has had at least a course of formal instruction in the primary and middle (basic) schools in Ghana (about ten years of learning or continuous formal contact with the language). Dako (2001) disagrees with Sey's tentative description of Educated Ghanaian English as the variety spoken by Ghanaians with at least ten years of formal education, as indeed I do. Obviously, three decades down the lane, situations and language in education policy have changed several times.

For instance, on the one hand, as the then minister of education intimated in 2002, there are people who have gone through ten years of formal education but who cannot

speak or write ‘good’ English, particularly in rural Ghana as well as linguistically homogeneous urban centres. On the other hand, there are people who have had less than seven years of formal education but who can speak and write ‘good’ English, particularly in more linguistically heterogeneous urban centres where several children acquire English as L1 or are exposed to it from a very early stage (before they start school). Many of such children (including those who already have an indigenous L1) are able to speak and write ‘good’ English long before they complete their basic education. In other words, many children are able to develop high levels of English competence which is not commensurate with the number of years in school per se.

Although I disagree with Sey’s position about English ambilingualism in Ghana, as well as his criteria for categorizing different Ghanaian-language-English bilinguals in Ghana, I agree with him on his description of Ghanaian-language-English bilingualism as a continuum or a cline, from near-native varieties through pidgin varieties to sub-standard varieties (also called broken English). It is interesting to note that pidgin English and sub-standard varieties of English (known in Ghana as kru English) have existed for perhaps as long as English has existed in Ghana. However, unlike in other non-native English speaking contexts, e.g. Nigeria, where there is evidence of creolisation (Ofulue 2004), there does not seem to be any evidence of creolisation of English-based pidgins in Ghana. In the next section, I present a brief description of the variety of English used in Ghana. I also suggest an alternative explanation for the differences in the levels of English competence that we find among Ghanaian language-English bilinguals in Ghana.

3.4.1 Ghanaian English

Ghanaian English models Standard British English (SBE) even though there are traces of influence from Standard American English (SAE). Indeed, the written version of Ghanaian English is very similar to Standard British English in terms of grammar and syntax. However, in terms of usage, Ghanaian English, particularly the spoken version, is distinct from Standard British English. The phonetics, certain aspects of morphosyntax, lexis and pragmatics of Ghanaian English are peculiar to the Ghanaian context (Dako 2001). In terms of phonetics, even though Ghanaian English is supposed to model Standard British English (expected to be taught and examined in the school system), the sound systems of the various Ghanaian languages tend to influence the sound repertoire of Ghanaian English. For instance, the following British English vowels (in bold font) often receive different realisations (represented by the cardinal vowels in regular font) in Ghanaian English:

Sound	Word	SBE	GE
/æ → /a/	cat	[kæt]	[kat]
/ʊ , /u → /u/	put/pool	[pʊt, pu:l]	[put, pul]
/ə → /a /	about	[əbaʊt]	[abaʊt]
/ɜ: → /e/	bird	[bɜ:d]	[bed]

Again, the following British English diphthongs are realised either as simple vowels or simply as lengthened vowels in Ghanaian English:

Sound	Word	SBE	GE
/əʊ → /o /	go	[gəʊ]	[go]
/eɪ → /ee/	pay	[peɪ]	[pe:]

Finally, the British English dental fricatives /θ, ð/ tend to be replaced with the alveolar plosives /t, d/ respectively so that thanks [θæŋks] and these [ði:z] are often

realised as [taŋks] and [di:s] among many speakers of Ghanaian English. In addition, since Ghanaian languages are tonal rather than intonational, pragmatic communicative purposes that are achieved in Standard British English via intonation are achieved via non-prosodic verbal particles in Ghanaian English. For instance, while a rising intonation may mark politeness in Standard British English, politeness in Ghanaian English is often expressed via the use of non-prosodic, linguistic particles such as the use of 'please' (Anderson 2010).

Studies on World Englishes (Kachru 1983, Kachru et al 2009) reveal that in addition to the development of distinctive patterns of pronunciation local idioms and loanwords from the L1s also develop in non-native varieties of English. Semantic processes such as extensions and/or restrictions, semantic transfer and shift as well as coinages abound in the vocabulary of the variety of English spoken in Ghana. For instance, in analogy to the word 'enthroned' in Standard British English, coinages like 'enstooled and enskinned' have emerged in Ghanaian English since kings in Ghana sit on stools and animal skins rather than thrones. Apart from coinages that are peculiar to the variety of English in Ghana, the meanings of some already existing British English words have been extended or restricted. For example, in Ghanaian English, 'tea' refers to any beverage to which sugar and milk may be added so that people distinguish between the following: 'milo/cocoa tea', 'coffee tea' and 'tea (bag) tea'. In addition, the meaning of the word 'dinner' has also been restricted to its 'formal evening meal given in honour of somebody or something' sense only. Thus, such elements among others mark the variety of English spoken in Ghana as Ghanaian English. The distinctions between Ghanaian English and British English, and in fact any other variety of English spoken anywhere else can be attributed to the domestication of the English language in Ghana which is necessary in order for the language to be functional in the Ghanaian

geographical and socio-cultural context, i.e. to be able to express flora and fauna, customs and cultural practices, food, clothing etc., which are exotic to the English culture and language.

Thus, while Ghanaian English models British Standard English, there are both intra-linguistic and extra-linguistic factors that influence the super-structure of the variety of English used in Ghana. The three main factors that mark off the variety of English spoken in Ghana as distinctly Ghanaian are: (i) the acquisition process (ii) the context of acquisition (outside its native socio-cultural environment) and (iii) the socio-cultural context in which it is used. The next section examines how the sociolinguistic context within which English is learned may affect English learning achievement in Ghana.

3.4.2 The effects of English learning contexts on English achievement in Ghana

Socio-cognitive theorists of second language learning (e.g. Gardner and Lambert 1972; Gardner 1985; Gardner and Tremblay 1989) have shown that L2 learning involves not only cognitive skills reflecting language learning abilities but also affective measures, e.g. feelings of self-identity and reactions toward other cultural groups. For instance, Gardner (1985:31) asserts that by being a member of a particular socio-cultural milieu, every individual acquires certain beliefs about other people and cultures which evoke certain attitudes in the individual about other people and cultures:

L2 learning is a true social psychological phenomenon that is learned with the development of communication skills between an individual and members of another cultural community.

Gardner defines these attitudes in terms of affective factors such as social prestige, assumed superiority/inferiority etc. which represent an individual's degree of like or

dislike, more generally, their positive or negative views of a person, place, thing, or event. Attitudes have been linked to motivation, a combination of attitudes towards the target language and the effort and desire to learn it (Agnihotri et al 1998). Again, in the literature, attitude-based motivation has been linked to achievement levels in L2 learning.

On the one hand, learners who have positive attitudes towards an L2 are believed to develop an integrative orientation (i.e. a reflection of a sincere and personal interest in the people and culture represented by the language) to the learning experience which leads to a greater motivation to learn the L2 and therefore a successful L2 learning which is reflected in high levels of achievement in the L2. On the other hand, learners with negative attitudes are believed to develop an instrumental orientation (reflecting the practical value and advantages of learning a new language) which produces a lesser motivation to learn L2 and therefore a less successful L2 which is reflected in low levels of achievement in the L2. In other words, positive language attitude has been identified as essential for higher levels of L2 achievement. In this section, however, I wish to suggest that the sociolinguistic context within which English is learned in Ghana produces higher levels of motivation and subsequently better English achievement than attitude-based motivations do.

Generally, the average learner of English in Ghana has a positive attitude towards English (British and American) language and culture. It is prestigious to speak English and speak it well. If you speak it with a native-like accent (without traces of L1 interference, especially in terms of pronunciation), it is even better. In both formal and informal contexts where English is used, people are highly conscious of the level of English competence interlocutors have. Very often, students ridicule teachers of

subjects other than English if the students judge such teachers' competence in English as lower than expected.

The craze for high competence in English, especially spoken English, has resulted in the emergence of what is termed LAFA (Locally Acquired Foreign Accent)⁹ especially among young people in urban Ghana. The acquisition of LAFA is a conscious effort made at speaking English with a native speaker accent¹⁰ through imitation from language material that has been produced from native speaker contexts, e.g. audio recorded pedagogic material, BBC/CNN news, American and British pop music and movies, as well as the few native English people who live and/or work in Ghana. Even people who do not speak English (mainly due to lack of formal education) have a positive attitude towards the English language and its culture. While they may not strive to learn to speak it, they desire their children to speak English and achieve a high level of competence in it as well.

Ideed, in the past, the ability to speak 'the Queen's language' was in itself so prestigious that it was enough motivation for parents who had no formal education to send their children to school. In recent times, however, the reality of the socio-economic power of English not only in Ghana, but all over the world provides more reasons for anybody to want to achieve a high level of competence in English. For instance, there are cases where people are failed in job interviews on the basis of poor expressive power in English. In a particular instance, a member of parliament for my former constituency was denied a second chance in parliament by his constituents who

⁹ Foreign here refers to either native British/American accent (none of the ESL/EFL accents).

¹⁰ The general tendency is to equate native English accent to native English competence.

attributed his inactive involvement in parliament to his lack of competence in English to effectively participate in parliamentary debates. Thus, English learners in Ghana may be said to have a positive attitude towards the language and its culture generally (Guerini 2006; Mfum-Mensah 2005; Saah 1986).

Interestingly, English achievement in Ghana does not reflect this general positive attitude towards the language. While English achievement may well be connected to learners' orientation to the learning experience, the learning orientation learners bring to the learning experience appears to have very little to do with attitudes but more with the sociolinguistic context within which learning takes place. Generally, learners in urban Ghana, which is populated by many linguistically diverse people, tend to have better English achievements than learners in rural Ghana where populations are linguistically less diverse (Ansah and hMensa 2011). For example, as Akan is a widely spoken language in Ghana, Akan learners, especially in linguistically more homogeneous communities, e.g. rural ethnic Akan communities, tend to have an instrumental orientation to learning English in spite of their positive attitudes towards English.

Subsequently, the use of English tends to be restricted to formal and official contexts, e.g. an English lesson classroom or with a teacher who insists on English or a teacher who does not speak the learner's L1. Thus, we may conclude that the sociolinguistic context of learners in linguistically less heterogeneous communities in Ghana provides very little or no motivation to speak or use English outside the classroom/formal context (instrumental orientation). Not only is there very little motivation for learners in such communities to use English with parents, neighbours, strangers, and even the teacher at home, in the market, in the streets, at church etc., but there is equally very little or no motivation for such learners to use English with their

school friends either at home, during break at school or even in class when the teacher is not watching.

In a recent study, Anderson et al. (2008) report that English is the predominant language in many contexts (including religion and everyday life) in urban/peri-urban Ghana. This is so mainly because urban centres in Ghana and many African countries as well are constituted by linguistically very diverse populations. Apart from the fact that people from the various linguistic backgrounds settling in urban centres for one reason or another may not share a common indigenous Ghanaian language, often other nationals who settle in Ghana for one reason or another, and who do not share any of the indigenous lingua francae, tend to live in the urban/peri-urban centres.

Learners in such linguistically heterogeneous communities tend to have a more pressing need/higher motivation to use English in much wider contexts outside official and formal domains (integrative orientation). For instance, such learners are likely to need English to communicate with other students in their class/school, playmates, next door neighbours, church members, shop owners, customers, strangers in the streets and on public transport etc. who may not share any other lingua francae apart from English. Indeed, as is reflected in national exam results, learners of English in urban/peri-urban, i.e. linguistically heterogeneous contexts in Ghana tend to achieve better levels of competence, (as measured by higher grades in English) than learners in rural and thus linguistically homogeneous contexts in Ghana (see Ansah and hMensa 2011).

3.5 Consequences of language policy in Ghana II: Bilingualism in Ghanaian Languages

The second major consequence of the language in education policies in Ghana over the years is the development of bilingual abilities in two or more indigenous Ghanaian languages among several generations of the population. In spite of the complex linguistic situation in Ghana, there is no formal national language. In other words, while the government has prescribed the language of formal and official communication, and language in education, language choice and use is left to the discretion of the individual in other contexts of communication, even at the national level. Here, I make a distinction between official language and national language, where official language refers to a language that is given a special legal status in a country, while a national language refers to a language that is spoken as L1 in a country, and that represents a national identity.

While the distinction may be fuzzy sometimes, three of Brann's (1994) four distinctive meanings of the term 'national language' designate 'territorial, community, or regional' language while his fourth meaning designates 'official language' as defined above. For example, while English is the official language in Tanzania and Kenya, KiSwahili, a lingua franca in East Africa, is the national language in both countries. In this section, I argue that unlike Tanzania and Kenya which, by legislation, have made Kiswahili, an indigenous language the lingua franca for national communication (in addition to English as the official language), Ghana has had no legislation on a national language. This state of affairs together with the various language in education policies discussed above has led to bilingualism in several Ghanaian languages with many speakers from minority ethnic language groups becoming bilingual in their own language and one or more ethnic majority languages.

As has been discussed earlier, the 1974-2002 policy on language in education selected nine out of the 79 indigenous Ghanaian Languages as the ‘languages of the locality’, which were to be used as media of instruction in lower primary education. What this meant was that school-going children from a majority of Ghanaian languages whose L1s did not fall into the nine ‘languages of the locality’ had to become bilingual in at least one of those languages in order to access primary education. Another factor that encourages bilingualism in Ghanaian languages is the secondary school education system. Predominantly, secondary school education occurs in a boarding system, where students from various linguistic backgrounds live together in boarding houses. Even though English is the required language and tends to be the main language in many cases, one or more Ghanaian languages also emerge as popular or prestigious language(s) on campuses. It is interesting to note that factors that influence which Ghanaian language becomes popular in a given secondary school are social rather than linguistic or ethnic, e.g. because it is the language of the geographic location of the school.

For example, the secondary school I attended (and where I learned Ga) is located in an ethnic Akan speaking community. However, the most popular Ghanaian language was Ga not Akan. It was more prestigious to speak Ga because it was the ‘language of the city (Accra)’. Speaking Akan was considered ‘local or unpolished’, and less prestigious. Indeed, Ga was (and still may be) popular or prestigious in many secondary schools in Cape Coast, the Central Regional capital, and the capital of the Fante speaking Akan. For various social reasons, different secondary schools around the country adopt one Ghanaian language or another as a popular/prestigious Ghanaian language.

In the pilot to this study, I found that out of the 25 Akan-English bilingual participants only 36% spoke Akan and English only, 64% spoke at least three languages (Akan, English and another Ghanaian language or another European language, e.g. French or Spanish). Again, of the 57 Akan-English bilingual participants in this study, 19.6% indicated that they had knowledge of (an) other languages in addition to Akan and English. While admitting that there is a lot of bilingualism among Ghanaian languages, it is worth noting, however, that the rate of shift to Akan (bilingualism in Akan and another Ghanaian language) is unmatched. Generally, ethnic Akans in Ghana tend to be the least bilingual in their L1 and another Ghanaian language probably because there is very little sociolinguistic motivation to do so.

3.5.1 Bilingualism and language dominance in Ghana

While it may be easy to identify the cline of English bilingualism in Ghana, it is difficult to categorize bilinguals in Ghana neatly into the labels discussed in chapter two. I have pointed out how difficult it is to select any one of the five language abilities over the others as the basis for determining bilingual ability. The situation gets even more complex if the question of language dominance comes up. For instance, in a situation where a bilingual person appears to speak one of his/her languages better but cannot read or write it, and instead can read and write the other language he/she does not seem to speak well, which of the two languages shall we say he/she is dominant in? In figures 3.8 and 3.9 below, I show how this situation is exemplified among the Akan-English bilingual participants:

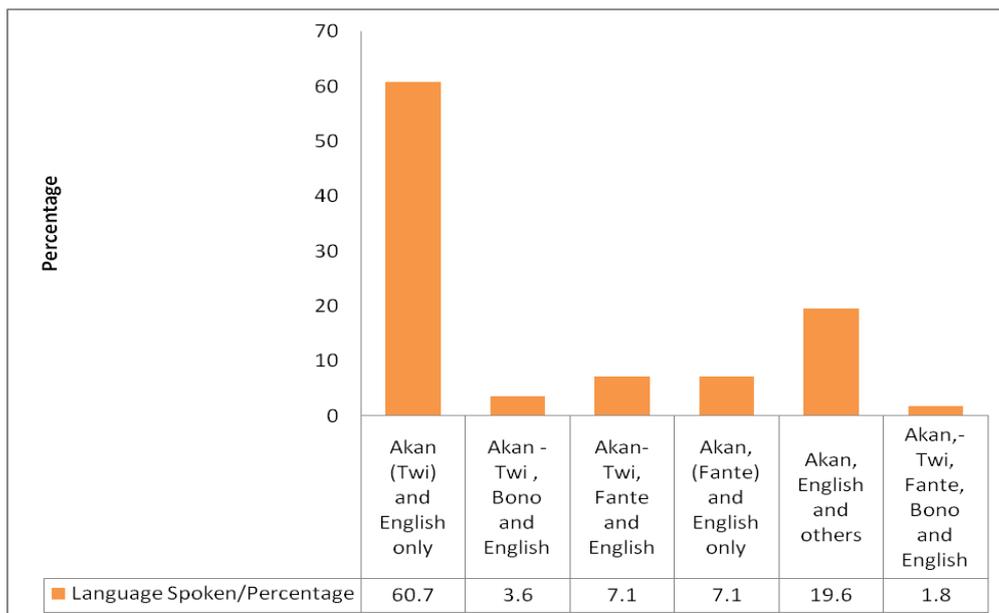


Fig 3.8: Languages spoken by Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana

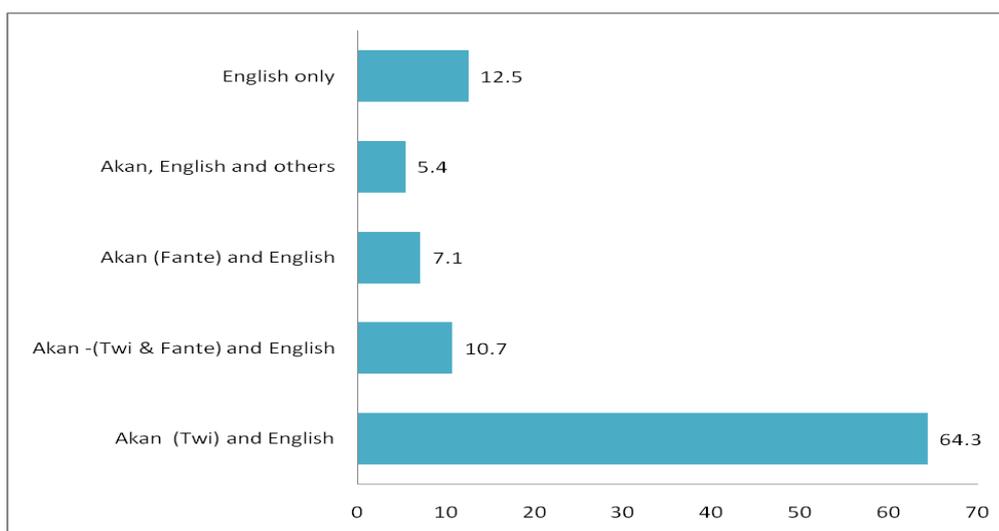


Fig 3.9: Languages written by Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana

From the figures above, it is obvious that while all participants (100%) speak both Akan and English, 12.5% of the participants indicated English as the only language they write. There is a second difficulty I see in trying to categorize bilinguals in Ghana neatly into the categories identified in chapter two. In what category does one put fluent bilinguals who show dominance in one language on certain topics or domains of

communication but more dominance in another language on other topics or domains of communication? In Ghana, many fluent bilinguals show dominance in English in certain communicative situations, particularly in technical, formal scientific aspects of modern life, for example, mathematics, medicine, engineering etc.

However, these same speakers may be more dominant in their various L1s or other Ghanaian languages in other communicative functions, for example, national (modern) security, politics, religion etc. Determining dominance in many bilinguals in Ghana crucially depends on the communicative domain. Obviously, Sey (1973) would revise his position about English ambilingualism in Ghana today for the simple reason that there are many Ghanaian language-English bilinguals who show a balance in their use of their languages in all domains of communication.

3.5.2 Akan-English bilingualism

As has been suggested, ethnic Akans have the lowest tendency to be bilingual in two Ghanaian languages because of the status of Akan in Ghana. However, in the face of the status of English not only in Ghana but the world in general, the status of Akan begins to wane. Indeed, there is evidence of a shift from Akan to English among young children especially in urban centres (Ansah and hMensa 2005). Nevertheless, the same factors that affect Ghanaian language-English bilingualism as discussed above also affect Akan-English bilingualism in Ghana generally. For example, to a large extent the context of English learning affects motivation, orientation and eventually English competence, creating different kinds of Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana.

However, irrespective of learning orientation, depending on their social network, i.e., where they settle later in life, what kind of work they do, and what other social

groups or companies they keep, Akan-English bilinguals may use English either frequently and across several communicative domains or less frequently and restricted to a few communicative domains only. For instance, while the use of English among Akan-English bilinguals who live and work in predominantly Akan-speaking communities will be restricted to official/formal contexts only, the use of English among Akan-English bilinguals who live and work in more linguistically heterogeneous communities may vary, and include both formal and informal contexts. In other words, while some Akan-English bilinguals use Akan in more contexts than English others use both Akan and English more or less equally on a daily basis.

3.6 Linguistic practices in Ghana

Studies on bilingual communities (e.g. Ferguson 1959, Fishman 1967, 1968) have shown that in speech communities where speakers have access to more than one code or a variety of languages, certain language practices and patterns of language choice and use (e.g. diglossia) are common. In Ferguson's typology of diglossia, different varieties of a language may be used for different purposes and in different domains of language use. Fishman (1967, 1968) extends Ferguson's (1959) concept of diglossia to situations in which different languages play the role of high (H) and low (L). In other words, in Fishman's typology, 'broad diglossias, the kind of functional specializations identified by Ferguson are played by different languages rather than different varieties of the same language. Fishman's broad diglossia occurs in Ghana with English and one or more Ghanaian languages playing the H and L varieties respectively.

Thus, among the English-Ghanaian language bilingual population in Ghana, English is typically used in formal contexts while Ghanaian languages are typically used in

informal, especially domestic contexts. For instance, while Akan-English bilinguals are more likely to use Akan in telling a joke, they may instinctively prefer English in discussing Akan taboo topics in the public domain. For example, many Akan-English bilingual medical practitioners prefer to use English if they are confronted with having to engage in public education or discussion (usually on radio and TV) on topics such as sexual practices or sexual diseases. Quite apart from context, language choice in Ghana may also be used a tool for convergence/divergence - an index of the speaker's ethnic or social identity, (e.g. educational background or occupational background). For instance, in a typical formal setting such as a corporate office, where the norm is English, people from the same ethnic group may choose to speak their ethnic language to show solidarity. However, in the same setting, a boss may choose to use English with a subordinate with whom he/she shares a common Ghanaian language in order to create social distance.

Finally, code-switching/code-mixing is a common linguistic practice in Ghana. Indeed, there is evidence of code-switching/code-mixing in the Akan-English bilingual focus group discussion.

3.7 Summary

In chapter 2 (2.2), I looked at some of the existing definitions and criteria for defining bilingualism. A critical examination of these definitions and criteria for definition revealed their inadequacy in accounting for the patterns of bilingualism that exist in highly multilingual speech communities. Using Ghana as a point of reference, the current chapter has further explored the complexity of patterns of bilingualism that exist in highly multilingual communities. Situating Akan-English bilingualism in the

broad sociolinguistic/multilingual milieu in Ghana, the chapter has described the types and sub-types of Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana. The chapter has confirmed the need to take a more careful look at issues of definition and terminology in bilingual studies in order to adequately address the complexity of bilingual patterns that exist in multiethnic/multilingual communities.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the research design adopted in this study. It describes the types and sources of data, the methods of data collection, the analytical framework as well as the procedure of analysis. The research design is discussed in the light of methodological issues in metaphor research and psycholinguistic research on (bilingual) mental representation.

4.2 Data in metaphor research

Metaphor has been studied from several disciplines including rhetoric, philosophy and linguistics. Currently, there are four major approaches to metaphor research in linguistics. These are discourse approaches (e.g. Cameron 2003), corpus-based approaches (Sirvydė 2006), cognitive linguistic approaches (Kövecses 2000, 2002) and psycholinguistic approaches (Martinez 2003, McGlone 1996). In addition, there are other studies that combine approaches, e.g. (Charteris-Black 2004, Koller 2002, Musolff 2004).

On the one hand, cognitive linguistic and psycholinguistic research on metaphor tends to focus on metaphor processing. Nevertheless, while cognitive linguists use linguistic evidence to hypothesise about metaphors, psycholinguists use laboratory-based experiments to test hypotheses about metaphors. On the other hand, discourse approaches to metaphor research focus on how metaphors are used or realised in context-based language use while corpus approaches tend to focus on metaphor occurrence as well as frequency of metaphor occurrence in context-based language

events. Again, discourse approaches, corpus-based approaches and cognitive linguistic approaches typically base their conclusions on inferences from linguistic data. However, psycholinguistic approaches typically base their conclusions on one psychological phenomenon or another even though they may also use linguistic data.

Because these approaches focus on different aspects of metaphor research, each approach tends to be associated with particular kinds of data as well as methods of data collection and analysis. For instance, in discourse approaches to metaphor research, linguistic metaphors are gathered, typically by hand search, from spoken or written texts, corpus approaches rely on large organised corpora sources for data collection. It is worth noting that corpus approaches to metaphor research are different from attempts at automated metaphor cognition put forth by artificial intelligence research.

Again, earlier works in cognitive linguistic approaches to metaphor research (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1987), seemed to generate language data through (native speaker) intuition. However, psycholinguistic approaches (e.g. Martinez 2003) typically elicit data through task-based experiments, usually controlled under laboratory conditions. The current study is conducted under the broad cognitive tradition – combining methods from psycholinguistics and cognitive linguistics. Section 4.7 explains the rationale for combining methods from the two approaches.

4.3 Data in this research

The study used three sets of linguistic data for analysis. The first set of data consists of conventional metaphorical expressions of ANGER and FEAR in native/monolingual¹¹ British English. The second set of data consists of conventional metaphorical expressions of ANGER and FEAR in native/monolingual Akan in Ghana. The final set of data consists of metaphorical expressions of ANGER and FEAR in English among fluent Akan-English bilinguals in urban Ghana, who are native speakers of Akan and second language speakers of English (cf. 4.6.3).

4.3.1 Sources

There were three sources for the data in this study: intuitively generated primary data, secondary data and elicited data. Firstly, based on my native speaker's intuition, conventional linguistic metaphors of ANGER and FEAR in Akan were intuitively generated based on popular sayings and clichés such as are found in ordinary, everyday expressions about the two conceptual domains. Secondly, conventional metaphorical expressions in native English were collated from previous studies of conventional conceptual metaphors in English using data from diverse sources (Lakoff 1987, Kövecses 1990, 2000, 2002, Sirvydé 2006, Soriano 2003). While Lakoff's and Kövecses's study are based on American English, Sirvydé's study is based on British

¹¹ I use the terms interchangeably in this study to refer to the variety of English and Akan which is available to both monolingual and non-monolingual native speaker populations of the respective languages (Cf.1.2)

English (BNC). The use of data from both American and British English is justified by the fact that even though Ghanaian English models Standard British English, Standard American English has enormous influence on Ghanaian English (cf.3.4.1).

Finally, words and phrases that belong to the selected domains were systematically elicited from three sets of participants: native British English speakers in England, native Akan speakers in rural and semi-rural ethnic Akan towns in Ghana, and fluent Akan-English bilinguals in urban Ghana. Focus group discussions and written questionnaires were the main means by which the final set of data were elicited. Section 4.5 gives a detailed account of the data elicitation process.

4.4 Data collection methods in language and cognition research

Cognitive linguistics and cognitive psycholinguistics are two key areas of research in the cognitive tradition. However, they tend to adopt different methodological approaches to research in order to answer different questions about the same or similar topics. Under the assumption that linguistic data can provide information about cognitive processes, cognitive linguists use linguistic evidence to hypothesise about cognitive behaviour. Earlier studies in cognitive linguistics, (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Kövecses 1991), appear to have relied solely on intuitively generated linguistic data for analysis (Evans and Green 2006) even though Deignan (2005) speculates that the data used by such researchers may have been taken from expressions supplied or elicited from the researchers' native English speaker students, and supplemented by metaphorical expressions found in media texts.

On the other hand, Gass and Mackey (2007:16) have argued that the nature of psycholinguistic research, answering questions about mental processes in language,

makes it generally experimental even though they admit that naturalistic data may be more appropriate in addressing some psycholinguistic questions if it is assumed that language data can provide information about cognitive processes that underlie language production. Though minimally used, such phenomena as hesitation, pause, automaticity, which occur in the natural use of language in context have been employed in psycholinguistic research, (e.g. Kormos 2000) on the assumption that speech performance can provide information about the cognitive processes that underlie that performance.

While naturalistic data may have the advantage of deriving from the natural use of language in context, there are two major challenges: one, variables cannot be easily controlled; and two, the data collection period may be prolonged. In any case, psycholinguistic research into (bilingual) cognition generally tends to rely on task-based experiments such as word association, lexical decision, priming, recall and think-aloud protocols to elicit data for analysis. For instance, Bialystok et al (2004), Saygin (2001), and Martinez (2003) have all used semantic/pragmatic based tasks to investigate aspects of bilingual cognition.

The use of intuition as the only data collection method for metaphor research in cognitive linguistics has been criticised for a number of reasons (Deignan 2005, Sinha 2007). First of all, it potentially limits metaphor research to native speakers only. Secondly, intuition relies on storage and retrieval of information in and from memory respectively. However, as Deignan (2005:85) contends, human memory is limited. Therefore, it is impossible for any single individual to remember all the words, their meanings and use in their native language. Finally, using intuition as the sole data collection method makes replicability of the research or the verification of its findings very difficult, if not impossible.

Subsequently, psycholinguistic approaches to data collection, especially the use of elicitation, seem to be replacing the intuitive method of data collection in cognitive linguistic research. For instance, Kövecses (1995) interviewed 17 adults about the topic ‘friendship’ to generate linguistic data from which metaphors were extracted to form his database. In a second study Kövecses (2000) asked university students to write any number of sentences that contained the words ‘friendship and friend’. Again, metaphors were extracted from the over 500 generated sentences to form the database for his study. This study combines elicitation and intuition to generate linguistic data for analysis.

4.4.1 Data elicitation techniques in psycholinguistics

Generally, psycholinguistic research elicits data through two main techniques: prompted production and prompted responses. Whereas prompted production tasks are basically designed to give participants, usually second language speakers, the opportunity to plan what they will say, in prompted responses, participants or speakers are provided with stimuli to which they must respond in some way. There are several ways by which prompted responses may be elicited in traditional psycholinguistic research. These include word association, priming and lexical decision.

Word association involves presenting participants with a list of words and asking them to provide the first words they connect with the words on the list. Word association which aims at gaining access to language users’ minds is usually employed to investigate semantic networks of language users. The assumption here is that learning about the word association that speakers make may provide a window onto how their lexicon is organised. For example, Meara (1978) has used this data collection

technique to investigate the semantic networks of 78 native French English speaking students.

Fundamentally, priming tests a particular aspect of memory. It involves presenting two stimuli (the prime and the target) successively to participants who are expected to respond to the target stimulus in a certain way. If the prime stimulus influences the target stimulus in any way, priming is said to have occurred. Priming techniques include sentence repetition, oral or written completion of sentence fragments, and sentence or word recall. For example, McDonough (2006) has used syntactic priming in dyadic interaction to investigate the acquisition of dative constructions among second language learners.

Lexical decision tasks, which are often combined with priming, present real and nonsense words to participants who are then asked to decide whether particular forms are legitimate words or not in as quick and accurate a manner as they can. Silverberg and Samuel (2004) have used lexical decision tasks to examine the organisation of bilinguals and L2 learners' lexicons. While this study uses elicited data, the elicitation techniques employed do not exactly conform to these traditional psycholinguistic methods even though there may be similarities between them. The next section describes the various elicitation techniques employed in this study.

4.5 Data collection methods in this research

Elicitation methods of data collection may appear better than intuitive methods. However, they have their own challenges. For instance, data from laboratory-controlled experiments may have the advantages of maximizing accuracy and taking less time to gather. Nevertheless, the data gathered from this method may not fully reflect natural

cognitive processes as much as naturally occurring and spontaneous data may do. Gardner-Chloros (2008:58) argues that confronting subjects with controlled experimental tasks, such as pressing a button when they detect a change, does not inform us about natural bilingual behaviour.

In addition, it has been argued that like intuitive data, elicited data in metaphor research (e.g. through prompted production) may yield innovative rather than conventional metaphors (Deignan 2005, Cameron 1999). It must be emphasised here though that conventionality may be important in metaphor research but it needs not be the basis for making statements about how metaphors in general reveal mental processes. In any case, conventionality is an acquired rather than inherent feature of metaphor; every conventional metaphor must have been a novel metaphor at some point in time. Nevertheless, there may be advantages in using elicited data in metaphor research, especially if the elicitation occurs in a natural context of language use. This study employed focus groups and short open-ended questionnaires to elicit words and phrases about ANGER and FEAR in Akan and English. The items on the open ended questionnaire were the basis for the focus group discussions (see appendix C for sample questionnaire and 4.5.3 for a detailed description of the questionnaire). The next section describes how the focus group interviews were organised.

4.5.1 Focus groups

Focus groups may be described as a kind of interview, a structured group process that is used to collect detailed information about a particular topic (Codo 2008). Typically, focus group interviews take place in a controlled environment. The use of focus groups for elicitation in this study was motivated by a couple of factors. First of

all, focus groups provide a more controlled environment to be able to focus on specific language forms. Secondly, it allows for the researcher to probe for clarification and solicit greater detail. In addition, responses from focus group discussions have high face validity due to the clarity of the context and detail of the discussion. Furthermore, focus groups were preferable to one-on-one interviews because they have the potential to promote peer interaction, the exchange of ideas among participants (Codo 2008). In other words, focus groups, which are considered a collectivistic rather than an individualistic method of elicitation, could allow for multivocality of experiences (Dzokoto and Okazaki 2006). Since two sets of the participants (native Akan and Akan-English bilinguals) were familiar with communities where communal gatherings for social interaction are part of daily living, focus groups were preferred to one-on-one interviews.

These advantages notwithstanding, the technique has potential challenges. In the first place, focus group interviews require a highly skilled individual as a moderator. In this study, in addition to myself, three trained others, i.e., a female graduate student and two male undergraduate students, were moderators for the focus group discussions. In addition, groups are often difficult to assemble. In Ghana, this was particularly so for non-student participants, especially, getting participants to assemble at the researcher's own chosen/controlled environment. To get around this potential difficulty, the focus group discussion in this study took place in participants' own settings (see 4.6.2 & 4.6.3 for detail).

Each focus group consisted of 8-15 participants who generated linguistic expressions about FEAR and ANGER from which metaphorical expressions were extracted for analysis. The total number of native Akan participants and Akan-English participants can only be approximated (see 4.6.2 & 4.6.3) because of how the focus

group discussions were conducted. That is to say, because the settings within which the focus group interviews took place were not controlled participation was open to everybody and anybody who wished to participate. It also meant that participants could join in and leave the group at anytime. Nevertheless, at any point in time during the discussions there were not less than eight people and not more than 25 in a group.

Another disadvantage of focus group discussion is that it may not be appropriate to elicit certain kinds of information in certain contexts. For instance, focus groups were considered the least appropriate technique for eliciting biographical information in Ghana because the technique could be potentially face-threatening to some participants within the Ghanaian socio-cultural communicative context where age is an important social factor. In addition, outspoken participants could actually change the focus of the discussion. For example, in one native Akan focus group discussion, a self-appointed leader of the group kept shifting the discussion of feelings of anger and fear to the discussion of male and female roles in marriage, pulling the other members of the group along with him. Unfortunately, not even the intervention of the research assistant could bring them back on track. As a result, data from that particular group were not included in this study.

In addition, focus groups can limit the amount and kind of data one can gather (Codo 2008). For instance, participants are likely to provide general information rather than information that is specific to the individual's private life just to protect their privacy. This was true of both native/monolingual and Akan-English bilingual participants during the elicitation process – several contributors had to be prompted time and again to move from general to more personal experiences. Again, focus groups may obstruct the free flow of information from participants of certain

temperaments, e.g. reserved/shy participants. The use of the written questionnaires in the elicitation process was in part to address this limitation in focus group discussion.

Finally, while focus groups appear to be very appropriate in more oral communities, e.g. rural Ghana, the technique appears to be less appropriate in less oral communities, e.g. UK. Indeed, while it was easy to get participants for the focus group in Ghana, especially rural Ghana, it was very difficult to get participants for the focus group in England. Of course this may also be attributable to the differences in socio-cultural organisation of leisure time as well as general lifestyle patterns in the two communities.

4.5.2 *Visual stimulus*

As an attempt to minimize the potential challenges posed by elicited data, the study employed a visual stimulus. A short film was developed by a lecturer at the Theatre Arts Department, University of Ghana, Legon, and acted by students/graduates from the same department to provide an appropriate context for the elicitation, and also to possibly stir ANGER and FEAR emotions among participants. The film expressed the following thematic concern: a wife shows gross disrespect towards her husband through her angry and insulting outbursts both in private and in public. As a result of his wife's behaviour, the man commits suicide.

In the opening scene, the man timidly asks his wife to help their housemaid organise dinner for his work colleagues who are visiting from the United States of America. This evokes angry and insulting outbursts from his wife. Eventually, she agrees to grant his request on condition that he gives her his car to go to the market. The man reluctantly obliges after which he enters his bedroom, pulls a gun and puts it back after a little contemplation. In the next scene, the man and his colleagues are happily having dinner

in the man's home. At table, the man's request for his wife to pass him the salt is met with another angry and insulting outburst. Everybody at table freezes with shock at the woman's outburst. The husband leaves the table quietly and shoots himself (see appendix A).

My motivation for using the short film as a stimulus in the elicitation process was informed by the fact that previous cognitive/psycholinguistic research into metaphor that employed elicitation (stimulus statements or laboratory controlled experiments) to generate data for their studies, (e.g. Kövecses 1995, 2000, McGlone 1996), did not pay attention to the influence of context, linguistic or extra-linguistic on the data. The use of the short film as a stimulus, therefore, was a way of providing a quasi naturalistic context for the elicitation. Apart from creating a quasi naturalistic context, the use of visual stimulus was meant to evoke the two emotions among participants to ensure that the elicited data were as close to naturally occurring data as possible. Indeed, neuroscience research (BBC News 2010) suggests that there is a mirror mechanism for emotions, i.e. the same brain regions that are active when one feels an emotion are also active when one witnesses the emotion on someone else.

For instance, in one native Akan focus group, when a group member prompted another group member who had not said anything to make his contribution, the second group member retorted that he was quiet because he had been angered by what he had seen, and that since he usually prefers to be quiet when he is angry, he was not in the mood to talk. Obviously, if the majority of the participants had the same or similar temperament, the picture stimulus could have affected the elicitation process negatively, i.e. produce scanty data. Fortunately, that was not the case. Another instance that suggests that the picture stimulus was effective in stirring some emotions in at least some participants also came from the native Akan focus group where some

participants (all apprentice artisans) began to tease a particular colleague during the discussion on anger. He initially told his colleagues to stop. When they failed to stop, he started raising his voice at them and eventually insulted them. His colleagues reacted by laughing and alerting him that he had just illustrated being angry.

In addition, since picture images generally tend to be socially constructed, they may be used to explore public representation of a particular aspect of social life, i.e. they can help invoke comments and memories as well as define identities, history and relationships.¹² A number of studies (e.g. Pavlenko 2002, Pavlenko and Driagina 2007, Pavlenko 2008) have elicited data by short films in investigating conceptual equivalence in sequential bilinguals.

There were two versions of the film, an Akan and English version. The native Akan groups watched the Akan version of the film while the native English and Akan-English bilingual groups watched the English version of the film. Each focus group watched the 9-minute film on a lap top after which there was an average of 12-18 minute discussion of what they had watched (as a prelude to the oral discussion of the designed questionnaires). The written questionnaires were administered to the native English and Akan-English bilinguals immediately after the focus group discussions. However, due to possible significant levels of illiteracy among native Akan participants, the questionnaires were administered orally only to the native Akan focus groups (cf.4.5.3). Consequently, there were more focus group recordings for the native/monolingual Akan group to compensate for the non-use of written

¹² I got this idea from a lecture given by Uta Papen of Lancaster University in 2009.

questionnaires. To ensure that participants were as comfortable as possible, the elicitation took place in their own premises or work environment.

In all, a total of approximately 618.96 minutes in 39¹³ focus group discussions (an average of 14.73 minutes per group) were audio recorded with a sony digital audio recorder for transcription. There was 361.25 minutes recording of 28 native/monolingual Akan groups, 207.22 minutes recording of 9 Akan-English bilingual groups and 50.49 minutes recording of 2 native/monolingual English groups. The focus group interviews began with general discussions of the short film - what participants thought about the characters and their roles. Then participants were led to relate the short film to their own personal experiences. Short open-ended questions (from written questionnaire) were the basis for much of the discussions.

The transcription of the entire discourse in each focus group was not based on any conversation analytical conventions. Instead, I simply rendered in writing words, phrases and clauses participants used during the discussions. However, I provided inter-linear glossing, a literal translation and a functional equivalent in English of all Akan expressions. In the following example, I present a sample transcription of a response to one of the questions discussed in the focus groups, i.e. *why did the man in the film kill himself?*

Ne-bo fu-e.

His/her- chest grow weed-past

His chest grew weeds/became weedy

¹³ This is the total for all three groups combined.

He was angry

All inter-linear glossing and translations were cross-checked with three other research students who are native speakers of Akan and Akan linguists. A full transcript of the Akan-English bilingual focus group data is appended to this study (appendix D). While the presence of a recorder may produce monitored rather than unmonitored language, audio recording has several advantages. First, audio recorded data allows for repeated and deferred observation. Additionally, the data are made available to support analytic claims especially in qualitative analysis where the validity and complexity of analysis rely on detailed transcription. Again, audio recording creates audio databases which can be used for comparative analysis. In other words, other researchers can review the actual data used and to draw independent conclusions. Finally, audio recording may capture the immediate context of the phenomenon under investigation (Clemente 2008:177-178).

4.5.3 *Written questionnaires*

The questionnaire consisted of twenty items in three sections. Section A consisted of eight items and sought to elicit biographical information, namely, age and language history about participants. Section B consisted of six items and sought to elicit words/phrases about ANGER. Finally, section C consisted of six items and sought to elicit words/phrases about FEAR. Sections B and C were composed of short open ended questions (see appendix B for sample questionnaire). While the questionnaires were administered both orally and in writing to the bilingual and native English participants, they were administered orally only to the native Akan participants. In the case of the bilingual and native English participants, the written questionnaires were given out

immediately after the focus groups. However, in the case of the monolingual Akan participants, the questionnaire was administered as part of the focus groups only (see appendix A for a sample questionnaire). In all, 57 Akan-English bilingual questionnaires and 15 native/monolingual English questionnaires were analysed in this study (see appendix C for a reproduction of the bilingual questionnaire data).

Generally, the use of questionnaires tends to be ideal for collecting quantifiable data even though the method may be used to complement other methods for non-quantifiable data collection. For example, while focus groups was used because it was considered to potentially encourage the exchange of ideas among participants, it was also realised that focus groups may potentially obstruct the free flow of information from certain types of participants, e.g., reserved or shy participants. Thus, the use of written questionnaires was to enable such participants to fully participate in the elicitation process. Again, in view of the limitations of focus group in eliciting biographical information in the Ghanaian socio-cultural communicative context, the use of written questionnaires was considered a more appropriate technique for gathering biographical information about the Akan-English bilingual participants.

4.6 Participants

This section provides brief background information about participants who formed the focus groups as well as respondents for the written questionnaires

4.6.1 Native English participants

Participants for the native English data were 15 residents/natives of Lancashire in the North West of England. They consisted of university students, taxi drivers, care assistants, shop assistants, unemployed people and home makers. Participants were put into two focus groups, a student group and a non-student group. The student group was made up of eight undergraduate students (3 male and 5 female) who did several modules together on, at least, three days a week. The non-student group consisted of seven friends (2 male, 5 female) who met regularly in each other's home after work to chat. Each group was shown the short film before the discussions began. The discussions took place in participants' usual environment, i.e., a classroom and a friend's home respectively. The selection of the groups was based on the fact that they could potentially form communities of practice. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992:464) define community of practice as:

“an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavour . . . practices emerge in the course of this mutual endeavor”.

The selection of quasi communities of practice as participants in the focus group was important because it could enhance the quality of data that were gathered. For example, the fact that group members were already familiar with each other could provide a relaxed atmosphere and thereby promote the free flow of information. The written questionnaires were filled in immediately after the focus group discussions.

4.6.2 Native Akan participants

Participants for the native Akan data were residents/natives of two rural (Akim Wenchi) and semi-rural (Akim Oda) ethnic Akan communities in Ghana. Even though most of the 8-15 people in each focus group contributed to the discussion, it is possible that a few people may not have talked throughout the discussion. Thus, we may estimate that an average of 10 participants contributed to the discussion in each of the 28 groups. Consequently, the number of native/monolingual Akan participants may be estimated at 280.

Both Oda and Wenchi are ethnic Akyem-speaking Akan towns. Akim Wenchi is one of the several rural communities in the Kwaebibirem District. The 2000 Population and Housing Census in Ghana (GSS 2002) put the projected overall district figure at 196,992. Out of the district figure, approximately 10,000 people, representing roughly 5% may be estimated to live in this town; this estimate is based on the size and population concentration of the town in relation to those of other towns in the district. The population consists mainly of small-scale miners and/or subsistence farmers and petty traders most of whom are natives of the town, the rest being immigrant small-scale miners from neighbouring communities.

On the other hand, Akyem Oda is a relatively bigger town in terms of area, population and economic activity. The 2000 Population and Housing Census (GSS 2002) put the projected figure for Oda at 42,699. It is the administrative capital of the Birim Central Municipal Assembly (formerly Birim South District), which is constituted by Akyem Twi-speaking communities. Due to its political status as district capital, Oda has assumed some peri-urban features, making it a commercial capital, not only for the towns in the Twi-speaking district but also for neighbouring rural Fante

communities (cf. 3.2.2). Thus, the selection of the two towns for the native data collection is appropriate because the populations of these two towns are representative of native Akan speaking populations in Ghana. In other words, while not ruling out the possibility that some of the participants could be non natives of these areas or even non-ethnic Akans, the fact remains that potentially, they are all native speakers of one dialect of Akan or another. The following map shows the locations and boundaries of the two selected ethnic Akan towns in Ghana for this study:

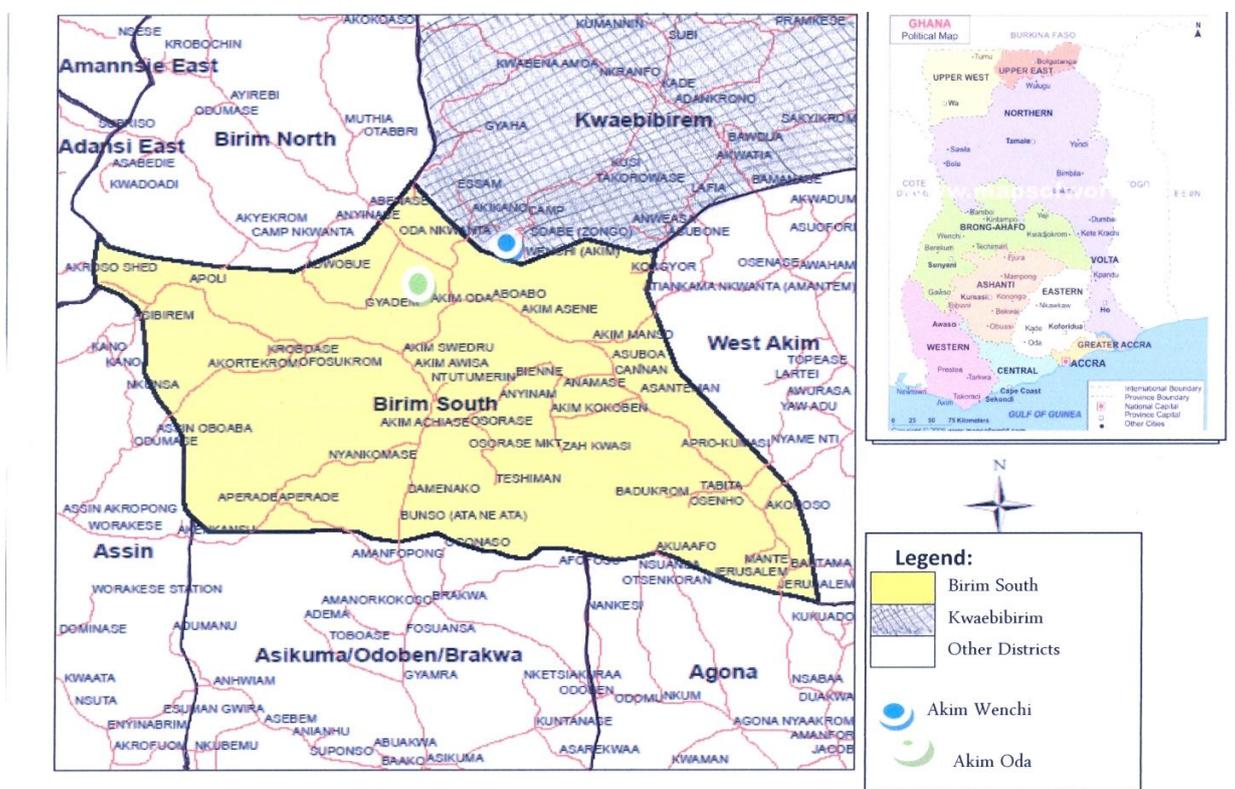


Fig.4.1. A map showing the locations and boundaries of Akim Oda and Akim Wenchi, the study towns within their respective districts.

