

Pragmatics of Na ‘see’ Perception Verb Expressions in Gã

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to examine lexical semantics from a cognitive approach in Gã, a Kwa language. In Gã, the verb *Na* ‘see’ has polysemous and metaphorical uses. There has been linguistic research in Gã and there is still the interest to study the language. Currently, to the best of our knowledge, there is no study that specifically explores lexical semantics from the cognitive approach. This is the gap the researcher attempts to fill. The verb denoting perception has metaphorical expressions that will have some relationship with the original verb. In the discussion, we consider the pragmatic implications and relevance of the extensions derived from the verb *na* ‘see’.. We look at the nature of the derived semantic patterns and consider the extent to which they are peculiar to the Gã language and culture. The study is based on Sweetser’s (1990) cognitive approach of semantic change. The paper shows that most of the metaphorical extensions are based on human perception and interaction with the physical world. The findings of the study reveal that the metaphorical meanings reflect the socio-cultural experiences of the Gã land. Hence, the more they move away from the physical realms, the greater the realizations.

Keywords: metaphorical extensions, metaphor, perception, polysemy, pragmatics. semantic change.

1.0 Introduction

This paper examines the interpretive use of *na* a perception verb in Gã, a Kwa language spoken in the southern part of Ghana. Polysemy is a term used in semantic analysis to describe the situation in which a word has two or more related meanings. Though this explanation seems very simple, polysemy is not a clear-cut concept. Linguists have been trying to give a sound account of what polysemy is and how it can be accounted for. The purpose of this present study is the analysis of the polysemy that exist in the perception verb in Gã. Perception verbs in this language do not only convey meanings related to the physical perception of this sense modality (vision, hearing, taste etc), but they are used to express other meanings as well, (*na* ‘see’ to mean bribe as explained in example (9); *na see* ‘see back’ as in expose/ detect as used in example (25a & 25b). The aim is to find out which semantic extensions are found in this semantic field, the pragmatic relevance of the extensions derived from the verb *na* ‘see’. We also look at the nature of the semantic patterns and consider the extent to which they are peculiar to the Gã language and culture. The question is why these semantic extensions seem to occur between very specific conceptual domains and not others. The reason why these semantic extensions take place are important, but the question of how these meanings are obtained is equally important. How these semantic extensions are carried out, that is how two different conceptual domains, such as physical visual perception and intellectual connections are brought together. How is it possible to shift from a physical domain to a more abstract domain? To answer these questions, we base our study on Sweetser’s (1990) cognitive approach to the study of polysemy and semantic change. Sweetser’s model involves semantic change and polysemous patterns, metaphorical connections between semantic fields, the mind as a body metaphor, sense perception and the structure of the metaphors of the perception. Within this approach, the knowledge and experiences human beings have of the things and events that they know are transferred to those other objects and events, which they are not familiar with, and even to abstract concepts.

2. Literature Review

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) were among the first ones to point out this conceptual potential, especially in the case of metaphor. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:5) posit that “The essence of metaphor, is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in term of another”. Agyekum (2013:185) states that “A metaphor is a statement that one thing is something else which in literal sense is not.” Littlemore (2003:273) also defines metaphors as “culturally loaded expressions whose meaning has to be inferred through reference to cultural knowledge.” This means that there will be variations in the interpretation of metaphorical expressions in a language. Lakoff and Johnson and Agyekum share the same view on metaphor. Sweetser (1990) investigates the multiple meanings in the semantic field of English perception verbs. She shows that lexical polysemy cannot be understood independently of human cognitive structure. The fact that everyday cognition is metaphorically shaped, at least partially, helps us to understand the way in which the senses of polysemous words are related. Although I agree that metaphor is a cognitive means by which the structure of human experience is created and extended, metaphor cannot entirely explain why some semantic changes do not shift towards a more abstract meaning but remain physical. The use of metaphors is one of the highest uses of language creativity. Meanings of

metaphorical utterances cannot be deduced from literal senses of the words. For one to be able to interpret metaphors, one needs to understand both the literal meaning and conceptual and the cognitive facts about the world. There is no one correspondence over the individual words and their meanings. The whole chunk must be taken (see Agyekum 2013). Various types of metaphors have been identified and discussed in literature. Agyekum (2013) have made distinctions between living metaphors and dead metaphors. In living metaphors, the traits and comparison can easily be identified. This is because the user of the metaphor intentionally and consciously employs the metaphors in his/ her utterances. In the dead metaphor the traits and the comparison are covert. Eide (1976: 164) refers to dead metaphors as hidden or root metaphors. According to Eide, these dead metaphors come about when metaphors have been used for a longer period and are no longer recognized as metaphorical, especially by the younger or current generation. To them the metaphorical meaning and the literal meaning are the same. Cruise (2011: 72-74) refers to these kinds of metaphors as ‘dead’, ‘frozen’, ‘fossil’ or ‘conventionalized’ metaphors. Most of the Ga metaphorical expressions in the language have become dead metaphors and the youth especially interpret them as everyday expression. These sayings have become more or less fixed in the language and are used freely. In analyzing and understanding a metaphor and their meanings, it needs a critical look at their semantic and pragmatic structures and the competence of the one making the analysis. The analyst should take into consideration these factors, knowledge of the language, and the cultural, social and environmental background of him / herself. For example, Blakemore (1992, 160 – 164 cited in Agyekum 2002) have made distinctions between living metaphors and dead metaphors. In living metaphors, the traits and comparison can easily be identified with the literal meaning while in dead metaphor the meaning of the metaphorical expressions may not have any link with their literal meanings with the passage of time. In Agyekum (2005 : 149), he made it clear that the semantic aspect covers the intrinsic and extended meaning of the metaphor, and the pragmatics refers to their contextual usage. This means that the recognition and interpretation of a metaphor needs attention to the particular context of its utterance. Quoting Mey (1993: 64-65) as,

Pragmatically speaking, all metaphors are wrong as long as they are not ‘contextualized’ i.e. they should be placed within the proper situation of use. Only the context of situation that we want to characterize metaphorically can determine the usefulness of a particular metaphor. The task of pragmatics is to ‘deconstruct the metaphor, to unload the loaded weapon of language.

On the other hand, polysemy is a semantic phenomenon where the same word has two or more different related meanings Hornby (2015:1189). Agyekum (2015) notes that “The major feature which differentiates polysemy from homonymy is that of relatedness and unrelateness of meanings”. When words have related meanings they form categories and their meanings bear resemblance to one another. The common characteristic makes it possible for a society to use polysemy to organize its concept into categories. According to Lakoff (1987) in Agyekum (2005:149), polysemy arises because there are systematic relationships between different cognitive models and between elements of the same model. The same word is often used for elements that stand in cognitive relations to one another. In polysemy, new meanings are developed from words over a period of time, in which case the original established meanings is not lost. This means that the original word with its original sense is now loaded with other senses. Because the new derived sense still share some connotations and links with the basic sense, the word is believed to be carrying a heavy load of meanings, that is the basic and the derived senses. In situations like this, the contextual and pragmatic features come in to help solve the problem of ambiguity that might crop up. We want to make a distinction between polysemy and homonymy. Cruise (2011) posits that polysemy refers to one word with several connected meaning while homonymy refers to several words with the same formal properties both phonological and graphic but with different meanings.

Following the perspective of lexicalization, several papers in semantics and pragmatics of sensory verb has been studied in a number of works. Newman (2009) focused on eat and drink verbs, a cross-linguistic study. Aikenvald (2009) The linguistics of eating and drinking verbs, Adjei (2013) Verbs of Ingestion and their Semantics in Gbe, Atintonu (2013) The semantic and grammar of positional verbs in Gurene, Agyekum (2015) Ani ‘Eye’ metaphorical extension in Akan and Agyekum (2002) lexical polysemy and metaphorical extension of ‘Te’ ‘Hear’ Perception verb in Akan. These works prove that the cognitive device makes it possible to link a physical domain with an abstract domain. They argued that the domain of physical perception is polysemouse because it does not only refer to physical perception itself, but also to other domains of experience. Extensive work on perception verbs has been done in different languages e.g. Akan, Ewe, Gurene and other Indo-languages like Basque and Spanish. However, there is no study that specifically explores lexical semantics from the cognitive approach in the Gã language. In attempt to fill some of these gaps in the Gã language, I examined a number of common but under described usages of *na* ‘see’ verb as it pertains in the Gã language.