Native/monolingual Akan participants consisted of traders, kitchen staff (cooks and labourers) of a secondary school and a primary school, and trainee artisans (carpenters, hairdressers, welders and dressmakers). Generally, people of this category in Ghana tend to have very little or no formal education at all. As a result of the potential

illiteracy, the native Akan participants were not made to fill in the written questionnaires. Since the elicitation among native Akan participants was oral only, there was no formal elicitation of biographical information. This is because lack of formal education is generally considered a disadvantage with very negative connotations in Ghana. Thus, directly asking people in public for information that includes formal education background in a population such as the one described above could be potentially face threatening to participants. Indeed, participants, especially those who have had no formal education at all could interpret it as an impolite behaviour on the part of the researcher.

4.6.3 Akan-English bilingual participants

An estimated 108 participants (average of 12 people per group in 9 groups) participated in focus group discussions which were recorded in 207.22 minutes – an average of 23.02 minutes recording per group. Participants in this group were restricted to Akan-English bilinguals who are native speakers of Akan, and second language speakers of English. The reason for limiting the participants to bilinguals in Akan and English only is to limit the potential influence of other languages on the findings. Considering the status of Akan as a defacto national language in Ghana (see 3.2.2), there are many native speakers of Akan who speak no other language, Ghanaian or European even though they may know words or phrases from other languages. Similarly, it is not difficult to find Akan-English bilinguals who are bilinguals in Akan and English only, acquiring English as a result of formal education (see fig. 3.8).

In order to increase the chances of using participants who speak English as a second language, the selected participants were between 18 years and 41 years old. Akan-

English bilinguals within this age bracket are more likely to have learned English as a second language as per the 1974-2002 three-year mother tongue language in education policy in Ghana. Again, to increase the chances of getting fluent bilinguals, participants were drawn from urban Ghana. The bilingual participants were further sub-divided into two groups: the 18-25 age group and 26-41 age groups. All groups were quasi communities of practice. The division was to increase maximum participation in the focus group discussions. This is because a generation gap could potentially inhibit free and open discussion, especially of personal feelings or emotions, in a culture where it is generally considered disrespectful for a young person to be found in adult circles of conversation. Thus, the division was meant to create culturally acceptable peer groups within which participants would feel comfortable to engage in open discussions.

The 18-25 year group was further sub-divided to facilitate the elicitation process. There were all male groups (e.g. K-block of Akuafu Hall, University of Ghana, Legon); all female groups (e.g R-block of Akuafu Hall, University of Ghana, Legon); and mixed groups (e.g. The Legon Seventh-day Adventists Students Fellowship). One thing that all three sub-groups shared was the potential to use both Akan and English regularly. On the one hand, because there is a sizeable number of native Akan speakers around them, they are likely to use Akan frequently. On the other hand, the participants are likely to use English regularly due to the presence of students from other ethnic/linguistic backgrounds on their blocks/rooms/fellowship, or indeed because English is the official language on campus. On average, university students spend about seven months a year at school. Thus, at least, for the time that these participants are enrolled on their programmes they are likely to use both Akan and English frequently.

Participants in the 26-41 age groups consisted of Akan-English bilinguals who were workers or professionals in the Accra-Tema metropolis. Again, there were three sub-groups: an all male group consisting of seven people, an all female group consisting of eight people and a mixed group consisting of four males and four females. While the single sex groups were workers who were seeking admission to university education through a mature entrance access programme organized by the Adult Education Centre of the University of Ghana, Legon the mixed group was constituted by members from the Legon Seventh-day Adventists Church.

Again, the common feature among all three groups is the high probability of using both Akan and English on a regular basis. While they are native Akan speakers and may speak Akan at home with family, relatives and neighbours, depending on where they live, they are likely to use English more regularly at work with colleagues from other ethnic/linguistic backgrounds or simply because English is the official language in all formal settings in Ghana. For instance, even though many of the members of the Legon Seventh-day Adventist church are graduates or staff of the University of Ghana, Legon, and work in formal setups where the use of English is required, these members live with relatives or housemaids who do not command English at all, and who are also members of the church. As a result, the church officially uses both English and Akan for its programmes. The figures below sum up the biographic information about the bilingual participants.

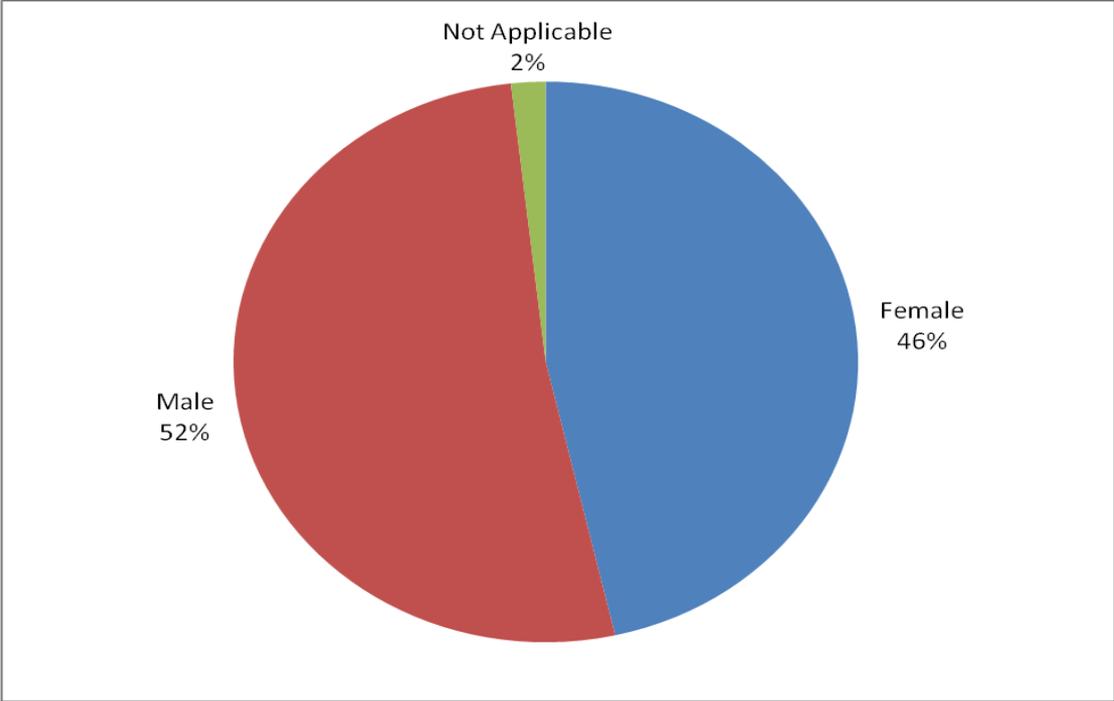


Figure 4.2: Gender distribution of the Akan-English bilingual participants (not applicable shows participants who did not indicate their gender).

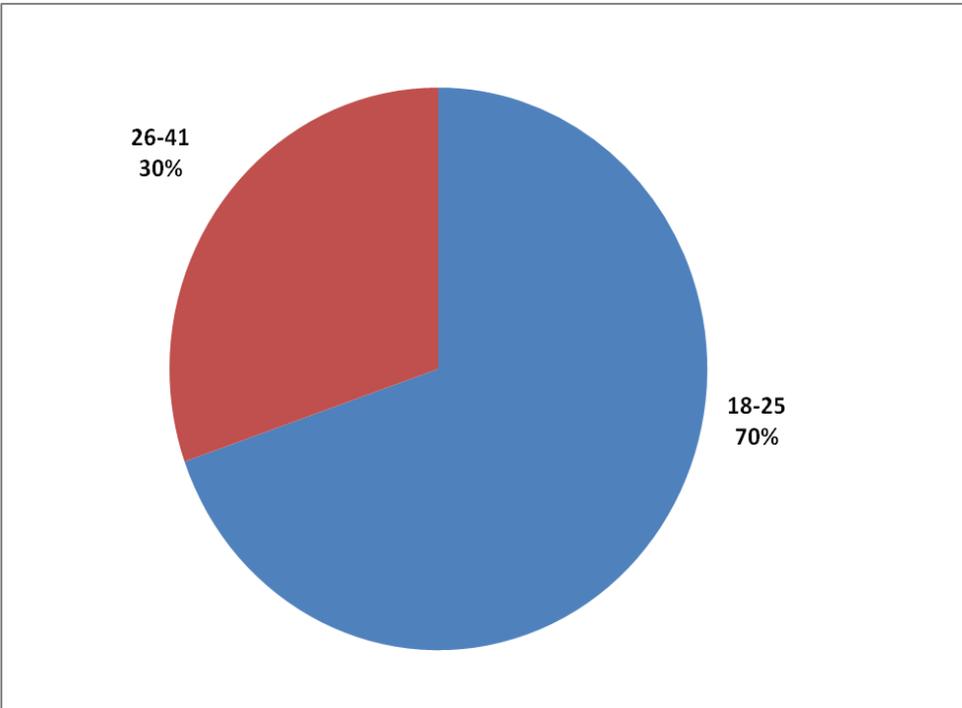


Figure 4.3: Age distribution of the Akan-English bilingual participants.

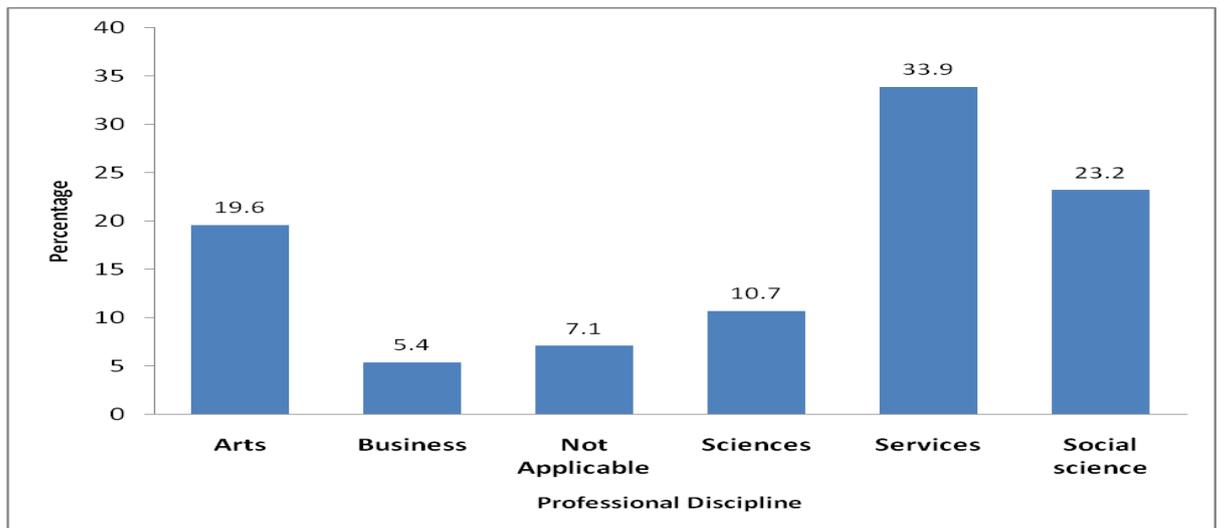


Figure 4.4: Professional/academic background of Akan-English bilingual participants (not applicable shows participants who did not specify their professional background).

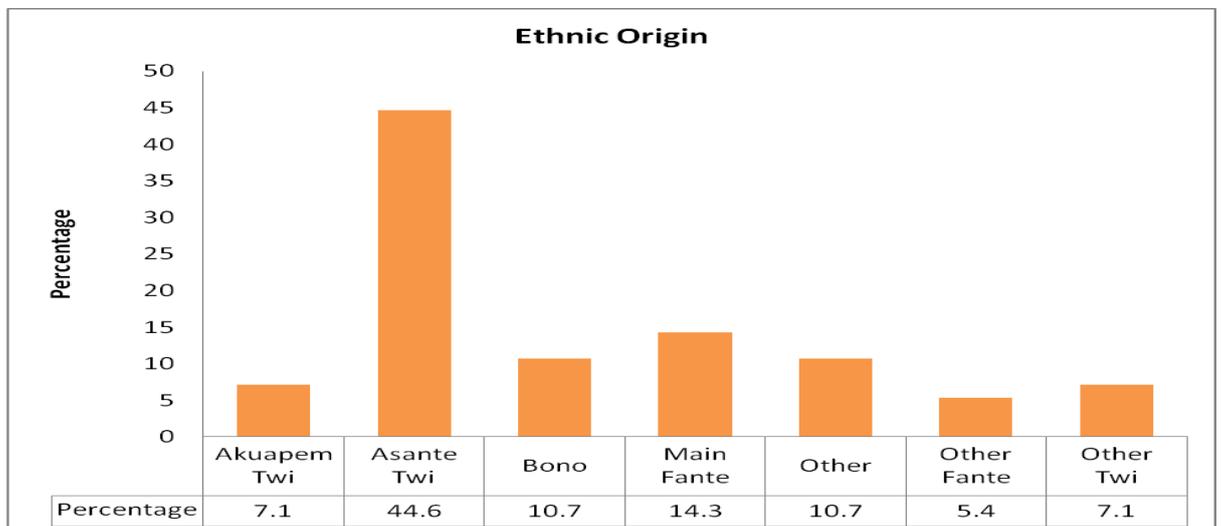


Figure 4.5: Ethnic origins of Akan-English bilingual participants.

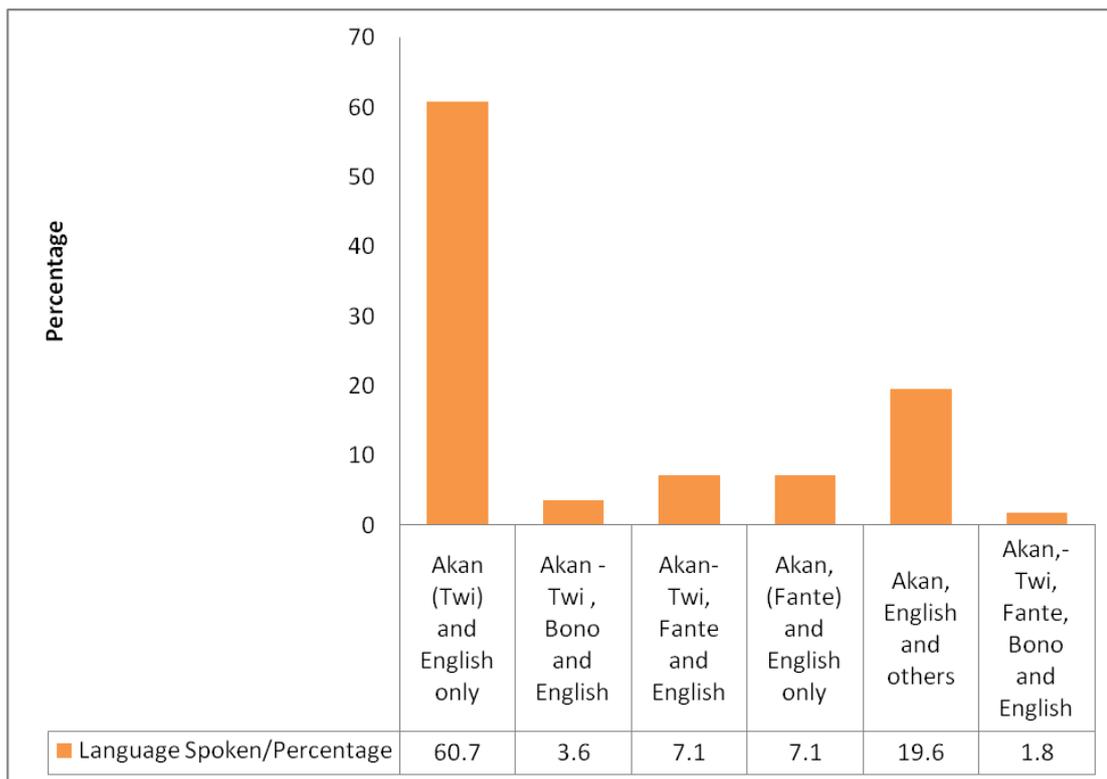


Figure 4.6: Languages spoken by the Akan-English bilingual participants.

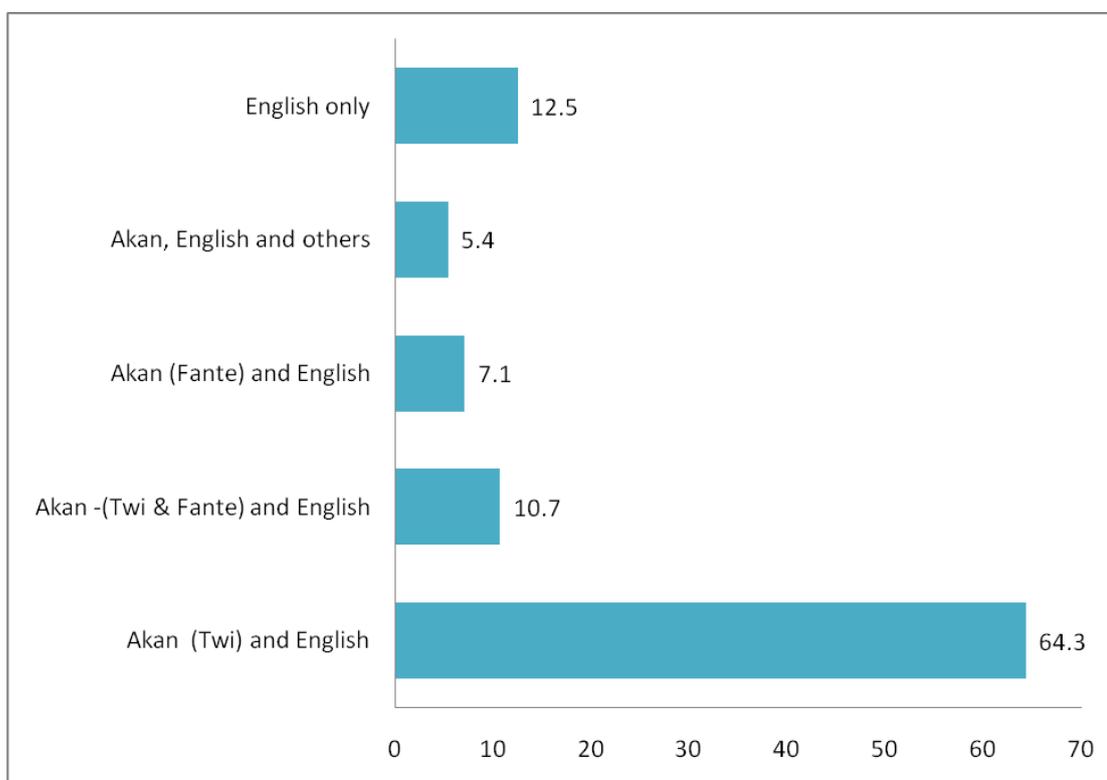


Figure 4.7: Languages written by the Akan-English bilingual participants.

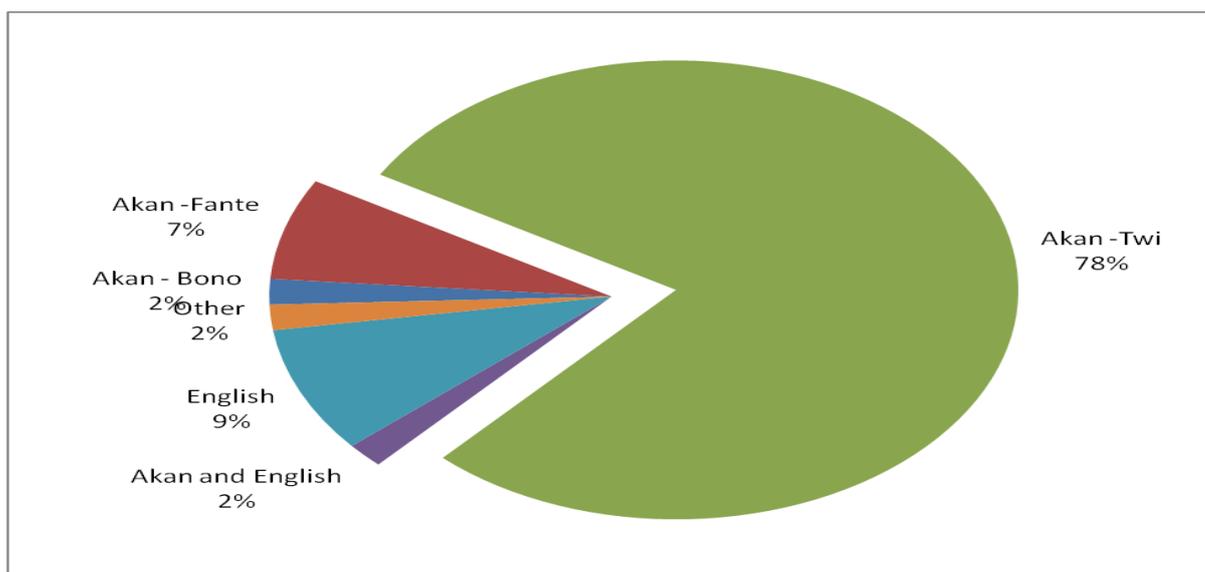


Figure 4.8: First language distribution of Akan-English bilingual participants.

4.6.5 Ethical issues

All participants in this study were adults. Even though the age of the native Akan participants was not elicited, by virtue of their occupation we may conclude that they were adults, i.e. 18 years and above. Participants were given sufficient oral information about the elicitation process as well as the opportunity to give or decline their consent before elicitation began as well as at the end of the elicitation. All participants freely consented to participate. In the case of the native English and Akan-English bilingual participants, each participant signed a consent form in addition. All participants duly gave either oral or written consent or both.

4.7 Analysis

4.7.1 Framework

Often sceptical about theories of language use that are not based on objective and scientific experiments, psycholinguists prefer statistical procedures such as ANOVA, Chi-square etc. for analysis. They often argue that linguistic intuitions alone are not sufficient sources of evidence for establishing ‘what people ordinarily do’ in their use and understanding of language (Glucksberg 2001, Gibbs 2007). While experiment-based and quantitative methods may have several advantages such as maximizing accurate observation, Carruthers (1996) submits that findings from such methods are not conclusive and remain open to a variety of interpretations. Indeed, Haritos and Nelson (2001) suggest that the issue of separate versus shared bilingual memory storage in psycholinguistics may be a matter of interpretation.

Similarly, Pavlenko (2009) outlines a number of limitations to the traditional psycholinguistic methods that are often employed in studying aspects of the bilingual mental lexicon. Taylor (2002) even argues that such methods deny human agency and creativity in research because they disregard socio-cultural norms as the basis for prediction. Again, while acknowledging the possible advantages of these quantitative methods of analysis, Sinha (2007:1269) advocates for these methods to be complemented with what he calls ‘methods proper’ from research in the older tradition of psychology of language where linguistic and non-linguistic cognition are believed to be closely connected, viewing language as a window onto the general properties of higher cognition.

The study thus adopted the conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) approach to metaphor analysis which is a linguistic methodology that infers mental representations

from linguistic representations. It consists of a set of techniques originally devised by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) but which has been improved upon by others, e.g. the Pragglejaz Group (2007) for the systematic investigations of linguistic expressions that are understood metaphorically.

The approach assumes that language is a window onto cognition, and that linguistic expressions in part reflect cognitive processes. Consequently, CMT systematically points metaphorical expressions to underlying conceptual metaphors by positing conceptual mappings (See 2.5.1 above for detailed discussion on CMT). My motivation for using the CMT approach is that since psycholinguistic studies that employed quantitative methods of data analysis have reportedly produced conflicting results about the nature of bilingual mental representation, the CMT approach to investigating mental representation, which is more qualitative, may be a viable alternative or a complementary approach to investigating bilingual cognition.

Indeed, by pointing systematic linguistic patterns to underlying conceptual structure and organisation, cognitive linguists have shown great insights into the conceptual representation of native speaker populations, i.e. that there is a strong connection between linguistic structure and conceptual structure (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Langacker 1991 Gibbs 1994, Evans 2005). If the assumptions cognitive linguists make about the relationship between metaphorical language and human conceptual organisation and representation are true, then bilingual metaphorical language may provide a window unto conceptual representation and organisation that underlies such language as well.

Finally, CMT makes certain claims (that conceptual mappings that are conventionalised are stored in and retrieved from long-term memory) that allow us to test the two psycholinguistic hypotheses about bilingual memory storage and therefore

their conceptual organisation outside the laboratory. For instance, the separate storage hypothesis predicts that Akan-English bilinguals will store both linguistic and conceptual representations about ANGER and FEAR in two separate, language-specific memory systems. Subsequently, they will retrieve representations about the two concepts from the English store only when they speak English. If this hypothesis is true, then Akan-English bilinguals' conceptual metaphors in English should reflect conventionalised representations in native/monolingual English only.

However, the shared storage Hypothesis predicts that while Akan-English bilinguals will store lexical representations about FEAR and ANGER in language-specific stores, they will store conceptual representations from the two languages in a common storage system. If this is true, then we would expect Akan-English bilingual conceptual metaphors in English to reflect conventionalised conceptual representations from both native English and native Akan.

4.7.2 Procedure: Identifying linguistic and conceptual metaphors

The analysis of the data in this study followed four basic steps: (1) identifying linguistic metaphors, (2) inferring conceptual metaphors from the linguistic metaphors, (3) comparing the set of native/monolingual conceptual metaphors, and (4) comparing the bilingual conceptual metaphors with the set of native/monolingual conceptual metaphors. The next sub-section further explains how metaphors were identified and analysed.

The sole use of introspective data in metaphor research (especially that of the researcher) has been criticised due to the inherent problems such data potentially pose (see 4.4). If introspective data potentially posed problems in metaphor research then

deciding what constitutes a metaphor may be even more problematic. Until recently, there were no established procedures to identify metaphors in cognitive linguistic metaphor research. As a result, earlier metaphor researchers in the tradition tended to rely on unilateral introspection in identifying both linguistic and conceptual metaphors. This has been criticised as potentially causing researcher bias in metaphor research (Deignan 2005). However, in recent times, several proposals to systematize and make metaphor identification more explicit have been put forward (1999, Pragglejaz Group 2007). This study adopted the Pragglejaz approach, to identifying linguistic metaphors, MIP (metaphor identification process).

MIP was designed to minimize potential bias and to provide a reliable and flexible tool for the explicit identification of metaphorically used words in discourse.

MIP proposes a procedure for linguistic metaphor identification. First of all, the entire text must be read to establish a general understanding of its meaning. Then all lexical units within a discourse must be identified. At the third stage of linguistic metaphor identification, they propose the need to determine whether the contextual meaning of each examined word has a more basic meaning than the contextual meaning, where basic meaning may be a more concrete meaning related to smell, taste, feel, see, hear, bodily action; a more precise as opposed to vague meaning; or a historically older meaning. If the contextual meaning is different from the basic meaning, it must be decided whether the two meanings contrast but can be understood in comparison with each other. If that is the case, then the lexical unit is marked as metaphorical.

While MIP aims to provide an explicit procedure for linguistic metaphor identification, the procedure as outlined above still leaves a lot of room for researcher bias in the identification process, e.g. establishing the basic meanings of lexical units or establishing the exact similarity/comparison between the basic meaning and the

contextual meaning of a metaphorically used word. Fully aware of some of these potential limitations, the Pragglejaz group proposes the use of external sources such as dictionaries, and other corpus materials as a frame of reference to check individual intuitions especially in establishing the basic meanings of words.

Consequently, I used the Concise Oxford English Dictionary, which is corpus-based (Oxford University Press 2008), and the Akan Dictionary (Department of Linguistics 2006) to cross-check the basic meanings of English and Akan words that were believed to have been used metaphorically. This procedure was the guideline for linguistic metaphor identification in this study. In the following example, I illustrate how MIP was applied to identify linguistic metaphors/metaphorical expressions from my data. The sample was taken from one Akan-English bilingual focus group discussion where a participant described the sort of thing that make him angry thus:

Sample 1: When I am verbally *assaulted* I become very *furiosus*¹⁴.

Step1: I have read the entire text-discourse and established the general understanding of the meaning of this utterance as: I become angry when people speak words I consider harmful to me.

Step2: The lexical units in this utterance are:

when/I/ am/ verbally/assaulted/ I/ become/very/furiosus/

Step 3:

'When'

(a) *Contextual meaning*

¹⁴ In this utterance and throughout the analysis, words and expressions that are believed to be metaphorical are italicised.

Its meaning in the text-discourse relates to any point in time (that something occurs).

(b) Basic meaning

It may be an interrogative adverb expressing how soon/ at what time or in what circumstances some action occurs. It may also be a relative adverb used as a conjunction to mean at what time or during which period something occurs. It can also be a conjunction which means 'at anytime that'.

(c) Contextual vs basic meaning

The contextual meaning is generally not different from the basic meaning.

Step 4:

This lexical unit has not been used metaphorically because its contextual meaning is no different from the basic meaning.

'I'

(a) Contextual meaning

It has been used as a first pronoun referring to the speaker of the utterance.

(b) Basic meaning

It has no more basic meaning.

(c) Contextual vs basic meaning

There is no difference between the contextual meaning and the basic meaning.

Therefore, the lexical item has not been metaphorically used.

'Am'

(a) Contextual meaning

Used as an auxiliary to the verb assaulted in a passive construction. It relates to the speaker of the utterance as a sufferer/patient of the action of the main verb *assaulted* by some unnamed agent.

(b) Basic meaning

First person singular present of the verb BE.

(c) Contextual vs basic meaning

Even though the contextual meaning is not tense bound, the first person singular form of the basic meaning is retained. Thus, this lexical unit has not been used metaphorically.

'Verbally'

(a) Contextual meaning

In the context of the utterance, this lexical unit refers to the use of words.

(b) Basic meaning

This is an adverb which may refer to the use of words or relating to verbs.

(c) Contextual vs basic meaning

The contextual meaning is the same as the first basic meaning relating to the use of words. Consequently, this lexical unit was not marked as metaphorical.

'Assaulted'

(a) Contextual meaning

In the context, this words refers to the use of words in a way the speaker finds unacceptable or face threatening.

(b) Basic meaning

The basic meaning of this word is a violent attack, an act that involves physical harm to a person.

(c) *Contextual vs basic meaning*

Considering the fact that the context of the word *assaulted* does not refer to an actual threat of causing physical harm to the speaker, and indeed, words cannot cause physical harm, the lexical unit has been used metaphorically.

'I'

(a) *Contextual meaning*

It is a pronoun that refers to the speaker of the utterance.

(b) *Basic meaning*

It has no more basic meaning.

(c) *Contextual vs basic meaning*

There is no difference between the contextual meaning and the basic meaning. Therefore, it has not been metaphorically used.

'Become'

(a) *Contextual meaning*

Within the context of the utterance, this word suggests having acquired certain properties of a particular state, i.e. being angry through a process.

(b) *Basic meaning*

To change or develop into something.

(c) *Contextual vs basic meaning*

The contextual meaning does not differ from the basic meaning. The contextual meaning is related to the basic meaning of changing from one state into another. Thus, this lexical unit has not been used metaphorically.

'Furious'

(a) *Contextual meaning*

The word had the contextual meaning of extreme anger.

(b) *Basic meaning*

This adjective has two basic senses: (1) extremely angry (2) full of energy or intensity.

The lexical unit derives from the noun *fury* which also has two meanings: (i) extreme anger (ii) extreme strength, energy or violence in an action or natural phenomenon.

(c) *Contextual vs basic meaning*

The contextual meaning is not different from the first sense. However, we can equally understand the contextual meaning in comparison with the second sense - we can understand the intensity of the speaker's anger in terms of the extreme strength or energy of a natural phenomenon such as a tornado. Nevertheless, this lexical unit is not used metaphorically.

Thus, the above utterance is classified in the analysis as one of the metaphorical expressions that may manifest a particular Akan-English bilingual conceptual metaphor of anger. All metaphorically used words in utterances that are identified as linguistic metaphors are italicized in this study (e.g. When I am verbally *assaulted*, I become furious).

While MIP may be a very useful procedure, it stops at linguistic metaphor identification. This implies that MIP is not adequate in identifying conceptual metaphors which is the main task in the conceptual metaphor theory. This remains

problematic in conceptual metaphor theory. The literature provides a top-bottom approach (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1987, Kövecses 1990, 2000, 2002). This approach formulates hypotheses about cross-domain mappings and then look for linguistic evidence to support them. This approach has been criticised in favour of a bottom-up approach where linguistic evidence becomes the basis for the formulation of hypotheses about cross-domain mappings.

In spite of the attempts to systematise the process of inferring conceptual metaphors from linguistic metaphors (e.g. Steen 1999), the formulation of conceptual metaphors can still not be specified as much as one would like. For instance, the selection of one semantic entity among competing entities in establishing metaphorical connections between two domains is not always straight forward. Using the Akan-English bilingual metaphorical expression discussed above as an example, the basic meaning of the word 'furious' relates to both action and some natural phenomenon. On what basis should one be selected above the other? (Steen 1999) suggests relying on the general cognitive principle of prototypicality, i.e. the more central member of the domain should be selected. In addition to the notion of prototypicality, I also relied on the broader context of the elicitation in interpreting a particular metaphorical expression and in establishing metaphorical connections between two conceptual domains.

In formulating conceptual metaphors in this study two things were taken into account. In the first place, I adopted a bottom-up approach. I stayed as close as possible to the actual words/phrases in the data. The patterns that emerged from the data were captured in terms of a formulation of hypotheses about cross-domain mappings. These formulated hypotheses I refer to as conceptual metaphors (presented in small caps in line with conceptual metaphor theory tradition). To illustrate, in both the focus group

interviews and the written questionnaires, I asked Akan-English participants to describe their anger.

The following phrases recurred in their responses: My anger is *mild*; my anger is *calm*; my anger is *harsh*; my anger is *moderate*. Based on the fact that the metaphorically used words (in italics) may be associated with some natural force, e.g. temperature, storm etc., I hypothesised a cross-domain mapping between ANGER and A NATURAL FORCE. This hypothesis was formulated in terms of the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A NATURAL FORCE with the following mappings.

Table 4.1: ANGER IS A NATURAL FORCE

Source domain: <i>natural force</i>		Target domain: <i>anger</i>
The strength of the natural force	⇒	the potency of anger
Controlling the natural force	⇒	controlling anger
Energy needed to control natural force	⇒	energy needed to control anger
Absence of natural force	⇒	absence of anger

Secondly, even though the up-down approach has been criticised, the model provided by the literature for the metaphors of emotions (e.g. Kövecses 1990, 2000, 2005) was useful for the purposes of this study in the sense that I was able to relate my data to the formulations provided by the model. Once metaphors had been identified, the study first compared the two monolingual/native data to establish whether Akan and English have the same or different source domains for the target domains ANGER and FEAR. Where the same source domains were identified, conceptual mappings in the two languages were compared to further establish differences and/or similarities in conceptual representations. The bilingual data were then analyzed in the light of the

monolingual data, identifying differences and/or similarities in both source domains and conceptual mappings.

The essence of this comparison was to ascertain whether the Akan-English bilinguals retrieved conceptual mappings from language-specific conceptual memory store, (only conventionalized native English representations of ANGER and FEAR) or a common integrated conceptual memory store, (conventionalized representations of ANGER and FEAR from both native/monolingual Akan and native/monolingual English which they have access to) when they speak only one of their languages, English. Decisions about the relative conventionality of Akan-English bilingual metaphorical expressions were based on the number of times a particular metaphorical expression or its variants occurred in the data (see appendix E).

4.8 Summary

This chapter has outlined the methods of data collection employed in this study as well as the procedures of their analysis. The various kinds of data and their sources, the specific tools for their collection and the rationale behind the employment of these tools have been described and explained in this chapter. A major point made in this chapter is that combining research methods from different but related disciplines, i.e. data collection methods from psycholinguistics and analytical procedures from cognitive linguistics, may produce more insights into research on bilingual cognition in a way that each discipline may not produce single-handedly. The next chapter begins to analyse the data.

CHAPTER FIVE: ANGER METAPHORS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter analyses conceptual metaphors of ANGER in native/monolingual English speakers, native/monolingual Akan speakers and Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana. The chapter addresses research question 1a-1e in part. Specifically, it addresses the following key questions: a) What linguistic metaphors do native/monolingual British/American English speakers conventionally use to describe the concept of anger, and what conceptual metaphors may underlie such linguistic metaphors? b) What linguistic metaphors do native/monolingual Akans in Ghana conventionally use to describe anger, and what conceptual metaphors underlie such linguistic metaphors? c) How are the conceptual representations of anger in the two languages different and/or similar? d) What linguistic metaphors do fluent Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana use to describe anger, and what conceptual metaphors may underlie such bilingual linguistic metaphors? e) How are the Akan-English bilingual metaphorical conceptualisations of anger different from and/or similar to each or both of the native/monolingual conceptualisations?

This chapter is organized as follows: Section 5.2 presents an overview of linguistic metaphors of anger in native/monolingual English and the conventional conceptual metaphors that underlie them as discussed in the literature. Section 5.3 analyses the conventional linguistic metaphors of anger in Akan in order to identify the conceptual metaphors that underlie them. Section 5.4 compares and contrasts the native/monolingual English conventional conceptualisations of anger with those of native/monolingual Akan to identify similarities and/or differences in how anger is conceptually represented in the two languages. The last section, section 5.5, analyses Akan-English bilingual metaphorical expressions of anger in order to identify the

conceptual metaphors that underlie them, i.e. how anger is conceptually represented among Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana. The bilingual analysis is done in the light of the native/monolingual analyses, comparing and contrasting the bilingual metaphors with the native/monolingual Akan and English metaphors in order to determine whether the bilingual conceptualisations reflect any or both of the native/monolingual conceptualisations.

5.2 Anger in English

The study of the conceptual structure of anger as an emotion concept has received a lot of research attention in cognitive linguistics following the pioneering works of Lakoff (1987), Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) and Kövecses (1990) on ANGER in American English. These studies have been replicated in several other languages including Chinese (Yu 1995), Japanese (Matsuki 1995), Zulu (Taylor and Mbense 1998), Spanish (Soriano 2003) and Tunis-Arabic (Maalej 1999, 2004). It is worth noting that researchers in this enterprise have used different but complementary methodological approaches in their studies including the CMT approach (Lakoff 1987, Lakoff and Kövecses 1987, Kövecses 1990, 2002), corpus linguistics approaches (Esenova 2009), and discourse approaches (Lutz 1988). Consequently, while the data for analysis in this section are partly elicited, I also draw heavily on previously analysed data from the literature.

Lakoff (1987), Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) and Kövecses (1990) have proposed that the conceptual structure of ANGER in English consists of a system of conceptual metaphors that derive from general metonymic and metaphoric principles. First of all, they postulate that the metonymic conceptualisations of ANGER in English are

motivated by the folk understandings of the physiological effects of anger on the angry. The central metonymic principle underlying such conceptualisations is: THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION. Based on this central metonymy, Lakoff (1987) postulates the following system of metonymies of anger in English:

BODY HEAT FOR ANGER: He is a *hothead*.

INTERNAL PRESSURE FOR ANGER: He almost *burst a blood vessel*.

(COLOUR OF SKIN) REDNESS IN FACE AND NECK AREA FOR ANGER: He *got red with anger*.

PHYSICAL AGITATION FOR ANGER: He's *all worked up*.

INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION FOR ANGER: She was *blind with rage*.

Lakoff (1987:383) identifies metaphor as the second general mechanism or principle involved in the conceptualisation of anger in English: 'in our overall conceptual system we have the general metaphor: THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS'. Metaphorical expressions that instantiate this general metaphor include: she couldn't *contain* her joy; she was *brimming* with rage. While some conceptual metaphors about ANGER are motivated independently by either the conceptual metonymic or the metaphorical system, it has been argued that to a large extent, the system of conceptual metaphors of anger in English arises from the interactions between these two systems (Lakoff 1987; Lakoff and Kövecses 1987, Kövecses 1990). For instance, the BODY HEAT STANDS FOR ANGER conceptualisation is a metonymy because the physiological effects of anger are made to stand for the emotion. However, this metonymy can give rise to metaphors involving heat, e.g., ANGER IS HEAT (he was *boiling with anger*). In what follows, I provide an overview of the conventional conceptual metaphors of anger

in English, showing their connectivity to both general metonymic and metaphoric principles. Conceptual metaphors are numbered while examples of the metaphorical expressions that instantiate them are listed alphabetically under each metaphor.

ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER: This metaphor is believed to derive from the interactions between the metonymy BODY HEAT STANDS FOR ANGER and the generic-level metaphors ANGER IS HEAT (when the heat is applied to liquids), which derives from the BODY HEAT STANDS FOR ANGER metonymy, and THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS. Kövecses (2002:96) postulates the following conceptual correspondences for this metaphor:

<i>Source:</i> Hot fluid in a container		<i>Target:</i> Anger
The physical container	⇒	the angry person's body
The top of the container	⇒	the rational self of the angry person
The hot fluid inside the container	⇒	the anger
The degree of fluid heat	⇒	the intensity of anger
The cause of increase in fluid heat	⇒	the cause of increase in the intensity of the anger

5.1 ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER

- (a) She's a real *hothead*¹⁵.
- (b) You make my *blood boil*.
- (c) Let her *stew*.
- (d) I got all *steamed up*.

¹⁵ Hothead is an example of the interaction between metaphor and metonymy in the conceptualisation of ANGER in English.

- (e) He's just *blowing off steam*.
- (f) I had *reached the boiling point*.
- (g) He *boiled over*.
- (h) She felt her *gorge rising*.
- (i) *Simmer* down!

Based on carryover knowledge from the source domain, these mappings are further elaborated to produce metaphorical entailments. For example, it is common knowledge about a hot fluid in a container that intense heat may cause a rise in volume or upward movement in the fluid. Such carryover knowledge gives rise to metaphorical entailments in the mappings above so that the rise in the volume of the hot fluid corresponds to increase in the intensity of anger, e.g. my anger kept *building up* inside me; she could feel her *gorge rising* (Lakoff 1987:384). Other carryover knowledge from the source domain includes the fact that heat produces steam in the container which puts pressure on the container. In addition, it is common knowledge that too much heat produces too much steam and therefore too much pressure on the container which may cause the container to explode. When the container explodes, parts of the container go up in the air, and what was inside the container comes out. As has been shown in the literature, this knowledge produces the following metaphorical entailments in the mappings above:

- Intense anger produces steam: he got *all steamed up*; *Billy's just blowing off steam*.
- Intense anger produces pressure on the (body) container: His pent-up anger *welled up* inside him;
- When anger becomes too intense, the person explodes: He was *bursting with anger*; he just *exploded*; he *erupted*.

-When a person explodes, parts of him/her go up in the air: I *blew my top*; I *blew my stack*; she *flipped her lid*.

-When a person explodes, what was inside him/her comes out: smoke was *pouring out of his ears*; his anger finally *came out*.

Kövecses (2005:39) identifies a more generic-level realisation of this metaphor, namely, THE ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURISED CONTAINER that arises from the entailments of the ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor. He postulates the following mappings for the ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURISED CONTAINER metaphor as follows:

The container with some substance/objects	⇒	the person who is angry
The substance/objects in the container	⇒	the anger
The pressure of the substance/objects on the Container	⇒	the effect of anger on the anger person
The cause of the pressure	⇒	the cause of the anger effect
Keeping the substance/objects inside the container	⇒	controlling the anger
The substance/objects going out of the container	⇒	The expression of anger

5.2 THE ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURISED CONTAINER

- (a) He *exploded*.
- (b) I *blew a gasket*.
- (c) He *was fuming*.
- (d) I could barely *keep it in* anymore.
- (e) He managed to keep his anger *bottled up* inside him.
- (f) He *suppressed* his anger.
- (g) He *let out* his anger.

ANGER IS FIRE: Going back to the ANGER IS HEAT metaphor, Lakoff (1987) suggests that when heat is applied to solids, the metaphor combines with the metonymic conceptualisation of anger in terms of redness in the face and neck area as well as the BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS metaphor to produce the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS FIRE with the following conceptual correspondences:

<i>Source: Fire</i>	<i>Target: Anger</i>
The thing that is burning	⇒ the angry person
The fire	⇒ Anger
The cause of the fire	⇒ the cause of the anger
The intensity of the fire	⇒ the intensity of the anger
The physical damage to the burning thing	⇒ The mental damage to the angry person
An object at the point of being consumed by fire	⇒ a person whose anger is at the limit
The damage of fire to things nearby	⇒ the danger of a person's anger to other people

5.3 ANGER IS FIRE

- (a) Those were *inflammatory* remarks.
- (b) She was *doing a slow burn*.
- (c) He was *breathing fire*.
- (d) Your insincere apology just added *fuel to the fire*.
- (e) After the argument, Dave was *smoldering* for days.
- (f) Boy, am I *burned up*.
- (g) He was *consumed* by his anger (Lakoff 1987:388).

Again, the rich conceptual structure of the source domain of this metaphor allows for further elaborations of the mappings above to produce metaphorical entailments. For instance, the common knowledge that things can burn at a low intensity for a long

time before they eventually burst into flames produces the metaphorical entailments, exemplified in 4 (b), (e) and 3 (a), respectively. Other principal source domains in terms of which anger is conventionally understood in English include: INSANITY, AN OPPONENT, A DANGEROUS ANIMAL, A HORSE, A PLANT, A CHILD and A BURDEN. These metaphors are discussed below.

ANGER IS INSANITY: According to Lakoff (1987), this metaphor is motivated by the overlap between the general understanding of the effects of anger and those of insanity. For instance, just like people who are insane, people who are angry are typically characterized by the fact that they get unduly agitated – go wild, start raving, throw their arms etc. Thus, while insane behaviour may be said to stand metonymically for insanity, insanity is metaphorically linked to anger giving rise to the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY. In other words, this metaphor is grounded in a metaphorical understanding of the physical/mental damage anger causes to the angry person.

Source: Insanity

Target: Anger

The cause of insanity \Rightarrow the cause of anger

Becoming insane \Rightarrow passing the limit point on the anger scale

Insane behavior \Rightarrow angry behavior

5.4 ANGER IS INSANITY

- (a) I just touched him, and he *went crazy*.
- (b) You're *driving me nuts!*
- (c) One more complaint and I'll *go berserk*.
- (d) He got so angry he *went out of his mind*.
- (e) She went into an *insane rage*.

- (f) If anything else goes wrong, I'll *get hysterical*.
- (g) He's *fit to be tied*.
- (h) He's about to *throw a tantrum* (Lakoff 1987:390).

It is interesting to note that in the mapping above Lakoff (1987) uses a metaphorical expression to explain a metaphorical mapping between becoming insane and an aspect of angry behaviour (i.e. becoming insane = passing the limit on the anger scale). While this may appear awkward, it is important to note that as has been rightly pointed out in the literature, it is very difficult, almost impossible to express target concepts in more literal and non-metaphoric language. Interestingly, what looks like the most frequently used linguistic instantiation of this metaphor, *to be mad*, e.g. *I am mad at you*, in American English was absent from both the elicited native/monolingual data and from Lakoff's list above.

ANGER IS AN OPPONENT (IN A STRUGGLE): Lakoff (1987) explains how anger is generally understood as a negative emotion that produces undesirable physiological and mental reactions. These undesirable reactions may in turn impair the angry person's ability to function normally and subsequently become potentially dangerous to other people around him/her. This general understanding of anger as a negative emotion with potential danger to other people places a responsibility on the angry person to control his/her anger, which is a very difficult thing to do.

This metaphor is thus believed to be motivated by the general understanding of the difficulty involved in the angry person controlling the undesirable reactions anger produces. In other words, the effort one needs to control the negative/undesirable reactions anger produces is metaphorically understood in terms of the effort one needs to engage in a struggle with an opponent. We may thus conclude that this metaphor is

grounded in the English socio-cultural experience of battles, wars or struggles. The following are postulated as the underlying conceptual mappings that give rise to the linguistic expressions in 6 below:

<i>Source: Struggle</i>		<i>Target: Anger</i>
Opponent	⇒	Anger
Winning	⇒	controlling anger
Losing	⇒	having anger control you
Surrender	⇒	allowing anger to take control of you
Resources needed to win struggle	⇒	energy needed to control anger

5.5 ANGER IS AN OPPONENT

- (a) I'm *struggling* with my anger.
- (b) He was *battling* his anger.
- (c) She *fought back* her anger.
- (d) You need to *subdue* your anger.
- (e) I've been *wrestling* with my anger all day.
- (f) I was *seized* by anger.
- (g) He *lost control* over his anger.
- (h) Anger *took control* of him.
- (i) He *surrendered* to his anger.
- (j) He was *overcome* by anger (Lakoff 1987:391).

ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL: While the potential danger of anger in relation to the angry person is conceptualised in terms of an opponent with whom the angry person struggles, the perceived potential danger of anger in relation to other people around the angry person is said to be conceptualised in terms of 'a sleeping animal that

is dangerous to awaken, something that can grow and become dangerous, as something that has to be held back, and as something with a dangerous appetite' (Lakoff 1987:392-3). Thus, like the ANGER IS AN OPPONENT metaphor, the ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL metaphor focuses on the control aspect of anger. According to Kövecses (2000), this metaphor is grounded in a more general schema that connects anger to animal behaviour in the folk model of anger in English: OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR where animal behaviour is instinctive, uncontrolled and potentially violent.

Therefore, since angry behaviour is objectionable human behaviour, animal behaviour metonymically stands for angry behaviour. In other words, uncontrolled anger is dangerous to other people in a way analogous to the danger posed by a dangerous animal on the loose to people. Consequently, just as the owner of a dangerous animal has a responsibility to keep it under control, the angry person has a responsibility to keep his/her anger under control. Lakoff (1987:393) postulates the following underlying conceptual mappings for the ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL metaphor:

<i>Source:</i> Dangerous animal		<i>Target:</i> Anger
The animal getting loose	⇒	loss of control of anger
The owner of the dangerous animal	⇒	the angry person
Energy needed to control a dangerous animal	⇒	energy needed to control anger

5.6. ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL

- (a) He has a *monstrous* anger.
- (b) He has a *fierce* temper.
- (c) He has a *ferocious* temper.

- (d) He *unleashed* his anger.
- (e) His anger is *insatiable* (Lakoff 1987:392).

The mappings in the ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL metaphor appear to be based on source domain entailments only rather than source domain lexis. In other words, while the metaphorically used words may implicitly suggest references to some animal behaviour or feature, they are not typical lexis of the source domain; they may be applicable to other source domains, e.g. *insatiable* may be applicable to a person. However, it is interesting to note that insatiable people are often perceived as greedy people and greedy people often perceived as some kind of animal. For instance, in English, a greedy or gluttonous person is referred to as a *pig*. Nevertheless, the linguistic expressions that have been postulated as instantiations of this metaphor may refer to entities other than an animal. This is an example of instances where some claims in conceptual metaphor theory, particularly, the up-down approach to the formulation of conceptual metaphors appear problematic.

Interestingly, in a corpus-based study of English metaphors, Esenova (2009) proposes a more specific realization of this conceptual metaphor where anger is conventionally conceptualised in English as A HORSE with the following conceptual correspondences between the source and the target domains:

<i>Source: Horse</i>		<i>Target: Anger</i>
The horse	⇒	Anger
The bridles	⇒	Reason
The horse being bridled	⇒	anger being under control
The horse being unbridled	⇒	anger being out of control
The owner of the horse	⇒	the angry person

5.7 ANGER IS A HORSE

- (a) His common sense is a *bridle* to his quick temper.
- (b) I usually manage to *curb* my anger when I am at home, but at work I often don't succeed.
- (c) However, it will pay you to *curb* your famous temper.
- (d) Scipio *bridled* his indignation.
- (e) Burun was unable to *rein in* his temper (Esenova 2009: 4.2).

Esenova claims that the conceptualisation of anger as a horse is not a new phenomenon in English and indeed western culture. She argues that it is a deeply entrenched way of thinking about anger in western culture. She quotes lines from Shakespeare's *Henry VIII* and Pluto's *Phaedrus* where anger has been likened to an unruly horse. While we may contest Esenovas' claim on the basis that the two sources she cites from suggest novel language use rather than conventional language use (i.e. literary rather than ordinary language use), we may also keep in mind Kövecses' (2002) suggestion that novel metaphors tend to be extensions of conventional metaphors. What may be contestable though about Esenova's claim here is the degree of conventionality of this metaphor in English. Perhaps, an indication of how frequently the metaphorically used words *bridle*, *curb*, *rein in* actually collocated with the word horse in the corpora she used would have been more helpful.

In discussing the ANGER AS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL metaphor, Lakoff (1987:393) makes an allusion to anger as 'something that can grow'. A recent corpus-based study of metaphors of anger in English (Esenova 2009) has identified a more specific conceptual metaphor of anger, ANGER IS A PLANT, which appears to corroborate Lakoff's allusion.

Source: Plant

Target: Anger

The stages of growth and function of the plant \Rightarrow the stages of anger development

The growth of the bud into the flower \Rightarrow the transition of another emotion into anger

The size of the plant \Rightarrow the intensity of the anger

The root of the plant \Rightarrow the cause of anger

5.8 ANGER IS A PLANT

- (a) After this, depression sets in and deep seated anger can *take root*.
- (b) The feeling of rejection had quickly *blossomed* into anger.
- (c) Divorce is too often the bitter *fruit* of anger.
- (d) Anger is *rooted* in our survival instincts and has a legitimate and vital function in human behavior (Esenova 2009:4.2).

Another major metaphor in terms of which ANGER is conventionally understood in English is ANGER IS A BURDEN. Lakoff (1987) argues that the folk model of ANGER in English puts two kinds of responsibilities on the angry person, i.e. the responsibility of controlling anger and the responsibility of seeking vengeance. He further argues that the ANGER IS A BURDEN metaphor is motivated by the relationship between these perceived responsibilities and the metaphorization of RESPONSIBILITIES in English in general as BURDENS. The following mappings underlie this metaphor:

Source: Burden

Target: Anger

The burden bearer \Rightarrow the angry person

The burden \Rightarrow Anger

Carrying the burden \Rightarrow keeping/suppressing the anger

Offloading the burden/unburdening \Rightarrow expressing anger

5.9 ANGER IS A BURDEN

- (a) *Unburdening* himself of his anger gave him a sense of *relief*.
- (b) He *carries* his anger around with him.
- (c) After I lost my anger, I felt *lighter*.
- (d) He has *a chip on his shoulder*.
- (e) You'll feel better if you *get it off your chest* (Lakoff 1987:396).

Kövecses (2000, 2002) identifies NATURAL FORCES as another important source domain in terms of which anger is conceptualised in English. He argues that human experience and awareness of the many different natural forces, e.g. waves, storm, wind, that effect various changes in the thing acted on motivate the folk understanding of the emotions in terms of the metaphor EMOTION IS A NATURAL FORCE. Kövecses (2000) provides the following metaphorical expressions as instances where this generic-level metaphor is applied to ANGER in English:

5.10 ANGER IS A STORM

- (a) It was a *stormy* meeting.
- (b) He *stormed* out of the meeting.

Finally, Esenova (2009) identifies ANGER IS A CHILD as another conceptual metaphor of anger in English, and argues that this metaphor is grounded in one of the most powerful and fundamental human experiences, child-rearing. Below are the conceptual correspondences she postulates for this metaphor:

<i>Source: Child</i>	<i>Target: Anger</i>
Child	⇒ Anger
The parent	⇒ the angry person or the source of anger
Conceiving of the child in the body	⇒ creating of anger in the mind

Giving birth to the child \Rightarrow giving rise to anger

Nursing of the child \Rightarrow maintaining the anger

5.11 ANGER IS A CHILD

- (a) Say, shall we *nurse* the rage?
- (b) Instead he decided to *nurse* his anger.
- (c) He *nurtured* that anger for a decade.
- (d) *Fostering* anger over a long enough time can lead to violence.
- (e) Anger *begets* anger, which leads to conflicts.

(Esenova 2009: 4.2).

From the examples 5.11 a-e, it is obvious that ANGER is conceptualised in English at a more generic level as A BEING. However, the metaphorical expressions that instantiate this metaphor operate at two different levels of specificity as are illustrated by examples 5a&b (ANGER IS A PATIENT), examples 5c&d (ANGER IS A DEPENDENT PERSON) as well as the ANGER IS AN OPPONENT, ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL metaphors etc. Based on evidence of linguistic metaphors that are believed to instantiate underlying metaphorical conceptualisations, it has been suggested in English, (Holland and Quinn 1987, Lakoff 1987) that the prototypical ANGER scenario has five stages:

Stage 1: Offending event

Stage 2: Anger exists

Stage 3: Attempt to control anger

Stage 4: Loss of control (anger controls)

Stage 5: Retribution (angry behaviour)

(Holland and Quinn 1987: 214).

This section has provided an overview of the major conventional conceptual metaphors of anger in English as discussed mainly in Lakoff (1987), Kövecses (2002) and Esenova (2009) showing the ways in which metaphorical expressions or linguistic metaphors of anger in English systematically point to these conventional conceptual metaphors. It has been pointed out that these major conventional conceptual metaphors of anger are motivated by the interactions between general metonymic and metaphorical principles that are grounded in human physical and socio-cultural experiences. In what follows (i.e. 5.2.1), I present evidence, in terms of metaphorical expressions, from the data provided by native/monolingual British English participants (cf. Chapter 4) that confirm these conventional conceptualisations of ANGER in British English.

5.2.1 Evidence from elicited data

The elicited data from the focus group discussions with native monolingual English participants as well as the written questionnaires corroborated several of the conventional metaphorical conceptualisations of anger in English. Since the mappings of the conceptual metaphors they instantiate have already been discussed above, I only present the metaphors and sample metaphorical expressions below:

i. THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS

My anger is *internalised*.

My anger *builds up inside* then explodes.

When I am angry, I *vent* my anger verbally.

ii. ANGER IS INSANITY

I try to talk *reasonably* when I am angry.

My anger is *irrational*.

When I am angry, I *stomp* and *slam things*.

iii. ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL

My anger is not always *aggressive*.

My anger is *fierce*.

My anger is rarely *violent*.

iv. ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER

My anger *builds up inside* then *explodes*.

I *take out* my anger on the pads.

v. ANGER IS AN OPPONENT (IN A STRUGGLE)

I *lash out* when I get angry.

I must point out that while the elicited native/monolingual English data corroborate the major conventional conceptual metaphors of English as discussed in the literature, there were specific metaphorical expressions in the elicited data that have not been listed in any of the previous studies I have looked at. For instance, I have not come across the metaphorical expressions: ‘I *vent* my anger verbally’ and ‘I *lash out* when I get angry’ in any of the list of linguistic instantiations of the conceptual metaphors THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS and ANGER IS AN OPPONENT (IN A STRUGGLE) respectively. While *lash out* could be literal, i.e physical attack, in the context of the focus group discussion where this expression was extracted from, the impression was more of a verbal attack than a physical one.

5.3 Anger in Akan

Studies on emotion concepts in Akan in general are scanty. Except for Dzokoto and Okazaki (2006), who have examined (in part) the folk emotion lexicon in Fante, a major dialect of Akan, I do not know any research on this topic in Akan. With specific regards to anger, the only known work in the cognitive tradition is Ansah (2008), a pilot to this study that provided a preliminary description of conceptual metaphors of LOVE and ANGER in Akan. This section analyses the conventional metaphorical expressions of anger in Akan in order to identify conventional conceptual metaphors of ANGER in Akan. The data (metaphorical expressions) were both intuitively generated and elicited. Native/monolingual speakers of Akan in semi-rural and rural Ghana participated in focus group discussions held in Akan to elicit data to corroborate intuitively generated data.

A short video that aimed to depict and evoke anger (and fear) was used as a stimulus for the elicitation (cf. Chapter 4). Participants in all focus groups agreed that the short video depicted and evoked anger. However, different participants expressed anger towards different characters in the video. While some participants were angry with the main male character in the video for committing suicide – chastising him for failing to control his anger and his wife, others were angry with the wife for causing the man's death with her angry outbursts. Since all responses were in Akan, I provide a four tier translation of their responses: the original responses in Akan, interlineal glossing, literal translations and English equivalents where possible.

(c) ɔbaa no hyɛ-ɛ no a-bu-fuw.

Woman Det fill-past him nom-chest-grow weed.

The woman filled him with a weedy chest.

The woman made him angry.

Like English, the conceptualisations of anger in Akan are motivated by both general metonymic and metaphorical principles. For example, it is clear from the context that the phrases that contain the word *abufuw* denote the concept of anger or describe angry situations are metaphorical, denoting anger rather than the literal or more basic meaning of a chest growing weed. Indeed, there would be a semantic clash if their more basic meanings were assumed. Instead, we can understand the development of anger or the process of getting angry in Akan in terms of the process of weed growing. I discuss the Akan conceptualisation of anger in terms of growing weed in detail later. Another source of evidence of metaphorisation in the conceptualisations of anger in Akan is found in the use of the human body container schema in the lexicalised form of the concept of anger in Akan, *abufuw* (the process of the chest growing weed), where the chest is a container for anger.

Secondly, like English, there is a system of conceptual metonymies of anger in Akan where the folk understandings of the physiological effects of anger in Akan stand for anger:

BODY HEAT FOR ANGER: ne bo *rehye* ‘his/her chest is *burning*’; ne bo *rehuru so* ‘his/her chest is *boiling over*’ (he/she is boiling with anger).

INTERNAL PRESSURE FOR ANGER: ɔrepae ‘he/she is *splitting open*’ (he/she is bursting with anger).

BODY PART STANDS FOR ANGER: ne *bo fuw* ‘his/her *chest* grows weed’; n’atiko

apae ‘the *back of his/her head* has split open’.

However, unlike in English, there is no linguistic evidence to suggest that any of the conceptual metonymies of anger in Akan are motivated by the physiological effects of anger relating to a change in skin colour (redness) around the neck and face area (see 7.4.2 for detailed discussion).

Thus, we may suggest that conceptualisations of anger in Akan are equally constituted by a system of conceptual metaphors that are based on general metonymic and metaphorical principles. The generic-level conceptual metaphors from which more specific metaphors of anger in Akan derive include: ANGER IS HEAT, THE HUMAN BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS (*abufuw ahyε me ma* ‘anger has filled me’, *yaw ahyε me ma* ‘pain has filled me’) and EMOTION IS A GROWING THING (*me bo afuw* ‘my chest has grown weed’).

Again, like in English, the conceptual metaphors of anger in Akan arise from the interactions between general metaphorical schemas. For example, the interactions between the metaphors THE BODY IS A CONTAINER¹⁹ and THE EMOTION IS A GROWING THING give rise to the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A GROWING WEED in Akan. This metaphor is grounded in the Akan socio-cultural experience of agro-based, non-mechanised farming in a tropical rain forest. I postulate the following underlying

¹⁹ Generally, container metaphors may be distinguished from surface metaphors, as evidenced by prepositions, e.g. “shows on my face” in English. However, Akan is a post-position language (no prepositions). Consequently, the presence of a post-position may be the basis for distinguishing container metaphors from surface metaphors (regarding the BODY AS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS metaphor). However, even though the English translation of some of the metaphorical expressions that instantiate the Akan conceptualisation of THE BODY AS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS may point to surface metaphors, the original Akan expressions do not contain any post-positions to that effect. For instance, the ‘weedy chest’ metaphor *me bo afuw* will need the post-position *so* ‘on’ (*me bo so afuw* ‘there is weed/hair on my chest’ in order to indicate a surface metaphor.

mappings for this metaphor:

<i>Source: A growing weed</i>		<i>Target: Anger</i>
Weed	⇒	Anger
The process of the weed growing	⇒	the process of getting angry
The place for growing weed	⇒	the angry person's body/chest
What causes the weed to grow	⇒	what causes the anger
Frequency of weed growth	⇒	frequency of occurrence of anger

5.13 ANGER IS A GROWING WEED

(a) *Me-bo a-fuw.*

Me-chest COMPL- grow weed.

My chest is weedy/has grown weed.

I am angry.

(b) *Ne bo n-kyere fuw.*

3SG chest Neg-long grow weed.

His/her chest does not take long to grow weed.

He/she is quick tempered.

(c) *Ne bo fuw ntem-ntem.*

3SG chest grow weed quick-redup.

His/her chest grows weed quickly.

He/she is quick tempered.

(d) *Papa no bo re fuw.*

Man Det chest Prog. grow weed.

The man's chest is growing weed.

The man is getting angry.

This metaphor appears to be an Akan culture-specific realisation of the more generic-level orientational metaphor MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN²⁰ where more weed growth correlates with more/intense anger and less weed growth correlates with less intense anger. This metaphor conceptualises anger as a process that moves from a downward orientation to an upward one. This is reflected in the syntactic structures of metaphorical expressions that instantiate this metaphor. For instance, the use of progressive aspect 're' (e.g. *me bo refu* 'my chest is growing weed' - I am getting angry) and the completive aspect 'a' (e.g. *me bo afuw* 'my chest has grown weed' - I am angry) illustrate this. An alternative metaphorical conceptualisation to this will be ANGER IS A GROWING HAIR if the basic meaning of *fuw* were taken to be 'to grow hair'.

However, I go by the ANGER IS A GROWING WEED for reasons already explained in note 11 above. It may be argued that the ANGER IS A GROWING WEED metaphor constitutes what Semino (2010:2) calls an unrealistic scenario, i.e. implausible, counterintuitive, absurd, or impossible scenario – a scenario which does not reflect what people already know about the source domain. Typically, weeds do not grow on chests. However, contrary to Semino's examples where the metaphors that evoked these unrealistic scenarios were on-line constructions or creative metaphors, the ANGER IS A GROWING WEED metaphor is highly conventional in Akan, perhaps the most conventionalised metaphorical conceptualisation of anger in Akan.

²⁰ I am grateful to Zoltan Kövecses for drawing my attention to this dimension of the ANGER IS A GROWING WEED metaphor in Akan.

Besides the word *abufuw*, the following phrases are also typically used to describe a person in an angry condition/state: *n'atiko apae* (the back of his/her head is split open), *w'adwa* (he/she has split open), *ne bo rehuru so* (his/her chest is boiling over), *ne bo rehye* (his/her chest is burning). It is interesting to note that all the verbs in these expressions, *pae* (*split open*), *dwa* (*split open*), *huru* (*boil*), and *hye* (*burn*) are typical change-of-state verbs in Akan each with a basic meaning of typically changing the state of a physical object or substance. In addition, such verbs syntactically tend to have causative/inchoative alternation, i.e. they may or may not be used in syntactic constructions that mark the agent responsible for bringing about the change in state (Osam 2008). As shown in examples 5.14-5.17 below, the (a) sentences exemplify causative patterns while the (b) sentences exemplify inchoative patterns. The examples here only illustrate the syntactic constructions in which these change-of-state verbs occur in Akan when they have not been used metaphorically.

5.14

(a) Kofi a-dwa ayewa no.
 Agent (NP) verb Patient (NP) Det.
 Kofi COMPL-split open earthen pot Det.
 Kofi has split open the earthen pot.

(b) Ayewa no a-dwa.
 Patient (NP) Det. verb.
 Earthen pot Det. COMPL-split open.
 The earthen pot is split open.

5.15.

(a) Ama a-pae toa no.
 Agent (NP) verb patient (NP) Det.

Ama COMPL-split open bottle Det.

Ama has broken the bottle.

(b) Toa no a-pae.

Patient (NP) Det. COMPL-split open.

Bottle Det. COMPL-split open.

The bottle is broken.

5.16

(a) *Kofi a-huru nsuo no.

Agent(NP) verb patient(NP) Det.

Kofi COMPL-boil water Det.

Kofi has boiled the water²¹

(b) Nsuo no a-huru.

Water Det. COMPL-boil

The water has boiled (The water is boiled).

5.17

(a) Esi hye-e nwura no.

Agent (NP) verb patient (NP) Det.

Esi burn-past weed Det.

Esi burnt the weed.

(b) Nwura no hye-e.

Patient (NP) Det. verb.

²¹ To express this English proposition where the concept of boiling requires an agent Akan will use a different verb, *noa*, altogether.

Weed Det. burn-past.

The weed got burnt.

The syntactic constructions in which these change-of-state verbs occur in Akan distinguish their metaphorical uses from the non-metaphorical uses. For instance, whereas all the verbs apart from *huru* (cf. 5.16a), may have causative/inchoative alternation in their non-metaphorical uses, they tend to occur in inchoative and intransitive constructions only in their metaphorical uses. In addition, when used in their basic senses, these change-of-state verbs select non-human patient NPs when they occur in intransitive constructions (e.g. 18b) but in metaphorical constructions, the verbs select human patient NPs even both transitive and intransitive constructions (see 19 below). However, *huru*, which occurs in inchoative constructions only in its literal sense, can have the causative/inchoative alternation in metaphorical constructions. The metaphorical uses of these change-of state verbs and the syntactic structures in which they occur are illustrated in examples 5.19-5.22 below:

5.18

(a) Kofi *a-dwa*.

 Patient (NP) verb

 Kofi COMPL-split open.

 Kofi has split open.

 Kofi is totally angry.

(b) *Ama adwa Kofi.

 *Ama has made Kofi angry.

5.19

(a) Osei *a-ape*.

 Patient(NP) verb

Osei COMPL-split open.

Osei has split open.

Osei is totally angry (equivalent to Osei burst a blood vessel).

(b) * Kofi apae Osei.

*Kofi has made Osei angry.

Examples 5.18 (b) and 5.19 (b) are unacceptable only if the intention is to metaphorically express the proposition underneath them, i.e. that *Ama caused Kofi to be angry* and *Kofi caused Osei to be angry*, respectively. Indeed, expressions 19 (b) and 20 (b) are acceptable metaphorical expressions about anger in Akan except that they express different propositions, i.e. *Ama is angry with Kofi* and *Kofi is angry with Osei*, respectively.

5.20

(a) Ama-bo *re-huru* (*so*)

Patient (NP) verb post position

Ama-chest prog.-boil (on)

Ama's chest is boiling over.

Ama is boiling with anger.

(b) Kofi *re-huru* *Ama-bo*

Agent (NP) verb patient (NP)

Kofi prog.-boil Ama-chest

Kofi is boiling Ama's chest.

Kofi is making Ama angry.

5.21

(a) Boateng *re-hye*.

Patient (NP) verb

Boateng prog.-burn.

Boateng is burning.

Boateng is burning with anger.

(b) *Esi re-hye Boateng.

Esi is making Boateng burn with anger.

Comparing the metaphorical uses with the non-metaphorical uses of these change-of-state verbs we can conclude that the use of such change-of-state verbs in Akan to describe or refer to anger or angry situations is metaphorical in the sense that while the verbs do not denote the same changes in the angry person as in physical objects or substances do, we can understand the change in the physiological conditions of the angry person, e.g. increase in blood pressure, in terms of physical changes to physical objects or substance, e.g. a container bursting under too much heat or pressure. These metaphorical expressions that make references to change of state verbs are instantiations of two conceptual metaphors that are again grounded in human physical/perceptual experiences and motivated by both metonymic and metaphoric principles.

In the first place, the interaction between the generic-level metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS, and the conceptual metonymies INTERNAL PRESSURE FOR ANGER, and BODY HEAT FOR ANGER give rise to the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER in Akan and ANGER IS FIRE as presented below:

Source: Hot fluid in a container

Target: Anger

The physical container

⇒ the angry person's body

The hot fluid inside the container

⇒ the anger

The degree of fluid heat \Rightarrow the intensity of anger

The cause of increase in fluid heat \Rightarrow the cause of anger

5.22 ANGER AS HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER

(a) Ne *bo* re *huru* so.

Poss-chest prog.boil over

His/her chest is boiling over.

He/she is boiling with anger.

(b) Ne *bo* *n-nwo* ne ho.

Poss-chest neg-cool poss. self

His/her chest does not cool itself.

He/she is still angry.

(c) ɔ-wɔ *a-bu-fuw* *hyew*.

3SG-possess nom-chest-weedy hot.

He/she has a hot, weedy chest.

He is hot tempered.

(d) *Nebo* *n-now-e*.

Poss chest neg-cool-past

His/her chest has not cooled down.

He/she is not appeased.

(e) *Meto meho pono mu na adwodwo abufuw no so.*

1SG close myself door in so cool duplication nom. Chest grow weed Det. on

I lock myself up in a room to *cool down the anger*.

I lock myself up in a room in order to calm down.

Akan also makes use of some entailment potentials of the body container source

domain to elaborate the ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor. For instance, the general knowledge that intense heat causes a rise in volume or upward movement of a fluid in a container corresponds to the increase in the intensity of anger in Akan where the entire container rather than the hot fluid in it moves upward, e.g. *n'akoma a-sɔre* 'his/her heart has risen'; *n'akoma kɔ soro* 'his/her heart has gone up'; *nebo rehuru* 'his chest is boiling'. Another carryover knowledge from the source domain that produces metaphorical entailments in the Akan mapping is that too much heat can cause the container to explode and that when the container explodes, what was inside it comes out, e.g., *w'adwa* 'he has split open'; *ɔjrepae* 'he/she is bursting/breaking'.

However, while some elaborations of the English mapping are based on the entailment potential 'hot fluid produces steam in the container', e.g. *He's just letting off steam*; there is no linguistic evidence of such elaborations in Akan. Again, there is linguistic evidence to show that the entailment that in the case of an explosion parts of the container go up in the air, and what was inside the container comes out. However, there is no linguistic evidence to suggest that parts of the Akan body container go up in the air in the case of explosion even though there are some linguistic elaborations based on the entailment that in an explosion what was inside the container comes out as shown in the following sample data from the focus group discussions:

Mebofu a mentumi nyɛ hwee, enti sɛ me ne nipa no ko a na *abufuo no afiri me mu*.

When I get angry I can't do anything so if I fight the person, then the anger gets out of me.

Indeed, the conceptualisation of ANGER AS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER is consistent with the conceptualisation of *abotare* 'patience', an emotion concept in Akan that stands in opposition to anger, as A COLD FLUID IN A CONTAINER. Lakoff

(1987) suggests that in the ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor, when there is no heat, the fluid is cool and calm and that this coolness and calmness corresponds to lack of anger in the central metaphor ANGER IS HEAT. For example, while hot fluids have the tendency to rise in volume and get out of the container, cool or cooled substances have the tendency or propensity to settle or remain securely in their containers, contrasting with the hot fluids causing a rise in volume entailment in the ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor. Thus, *abotare* (the process of a chest sticking to) is conceptualised as A COOL/COLD FLUID IN A CONTAINER. As the concept that most closely contrasts *abufuw* ‘anger’ in Akan, the metaphorical conceptualisation of *abotare* is consistent with the metaphorical conceptualisation of anger in the language. The linguistic instantiations of this metaphor provided in example 5.22 were both elicited and intuitively generated.

5.23 PATIENCE IS A COLD FLUID²² IN A CONTAINER

(a) Me-*bo* *a-dwo*.

Me-chest COMPL-cooled down

My chest has cooled down.

I am not angry any more.

(b) Me-*bo* *a-tɔ* *me-yam*.

Poss-chest COMPL-fall poss-stomach

My chest has fallen into my stomach.

²² Like the ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor in Akan, there is no overt reference to ‘fluid’ in this metaphor. However, on the basis of prototypicality we may infer that the conceptualisation involves some ‘fluid’. For instance, the prototypical patient of the verb *dwo* ‘cool down’ is water, e.g. *ɔdwo sɛ nsuonwunu* ‘he/she is as cool as cold water.’ Indeed, the closest synonym of *abotare* ‘patience’ in Akan is *abodwoyerɛ* which literally translates ‘a chest that cools down for long’.

I am appeased.

(c) *n'-akoma a-tɔ ne-yam.*

Poss-heart COMPL-fall poss-stomach

His/her heart has fallen into his/her stomach.

He/she has calmed down.

The data from the native Akan focus group discussions confirmed these general conceptualisations of emotions in general and ANGER in particular in Akan. For instance, on the question of how participants react, in terms of what they typically do to people who make them angry and what they gain from doing such things, there were two broad categories of responses: (1) refraining from taking action against the offending people and (2) taking action against the offending people. Even though participants in both categories saw anger as a negative and potentially dangerous emotion, each group identified different entities as the target of the potential danger of anger.

On the one hand, the participants who refrain from taking any action argued that anger is dangerous to people other than the angry person. Subsequently, any action that is taken in anger could be dangerous not only to the source of the anger, the offending party but also other people around. Therefore, anger must be *tamed, controlled* and *not let loose*. Here are some metaphorical expressions from the focus group discussions to illustrate this position. Due to the length of the responses here, I leave out the interlinear glosses and provide only two levels of translation:

5.24

(a) *Sɛ mebo fuw a mefiri hɔ kosi sɛ m'akoma bɛdwo annyɛ saa a adwen bɔne bɛba me trim.*

When I get angry, I leave the place until *my heart cools down* if not bad thought

will enter my head.

- (b) Sɛ *mebo fuw* a meyɛ dinn efiri sɛ ɛwɔ sɛ *wotumi kontro*²³/hyɛ *abufuw no so*.

When I get angry I keep quiet because *one has to be able to control the anger*.

- (c) *Mensosɔ so* efiri sɛ *medi abufuo n'akyi* a ɛde nsɛm bebree bɛba.

I will not *hold anger* because if *I follow anger* it may result in negative things.

- (d) *Mebo fuw a memene abufuo no* na *m'ano ankɔpa*.

When I get angry, *I swallow the anger* so *my mouth does not slip* [i.e. say the wrong things].

- (e) *Mepue na mebo dwo* a maba

I go out and when *my chest has cooled down* I come back.

- (f) *Meto me ho pono mu na adwodwo abufuw no so*.

I lock myself up in a room to *cool down the anger*.

- (g) *Menya abotare na mantu anammɔn bɔne*.

I get a *chest to stick* so I don't *take a wrong step*.

I exercise patience in order to keep a level head.

On the other hand, the second group of native Akan participants identified the angry person as the target of the potential danger of the emotion of anger, i.e., that unexpressed anger is dangerous to the angry person's body and mind. Consequently, as was inferred from the discussions, for such participants, the emotion of anger has to be released or removed from the angry person's body container in one way or another in order to restore the body container to its normal condition. The following responses in example 5.25 below illustrate the second position. Since the metaphorical expressions

²³ This participant actually used the Akan version of the English word 'control' as well as the Akan equivalent of that word 'hyɛ ..so'. This is an example of lexical borrowing in Akan.

here have been glossed earlier I only provide the English equivalents of the sentences that contain them.

5.25

- (a) Sɛ obi hyɛ me abufuo a mene no ko. Mene no ko wie a na *abufuo no afiri me mu*.

When someone makes me angry I fight them. When I fight them the anger leaves me.

- (b) Sɛ obi hyɛ me abufuw na medidi n'atɛm a na *meho atɔ me*.

When someone makes me angry and I insult the person *I recover*.

- (c) Mebofu a mekasa-kasa sɛ nyɛ saa a *m'akoma ntɔ me yam*.

When I am angry I talk repeatedly if not *my heart won't fall into my stomach*.

When I get angry I vent my anger verbally in order to *be appeased*.

- (d) Mebofu a mentumi nyɛ hwee, enti sɛ me ne nipa no ko a na *abufuo no afiri me mu*.

When I get angry I can't do anything so if I fight with the person then the anger gets out of me.

- (e) Me bofu a na aye sɛ *biribi hyɛ me so*; mentumi *nyɛ frii*²⁴

When I get angry it is like *something is weighing me down*; I can't *be free*.

- (f) Obi yɛ na *mebofu* a, metumi a mebo no na *meho atɔ me*.

When someone makes me angry and I can I beat them up *I recover*.

- (g) Obi hyɛ me abufu a meka foo kyerɛ no na *dɛɛ ɛhyɛ me so no afiri me mu*.

When someone makes me angry I say nasty things to them *to let that which weighs me down*

get out of me.

- (h) Mebo fu na mekasa-kasa a na *mebo/akoma atɔ meyam*.

When I get angry and I talk repeatedly *my chest/heart falls into my stomach*.

²⁴ Another instance of borrowing from English 'free'.

Giving vent in words to my anger makes me feel appeased.

While the Akan conceptualisation of the potential danger of anger in relation to the angry person is akin to the retribution stage of the prototypical anger scenario in English, it is important to mention that stages 3 and 4 of the prototypical anger scenario in English may be of no consequences at all in what appears to be the prototypical anger scenario in Akan. However, the Akan conceptualisation of the potential danger of anger in relation to other people around the angry person may be similar in some ways to Lakoff's prototypical anger scenario. Based on the linguistic evidence from the native/monolingual Akan participants in this study, we may infer the following as the prototypical models of anger in native/monolingual Akan in Ghana:

Model 1:

Stage 1: Offending event

Stage 2: Anger exists

Stage 3: Control²⁵

Model 2:²⁶

Stage 1: Offending event

Stage 2: Anger exists

Stage 3: Retribution

Again, based on the native Akan participants' responses above, we may further infer

²⁵ In Akan, controlling anger is metaphorically conceptualised in terms of swallowing (see the ANGER IS FOOD metaphor below).

²⁶ The fact that anger is not metaphorically conceptualised as AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE in native/monolingual Akan may explain this model. .

four other source domains in terms of which different aspects of anger are understood: A DANGEROUS THING, A BURDEN, A DISEASE and FOOD.

ANGER IS A DANGEROUS THING: The potential danger of anger to people around the angry person is conceptualised as a dangerous animal in Akan. This metaphor may be grounded in the perceived parallels between human experience with uncontrolled anger and a dangerous thing on the loose:

<i>Source: Dangerous thing</i>	<i>Target: Anger</i>
The thing being let loose	⇒ loss of control of anger
The owner of the dangerous thing	⇒ the angry person
Energy needed to control a dangerous thing	⇒ energy needed to control anger

5.26 ANGER IS A DANGEROUS THING

(a) Sɛ mebo fuw a meye dinn efiri sɛ ɛwɔ sɛ wotumi *kontro*²⁷/hyɛ abufuw no so.

When I get angry I keep quiet because *one has to be able to control the anger*.

I keep calm when I am angry in order to control the anger.

Like the English version, this Akan metaphor is based only on implicit metaphorical connection between angry behaviour a dangerous thing rather than metaphorical expressions that explicitly refer to the source domain.

ANGER IS A BURDEN: This metaphor conceptualises the negative aspects of anger in relation to the angry person just like the native English version. The conceptual

²⁷ This participant actually used the Akan version of the English word ‘control’ as well as the Akan equivalent of that word ‘hyɛ .so’. This is an example of lexical borrowing in Akan.

mappings for this metaphor appear to be no different from those postulated for the native English version. However, unlike the native English version which is believed to be grounded in the general metaphorization of responsibilities as a burden, the Akan metaphor is grounded in a more socio-cultural experience of the drudgery involved in physically carrying heavy loads, usually farm produce, over relatively long distances from the farm to the home.

<i>Source: Burden</i>	<i>Target: Anger</i>
The burden bearer	⇒ the angry person
The burden	⇒ Anger
Carrying the burden	⇒ keeping/suppressing the anger
Offloading the burden/unburdening	⇒ expressing anger

5.27 ANGER IS A BURDEN

- (a) Mebofu a na ayɛ sɛ *biribi hyɛ me so; mentumi nyɛ frii*

When I get angry it is like *something is weighing me down; I can't be free.*

- (b) Mebofu a mentumi nyɛ hwee, enti sɛ me ne nipa no ko a na *abufuo no afiri me mu.*

When I get angry I can't do anything so if I fight the person, *the anger gets out of me.*

- (c) Mebo fu a mekasa-kasa sɛ n-nyɛ saa a *m'akoma ntɔ me yam.*

When I am angry I talk repeatedly if not *my heart won't fall into my stomach.*

When I get angry I give vent in words to my anger in order to be appeased.

- (d) Obi hyɛ me abufu a meka foo kyere no na *deɛ ɛhyɛ me so no afiri me mu.*

When someone makes me angry I say nasty things to them *to let that which*

weighs me down get out of me.

- (e) Mebo fu na mekasa-kasa a na *mebo/akoma atɔ meyam.*

When *I get angry* and I talk repeatedly *my chest/heart falls into my stomach.*

When I vent my anger in words I feel appeased.

In Akan, the expressions *ahotɔ/me ho atɔ me* (5.25 b, f) are basically and typically used to denote the state of physical well being, e.g. of recuperation or recovery from an illness even though their meanings may be extended to include a state of mental and economic well being, e.g. of sound financial standing. Thus, for the native Akan participants who see anger as dangerous to the angry person's body, unexpressed anger is a disease in the angry person's body that needs curing. This is the basis for the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A DISEASE in Akan.

<i>Source: Disease</i>	<i>Target: Anger</i>
Disease causing agent	⇒ the cause of anger
The disease	⇒ anger
Curing the disease	⇒ expressing anger
Recovering from disease	⇒ relief from anger

5.28 ANGER IS A DISEASE

(a) *Obi ye na mebofu a, metumi a mebo no na meho atɔ me.*

If someone makes me angry, if I can I beat them up and *recover*.

(b) *Se obi hye me abufuw na medidi n'atɛm a na meho atɔ me.*

When someone makes me angry and I insult the person *I recover*

Another significant finding from the native/monolingual Akan focus group discussions was the participants' use of linguistic terms that basically denote aspects of food and eating to talk about anger, especially the control aspects of it. For instance, among the participants who consider anger as dangerous to other people, controlling anger was described in terms of the Akan word *mene*, to swallow. The 2006 edition of

the Akan Dictionary's entry for the word *mene* may be freely translated as 'the process of letting something, e.g. food or water, pass through one's throat to one's stomach'. In the Akan version of the ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, we saw how the process of controlling anger is conceptualised in terms of preventing the specific body parts that carry the emotion, .e.g. heart/chest from rising or getting out of the larger body container²⁸ by ensuring that the anger-bearing container cools down or fall into the stomach (*ma wobo nnwo* – let your *chest cool down*; *ma wobo/w'akoma ntɔ wo yam* – let your *chest/heart fall into your heart* 'exercise patience). Thus, it will not be inconsistent to suggest that Akan conceptualises certain aspects of ANGER AS FOOD with the following mappings:

<i>Source: Food</i>		<i>Target: Anger</i>
Food /matter	⇒	Anger
Swallowing food	⇒	controlling anger
Taste of the food	⇒	the cause of anger

5.29 ANGER IS FOOD

(a) Asem *mee* *me a mebo fuw.*

Matter full up me COND. me chest grow weed.

When I am full up with a matter I get angry.

When I am fed up with a matter I get angry.

(b) Asem no *me-e* *no* *boro- o so.*

²⁸ Maalej (1999) has argued that the logic of containment does not preclude parts of the body themselves from functioning as sub-containers within the body container metaphor, e.g. in Akan, the body container metaphor includes the following sub-containers: the chest is a container for the heart; and the heart is the container for anger. Therefore, metonymically, the chest is the container for anger in Akan.

Matter Det. Full- past 3SG more- past on.

The matter made him (the man in the video) overly full up.

The man was fed up with the matter (the woman's behaviour).

(c) Sɛ aɛm bi n-yɛ me dɛ a mebofuw.

COND. matter INDEF. neg- make me sweet COND. me chest grow weed.

If a matter is not sweet to me my chest grows weed.

Unpalatable things make me angry.

(d) Me mene m'abufu nyinaa na m'ano an kɔpa.

ISG swallow Poss-anger all CONJ. Poss mouth neg. go slip.

I *swallow* all my anger so my mouth does not slip (i.e. do not say the wrong things).

It is important to note that while the translation equivalent of examples (5.29 a&b) may not exactly express anger in English, the Akan expressions denote implicit anger.

This section has drawn on both elicited and intuitively generated metaphorical expressions that are conventionally used to talk about or describe different aspects of anger in Akan to analyse the major conventional conceptual metaphors of anger in Akan. The major conventional conceptual metaphors identified are: ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, ANGER IS A GROWING WEED, ANGER IS A BURDEN, ANGER IS A DANGEROUS THING, ANGER IS A DISEASE and ANGER IS FOOD. The analysis has shown that Akan conceptualisations of anger are equally based on both general metonymic and metaphorical principles that are grounded in fundamental human experiences including physiological and socio-cultural experiences. The next section compares and contrasts native English conceptualisations of anger with those of native Akan.

5.4 Differences/similarities between English and Akan conceptualisations of Anger

The question of whether or not conceptual metaphors in general are universal across cultures has been a matter of research interest in cognitive linguistics and elsewhere (Kövecses 1995, 2005; Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987; Lutz 1988; Maleej 1999, 2004). Several views and positions have been expressed in this regard. For example, the standard view (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) posits that conceptual metaphors are based on embodied cognition, i.e. the way the human body and brain function in relation to their environment. Therefore, universal human experiences, including basic emotions, produce universal conceptual metaphors. For example, universal human experiences such as the correlation between a pile and increase in height as well as the correlation between getting angry and a rise in body temperature produce the universal primary metaphors MORE IS UP and ANGER IS HEAT respectively (Grady 1999). Consequently, complex conceptual metaphors that are based on a cluster of such primary metaphors produce universal conceptual metaphors, e.g. ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER²⁹ across cultures/languages.

While earlier studies of emotion concepts in cognitive linguistics (e.g. Lakoff 1987), emphasised the potential universality of anger conceptualisation across cultures (because the conceptualisations were believed to be based on universal embodied cognition), later studies in both cognitive linguistics and elsewhere (e.g. Esenova 2009,

²⁹ This depends on the level of abstraction as well as discourse participants though, i.e. the universal conceptualisation of this metaphor occurs only at the highest level of abstraction; there is a lot of diversity in conceptualisation of anger among different discourse participants at the lower levels of abstractions.

Kövecses 2000, 2005; Lutz 1988; Maalej 1999, 2004; Soriano 2003) point to variation in the conceptualisations of emotions in general and anger in particular across cultures/languages. In other words, the question of whether or not conceptual metaphors in general are universal across cultures has been a matter of research interest in cognitive linguistics and elsewhere (Kövecses 1995, 2005; Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987; Lutz 1988; Maleej 1999, 2004) with several views and positions being expressed.

The standard view has remained the starting point for several other views in the debate on the universality versus culture/language specificity of conceptual metaphor debate, particularly with regards to the metaphorical conceptualisations of basic human emotions. For example, the prototype view (Lakoff 1987, Russell 1991) subsumes the embodied cognition thesis and regards emotions as scripts or scenarios. The prototype view proposes that prototypical emotion scripts are largely universal, i.e. the same across languages and cultures. This view has been contested by the social-constructionists (Lutz 1988), who, while agreeing with the idea that emotion concepts are scripts/scenarios, submit that emotion concepts are socio-cultural scripts/scenarios or constructions whose properties depend on particular aspects of a particular culture. According to this view, the conceptualisation of human emotions is language/culture specific because different aspects of a given concept are given different socio-cultural salience by different cultures.

Finally, the embodied cultural prototype view (Kövecses 2000, 2005; Maleej 1999, 2004) synthesises the prototype and the social constructionists' views and proposes that emotion concepts are based on both universal human embodied experiences and socio-cultural constructions. In other words, embodied cultural prototype theorists believe that bodily motivations have a socio-cultural substance and social constructions have a

bodily basis. Thus, while it is possible for some conceptual metaphors to be universal or near universal because they are grounded in universal human experience, different cultures may have culture-specific realisations of these near-universal conceptual metaphors.

The existence of major similarities and variation in the conceptualisation of universal human experiences, including emotions, within and between cultures has been documented extensively in cognitive linguistic research (King 1989; Kövecses 2000, 2005; Lutz 1988; Munro 1991). According to Kövecses (2000, 2005), these similarities and variations occur in two major areas: (1) the source domains in terms of which a particular target concept is understood, and (2) elaborations in the conceptual mappings within a particular conceptual metaphor in the case of shared source domains. The next two sub-sections explore the similarities and variations involved in the conceptualisation of anger in Akan and English both in terms of source domains and elaborations in mappings in cases of shared source domains.

5.4.1 Differences /similarities in source domains

Indeed, there exist both similarities and differences in the conceptualisations of anger in native/monolingual English and native/monolingual Akan. First of all, both English and Akan make use of metonymic and metaphoric principles in their conceptualisations of anger. For instance, the human body is a key source domain in how anger is metaphorically understood in both languages. The physiological effects of anger on the body are used metonymically to stand for the emotion of anger, e.g. BODY HEAT IS ANGER, INTERNAL PRESSURE IS ANGER etc. However, not all the physiological effects identified in English are also used in Akan. For example, whereas agitation and

skin colour (redness around the face and neck area) are used metonymically to conceptualise anger in English, they are not used in the Akan metonymic conceptualisation of anger.

Secondly, the following common source domains for anger were shared by the two languages: THE HUMAN BODY, A BURDEN, A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, A DANGEROUS THING (ANIMAL) and A GROWING THING. These shared source domains may be said to be motivated by universal human embodied cognition. However, the elaborations of the actual metaphors vary in each language. These common source domains notwithstanding, anger was further conceptualised in terms of other source domains that were exclusive to each language: A NATURAL FORCE, AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE, INSANITY, FIRE and A CHILD (English) and A DISEASE and FOOD (Akan). The next sub-section analyses the differences and similarities in the elaborations of the conceptual metaphors of anger in both English and Akan that share common source domains.

5.4.2 Differences and/ similarities in conceptual mappings and elaborations

In addition to source domains, variation in the conceptualisation of emotions across languages/cultures may show in how each language/culture actually construes the shared source domains. For example, as Kövecses (2000) reports, American English and Chinese share a common source domain SPORT in their metaphoric understanding of POLITICS. However, on the one hand, SPORT is specifically construed as *American football* and *baseball* in American English. On the other hand, it is construed as *table tennis*, *volleyball* or *soccer* in Chinese. In other words, whereas what is shared between these two languages/cultures fairly abstract, the language-specific understandings are

based on cultural salience, i.e. the popularity of a particular sport. This section analyses the variation in the conceptual correspondences as well as the elaborations of shared conceptual metaphors in Akan and English.

First of all, although the human body is conceptualised as a container for anger in the two languages, there are differences in the specific body parts that are conceptualised as containing anger in each language. In English anger may be contained in the *eyes, face, neck, chest, guts, nerves* and *blood*. However, in Akan, anger is contained in the *chest, heart, back of the head, stomach* or even *the whole body*. Secondly, the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER occurs in both English and Akan with both similar correspondences and differences in elaborations of shared mappings. For example, in both languages, the hot fluid corresponds to anger. However, in the elaborations, the hot fluid is specified as ‘blood’ in English (you make my *blood boil*) but it is not specified in Akan. In fact, on the surface it may even look like there is no fluid at all in the Akan conceptualisation because no specific fluid is mentioned in the elaboration. However, the use of a verb like *huru* ‘to boil’, in Akan presupposes the presence of some liquid, usually water, even though other liquids may apply.

In addition, the English elaborations of ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor specify the English body container as covered so that when the loss of control over anger is conceptualised in an explosion, the cover of the English body container

may go off in the explosion, e.g. I blew my *top*; He blew the *gasket*³⁰. However, the idea of explosion is alluded to in the Akan elaborations of this metaphor (*wadwa*; *wapae* ‘he/she has split open’, i.e. he/she has exploded) but there is no linguistic evidence to suggest that the Akan body container is covered – no body parts go off in the Akan explosion.

Furthermore, native/monolingual English elaborates this metaphor based on the entailment potential of the source domain that hot fluid produces steam in the container (He is blowing off *steam*). However, the linguistic evidence does not support this elaboration in native/monolingual Akan even though both languages make use of a related entailment – that too much heat causes too much pressure and too much pressure on the container may lead to the container exploding. Again, in the metaphorical entailment of both the English and the Akan conceptualisations of anger as A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, lack of heat corresponds to lack of anger. However, there are differences in the specific ways in which this mapping is elaborated in each language. In English, the body container is made to settle down as a whole. But in Akan, the anger-bearing container is made to settle in a more secure container to either prevent the hot fluid or the anger-bearing container from moving upward so that when your chest is boiling over *wobo rehuu so* or your heart has gone up (*w’akoma kɔ soro*) you may be advised to do one of the following: (*ka w’akoma to wo yam*) ‘push your heart into your stomach’ or (*ma wo bo ntɔ wo yam*) ‘let your chest fall into your stomach’, both meaning calm down/be patient.