3.0 Grammatical Features

In Gã, word order and pronominal forms are used to signal grammatical relation. Dakubu(2007). A simple declarative sentence has SVO word order that is the subject precedes the verb, and the object follows the verb. Hence, Gã is an SVO head – initial language. The grammatical categories associated with the verb include tense, aspect, mood and negation (Kropp 2008). The categories may be marked morphologically on the verb. Also, the form of the pronoun used indicates whether an entity is to be considered as a subject or an object in a given construction in Gã. Pronouns are not gender – specific (Kotey 2014). The morpheme / a/ is used to mark plurality in order to show concord in sentences. Again, it is realized as 3SG / PL INDEF. i.e. Third person singular or plural indefinite marker

4.0 Methodology

The investigation of the na ‘see’ verb in this study is based on both spoken and written data. With the spoken text, I collected actual usages of the verb from a range of communicative and conversational speech contexts within the Gã community in Ghana (Accra). I sought the consent of consultants and recorded entire conversations including religion, political, social life to constitute the spoken data. I also collected the written components of the data from text quoted from the Gã-English dictionary Dakubu (2009) . Using the author’s judgment as a native speaker of the language, I included in the data sentences that I consider appropriate, which I recorded from news items in Gã on Latenu radio. Fifty (50) text were originally selected in number from which twenty-seven (27) were carefully selected in order to avoid repetition in the course of analyzing them. I also conducted unstructured interview with two of the Gã scholars who are native speakers of the Gã language. I did this to confirm or disconfirm the researcher’s intuitive knowledge about certain usages. After that, the relevant *na* ‘see’ verb is extracted and in each example, I evaluated the derived semantic patterns of the verb based on the use of the *na* verb in a sentence or a proposition. Gã has two contrastive tones: high and low. Conventionally, tones are hardly marked in the respective orthographies, a practice which is maintained in this study. I have marked a high tone on /é/, the perfective aspect to differentiate it from the third person singular /e/.

5.0 Perception Verb Na (see) in Gã

Most metaphoric expressions are derived from the use of the verb or nouns denoting the organs of perception. There is a relationship between our external experience and our internal, emotional and cognitive states. We can say that the physical and the mental world bring about the extension of expressions to cover other senses.

5.1 Na as “Experience” Perception Verb in Gã

The perception verb in Gã is considered as an experience perception verb where the participant [+ animate] is the target of the action involved in the perception. In the verb *na* ‘see’ the stimulus of the message comes from an outside source sent through the eyes to the brain. The NP being animate perceives the impact of the stimulus. The targeted NP is thus an experience or the affected argument. The source may come from an animate or inanimate NP². The expression below illustrates a basic perception process.

There is a source that is the stimulus and it is the percept, and there is a target, which is the reactant and peripient of the stimulus.

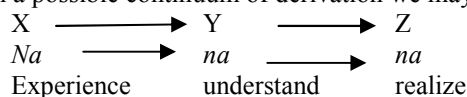
5.1.1 Na Vision and its Extensions in Gã

The verb *na* “to see” has various realizations. The verb *na* which basically means see in the physical sense can be extended polysemously to mean the following

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------------|-----|------------|-----|-------------|-----|--------|
| (a) | find out | (b) | discover | (c) | discern | (d) | notice |
| (e) | consult | (f) | understand | (g) | realize | | |
| (h) | experience | (i) | quarrel | (j) | have qroage | | |

The various meanings of *na* are derived from a central prototypical meaning ‘see’. The basic meaning is linked to the extensions through metaphorical and semantic projections. The closer a verb is related to the basic verb *na* ‘see’, the more physical it is. All the meanings are derived from *na* ‘see’ however, some of the derivations are so related that it is possible that the sense Z being derived not directly from the basic sense ‘see’ but from an earlier derived sense X. this means that, other meanings arise as extension of the prototypical, or through extensions of other extensions eg. The sense *na* “find out” is derived from *na* “consult” The difference is that; the target in “find out” is [- human] whereas the target of consult is [+human]. The sense of *na* “to understand’ has the same phenomenon as realize, and experience, Whiles the sense of *na* “to quarrel” is derived from *na* “have qroage”.

To capture this in a possible continuum of derivation we may have it in the frame below



More research is required in Gã linguistics to prove the trend of the various derivations of the polysemous senses of *na*. For clear understanding of the Ga expressions, I present the full words of the abbreviation used in the text.