³⁰ This suggests that anger is conceptualised as a MACHINE in English. This conceptualisation of anger in English is not captured in the literature though.

Another point of interest in English and Akan conceptualisations of anger concerns how the process of controlling anger is metaphorically construed. On the one hand, both languages conceptualise the process of controlling anger in terms of bearing a BURDEN or controlling A DANGEROUS THING (ANIMAL). On the other hand, while English further conceptualises the process in terms of struggling with an opponent (he was *battling* his anger), Akan conceptualises it in terms of eating or swallowing (*mene w'abufuw* 'swallow your anger', i.e. calm down/be patient). In addition, whereas the linguistic evidence suggests strong implicit connections between the DANGEROUS THING and A DANGEROUS ANIMAL (e.g a horse) in native/monolingual English, there is no linguistic support for such strong connections in native/monolingual Akan. Finally, the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A GROWING THING occurs in both native/monolingual English and native/monolingual Akan. However, the GROWING THING is specified in English as A PLANT, while it is specified in more detail, i.e. as a GROWING WEED in Akan.

The last two sub-sections have looked at some source domain similarities and differences in the conceptualisations of ANGER in native English and native Akan as well as at differences and similarities in the conceptual correspondences and elaborations (in the case of shared source domains) in the two languages. The possible implications of the differences and similarities between Akan and English metaphorical conceptualisations of anger, a human basic emotion, are discussed in chapter seven. The next section analyses metaphorical expressions of anger in English among Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana in order to identify how the emotion is conceptually represented among these bilinguals – whether the bilingual conceptualisations will reflect any or both of the native/monolingual conceptualisations.

5.5 Akan-English Bilingual Conceptual Metaphors of Anger

This section analyses the metaphorical expressions of anger that are used in my Akan-English bilingual data in order to infer conventional conceptual metaphors of anger that may underlie such bilingual metaphorical expressions. The analysis is done in the light of the native/monolingual English and native Akan conceptualisations of anger discussed above. In other words, the section aims to answer the following questions: 1) What linguistic metaphors/metaphorical expressions do Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana commonly use to describe anger? 2) What conceptual metaphors may underlie such metaphorical expressions? 3) In what ways are the underlying conceptualisations of the Akan-English bilingual metaphorical expressions the same as, similar to or different from the native/monolingual English and native/monolingual Akan conceptualisations? 4) What do the bilingual conceptual metaphors of anger reveal about the nature and organisation of the bilingual conceptual system? The data were taken from both focus group discussions and written questionnaires. A full description of the details of the data elicitation process and the range of participants involved are given in sections 4.5 and 4.6 respectively.

In answering the first question, my bilingual data revealed a range of metaphorical expressions to describe different aspects of anger. The following are sample Akan-English bilingual metaphorical expressions of anger in English:

5.30

- (a) When I am angry I sound a *hot* warning.
- (b) My anger is *non-violent*.
- (c) My anger is not very *active*.
- (d) In an angry situation I *let my anger go* and walk away.

- (e) I keep my anger to myself for a long time then one day I *explode*.
- (f) I avoid people who make me angry in order to *get over* the anger.
- (g) My anger is *controllable* but a little *aggressive*.
- (h) I don't feel comfortable *bearing* anybody a grudge.
- (i) I get into *tantrums* when I am angry.
- (j) I was very *furious*.
- (k) My anger is very *hot*.

A close look at the bilingual metaphorical expressions of anger reveals that the bilingual conceptualisations of anger also appear to be motivated by both general metonymic and metaphoric principles. For instance, there is linguistic evidence of the ANGER IS HEAT metaphor (my anger is very *hot*), which is based on the conceptual metonymy BODY HEAT STANDS FOR ANGER. Other instances of using general metonymic principles include: 'my anger is *non-violent*;' 'my anger is *controllable* but a little *aggressive*' where in both cases THE EFFECT OF ANGER STANDS FOR THE CAUSE OF ANGER. In addition, there is further linguistic evidence to suggest that the BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS schema (the man found it difficult to *contain* his anger; I couldn't *contain* it so I insulted him and left; you just do something to *get the anger off your chest*) occurs in the bilingual conceptualisations of anger.

The data also revealed that Akan-English bilinguals conceptualise anger in terms of the following source domains: A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, A WEAPON, AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE, A BURDEN/HEAVY LOAD, A NATURAL FORCE, A PERSON, INSANITY, A DANGEROUS THING (ANIMAL) and A DISEASE.

ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER: Based on the linguistic evidence from the bilingual data, the following conceptual correspondences are postulated:

Source: Hot fluid in a container

Target: Anger

The physical container	⇒	the angry person's body
The hot fluid inside the container	⇒	the anger
The degree of fluid heat	⇒	the intensity of anger
The cause of increase in fluid heat	⇒	the cause of increase in the intensity of anger

5.31 ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER

- (a) He was trying to *contain it* (the anger) so that there will be peace.
- (b) If you keep it in you that *boiled up* anger may turn out to be an action, e.g. slap.
- (c) If your patience has been tried and tested to the *brim* and you can no longer *contain* it what do you do?
- (d) I keep my anger to myself for a long time then one day I *explode*.
- (e) But anger *explodes* if the act is done in public.

In all, there were 17 tokens of linguistic evidence that pointed to this conceptualization in the data (see appendix E (i) 2). In certain respects, the elaborations of this bilingual metaphor are more similar to the native/monolingual Akan metaphor than the native/monolingual English one. For instance, like the native/monolingual Akan elaboration, there is no linguistic evidence that the bilingual body container has a cover - none of the conventional metaphorical expressions of anger in native/monolingual English that instantiate this elaboration were recorded in the bilingual data. Thus, even though one can get on the *nerves* of Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana, there is no linguistic evidence to suggest that this will cause them to blow their *top*. In addition, there was no linguistic evidence of elaborations that are based on the entailment 'heat causes pressure in the container' in the bilingual data. However,

like both the native/monolingual English and native/monolingual Akan elaborations of this metaphor, heat corresponds to anger and lack of heat corresponds to the absence of anger in the bilingual elaboration as well: I try to keep my temper *cool*; the passengers on the bus *calmed me down*; I keep mute and pray for a *cold heart*; My anger is *cold* when I decide to ignore it. In addition, the entailment that intense heat may cause an explosion of the container occurs in the bilingual elaborations as well (5.31 d & e).

ANGER IS A WEAPON: During the focus group discussions, some Akan-English bilinguals described anger as a weapon, a tool which, if not well handled by the angry person, might be offensive to the angry person, the person who caused the anger as well as people around the angry person. In all there were 14 linguistic tokens that pointed to this metaphor in the data (see appendix Ei). The following correspondences are postulated:

<i>Source: Weapon</i>	<i>Target: Anger</i>
Weapon	⇒ Anger
Weapon bearer	⇒ angry person
Target	⇒ the person at whom anger is directed
Actions taken by weapon bearer	⇒ actions taken by angry person
Effects of actions on target	⇒ effects of anger on the person anger is directed at

5.32 ANGER IS A WEAPON

- (a) If I react in anger I might cause more *harm* (than the anger has caused).
- (b) When I am angry I go out to talk because if I don't talk at all, I feel *hurt* inside, and even get headaches.
- (c) When someone makes me angry I speak to them in a way to *hurt* them more than they *hurt* me that way I can get rid of the anger.
- (d) My anger is *offensive*.

(e) My anger is very slow but powerful; it can *hit* your heart.

It is interesting to note that while this metaphor conceptualises anger as a negative and potentially dangerous emotion to both the angry person and others around him or her, the particular conceptualisation of this aspect of anger (in terms of a weapon) does not occur in either of the native speaker conceptual metaphors of anger. Both Akan and English conceptualise the potential danger of anger to the angry person and to other people separately and in terms of different source domains: Both English and Akan conceptualise the potential danger to others in terms of A DANGEROUS THING (ANIMAL). However, while English conceptualises the potential danger to the angry person in terms of AN OPPONENT (IN A STRUGGLE) and A BURDEN, Akan does so in terms of A DISEASE and A BURDEN. Thus, the ANGER IS A WEAPON metaphor of anger appears to occur only among the Akan-English bilinguals. While there were only six tokens of linguistic evidence to suggest this in the entire data, the metaphorical expressions nevertheless instantiate this metaphor.

ANGER IS AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE: This general understanding of anger as a negative emotion with potential danger to other people places a responsibility on the angry person to control his/her anger, which is a very difficult thing to do (Lakoff 1987). Thus, the metaphorical conceptualization of anger as an opponent is believed to be motivated by the general understanding of the difficulty involved in the angry person controlling the undesirable reactions anger produces. In other words, the effort one needs to control the negative/undesirable reactions anger produces is metaphorically understood in terms of the effort one needs to engage in a struggle with an opponent. The linguistic evidence available from the bilingual data suggests a mapping process similar to that found in the native/monolingual English one.

<i>Source: Struggle</i>		<i>Target: Anger</i>
Opponent	⇒	Anger
Winning	⇒	controlling anger
Losing	⇒	having anger control you
Surrender	⇒	allowing anger to take control of you
Resources needed to win struggle	⇒	energy needed to control anger

5.33 ANGER IS AN OPPONENT

- (a) I have two attitudes to anger: either I leave the scene or I keep quiet until I *overcome it*.
- (b) The husband could not *control himself*.
- (c) Personally, I wouldn't like to take my life but others can't withstand looking at our levels of how we *control our anger*.
- (d) For me one of the things that annoys me is when somebody wants to cheat me – yeah, that one I won't *spare* you.

Indeed, we may argue that the bilingual metaphorical conceptualization of ANGER AS A WEAPON may be motivated by an entailment potential of the OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE source domain – that opponents may use weapons in their struggle. The ANGER IS AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE metaphor appears quite salient among the bilinguals. There were 19 tokens of linguistic evidence from the data (see appendix Ei).

ANGER IS A HEAVY LOAD/BURDEN: The bilinguals also described anger in terms of a physical load or burden which the angry person has to bear. Indeed, they used the word 'like', i.e. simile to explicitly liken anger to a *heavy load* or a *heavy object*, e.g. *a piece of log* or *a piece of stone in the chest of the angry person*. This metaphor occurs

in both native English and native Akan and was fairly salient among the bilinguals – with 16 tokens of linguistic evidence (see appendix Ei). However, in specifying the part of the body that bears the load, the bilingual metaphor is similar to the native Akan conceptualisation where the *chest* is the body part most frequently used in the body as container for emotion metaphor while the native English metaphor specifies the *shoulders* as the part of the angry person’s body that bears the burden.

Again, while Lakoff (1987) argues that the native English version of this metaphor is grounded in the general metaphorization of responsibilities as a burden in English³¹, the explicit connection between anger and physical objects by the bilinguals suggests that the bilingual metaphor has the same grounding as the native Akan one – that of a cultural experience of the drudgery involved in carrying a physical load (see 5.3 above). The following mappings may be said to underlie this bilingual metaphor:

<i>Source:</i> Heavy load	<i>Target:</i> Anger
Load	⇒ Anger
Bearer of load	⇒ angry person
Weight of load	⇒ effect of anger on angry person
Position of load on bearer	⇒ part of angry person’s body

5.34 ANGER IS A HEAVY LOAD/BURDEN

- (a) Just *let it out* and *free* yourself
- (b) Get it *off your chest* and *be free*.

³¹ Indeed, Lakoff’s argument about how the ANGER IS A BURDEN is grounded in English is not convincing. It appears to be based more on introspection than on any experiential motivations.

- (c) I don't feel comfortable *bearing* anybody a grudge.
- (d) The man killed himself because he could not *bear* it anymore.
- (e) When I am angry I find someone to talk to, to share the *burden* then I get *relieved*.
- (f) When I am angry I react instantly because it would make me *relieved*.

Another source domain in terms of which the bilinguals conceptualised anger was A NATURAL FORCE, e.g. a storm. This bilingual metaphor conforms to the conceptualisation of anger in native English as this source domain does not occur in native Akan data either explicitly or implicitly. In addition, like the ANGER IS A DANGEROUS THING (ANIMAL) metaphor, this metaphor is not explicitly lexicalised either in monolingual English or the Akan-English bilingual version. Nevertheless, the conceptualisation seems fairly common among the bilinguals – there were 14 linguistic tokens in the data that instantiate this metaphor.

Source domain: <i>natural force</i>	⇒	Target domain: <i>anger</i>
The strength of the natural force	⇒	the potency of anger
Controlling the natural force	⇒	controlling anger
Energy needed to control natural force	⇒	energy needed to control anger
Absence of natural force	⇒	absence of anger

5.35 ANGER AS A NATURAL FORCE

- (a) My anger is *mild*.
- (b) My anger is *calm*.
- (c) My anger is *harsh*.
- (d) My anger is *moderate*.

(e) When I am angry I try to *maintain my composure*.

(f) The passengers on the bus *calmed me down*.

One important thing to note in this metaphor though is the personification of the natural force and therefore anger which produces yet another conceptual metaphor of anger, ANGER IS A PERSON that is exclusive to the bilinguals. However, it may be argued that this metaphor appears to be a bilingual realisation of the same generic-level metaphor, ANGER IS A BEING from which the following source domains in native English derive: OPPONENT (IN A STRUGGLE) and DANGEROUS ANIMAL. In the version of this metaphor, however, anger is given human attributes such as the capacity to use a physical force to injure, the ability to move about etc. By far, the ANGER IS A PERSON metaphor appears to be the most salient metaphorical conceptualisation with 37 linguistic tokens from the data to instantiate it (see appendix Ei).

5.36 ANGER IS A PERSON

(a) My anger is *bad*.

(b) My anger is *non-violent*.

(c) My anger is not very *active*.

(d) My anger is *slow* but *powerful*.

(e) My anger is *peaceful*.

(f) My anger is *gentle*.

(g) My anger *eats me up*.

(h) My anger is very *gentle* but *eats me up*.

ANGER IS A DANGEROUS THING (ANIMAL): This bilingual metaphor is similar to both the native English and native Akan versions in the sense that it conceptualises the potential danger of anger to other people. However, it is more similar to the native English version in its elaborations because unlike the native Akan version that does not

specify the dangerous thing, the bilingual version of this metaphor specifies the dangerous animal as a dog through the use of a simile.

<i>Source:</i> Dangerous animal		<i>Target:</i> Anger
The animal's getting loose	⇒	loss of control of anger
The owner of the dangerous animal	⇒	the angry person
Energy needed to control a dangerous animal	⇒	energy needed to control anger

5.37 ANGER IS A DANGEROUS THING (ANIMAL)

- (a) My anger is *controllable but a little aggressive*.
- (b) My anger can be *controlled*.
- (c) My anger is very *dangerous* and sometimes unstoppable.
- (d) I try to *control* my anger so I don't hurt anybody.
- (e) My anger is like *a dog* sensing danger.

ANGER IS INSANITY: Just like the ANGER IS A NATURAL FORCE metaphor, ANGER IS INSANITY in the Akan-English bilingual conceptualisations conforms to native English conceptualisations. This is because the ANGER IS INSANITY metaphor does not occur in native Akan conceptualisations of anger. Interestingly, this metaphor does not appear very salient among the bilinguals. There were only six linguistic tokens in the entire that point to either physical agitation or insanity. The formulated conceptual mappings together with metaphorical expressions that instantiate them are presented below.

<i>Source:</i> Insanity		<i>Target:</i> Anger
The cause of insanity	⇒	the cause of anger
Becoming insane	⇒	passing the limit point on the anger scale
Insane behavior	⇒	angry behavior

5.38 ANGER IS INSANITY

- (a) My anger is highly *perturbed*.
- (b) I get into *tantrums* when I am angry.
- (c) I *got mad* and screamed at him *furiously*.
- (d) When I am angry, I react *abnormally*.

ANGER IS FOOD: As has been shown earlier, this metaphor occurs in native/monolingual Akan but not native/monolingual English conceptualisations. Thus, this bilingual conceptualisation of anger conforms to native/monolingual Akan conceptualisations of anger. Like other metaphorical conceptualisations that occur in only one of the bilinguals' languages, this metaphor does not appear to be very salient among the bilinguals – there were only six tokens of linguistic evidence in the entire data. The proposed conceptual mappings and examples of linguistic expressions that instantiate this metaphor are shown below.

<i>Source: Food</i>		<i>Target: Anger</i>
Food /matter	⇒	Anger
Processing food	⇒	controlling anger
Taste of the food	⇒	the cause of anger

5.39 ANGER IS FOOD

- (a) The man shot himself because he was *fed up*.
- (b) He was *fed up* with the (angry) situation.

Finally, the Akan-English bilinguals conceptualised the negative physiological reactions anger produces in the angry person's body in terms of A DISEASE. This

metaphor conforms to the native Akan conceptualisation of anger (because this metaphor does not occur in native English). In all, there were only six linguistic tokens in the whole data. The conceptual mappings and metaphorical expressions they give rise to are presented below.

<i>Source: Disease</i>	<i>Target: Anger</i>
Disease causing agent	⇒ the cause of anger
The disease	⇒ Anger
Recovering from disease	⇒ relief from anger

5.40 ANGER IS A DISEASE

- (a) I avoid people who make me angry in order to *get over*³² the anger.
- (b) My anger is a red and *infected* mental *suffering*.
- (c) My anger is very strong but it takes a short time to *recover* from it.

Table 5.1 below summarises the source domains (as well as token frequencies) in terms of which anger was understood among the Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana.

Source domain	Frequencies	Distribution	
		Focus group	Written quest.
BURDEN	16	12	4
CONTAINER/ FLUID	17	11	2
SICKNESS/ILLNESS	6	3	3
OPPONENT/STRUGGLE	19	13	6
WEAPON	14	8	6

³² This is a motion metaphor that conventionally applies to illness in English.

HEAT/lack of heat	11	8	3
FOOD	6	6	0
HUMAN QUALITY	37	9	28
NATURAL FORCE	14	2	12
DANGEROUS THING/ANIMAL	4	3	1
PHYSICAL AGITATION/INSANITY	6	0	6

Table 5.1: summary of frequency distribution in bilingual anger source domains

5.5.1 Differences and/or similarities between the native and bilingual conceptualisations of anger.

The previous section analysed the metaphorical expressions that were used by Akan-English bilinguals in my data to talk about anger in order to identify the common ways in which ANGER is conceptually represented among these bilinguals. This section examines the differences and/or similarities between the bilingual conceptualisations and those of native/monolingual Akan and English ones. The analysis of the bilingual data reveals several ways in which the bilingual conceptualisations are similar to and different from each of the native/monolingual conceptualisations.

To begin with, the analysis reveals that the Akan-English bilingual conceptualisations of anger consist of a system of conceptual metaphors that are motivated by general metonymic and metaphorical principles just like the native/monolingual English and Akan conceptualisations. In addition, the bilingual conceptual metaphors are equally grounded in both human physical/perceptual and

culture-specific experiences. For instance, with regards to source domains, there were five main ways in which the bilinguals' conceptualisations of ANGER differed in relation to the native/monolingual conceptualisations: 1) some bilingual conceptualisations shared source domains with both English and Akan (THE HUMAN BODY, A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, A BURDEN, A DANGEROUS THING (ANIMAL), and A GROWING THING); 2) some bilingual conceptualisations shared source domains with English only (NATURAL FORCE, INSANITY); 3) some bilingual conceptualisations shared source domains with Akan only (DISEASE and FOOD); 4) some source domains in both English and Akan that were not used by the bilingual conceptualisations (GROWING WEED (Akan); CHILD, PLANT and FIRE (English); and 5) source domains that were exclusive to the bilingual conceptualisations (WEAPON, PERSON). It may be argued that this unique bilingual conceptual metaphor is motivated by an entailment potential of the OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE source domain, namely, that opponents in a struggle may use weapons. In other words, the ANGER IS A WEAPON metaphor may be an extended or elaborated version of the ANGER IS AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE which occurs in native/monolingual English.

In terms of the actual construals or elaborations of shared source domains, the bilingual versions of shared metaphors were both like the monolingual mappings or elaborations and unlike them in many ways. For instance, while the native/monolingual Akan BODY CONTAINER is different from the native/monolingual English one (cf.5.2; 5.3), the bilingual BODY CONTAINER combined elements from both native/monolingual English and Akan conceptualisations (cf. 5.4). Other instances where the bilingual conceptualisations partially share features with one or both native/monolingual conceptualisations include the following: ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER,

ANGER IS A DISEASE, ANGER IS A GROWING THING, and ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL (cf. 5.3 & 5.4).

Turning to the specifics now, the linguistic evidence shows finer points of similarities and/or differences in the specific realisations of these general metonymic and metaphorical principles between the bilingual conceptualisations and each of the native conceptualisations. For example, with regards to the body container schema, the bilingual body container is similar and yet different from both the native English and the native Akan body containers in terms of the specific body parts that are mentioned as anger-bearing containers. For instance, while the bilingual conceptualisation of *the face, the nerves and chest* as anger-bearing body containers conforms to native English elaborations of the body container schema (He gets on my *nerves*; I can't describe my anger in words, it just *shows on my face*; I just do something to get it *off my chest*; when I am angry), the bilingual conceptualisation of *the heart and head* as anger bearing body containers (I talk to get rid of the *heartache*) conforms to native Akan conceptualisations of the human body as a container for emotions.

Again, whereas it is the skin colour of the face container that bears the anger in native English (He got *red with anger*), there are no references to skin colour in the bilingual face container (when I am angry, I keep a *straight face*; I can't describe my anger in words, it shows *on my face*; my anger is often (90%) non-verbal, I use my *countenance* to show my anger). Since skin colour appear not to be salient in the metonymic conceptualisation of anger in native Akan (see 7.4.2), we may say that the Akan-English bilingual metonymic conceptualisation of the face as a body container for anger conforms to the native Akan metonymic conceptualisation in this respect.

In addition, whereas native/monolingual Akan conceptualises anger specifically as a growing weed in the chest, what the bilingual chest contains is not specified.

Furthermore, the bilingual conceptualisation of anger as a pain in the heart (I talk to get rid of the *heartache*) is not present in Akan. In other words, while the heart is identified as the anger-bearing body container in both the monolingual Akan and Akan-English bilingual conceptualisation of anger, the content of the container varies in each group, i.e. weed in monolingual Akan and pain in Akan-English bilingual. Thus, the linguistic evidence shows that the bilingual conceptualisations of anger includes both native/monolingualEnglish and native/monolingual Akan conceptualisations of the emotion. The analysis has also shown that while the bilingual conceptualisations reflect, in many ways, the conventional conceptualisations of ANGER in both native/monolingual English and Akan, it can be argued that the bilinguals conceptualisations go beyond a mere reproduction of linguistic knowledge/formulaic language the bilinguals have acquired from their two languages about ANGER (I take this up in chapter 7).

Finally, the analysis of the bilingual data also reveals peculiar bilingual metaphor (ANGER IS A WEAPON, ANGER IS A PERSON) which combine bits of different conceptualisations of anger in each of the native languages into a uniquely bilingual metaphor that occurs in neither of the two languages (cf.5.4). Thus, based on the findings from the analysis of the bilingual data, we may conclude that the Akan-English bilingual conceptualisations of anger point not only to conceptual integration but also conceptual recreation (the formation of emergent conceptual representations). The latter finding is a corroboration of Pavlenko's (2009) claim that bilingualism leads to conceptual restructuring (cf. 2.4.5). The implications of these findings on the nature of bilingual conceptual organisation and representation are discussed in chapter 7.

CHAPTER SIX: FEAR METAPHORS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the metaphorical conceptualisations of FEAR among native/monolingual English speakers, native/monolingual Akan speakers and Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana. The chapter addresses the following key questions: a) What metaphorical expressions do native/monolingual British/American English speakers conventionally use to describe the concept of FEAR, and what conventional conceptual metaphors underlie such metaphorical expressions? b) What metaphorical expressions do native/monolingual Akan speakers in Ghana conventionally use to describe the concept of FEAR, and what conceptual metaphors underlie such metaphorical expressions? c) How are the conceptual representations of FEAR in the two languages similar or different? d) What metaphorical expressions do fluent Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana use to describe FEAR, and what conceptual metaphors may underlie such bilingual metaphorical expressions? e) How are the Akan-English bilinguals' conceptualisations of FEAR different from and/or similar to each or both of the native/monolingual conceptualisations?

The chapter is organized as follows: section 6.2 presents an overview of the conventional metaphors of FEAR in native/monolingual English in terms of both metaphorical expressions and the conceptual metaphors that may underlie them. The section is largely based on previous discussions in the literature. Section 6.3 analyses the conventional metaphorical expressions of FEAR in native/monolingual Akan in order to identify the conventional conceptual metaphors that may underlie them. The analysis is based on elicited data. However, my own intuition as a native speaker of Akan, were brought to bear on the analysis. Section 6.4 compares and contrasts the native/monolingual English conventional conceptualisations of FEAR with those of

native/monolingual Akan in order to determine similarities and/or differences in the conceptual representations of FEAR in the two languages.

The last section, section 6.5, addresses questions (d & e), i.e. it analyses Akan-English bilingual metaphorical expressions of FEAR in English in order to identify the conceptual metaphors that underlie them, i.e. how FEAR is conceptually represented among Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana. The bilingual analysis, which is based on elicited data, is done in the light of the native/monolingual analyses, comparing and contrasting the bilingual conceptualisations with the set of native/monolingual conceptualisations to determine whether the bilingual conceptualisations reflect any of the two or both native/monolingual conceptualisations. The question of what the bilingual conceptualisations of FEAR appear to reflect in terms of the storage of conceptual representations and what inferences can be made regarding the nature and organisation of the bilinguals' conceptual system is discussed in chapter seven.

6.2 Fear in English

Compared to ANGER, FEAR is a less studied emotion concept from a cognitive semantic perspective both in English and other languages (Kövecses 2000:21). While Kövecses (1990) appears to be the most comprehensive description of the conceptual metaphors of FEAR in English, Sirvydė (2006) has conducted a corpus-based study that compares how the cultural patterns of thought and world views shape the conceptual metaphors of FEAR in English and Lithuanian. This section presents an overview of the conventional conceptual conceptualisations of FEAR in native/monolingual English particularly as discussed in Kövecses (1990) and Sirvydė (2006) using elicited data to corroborate them.

To begin with, Kövecses (1990:69) identifies the concept of DANGER as central to the conceptualisations of FEAR in English. He points out that the popular definition of fear as ‘a dangerous situation accompanied by a set of physiological and behavioural reactions that typically ends in flight’ is metonymic-based and reflects the folk understanding of fear in English. He equally points to the high elaboration of the physiological aspects of fear in terms of a large number of conceptual metonymies of fear in English. While Sirvyde (2006) does not discuss conceptual metonymies of fear in English, Kövecses (1990) identifies two general metonymic principles that underlie the system of conceptual metonymies of fear and often emotions in English as follows: (1) THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION, (2) THE BEHAVIOURAL REACTIONS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION. Kövecses (1990:70-73) lists the following metonymies of fear as specific realisations of the two general metonymic conceptualisations of fear in English:

6.1 PHYSICAL AGITATION FOR FEAR

- (a) He was *shaking* with fear.
- (b) She was *trembling* like a leaf.
- (c) Snakes give me the *shivers*.
- (d) Dick *quivered* like a rabbit.

6.2 INCREASE IN HEART RATE FOR FEAR

- (a) His heart *pounded* with fear.
- (b) My heart began to *race* when I saw the animal.
- (c) My *heart leapt into my throat*.
- (d) I had *my heart in my mouth* when I went to the bank to ask for more money.

6.3 LAPSES IN HEART BEAT FOR FEAR

- (a) His *heart stopped* when the animal jumped in front of him.
- (b) You made *my heart miss a beat* when you said you had left the money at home.

6.4 BLOOD LEAVES FACE FOR FEAR

- (a) She turned *pale*.
- (b) His face *blanched* with fear at the bad news.
- (c) He was *grey* with fear.

6.5 SKIN SHRINKS FOR FEAR

- (a) That man gives me the *creeps*.
- (b) A shriek from the dark gave me *goosebumps*.
- (c) His skin was *prickling* with fear.

6.6 HAIR STRAIGHTENS OUT FOR FEAR

- (a) The story of the murder *made my hair stand on end*.
- (b) That was a *hair-raising* experience.

6.7 INABILITY TO MOVE FOR FEAR

- (a) I was *rooted to the spot*.
- (b) He was scared *stiff*.
- (c) My legs *turned into rubber*.
- (d) He was *numbed* by fear.

6.8 DROP IN BODY TEMPERATURE FOR FEAR

- (a) She was *frozen in her boots*.
- (b) I was *chilled to the bone*.
- (c) I felt *icy* fingers going up my spine.
- (d) I was going to apply for that job but I got *cold feet*.

6.9 INABILITY TO BREATHE FOR FEAR

- (a) She was *breathless* with fear.
- (b) He *gasped* with fear.

6.10 INABILITY TO SPEAK FOR FEAR³³

- (a) I was *speechless* with fear.
- (b) He was *struck dumb*.

6.11 (INVOLUNTARY) RELEASE OF BOWELS or BLADDER FOR FEAR

- (a) You scared *the shit out of* me.
- (b) Don't be a chicken *shit*.
- (c) She *has the squitters* every time a dog barks at her.

6.12 SWEATING FOR FEAR

- (a) The cold *sweat* of fear broke out.
 - (b) There were *sweat beads* on his forehead as the animal approached.
-

³³ Bednarek's (2009) corpus study shows that actors also become speechless with anger.

6.13 NERVOUSNESS IN THE STOMACH FOR FEAR

- (a) He got *butterflies in the stomach*.
- (b) A cold fear *gripped him in the stomach*.

6.14 DRYNESS IN MOUTH FOR FEAR

- (a) My *mouth was dry* when it was my turn.
- (b) He was scared *spitless*.

6.15 FLIGHT FOR FEAR

- (a) When he heard the police coming, the thief *took to his heels*.
- (b) He *fled* from persecution.

Based on these conventional expressions of fear in English, Kövecses (1990) proposes a prototype (danger – fear- flight) model of fear in English that is characterised by a system of metonymies. However, he argues that even though a metonymy-based cognitive model of fear reflects the folk understanding of the concept, it is not enough to explain the whole conceptual structure of fear in English, i.e. while the physiological aspects of fear are highly elaborated in English, and while it is impossible to have a complete understanding of fear in English without taking these metonymies into account, the conceptual metonymies by themselves do not provide a rich conceptual structure for the emotion; the rich conceptual structure of fear in English is primarily provided by conceptual metaphors. The major conceptual metaphors in terms of which fear is conventionally understood in English are discussed below.

Kövecses (1990) identifies THE BODY CONTAINER as a major source domain for the conventional metaphorical conceptualisation of fear in English. Based on the general metaphors THE HUMAN BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS and THE EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS IN A CONTAINER, Kövecses (1990) proposes FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER as a conventional conceptualisation in English and argues that this metaphor suggests that fear exists as an independent mass entity inside the self. He proposes the following conceptual mappings as underlying this metaphor in English:

Source	Target
Fluid	⇒ Fear
Container	⇒ the body of the person in a state of fear

6.16 FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER

- (a) Fear was *rising in* him.
- (b) The sight *filled* her with fear.
- (c) She could not *contain* her fear.
- (d) He was *full of* fear (Kövecses 1990:75).

However, Sirvydé (2006) proposes alternative conventional conceptualisations of fear in English in which the human body is not a container for fear. While she agrees that FEAR is conventionally conceptualised as A FLUID in English (FEAR IS A LIQUID), she argues that the emotion rather than the self is conceptualised as a container. She cites examples from her corpus data (BNC) that instantiate the FEAR IS A CONTAINER metaphor (e.g. they turned the lights out and *sat in fear*). Thus, on the basis of linguistic evidence, it appears that both conceptualisations exist in English.

Again, Sirvydé (2006) argues that while several metaphorical expressions of fear in English imply some kind of living thing as a source domain, the corpus data do not specify what kind of living thing is implied. However, fear metaphorically goes

through many stages of life and behaves as any living thing. Consequently, she proposes the superordinate term A BEING as the source domain for this conceptualisation. This generic-level metaphor, according to Sirvydé (2006:84), is characterised by the following stages of life and behaviour typical of any living thing: (i) Events of life – it can grow (And as the Soviet Union deteriorates in other ways, the fear and cynicism *grow stronger*), it can get old (He shuffled the pages again, trying to control the new panic or *the old fear*) and it is naturally mortal (These people were in *mortal fear* of being returned to their homes). (ii) Descriptions of physical appearance – fear is blind (what *blind fear* in snow-chaos), it has eyes (*fear has many eyes*), it has legs/can walk (*fear came*) and it has colour (When he got exhausted from parish work, and felt unwell, a *fear would darken* him). (iii) fear has certain behaviour – it can scream (fear *screamed* at him to bolt), it can breed and be bred (love *breeds* fear; and fear *breeds* hatred). Obviously, these characteristics do not form a single frame. Nevertheless, the various frames feed into the generic-level conceptualisation FEAR IS A BEING.

The conceptualisation of FEAR AS A BEING is another basis on which Sirvyde (2006) argues against the BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR FEAR conceptualisation. As supported by her data, fear is conventionally conceptualised in English as an entity that lives apart from the self in some lands or places, (e.g. Arctic travel was a miserable journey *into a land of cold and fear*); fear can come and go away (e.g. *fear came*; fear of Jordi world would not *go away*) and where people can meet fear (*she met a fear* so great that it burned away forever all the other fears). These notwithstanding, Kövecses (1990) identifies the following more specific realisations of the generic-level metaphor, FEAR IS A BEING, in English: FEAR IS A VICIOUS ENEMY (HUMAN OR ANIMAL), FEAR IS A

TORMENTOR, FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING(GHOST), FEAR IS A SUPERIOR, and FEAR IS AN OPPONENT. These specific realisations are discussed in some detail below.

FEAR IS A VICIOUS ENEMY (HUMAN or ANIMAL): According to Kövecses (1990), this metaphor emphasises danger as central to the conceptualisation of fear in English. It presents the emotion as an opponent that presents a threat to the self's survival. In this sense, this metaphor may be argued to be a further specific realisation of the FEAR IS AN OPPONENT metaphor (cf. example 6.20). While Kövecses does not provide the conceptual mappings that underlie this metaphor, they may be reconstructed based on the metaphorical expressions he provides as instantiating this metaphor which are reproduced in example 6.17 below:

Source	Target
Predator/enemy	⇒ Fear
Prey	⇒ the self

6.17 FEAR IS A VICIOUS ENEMY (HUMAN or ANIMAL)

- (a) There was fear *lurking* in her heart that she wouldn't succeed.
- (b) Fear slowly *crept up on* him.
- (c) He was *choked* by fear.
- (d) He was *hounded by* fear that the business would fail.
- (e) The fear that things wouldn't work out continued *to prey on* her mind.

(Kövecses 1990:75).

Another specific realisation of the FEAR IS A BEING metaphor is FEAR IS A TORMENTOR in which fear is conceptualised as a person who can afflict the self with great pain. The reconstructed conceptual mappings that underlie this metaphor as well as linguistic instantiations of this metaphor are presented below:

FEAR IS A TORMENTOR

<i>Source</i>	<i>Target</i>
The tormentor	⇒ Fear
The tormented	⇒ The self
The physical/mental pain associated with torture	⇒ The physiological reactions associated with fear

6.18. FEAR IS A TORMENTOR

- (a) They were *tortured by* the fear of what was going to happen to their son.
- (b) Her parents were *tormented by* the fear that she might drown.

Again, Kövecses (1990) discusses FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING (GHOST) as another conventional conceptual metaphor of fear in English. In this metaphor, fear is conceptualised as a supernatural entity that can cause a lot of physical/mental suffering or even death to the self. Kövecses (1990:76) provides the following conventional metaphorical expressions as instantiations of this metaphor in English:

6.19 FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING (GHOST)

- (a) She was *haunted by* the fear of death
- (b) It was a *ghastly* scene.
- (c) Let's get out of here, this is a *spooky* place!

Kövecses (1990) further points out how fear is not only conventionally perceived as an entity that can cause pain or suffering to the self but also as an entity that can threaten the very existence of the self. Consequently, the emotion is further conceptualised as an entity that the self must struggle with and overcome in order to nullify this threat to the self. Thus, like anger, fear is conventionally conceptualised in English as AN OPPONENT, with whom the self must struggle. Kövecses (1990) argues that this metaphor, which conceptualises the control aspect of fear, is grounded in the

socio-cultural expectation that people, especially men, must not show fear. Again, it is motivated by the perceived need for removing the threat fear poses to the self. Sirvydé (2006) also identifies this conventional conceptual metaphor in her study. The conceptual mappings that underlie this metaphor and the metaphorical expressions that instantiate it in English are given below:

FEAR IS AN OPPONENT:

<i>Source</i>	<i>Target</i>
Opponent	⇒ Fear
Physical struggle between the self and an opponent	⇒ Psychological struggle for emotional control
Defeating the opponent	⇒ Controlling fear
Losing to the opponent	⇒ Fear controlling self

6.20 FEAR IS AN OPPONENT

- (a) He was *wrestling with* his fear.
- (b) Her fear *overcame* her.
- (c) She was *besieged by* fear.
- (d) He was *fighting* his fear but fear *won out*.
- (e) He could not *control* his fear any longer (Kövecses 1990:77).

FEAR IS A BURDEN: Both Kövecses (1990) and Lakoff (1987) have argued that the conceptualisation of an emotion in terms of AN OPPONENT (with whom one must struggle) places a responsibility on the self to overcome the emotion. Generally, the responsibility to overcome emotion is often conceptualised as a burden. Thus, the FEAR IS A BURDEN metaphor is a specific realisation of the generic-level metaphor EMOTIONS ARE A BURDEN. Kövecses (1990) explains that when BURDEN serves as a source domain, the resulting metaphor indicates that the target domain in question is

generally considered unpleasant or bad. Below are the conceptual mappings that underlie the FEAR IS A BURDEN metaphor in English:

Source: Burden	Target: Fear
The burden bearer	⇒ The person in the state of fear
The burden	⇒ Fear
Carrying the burden	⇒ Staying in the state of fear
Offloading the burdening	⇒ Overcoming fear

6.21 FEAR IS A BURDEN

- (a) He was greatly *relieved* when the danger was over.
- (b) Fear *weighed heavily* on them as they heard the bombers overhead.
- (c) Her fears were *alleviated* when the neighbours came home.
- (d) He was *burdened* by the possibility of not seeing his friend anymore.

(Kövecses1990:77).

Additionally, fear is conventionally understood in English as an entity that forces the self to perform certain actions, an entity that prevents the self from doing certain things or an entity that can dominate the behaviour of the self. According to Kövecses (1990), this conceptualisation emerges from the FEAR IS A SUPERIOR metaphor which presents the emotion as a superior whose commands the inferior self obeys.

6.22 FEAR IS A SUPERIOR

- (a) His actions were *dictated by* fear.
- (b) She was *ruled by* the fear that something was going to happen.
- (c) Fear *dominated* his actions.
- (d) Fear *reigned* in their hearts.

FEAR IS ILLNESS/DISEASE: This metaphor is identified by both Kövecses (1990) and Sirvydé (2006) as conventional in English. It conceptualises fear either as an illness or as causing illness in the self:

<i>Source</i>	<i>Target</i>
Illness	⇒ Fear
The sick person	⇒ the self/person who has fear
The disease causing agent	⇒ the source of the fear

6.23 FEAR IS AN ILLNESS/DISEASE

- (a) She was *sick* with fright.
- (b) I have *recovered* from the shock slowly.
- (c) He couldn't *get over* his fear.
- (d) The town was *plagued by* fear.

Kövecses (1990) again identifies NATURAL FORCE as another source domain in terms of which fear is conventionally conceptualised in English. Like the SUPERIOR metaphor, this metaphor conceptualises the self as passively undergoing the effects of the emotion in a way analogous to how we undergo the effects of a natural force, e.g. storm:

6.24 FEAR IS A NATURAL FORCE

- (a) Fear *swept over* him.
- (b) He was *flooded* with fear.
- (c) There was a *surge* of fear.
- (d) She was *engulfed* by panic.

These are the major conceptual metaphors of fear in English Kövecses (1990) discusses. Kövecses (1990) contends that these metaphors of fear in English enrich the folk understandings of the concept of fear with features and dimensions that are missing from the purely metonymic conceptualisations discussed above. Consequently, he proposes a second prototypical model of fear that is mainly characterised by metaphors. The two proposed cognitive models of fear in English are as follows:

(1) metonymy-based model: danger - fear - flight

(2) metaphor-based model: danger – fear - attempt at control- loss of control – flight.

In discussing the conceptual structure of anger in English both Kövecses (1990) and Lakoff (1987) propose a prototypical model of anger in English that is jointly produced by systems of conceptual metonymies and conceptual metaphors. In his 1990 book, Kövecses demonstrates how a prototypical model of fear that is based on the metonymic system only would look like and argues that such a model will drastically lack conceptual content. Indeed, if we focused on linguistic metaphors (Goossens 1995), it is obvious that some of the metaphorical expressions provided simply as conceptual metonymies of fear in English are metaphorically expressed.

For example, it is arguable whether the following expressions of fear in English (*with his heart in his mouth; my heart leapt into my throat; I had my heart in my throat*) which have been given as instantiations of the metonymy INCREASE IN HEART RATE IS FEAR are better described as simple metonymies rather than metaphonymies (Goossens 1995). This is because while these expressions may be associated with increase in heart rate, a physiological reaction to fear which is made to stand for the emotion, the expressions are also related to the HUMAN BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS metaphor where the emotions may either stay securely in the body container (positive

emotions, e.g. PATIENCE in Akan, cf.5.3) or move upwards, having the propensity to move out of the body container (negative emotions, e.g. ANGER in Akan and English, cf. 5.2 & 5.3).

It may be recalled that in discussing anger metaphors in the previous chapter, the HUMAN BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS was seen as very productive generic-level metaphor in all three cases (native English, native Akan and Akan-English bilinguals). I wish to suggest that this metaphor is equally productive in some conventional conceptualisations of fear in English where the fear-bearing body container (heart) does not only stand metonymically for the emotion but also behaves as a metaphoric sub-container that has the propensity to move up or out of the bigger body container.

Thus, even though both Kövecses (1990) and Sirvydé (2006) do not explore interactions between the systems of conceptual metonymies and conceptual metaphors of fear in producing the conceptual structure of the emotion in English, the possibility exists, as shown in the interactions between THE HUMAN BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS metaphor and THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION metonymy above. Unfortunately, the focus of the current study does not allow for exploring this relationship any further.

6.2.1 Evidence from elicited data

A look at the elicited data from the native/monolingual British participants revealed that many of the metaphonymic conceptualisations of fear discussed in Kövecses (1990) could be instantiated by the linguistic expressions used by participants. However, only two of the metaphoric conceptualisations discussed above could be

instantiated by the elicited data: FEAR IS A CONTAINER (e.g. *I remove myself from the situation*) and FEAR IS AN OPPONENT (e.g. *I became defensive; I fight back my fear; I feel I can't fight*). Obviously, this may be due to the size of the elicited data (see 4.6.1). It may also be the case that some of the expressions cited in the literature as evidence for some metaphoric conceptualisations of fear in English are not that conventional. The conventional conceptual metonymies of fear in English that are confirmed by the data include the following:

6.25

- (a) PHYSICAL AGITATION: My hands were *shaking*; I start *crying*.
- (b) INCREASE IN HEART RATE: My *heart was racing*.
- (c) DROP IN BODY TEMPERATURE: I would *be cold*.
- (d) INABILITY TO SPEAK: I begin to *stutter*.
- (e) NERVOUSNESS IN STOMACH: I got *uncomfortable in my stomach*; I get *butterflies in my stomach*; there was *a tightening in my stomach*; I got *knots in my stomach*.
- (f) SWEATING: My *palms were sweating*.
- (g) FLIGHT: I *ran* away; If I can't fight, I *flee*.

It must be noted however, that even though these examples would be described as simple metonymies in the literature, as I have indicated earlier, many of them are better described as metaphonymies. For instance, the physiological reaction of the heart associated with fear stands metonymically for the emotion, the specific conceptualisation of this reaction in terms of *racing* is metaphorical, so also is the specific conceptualisation of the reaction to fear in the stomach in terms of *knots* and *butterflies*.

In addition to these conventional metaphonymies, the elicited native/monolingual data revealed a number of metaphorical expressions of fear in English in which fear was conceptualised in terms of INABILITY TO THINK/FUNCTION NORMALLY. This is illustrated by the data from responses given to the question ‘what do you do when you are afraid?’

6.26

- (a) *I can't think straight.*
- (b) *I try to rationalise my thoughts.*
- (c) *I feel daft.*
- (d) *I get irrational, blind thoughts.*
- (e) *I become a complete wimp.*

This section has presented an overview of the major conventional conceptualisations of FEAR in native/monolingual English. It has also been shown that these conventional conceptualisations are characterised by both conceptual metonymies and metaphors. While the two general metonymic principles that underlie the system of conceptual metonymies of fear in English have been identified as (1) THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION, (2) THE BEHAVIOURAL REACTIONS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION, the major conventional conceptual metaphors of fear in English were identified as follows: FEAR IS A CONTAINER, FEAR IS A LIQUID, FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, FEAR IS A BURDEN, FEAR IS A NATURAL FORCE, FEAR IS AN ILLNESS, and FEAR IS A BEING: A TORMENTOR, A SUPERIOR, A VICIOUS ENEMY (HUMAN OR ANIMAL), A SUPERNATURAL BEING (A GHOST), and AN OPPONENT.

It is important to note, however, that some of the expressions used in the literature as evidence of certain conceptual metaphors of fear in English may not be very

conventional across all native English speakers. Again, many of the examples would equally work well with other (negative) emotions. For example, while people may *recover* not only from FEAR but also ANGER, SHAME and SURPRISE, they become *speechless* with SURPRISE in addition to FEAR and try to *overcome* not only their FEAR but also their ANGER, GUILT and SHAME. Finally, this section has suggested that some of the conceptual metonymies of fear in English are metaphorically expressed. . The next section looks at how fear is conventionally conceptualised in native/monolingual Akan.

6.3 Fear in Akan

This section analyses the conventional metaphorical expressions of FEAR in Akan in order to identify conventional conceptual metaphors of the emotion in the language. The data (metaphorical expressions) were elicited through focus group discussions. Native/monolingual speakers of Akan in native Akan speech communities found in semi-rural and rural Ghana participated in focus group discussions held in Akan to elicit data for the analysis. However, my own intuitions as a native speaker of Akan were brought to bear on the analysis.

Like anger, the concept of fear is lexicalised in Akan. There are two main lexical items that denote fear in Akan: *ehu* and *osuro*. Whereas *osuro* is derived from the verb *suro*, (which is glossed in Christeller (1881) as *to be afraid of*), *ehu* has no verb form and is glossed in the Akan Dictionary (2006) as follows:

Osuro ne *ayamhyehye* a etumi *hyε* obi so ma *n'akoma* tu wɔ biribi ho.

The state of being afraid and a *burning tummy* that *presses upon* someone

and causes his/her *heart to fly* concerning a matter. (The state of being afraid and anxious that can cause panic concerning a matter).

From this definition, we can infer that the concept of DANGER is equally central to the conceptualisation of FEAR in Akan. Indeed, the native Akan participants confirmed this during the focus group discussions when the topic of what causes fear among participants was raised. Participants gave fear-causing factors as: *ɔsaman* (ghost); *ntɔkwa* (a fight); *akrɔmfo werɛmfo* (armed robbers) *akwanhyia* (accident); *etuo* (gun); *owuo* (death); *ade biara a ebetumi apira* (anything that can hurt/harm). In addition, the dictionary definition of the emotion given above also reveals both embodied principles of metonymy and general metaphoric principles in the conceptualisations of fear in Akan. First of all, the general metonymic principles identified in English metonymic conceptualisations of fear, PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF FEAR STAND FOR FEAR and BODY PARTS STAND FOR THE EMOTION THEY EXPERIENCE, are also productive in Akan. For instance, the following specific realisations of these two metonymic principles were elaborated in the elicited data as follows:

6.27 PHYSICAL AGITATION STANDS FOR FEAR

- (a) Ehu ba me mu a *me-ho woso*.

Fear come me in rel. *Me-self shake/tremble/shiver*.

When I am afraid I *shake/tremble/shiver* (I *shake/tremble/shiver with fear*).

- (b) Sɛ ade bi bɔ me hu a me-tumi *atwa ahwe*.

If thing some hit me fear rel. me-can *fall down*.

If something makes me afraid I can collapse (Fear can cause me to collapse).

- (c) Me-hunu ɔwɔ a *me-ho po-po*.

Me-see snake rel. me- *self shake/tremble/shiver-(dupl)*.

I see a snake I *shake/tremble/shiver repeatedly* (Snakes make me

shake/tremble/shiver).

6.28 INCREASE IN HEART RATE FOR FEAR

- (a) M'-*akoma tu-i*.

Me- *heart fly*-past.

My *heart flew* (I panicked).

- (b) M'-*akoma bɔ-ɔ peri*³⁴-*peri*.

Me-heart beat- past peri- (dupl).

My *heart beat repeatedly* (my *heart beat fast*).

6.29 FLIGHT FOR FEAR

- (a) Ehu bɔ me a me-*dwane*.

Fear hit me rel. me-*run away*.

(If) fear hits me I run away (I flee in fear).

- (b) Me-*dwane* firi ade a me-suro ho.

Me-*run away* from thing rel. me-afraid of self.

I run away from the self of the thing I am afraid of (I run away from scary things).

- (c) Me-hu ade a me-suro a me-*pɛ baabi fa*.

Me-see thing rel. me-be afraid of compl. me-*find somewhere pass*.

(If) I see something I am afraid of I find somewhere to pass (I *flee* from things

³⁴ This is an onomatopoeic word that describes the rate of one's heartbeat. The duplication indicates increase in the rate of heartbeat.

I fear).

- (d) Me *kraa dwane*.

Me *soul run away*.

My soul runs away (I become extremely terrified).

- (e) Me-hunu-u saa no *me-ho m-boa nyinaa dwane-e*.

Me-see-past rel. obj *me-self plu-animal all run away-past*

When I saw that all myself animals ran away (I was greatly terrified by what I saw).

6.30 SKIN SHRINKS FOR FEAR

- (a) Ehu ba me mu a *awɔsee gu me*.

Fear come me in compl *cold bumps spread me*

(If) fear come into me *goosebumps spread over me* (fear gives me *goosebumps*).

6.31 NERVOUSNESS IN STOMACH FOR FEAR

- (a) Me-*yam hye* me.

Me-tummy *burn* me.

My tummy burns (I get a burning sensation in my tummy).

- (b) Me-*yam hye-hye* me.

Me-tummy *burn-dupl* me.

My *tummy burns* me repeatedly (I get very anxious/panicky).

6.32 INABILITY TO SPEAK FOR FEAR

- (a) Me-di mmirika dru-u fie no na *ye-bisa me asem koraa me-n-tumi n-kasa*

Me-run race reach-past home adv. conj they-ask me matter even me-neg-can neg-talk.

After I had run home I *could not talk* when they asked me the matter. (The incident had made me speechless by the time I ran home).

6.33 (INVOLUNTARY) RELEASE OF BOWELS FOR FEAR

(a) ɛ-ba-a saa no anka me-re-ye a-ne-ne me ho.

It-come-past that disc. mark. me-prog-do-COMPL. *defecate-dupl. me self*

When it happened like that I almost *defecated repeatedly on myself*. (What happened scared the shit out of me).

Although the above conceptualisations of fear in Akan are given as examples of metonymies of fear in Akan, they also reveal some general metaphoric principles at work. In other words, there seems to be a complex interaction between general metonymic and metaphoric principles in producing some of the metaphorical expressions above. For instance, the expression *ayamhyehye* (the process of a tummy burning ‘fear’), which was by far the most frequently used expression of fear among the native/monolingual Akan participants, is a metaphonymy where a part of the body (*yam* ‘tummy’) stands for the emotion it experiences. However, the emotion *yam* experiences, fear, is metaphorically conceptualised as HEAT (*hye* ‘burn’) and the HEAT metonymically stands for the emotion. Thus, the conceptual metonymy BODY HEAT STANDS FOR FEAR occurs in Akan.

In addition, the BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS metaphor is productive in Akan (*ehu wo me mu* ‘there is fear in me’; *ehu aba me mu* ‘fear has come into me; *ehu tumi hyε me ma* ‘fear is able to fill me full). This generic-level metaphor seems to

interact with the FEAR IS HEAT metonymy in producing particular conceptualisations of fear that license metaphorical expressions such as *ayamhyehye* where *yam* is the container for HEAT, the emotion. Kövecses (1990) has argued that in English, fear is conceptualised as A FLUID IN CONTAINER even though the fluid is not specified as hot or cold.

Given the Akan metonymic conceptualisation of FEAR AS HEAT, it may appear logical to postulate the conceptual metaphor FEAR IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER rather than FEAR IS FIRE IN A CONTAINER in Akan. Unfortunately, the Akan data do not support the conceptualisation of FEAR AS A FLUID of any kind. Therefore, the FEAR AS HEAT metonymy can only be applied to solids in this instance (cf. 5.2 & 5.3). Thus, we may postulate a conceptual metaphor of fear in Akan, FEAR IS FIRE IN A CONTAINER. Below are the proposed conceptual mappings that underlie the FEAR IS FIRE IN A CONTAINER metaphor in Akan:

FEAR IS A FIRE IN A CONTAINER:

Source	⇒ target
Container	⇒ part of the body (tummy)
Heat	⇒ fear

6.34 FEAR IS FIRE IN A CONTAINER

- (a) Ehu ba-a *me mu* na *meyam hye-e me*.

Fear come-past *me in* conj. me tummy burn-past me.

Fear entered me and my tummy burned me (I became afraid and I panicked).

- (b) Kaa a-bɔ me pɛn enti mehu kaa a na me *yam hyehye me*.

Car COMPL-hit me before so me see car compl conj me tummy burn burn me

A car has hit me before so when I see I car my tummy burns me repeatedly

(Because I have been hit by a car before I panic anytime I see one).

(c) Mehu-u sekan no *me yam hye-e me*.

Me see-past knife Det. me *tummy burn-past me*.

When I saw the knife my tummy burned me (Seeing the knife caused me to panic).

Secondly, fear is conventionally conceptualised in Akan generally in terms of A BEING. However, the generic BEING is specified as A PERSON with intentions and volition - the ability to *compel* people to act in a certain way (*ehu hyε me so* ‘fear presses upon me’), and the ability to deny people their freedom (*ehu akye/ kyekyere me*, ‘fear has arrested/bound me’). Following are metaphorical expressions from the elicited data that instantiate the FEAR IS PERSON metaphor of fear in Akan:

6.35 FEAR IS A PERSON

(a) Ehu a-*kye* me.

Fear COMPL-*arrest* me.

Fear has arrested me (I am gripped by fear).

(b) Ehu a-*ka* me.

Fear COMPL-*touch* me.

Fear has touched me (I am scared).

(c) Ehu a-be-*hyε* me *so*.

Fear COMPL-*come-press* me *on*.

Fear has come to press upon me (I have been gripped by fear).

Again, in Akan, the FEAR IS A BEING metaphor interacts with the metonymic conceptualisation of FEAR that relates to flight to produce another specific instance of the FEAR IS A BEING metaphor, FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING (GHOST). Unlike the simple metonymic conceptualisation relating to flight that involves the physical/physiological aspect of the person in fear fleeing, the flight in this instance

involves a non-physiological component (*kra*, ‘soul’) of the person who experiences the emotion. This metaphor conceptualises fear as extremely dangerous to the point of death. Below are examples of linguistic instantiations of this metaphor in Akan:

6.36 FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING

(a) *M’abɔ saman.*

Me COMPL hit ghost.

I have hit a ghost (I am terrified).

(b) *Me kraa dwane.*

Me soul run away

My soul runs away (I become scared to death).

(c) *Me-hunu-u saa no me ho mmoa³⁵ nyinaa dwane-e.*

Me see-past compl obj me self animals all run away-past

When I saw that all myself animals ran away (I was scared to death by what I saw).

On the surface, examples 6.36 (b&c) may not appear to instantiate this metaphor at all because there does not seem to be any real encounter between the self and any supernatural being. However, in the context of the Akan belief of personhood, it is a person’s spirit/soul rather than the physical body that can interact with other spirits. In Akan popular mythology, typically, less powerful spirits, e.g. the soul of a man, is not able to withstand more powerful spirits, e.g. supernatural beings.

It is interesting to note that the FEAR IS A PERSON metaphor, which is a specific

³⁵ In Akan this is a metaphorical way of referring to the spirit part of a person. The expression is often used in connection with behaviour that reflects some emotion or mental state.

instance of the generic metaphor FEAR IS A BEING in Akan, is further specified as FEAR IS AN OPPONENT. Unlike the English version which conceptualises the control aspect of fear, the Akan version of this metaphor simply conceptualises FEAR as a dreadful opponent who poses a dreadful threat to the self upon an encounter (struggle). For instance, while in the English conceptualisation the self can either win or lose the struggle, there is no evidence from the Akan data to support such a conceptualisation even though there is linguistic evidence of physical exchanges between the self and the emotion. The conceptual mappings that sanction this metaphor and the metaphorical expressions that instantiate it are given below:

FEAR IS AN OPPONENT:

Opponent	⇒	Fear
Physical struggle between the self and an opponent	⇒	Psychological struggle to manage emotion
The physical effects of hitting or being hit by a stronger opponent	⇒	the psychological effects of fear on the self

6.37 FEAR IS AN OPPONENT

(a) Ehu *abɔ* me.

Fear COMPL-hit me.

Fear has *hit* me (I am scared).

(b) M'a-*bɔ* hu.

Me-COMPL-hit fear.

I have *hit* fear (I am scared).

(c) Sekan no ma-a me *bɔ-ɔ* hu.

Knife Det. give-past me *hit-past* fear.

The knife made me hit fear (the knife scared me).

(d) *Sɛ ehu bɔ me anaa sɛ meɔ hu* a metumi mpo atwa ahwe.

If fear hit me or if I hit fear compl me can even fall down.

If I hit fear or if fear hits me I can even collapse (fear can give me a fit).

This section has examined the conventional metaphorical conceptualisations of fear in native/monolingual Akan. It has been shown that like native/monolingual English, the conventional conceptualisations of fear in Akan emerge from both general metonymic and metaphorical principles. However, whereas in English it was not clear whether these general metonymic principles interact with the general metaphoric ones to jointly produce the overall conceptual structure of fear, there is linguistic evidence of such an interaction in the Akan conceptualisations. The next section further explores differences and/or similarities between Akan and English conventional conceptualisations of fear. The apparent small number of fear metonymies and metaphors in Akan may be attributed to size of the data generated - on the whole participants spent more time talking about anger and less time talking about fear during the focus group discussions.

6.4 Differences and/or similarities between English and Akan conceptualisations of FEAR.

As was discussed in detail in section (5.4) above, arguments about the universality or cultural specificity of conceptual metaphors in general and conceptual metaphors of emotion concepts in particular have received much research attention in cognitive linguistics (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1987; Kovecses 2000, 2005) and other disciplines, e.g. social anthropology (Lutz 1988). General findings from research in

this area suggest the existence of both similarities and differences in the metaphorical conceptualisations of emotion concepts across cultures and languages. While several views have been put forward, this study assumes the embodied cultural prototype view (see 5.4) in discussing the differences and/similarities between native Akan and native English conceptualisations of FEAR both in terms of source domains and elaborations in conceptual mappings of shared metaphors.

6.4.1 Differences and / or similarities in source domains

As can be seen from the analyses in (6.3) and (6.4) above, the linguistic evidence suggests both similarities and differences in the conceptualisations of FEAR in native Akan and native English with regards to source domains in terms of which FEAR is understood in these two languages. First of all, the emotion is understood and talked about in the two languages in terms of both conceptual metonymies and conceptual metaphors. In terms of metonymy, both languages make metonymic references to parts of the HUMAN BODY in their understanding of FEAR where these body parts stand for the emotion that is experienced.

In addition, in both languages, the behavioural reactions associated with fear are made to stand for the emotion. For instance, there are figurative expressions of FEAR in both languages where the following physiological manifestations and behavioural reactions to fear stand for the emotion: PHYSICAL AGITATION, INCREASE IN HEART RATE, SKIN SHRINKS, NERVOUSNESS IN THE STOMACH, INABILITY TO SPEAK, INVOLUNTARY RELEASE OF THE BOWELS and FLIGHT. The data also support the metonymic conceptualisation of fear in terms of INABILITY TO MOVE, DROP IN BODY TEMPERATURE, SWEATING, LAPSES IN HEART BEAT, INABILITY TO BREATHE, DRYNESS OF MOUTH, HAIR STRAIGHTENING OUT and BLOOD LEAVES FACE in

native/monolingual English. However, the data do not support such conceptualisations of fear in native/monolingual Akan.

In terms of conceptual metaphors, the two languages shared the following source domains: THE HUMAN BODY, A CONTAINER, A BEING, A SUPERNATURAL BEING, ILLNESS/DISEASE and AN OPPONENT. These similarities notwithstanding, certain source domains seemed to occur in one language but not the other. For instance, the following source domains (FLUID IN A CONTAINER, TORMENTOR, SUPERIOR, BURDEN, ILLNESS and NATURAL FORCE) are supported by the native/monolingual English data but not the Akan one. However, the FIRE IN A CONTAINER source domain was supported by the Akan data only. The next section explores the apparent differences and/ or similarities that exist in the language specific realisations of shared metonymic and metaphoric conceptualisations of FEAR in native English and Akan.

6.4.2 Differences and / or similarities in conceptual mappings and elaborations

As was mentioned in (5.3.2) above, in addition to source domains, variation in the conceptualisation of emotions across languages/cultures may show in how each language/culture actually construes shared source domains. This section analyses the similarities and differences in the metaphorical expressions and ultimately the conceptual correspondences as well as the elaborations that license such expressions with regards to shared conceptualisations of FEAR in Akan and English.

To begin with, the HEART and STOMACH stand out as the main body parts that are used metonymically to talk about fear in both languages. However, there are differences in the language-specific construals of exact physiological effects these two body parts experience in each language. For instance, in native/monolingual English,

the physiological effects relating to the HEART that metonymically stand for FEAR include: INCREASE IN HEART RATE and LAPSES IN HEART BEAT but only the former conceptualisation is highlighted in Akan. Furthermore, the INCREASE IN HEART RATE conceptualisation is elaborated in native/monolingual English in terms of *pounding*, *racing* and *leaping* (his heart *pounded* with fear; my heart began to *race* when I saw the animal; my heart *leapt* into my mouth when I went into the bank to ask for money). However, it is elaborated in Akan in terms of *flying* and *repeated beating* - reduplication of a word that mimics the beating of the heart (e.g. *m'akoma tui* 'my heart flew' I panicked; *m'akoma bɔ periperi* 'my heart beat repeatedly').

Secondly, in both languages the physiological effect NERVOUSNESS IN THE STOMACH metonymically stands for FEAR. Nevertheless, the nervousness is specified in Akan as *burning* (e.g. *me yam hyehye me* 'my tummy is burning me repeatedly') but in English as *butterflies* and *a grip* (I had *butterflies in my tummy*). Again, FEAR is conceptualised in both languages in terms of AN OPPONENT and A SUPERNATURAL BEING. However, there are differences in the language-specific realisations of these metaphors. In the first place, the FEAR IS AN OPPONENT metaphor conceptualises different aspects of fear in the two languages resulting in different conceptual mappings and elaborations. For instance, the Akan version of the metaphor conceptualises FEAR as a dreadful opponent who poses a dreadful threat to the self upon an encounter but the native English version conceptualises the control aspect of the emotion (see examples 6.34 and 6.20 respectively).

Furthermore, on the one hand, the Akan elaboration of this metaphor points to a physical exchange of blows between the self and fear (*ehu abɔ me* 'fear has hit me'; *m'abɔ hu* 'I have hit fear'), with no linguistic evidence of the self winning or losing this physical exchange. On the other hand, the English elaboration of this metaphor points

to a real struggle for control by holding and pushing (wrestling) between the self and fear rather than hitting. Finally, in the FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING metaphor, the English elaboration highlights the haunting aspect of the encounter between self and fear where FEAR AS A BEING pursues THE SELF. On the other hand, the Akan elaborations highlight the fleeing aspect of the encounter between the self and fear where the spirit part of the self flees from fear and deserts the self upon such an encounter (see 6.2 and 6.3 above).

6.5 Akan-English bilingual fear

This section analyses the metaphorical expressions Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana commonly use (as per the data for this study) to talk about different aspects of fear in order to arrive at suggestions concerning the conventional conceptual metaphors of fear among these bilinguals. The analysis is done against the background of the native/monolingual English and Akan conceptualisations of fear discussed above. The section aims to answer the following questions: 1) What metaphorical expressions do Akan-English bilinguals use to describe fear? 2) What conceptual metaphors may underlie such metaphorical expressions? 3) In what ways do the Akan-English bilinguals' conceptualisations appear to be the same, similar to or different from the native English and native Akan conceptualisations? The data were elicited through both focus group discussions and written questionnaires (see chapter 4).

First of all, as was discussed in the analyses of the native/monolingual data, the concept of 'danger to the physical or psychological self' appears central in the conceptualisations of fear among the Akan-English bilinguals. For instance, in discussing the cause of fear the bilingual participants mentioned/listed factors such as:

failure, gossips, darkness (because it is evil), snake, river, depth, armed robbers, accidents and death as causing fear among them. Again, the data reveals that Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana use a range of both metonymic and metaphorical expressions to describe different aspects of fear as shown in example 74 below:

6.38

- (a) I was so afraid that I almost *urinated* in my pants.
- (b) I *just stood* there; I was *frozen* with fear.
- (c) I became *motionless* at the beginning but I gathered courage to *run*.
- (d) I look for strategies that will help me to *overcome* the fear.
- (e) I felt *some heaviness behind me* but nobody followed me.

While (6.38 a-c) above exemplify metonymic conceptualisations of fear among these bilinguals, (6.38 d-e) exemplify metaphoric conceptualisations, and (6.38 b) exemplifies metaphonymy. The data reveal that, not surprisingly, the two generic metonymic principles mentioned in the previous two sections, (1) PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF FEAR STAND FOR FEAR, and (2) BODY PARTS STAND FOR THE EMOTION THEY EXPERIENCE, are equally productive in Akan-English bilingual conceptualisations of fear. For instance, the bilinguals used 79 tokens of words/phrases relating to either physiological reaction or body parts to describe different aspects of fear in both the focus group data and written questionnaires data (see appendix Eii). The more specific instances of these metonymic principles as well as their linguistic instantiations as found in the bilingual data are listed below. It worth noting again that some of the metonymic examples exhibit some form of metaphoricity, i.e. some of the expressions are metaphonymies.

6.39 PHYSICAL AGITATION FOR FEAR:

- (a) Sometime, I *shake* when I am afraid.
- (b) She was *trembling like a leaf*.
- (c) I shout and *shiver*.
- (d) I become *unstable* and *shaky*.
- (e) I will become *uncomfortable* because ghosts are scary.
- (f) I *tremble* and *flinch*.

6.40 INCREASE IN HEART RATE FOR FEAR:

- (a) My *heart rate* and blood volume all *go up*.
- (b) My *heart* begins to *beat faster* than usual or normal.
- (c) My *heart rate and pulse* increase.

6.41 SKIN SHRINKS FOR FEAR:

- (a) I develop *goose pimples all over my body*.
- (b) His skin was *prickling* with fear.

6.42 INABILITY TO MOVE FOR FEAR:

- (a) I *just stood there; couldn't move*.
- (b) I became *motionless* at the beginning.
- (c) I *just sat in my pee; I couldn't move*.

6.43 DROP IN BODY TEMPERATURE FOR FEAR:

- (a) I was *frozen with fear*.
- (b) I felt quite *cold*.

- (c) I felt very afraid and rather *cold*.
- (d) I was scared; I felt *cold*.

6.44 INABILITY TO BREATHE FOR FEAR:

- (a) My *diaphragm became blocked*.

6.45 INABILITY TO SPEAK FOR FEAR:

- (a) I felt lost and *dumbfounded*.

6.46 (INVOLUNTARY) RELEASE OF BOWELS or BLADDER FOR FEAR:

- (a) I was so afraid that I *almost urinated in my pants*.
- (b) When they asked me to go out, I was scared so I *peed (urinated) on myself*.

6.47 SWEATING: FOR FEAR

- (a) I begin to *sweat* all over.
- (b) I *perspire*, i.e. *sweat* a bit.

6.48 DRYNESS IN MOUTH FOR FEAR:

- (a) Sometimes my *mouth dries up*.

6.49 FLIGHT FOR FEAR:

- (a) I *run away* because if I don't I can even collapse.
- (b) I try to stay or *flee* from it.
- (c) I *run helter-skelter*.

Again, as was the case in native/monolingual Akan and English, fear was generally described as A BEING or A FORCE among the bilinguals. This is suggested by the use of such manipulative and causative verbs as *compel* and *cause* by the participants to talk about the emotion during the focus group discussion as well as in the filling of the written questionnaires (e.g. *fear compels people to end it all or commit suicide; fear of failure and exposure can cause someone to take his life*). In all there were 23 tokens of words or phrases that described fear in terms of a BEING in the data as a whole - six from the focus group and 17 from the questionnaire data (see appendix E). However, this general metaphorical conceptualisation was realised specifically among the bilinguals in terms of two other source domains: A VICIOUS ENEMY and AN OPPONENT. The linguistic instantiations of these two specific conceptualisations of FEAR AS A BEING among Akan-English bilinguals are given below:

FEAR IS A VICIOUS ENEMY (HUMAN OR ANIMAL) / TORMENTOR: Some bilinguals described fear in terms of this metaphor. However, the data do not include enough instances of this metaphor to suggest that it is very frequent or salient among Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana - only 4 tokens of words/phrases relating to this metaphor occurred in the entire data (see appendix Eii).

6.50 FEAR IS A VICIOUS ENEMY (HUMAN OR ANIMAL) / TORMENTOR

- (a) The fearful event *haunted me* for a while.
- (b) The experience keeps *haunting* me; I don't walk freely around my area anymore.
- (c) Fear *grips my soul*.
- (d) I was *overtaken by fear*.

FEAR IS AN OPPONENT: There were 17 tokens of words/phrases in the entire bilingual data that suggested that Akan-English bilinguals conceptualised fear in terms of this source domain (3 from the focus group and 14 from the questionnaires – see appendix E). Although this conceptualisation is realised in both Akan and English, the metaphor captures different aspects of fear in each language (see 6.2, 6.3& 6.4.1). The Akan-English bilingual realisation conceptualises the same aspect (control) of fear as in native English where controlling fear is conceptualised as a struggle between the self and an opponent. Thus, the same conceptual mappings as the native English ones may be posited for the bilingual version of this metaphor:

FEAR IS AN OPPONENT:

<i>Source</i>	<i>Target</i>
Opponent	⇒ Fear
Physical struggle between the self and an opponent	⇒ Psychological struggle for emotional control
Defeating the opponent	⇒ Controlling fear
Losing to the opponent	⇒ Fear controlling self

6.51 FEAR IS AN OPPONENT

- (a) I become motionless at the beginning but I *bounce back* to reorganise and *face it*.
- (b) I look for *strategies* that will help me *overcome the fear*.
- (c) If we are able to remove the source of fear, *we can overcome it*.
- (d) I try my best to manage it or *overcome it*.
- (e) I think deeply and explore possible solutions to *combat the fear*.
- (f) It is a feeling that lasts for quite a long period before I *overcome it*.
- (g) I become worried, hoping that the *fear does not overcome me*.

FEAR IS A BURDEN: As was discussed in (6.2) above, the conceptualisation of fear in terms of AN OPPONENT with whom one struggles places a responsibility on the self to overcome the emotion leading to a further conceptualisation of fear as a burden. It is interesting to note that this conceptualisation does not occur in the Akan native/monolingual data – a confirmation of the argument made earlier that the FEAR IS AN OPPONENT metaphor captures different aspects of fear in Akan and English. FEAR IS A BURDEN occurs in Akan-English bilingual conceptualisation because the bilingual FEAR AS AN OPPONENT metaphor applies to the same aspect of the emotion as the native English conceptualisation. 10 metaphorical tokens (1 from the focus group data and 9 from the written questionnaires) suggesting this conceptualisation occurred in the data. Below are the conceptual mappings of the Akan-English bilingual version of the FEAR IS A BURDEN metaphor.

Source: Burden	Target: Fear
The burden bearer	⇒ The person in the state of fear
The burden	⇒ Fear
Carrying the burden	⇒ Staying in the state of fear
Offloading the burdening	⇒ Overcoming fear

6.52 FEAR IS A BURDEN

- (a) I feel like *a huge burden is on me* as I look for measures to overcome the fear.
- (b) Sleeping in the cemetery will be very *unbearable*.

Finally, the data reveals FEAR IS AN ILLNESS as a possible conceptualisation of the emotion among Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana. However, there were not enough linguistic instantiations of this conceptualisation to suggest that this conceptualisation is conventional among the bilinguals (five tokens in the entire data – written

questionnaires only). This notwithstanding, the following conceptual mappings appear to underlie this bilingual metaphor:

FEAR IS AN ILLNESS:

<i>Source</i>	<i>Target</i>
Illness	⇒ Fear
The sick person	⇒ the self/person who has fear
The disease causing agent	⇒ the source of the fear

6.53 FEAR IS AN ILLNESS

- (a) The cemetery is a dreadful place but if I have to *suffer* that my assurance is that even if I walk through the valley of the shadow of death I will fear no evil.

Table 6.1 summarises the source domains (with their frequency distribution) in terms of which fear was metaphorically understood among Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana.

Source domain	Frequencies	Distribution	
		Focus group	Written quest.
BURDEN	10	1	9
SICKNESS/ILLNESS	5	0	5
OPPONENT/STRUGGLE	17	4	13
PREY/PREDATOR	3	0	3

Table 6.1: summary of frequency distribution in bilingual fear source domains

6.5.1. Differences and/or similarities between native/monolingual conceptualisations and Akan-English bilingual conceptualisations of fear.

This section examines the differences and/or similarities between the Akan-English bilingual metaphorical expressions and ultimately conceptualisations of fear in relation to the native/monolingual English and native/monolingual Akan conceptualisations.

So far the analysis has shown that like the native/monolingual populations, Akan-English bilinguals conceptualise the emotion of fear in terms of both conceptual metonymies and conceptual metaphors. There was evidence of the two general metonymic principles identified in sections (6.2 & 6.3) in the bilingual data. Again, the general metaphorical principles, EMOTIONS ARE A BURDEN, FEAR IS A BEING also appear to be part of the bilingual conceptualisations of fear. However, while certain bilingual conceptualisations of fear overlap with some native/monolingual conceptualisations in several respects, either subtle or clear differences between the bilingual and native/monolingual specific realisations of shared conceptualisations were also found.

For example, regarding the metonymic conceptualisation of FEAR, while both the *heart* and *stomach* are used to stand for the emotion in the native/monolingual Akan and English conceptualisations, the data support the use of the *heart* only in the bilingual conceptualisations. In other words, while the metonymic conceptualisation of FEAR as NERVOUSNESS IN THE STOMACH is supported by both native/monolingual data, that conceptualisation is not supported by the bilingual data. In addition, there is linguistic evidence to suggest that fear is metaphonymically conceptualised in terms of the physiological effects of fear on the heart. However, the data also point to differences and similarities between the native/monolingual and bilingual specific

realisations of this conceptualisation. Whereas in native/monolingual Akan fear is construed in terms of the *heart flying (tu)* and *beating repeatedly (bɔ periperi)*, in native/monolingual English the emotion is understood in terms of the *heart pounding, racing, and leaping*.

The bilingual metaphonymic conceptualisation of fear in relation to the heart may be said to be more similar to the native/monolingual English one (e.g. the *heart going up (leap)* and *heart rate increasing (racing)*). Nevertheless, neither the bilingual data nor the native/monolingual Akan data provides evidence for a related metonymic conceptualisation of fear that occurs in native/monolingual English, LAPSES IN HEART BEAT IS FEAR. This implies that while certain aspects of the bilingual metaphonymic conceptualisation of fear relating to the heart are similar to native/monolingual ones, other aspects appear more similar to the native/monolingual Akan conceptualisations. Indeed, there are other instances in the data where bilingual metaphonymic conceptualisations of fear display this partial similarity with each of the native/monolingual conceptualisations. For instance, the native/monolingual English data support the metonymic conceptualisations of fear in terms of BLOOD LEAVING FACE and HAIR STRAIGHTENING OUT. However, these conceptualisations are not supported by either the native/monolingual Akan data or the bilingual data even though there is linguistic evidence for a bilingual conceptualisation of fear in terms of INCREASE IN BLOOD VOLUME.

Similarly, there is linguistic evidence to suggest the metonymic conceptualisation of fear relating to flight in all three sets of data. However, there are differences. On the one hand, in native/monolingual Akan the flight involves both the physical and spiritual self. On the other hand, in both native/monolingual English and Akan-English bilingual specific conceptualisations, only the physical self is involved in the flight. This makes the bilingual conceptualisation more similar to the native/monolingual English one.

Furthermore, the data provides evidence for the following metonymies of fear in both native/monolingual English and Akan-English bilinguals but not native/monolingual Akan: DROP IN TEMPERATURE IS FEAR, INABILITY TO MOVE IS FEAR, SWEATING IS FEAR and DRYNESS OF MOUTH IS FEAR. Nevertheless, the data show that not all of these metonymies/metaphonymies of fear shared with native/monolingual English are of equal salience among the Akan-English bilinguals. For example, while DROP IN TEMPERATURE IS FEAR was the most salient of these metonymies/metaphonymies (10 tokens), DRYNESS OF MOUTH IS FEAR was the least salient of those with only one token in the entire data (see appendix E).

In terms of source domains for the conceptual metaphors of fear, all three groups shared the following: A BEING, AN OPPONENT and AN ILLNESS/DISEASE. However, the bilingual conceptualisation of the generic BEING is similar to the native/monolingual Akan one (i.e. the being has attributes typical of a person, e.g. intentions) but the bilingual specific realisations of FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING and FEAR IS AN OPPONENT are similar to those of native/monolingual English (see 6.4.1 & 6.4.2). Again, the source domain BURDEN is common to both native/monolingual English and Akan-English bilingual conceptualisations leading to another shared domain between the two groups, BURDEN. However, the data do not suggest the conceptualisation of fear in terms of this source domain in native/monolingual Akan.

Finally, the source domain TORMENTOR is shared by native/monolingual English and Akan-English bilingual groups. However, the source domain LIQUID/FLUID IN A CONTAINER is peculiar to native/monolingual English only and the FIRE IN A CONTAINER source domain is peculiar to native/monolingual Akan only. The HUMAN BODY AS A CONTAINER was a major generic-level metaphor of fear in both native/monolingual English and native/monolingual Akan conceptualisations.

However, the data do not provide evidence to support the use of this generic-level metaphor in the metaphorical conceptualisation of fear among the Akan-English bilinguals - neither the body of the person who is in a state of fear nor the emotion itself was conceptualised in terms of a CONTAINER among the bilinguals despite the fact that the data provide evidence for the conceptualisation of ANGER in terms of this generic-level metaphor among the Akan-English bilinguals.

The implications of these differences and/ or similarities between the Akan-English bilingual conceptualisations and each or both of the native/monolingual ones in terms of what they reveal about the nature and organisation of the bilingual conceptual representation are discussed in chapter 7.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes this study. It summarises the findings of the study and draws conclusions based on the findings. It also explores possible implications of the findings. Finally, the chapter reflects on some limitations of the study and makes recommendations for future research.

7.2 Summary of study

This study has used linguistic data as evidence to investigate how two emotion concepts, ANGER and FEAR, may be represented in the minds of fluent Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana. Chapter one set the agenda for the study introducing key concepts, research questions and the rationale for the study. Chapter two reviewed the literature

on bilingualism, cognition in language in general and bilingual cognition in particular. The chapter reviewed the literature on several of the existing paradigms for defining bilingualism as a phenomenon. It also re-examined the existing terminologies that are used to label different patterns in bilingualism as well as bilingual individuals. The chapter pointed out that many of the existing paradigms in particular competence-based models do not appear to be adequate in capturing and describing all the different kinds of bilingualism and bilingual individuals, especially in highly multiethnic and multilingual communities.

With regards to the literature on language and cognition, on the one hand, the cognitive linguistic literature makes claims about a relationship between language and human cognition. However, much of the evidence in cognitive linguistics has come from native/monolingual language data. On the other hand, studies on the relationship between bilingualism and cognition abound in the psycholinguistic literature. However, several of the psycholinguistic models of bilingual mental lexicon, i.e. how the words and concepts of the bilingual's two languages are represented in the bilingual's mind, are plagued with debates and controversies. The chapter therefore suggested that combining insights from both psycholinguistics and cognitive linguistics approaches to modelling mental representation may open a new window onto the research on bilingual mental representation, at least, of emotion concepts.

Chapter three presented the sociolinguistic profile of Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana and argued that Akan-English bilingualism (like other kinds of bilingualism in sociolinguistic contexts similar to Ghana's) is too complex a phenomenon to neatly fit into many of the traditional paradigms proposed in the literature. Consequently, the chapter argued in support of more recent paradigms that define or describe bilingualism

as a complex continuum in which different bilingual individuals have varying degrees of knowledge in different language abilities of different languages in different contexts.

In chapter four the kinds of data used in this study as well as the methods of their collection and analysis are outlined. The chapter explored some methodological issues in the literature and concluded that while on the one hand data collection methods in fields such as psycholinguistics, corpus linguistics and discourse analysis, tend to be more transparent, verifiable and therefore more reliable, analysing such data in quantitative terms only takes away the human face of research. On the other hand, while cognitive linguistics employs qualitative approaches to data analysis, the traditional method of data collection in cognitive linguistics (by intuition only) makes the data less transparent, almost non-verifiable and therefore less reliable. Consequently, the chapter argues that combining data collection methods from psycholinguistics and qualitative methods of analysis from cognitive linguistics may have a greater potential in opening new windows in these two related fields of research. For instance, the role intuition plays in analysing elicited may be indispensable, although only elicited data is verifiable. Chapters five and six analysed the data findings of which are summarised below.

7.3 Summary of findings

The study sought to answer two major questions (one with five sub-questions) which are repeated and answered below.

7.3.1 Question 1:

What do conceptual metaphors of ANGER and FEAR among Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana reveal about how (emotion) concepts in their two languages are represented in their conceptual system? In order to answer question 1, the following sub-questions (**1a-1e**) were answered first.

1a. What linguistic metaphors do native/monolingual American/British English speakers conventionally use to describe FEAR and ANGER, and what conceptual metaphors underlie such linguistic representations?

The data (mainly in the literature) revealed many linguistic metaphors or metaphorical expressions of ANGER in native/monolingual English which were systematically pointed to the following conventional conceptual metaphors: ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, ANGER IS FIRE, ANGER IS INSANITY, ANGER IS AN OPPONENT (IN A STRUGGLE), ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL, ANGER IS A HORSE, ANGER IS A PLANT, ANGER IS A BURDEN, ANGER IS A NATURAL FORCE (STORM), and ANGER IS A CHILD (cf. 5.2). The analysis also pointed out that these conventional conceptual metaphors of anger appear to be motivated by interactions between general metonymic and general metaphorical principles that are grounded in human physical experience and English socio-cultural experience.

Similarly, the data revealed an array of conventional metaphorical expressions about fear in native/monolingual English which were systematically linked to the following underlying conventional conceptual metonymies (THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION, THE BEHAVIOURAL REACTIONS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION), and metaphors (FEAR IS A CONTAINER, FEAR IS A LIQUID, FEAR IS FLUID IN A CONTAINER, FEAR IS A BURDEN, FEAR IS A NATURAL FORCE, FEAR IS AN ILLNESS, and FEAR IS A BEING: A TORMENTOR, A SUPERIOR, A

VICIOUS ENEMY (HUMAN OR ANIMAL), A SUPERNATURAL BEING (A GHOST), and AN OPPONENT (cf. 6.2). While earlier literature on conceptual metaphors of fear in native/monolingual English does not suggest any explicit links between the system of conceptual metonymy and the system of metaphors in producing the overall conceptual structure of fear, the analysis in this study suggests the possibility of such interactions.

1b. What linguistic metaphors do native/monolingual Akan speakers in Ghana conventionally use to describe ANGER and FEAR, and what conceptual metaphors underlie such linguistic metaphors?

The data equally revealed a range of conventional metaphorical expressions used by native/monolingual Akan speakers to describe different aspects of ANGER. Again, the conventional metaphorical expressions were systematically pointed to the following conventional conceptual metaphors of anger and fear in Akan: ANGER IS GROWING WEED, ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, ANGER IS A BURDEN, ANGER IS A DISEASE and ANGER IS FOOD (cf. 5.3). The Akan conceptualisations of anger also appeared to be based on both general metonymic and metaphorical principles that are grounded in human fundamental experiences including physiological and socio-cultural experiences.

In the same way, the data revealed a range of conventional metaphorical expressions of FEAR in native/monolingual Akan that are believed to have arisen from a complex interaction between general metonymic and metaphoric principles. The following conventional conceptual metaphors of fear in Akan were systematically inferred from the conventional metaphorical expressions: FEAR IS FIRE IN A CONTAINER, FEAR IS A PERSON, FEAR IS A BEING, FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING, and FEAR IS AN OPPONENT. The limited number of conventional conceptual metaphors of fear in Akan may be attributed to the potential imbalance between the elicited data on anger and

fear.

1c. How are the conceptual representations in the two languages similar or different?

The analysis showed several points of similarity and differences in the ways in which native/monolingual Akan and English speakers metaphorically conceptualise ANGER (cf. 5.4) and FEAR (cf. 6.4). First of all, the linguistic evidence suggest that anger is generally conceptualised in terms of the general metonymic principles: (1) PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF THE EMOTIONS ON THE BODY STAND FOR THE EMOTIONS and (2) THE BEHAVIOURAL REACTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH FEAR ARE MADE TO STAND FOR THE EMOTION (e.g. BODY HEAT IS ANGER, INTERNAL PRESSURE IS ANGER, PHYSICAL AGITATION IS FEAR, INCREASE IN HEART RATE IS FEAR, FLIGHT IS FEAR etc.). For instance, there was linguistic evidence in the data to suggest that fear is metonymically conceptualised in the two languages in terms of the following: PHYSICAL AGITATION, INCREASE IN HEART RATE, SKIN SHRINKS, NERVOUSNESS IN THE STOMACH, INABILITY TO SPEAK, INVOLUNTARY RELEASE OF THE BOWELS and FLIGHT.

Nevertheless, there were differences in the language-specific realisations of these general metonymic conceptualisations of anger and fear. For example, whereas there was linguistic evidence to suggest the metonymic conceptualisations of anger in terms of SKIN COLOUR (REDNESS AROUND THE FACE AND NECK AREA), in native/monolingual English, the data did not suggest any such specific metonymic conceptualisations in native/monolingual Akan. Again, the native/monolingual English data suggested the metonymic conceptualisations of fear in terms of LAPSES IN HEART BEAT, SWEATING, BLOOD LEAVING FACE, HAIR STRAIGHTENING OUT, DROP IN BODY TEMPERATURE and DRYNESS OF MOUTH. However, such conceptualisations were not supported by the native/monolingual Akan data.

In terms of conceptual metaphors, there was linguistic evidence to suggest the use of the following general metaphorical principles in the conceptualisations of the two emotions in the two languages: THE HUMAN BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS (e.g. ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER), EMOTIONS ARE A BURDEN (ANGER IS A BURDEN), HUMAN EMOTION IS A DANGEROUS THING (e.g. FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING), HUMAN EMOTION IS A GROWING THING (ANGER IS A PLANT/WEED) and HUMAN EMOTION IS A BEING (FEAR/ANGER IS AN OPPONENT) etc. However, the data suggested differences in the language-specific realisations of these general metaphors both in terms of different/ alternative source domains and the elaborations in source domains where there were shared source domains. For example, the data suggested the following source domains for anger exclusively in each language: A NATURAL FORCE, AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE, INSANITY, FIRE and A CHILD (English) and A DISEASE and FOOD (Akan). A similar phenomenon occurred with the fear conceptualisations – the data showed that some source domains occurred exclusively in each language: A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, TORMENTOR, SUPERIOR, BURDEN, ILLNESS and NATURAL FORCE (English) and FIRE IN A CONTAINER (Akan).

Finally, while in both languages, the *heart* and *stomach* were the main body parts that metonymically stand for fear, there were differences in the language-specific construals of exact physiological effects these body parts experience. For instance, in native/monolingual English, the physiological effects relating to the heart that metonymically stand for fear are INCREASE IN HEART RATE and LAPSES IN HEART BEAT but only the physiological effect relating to INCREASES IN HEART RATE is highlighted in the native/monolingual Akan data. Furthermore, while the increase in heart rate is elaborated in native/monolingual English in terms of *pounding*, *racing* and *leaping* it is elaborated in terms of *flying* and repeated heart beat in native/monolingual Akan.

1d. What linguistic metaphors do fluent Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana use to describe ANGER and FEAR, and what conceptual representations may underlie such bilingual linguistic metaphors?

The data showed that like the native/monolingual speakers of English and Akan, the Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana also used a range of metaphorical expressions to describe different aspects of anger and fear which were systematically pointed to the following conceptual metaphors respectively: ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, ANGER IS A WEAPON, ANGER IS A BURDEN/HEAVY LOAD, ANGER IS A NATURAL FORCE, ANGER IS A PERSON, ANGER IS INSANITY, ANGER IS A DANGEROUS THING, ANGER IS A DISEASE; FEAR IS A BEING (AN OPPONENT, A VICIOUS ENEMY, A SUPERIOR), FEAR IS A BURDEN, and FEAR IS AN ILLNESS/DISEASE.

In addition, there was linguistic evidence to suggest that some of the bilingual conceptualisations were motivated by the two general metonymic principles, namely, PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF EMOTIONS STAND FOR THE EMOTION and BODY PARTS STAND FOR THE EMOTION THEY EXPERIENCE. Again, the general metonymic and metaphorical principles that are believed to license the metaphorical expressions appeared to be grounded in both human physical and socio-cultural experiences. While the data may not support the conventionality of some of these metaphors (due to low frequencies in linguistic instantiations) the little linguistic evidence the data provides nevertheless corroborates similar metaphorical expressions in the literature to instantiate conventional metaphors that occur in either or both of their two languages.

1e. How are the Akan-English bilingual metaphorical conceptualisations of anger and fear different from and/or similar to each or both of the native/monolingual conceptualisations?

The linguistic evidence revealed that the Akan-English bilingual conceptualisations

of anger and fear were both similar to and different from each and both of the native/monolingual conceptualisations in many respects. First of all, some bilingual conceptualisations appeared to have been motivated by the same general metonymic and metaphorical principles as the two native/monolingual conceptualisations (e.g. BODY HEAT IS ANGER and THE HUMAN BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS respectively). For instance, the following source domains were shared by all three groups: A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER and A BURDEN (for anger) and A BEING and AN OPPONENT (for fear). In addition, the following body parts metonymically stood for the emotions they experience in all cases: *chest* (for anger) and *stomach* and *heart* (for fear).

Nevertheless, there were finer similarities and differences between the bilingual conceptualisations and each of the native/monolingual conceptualisations both in terms of source domains and elaborations of shared source domains. For example, while the bilingual conceptualisations shared the following source domains (NATURAL FORCE, INSANITY, DANGEROUS THING (for anger) and BURDEN, VICIOUS ENEMY and SUPERIOR (for fear)) exclusively with native/monolingual English, they shared DISEASE (for anger) and ILLNESS/DISEASE and PERSON (for fear) exclusively with native/monolingual Akan. However, as the linguistic evidence showed, the two emotions were further conceptualised in terms of additional source domains that were exclusive to each of the groups: GROWING WEED, FOOD (for anger in Akan), FIRE IN A CONTAINER (for fear in Akan); OPPONENT, CHILD, PLANT HORSE, (for anger in English), CONTAINER, LIQUID/FLUID IN A CONTAINER, TORMENTOR (for fear in English) and WEAPON (for anger in bilinguals).

Furthermore, there were similar patterns (of differences and/or similarities) in terms of the specific realisations of the general metonymic and metaphorical principles as

well as shared source domains in terms of which anger and fear were conceptualised among the three groups. For example, the BODY CONTAINER schema was shared by all three groups. However, the data revealed that whereas the anger-bearing body containers in native/monolingual English were elaborated as the *nerves, blood, face, chest*, the native/monolingual Akan elaborations pointed to the *chest, heart* and *the back of the head* as the anger-bearing containers while the bilingual data pointed to *the nerves, the face, the heart, the head* and *the chest*, combining both native/monolingual specific conceptualisations of the body container schema.

This notwithstanding, whereas it is the skin colour of the face container that bears the anger in native English (He got *red with anger*), there was no linguistic evidence in the bilingual data to suggest that the bilingual specific realisation of the FACE AS CONTAINER FOR ANGER includes skin colour (e.g. when I am angry, I keep a *straight face*; I can't describe my anger in words, it shows *on my face*; my anger is often (90%) non-verbal, I use my *countenance* to show my anger). Since skin colour is not salient in the metonymic conceptualisation of anger in native Akan, it may be argued that the Akan-English bilingual metonymic conceptualisation of THE FACE AS A BODY CONTAINER FOR ANGER conforms to the native Akan metonymic conceptualisation in this respect. To sum up, the linguistic evidence in this study suggests that Akan-English bilingual conceptualisations of anger and fear are both similar to and different from each and both of the conceptualisations in their two languages.

Having answered the sub-questions, we may now proceed to answer the substantive question in question 1, namely, what do conventional conceptual metaphors of anger and fear among Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana reveal about how (the two emotion) concepts in their two languages are represented in their conceptual system?

As was shown in the analysis, the bilingual conventional metaphorical expressions

of anger and fear reflect, in many ways, the bilinguals' knowledge of the conventional metaphorical expressions about the two concepts in their two languages. Consequently, we may argue that the bilinguals may be familiar with the conventional conceptual metaphors that license these metaphorical expressions in the two languages. While the frequency distribution of some of these metaphorical expressions may suggest low levels of conventionality, it is important to note that even then they instantiate conceptual metaphors in either or both of the bilinguals' languages. In addition, as has been suggested in the literature, (Lakoff and Turner 1989, Kövecses 2002), creative/innovative metaphors tend to be based on conventional metaphors.

While not claiming that the Akan-English bilinguals have the same level of socio-cultural experiences in both English and Akan (in terms of physical proximity to the cultures), as I have argued earlier (cf. Chapters 1&3), fluent Akan-English bilinguals are likely to have access to a great deal of conventionalised metaphorical expressions of anger and fear in both languages. For example, Lakoff (1987) has pointed out that many conventional metaphorical expressions (e.g. of anger) in English are considered as idioms. Since the meaning of idiomatic expressions is generally believed to be opaque, second language teaching/learning syllabuses typically pay particular attention to the correct acquisition of L2 idiomatic expressions.

In other words, being second language speakers of English may not necessarily be a disadvantage to fluent Akan-English bilinguals by way of being familiar with conventional metaphorical expressions about the two emotion concepts in English. Indeed, there were instances where the same metaphorical expressions occurred in both native/monolingual English data and the Akan-English bilingual data. At the same time, as native and fluent speakers of Akan in a country where Akan is the most widely spoken language, it is doubtless that these bilinguals are familiar with the conventional

metaphorical expressions of these two concepts in Akan.

Thus, based on the cognitive science assumption about a cyclical relationship between linguistic knowledge and conceptual knowledge, i.e. that language both reflects and shapes conceptual structure (Evans and Green 2006, Paradis 1997; Pavlenko 2009) we may conclude that being familiar with linguistic representations of these concepts in two different languages may have subsequent consequences for how anger and fear are conceptually represented in the bilinguals' mind, i.e. the linguistic representations of anger and fear in the two languages may shape and affect how they conceptually represent these emotions.

Based on the findings from the analysis of the bilingual data, we may make two conclusions about how the two emotion concepts are possibly represented in the minds of Akan-English bilinguals. One, the bilingual metaphorical expressions suggest a possible integration of conceptualisations extracted from the conventional metaphorical expressions they have acquired from their two languages; and two, bilinguals are able to access conceptualisations they have extracted from conventional metaphorical expressions and stored in long term memory irrespective of which of their two languages they speak. The fact that the Akan-English bilinguals' metaphorical conceptualisations of anger and fear reflected conventional metaphorical conceptualisations exclusive to each of their two languages even when they speak only one of them (English) supports this position.

7.3.2 *Question 2:*

How may the conceptual representations (metaphors) of fluent Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana be interpreted in terms of the two psycholinguistic hypotheses about bilingual conceptual representation and organization?

In answering the second major question of this study, the findings of the study show support for the basic assumption of the common storage hypothesis and all the models that have emanated from it (Cummins 1980, 1981; De Groot 1992; Kroll and Stewart 1994; Paradis 1985, 1997; Pavlenko 2009). As has been shown in the analysis, the linguistic evidence suggests that the bilinguals' metaphorical expressions go beyond a mere reproduction of the linguistic knowledge/formulaic language about anger and fear which they have acquired from their two languages. Instead, they suggest a possible conceptual processing of the conventional linguistic information they have acquired from the two languages about anger and fear. Recent studies from neuro-imaging (e.g. Ahrens et al 2007; Kircher et al 2007) have linked metaphor and metaphorical language processing to neural activity/correlates as critical to both conceptual metaphors and cross-modal abstractions more generally. Indeed, the analysis has shown this in the ways in which the bilingual metaphors of anger and fear are similar to and yet different from each and both of the native/monolingual metaphors (cf. 5.6 & 6.6). In other words, while they use metaphors of anger and fear that are typical of English, the Akan-English bilinguals also use metaphors of anger and fear that are typical of Akan even when they speak English.