¹Abbreviations: COMP, Complementizer; COPL, Copula; CONJ, Conjunction; DET, Determiner; FUT – Future Aspect FUT, Future tense; FOC - Focus Marker; HAB – Habitual Aspect ;; ICV, Inherent Complement Verb; INDEF, Indefinite; LOC., Locative; MP, Motional prefix; NEG, Negation marker; OBJ, Object position; PERF, Perfective aspect; POS, Possessive; Postp. Postposition; PROG, Progressive aspect; 1 SG, First Person Singular; 2SG, Second person singular; 3SG; Third person singular; PLM, Plural marker; RC, Relative clause¹.

² There is no gender distinction in Gã pronoun such as the case in English, for example he/she. his/her (Kotey 2014).²

5.2 Basic realization of na ‘see’ verb

Basic realization of *na* ‘see’ verb of perception is to see. This deals with the physical eye taking sight of a physical object. The object can be animate or inanimate. For example,

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|
| | X | See | Something/somebody |
| | NP [+animate] | V [physical] | NP... [+ object + animate] |
| 1a. | Aku | é- na | Kwei [+animate+human] |
| | Aku | PERF.see | Kwei |
| | (Aku has seen Kwei) | | |
| 1b. | Aku é- na e - tade le | | [-animate] |
| | Aku PERF. See3SG POS dress DET | | |
| | (Aku has seen her dress) | | |
| 1c. | Kofi na wolo le | | |
| | Kofi seePST book DET | | |
| | (Kofi saw the book) | | |

5.3 Cognitive Aspect of the Metaphors of na ‘see’.

In these aspects, we have shifted the use of *na* “see” from concrete to abstract. This gives rise to metaphorical uses of the polysemous verb *na* ‘see’. Metaphorical extension comes about because we can connect and focus our abilities with our visual sense and experiences. Vision is one of the senses that can attend to one stimulus out of a multitude and metaphorical expressions than some of the other senses. Vision deals with the intellectual side of our mental life. eg. In Gã one can give the expression *mi dieytse mina* “I saw it with myself” presupposes a true and objective account from the speaker. From this, we can say that visible objects and auditory sounds are the richest sources of information and concept formation. This might be so because a greater number of objects that we have in the world have visual and auditory evidence. More things can be heard and seen from distance at a time than we can smell touch or taste. In Gã semantics, the verbs *na* “see” and *ye* “eat” generate more metaphorical extensions and idioms than the others.

5.3.1 Na to know / find out / experience

This is the commonest polysemous usage of the verb *na* in Gã

There is a semantic change from physical “vision” to a mental vision. According to Sweetser (1990) metaphor of knowledge is how its basis in vision’s primary status as a source of data.

- 2a. Nihoolo na jarayeli le mli
 Seller see trade DET LOC in
 (The seller gained experience in the trade)
- 2b. Ame na aké wolo le é - laaje
 3PL see IntM book DET PERF lost
 (They got to know that the book is missing)
- 2d. Atu é- na juló le
 Atu PERF see thief DET
 (Atu has found the thief)
- 2e. Okulafo le na amanehulu
 Widow DET see painful things
 (The widow experienced bitter life)

(2e) involves first seeing the thing/perceiving it and then going through some bitter events. The NP at the subject position is the experiencer and [+animate]. The direct object is an abstract noun.

In this metaphor, the speaker wants the hearer to take note of an impending event. It is usually used as a form of warning. Most of the time it is expressed with negative implications, alerting the hearer (s) to desist from doing bad things or forces of a threat in which the speaker would like to be sure that the activity is performed.

In such cases, there is more emphasis by adding *ole* “you should know” to the *na* ‘see’ eg “*na ole*” or ‘*naa*’

- 3a. Na o - le akε a- baa- mɔ bo kε o- wo - oo nyɔmɔ lε?.
 See 2SG know IntM 3SG FUT catch 2SG if 2SG pay+NEG money-owe DET
 (Note that you will be caught if you do not pay the money you owe)
- b. Naa akε o shika lε é - laaje
 see IntM 2SG money DET PERF lost
 (You should note that your money is missing)
- c. Mi na akε e- yε jεmε
 ISG see IntM 3SG COP there
 (I noticed that he/she is there)

5.3.2 Na to understand, realize and solve

The verb *Na* can also mean ‘to understand’ ‘realized’ or to find a solution to a problem’. Here, the hearer tries to get the message that the speaker is trying to convey. In the conversation, the speaker would use *na* ‘see’ to find out whether the hearer understands, realizes and had been able to solve the problem. It is also used to draw ‘attention’ to get the hearer to follow the interaction. Below are some examples

4. O na nɔ ni e - kεε?
 2SG see RC 3SG say
 (Do you understand what s/ he said?)
5. Mi na akε e baa ba wɔ
 1SG see IntM 3SG FUT come tomorrow
 (I have realized that he will come tomorrow)
6. o na naagba lε naa?
 2SG PERF see Problem DET mouth
 (Have you found solution to the problem?)