Indeed, the linguistic evidence in this study suggests that the bilinguals may have extracted conceptual representations that underlie the conventional metaphorical expressions about anger and fear from the two languages and that this repository of conceptual information about the two concepts extracted from the linguistic

representations (conventional conceptual metaphors) in the two languages are accessible to them irrespective of which of their two languages they speak. This finding corroborates Paradis' (1997) argument that while linguistic information from a bilingual's two languages are stored separately, conceptual information which is extracted from each linguistic storage system is stored independent of language. Thus, findings from this study show more support for the shared storage hypothesis. They also corroborate Pavlenko's (2009) claim that bilingualism may lead to conceptual restructuring (cf. 2.4.5).

7.4 Implications of the study

This section explores the possible implications of the finding of this study particularly, to cognitive linguistics (CMT) research, bilingualism research in general and bilingual cognition research in particular as well as practical implications for language policy planners and implementers in highly multiethnic and multilingual communities.

7.4.1 Implications for Akan studies

This study makes an original contribution to research on Akan emotion concepts and emotion lexicon (which is almost non-existent). The implication of this contribution is that the study can be replicated for the study of other emotion concepts in the language or indeed other languages in Ghana. The study also contributes to the literature on the conceptualisation of emotions across cultures.

7.4.2 Implications for bilingualism studies

This study makes contributions to the literature on bilingualism, especially, bilingualism in English and an African language. In particular, it contributes to the literature on the patterns and types of bilingualism that exist in highly multiethnic/multilingual communities. For instance, the study has corroborated the assertion in the literature that bilingualism cannot be studied in linguistics alone for as has been shown in this study, there are many socio-cultural, socio-economic as well as sociolinguistic factors that impact and shape the process and products of bilingualism in such communities. Consequently, any research on bilingualism must necessarily take these factors into consideration. Again, the findings of this study show support for the idea that a bilingual is not simply a combination of two separate monolinguals. Instead, bilinguals may be said to be bicultural – constituting a sub-culture in the cultures of each of the languages they speak.

7.4.3 Implications for bilingual cognition research

The findings of this study have some implications for research in bilingual cognition. First of all, this study has shown that hypotheses about bilingual cognition (e.g. the relationship between bilingualism and conceptual representation) may be tested outside the laboratory and that applying non-laboratory based (field) methodologies and analytical frameworks such as are found in cognitive semantics may yield valuable research contribution in the field. In other words, while traditional psycholinguistic approaches to studying bilingual cognition may be very useful in

many respects, findings from such research alone may not fully reflect cognitive processes in natural language use. Consequently, incorporating naturally occurring data collected from actual contexts of language use in research on bilingual cognition may shed fresh light in the field.

Secondly, this study has shown that CMT provides an alternative approach to studying the bilingual mental lexicon, particularly differentiating bilingual linguistic representations from bilingual conceptual representations. Indeed, at this time we may propose a cognitive approach to studying bilingual mental lexicon.

The cognitive model of bilingual mental lexicon maintains the basic assumption in cognitive science about the cyclical relationship between language and cognition. It also differentiates between *linguistic representations* (mental representations of linguistically encoded knowledge structures) and *cognitive representations* (non-linguistically encoded knowledge structures) in the bilingual mental lexicon. That is to say that the model subscribes to the assumption that mental representations relating to the linguistic knowledge are distinct from those relating conceptual knowledge and that there is a cyclical relationship between the two systems of representation. In other words, while linguistic information may act as scaffoldings for structures in the conceptual knowledge, conceptual knowledge may be shaped by linguistic knowledge. Thus, the model does not subscribe to the psycholinguistic assumption that linguistic forms are devoid of meaning. Instead, it assumes that linguistic forms have conventionalised meanings, i.e. conventionally associated with and provide access to certain objects, events, concepts, processes etc. Consequently, the organisation of linguistic information may reflect how the cognitive models to which linguistic representations provide access to are structured or organised.

The cognitive model of bilingual mental lexicon emphasises the role of metaphorical language in further exploring the interconnections between linguistic level representations and conceptual level representations in the bilingual mental lexicon. In other words, metaphorical language may be important in uncovering bilingual conceptual representations which are often confused or mixed with linguistic representations. More recent studies from neuro-imaging (e.g. Ahrens et al 2007; Kircher et al 2007; University of California-San Diego 2005) have linked metaphor and metaphorical language processing to neural activity/correlates - pointing to the angular gyrus (which is located in the brain at the junction of the areas specialised for processing touch, hearing and vision) as critical to both conceptual metaphors and cross-modal abstractions more generally.

Conceptual metaphor theorists have argued that metaphors reflect 'deep correspondences in the way our conceptual system is organised' (Evans and Green 2006:303). Given that metaphors in general reflect conceptual structure and linguistic metaphors are licensed by conceptual metaphors, linguistic metaphors may potentially provide access to the structure of the conceptual metaphors that license them. Consequently, bilingual metaphorical language may be very important in studying bilingual conceptual representation.

7.4.4 Implications for CMT I: Claims about metaphor and human cognition

The cognitive linguistics enterprise makes claims about human cognition and how it manifests itself in different aspects of human experience including language. Much of the evidence used in support of such claims has come from native/monolingual populations. However, as De Groot and Kroll (1997:2) have rightly observed,

bilingualism is a common human condition, and that to be able to ‘gain a genuinely universal account of human cognition will require a detailed understanding of how both monolinguals and bilinguals use language as well as the representations and processes involved’. This study has shown that cognitive linguistics claims about human conceptual representation may be applicable to bilingual populations as well. What this means therefore is that there is the need for more cognitive linguists to begin to explore how cognitive linguistics claims about the relationship between language and cognition work in other fields of research such as second language acquisition and bilingualism if the enterprise is to be seen as truly modelling human cognition rather than native/monolingual speaker cognition.

7.4.5 Implications for CMT II: Culture and embodied cognition

The findings from examining the differences and/or similarities in the general conceptualisations of anger and fear as well as the specific realisations of shared conceptualisations among all three groups under study show massive support for the culture embodied prototype position on the conceptualisation of emotions across cultures (Kövecses 2002, 2005, Maalej 1999, 2004). This is because on the one hand it is possible to attribute the similarities in terms of common source domains and sometimes the similar correspondences in the conceptualisations all three groups to universal embodied cognition - that the general metaphorical principles (e.g. THE BODY AS CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS or EMOTION AS A BEING), and metonymic principles (e.g. PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION) are motivated by universal embodied cognition. On the other hand, the differences in the conceptualisations may be interpreted as suggesting two possible things: (1) that the

emotions are conceptualised differently in the two languages (2) that different aspects of the same generic-level conceptualisations of the emotions are construed differently (highlighted/hidden) in each language. In whatever way one looks at it, these differences point to some cultural bases for the conceptualisation of the emotion in the specific culture/language.

Indeed, proponents of the cultural embodied prototype view (Kövecses 2000, 2005; Maalej 1999, 2004) propose two kinds of embodiment: physiological embodiment and culturally specific embodiment, also known as non-physiological embodiment. For instance, THE BODY AS A CONTAINER FOR ANGER metaphor may be said to exemplify physiological embodiment while the specific body parts mentioned in the elaborations of this highly schematic conceptualisation, e.g. *blood, eyes, guts* in English and *chest, heart, stomach* in Akan, exemplify culturally specific embodiment. As Maalej (2004:173) argues, in culturally specific embodiment, a particular emotion establishes a conventional cultural correlation between a body part and a certain conceptualisation of an emotion, e.g. the conceptualisation of anger as redness of skin around the neck and face area in English, so that there is a fusion of culture and physiology.

Interestingly, while anger is conceptualised in terms of redness of skin around the neck and face area in English, Hungarian, Chinese etc., such metonymic conceptualisation of both anger and fear in terms of changes in skin colour or hair posture, do not seem to occur in native/monolingual Akan, Akan-English bilinguals or Wolof (Munro 1991). Going by Maalej's (2004) claims, we may conclude that the specific realisation of the general metonymic conceptualisation THE EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION in terms of changes in skin colour and hair posture is a matter of cultural salience. For instance, it is easier to see the change of skin colour on light-skinned bodies than it is (if possible at all) to see it on dark-skinned bodies.

Typically, native/monolingual Akan speakers, Akan-English bilinguals and native/monolingual Wolof speakers all have dark-skinned bodies whereas the English, Hungarian, Chinese etc. have light-skinned bodies. Since it is easier to see any changes in skin colour on lighter-skinned bodies than on darker-skinned bodies, the physiological effects of an emotion (e.g. anger and fear) based on changes in skin colour are likely to be culturally more salient (and therefore get encoded in their embodied cognition which is reflected in their metaphorical language) in light-skinned bodied cultures, e.g. English, Hungarian, Chinese etc. However, since such physiological effects appear not to be culturally salient in dark-skinned bodied cultures, any metaphorical conceptualisations relating to changes in skin colour are not highlighted and therefore do not get encoded in the embodied cognition as reflected in their metaphorical language. While not equating language to culture or ethnicity it is a fact that very often culture is reflected in language and that when a group of people share common experiences including language some aspects of the shared experiences will be reflected in their language as well (see 5.4 and 6.4).

Other differences in the Akan and English conceptualisations of anger that may point to culturally specific embodiment include the lack of specificity in the ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL metaphor and the specification of the growing thing in the ANGER IS A GROWING THING metaphor in Akan. On the one hand, given that the Akans originally lived in predominantly tropical rain forests and were typically non-mechanised subsistence farmers, the property of weed as a nuisance is more salient in that culture than it will be for the English whose original home is an island with a relatively longer history of mechanised farming. On the other hand, because there are so many different kinds of dangerous animals on the loose in the jungle, identifying any particular one of them is probably not very salient in the Akan culture. Again, given

that the history of the evolution of the English language and culture is one of many wars and invasions, the use of AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE as a source domain for the metaphorical understanding of controlling anger in English is, perhaps, culturally more salient than doing so in terms of A DISEASE.

7.4.6 Implications for multilingual language policy and language planning

This study has also suggested that for any language in education policy to work, especially in highly multiethnic/multilingual communities where the linguistic organisation of the population is usually very diverse and complex, the sociolinguistic landscapes of such communities should be studied carefully in order to avoid linking ethnicity or geographic location to linguistic practices. This is because both the definition and identification of mother tongue in such communities may be elusive.

7.4.7 Practical implications for teaching English as a second language in Ghana

Lexically-based language teaching approaches have underscored how metaphor helps learners improve their general proficiency in SLA (Kweldju 2005). Metaphor is believed to be an important factor in human memory organisation – enhancing the acquisition of vocabulary, improving comprehension, extending thought, clarifying ideas and increasing attention. If indeed, meaning (the ability to communicate ideas) is the centre of second language learning then metaphorical meaning must be emphasised in the learning process because raising students' awareness towards metaphor and thus helping them develop their metaphorical competence may enhance proficiency in the

second language. Indeed, Littlemore and Low (2006) sum up the role of metaphor in second language learning thus:

‘metaphoric competence has in fact an important role to play in *all* areas of communicative competence. It can contribute centrally to grammatical competence, textual competence, illocutionary competence, sociolinguistic competence, and strategic competence. Metaphor is thus highly relevant to second language learning, teaching and testing, from the earliest to the most advanced stages of learning’.

7.5 Observations

In the course of this research, particularly during the data elicitation and transcription processes, an interesting observation was made that has not been discussed in the thesis because it did not fall within the focus of the current research. Nevertheless, it may be of interest in future research.

Firstly, even though the Akan-English bilingual focus group discussions were held in English, there were several instances of code-switching (from English to Akan) among participants especially to convey a reported speech. However, in few occasions, some participants used Akan words to illustrate a point they had made in English perhaps as a lack of access to an English word for the concept they wanted to express or simply as a sign that the Akan word expressed the concept of their point more aptly than an English word.

For instance, one participant described the protagonist of the short film used as a stimulus as being “*too tebwɔ*” ‘too dull’. Other participants laughed at this description. When the facilitator asked the participant for the meaning of *tebwɔ*, he said

“too weak, something like that”. However, when another participant described the man in the film as being ‘dull and scared of his wife’, the first participant quickly jumped in and said “yes, that’s what *tebɔɔ* means”. The word *tebɔɔ* is translated in the Akan dictionary as ‘dull’. Interestingly, code-switching has been described as an indication that a bilingual’s two languages are heavily interactive (Duran 1994).

7.6 Limitations

Perhaps, the findings of this study would have been different if the following factors or conditions were different:

- Focus group participants spent more time talking about anger than fear resulting in a slight imbalance in the data on the two concepts.
- It was not possible to corroborate the conventionality of Akan-English bilingual metaphorical expressions with data from other sources, e.g. popular music. I could not identify any popular music composed and sung by an Akan-English bilingual artiste in Ghana in which anger and/or fear was the theme.

7.7 Recommendations for future research

The findings of this study suggest that when Akan-English bilinguals speak English, conceptual representations from both of their languages appear to be accessible to them. It would be even more interesting to know whether this is equally true when they speak Akan. In other words, it would be interesting to know whether there are traces of English conceptual representations of selected domains in the metaphorical language of Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana when they speak Akan. It would also be interesting

to know whether focusing on different kinds of concepts or indeed, different emotion concepts would produce similar or different results.

During the data elicitation process, I noticed that some participants (in all three groups) showed very strong verbal and non-verbal reactions which they did not bring to the actual discussions. Unfortunately, such reactions were not be captured in my recordings because the agreement was to record the discussions only. It would be interesting to do a study that incorporates such reactions. This study can easily be replicated perhaps with some modifications in the following areas:

- Selecting different conceptual domains.
- Eliciting data for the selected domains separately in order to ensure a balance in the quantum of data collected.
- Considering the possibility of getting data from other sources to corroborate elicited data in selecting particular conceptual domains.

In addition, the cross-cultural dimensions of emotion concepts can be further explored with a specific focus on investigating what the perceived causes of a particular emotion are across cultures. Finally, the aspect of the study that describes Akan-English bilingualism in Ghana can be explored further with a wider focus on the current patterns of bilingualism in Ghana, i.e. (i) patterns of bilingualism in English and other Ghanaian languages and (ii) patterns of bilingualism in two Ghanaian languages.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: (i) THE VIDEO USED AS STIMULUS (ii) NATIVE AKAN FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

These are attached separately as a CD/DVD.

APPENDIX B: SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE/ELICITATION TASKS

Introduction and Informed Consent

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to you for your interest to participate in this research project. My name is Gladys Nyarko Ansah, a PhD student at the Department of Linguistics and English Language, Lancaster University, UK. This research which is under the supervision of Dr. Veronika Koller, is part of the requirement for my study at the university. The research has gone through the Ehtics regulations of the Lancaster University. Before you agree to participate, please read the following information carefully.

This study seeks to investigate Akan-English bilingual conceptual organisation - how certain concepts are represented in the minds (as reflected by their language) of native speakers of Akan who are bilingual in English.

The questionnaire is divided into three sections: section **A** requires background information while sections **B and C**, the actual tasks, require some amount of descriptive answers. Please note that in answering sections **B and C** there are no right or wrong answers – just a frank description of what you think about the questions. Please note that no foreseeable risks or discomforts are involved in participating in this

SECTION B

9. What makes you angry?.....

10. What do you do when you are angry?.....

11. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?.....
.....

12. How would you describe your anger?.....

13. what would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public,why?.....
.....
.....

14. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.
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SECTION C

15. What are you afraid of?.....

16. What do you do when you are afraid?.....

17. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?.....

.....

18. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?.....

.....

19. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?.....

.....

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20. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.....

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**APPENDIX C: A REPRODUCTION OF THE COMPLETED
QUESTIONNAIRES (WRITTEN DATA)**

(i) LEGON SDA STUDENTS' FELLOWSHIP

F1.

1. What makes you angry?

When I am not treated fairly.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I react to create awareness.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I make them aware of the wrong they have done to me so that they will not repeat it again.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Normal but noticeable.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I will react to make him/her aware that I do not deserve the insult.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

I boarded a trotro from Accra to Legon. The mate announced this before I got into the car but instead of dropping me at Legon they took me to IPS junction. I resisted to get down and demanded that they take me to my destination. This I did so that they will repeat it again.

7. What are you afraid of?

Snake.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I become *panic* but attentive.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I always try to *run away* from it.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I usually become *panic* and *frightened*.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I will not spend a night there not because it is a cemetery but because it is a dark place.

This is because I do not believe ghosts exist as they have been perceived.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I was once travelling from Kumasi to Koforidua in a 207 Mercedes benz when one of the tyres got blasted. At that instance I thought as other passengers did that we were going to die but by God's grace it scaled off the road and came to a halt.

F2.

1. What makes you angry?

Provocation.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

Try to avoid the source of the anger

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

Thoughts of revenge come into my mind but I always *try to keep cool my temper*

4. How would you describe your anger?

Generally, my *anger is moderate* but at times *it becomes uncontrollable*.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

This would depend on what called for the anger. I would try to seek revenge.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

My angry encounter was on the 6th of March 2009. I wanted to correct a statement someone made about the attire of the President (Mills). The President was in an overall smock (Northern wear). The person said if it were the former president (Kuffuor) he would wear a suit. But I said even the sitting president also wears suit. For this statement the person misinterpreted and said I was trying to mean the president's attire that day was not pleasing.

7. What are you afraid of?

I am afraid of snakes and heights i.e. (acrophobia).

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I always *panic* and *perspire*, i.e. *sweat a bit*.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

The *heart begins to beat faster* than usual.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Generally, I *feel uneasy* or anxious when I encounter something I am afraid of.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

If the question was to be answered some years back, I would have said I would feel very afraid but for now I wouldn't mind sleeping there because my mother is dead and so would even wish to see her there.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

This experience dates back to about 12 years ago when I was a child. My father encountered a serious confrontation with soldiers who beat him up because he replied the soldiers' warning shot with a shot from his gun. In short, the soldiers kidnapped him because they claimed he unlawfully logged down some trees for his building. I was afraid because I knew the soldiers would beat him to death. In fact, the whole scene was too fearful for me.

F3.

1. What makes you angry?

When something I don't like is done.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

Behave harshly and sometimes if it is from home I can refuse to eat at home.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I always advise them not to repeat those actions and if they do it at times I don't even want to see their face if they are my friends or if family member, I refuse to do whatever they want from me so as to prevent them from repeating such actions.

4. How would you describe your anger?

I am slow to get angry but when it is at its peak I react abnormally.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I may feel very sad but will not react.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

One occasion which I can recall is when last semester, I was preparing a stew with my roommate and he got out and the stew was burning so I wanted to regulate it in order to prevent it from burning and when he came, he told me that he didn't ask me to do it for him so I also regulated it to the extent that the stew burnt and the room nearly caught fire.

7. What are you afraid of?

I am only afraid of sin.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I always feel sad and perplexed.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I always feel sad.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I try all my best to overcome it.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I will not do it willingly but if forced I can do it but I cannot sleep for the whole night.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I have experienced a lot of fearful events but the one I want to talk about is when we were asked to a height mountain as part of our hike in November 2008.

F4.

1. What makes you angry?

When someone belittles/underestimates me.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I speak harshly about it.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I try to make them feel bad, I prove them wrong by justifying myself about the issue. If they keep on provoking me, it might even end up insulting them.

4. How would you describe your anger?

It is very dangerous and irritating, at times unstoppable, I can even link to Peter cutting off Malko's ear in the Bible.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I do not want people to see my anger in public or fighting in public, so I will just keep mute and pray for a cold heart.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

It was about my roommate who told me that the 'Arts students only sleep, their course is very cheap'. He was a science student; I therefore became very angry and told him that every course is important. Yet he did not understand it, and continued to handle the Arts students with contempt.

7. What are you afraid of?

I am afraid of dim light and darkness.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

When I am walking in the night and get afraid, I try to get to the near-by house or person to accompany me to my destination.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

In the darkness, if there is a short tree, it resembles a ghost and I normally shout and scream for help.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I become weak and abnormal as if there is no power in me. I will keep on shouting and praying for help.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I cant sleep or even close my eyes for a second. I will turn to be like a dead person, powerless because of what we say about ghosts.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I went to a farm and got missing and on a way I met an old man with grey hair. I became scared and screamed. He called me that he was a real human but I did not listen. I kept running till I met a hunter and I told him the incidence, he told me I am very lucky, that man is a dwarf.

F5.

1. What makes you angry?

Basically when I am cheated or being treated as a fool.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

Immediately after the incident, I don't react but keep quiet or silent. After going through the incident and it seems right for me to react, I do so, especially, confront the person involved.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

Inwardly, I think about how to track these people down and to outwit them in the issue (cheat). When they are small/younger ones I should punish instantly, I do so as soon as possible especially, flog/beat them. If they are old, I'll keep it to myself and think about how to restore the atmosphere to normal.

4. How would you describe your anger?

When my anger is not something I can cope within myself, it shows on my face. My anger is aggressive inward and outwardly sometimes. Other times, it is slow and powerful but hidden inside.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

Personally, I don't like expressing myself in public. And in situations as **furious** like this, I might end up not making any sense. Therefore, in this particular case, practically, I'll keep quiet but I will make sure it is proven to the people involved that what they did was wrong.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

The A.S.F. Legon football came to my possession one day after keep fit. In my absence, two guys went for the ball and foolishly lost it. When I came I was very furious but since I did meet them asleep, I didn't react to it. The following morning I consulted them they had to provide the ball but as at now they haven't and I always become angry when the fellowship guys ask me about the ball.

7. What are you afraid of?

One thing that I am afraid of is accident. I don't want to even fancy how I will stand if I should be involved in one.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

If it is beyond my control, I just try and shun away from the situation and pray for God to take control especially when fears of accident come to mind when I am in a 207 travelling.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I just can't stand in the sight of one so I always run away from the scene.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Very uneasy and uncomfortable.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

If people reject me or is the wish of people care about me to be there then I will be strong and not be afraid because I have no other option. At the extreme when by my own actions it has led me there then I will die before getting there.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

In reality, and as it stands now, I haven't encountered any and I hope God will not let me encounter one beyond my control and means of coping.

F6.

1. What makes you angry?

When I am verbally assaulted.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I frown and give a black look.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I scorn them or reject them for sometime in order to prevent them from repeating that mistake or teach them a lesson.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Very strong. I begin to stammer and sometimes refuse to talk.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I will discipline the person by advising him or her – to stop him or her from doing it again.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

I was verbally assaulted by my sister and I beat her up. I regretted after the incident.

7. What are you afraid of?

Crossing a river with a boat.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

My heart begins to beat faster than usual and then I panic. Sometimes my mouth dries up.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Helpless and pray to God.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I become speechless and weak.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I will have a sleepless night and **tremble** when I hear a strange sound.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I was crossing a river with my dad when I was 18 years. I climbed to my dad and asked him to hold me firmly. I started to sweat and began to panic.

F7.

1. What makes you angry?

Any form of injustice.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

Walk away from what is making me angry.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I neglect them in the first few days but I realise the fact that God forgives us our sins and as such we should also forgive those who wrong us.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Not very active because it might not be evident to those who are around.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I think I will defend the name of my family but certainly I won't insult back.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

The most annoying encounter I have had on campus was to come back from a very long lecture to realise that my room had been locked and that two of my roommates were in there having sex with their girlfriends. I almost broke down the door. When

they realised what might happen, one opened the door and when I went in I opened all the louvers in the room, switched on the lights and spoilt their game because people could see them from outside.

7. What are you afraid of?

Failure.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

Pray and sing.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I feel that I need the Lord more than ever.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I can't really describe it because it is very unpleasant.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I have never been to a cemetery before but I think it will be fun, I love adventure.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

When all my friends did not get to medical school because they failed their interview, and I was awaiting my results into the school of allied health science. By His grace, I got through and I am now reading physiotherapy. I thank God for that.

F8.

1. What makes you angry?

When people do things I have told them not to do.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I exercise self-control and talk.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I try to calm my own heated heart down first and try to let the person know what he or she has done. I do this because some people behave angrily towards me because of ignorance.

4. How would you describe your anger?

My anger is very calm and at times slow but very powerful when accompanied with explanation.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I wouldn't take it easy especially when it is about my family and will take any tolerant means to erase that mess.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

I became over angry when pupils in my former workplace refused to pass examination I gave them.

7. What are you afraid of?

I become afraid of things that will make other people uncomfortable, and at times animals.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I just take a deep breath and pray to wait for a miracle.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I become unstable and shaky.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

It is unimaginable and horrible.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

It will be very unbearable but having discovered the reality of the state of the dead, I can but uncomfortably.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

My parents found out something bad I did and I almost fainted because I hate bad record and bad reputation.

F9.

1. What makes you angry?

The site of an unpleasant scene.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

Avoid the scene.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I do normally scold them. I do that for the one to see how hurtful the act is to me.

4. How would you describe your anger?

My anger is like a dog sensing danger and is ready to bark.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I will keep quiet and leave the place. I will do that for those around to look at from a different view, i.e. as a foolish person.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

A friend of my used to come for things and use them anyhow. Upon any attempt to advice him, he refused to listen to me. One day, he came for my saucepan and after cooking in it left it outside for dogs to eat in so I got mad and screamed at him furiously.

7. What are you afraid of?

A person who is always quiet.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I do avoid the person entirely and would not like to see him/her ever again.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

My heart begins to beat regularly.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I would describe it as something which hurts but I cannot do anything about it.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I was trained not to fear those places but so it will not even occur to me that I am even at such a place.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I don't have any.

F10.

1. What makes you angry?

Deceit and dishonesty.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I normally keep silent.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I usually try to move away from their presence, since continual contact may aggravate my anger.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Quite serious.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I would keep quiet and view the person with contempt.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

A friend of mine used my plate and spoon for a meal after which he left them uncleaned. This event actually angered me, and frankly, without missing words expressed my piece of mind as regards what he did, to him.

7. What are you afraid of?

Loneliness and murder.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I usually pray silently.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I feel quite cold.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Uneasiness.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

The event will keep recurring in my memory and for sometime, will hunt me.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I was once alone in washroom in the house in which I was (during secondary school times). As I was bathing, I slipped and fell, hitting my right temple on the floor of the bathhouse. All was dark and I actually thought that was the end of my life. I really felt very afraid and rather cold.

F11.

1. What makes you angry?

Lies and pressure or stress.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I don't talk about the issue.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I don't confront them till they realise what they have done and say sorry.

4. How would you describe your anger?

I call it cool reception because I would not tell you anything when you wrong me but my behaviour towards you will change totally.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I would just walk away because if I say something it will give the person more room to insult me.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

When I realised my boyfriend was cheating on me with a friend. I didn't confront him but he came to me telling me what he had done but refused to say sorry for his behaviour.

7. What are you afraid of?

Snakes and darkness.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

When I see a snake I run, and when am in darkness I try to sing out.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I get gussbumps and I try to get away from the source.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

--- (no response)

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

That will be the last thing I'll ever do because the cemetery is no place for an individual to spend the night.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

The lights were out and I went to the washroom and to my surprise there was a black snake on the toilet tank.

F12.

1. What makes you angry?

Unreasonable criticism.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

Stay very quiet.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I always ignore them most of the times. This is because I think its better to approach me when I go wrong than sitting behind to criticize.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Slow.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

Ignore the fellow.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

When I was false accused of going on my personal errand whiles I was sent actually on my return instead of they asking why I delayed rather became angry and refused to respond to my greeting, these sisters of mine actually made me angry and in return for some time refused to converse with them actually I was rude towards them for a couple of weeks.

7. What are you afraid of?

Any harmful person.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

Try to find company.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Shout to alert people for help.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Heart tearing.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

This will be much scaring this is because one would imagine see ghosts around.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I returned from the fellowship evening service, I was the only one left in my room because my roommates had gone to spend the weekend holidays. Whiles I was sleeping, I herd someone scream from her room this actually scared me because mine was not far from theirs, so I thought in a jiffy my turn would come not knowing they were watching a movie. This scared me because about a month ago thieves broke into our room to rob as.

F13.

1. What makes you angry?

When am been provoked.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

Become quiet and leave the place.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

Become very cold towards them and shun their company.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Strong but takes a long time to recover.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

It will depend on the person. If the person is older than me I will not utter a word but have a straight face. But if the person is younger, I might retaliate and act aggressively.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

I became very angry when my kid sister virtually insulted me when I asked her to help me do some cooking.

7. What are you afraid of?

Thunder and lightning.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I pray for that fear to vanish or cry when it is extreme.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I immediately leave the scene before something terrible happens.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I feel timid, panic and have or experience a terrible heart ache.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

At first, I will become terrified. Secondly, as the adage goes seeing is believing'. I will not open my eye or think about anything scary. I will concentrate on good and healthy issues, and have a long sleep.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I walked alone in a dark, scary footpath alone and heard noises which I latter realised was my own footsteps.

F14.

1. What makes you angry?

When someone gossips or insults me.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I keep a straight face.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I frown to them but when it gets to the extreme I shout at them.

4. How would you describe your anger?

It's not that strong because when I talk it over with a friend I forget about it.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I would keep quiet because I would be ashamed and angry that I cannot speak; in that when I speak it would be terrible.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

I was feeling very hot and I took my fan, plugged it in, put it on my bed and slept. I woke up in the middle of the night soaked with sweat because my roommate had taken the fan unto her bed. I was angry because we all use the fan and when it got spoilt nobody bothered to repair it but when I did they were all ready to use it.

7. What are you afraid of?

Flying insects and cats.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I scream and become hyper and become strong all of a sudden because I can run very fast or jump walls.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I feel lost and dumbfounded.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I get mixed feelings of strength and weakness.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I would cry, shiver and pray that no ghost will come near to me and I will be so stiff not to make any noise.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I went to the bank with four thousand cedis and because there were a lot of people in the bank as I went out and crossed the street I kept looking to make sure no one was following me and I was all shivers with my bag tightly in my armpit till I got to my destination.

F15.

1. What makes you angry?

Something I hate.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

Keep quiet or react.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I do not treat them friendly and sometimes I'm very harsh on them.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Inwardly strong but outwardly slow.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I will insult the person back because I will let the person know that I am also capable of insulting.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

That was when my roommate provoked me by saying why I said we should pay some amount of money we have agreed to pay in a rude way. I insulted her angrily.

7. What are you afraid of?

Snakes.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I pray.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I feel uneasy.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Terrible.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I think I will collapse my fear will become so intense that my blood pressure will increase which will make me collapse.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

My fearful encounter was when I was going to the farm and saw a snake passed by. I was so afraid that I didn't want to pass where the snake passed.

F16.

1. What makes you angry?

When I get over disturbed.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I keep quiet or silent for some few seconds.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

Noting.

4. How would you describe your anger?

It isn't any serious thing because it vanishes quickly.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I feel very sad and begin to think about what the person said.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

Cant remember anything.

7. What are you afraid of?

Speeding.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

Praying and just hope to get to my destination very soon.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Very scary.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I begin to think of what if my life ends there.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I can't be myself and moreover contain myself.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

No experience.

F17.

1. What makes you angry?

When I'm being lied to.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I keep quiet.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I do not want to have anything doing with them because I would not want them to lie to me again which will make me angry.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Very powerful so I try to be tolerant.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

Depending on the person I would beat if I am older than him or her because of the anger in me.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

I was once being lied to by a very close friend. He took my money and I asked him but he denied taken the money. Afterwards, I realised he was the one that took the money so I did not want to talk to him for over a month.

7. What are you afraid of?

I am afraid of the sight of blood.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I always feel uncomfortable and disturbed whenever I am afraid.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I try not to be overtaken so I become bold at that instant.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I become bold to resist the situation in order not to panic the more.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I can spend the whole night in a dark cemetery because I see that place as a quiet place that is conducive for meditation.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I once wanted to see things for myself. I am somebody who believes in seeing is believing so I had to go to the cemetery at 1:00 am to see if indeed witches and wizards as well as evil spirits meet at the cemetery.

F18.

1. What makes you angry?

When I feel I've been taken for granted.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

Depending, I am either silent or talk a lot.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I ignore them or talk a lot expressing my feelings; why because there's a tendency for me to get aggressive.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Very cold and active. Active when I decide to react by talking, cold when I ignore.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I would brave up and defend them in any means possible. No one has the right to insult anyone let alone my family, the people I hold close to my heart.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

A friend got angry and snubbed me in public because I reminded her of her responsibility and duty. This same friend reacted badly in public because I told her to bring something that belonged to me.

7. What are you afraid of?

Depth.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I take my time, control my anxiety and try to overcome that fear.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I run if possible. At other times, I feel so weak and vulnerable, sweating all over.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

A feeling of uncertainty as to the outcome of the experience.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I cannot think any reason why I would spend a night at a cemetery. However, I would have no choice than to psych myself and brave up, gain confidence that nothing can happen to me.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

My brother got sick sometime ago and I almost thought he would die. It is the most fearful experience so far.

F19.

1. What makes you angry?

When someone does something I really dislike.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

Keep quiet and a straight face.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I don't mind them. I just keep quiet because if I react, I might tend to cause more harm.

4. How would you describe your anger?

It's not very strong and it lasts for a short time.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

Reacting at that moment wouldn't be the best. I'll wait, when we are no more in public then I would react either fighting back or anything else.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

I teased my brother one time, and he slapped me. I became so furious that I had wanted to react but I just kept quiet and went to my room.

7. What are you afraid of?

Thundering and lightning.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I run to the nearest hide-out, probably under my bed.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I'll get shaken.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

It's terrible and I feel **nervous** afterwards.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I don't think I can stay till the next morning. I would probably join those in the cemetery before daybreak.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I think it was a Saturday night and no one was in the house. All of a sudden, it started raining and thundering and lightning followed. I couldn't help it so I had to hide under my bed until my parents arrived.

(ii) ADULT EDUCATION GROUP 1

A1.

1. What makes you angry?

When one lies to me.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I don't talk to anyone.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I don't talk to them until I feel ok to do so.

4. How would you describe your anger?

I get very emotional when am angry.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I would be very angry because I love my family so I would sue the person in court.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

It was when my father took money from to buy building materials but used it for something else.

7. What are you afraid of?

Losing my lovely mother.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I sing and pray very eagerly and violently.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I shout unconsciously and shiver.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Seriously emotional and frightened.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I would be frightened, shiver and collapse finally because it will be life living with the dead.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I was travelling with my family and we were talking in the car. My brother who was driving lost control of the vehicle and it fell into a ditch. For a moment, I thought I have lost my whole family.

A2.

1. What makes you angry?

When been cheated or been looked down upon by others or intimidation.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

Quiet or reserved

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I will have a confrontation with such a person to defend myself.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Confrontational.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

Confront the person to state my point or fact.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

When I boarded a bus and the bus conductor try cheating me, when I complain, he insulted me, I was very angry and **ferocious**. I therefore confront him in my anger to prove my right.

7. What are you afraid of?

Insecure environment.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

Try to escape.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

My heartbeat will increase as well pulse rate. I will also try to escape.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Normal.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

Completely abnormal and insecure because it is not a safe place (secure).

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I remember travelling, and the bus broke down at the middle of the road at mid night in the bush where robbery use to go on frequently. In a moment I saw some men coming towas our bus not knowing they were hunters going for hunting, I was so afraid that I almost urinated in my dress.

A3.

1. What makes you angry?

When people talk behind my back.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

Cry.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I stop talking to them for sometime and later let them know what they did hurt me.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Very serious.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

Will just thank you and leave the place to prevent any confusion and more insult.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

I'm in a room with my friend s and after cooking for us to eat, whiles they are sleeping after the food is ready, they eat and leave the dishes for me to come and wash and it really gets me angry and annoyed.

7. What are you afraid of?

Being heart broken.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

Cry and pray.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Very scared and afraid.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Worried, depressed and frustrated.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

Honestly, I can't do that and I might die out of fear.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I once picked a taxi to church and when I picked the taxi and sat in I started feeling dizzying and couldn't see anything so I started praying and told the man to stop the car cause at that moment I couldn't breathe, I thought I was going to be used as rituals.

A4.

1. What makes you angry?

Discrimination.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

Pray.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

Keep my distance.

4. How would you describe your anger?

I don't really get angry.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I will let the person go with his/her problems.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had

7. What are you afraid of?

Women.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

Sleep.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Pray.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

A5.

1. What makes you angry?

Insults.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I react back.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I don't spare them.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Very aggressive.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I correct the person instantly.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

My daddy called me a stupid girl because I could not pick up a day old chick from the floor. Instantly, I I told him not to call me a stupid girl again because am afraid of chicken not to talk of mouse and cockroaches.

7. What are you afraid of?

Broken heart.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

Look out for alternatives/strategies that will help me overcome.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Not quite surprise because am half way prepared.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Uncomfortable.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

Afraid.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I woke up one day to see eight female colleagues in secondary school had collapsed and have being taken to the hospital. I was terrified and uncomfortable because i didn't know who could be the next victim.

A6.

1. What makes you angry?

When I am ask to tell the truth when I know I am telling it.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I turn to cleaning in the house if it happens there.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I just leave them where they are and to my own thing.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Controllable.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

Quit and leave away from the scene.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

I was waiting for my wife in a car as we were late for church service one Sunday. For about 15 minutes she was not coming and when she finally turn up she instead of saying sorry remarked ‘are you the officiating paster?’ In fact, I got angry to the extend that I had to return to the house and could not attend church.

7. What are you afraid of?

Something which will attack me physically.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I think about who is attacking me now.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I just relax and plan.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Challenging.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I do not believe in ghosts and I love being in darkness when I am afraid.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I used to live in an apartment with someone. He got sick and died the next day. The house was away from the town and the people in the town asked me not to sleep alone in that house. Infact, I was afraid but finally put off all light in the house and went to sleep alone in the house.

A7.

1. What makes you angry?

Unfaithfulness.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I like to talk and explain myself.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I avoid their company so that I do not discuss anything with them and for them not to disclose it.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Very bad, so I will leave the place to go and console myself.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I will leave you and go in peace because if I talk, it will be an insult.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

I discuss a problem with a friend and she went ahead to disclose it to a third party.

Since then, I try to avoid her.

7. What are you afraid of?

Friends who gossips

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I engage myself in singing and other activities.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I shout and run away.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Is not pleasant.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

Scary.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

None.

A8.

1. What makes you angry?

Disrespectful and arrogant behaviours.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I talk and seek hearing audience if any.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I ignore them sometimes but I will seek an opportunity to make amends. I do that to establish my displeasure.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Controllable but could be a little aggressive.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

Arrest the person or report to a higher authority if I cannot discipline the person myself.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

I changed lane in traffic and the driver whom I drove past became angry and insulted me. I felt he was not right because there was enough space for me to change the lane. I became angry but could not stop to address him not. I snobbed him and drove away.

7. What are you afraid of?

Anything that may make me lose my dignity as a human being.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I manage by putting in place pragmatic strategies to avert that.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I will be shocked and dismayed initially. However, I will look for opportunity to overcome it.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Shock and dismay.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

Not a desirable experience since it may remind me of the dead and the fact that one day I may be laid to rest somewhere. I do not believe that the dead have any power over the living.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

One night I was studying alone in my room and I saw something that looks like fire. I got shocked since I least expected fire at that time of the night. I thought it was an evil spirit but when I gathered courage to observe it well, I realised it was from some refuse that was burning slowly and the wind lighting up the flames.

A9.

1. What makes you angry?

When someone get me more and more irritated by his comment.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I become disciplined or unwilling to show feelings and to express feelings.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I either behave badly or express no opinion so as to avoid unpleasant action or to create a public seen.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Red and infected mental suffering.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

If I react, it will be an eye saw and unless maybe I keep a deaf ear to what he or she says.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

A taxi driver pushed my motto down after exchanges of word. A friend reported the case to me and I got angry. This made me get angry and rush to the scene to stop the driver and it turn to a fight.

7. What are you afraid of?

Unpleasant and dangerous happenings that may lead to death.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

It makes me feel uncomfortable throughout.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I become unhappy and worried about what might happen especially when it is associated with death or might lead to death.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I see myself as timid and fearful person.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I will be seriously frightened because psychologically I know cemetery is where dead people are buried and that there is the possibility of ghost and appearance of faint images as a result of the darkness.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I happen to be an extension agent one evening after I had closed from work. On the way to the house, I run short of fuel at the middle of about 30km feeder road from that

point to the town and it was getting to 8:30 pm. Meanwhile that place happened to be a cemetery, I became frightened and that I was compelled to leave the motto bike there and to run to the house.

A10.

1. What makes you angry?

When I am spoken to harshly before a third person or third persons.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I either keep quiet or make the one who caused the anger know that I am not happy about the incident.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

After all the reactions above, I decide to forgive and I forgive. I don't feel comfortable bearing anybody a grudge.

4. How would you describe your anger?

It is rather calm but I believe certain changes take place in my body that I cannot explain.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I would either pretend not to hear or ask the person to stop it.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

It happened 8-10 years ago when a teacher 'created' marks for a mathematics class. The students reported to me because I was their form mistress. When I went to enquire about the situation from the teacher he rather got angry and that made me very angry. I decided to report him to the headmistress.

7. What are you afraid of?

Depth.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I move slowly from the situation.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I shiver a little and move away from the situation. I pray too.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

It is a feeling I can't describe but I think some hormones are released.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I just can't think of it. I may even 'die' before natural death. The cemetery is not a place for the living to spend a night.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I was quite young - about 8 years when I climbed up on an uncompleted storey-building with some play mates. The staircase was sort of enclosed so I was not afraid. But when I got to the opened verander upstairs I began to shiver. Finally, one of my playmate held my hands, my heart beating seriously, and took me out of the opened verander.

A11.

1. What makes you angry?

Looking down on me.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

React to tell you I am angry.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I try to keep my distance. I do that to prevent embarrassment.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Nasty.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I would react instantly. I would do that because it would make me relieved.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

When I talked to a friend in a very bad way after he tried to look down on me.

7. What are you afraid of?

An angry person with a knife.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I tremble.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I try to get off the scene.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Terrible/frightful.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

Frightful because you continue to imagine ghosts and how they may come chasing you.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

So many years back, my dad used to tell us stories about ghosts and their supposed white apparels, I ran and fell down with bruises when I saw a man in an all-white apparel at about 11pm under a tree.

A12.

1. What makes you angry?

Insult and disgrace.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I take instant action.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I express my displeasure by frowning my face after that I will not talk to that person.

4. How would you describe your anger?

When I get angry, nothing can stop me until I finish what I intend to do.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I will warn that person but if he continues to rain insult on me or my family then I will fight that person.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

When I was in secondary school, a friend was teasing me that I was afraid of girls, I warned him to stop but he refused so I pulled a knife and tried to stab him but people prevented me from stabbing him. In fact I was very angry.

7. What are you afraid of?

Going to the soldiers' barracks.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I run away.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I get scared and run away.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I feel like something has gone out of me.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I can spend even half the night at cemetery let alone the whole night because I am afraid.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

When I was about 19 years old I was chased by a mad cow who nearly killed me after I fell down but for a good Samaritan who came to rescue me by driving the cow away, I would have been killed.

A13.

1. What makes you angry?

Unjustifiably insulted in public.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I become very silent.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I warn them for the first because I don't expect them to make such mistake again.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Showing an uncheerful face.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I will leave the place quickly.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

There was a time when my friend falsely accuse me of taken his book and resulted to quarrel which led to the separation of the friendship forever and ever.

7. What are you afraid of?

Snake and lorry accident.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I seek companion from nearby neighbours.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I am scared or frightened.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I will become very sad and unhappy for sometime.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I will be very unhappy because of fear of something bad will happened to me.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had

It was being involved in serious lorry accident which I was seriously affraid when the incident was occurring to me. This has putten fear in me anytime I board a car and it is overspeeding.

A14.

1. What makes you angry?

When I'm being insulted.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

Sometimes, I over-react.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I try to confront them by telling them or setting the issue back.

4. How would you describe your anger?

It comes when I'm provoked more, but it can be controlled.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I will control my anger but if it continues I will report it to the police as an assault.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

I had a meeting with my executives in a union, I was been question of something I did not do. Immediately, I over-reacted by questioning them back verbally and later, I realised how sorry I was, so I apologized to them.

7. What are you afraid of?

Situation involving the police.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I try to see another person for an advice just to encourage me.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I become frightting and therefore begin to seek for an adviser.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I become frighten and begin to pray over it.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I think I will be afraid since dark places are meant for mysteries, and because it is a cemetery maybe I might fall sick.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

There was an issue of a missing money in my room. This case was reported to the police and therefore is under investigation. But since I'm in the same room, I'm afraid the case will proceed to court.

A15.

1. What makes you angry?

When someone abuse my right.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I don't talk but stir at the one who made me angry.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

After I have calmed down, I will sit the one who made me angry down and solve the problem.

4. How would you describe your anger?

My anger is something which can easily be controlled.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I will surmon the person in court, because we are in democratic era.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

I was once knocked down by a truck. The truck pusher did not even say sorry. I became very angry about that.

7. What are you afraid of?

I am afraid that a lady will snatch my husband from me.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I pray to God for help.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I will be shock or surprise, I will feel unhappy.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Surprise.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

Is not good, because that place is meant for death people.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

When I was pregnant and doctor finds out that I am going to deliver twins and its my first born too, I was wonder how I can deliver without been operated. So I became fearful about that issue.

(iii) LEGON SDA CHURCH

L1.

1. What makes you angry?

When people refuse to do what they must do and can do.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I talk about it.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

Tell them my piece of mind or keep quiet and look for a convenient time to talk about it
– after that if welcomed, back to normal relationship.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Not violent.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I will be angry, if possible I will defend the truth about myself or family. This will be done if necessary.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

I was in class with my friend when she told a lie about me to other members of the class. I denied the lie and left the class. I tried to reconcile with her the next day but it was not successful.

7. What are you afraid of?

Anything or a situation that threatens my very existence.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I try my best to overcome or manage it.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Withdraw, then find a way out to deal with the situation.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Anxious.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I will not even try. I will not encourage anybody to do that. Anything can happen.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I ran away from a small animal I am afraid of and hid myself for a long time before coming out.

L2.

1. What makes you angry?

Anything absurd or demeaning.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

Avoidance, shout (it depends).

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

Avoidance, seek explanation from them or explain my side of the whole incident that caused anger.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Quiet, emotional but sometimes reactionary.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

It will depend on the person: reaction could vary from very aggressive defence to total avoidance or ignorance.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

I was commissioned by my church to investigate financial impropriety at a local church. After recommending sanctions for the conspirators, one of them confronted me in public and I reacted angrily because he thought by virtue of my recommendation I just wanted him expelled from the church. Meanwhile, in a circular environment his offence could have sent him to jail. My reaction was a response to unrepented posture and desire for position in the church rather than taking the best care of church resources.

7. What are you afraid of?

Sin and death.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I pray and confess my sins and seek God's face for his favour.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Nervous/ stressed.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I will be tensed and stressed and very reactive but would calm when the ultimate consequence is certain.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I don't imagine that happening to me for the cemetery is a dreadful place even at noon. But if I have to suffer that, my assurance is 'even if I walk through the valley of darkness, I will fear no evil for His rod and staff shall comfort me'.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

School had re-opened three weeks earlier but I had to finish clearing weeds that have engulfed my farm. My departure fell on a 'forbidden day' and it was a taboo to ply the route back to my hometown. Vehicles do not work either. I had been reminded of what befell those who went contrary to the norms in the past but I was resolved not to spend another night in the bush. After work on that Wednesday at about 2:45pm, I started my journey with a load of corn. I felt some heaviness behind me but nobody followed and I refused to inform the people on my way back that I was going to Agogo. After 25 kilometres of the 35 kilometres distance, it was night and on a sandy track, I felt an approaching image. I was already frightened by the surrounding darkness and the heaviness that accompanied me from Abrade. I screamed Jesus, Jesus, and the creature jumped into the bush. There was no place to run to. I therefore kept my focus and pressed on. I started praying and singing in silence with doubted steps until I got to the outskirts of Agogo at 9pm and breathed a sign of relief. I sustained bruises/blisters under my feet/toes because I had to cruise in a wellington boots with a load of corn. Then I realised the image I encountered was a deer (wansane) which was out to find food in the night. In fact, to date, I always remember that experience.

L3.

1. What makes you angry?

When I am cheated or treated badly.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I either keep quiet or speak my mind.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I tell them I am not happy about what they have done. I also stop talking to them or stay away from them until my anger has gone.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Mild.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I would ask him why he insulted me and I will also very polished language to insult him back and then leave the scene.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

This was when two elderly subordinates at the office tried to be rude towards me because they were older than me and had been in the office for a long time.

7. What are you afraid of?

Height, quiet and dark places, and some animals.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I run away from the frightening scene or object.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I panic, shiver, pray silently in my head and if possible leave the scene or pray the object leaves.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I tremble.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

It is an experience I pray and wish I would never have. The kind of fear I would have alone will make me join the dead before day break.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

On my first night duty as a nurse, I had to stay in the same room with a dead body till the next morning.

L4.

1. What makes you angry?

When I am cheated.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I speak my mind.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I at times ignore them so that I do not offend others.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Gentle and mild.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I would ignore the person but I would not easily let go the offence.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

This happened when my prospective landlord wanted to defraud me. I had to forcibly take him to the Police station.

7. What are you afraid of?

Anything that can end my life.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I try to protect myself.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I feel scared and intimidated.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I sometimes have goose pimples on my whole body.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I do not think I can survive such a night. I would be dead before the morning.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I was about 12 years when my mother sent me with my two sisters at around 9pm to collect something for her. On our way, we saw something like witchcraft and I actually got scared.

(iv) ADULT EDUCATION GROUP 2

R1.

1. What makes you angry?

When I get frustrated.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I become silent.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I ignore them to avoid further or the least provocation.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Quick temper, tantrum.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I will look at the educational background and how the person is enlightened and just walk off.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

I boarded a bus to Accra and issued 5 cedis to the mate and requested for a change. He was so rude and sarcastic that he pissed me off. I reported his conduct to his driver and there, he became alarmed and started raining insults on me. Eventually, he decided that he wouldn't give me the change and that I should go to hell. My heart started throbbing; my adrenaline was active inducing the reaction of sympathetic nervous system. The passengers calmed me down and I ignored him (the mate).

7. What are you afraid of?

Failure and death.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I become stressed up. Sometimes I shed tears and ponder over the necessary actions to ease me of that fears.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

My eyes become sharp, I tremble and flinch. I develop panic and anxiety disorders.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

It is traumatic, I shiver, I develop goose pimples, the heart rate and blood volume all go up. Response becomes inhibited and my diaphragm becomes blocked.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

It is so awful. I wouldn't risk my life to indulge in such a thing. It is highly disastrous, anything dangerous can happen to me. I might be devoured by a wild animal.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I am snake phobia. It all happened one evening after returning home from a hard day's work. I entered the washroom, lo and behold, a big and wild snake poised at me. I hurriedly ran helter skelter for my dear life. I boycotted my room for a week.

R2.

1. What makes you angry?

When people tell lies.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

Destroy things.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

Fight them.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Very serious but I don't easily get irritated.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I will sue in court.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

I was accused of a theft which I was never involved.

7. What are you afraid of?

Witches.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I pray to God.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I run away from the scene.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I panic and look for somewhere else to go.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

That will be terrible and a big task to do.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I was chased by some evil wind in a farm, that almost took my life.

R3.

1. What makes you angry?

When I'm disappointed.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I am always quite.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I try to stay away for sometime, let say, three days and later come back without discussing the problem that emerged.

4. How would you describe your anger?

A very gentle way but *eats me up*.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

Insulting my family doesn't mean you have ended the life of my family and then I will let you go.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

It was my b'day and before the D'day a friend promised to take me out for a lunch and for a small shopping. The D'day came and this guy told me he was a little buzy and that I should hold on for a while. Whilst there a lady friend of his came in and this guy avoided me completely to attend to lady till left before coming back to me and that realy put me off and then I was suppose to live the scene.

7. What are you afraid of?

Failure.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

Try to look depressed, and then talk to my maker.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Pray it should not be more than what I can take care of.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Be quite for sometime and move on.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I wouldn't like to be there in a first place.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

None.

R4.

1. What makes you angry?

When someone tries to

2. What do you do when you are angry?

Don't walk, watch TV.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

Don't talk to them until I am ok.

4. How would you describe your anger?

I keep it to myself for a long time and one day I explode.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

Won't talk or react.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

7. What are you afraid of?

Failure.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I panic and try to take my mind off it and start thinking positively.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I feel nervous and begin to tremble.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I wouldn't want to; not because I'm afraid but it would make me very uncomfortable.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

R5.

1. What makes you angry?

When am blamed for something I didn't do.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

Destroy something or cry.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I limit contact with them because sometimes I feel like hurting them and I don't want to do that.

4. How would you describe your anger?

It is very uncomfortable and I feel guilty afterwards.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

Because it is in public, I will maintain my composure and probably just walk away.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

My mother called me on my cell phone one night; I was spending my holidays with my auntie then. She sounded very angry and she was blaming me for something which had gone wrong back in my house. She kept on yelling at me and will not even for a minute to listen to what I had to say. I got so angry that I threw my phone at the wall and it broke into pieces.

7. What are you afraid of?

Snakes, frogs, lizards and very bushy areas.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I recite a prayer over and over again.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I just stand there and scream so hard.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

It is a very bad feeling sometimes I feel that is the end there is a feeling that something is going to harm me.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

That will probably happen when I am dead. But if I should, I guess I will be dead before the next morning.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I was running an errand for my mum one day and when I was returning home, I met face to face with a cobra. This was right in front of my house. The snake on seeing me started moving towards my direction. I just stood there, frozen with fear and I screamed

so loud that everyone came out of the house to see what was happening but then the snake turned and left.

R6.

1. What makes you angry?

When I am being intimidated.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

Shout and bust out.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

Sometimes insult and if necessary slap.

4. How would you describe your anger?

When I get angry I don't even have respect or consideration for anyone.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

Retaliate, because I can't just watch someone tarnish either me or my family's image and go scot free.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

When someone was having an argument with a person I was walking with and mistakenly said something against me whilst I was not part of their argument.

7. What are you afraid of?

Accident.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I become calm.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Shout.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Fear grips my soul.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I will definitely become scared and shakened because I really fear to be in a cemetery.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I have never had such an encounter.

R7.

1. What makes you angry?

When somebody try to cheat me.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I go to sleep.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I see them as enemies because they only want to put me into trouble.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Slow tempered.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I will get out of the scene but later go to the person to beat him if my strength will favour me.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

I once travelled by tro-tro from Medina to Round About (Tetteh Quarshie). I gave the mate 30 peswas and I was left with 5 peswas to add because I did not have smaller notes with me. He pestered me for the additional 5 peswas and I gave him 50 cedis. I forgot to take my change and he took the money away. Meanwhile, I had no money on me so I had to walk home from the stop to my destination.

7. What are you afraid of?

Accident.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I try to gather courage and if it fails I run away from the scene.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I become motionless in the beginning.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I will describe it as a shock.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I feel around or over my body goose pimples because it been very instinct or part of my body.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I boarded a car around 8pm from Mankesim to Fante Nyankomase. About 30 kinutes drive, our car slowed down and when we asked, we found out that an accident had occurred. An articulator truck had driven into a two bedroom and killed five persons.

We waited the night and when they were removed from the building, no one could boldly recognise them, their flesh had torn apart.

R8.

1. What makes you angry?

When I am disgraced in public.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I keep quiet and leave the scene.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I avoid them for sometime. To make me get over the angriness.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Harmless, because I get over and forget about it. I believe that no one is perfect.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I would just ask why and whatever made you did that and leave.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

I remember in secondary school, my maths master invited me in front of the class and insulted me for performing poorly in the last maths test. Infact, I felt so embarrassed and disturbed. I therefore left the class to organise myself in order to avoid hating him forever.

7. What are you afraid of?

Not appreciating what I do.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I seek company for alleviation.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I bounce back to reorganise to face it back if I can.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

My heart beat faster and sometimes shake.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

In a typical village cemetery, I will get frozen, but in a city cemetery, I will feel a bit released.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I once travelled alone from my village to another in the night. I was then coming back home from school. on my way, I saw something like a glow witch when nearing a river in the middle of the road. Indeed, I got scared and did not know what to do. I started singing loudly. After that I saw the glowing fire moving towards the southern part of the river. I then crossed the river quietly.

(v) **AKUAFO JCR**

JCR1.

1. What makes you angry?

Betrayal and pretense.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

Withdrawal (moody and depressed).

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I try as much as possible to withdraw or avoid the person. This is to avoid any physical confrontation which may lead to extreme reactions.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Peaceful and non-violent.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I would calm down and walk away – I might make some decisions and later regret my actions.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

This experience occurred some few months ago when I heard from reliable sources that some people were spreading false information about me. It was painful because such dangerous lies were probably suppose to come from outsiders.

7. What are you afraid of?

The unknown.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I think deeply and explore the possible solutions to combat the fear.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I become emotionally stressed and depressed.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I tend to want to be alone. I also tend to be very evasive with questions or give straight forward answers.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

Terrible. That is because the cemetery has a deafening silence especially in the night.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

This had to do with an examination paper I wrote. It was so difficult that afterwards I felt I was going to fail. However, the results came and was much better than expected.

JCR2.

1. What makes you angry?

Playing of dog games.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I warn the person.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I stop talking to them for sometime because it will let the person know I wasn't interested in what he or she did.

4. How would you describe your anger?

My anger is one which occurs quickly.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I will just walk away from the scene remaining at the spot could cause me to react.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

I saw my girlfriend still hanging around someone she claimed had proposed to her and she had refused. I became very angry and felt like not talking to her again.

7. What are you afraid of?

When a lady I am interested in hangs around with guys.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I tell the person about my feelings.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I become panicked for the first time.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

It is a feeling that last for quiet a long period before I overcome.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I will become very afraid and uncomfortable because of the myth surrounding the atmosphere of the cemetery – that ghosts are harmful and scary.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I was on a passenger car which I was aware had a fault. The metal connecting the two front tyres and the steer was broken and the driver tied it with an ordinary rubber and above all the way from the spot to the nearest fitting shop. I was almost between the point of death and life.

JCR3.

1. What makes you angry?

Humiliating insult.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

Quiet and cold.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

As my own mechanism, I do my best to avoid them for a while then afterwards let go.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Outrageous but not extreme.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I will just console myself or the family person (s) and forget about it.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

I recall a time when somebody accused me of stealing which was false. Among the lot of people around this person insisted it was me just because I initially got myself into contact with the missen item.

7. What are you afraid of?

The consequence of my action.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I just think of a relief option.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I just spend sometime to think and find a way of dealing with it/familiarizing with it.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I don't usually panic but I become steady.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

It will be frightening because I personally believe in the existence of 'other spirits' and perhaps a cemetery as a resting place for the dead is not too far. I might encounter a ghost.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I remember sometime when I heard a pastor preach about the second coming of God. I felt a kind of pang (pang) because I have been sinning a lot and I have not been to church for a very long time. Actually, I do not belong to any denomination so how he described the event as written in the Bible made me fear a lot.

JCR4.

1. What makes you angry?

When I infringe upon my right.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I retaliate by the right channel (court) .

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

Just stay away from them and control my anger.

4. How would you describe your anger?

When I have been embarrassed in public.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I take it to the appropriate quarters as the law demands.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

I was embarrassed by some guys claiming that I had taken their phone which the phone was in their bag.

7. What are you afraid of?

When pointed gun on me.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

Run away if I get the chance or if not I can even collapsed.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I will be frightening and retaliate with anything I get.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Very dangerous to me.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I will not spend even 30 seconds in a cemetery during a night time because that place claims to be of spirits living there.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

There was a shooting incidence between armed robbers and the police. I was afraid of been affected with a bullet because the place I was standing was not safe for me, but I was rescue by the police.

JCR5.

1. What makes you angry?

When I am underrated.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

Let it go and walk away.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I try to tell them about their behaviour against me.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Wish all men be rated equally and highly.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

Confront them.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

At L100 we were asked to express our views on a topic. After I have submitted my, a girl told me not to get up and make further comments because the SSS I attended is too low a school to enable express my views.

7. What are you afraid of?

Sex before marriage.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

Pray to God over it.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I try to avoid that thing by running away.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

Fear of that thing.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I wouldn't dare because I will be very much afraid.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

On my first University examination day, with about 30 minutes to start the paper, my I.D. card was nowhere to be found. I search through my bags and everywhere it could be but to no avail. I therefore run to the Registry for a provisional I.D. card which helped me to write until after the paper a friend handed it over to me.

JCR6.

1. What makes you angry?

Embarrasment.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

Stay calm and walk away.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

Sometimes try to revenge. This is b'cos when I try to act that person stops.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Quick tempered.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

Quickly try to revenge.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

When a trusted girlfriend of mine one day insulted and embarrassed me in the presence of my family. On this day that I planned introducing her to my family.

7. What are you afraid of?

Marriage.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I try to share what frightens me with other experienced people.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I try to stay or flee from it,

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I feel so scared.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I think it is normal spending the night there. Because , I think the death has no strength to harm people.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

I witnessed a marriage quarrel between my Southern neighbour and how the woman treated her husband, it was very disgusting.

JCR7.

1. What makes you angry?

Teasing.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I just walk away when am been teased.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I just warn them that I don't like teasing, if they refuse then I just walk away from them when am been teased.

4. How would you describe your anger?

If I get angry I can do anything bad so my anger is bad.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

Like I said, if my family is been insulted by an unjustifiable person I just walk away or I will do something bad to that person, eg I will just hit him with a stick.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

The angry encounter I have experience was when my best friend insulted my mother that he is a stupid woman where I got angry and another one was when I was been teased by someone that I am foolish boy and doesn't do anything sensible.

7. What are you afraid of?

Anything that can take my life.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I just behave gently or run away when I am afraid.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I will be shocked or shiver when I see something am afraid of and just react gently or run away.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I will describe the feeling I experience anytime I see something am afraid of as something which is shocky and can cause my death.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I think spending a whole night in a dark cemetery is something I cannot do because even leaving me alone in a dark place is something I cannot do and can die in the situation.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

The fearful thing I have encountered is when one day I was travelling to Kumasi and on our way, armed robbers attacked us, putting guns on our head.

JCR8.

1. What makes you angry?

When am teased.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I sound hot warning.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I try always to avoid them so as to prevent me from doing something bad.

4. How would you describe your anger?

It's very hot and anytime it comes it spells danger.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I will just walk away. Because from the environment I have lived in and my peers, such insults do not bother me.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

An angry experience I have had was when I was blamed for something I never did.

7. What are you afraid of?

A gun.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I often pray to God because I believe only he can save me.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I feel so scared that I begin to think of hoe death would look or feel like.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I feel so empty and lifeless.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

I would not think of it because I might collapse and fall into coma.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

When my grandmother died and happen to sleep in my room alone. I became too afraid when I began to hear stories from other members of the family they have seen her ghost and other scary stories.

JCR9.

1. What makes you angry?

When embarrassed in public.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

Very silent.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I either refuse to talk to you or rebuke you strongly.

4. How would you describe your anger?

Very terrible and highly perturbed.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I will strongly call the person to order, refusal will prompt me to call on others to seriously deal with him lawfully.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

I engaged in a debate/argument with a group of boys as to who was richer between Addo Kufuor and Michael Essien. One gentleman was so sure that Addo Kufuor was richer than Micheal Essien. I voted Michael Essien as the richer. From where a certain gentleman intruded and referred to me as the biggest liar he has ever come acrossed in his life. I was very furious.

7. What are you afraid of?

I am afraid of failure.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I make sure I put measures in place to address the incident.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I become worried, hoping that the fear does not really overcome me.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I feel like a huge load is on me as I look for measures to overcome the fear.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

Since cemetery is a haven for the dead and not for the living, I will be afraid because I believe my presence at that period may not be needed. I may be attacked spiritually.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had.

Recently, I was confronted with an examination question that does not lie within my intellectual capacity to provide answers to. Because of my fear of failure, I became very depressed and virtually sick as there was absolutely no solution in sight.

JCR10.

1. What makes you angry?

Teasing.

2. What do you do when you are angry?

I just leave the scene.

3. How do you treat people who make you angry, why?

I do not associate myself with them just to prevent further embarrassment.

4. How would you describe your anger?

High tempered.

5. What would you do if someone unjustifiably insulted you/your family in public, why?

I would just keep quiet go just to prevent further insults and anger.

6. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount an angry encounter/experience you have had.

The first vacation I had in my university education, I was insulted by a girl during a Christmas time which was 26th of December, 2007.

7. What are you afraid of?

Am afraid of my creator.

8. What do you do when you are afraid?

I pray to God to grant me the strength to be able to withstand my fear.

9. How do you feel/react when you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I pray to God for his protection.

10. How would you describe the feeling you experience anytime you see/encounter something that you are afraid of?

I develop goose pimples over my body.

11. What do you think about spending a whole night in a dark cemetery, and why?

It would be very terrifying because of the quiet nature of the place.

12. In a brief paragraph, kindly describe/recount a fearful encounter/experience you have had

I was left alone one day in our house till 10pm. When I was alone, I was scared about the dark and human-like images created by the dark in the evening.

APPENDIX D: TRANSCRIPT OF BILINGUAL FOCUS GROUP DATA

NB: Sections in the recording that were inaudible are indicated as dots (...) in the transcription.

(i) ADULT EDUCATION 1 (MIXED GROUP)

Facilitator: First of all I would like to ask our impressions about the short documentary

Respondent 1: We saw how the woman is always against the man in everything. There is no patience to listen to the man. The man is a very busy as I saw it from the

video but this woman has no time for the husband. When the visitors came to the house the woman should have at least been a little patient with the man when he requested for the salt until the visitors leave but she is used to anger at home she forgot that there were external visitors in the house still vexed the anger on the man and the man who could not take it in the presence of friends from abroad shot himself.

Respondent 2: I think the woman is not nice enough to the husband .. and not respectful enough to the husband. And the husband I can see is very soft because at a point I saw tears in his eyes. He couldn't bear it even when the visitors hadn't come – the first time before he went to work. And I want to believe that he knows the wife to be what she is. And if I were him and I knew my wife and when I mentioned that she should cook and she wasn't ready to cook I wouldn't have allowed her to continue cooking. When she was coming for the keys I would have told her it's ok will take them to the restaurant and I think it would have been better.

Respondent 3: By the culture of our society the man wanted to bring the visitors into his house so that he entertains them in his house. There were a lot of restaurants around but he decided to bring them to the house to see how the family is that's why he decided to bring them to the house.

Respondent 4: I think that what the lady did was too much but I think the man overreacted. He found it very difficult to contain the problem. Even though it was a shame on him for the wife to have reacted in that manner but he should have found time to contain the situation.

Facilitator: Ok, what are you afraid of, what causes a fear in you; what causes to shiver if you have any phobias at all?

Respondent 4: I am afraid of rivers and big seas,.. sea and rivers. So anytime there is flood especially in my villages I don't go near them because I fear to cross. And anytime I see a river especially when it is in floods, I shiver, I become aghasted.

Respondent 5: Failure.

Respondent 2: Depth, when I am up and I look down.

Facilitator: What makes you angry, what gets on your nerves, what cant you stand?

Respondent 3: Anger comes from so many dimensions ... but I sometimes become angry when somebody falls/gets on my *nerves*.... when you unduly challenging me, when you are depriving me of my due, that's when I get angry.

Respondent 6: When I am provoked. When someone tries to cheat on me or maybe you try to humiliate me especially in public.

Respondent 2: When you sort of shout at me or ..ermm or talk to me in an unfriendly way in the presence of a third person.

Facilitator: What do you do when you are angry?

Respondent 4: Most people become angry but most of us can *manage* the anger when then nobody is around to see it... there is no need to *send it outside*. But anger *explodes* if the act is done in public so I have two attitudes to anger, either I leave the scene or I keep quiet for the rest of the period until I *overcome* it.

Respondent 7: Sometimes if the anger is not too much I react sometimes violently maybe vocally. But when it is too much I just keep quiet and leave the scene.

Respondent 2: I normally keep quiet but a few times I will react gently.

Facilitator: How do you treat people who make you angry?

Respondent 8: I usually react with my facial expression. It is most often, about 90% non-verbal. I use my countenance to show that I disapprove of what the person did to me?

Respondent 5: Yeah, it usually happens at the work place or home when I often my wife especially. I take time, when I see that I have sort of really offended her I come back to tell her I am sorry. It is something I have been doing. If it is at the work place I unduly step on the toes of any my workers I call the person and tell him/her I am sorry for what I did, just make sure it is not repeated and then we reconcile.

Facilitator: Can you recount your worst angry experience?

Respondent 8: I remember one occasion it was in the training college and my trunk was positioned in such a way that almost everything that was picked in the room was put on the trunk. And we had a room mirror and so almost everyday I would pick it more than ten times. So I warned my room members to stop doing that thing but they would never listen. I remember one day even before breakfast it had happened about five times. So when I came from lunch I told them I have told you several times that I don't like this behaviour. Even before I could land, a roommate had gone to pick the mirror and put it on my trunk. So there and then I became so angry I took the mirror, just squashed it on the ground and it got broken. But later I regretted.

Respondent 2: About nine/ten years ago I was a form mistress of a class. The children came to report to me early one term that the previous term they wrote only one exercise. Apparently the teacher didn't mark it. So the current term when the teacher brought the exercise books back to them they were not marked. But the reports had come with marks on it in which everybody failed which means the teacher created marks and they came to report to me. And as the form mistress I had to take that up so I went to the teacher and said oh, what happened? This is what my girls are telling me. Then the teacher rather became angry. He said as for him that is what he does – as soon as you enter his class he gave you marks so that in case he is not able to give you work and mark then... so I said this is not correct so I was going to report him to the

headmistress because this is bad. I mean how could you create marks and he was a trained teacher, he went to *Capevas*... but I was carrying some books and I said I was going to put them in the staff room before I do that but before I got to the staff room he had already gone to report himself and his friends came to beg me.. so I left it...

Facilitator: Do you see yourself doing what the man did when he was provoked to his elastic limit, by the way, what do you think happened to the man?

Respondent 4: When the man requested for salt and the wife reacted the way she did, the man's anger rose to the highest level. He could no more control himself because it was done in the presence of visitors, foreign visitors and his chief executive from his department so there was nothing he could do. He could not brag again. He thought that if anything of such nature happens in the work place he cannot control it because officers have seen that that is how his wife behaves at home. So out of over provocation he went to kill himself to finish it all. It once happened in my life when my two boys, my sons were fighting over a remote control; one wanted this channel the other wanted another channel. In the course of doing that I was over provoked. I got hold of the remote control, hit it on the ground and destroyed it. It took me a long time, almost six months before I could get a replacement. So I regretted that henceforth I will never overreact. That is what the same thing. He rather decided to take a gun because he used that culture which I think is not the best.

Facilitator: Do you see yourself doing what the man did?

Respondent 6: In fact, that was a serious embarrassment. But I don't think I would have gone to that extent. Angry to the point or anger to the point of death to me is too far. I wouldn't have gone that far.

Respondent 2: I wouldn't take my life for any reason.

Respondent 3: Personally, I wouldn't like to take my life but others can't withstand. Looking at our levels of how we control our anger, levels of our understanding of social issues. This man's own came because of the presence of his higher officers. Others do it because they think they can no more hold it. But me personally won't do it.

Facilitator: why do you think some people cannot stand failure and to extent of going to kill themselves

Respondent 6: I think sometimes it is pride. When you look at your status and what you expect others to see you to be and maybe already you have embraced yourself to the extent that you expect others to see you at a very high level so when it happens that you fail you see it as a serious embarrassment and if you don't take care it will take you to where you wouldn't like to be.

Respondent4: People do it because they may lack the requisite education to control situations like this. They don't have the alternatives that should be taken... so they have only one road and when that road seems to block they end it all.

Facilitator: So what do you suggest we as a community can do to solve such problems?

Respondent 6: When we see someone angry, maybe we have to come in, talk to the person, to calm the person down. In fact we need to have counselling services to manage anger.

Facilitator: How can we best manage anger?

Respondent 2: I think when you are angered it's best not to react. It's best not to speak and then determine to forgive.

Facilitator: Can fear make us do what the man did?

Respondent 2: Yes, in fact if you had spoken to me that time that is what I was going to say – it is fear, it is fear. I know a man who attempted suicide. The wife was a

tigress. Out of fear he attempted suicide. And I read of a gentleman too who committed suicide because he had contracted HIV, not in Ghana, one of the African countries. He had contracted HIV and by the time he got to know he was sure he had transferred it to the wife and the wife was someone too who was a tigress so he didn't know what the wife.. so he feigned an accident but left a suicide note. He crashed his car into a tree but left a suicide note.

Respondent 7: Then for fear of being exposed, for fear of failure, most people take entrenched position to end it all. So fear also compels people to end it as this man did. This man's fear was that he had failed in the presence of superiors

Respondent 8: Yes, fear can take someone to take his life. Fear of failure, fear of embarrassment. When it happens that way you even see death as more welcoming than what is ahead of you. So one can end his or her life.

Facilitator: What lessons have you learned from this short sketch.

Respondent 8: Well, as human beings, we need not to provoke our colleagues. Things that we do that provoke our colleagues, for example, it has happened first time the man did not react so the woman should not have repeated it. We need to know the people we are living with. And for those of us who become angry also need to know ourselves and how to manage situations like this.

Respondent 4: What I learned was that the man could not manage the anger because the source of the anger was with him at the time he ended it. So if we are able to move or remove the source of our anger or fear we'll be able to overcome it.

Respondent 2: I think when there are things that make us sad; there are things that make us embarrassed ... ermm which are caused by family members we should be able to discuss with them immediately so that it stops somewhere. Because if this is the character of the woman as we saw in the first scene and if this man had had the courage

to talk to the wife and made her understand that he doesn't like that kind of thing she might have stopped. Maybe she was doing it without knowing how it was affecting the husband because she was shocked when she also heard the gunshot. So if the man too had been able to talk to her for her to understand that he didn't like that kind of thing maybe it would have solved the problem. It would have nibbed the problem in the bud.

Facilitator: Thank you all very much.

(ii) **LEGON SDA CHURCH (MIXED) GROUP**

Facilitator: what do you think about what we've just seen/watched- the scene, the whole thing the way his wife treats him and his own reaction to it?

Respondent 1: The man did not have confident: he didn't have confidence in himself. That is what I see.

Respondent 2: Initially I thought maybe she was an errand woman or something like that, the way the woman was coming and... but later when I saw that she was the wife I knew there was something wrong somewhere.

Facilitator: So if your wife behaved like this woman, how would you react – what would be your reaction?

Respondent 3: I am thinking that they have been married for long and you could see that they don't have any child and you could also see that although the man is very brilliant, successful and an inventor in the world, his wife, you could see that is jealous. You could see that from when the chairman started talking about him, the way the woman looked at him and went away with a bottle of something and the man just asks for salt and you could see the answer. So probably, they are from the same class but then the wife is very jealous of her own husband – so the husband too *not being able to*

control himself, thinks that it is enough ... at the peak also... the people who employed him are there and you disgracing him like that – **he cannot bear it anymore**.

Respondent 1: if my wife does this to me – in the first place, if I know my wife is like this, I won't bring my visitors into my house in the first place. I will go and entertain them somewhere. But if I make the mistake of bringing my visitors to the house and this thing happens, I won't kill myself. I will take the salt myself and afterwards, we'll see what we can do (everybody laughs).

Respondent 4: I just want to add to what he has just said. I think when he received the promotion and the fact that he would be travelling outside I think he immediately forgot about himself – that the wife is there and the wife could react in that way. I think that is what made him ask the wife to take the salt for him but I think that is part of human nature – at the peak of his success he forgot himself and then **he couldn't bear the embarrassment**. I think I wouldn't have ended it like that.

Respondent 3: I want to take us back. You could see that from the time that he called the wife he started planning that he would kill himself because he went for his gun so you could see that it is something that he had planned - that if the wife disgraces him in front of the people he was going to kill himself but he kept it to himself and lo and behold it happened. So it is something that... I am sure the problem has been there for long ... the woman has been... the wife has been dominating the marriage.

Respondent 5: I see the man as a coward because for you to even plan to kill yourself just because of the way your wife is treating you...I never saw anything like they talking about it. When something like that happens I think the best way is to try and see how best you can solve the problem and not thinking about how to end your life.

Respondent 6: Apparently he was tired of this happening and I think his problem solving skills are that he was trying to contain it so that there will be peace but the

timing.... and then you could see the wife was really jealous of him .. she rather doesn't see the potential in him she doesn't see the worth of the man so when they say he has done something she was like ..who? so she doesn't see the value of the man and that is why she is treating him this way.

Facilitator: so if your wife/husband treated you this way would you be angry?

Respondent 1: As for angry you would be but as to whether you will kill yourself is also another thing.

Facilitator: So you will be angry?

Several respondents together: yes, you will be angry.

Respondent 6: At the time that the request was made – when I made the proposal and the reaction was ‘ is that why you woke me up?’ .. that ends it. I will arrange for an alternative place for my guests.

Facilitator: So you'll arrange for an alternative.. because you are angry?

Respondent 6: Yes.

Facilitator: Ok. So now can we talk briefly about what we do when we are angry – for example, this thing makes you angry and your reaction is that for this particular scene you will make an alternative arrangement for your guests. Is that how you react generally to angry situations?

Respondent 6: In that particular scene ... in a situation like this.. no. I think before I call you and tell you that please do this arrangement for me I must have some confidence in you and I know you will not disappoint me... and if nothing had happened and you react this way then I would be surprised but if I know there is a possibility for this behaviour I wouldn't even call you in the first place for you to make the arrangements for me because I know potentially this thing can arise. But where

nothing has happened I would be very surprised. I would make alternative arrangement because I don't know what is under your sleeves.

Respondent 1: If I asked this simple request and you react this way .. even if I call you and you react this way ..'is that why you woke me up?' I'll be angry in the first place. I'll also speak my mind .. ah, that one I will tell you my piece of mind (all laugh).

Facilitator: So generally if someone makes you angry unnecessarily or unjustifiably you....?

Respondent 1: I'll speak my mind, I'll tell you my piece of mind, possibly and maybe speak in a way that will make you more hurt than I am.

Facilitator: Ok, but do you... can you tell us roughly why you would do that – is that to punish or get rid of your anger?

Respondent 1: To get rid of my anger because after I have told you my piece of mind .. if I am unable to tell you my piece of mind the anger will be building up within me but if I tell you my piece of mind, especially if I've been able to tell you more than you told me then the anger will leave me but if I don't tell you anything the anger can stay in me for more than 24 hours and go beyond so ..

Facilitator: So you think it's healthier to ..

Respondent 1: speak out my mind.

Respondent 3: For me, I'll .. what I will say is that it is enough, stop. I won't let you do it .. so that I made the request but I say I don't want it anymore.

Facilitator: Still out of anger?

Respondent 3: That is in anger .. and disappointment. And then later after I have found an alternative and finished with them I'll come back to the house (an insert: I will deal with you) I will tell you why I wanted you to do this and if based on this .. because I am

going to go out .. I will tell you that you will be in Ghana and that will be an alternative for me .. probably to end this kind of problem and the marriage.

Respondent 7: mine will depend on the situation. Where I have an alternative I'll make use of it but where I don't have an alternative, in relating to this particular scenario, I think the guests wanted to meet the man in the house so he was .. let me say restricted .. he was hoping that things would work out.

Respondent 2: I think .. if the they wanted to meet the family and you know your wife .. you could have still .. even given an excuse (insert: that your wife is not home) that you don't have your whole of your family so you want to meet them elsewhere so that this issue will not come up. But the man himself is a coward as I have already said – the way he even made the request tells you that (insert: he is afraid) he is not in control. He was asking his wife.. he was asking the wife to supervise (insert: that is where my problem is) he was not even delegating the responsibility to the wife but rather to the house help which means he wasn't expecting the wife to play a major role in this particular dinner so I think it depends on the man and the way as a coward he could have managed things. But if you are like a brave man who is in control some of these things will not happen for long under your roof.

Facilitator: So personally if you had a wife/husband like that who made you angry that morning how would you react?

Respondent 1: I would arrange for somebody else to do the cooking.

Facilitator: So you would ignore your wife?

Several respondents talk at the same time

Respondent 1: I won't be making anymore demands in the future. I would speak my mind and I would be more careful next time.

Facilitator: When the man picked the gun were you afraid for the man or his wife?

Several respondents: I was afraid for the wife.

Respondents 1: I thought he was going to kill his wife and possibly kill himself .. so I was afraid for the wife. I was even thinking that he was going to kill the wife in the morning – that was how I saw it. But maybe as a coward he would kill the woman and kill himself. When the key was collected and he sadly went and picked his things from the car.. and the way he looked at the car I thought he would go back into the house and pick the gun and possibly...

Facilitator: So if you had an encounter with somebody that made the person angry and you saw that the person had gone to pick a gun or a stick what would you do generally?

Several respondents: I will run away.

Respondent 1: I will call the police.. for my good and the person's own good. But the first thing is to run away.

Respondent 6: I would react depending on what had happened. If I was on the offensive to the extent that my opponent is angry then it is likely that I will defend myself. But if on the other hand he was wrong in the situation then I would be disappointed in him because I don't expect him to ... just because he has a gun and ... because if I am an aggressor I may be able to do something.

Facilitator: But what would you do?

Respondent 6: I'll change my posture at that time – try and get out.

Respondent 4: I'll stop him from acting. But it depends on the argument.. whether I have offended the person or not. I would rather call for help or change the atmosphere if possible - to bring the person down.

Facilitator: But if you had a gun as well or a bigger stick would you pick it?

Respondent 4: I think I would rather run away.

Respondent 6: Depending on who it is I may defend myself. But if the person is not your match you run away

Facilitator: Thank you all for your participation. .. if you change your mind about this you can come back – we will go through the tape for you to identify your voice so we can erase it...

(iii) ADULT EDUCATION 2 (ALL FEMALE GROUP)

Facilitator: From what we have watched how do you see the man?

Respondent 1: He is too quiet. I think he was trying to tolerate the wife but in that sense he became too weak in allowing the wife to dominate him.

Facilitator: How about the woman, how do you see her?

Respondent 2: She is a nagging wife.

Respondent 3: She is too proud. She won't even take any .. like .. request a personal thing that she is supposed to do. Maybe it's her duty to do it but she is expecting her husband to beg her or maybe give her more respect for that.

Respondent 4: She is not caring.

Respondent 5: She is disrespectful.

Respondent 6: She is not submissive.

Facilitator: If you were the mother/sister to the man what advice would you give him?

Respondent 7: He should divorce the wife.

Respondent 1: that he should be more firm .. doing things that would make her know that he is the head of the house and that he should be respected and that the woman should submit to him. So the wife will probably sleep over it and reason that what the man is saying is true or what the others are saying is true.

Respondent 8: Well, we don't know the cause of the woman's behaviour. It didn't start from .. maybe they are fighting or they have a problem. Maybe the man is not giving her attention. Maybe she needs attention and I believe the husband is concentrating on his work but not the family. So maybe that resulted in the woman's anger.

Facilitator: From what we've watched I want you to picture a little, ok? From where the man calls the wife and wants to talk to her – how do you see it, do you see the man finding it easy to talk to her or..?

Respondent 9: He was scared because he knew how the woman would react.

Respondent 3: Let me ask a question, didn't he know how she would behave?

Several respondents laugh and talk simultaneously.

Facilitator: Well, for now we just want to look at the situation as it is. Why do you think the man shot himself?

Respondent 10: He was fed up.

Facilitator: fed up?

Several respondents: hmm...

Respondent 11: He was embarrassed in the presence of his colleagues.

Respondent 12: Because he had a gun so he shot himself.

Respondent 13: He planned it already because in the first.. erm .. this thing ... the first time he was talking to .. what the wife was doing..he went to pick the gun but he did not shoot himself so the second time he was fed up.

Respondent 6: Because he was disgraced in front of his colleagues.

Facilitator: Why do you think he didn't he do it in the first instance?

Respondent 6: The first instance no one was there. It was just between him and his wife.

Facilitator: Now let's relate what we've watched and let's relate some of the issues we have discussed to our own lives. What provokes you?

Respondent 14: When somebody uses an offensive language

Facilitator: An offensive language, can you come down to our level?

Respondent 14: Oh, (laughs).. let's say.. probably you are in a class and you ask a question and somebody thinks the question you've asked is silly but to you it is quite important and the person passes a comment you will be embarrassed.

Respondent 12: When someone shouts at you on top of their voice

Facilitator: Do you know what? I want you to say for me if someone does this or that I will be provoked or get angry... so what are some of the things that make you angry?

Respondent10: Someone who deliberately picks on me sees everything opposite in what I say..

Respondent 12: If somebody tries to look down upon me – upon my capacity, what I am capable of doing and says oh, you can't do it .. I get angry.

Respondent 15: When someone shouts at me (insert on me)...on me .. it provokes me.

Facilitator: Has somebody made you angry to a point ... like the man .. he killed himself because of what his wife did. Has somebody made you so angry to a point where you thought you can't have it anymore and you want to do something ... is there any such experience that you would like to share?

Respondent 12: Ok, for me for instance, I am in a choir group, youth choir.

Facilitator: So you are sharing an experience?

Respondent 12: Yes, an experience. So one day I came for choir practice – we used to sit on benches for the choir practice and I came and the benches were full so we had this three-in-one chair inside the chapel. It was formerly one-one the the priest joined them together because when they take it out they don't bring it back. So when I came

and the benches were full I asked a friend of mine who was sitting down to help me get the chair to that place. when I got to the choir practice, that spot *nōō*.. one brother who is a catechist, he is also part of the choir, just shouted ‘Albertina, take the chair back!’ so I said oh why? And that time the choir practice was going on oo.. and there were some groups too having their meeting. The way he shouted on me,.. in fact, we were two *deε* but me I couldn’t take it *koraa*.. I just stood and said ah, why? And it wasn’t once, I was trying to say that oh, father, the reverend father said we should bring it and after we would take it back. He wasn’t listening to me at all. He was just shouting. So what I did was that I was.. I mean felt disgraced.. and my friend. Well, we stood there and we just laughed and took the chair back. After taking the chair back I couldn’t control myself at all.. I told them that ‘hey, I have stopped the choir!’ (laughs) I shouted there and then and then I left. By that time I had gone to take a hymnal from the reverend father so when I was sending the hymn back the father he asked me that oh what happened and I said father me I have stopped the choir. Then father said ‘ooo..’ then father took me there and told them that they shouldn’t have shouted on me. At least they should have listened to my explanation that he asked me to go and pick the chair and he cooled me down but when I went to sit down me I could sing anything. I was just watching them. So that time.. and even that man up till now.... war.. he has been playing with me but I just ...

Facilitator: When you got up to say you won’t join the choir again, how did you feel?

Respondent 12: I felt very bad. I shouldn’t have reacted that way..

Facilitator: No, like instantly, not after you had gone home to think about it. When he said all those kinds of words to you and you couldn’t contain it... and so you had to react. When you reacted, instantly, as you were walking outside?

Respondent 12: I felt ok - that I had brought out my feelings.

Respondent 16: Me too. Once we were doing our fieldwork at DOVSU and we got a case - a man raped a young girl. I was just paying to what the man was saying but two of my friends were talking so I didn't hear what they said so I said 'oh, Evans what did you say'? 'Get away! Who is talking to you? Eh, I was really hurt. I didn't talk. The next day I was at the court and they were saying something, and I had even forgotten what they did yesterday and I said oh, what are you saying? Who is talking to you, ah you like that.. and I said oh, is that so? Fine. So now when I come back I great them and I don't talk to them anymore.. and now he was complaining that I don't talk to them .. and I said I won't talk to you for you to come and shout on me... I just wanted to know what you were talking about and I just wanted to know... and he said oh he didn't know so next time I should tell him...

Facilitator: So are you saying that when someone makes you angry you just ...

Respondent 16: I will just keep quiet and watch you from a distance.

Facilitator: How you react to people/things that make you angry instantly?

Respondent 5: When you insult me I won't insult you but I will let you know that I don't like what you have said. For instance, when I was in secondary school I did agric. One day I was home with my dad, *na akokɔ bi wɔ fie hɔ na ɔse menkɔkye akokɔ no na menso mesuro akokɔ ba.. enti .ɔse kɔkye akokɔ no kɔkye akokɔ no.. na mese mesuro akokɔ.. na ɔse 'stupid girl, wo agric student, wonnim senea yɛsɔ akokɔ mu?' Na mese ah, aden nti na wose meye stupid, the fact se meye agric nkyere se meyen mmoa enti menka se meye stupid. And he said ok. Enti efiri hɔ no he didn't insult me again. If anything he tell me oh Adwoa, sei na yeyɛ no.*

Facilitator: Ok. So when somebody provokes you to the where you think you can't take anymore.

Respondent 7: When we are in public, I will not do anything. I will just go and sit somewhere and cry. But when we are alone I will just tell you.

Respondent 12: Me that man's own eh, he's like that eh and I.. nobody is correcting him since he is the catechist. He has.. so nobody is correcting him. So me he has done it to me like... thrice so I wanted to show him that me I can talk .. (laughs). It wasn't directly at him.. because the rest could have told him that oh.. *ma ankasa*... they didn't say anything so I said *magyae* choir...

Facilitator: You made a point earlier on that the man was afraid of his own wife (several respondents: hmm..) For instance, if a snake walked around your body as you sit here or as young women are you afraid of broken heart?

Several respondents: I am afraid papa

Respondent 12: If you have friends who don't invite you when they go out.. you will be afraid that if you marry such a person *ɔɔ aduane koraa oma wo*.. (laughs)...

Facilitator: so you are afraid of people who don't keep good relationship with you?

Respondent 12: yes.

Respondent 5: I am afraid of friends who maybe.. like there is something bad about you they won't tell you and they will go somewhere and talk about you and maybe later you go somewhere and here about it so it's like you were expecting the person you are close to to tell you not someone else.

Facilitator: Have you had any frightening experience before:

Respondent 16: Last time I took a car .from Legon .. I was going to Madina. I was sitting in the car.. I felt cold, like all the people in the car were dead and I was the only one alive. Suddenly I wanted to get down. That was .. I was very scared so I got down at Atomic junction. (facilitator: how?) I don't know, suddenly there was this cool

breeze and I felt everyone in the car was like this and I was the only one there.. everyone was like this ... I don't know.. I just felt it.

Facilitator: What would make you afraid of walking alone in the dark at night?

Respondent 5: There are two things: one, there are assumptions that dark places are evil so if you are walking there you have to be very careful and two that somebody or something might be there to harm you.

Facilitator: Are there any final comments we want to make about anger or fear?

Respondent 7: Me one thing I know about anger .. if you get angry you don't have to talk because sometimes you say things that you are supposed to say afterwards you realise that oh.. but if you keep quiet and you go and sit down and think about what the person did maybe you'll later say something to him or her a it will never occur to him or her to get someone angry.

Respondent 5: There are two things. When someone makes you angry .. one when you do that it relieves you .. and second too after that you go and sit down and think about it .. oh what I said was bad but it was because I was angry .. you go back to apologise.

Facilitator: Thank you very much.

(iv) ADULT EDUCATION 3 (MIXED GROUP)

Facilitator: Ok, so we have watched this short film. Why did the man kill himself?

Respondent 1: He was frustrated.

Respondent 2: His wife was disturbing him.

Facilitator: Ok, let's look at the relationship between the man and his wife .. what do you think?

Respondent 3: He is scared. He is not having a good relationship with the wife like as in a husband-wife relationship. It's rather a husband-enemy relationship.

Facilitator: If you had a wife like that what would you do?

Respondent 3: I would kill her.

Respondent 4: I would take her back to where I took her from .. to her parents ..to talk to her. If she doesn't change I will just file for divorce.

Facilitator: If you had a son or brother in such a condition what kind of advice are you going to give?

Respondent 5: I will tell him to go and see the elder in the family then talk about it with him .. or I'll go with him .. and.. either talk to the wife myself and ask her what the problem is. Maybe there is something about my brother she doesn't like that pisses her off. So maybe with this girl-to-girl thing she will be able to tell me and then I tell him and then he corrects it. That is if there is a problem with him. But if there isn't *a* and is the woman *a* I'll ask my brother to go and see the elder and the family and they will go with him and talk to her. And if that doesn't work *dea* then we'll take her back to her family.

Respondent 6: I'd rather advise him to take her family .. he should talk to her first and if it doesn't work he should just let her go.

Respondent 7: He has to divorce her. She is disgracing him in front of his friends.

Respondent 8: You see, he is a CEO somewhere .. she's spoilt his opportunity. Because they will say what's happening in the house.

Facilitator: Are we then saying the man is afraid of his wife:

Several: Yes.

Facilitator: What made the man shoot himself?

Respondent 9: Because he had lost a job opportunity.

Respondent 10: No, he hadn't lost a job opportunity then. It is because she disgraced him in front of his CEO.

Facilitator: Why didn't the man shoot himself in the morning?

Respondent 4: He decided to give her a second chance.

Facilitator: Let's put what we've watched aside for a while and reflect on our lives. What makes you angry?

Respondent 6: When people pretend they don't even know you. Sometimes you have classmates that you've been for a long time and you have helped them .. like through many problems and then they tend to neglect you and pretend they've never even spoken to you. They look down upon you. It really pisses me off.

Respondent 3: If somebody feels he or she knows everything I get really angry.

Respondent 8: If someone never accepts his mistakes. Even if the person is wrong and he knows what he did is wrong but does not want to accept it I hate it. It pisses me off.

Respondent 2: Mine is like people just attacking your personality just because without even getting to know the real you....

Facilitator: When you are angry what do you do?

Respondent 6: I will approach the person and let the person know that what the person has done really hurts me. It doesn't mean that the fact that I've told you that you've done hurts me I am going to talk to you, no. I want you to know that what you've done hurt me.

Respondent 1: I take in deep breaths. It releases my tension.

Facilitator: How do you react to extreme provocation?

Respondent 6: I will beat you up. If I can't beat you I'll fight, one-on-one. And I make sure I hurt you. I'll give you a cut...

Facilitator: When you do that how do you feel?

Respondent 6: I feel good.

Facilitator: After that do you regret?

Respondent 6: No, I don't regret at all.

Respondent 8: Sometimes, I would feel bad.

Facilitator: What if the person ends up beating you do you still feel good?

Respondent 6: I will make sure I give that person a cut.

Respondent 8: Sometimes I feel bad after arguing with someone you say some things ...

Respondent 4: For me I will either beat you up or I will get back at you in a different manner that ... I will give your name to somebody to deal with you..

Facilitator: How do you feel after you have beaten them up?

Respondent 4: Extremely good.

Respondent 2: I will just leave the scene.

Facilitator: Now talking about fear – is there anything that scares you?

Respondent 2: I have aspirations .. so at times when I don't get on well friends I get a bit scared .. maybe in some five years to come you'll need this person to act on your behalf but because of what you have done to them. The person wouldn't be ready to help you.. that's something that really gets me scared.

Respondent 8: Yes, I lack vitamin A – I suffer night blindness. And there was this time armed robbers came to our house – like late in the evening. So usually when I am outside and alone and it's dark I can't see from afar so I get scared.

Facilitator: Has anybody had any frightening experience they want to share.

Respondent 8: When the armed robbers came to our house – it wasn't nice having guns pointed at you... well, when they came to our house they came to my room first ... they asked me to go out, I was so scared. So the first thing that actually came to me was *I peed on myself*; that was the first thing that actually happened to me. And then when they asked me to move *I couldn't move* because I was afraid of all the guns and other

things so I was sitting there in my pee. *I just sat in my pee*, just stirring at them ... with these armed robbers on TV and rape and things... there were so many things going through my mind – *I couldn't think straight....*

Facilitators: So since then have you been very scared of armed robbers.

Respondent 8: Yes, extremely scared, not just of armed robbers but strangers..

Facilitator: Does anybody have any experience of anger to share?

Respondent 3: I had this friend, a childhood friend.. but I moved. Another friend told me that my childhood friend had turned into something else. I saw him once and he was looking bad so I brought him home to sleep over. He said he was living with a friend so I said he should continue to stay with the friend but if he needed anything he should let me know... this continued until I introduced him to my twin cousins who are very rich. He started working in their house and the mother realised he was very hard working so she employed him at her restaurant..... and he kept going to their house. One day we went there together and he saw a laptop and he told me he wanted to take it and I said no .. it won't be nice. Ask them... he didn't ask them .. he planned to take it and they will think I took it... my aunty kept asking me questions.. where do I know that boy from why did I introduce a bad person to them.. so I also called my guys and they took him to a place that nobody would see them and asked him where he had taken the laptop. It's like he sold it at Circle- they took him to circle and retrieved it without paying the money back. My aunty was now ok and she took him to the police station and he signed a bond – about not touching me. Three days later, I was in the house and then I heard motor bikes in front of my house.. so I got scared. When I came it was like 20 bikes outside..I called my daddy and he called the police men but they were not coming so he also called some other guys that we know who came and the fight –a whole lot of fight in front of my house. Just when they ended the fight and the police

came, arrested the guys and took them wherever. But then after I changed my number but somebody called to threaten me – that I think I am smart I've but I should be very careful. I got scared that for two weeks, two weeks I wasn't going out. I was in doors throughout and this issue keeps on haunting me so I don't walk around in my area as I used to do anymore. This is something that frightens me.