In these contexts, the content of speech is transformed into a physical object and the brain is symbolically represented by the eye, as in the frame below.

NP	V	NP
Brain	understand [+mind]	utterance [+abstract stimulus]
Eye	see [+perception]	object [physical stimuli]

The idiomatic expression *na + mli* “see in” can also be used to imply “understand”, to be acquainted, familiar, conversant with, etc The direct object can either be concrete or abstract, one of its positive meanings is the direct opposite of the example Below: ‘*na mli*’ (see in), *naaa naa* ‘not see’..

7. Mi na sane lε mli
 ISG see problem DET LOC in
 (I understand the problem, I am acquainted with the problem,
 or I am familiar with the situation).
8. Ayi é na nitsumɔ lε mli.
 Ayi PERF see job DET in.
 Ayi had mastered the job.

This implies that Ayi understands the rules and principles of the job.

5.3.3 Na to consult

Na ‘to see’ may involve a physical vision that involves a personal interaction. In communication, apart from the surrogate ones involving drums and horns were basically the face to face interactions. *Na* may mean having a consultation with someone who is knowledgeable in the topic being consulted in. In this case the addressee of the message is a recipient of either a physical object, advice, or counseling.

8. Yaa na shia nukpa lε
 Go see house head DET
 “ (Go and consult the family head)’
- 8b. Yaa na gbalɔ lε
 Go see prophet DET
 (Go and consult the prophet)

In such instances, apart from the physical sight of the person, there is another dimension added that is more crucial, that is the interaction or the discussion which has more to do with the manipulations of the brain. In certain contexts where some mutual interaction is needed before any offer is given to the recipient as illustrated in the example below.

9. Taomɔ shika ko o- ya- na lε.
 Find money DET. 3SG MP go see 3SG object

(‘ Find some money to bribe him/her’)

In example (8) and (8b) where *na* is used to mean consult. The syntactic and semantic frame is

X	na	Z
NP [+human]	see	NP [+human]
Theme	Action	Goal

In this frame the NP (Z) acting as a Goal represents somebody who is a higher authority, control money or work, and the NP (X) functioning as the theme wants favour.

5.3.4 Na to discern

Speculations are made during communicative interactions. According to (Blakemore 1992 and Wilson & Sperber 2012) conversations are full of implications. Because of this some ideas are left unspoken to be discerned by hearers. *Na* ‘to discern’ means sorting out among other things. It involves a more or deeper search into something which was formerly not revealed. The discernment is a revelation of the items concealed in this context. Some of the adjuncts include ‘*fayy*’ clear ‘*srɔto*’ difference. Areas that we can talk of discernment include, riddles, puzzles, myths, idiomatic expressions and proverbs. Here, one tries to figure out the message or meaning conveyed by drawing inferences, or listening attentively and analyzing the context. The direct object can be animate or inanimate, concrete or abstract as in the examples below.

10. Nuumo le na srɔto ni yɔɔ haaji le atɛŋ.
 Man + old DET see difference among twins DET between
 (The oldman saw the difference between the twins)’
- 11a. Mi na- aa bo
 1SG see+ NEG 2SG
 (I have no regard for you)’
- 11b. Mi na- aa gbeke le tɔmɔ le.
 1SG see+NEG child DET sin DET
 (I cannot discern the child’s crime)’

In example (10). The aspect of perception is viewed as both physical and mental processing. The argument is functioning as the patient for the verb *na*, *na* “haaji” [+animate]. The physical sight gives the observer the chance to select or separate (a) from (b). It is clear that discern, observe, regard and perceive all indicate intellectual as well as physical vision. But in all cases the original meanings may have been extended to cover mental realization as in (11 a & b) above, Here, the direct object of *na* is an abstract noun that is [+human]. The speaker in 11 is pointing out that he/she has weighed the case of the child very carefully but cannot discern or make out the quilt committed.