Facilitator: Aw. So are you scared of helping people now?

Respondent 3: yes, really, really scared, extremely and I wouldn't like to offer help to somebody I don't know that much...

Facilitator: Thank you all very much.

(v) **ADULT EDUCATION 4 (ALL MALE GROUP)**

Facilitator: So having watched this sketch, why do you think the man shot himself?

Respondent 1: I think the woman disgraced him in front of his guests.

Respondent 2: You see the woman wasn't showing respect from the onset of the programme and he thought the woman would have been wise enough to respect the visitors over there not to go to that extent - that made him shoot himself.

Facilitator: How do you see the man?

Resp.3: I think he is afraid of the wife.

Respondent 4: I also see him as someone who loves the wife and sees her as the woman of the house.

Respondent 5: I think he has also shown much love to his wife that was why the woman...

Facilitator: Looking at the woman's behaviour if you or your brother or son's wife is like that what kind of advice would you give?

Respondent 2: To me, for a brother's wife I can't say much. But if you are my wife you'll go away. Because a woman, you should be a source of happiness to me. Wherever I am I should know by this time food will be ready - I have missed my kids. I have missed my wife to bits. And I'll come and be seeing you all those nasty things .. then the better I do away with you if not because of this behaviour I may be compelled to stay out for long doing unnecessary things – because you come and come and meet the woman you get bored so the best is stay away and maybe drink and do unnecessary things that will cost you your life .. to do away with her outright.

Respondent 6: Another alternative is... if I love her I have to get a lot of patience for her and to accommodate such things (**facilitator:** if your patience has been tried and tested.. to the brim and you can't contain it any longer) at times it depends on you your background. Because if you are Christian they are saying that... if you do that.... if she is a wedded wife and you are a Christian they are saying that say.. you cannot.. so you have to stay with her till one of you dies

Facilitator: But even if you are staying with in that instance what would you do?

Respondent 6: Since she is my wife and I love her very much... I will sit her down and talk to her. If she still goes on doing it I think I'll see a counsellor and if she insists .. go on doing that that means I'll have to divorce her.

Facilitator: Why do you think the man didn't shoot himself in the first instance he picked the gun?

Respondent 7: I think in the first instance he wanted to give the wife a second chance.

Respondent 2: I also see it was just between the man and the wife.. so the woman disgraced him .. the sort of message was a very nice message for the family .. to be joyous about the whole thing and she still went ahead to disgrace him. Well the man could have organised the this thing outside – he could have taken the visitors to a

restaurant for them to go and eat over there but he wanted them to see the sort of valuable asset – I am talking about the woman he the man is having in the house. If I am bringing good this thing to the house and you decided to disgrace me dea the best is to me I will do away with you.

Respondent 4: It seems the man had also portrayed his wife to his visitors so he was thinking the wife was going to show the same thing towards him in front of his guests but the wife disgraced him.

Respondent 5: I was thinking that maybe the first time the reason why he did not shoot himself is that he never thought the wife would disgrace him in front of the visitors. He thought that.. when the visitors come she would not do it. And I think it is because of the visitors that the man did not shoot himself in the first place.

Facilitator: Now.. let's apply what we have discussed to our personal lives. We have talked about fear, anger, and embarrassment in front of others. What would you do if someone embarrassed you in front of others?

Respondent 3: I would pretend I didn't hear.

Respondent: I would reply you instantly.

Respondent7: I was told by my father se it's not good to have exchange of words or argument when you realise tempers are going high even with your wife. If I go out and come late and you complain so much I won't sit down for you to even insult me. I will go back again because if I don't take care you will say something that will compel me to do something nasty. So the best is to leave the house ...

Facilitator: So if somebody embarrassed you in the presence of others what would you do actually?

Respondent 7: I would leave the scene.

Facilitator: What are some of the things that get you angry?

Respondent 1: For me, what the woman did for example would make me angry. Insults make me angry.

Respondent 3: When I am disgraced. For example, when you want to show that you know more than I know.

Facilitator: What do you do when you are angry?

Respondent 4: I will tell you I don't like what you have done.

Respondent 6: Me,..the way...my face will tell you that actually .. I am angry. (facilitator: are you going to frown?) My facial expression .. if you have been with me for long you'll know..

Respondent 5: I will take a deep... breathing, either leave the scene or not even talk at all.

Respondent 2: I will tell you instantly...that I don't like what you've done.. tell you what I have to tell you (facilitator: so if the person insults you are you going to insult him back?) If it is a direct insult, e.g 'you are foolish'.. hmm.. for that I am not sure I will... I won't insult you back.

Respondent 7: For me I think it is relative. If my wife annoys me or insults me the way I'll behave will be different from say a friend or ... (facilitator: what would be the difference?) For my wife, I would pretend I did not hear but when we get to the bedroom that's where I 'll address the issue. But for my friend I'll let you know that I am angry .. don't do that and if you continue to do that I think it will bring a fight between us.

Facilitator: Does anybody have any experience they want to share – you got angry and acted..?

Respondent 6: When I was in secondary school a guy was teasing me. I asked him to stop but he continued. The next thing I took a knife and tried to *chook* him with the

knife but people prevented me from doing that. It resulted in me being sent to the headmistress and I was asked to weed – as a punishment.

Facilitator: When somebody makes you angry and you take an action how do you feel – e.g. your case for instance .. when you took the knife, how did you feel?

Respondent 6: I was like.. whatever happens should happen (**facilitator:** hmmm.. and although they prevented you from hurting him with the knife how did you feel within yourself?). I.. at first I did not consider the consequences but afterwards somebody sat me down and said if you had chucked him with the knife (**facilitator:** so why didn't you consider the consequences?) Because I was angry and I wanted to do whatever came to my mind .. I would feel ok after that.

Respondent 7: I am somebody who stammers so when I get angry I can't speak and the slightest thing I may harm you or get nasty (**facilitator:** So have you harmed somebody when you are angry?) No no.... but I know have that capability. The best is to leave the scene because if I am to react it will be a different thing all together.

Respondent 3: For me sometimes I over react .., sometime ago I was having a meeting with my executive and they were questioning me over something I didn't do so I over reacted... the question that came out of my mouth shouldn't have ... the way I questioned them was like I was insulting them.

Facilitator: Is there anything that gets you scared – afraid even though you are all men?

Respondent1: As soon as I see a snake, the first instance I'll get frightened before I gather courage to.. (another respondent: if you can gather courage then it means you are not afraid) Oh no.. my man (**facilitator:** he shivers a little.. he shivers a little)..

Respondent 2: I am afraid of what is behind me .. like.. as I am sitting down if somebody tries to come close to from behind a I'll be afraid. No matter what is coming ahead of me I am not afraid.

Respondent 7: When I see someone angry with a knife. Even if the person is not coming to me I am afraid.

Respondent 3: I am afraid of going to the barracks – soldiers' barracks. Yes, I have a friend there who always.. I mean in fact he told me that he would lock me one day for me to know that he is a soldier. So one time he asked me to go to the officers' mess to have a drink and I told him that before he went into a soldier we were drinking at this spot so why don't we go there. Then he said I am lucky for if we had gone there he would have arrested me. And you know when you get to the barracks they have some places you are not supposed to go to. I don't know those places so I am afraid to go there – I don't go there at all.

Facilitator: Does anybody have any personal frightful experience they want to share?

Respondent 2: Just about three .. roughly two weeks plus ago we were learning at the study room over here. We saw a lady over there - the way she was dressed I thought she wasn't a student. So we left the place a bit late. When I came out of the room noo.. I stood on the stairs to receive a call. Before I realised the lady was rushing... so I quickly jumped the stairs. If I had gotten anything from the ground at that time I would have hit her... because somebody I don't know you anywhere how should you... around 12 midnight...why should you rush on me that way. She asked me whether I was scared and I said ah, I should be scared.. I don't know you anywhere (fac.: so in that case you are afraid of a stranger?) Not a stranger as such... but the way she was rushing on me from behind... I asked her her mission and she said she needed transport to go..I quickly

gave her the money ... she should have approached me in the room.. but for me to come out .. me alone at that odd hour and you rush on me from behind?

Respondent1: I am afraid of accidents .. my friend went and stole the father's car (another respondent: chilling) yeah, chilling around town and he lost control. They took us to the hospital and around 4am we ran away....

Respondent 5: I think I am also afraid of involving myself in an issue which involves the police because I never want to be in the police or I don't know... I am afraid before. (fac. So have you ever had such an experience?) Yes, recently, there was a problem on this block .. some money was stolen so the guy reported the case straight to the police... and they came and searched the room. Though the money wasn't in the room but since I was involved in the issue I was very frightened.. I even thought it might go to court...

Facilitator: Thank you all very much!

(vi) **ADULT EDUCATION 5 (MIXED GROUP)**

Facilitator: Having watched this, anybody can answer, what do you see of the woman's behaviour – how do you see her?

Respondent 1: She is rude.

Respondent 2: she is uncultured.

Respondent 3: She is heartless.

Respondent 4: The lady has got total dominion over the husband.

Respondent 5: She was a bit arrogance.

Respondent 6: There is inadequate mannerism – she has no manners

Facilitator: How do you see the man too?

Respondent 7: Too emotional

Respondent 8: Too *tebɔɔ*, *tebɔɔlistic* (all laugh) facilitator: what is *tebɔɔ*? Ermm. He is weak..something like that.

Respondent 9: He is scared of the wife

Respondent 8: That is the meaning of *tebɔɔ* (facilitator: he is dull?) dull person

Respondent 10: It looks like he doesn't have control over the house

Facilitator: If you were the man or if it was your brother what would you have done?

Respondent 9: If I were the man, I would control you like my daughter from the scratch ... I would let you know that you are my wife and you are not supposed to lord it over me.... at the dining table? (facilitator: yes, coping with such a wife?), I wouldn't talk, I would crack a joke over it and then we'd continue. I wouldn't walk away just like that and afterwards I would deal with you ... I'll punish you... I can refuse to talk to her. In the first instance, I would report you to her people first but if these things persist then I would deal with you my own way .. like not talking to her or I can even decide not to give her house keeping money any longer .. it's a punishment.

Respondent 6: I would advise him to divorce her.

Respondent 3: I would advise him to involve a third party, get people together, sit her down and talk to her – find out what her problem is and see if the issue can be resolved.

Respondent 8: I think we belong to groups so if by talking to her for several occasion personally and the situation still continues then I will call her before the group – either the church both of us go or the women's family members after which if I see that she continues to do that then I will advise myself to bringing the marriage to an end.

Respondent 7: In such instances too sometimes when you separate for a while... but I wouldn't call for a divorce is not in my dictionary.

Respondent 4: I would also move to another country without her knowledge.

Facilitator: Why ... didn't the man shoot himself in the first instance..?

Respondent 5: I think with the first one it was just the two of them no other person heard it so at least he could keep it to himself. But in the second one, in the presence of his guests – people he hadn't even met before, people who had come all the way from another country just to meet him and people who respected him so much and were praising him – I think it was too much for him.

Respondent 2: I also see that the embarrassment was too much.

Respondent 6: Another way you can look at this issue is that the man has accommodated these things for a very long period so in order... he has .. now coped with it for a long time then because of that I think he cant bear it anymore , any longer because he has not expressed his feelings (Facilitator: So do you mean he was fed up?) he was fed up with the situation. You know it is too much every morning.. sometimes people like this become workaholic – they close from work and do overtime.

Respondent 10: I also think the man was thinking if he continues to live with the wife the worst might happen.... the woman might behave very awkwardly...

Facilitator: I want us to put that on hold for a while, come to our personal lives and ask a few questions.... if you were the man would have shot yourself?

Several respondents simultaneously: No, no. (none of you would have done that?)
several voices: no, no.

Facilitator: If somebody embarrassed you in the presence of others... how would you feel?

Respondent 1: I would feel bad.

Facilitator: Would anybody get angry?

Several respondents: Definitely, of course, yes.. with the person who has done that.

Facilitator: You'll get angry at the person .. ok so what are some of the things that make you angry – individually.

Respondent 4 : When someone insults me.

Respondent: Embarrassing me in front of others.

Respondent 2: Lying.

Respondent 8: Disgrace.

Respondent: 10: Let me also give you what makes me angry - when you don't appreciate what I do – when you don't appreciate what I do I get angry. I can cope with all the others but then when you don't appreciate what I do I can become worse but when you appreciate what I do I do more.

Respondent 9: When you try to cheat .. when I know that this is my share and you try to prevent me from getting it?

Facilitator: So when you are angry what do you do?

Respondent 10: I keep quiet. (facilitator: when it has gotten to the brim?) I keep quiet, no matter the level, I keep quiet and afterwards, afterwards whiles we are happy and stuff and we are talking about issues I will bring it up and talk to you (facilitator: so when you keep quiet what happens to you?) oh, I go to play football. I go out to play football – talk to others – talk about general things.. because if I talk it will be worse... When I keep quiet without talking to any other I feel hurt.. something like.. I sometimes have headache when I don't talk to people. (facilitator: ok, when you get angry and you don't talk it hurts you?) yeah, and I sometimes headache.

Facilitator: What about the rest, when you are very angry – it has gotten to the brim – let me put it that way?

Respondent 5: You just look for someone .. I find someone I think will understand me and talk about it with the person and get some advice. (facilitator: and how do you feel

afterwards?) After talking to someone I feel a bit relieved – that at least I've shared the burden. Sometimes..

Respondent 7: When I am seriously angry I keep quiet. Sometimes I have to bath and leave the house and go to find friends, talk, play some games like draft and others until a point in time when everything dies down and then I call the person, whoever is troubling me and we can talk about it (facilitator: when you keep quiet does it relieve you or something?) Well, if I am to relax at the moment it is going to be bad.

Respondent 2: I will just go to bed and sleep (another respondent: and have nightmares?)

Respondent 8: I will leave the scene.

Facilitator: So.. if somebody just walked up here to slap you left and right what will you do?

Respondent 10: First of all I will ask the person what have I done?

Respondent 6: I might retaliate.

Facilitator: Why do you think you would you retaliate – will it make you angry?

Respondent 10: Because I haven't done anything – yes, I will be angry.

Respondent 6: I said I might.

Respondent 3: I won't retaliate.

Facilitator: Ok.... have been angry and reacted....I want an experience one can share.

Respondent 7: I have an experience. My sister.. anytime I had a quarrel with my sister she used to slap me. She slapped me more than five times and one day I was sick and instead of her asking me why am I still in bed she just concluded and said I won't give you food. By then I was staying with her. So I got up and what happened was that I took my share of the food and ate and then she wanted to slap me and I said *hee..!* if you touch me the way I will drill you – I will show you my colours. And as soon as she

saw that she paused because I had never reacted over the years so as soon as I reacted she paused and that was the end If she had touched me I would have given her strokes .. dirty ones, wild ones.

Facilitator: Is there anything that makes you afraid, is there something you are scared of- you said earlier on that the man was afraid of his wife. Are there people you are afraid of, is there something you are afraid of – something that sends shivers through you ..?

Respondent 7: I am afraid of height, height in fact I'm afraid of height.. (facilitator: so you can't go to Kakum?) Kakum, I've been there and I tried but then not because I had the courage but because of what people will say so I had to walk my way out

Respondent: This same height problem.. I remember I was at Praso and I could see small small boys walking on it meanwhile it was their first time .. so I said why not take a chance so I joined – you see not out of my wish .. those young children crossing the river and me standing there (facilitator: how did they cross the river, by swimming or canoe?) No there is no canoe – there is a bridge over it but then you see the river (**another respondent:** like *etwene* or something) (facilitator: aa.. I get what you mean .. I get the picture.. so you were very scared) yes, I was scared (facilitator: so that was your fearful experience)

Facilitator: Why do you get afraid .. let me give you a scenario... walking in a dark place in the night and why?

Respondent 1: You'll be afraid if you know how the area is and what happens there ... if you know it's a safe place to walk even at night I don't think you'll be afraid. I will not be afraid if I know the area is very safe.

Respondent 4: I am afraid because of the fear that somebody might attack me.

Respondent 6: External forces can make people afraid, external forces (facilitator: like?) Like the example he gave .. like falling in the river, falling from a height, you know.. those things.. you are afraid of dying or being hurt or sometimes you are afraid of losing something. So normally that's what...

Respondent: In the typical villages too when you are walking alone in the night you get afraid thinking that you will meet a spirit. Unknown spirits in the night Sometimes the stories we hear from our elders, for example, that if you walk alone in the night a spirit will come and slap you or chase you... or something like a witch that glows in the night... so that thing gets you scared (facilitator: so do you want to say that the things we hear and our then the reflections you make about them as you walk there will make you scared?

Respondent 9: They will greatly influence anyway, but then I am not afraid at night especially in the bush because I know that.. I've stayed in the village before and I know that at night it is safer more than day time – most of the animals are asleep around that time – the dangerous ones. The weak ones come out at night and the dangerous ones - day time .. like snakes.. sleep in the night so I am safer walking at night than in the day time.

Facilitator: Thank you very much!

(vii) LEGON SDA FELLOWSHIP (MIXED GROUP)

Facilitator: Talking about anger... have you been angry before?

Several respondents: yes, of course

Facilitator: So you are familiar with the things that make you angry and how you react etc . so the first question is what makes you angry?

Respondent 1: I become angry when I am being provoked by somebody.

Respondent 2: I also become angry when someone does something that I really dislike.

Respondent 3: I feel angry when I feel I am being taken for granted by a friend or someone.

Respondent 4: For me one of the things that annoys me is when somebody wants to cheat me – yeah, that one I won't spare you

Respondent 5: When I am confronted with any kind of injustice I become very angry.

Respondent 6: When I am verbally assaulted I become very furious.

Respondent 7: I get irritated and angered when something which belongs to me is taken by someone without the person returning it back after using the thing.

Facilitator: What do you do when you are angry?

Respondent 3: Depending on whom I am angry with sometimes I am quiet, other times I talk and in cases when I talk I talk so much – I talk till I am tired of talking. And when I am quiet too I am quiet and you don't know why? (facilitator: Under what circumstances are you quiet/ do you talk?) Most of the time, I keep quiet when I am shocked by the person's reaction and don't have immediate response to what he or she has done. But when I am very sure of what has happened and I feel bad about it I really talk and tell out my feelings so that the person really knows. But when I am quiet it's like at that very moment I don't know what to do about the situation.

Respondent 8: I normally walk away from the thing that makes me angry .. I am not very sure about what I'll be capable of doing when I get very irritated to the point I can't take anymore. So when something provokes me or when somebody does something and I become very angry what I do is I walk away from whatever is – if I am talking to a person and the person is making me angry I just walk away (facilitator: what are you afraid you might do?) I don't really know – I haven't done anything very

bad when I am angry but then I've decided not to even try it so when I am angry I just move away from anything that is making angry.

Respondent 4: For me when I am angry I keep quiet and then I sit back and think about the whole thing and then later if I want to react to it then I do so. But initially I'll just keep quiet and then shun the person if it is a person who caused that anger I will shun away from the person. So later if I reflect over it and I think I have to react that's when I react

Respondent 9: Me too when I am angry I don't want to talk (facilitator: why?) the reason being that I quite remember sometime I was angry and the kind of words that came out from my mouth .. after the whole issue I sat down and as I was contemplating on it I felt I hadn't said .. like good words. So whenever I am angry I don't want to talk because when I talk I am afraid of the kind of words that I may use so I don't want to talk when I am angry.

Respondent 10: I believe tolerance and self control have been my guide in terms of .. I mean whenever I'm angry in that whenever I'm angry at a situation I try to tolerate whatever the situation may be. Then if it's prudent for me to react I react in a very quiet manner at the person who is.. who I think is the perpetrator of the.. erm.. of the situation to understand why I'm speaking like that and the person I think will change the mind and may be...

Respondent 2: When I am angry I don't react. I just keep quiet and then I'll be quiet maybe the whole day. But I only react if it's my brother who provoked me. (facilitator: Why don't you react?) It's because if I react I might turn out to hurt another person and that one would make me feel very bad. That's why I don't react - I just keep quiet.

Respondent 11: It will depend on the person. For instance, if it's a kid sibling I react aggressively – maybe beating the person (facilitator: why?) Why? Because I think the

person not right to provoke me – to make me angry but then if the person is older than me I keep quiet (facilitator: why?) because I don't want to react aggressively. (facilitator: what are you afraid of?) Maybe I'll feel guilty after my reaction (what do you consider as aggressive reaction?) Maybe a slap.

Respondent 12: I also.. if very irritated I give the person, the victim a black look or sometimes I frown the face to make the person know that what he or she has done I dislike.

Respondent 13: I also keep quiet and keep a straight face or sometimes I react – it depends on the person. If the person is older than me or someone I respect so much I keep quiet and keep a straight face .. I let the person to know that I am angry but I just don't want to react – it might lead to something which will show disrespect or something. But if the person is my colleague or someone I am older than I react (facilitator: how do you react?) Well I talk, I talk. I bring out all my feelings to show that I'm angry.

Facilitator: Those who talk what do you think you gain from reacting – from talking?

Respondent 3: You talk because the incident has *eaten you up*, you are tired of it; probably it has occurred for a long time - it is not the first time the person is doing something of such a sort. So you talk so that the person knows that it's a reoccurring situation you don't like it so you.. most of the time you refer the person to what he/she has done previously and the reason why in this particular case you are talking. And other times too you talk because it is the best way to solve the situation. If you *keep it in you*, either you *cry* or that *boiled up anger* may turn out to be action as in you either beat the person or slap the person. It doesn't matter if the person is stronger than you; you just do something to *get the anger off your chest*.

Respondent 11: Sometimes when I talk I get released because if I don't talk I'll keep on thinking about it. Sometimes I even get headache or even my heart will be paining me but when I talk I forget about it – yeah I get relieved.

Respondent 4: I also think that the best way to react to such situations is to talk because if you don't talk the person will not know that what he or she did is what you don't like. So as I said earlier on if I keep quiet and then later I feel like I can't keep it to myself anymore – that what he or she did is what I dislike. So yeah, the best way to handle it is to talk.

Facilitator: Ok, so if I asked you to describe your anger how would you describe it – what is your anger like? This one as many – if everybody can tell me what their anger is like

Respondent 14: My anger is very slow but very powerful when I'm talking. I mean it's very slow but very powerful and it can hit your heart when I talk when I'm angry (facilitator: hit your heart?) yeah, exactly.

Respondent 15: My anger is very very strong.. erm.. if I'm angry sometimes I stammer so normally I don't talk.

Respondent 11: Well, my anger is not all that strong because I am somebody who speaks very slowly and so when I'm angry and even I'm talking people might not take me very serious so I think inwardly my anger is something very strong because it gets to the extent that I even get heart pains and headache but outside the way I'll express it and the way I'll talk people might see it to be slow or something.

Respondent 3: Because of previous experiences I try not to get angry especially with friends and colleagues though at home I am very comfortable getting angry. When I'm angry I talk, like I said or I keep quiet depending on the situation. But I show actions to prove that I am angry. So anyone walking around will definitely know that I am angry

(facilitator: so how would you describe your anger?) Though nothing comes out of it .. I can't hit you or anything but the best is to talk and it's active because I'll try describing it and explaining it and in action and all that

Respondent 8: Well, if I get very angry as I said earlier on I am not a person who likes to talk so when I'm angry with you you wouldn't know. So when I get very angry what I do is if it's a situation I can walk away from I just walk away from it – just go and find something else to do - maybe in the next few minutes or next few hours I know I'll get over whatever and I have but I don't like to talk (facilitator: so how would you describe your anger?) It might be strong but it would be inward. It wouldn't be expressed for anybody around to see- nobody would see it. I just keep everything in there and then...

Respondent 4: Sometimes it would show on my face and when it shows you would see it – I cannot use words to describe my anger but the person involved will see that .. the person will know that I'm very angry when it shows on my face.

Respondent 10: Initially I said whenever I'm angry I don't want to talk. Because of this I jus.. I always want to be a bit tolerant because when I am angry... I don't know ..I do what at the end of the day I may even regret doing that thing so mine is very powerful, it's very powerful. So I try not to be angry because whenever I am angry and I decide to do something unless I do that thing I never get ermm.. this thing. So I have to do what I want to do before maybe I can be at peace other than that .. no, so I try not to be angry.

Respondent 16: My anger is very strong but it takes a short time for me to recover.

Respondent 17: My anger is so powerful that I can even compare it with Peter when he cut Marcus ear. So if somebody provokes me and care is not taken dangerous things may happen.

Respondent 6: I'll say that my anger is not that strong. When I'm angry I just keep quiet and then I frown my face sometimes. But when it gets to the extreme I'll scream at you and if you don't know me you might think I' a harsh person or something but when it gets to the extreme I'll just scream at you.

Facilitator: Alright. So some powerful angers, others strong, dangerous.. ok. This one we need just a volunteer to describe briefly an angry encounter or experience you've had.. maybe in one minute and how you reacted.

Respondent 16: Recently I was really really annoyed by a roommate of mine and it was about an issue – the fridge in the room got spoilt and the repairer said we would pay 400,000 and we are 9 in the room. So I suggested each paid 5 cedis so that we use it to repair the fridge not knowing some people didn't agree with me but because the owner was around they couldn't voice out. So when I came back from lecture, they were like ' hey, Alberta won a wose sen no?'. In fact I was angry because they could have voiced out and now they were trying to blame me so I reacted. In fact, I.. (laughs) I started talking and they too talked back .. I was very harsh, yes, insulting and they too were replying and the anger got strong and strong and strong.. so that's it.

Facilitator: Now moving to our next topic fear, is there anything you are afraid of – what are you afraid of?

Respondent1: Thunder and lightening

Respondent: I'm so much afraid of snakes that I don't even want to see them in movie. When I am watching a movie and I see a snake I won't look at it and even when I'm reading a book and I see the picture of a big snake I'll cover that part of the book with a sheet and continue reading.

Respondent 14: I also wanted to talk about the same thing. But aside that one too I fear height – yeah fear of height. So at times if I am climbing something like a storey building I always panic.. but nowadays I am trying to overcome it.

Respondent 15: I am also afraid of throwing of bows and arrows. When at times I am watching films and somebody is throwing an arrow.. I don't even want to watch it because I don't want see how it will kill that person – the thing will just come straight to that person as if it's been set by a machine.

Respondent 4: I am afraid of accidents. So whenever I am in 207, I am very afraid of the car being involved in accident or something like that.

Facilitator: What do you do when you are afraid.

Respondent 4: If..I know if I am in 207 I cannot go and tell the driver to .. get up so that I'll drive or something. So if it's beyond my control I'll pray so that the Lord will .. yeah - when it's beyond my control.

Respondent 1: When it's raining and I'm in the house and there is thundering and lightening I just run to my mum or at time I just go and hide under the bed.

Respondent 15: If I'm watching film and somebody is watching spear or a bow then I don't want to watch it so I just quit from that room so when the film is over I will come back again.

Respondent 11: I normally go to the farm during the holidays. So before going to the farm I pray God shouldn't let me see a snake. And I learnt they are normally found in palm trees and so I'll make sure I'll never sit under palm trees or I don't walk alone and I don't walk in the bushy parts. I make sure... like I use my cutlass to clear before treading that path.

Facilitator: How would you describe the feeling you get gen when you are are afraid?

Respondent 4: I feel uneasy.

Respondent 16: I will be shaking.

Respondent 13: I feel timid.

Respondent 18: For me sometimes when I am afraid that's when I become very strong because if I can't even jump this wall when I am afraid I can jump it.

Respondent 15: I will be very cold.

Respondent 12: Me too when I am afraid the heart begins to beat faster than usual.

Facilitator: What do you think about a whole night in a dark cemetery and why?

Respondent 14: I can't... I don't know .. but I can't.

Respondent 13: I think I'll just dig a whole and then put myself into it, cover myself and join them.

Respondent 11: Me I think that's when I'll be able to sleep well. I'll close my eyes, sleep and then .. I'll not concentrate on the fact that I'm in the cemetery.. so I'll sleep.

Respondent 16: For me I just can't stay there because I'll just be thinking about all my relatives who are dead and everybody coming up to me so I can't sleep there.

Respondent 6: I can't sleep – I'll just open my eyes and then turn round if there is even a small hit or a small strike somewhere I'll just turn round and see whether there is a ghost coming or not so I can't sleep – yeah.

Respondent 5: I really don't know what will lead me there. But if I find myself in that situation I mean with changing my mind – because I find it in the Bible that I don't think there is something like a ghost. So if you have that mind, I don't think I'll be afraid.

Respondent 4: My answer will depend on what actually got me there. If it's the will of the society that I should spend the night there then I'll be strong because they have rejected me so that's the option I have.

Respondent 17: In fact, previously, I used to fear cemetery and that kind of things. But when my mother died, I said oh, for cemetery I need not to fear because if I go there and there is indeed a ghost so far as she is also there I don't .. I am not afraid of anything. So now the fear of me going there has been reduced because I know if there is a ghost she is also there so..

Respondent 18: I think I will collapse before day breaks. Because my fear will become so intense that my heart rate will increase and I'll collapse.

Respondent 2: I don't know. I have some experience. The whole night I have not experienced it before but at least for six hours I have done it before. And this.. I had wanted to even give a testimony some other time but I could give it. So to me I don't think I have any panic or any fear residing at the cemetery at night.

Facilitator: Thank you all very much for your participation ...if for any reason you want your contribution to be erased please come to me and...

(viii) ADULT EDUCATION 6 (TEMA MIXED GROUP)

Facilitator: So after watching everything what do you make of it? If you were the man what would you have done?

Respondent 1: With me I would make sure the lady doesn't disgrace me like that. In a way she has disgraced me to the point of taking my own life. I will make sure I'll silence her – that's how I would react.

Respondent2: The man knowing very well that that's how the lady behaves at that instance he shouldn't have even asked for the salt for him to take his life but rather be quiet and when the American thing they talked about came he would have sacked the lady – the lady or the wife would be exempted. She wouldn't go with them.

Respondent 3: I am looking at it from another angle. Maybe the woman is the breadwinner and the man is now trying to.. so maybe the man has been depending on the woman for some time so the woman has been controlling the house (facilitator: but from the sketch we saw that the man wasn't actually now trying to make it. At least he was receiving some visitors from...) no, this is a person who is receiving visitors from outside. When going out the woman asks for his car – if you are going to meet your visitors I am also going to the market and my car is not here. If you are somebody who has.. I mean if you have control you can just move the car away. Whether she goes to the market or not....

Facilitator: so how do you make of the man's attitude?

Respondent 4: I think the man was too timid

Respondent 5: He was too soft.

Respondent 6: I think there is something unidentifiable was going on in that home

Respondent 7: I think there is a problem in that home that's why the woman is behaving that way.

Respondent 8: Knowing how the woman I mean my wife behaves I don't think I will even welcome my visitors here at the first place. I can go somewhere, find a comfortable place. We have restaurants as she said (another respondent: there are business partners that they want to know your status they sort of maybe knowing your home so if you are taking them to a restaurant they would like to go and see your home) ok. And then again, knowing how my wife behaves - that she maltreats me, yes, I know my wife behave this way so I'll also behave that way round to make sure I overcome her. So for me I am seeing it in a way of doing more action than the lady (several respondents laugh)

Respondent 9: I believe it's not all about action. To have a happy family I believe it takes the two of you. If one person is a problem in the house I believe in allowing peace to prevail. So the man was being quiet because he just wanted peace prevail. On the other hand the woman was being difficult. So if I were to be in the shoes of the man I would have probably been quiet as he did and then use my own rules in terms of not being so low for her but like always trying to appreciate the little things she does. I believe that with time, with time.. (another respondent: only God knows how long this has been going on.. (several respondents laugh).

Respondent 10: Only God knows how long this has been going on and you've tolerated her for so long to the extent of even embarrassing and stuff. If you have a nagging wife, a wife who embarrasses you and does not regard you as the man of the house, and for the presence of peace to prevail and have a happy home, I think what the man should have done was not to bring the visitors to the home.

Facilitator: So if you were the man what would you have done with such a wife...?

Respondent 3: I don't think the best option is to let go the woman – drive her away. The best thing would be facing the problem and solving the problem.

Respondent 7: In a situation like this knowing how the woman is maybe in front of the visitors he shouldn't have even asked her to do anything for him in order for her to embarrass him in front of the visitors. So if something he would have to do it yourself knowing how the woman is. (facilitator: so is this the advice you'd give him if he were your son or sister?) As a sister what I would do is there should be a problem so you have to go into the matter and ask. Maybe the man has been doing something that's why the woman is behaving that way. So you find out what exactly the problem is and see if you can help them solve it.

Respondent 11: If I were a sister or a relative of his I would have told him to live as if there is no one else in the house- he's living alone, behave as if he is living alone. Women don't like to be humiliated that way – you don't give them attention; you behave they are not existing - it offends them. So when you treat the person like that the person will...

Respondent 12: In a way she is trying to behave that way. Maybe that's her own temperament right? I also have my own temperament. So usually I'll also try to behave as if she doesn't even exist – I don't ask her to do anything for me; I don't talk to her; I go to job and come back very late. If I come where she is I don't even go to sleep. So in the first place, here I have visitors. So I take it that she also one of them. I don't talk to her, not even asking her to give me the salt for the embarrassment. And then again, the man has taken his own life. I don't understand the reason why the man should do that. (facilitator: I think he had been provoked, he is fed up..) but he has an opportunity over there.

Facilitator: So why would somebody do that .. respond that way?

Respondent 8: When you have given everything out... the best solution is to end this by committing suicide (another respondent: that wasn't the best).

Respondent 13: I think the man had already, always been provoked. He was looking for just one thing to justify killing himself.

Respondent 2: What the man should have done is leave the house for the lady; neglect her. Act as if she doesn't exist and she herself would go and look for if she really wants the marriage. As she rightly said ladies don't like..... don't give her attention....

Respondent 14: Can I give you one experience?

Facilitator: I would be very grateful with a practical experience.

Respondent 14: You know I am in my second marriage. In my first marriage my wife had to... we had the opportunity to go outside. In fact she comes from a very poor background so I decided to..... when she came back this time she was high. We were using a car. I was then working in Ashiaman and she in Accra. We had a boy who attended school at St. Peters so in the morning I would drop the boy at school, pick a taxi and go to work and then my wife would bring him home... But this time, 2 o'clock the school called me to ask who was coming for the boy and I said oh, my wife is around. I called her and she was in Kumasi (facilitator: without your consent?) without my consent. So she returned the following day. And you know what I did? I closed from work; I went to pick the boy; we went to the restaurant; we came home she was there and we did not touch her food - second day - the same. So she went telling people that she was there and I am not minding her. I spoke to my boy and we did not mind her... it wasn't the best but..

Respondent 10: A neighbour of mine is married to a Liberian woman. The Liberian woman is, to my discretion, a bit harsh - sometimes just embarrassing the man in front of his friends when they come around. One day we were outside and all of a sudden the woman attacked the husband in front of us and the friends of the man were asking what kind of a woman is this, where is she from? And the news got round that she is from Liberia. And one of the guys made a comment that upon all the women in Ghana you couldn't marry any of them. You went to Liberia; what is wrong with you? So the fight got worse and the man had to pack out and go and live with a friend in Burma camp. So the woman was restless because the man wasn't coming to the house. She only knew he was living with a friend but she didn't know the specific friend. So one day we were there and the woman just got out dressed up, carrying all her children crying in the street. *Aden a?* They were searching for their father and husband. And they asked her?

She didn't want to say it but the news got out about what had happened so the people said she should go and apologise and let your husband come back to the house. It kind of worked.

Facilitator: so what we are going to do now is to forget about this sketch and then your personal – what are the things that make you angry?

Respondent: For instance, you've heard something wrong about me; you are my friend and you didn't make me aware and you went to tell your other friends and I got to know that you were aware but didn't let me know but you went round to tell others.

Respondent: I in particular I hate nagging... (facilitator: nagging?) yes.

Respondent: When you push me to the wall...

Respondent: What I don't like is maybe if I do something and there is a visitor or a stranger in our midst you don't have to disgrace me in front of the person. Maybe after the person is gone you can call me and say this and that.

Facilitator: Nothing angers you? – Ok, another question – when you are angry what do you do?

Respondent: When I am angry I just leave the scene (facilitator: how do you feel?) I feel ok.

Respondent: When I am angry, I feel that whoever I'm angry with should leave me to be quiet for sometime and let's say after 30 minutes you come back to me then don't come and repeat maybe you want to talk about what happened that made me angry. No, I don't want you to talk about it again. But to just come with a different matter and let's just laugh about it (facilitator: so when you do that how do you feel – when the person leaves you) when the person leaves me for - within that 30 minutes I get really angry; I regret for being with you at that instance – only that instance but after that 30 minutes I feel very ok.

Respondent: Me if I am angry, sometimes I try my possible best to destroy things especially if the person is .. (facilitator: how do you destroy a person?) like slapping you or carrying something to hit you or (facilitator: when you slap the person how do you feel?) I feel ok. (You become ok, what if the person responds with another slap?) then we fight. (and after fighting?) whether they beat me up or not.. but I'll try to win and I'll be fine.

Respondent: When I am angry I don't talk to anybody (so when you don't talk to anybody?) I am fine.

Respondent: When I am angry I like to talk .. and after that I feel better.

Facilitator: What are you afraid of in life?

Respondent: People who gossip.

Respondent: Disappointment.

Respondent: I fear to fail.

Respondent: I fear unfaithful people.

Facilitator: When you are afraid how do you react - what is your attitude towards the object of fear?

Respondent: I pray.

Respondent: You see me in a different mood altogether – I pray a lot.

Respondent: I fear witches .. I make sure they don't come near me

Respondent: I think from my point of view because if we allow that fear to dominate our lives it will not.. and whatever.....

Facilitator: Thank you very much.

(ix) AKUAFO JCR (ALL MALE GROUP)

Facilitator: What are some of the things that make you angry and what do you do when you are angry?

Respondent 1: Embarrassment.

Respondent 2: Ok, for me if somebody teases me I get angry. And when I get angry, I can just punch you in the face (facilitator: what happened to you when you hit the person?) if I hit you like that it will make me feel fine...

Respondent 3: If I may come in, I think that to a greater extent most people seem to just let go instead of maybe reacting like slapping and all those. Talking about being embarrassed in front of people at times it happens it may be coming from people who have considerable influence on you – I am talking about parents, elderly siblings and all those. In that case clearly I am tempted to think you may not be able to just slap the person like he is saying ok. So sometimes it's just best to let go – just walk away because I've had friends whose grandmum, you know, found them too, kind of hot to accommodate. So normally when we get together then like - advise your friend – he did this; he did that. That's the time... At a point it was even getting difficult for us because it doesn't necessarily mean that we are perfect. But whenever we listen to him it's like he is trying to portray some kind of bad or negative thing of the young man. To a greater extent he was angry. At a time it was more like a confrontation between them just because he thought she had taken it to the limit. So at times, I think personally I'll side with walking away because I think it doesn't hurt much.

Facilitator: Was there anything/a point in the sketch that made you afraid?

Respondent: When the man went to pick the gun. (facilitator: so if you were in the house with him, what would be your reaction? (Several respondent talk/mumble at the same time)

Facilitator: So fear, what are you afraid of?

Respondent: I am afraid of snakes ...

Respondent: I am afraid of guns (facilitator: so if I pulled out a gun right now what would you do?) I will just collapse.

Respondent: Marriage (other respondents: Roman father). I don't know but I seem to be speaking the minds of several gentlemen, ok. If you are in a stage where we are you begin to realise that getting totally committed to someone who would probably begin to behave like the lady we saw is something very very bad. Now you more or less are on your own. You don't answer any questions to anyone. The main issue is that when you are married it comes with several responsibilities. You realise that your life has to be divided among several people. It doesn't necessarily mean you may be selfish but you'll definitely need sometime to get accustomed to it. There may be times that you feel like being alone – not wanting to see anyone. But you can't be married and .. like I want to be alone so pack your things and go to your parents home – it is not done - and especially when the children start coming in...some of them are very noisy so a couple of factors.

Facilitator: So if you had a girlfriend and she wanted marriage (insert: another respondent (I'd leave her)).

Respondent: You see, it will actually depend on the kind of girlfriend. Let's face it. There are so many people who may be in a relationship now who are there for the experience.. probably they are just there for companionship and may be later

Respondent: It's a fear which could be overcome as time goes on. You get married you get used to it. You realise that there are some things that you can't be married and just let go- they are a part of it. So I think you will get used to it.

Respondent: There are several things I fear but I think another thing is unachieved dreams. As young men, ambitious young men we have several things that at a point,

maybe at age 40 you want to see yourself somewhere. It becomes very difficult is to see colleagues or people who didn't start as bright as you did kind of making progress. So another fear which I sometimes worry about is fear of unachieved dreams you may have started well but you may never know how it's going to end so it's more or less linked to the fear of the unknown.

Respondent: I am afraid to approach ladies – to ask them out (several respondents: laugh and say: approach, approach). **Facilitator:** why are you afraid to approach? Because if she turns you down she might tell all her friends and the embarrassment will be too much.

Facilitator: Ok. So this is a general thing – why is that?

Respondent: It may be that she might turn down your proposal...

Respondent: sometimes people are afraid not because they are afraid to approach the lady but the consequences of – the way to handle the lady. You may go in to get the lady but how to sustain her is the problem – the financial dimension is the main problem....so we must also add the financial aspect.

Facilitator: Ok. Going back to the first dimension about the fear of embarrassment – all her friends laughing at you and all that how is the feeling like? I am not a man so..

Respondent: You feel like .. maybe they are not even talking about you.. sometimes you even want to leave the area and go somewhere else.

Respondent: If you have a girlfriend and you have sex the fear is the girl getting pregnant because maybe your religious background will not tell you to go for abortion. (facilitator: but your religious background will tell you to have sex?). Abortion is maybe you kill someone.. yes, bigger than maybe having sex. And after having sex and the girl is pregnant (1) maybe you are a Christian boy and you don't want to do

abortion (2) you cannot bear the responsibility of a father. Maybe you a student and your family is not going to cater for you anymore so that fear is there.

Facilitator: Well, if you have to do it you must protect yourself (that is on the side).

Ok. Let's just say if you got a girl pregnant how would you ..react?

Respondent: Maybe I'd say from experience, the first time I had sex the girl was a virgin and she was new to it. All her fear was the following month is she going to have her menses. And the month came and a week after she didn't get it so she called and that fear was. (facilitator: so what did you do?) mm... I prayed to God to forgive and let her menses flow. So since then I have had to protect myself. You see I was new so.

Facilitator: Ok. But generally how is the feeling like when you are afraid?

Respondent: I think you'll be emotionally stressed. The fear is there-you'll worry. To a greater extent some people would start looking for options. They'll start exploring how, you know.. maybe they have an A plan, a B or a C. But obviously all these will have to come with consequences. You can't stick to plan A and go scot free. For all you know you may have to confide in an elderly sibling who would probably to scold you before helping you with a solution. So it's also a part of it.

Facilitator: Thank you all very much.

APPENDIX E: FREQUENCIES OF METAPHORICALLY USED WORDS

(i). ANGER

1. Words relating to BURDEN (16)

Word	Frequencies in focus groups	Frequencies focus in written questionnaires
Relief	4	-
Release	2	-
Bear	2	1
Burden	1	1
Cope (with)	2	1
Load	1	-
Aggravate	-	1
Total	12	4

2. Words relating to CONTAINER and FLUID (17)

Word	Frequencies in focus groups	Frequencies in written questionnaires
Contain	5	
Brim	3	
Rise	2	
Pour	1	
Hidden inside/ keep it in	4	2
Total	15	2

3. Words relating to SICKNESS/ILLNESS (6)

Word	Frequencies in focus	Frequencies in written
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	groups	questionnaires
Recover	1	-
Get over	2	1
Suffering	-	1
Infection	-	1
Total	3	3

4. Words relating to OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE (19)

Word	Frequencies in focus groups	Frequencies in written questionnaires
Overcome	2	-
Manage	5	-
Control	6	3
Defend	-	2
Spare	-	1
Total	13	6

5. Words relating to WEAPON (14)

Word	Frequencies in focus groups	Frequencies in written questionnaires
Assault	1	3
Hit	1	
Harm	1	
Offensive	1	

hurt	4	3
Total	8	6

6. Words relating to HEAT/lack of heat (11)

Word	Frequencies in focus groups	Frequencies in written questionnaires
Cool down	2	-
Cold	3	-
Boil	2	-
Explode	1	1
Hot	-	2
Total	8	3

7. Words relating to FOOD (6)

Word	Frequencies in focus groups	Frequencies in written questionnaires
Fed up	6	-
Total	6	0

8. Words relating to human some quality (37)

Word	Frequencies in focus groups	Frequencies in written questionnaires
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Aggressive	1	6
Powerful	4	3
Strong	4	5
Gentle	-	1
Active	-	2
Peaceful	-	1
(Non-)Violent	-	2
Bad	-	3
Nasty	-	1
Slow	-	4
Total	9	28

9. Words relating to natural force (14)

Word	Frequencies in focus group	Frequencies in written questionnaires
Furious	1	2
Outrageous	1	-
Moderate	-	1
Harsh	-	3
Calm down	-	5
Raining	-	1
Total	2	12

10. Words relating to dangerous animal/danger (4)

Word	Frequencies in focus group	Frequencies in written questionnaires
Danger	-	1
Dangerous	2	-
Dog	1	-
Total	3	1

11. Words relating to physical agitation (4)

Word	Frequencies in focus group	Frequencies in written questionnaires
Perturbed	-	1
Alarmed	-	1
Cry	-	2
Total	0	4

12. Words relating to insanity (2)

Word	Frequencies in focus group	Frequencies in written questionnaires
Mad	-	1
Abnormally	-	1
Total	0	2

(ii). FEAR

1. Words relating to physiological effects (79)

a. Words relating to sweating (4)

Word	Frequencies in focus group	Frequencies in written questionnaires
Sweat	-	3
perspire	-	1
Total	0	4

b. Words relating heart beat/rate (11)

Word	Frequencies in focus group	Frequencies in written questionnaires
Heart beat	-	11
Total	-	11

c. Words relating to dryness of mouth (1)

Word	Frequencies in focus group	Frequencies in written questionnaires
Mouth dries up	-	1
Total	-	1

d. Words relating to flight (19)

Word	Frequencies in focus group	Frequencies in written questionnaires
Run away	5	14
Total	5	14

e. Words relating to drop in temperature (5)

Word	Frequencies in focus group	Frequencies in written questionnaires
Cold	2	1
Freeze/frozen	-	2
Total	2	3

f. Words relating to physical agitation (22)

Word	Frequencies in focus group	Frequencies in written questionnaires
Shiver	2	6
Shake	-	4
Tremble	-	4
Nervous	-	4
Shed tears	-	1
cry	-	1
unstable	-	1
Total	2	20

g. Words relating to skin shrink (4)

Word	Frequencies in focus group	Frequencies in written questionnaires
Goosebumps/goose pimples	-	4
Total	0	4

h. Words relating to inability to move (10)

Word	Frequencies in focus group	Frequencies in written questionnaires
Couldn't move	1	-
Motionless	1	-
Just stood/sat there	2	3
Freeze	-	2
stiff	-	1
Total	4	6

i. Words relating to inability to speak (2)

Word	Frequencies in focus group	Frequencies in written questionnaires
Speechless	-	1
Dumbfounded	-	1
Total	0	2

j. Words relating to blood (1)

Word	Frequencies in focus group	Frequencies in written questionnaires
Blood pressure	-	1
Total	0	1

k. Words relating to involuntary release of bowels (4)

Word	Frequencies in focus group	Frequencies in written questionnaires
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Pee	2	1
Urinate	-	1
Total	2	2

2. Words relating to struggle/opponent (17)

Word	Frequencies in focus group	Frequencies in written questionnaires
Overcome	4	8
Combat	-	1
Strategies	-	2
Resist	-	1
Intimidated	-	1
Total	4	13

3. Words relating to burden/load (10)

Word	Frequencies in focus group	Frequencies in written questionnaires
Bear	1	-
Unbearable	-	1
Burden	-	1
Uneasy	-	3
Cope (with)	-	1
Relief	-	1
Load	-	1

Withstand	-	1
Total	1	9

4. Words relating to tormentor/predator (3)

Word	Frequencies in focus group	Frequencies in written questionnaires
Haunt	-	1
Overtaken	-	1
Grip	-	1
Total	0	3

5. Words relating to illness/sickness (5)

Word	Frequencies in focus group	Frequencies in written questionnaires
Weak	-	2
Sick	-	2
Suffer	-	1
Total	0	5

6. Words relating to superior (3)

Word	Frequencies in focus group	Frequencies in written questionnaires
Dominate	-	1
Compel	1	
cause	1	

Total	2	1
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Other frequently occurring words used to talk about fear (31)

Word	Frequencies in focus group	Frequencies in written questionnaires	Total
Frighten	2	9	11
Scare(d)	4	13	17
Panic	-	3	3