5.3.5 Na “to see through

12. Gbalɔ yoo le é - na teemɔŋ saji ni baa- ba
 Prophetess DET PERF see secrets casesFOC FUT come
 (The prophetess has prophesized on what would happen)
13. Yoomo le na e- gbele
 Old+Female DET see 3SG death
 (The old woman prophesy her death)

Looking at the sentences in (12) and (13), semantically, the agent is [+human] who is in the possession of supernatural powers. The direct object is an abstract noun involving covert issues. In Ga, these abstract nouns are hidden from our sight and everyday life.

This could be seen only by agents who ‘possess supernatural powers. Such people are said to have a spiritual eye. That spiritual eye is express in Ga as ‘*ena nii*’ meaning“ s/he see beyond” or literally ‘he / she has an eye”. This is normally used by traditional priests and divine prophets and prophetess.

5.4. Idiomatic Uses of Na ‘see’

Some of the metaphorical extensions of *na* in the Ga language have become conventionalized that they are considered as idioms. The idiomatic expressions of the verb of vision *na* may be derived in some ways. This includes attaching a postposition, an NP, an adverb (of degree and intensity), etc to *na*. All these expressions with additional meanings are related to either the physical or mental representation of vision. They are usually discontinuous i.e *na* + Z. Let us consider the various usages in the section below.

5.4.1 Na used with Postposition

Postposition is a location that often comes after locative NPs in Ga. There are cases where postpositions occur without a dependent NP. A null object is created; this is seen in Ga expressions because there is a feature of null object in the syntax of the language. *Na* “see” is combined with postpositions to give some idiomatic expressions like *naa* ‘edge’ *mli* ‘in’ *see* ‘back’ *yitso* ‘head’ *nɔ* ‘surface’ The constituent structure of the whole *na* construction is a VP made up of a VP[<NP>] and a postposition as in the

frame below.

V <NP> Postposition
 Na <NP> n

This implies that he/she does not know exactly what to do with the thing. He cannot perceive the angle to tackle the job.

5.4.2 na + ... nɔ 'see LOC on'

This is used to indicate having a clear view of the situation or a case in order to find a solution to it. It involves knowing something about the case.

14. E na akɔntaa ɛ nɔ
 3SG+PERF see maths DET LOC on
 (He/she has seen the clue to work the maths)
15. Maɲtɛ ɛ é- na sane ɛ nɔ hewɔ ɛ e - kɔjo.
 Chief DET PERF. See case DET LOC on CONJ 3SG judge
 (The chief has seen the facts of the case so he made his judgement).

The above expression could also be expressed to show suffering. In this instance the expression *na + nɔ* is used without any noun coming before the postposition.

16. Yoo ɛ na nɔ
 Women DET see on
 (The woman suffered)

5.4.3 Na + naa "see edge"

It is used when somebody is coping / not coping with a situation. This is usually used in negative constructions and the positive means a physical sight of something

17. Mi na- aa nitsumɔ ɛ naa
 ISG. See+ NEG work DET LOC edge
 (I cannot get the principles behind it)
18. Mi na- aa sane ɛ naa
 ISG see+ NEG case DET LOC edge
 (I don't understand the case)
19. Mi na- aa naa
 ISG see+ NEG LOC edge
 (I 'm confused) '
 Mi na- aa naa
 ISG see+ NEGLOC edge
 (I 'm overwhelmed)
20. Mi na- aa mi - he naa
 I SG see+ NEG 1SG POS self LOC edge
 (I'm not getting on well)

This is used not in terms of physical health, but in situations where one is facing some economic hardship or having some psychological problems.

5.4.4 nà + mli see LOC inside

This expression has the same semantic connotation as in (2a) but the two are syntactically different. As an idiom, this expression is not often used in the negative as in (20) and in reflexive construction.

21. E - na nibii ɛ a - mli
 3SG+ see things DET PLM LOC inside
 (He found the secret).
22. Koi na mli e- ha ɛ
 Koi see LOC in 3SG give him
 (Koi had pity on him).
23. E na sane ɛ mli
 3SG see case DET LOC inside
 (S/he has known the facts of the case).
24. Naa mli o - ha mi
 See LOC in 2SG for me
 (understand me).

With the expressions above *na mli* 'see in' the direct object is normally an abstract NP which is referring to an issue. In some cases the object can be interpolated between the phrasal verb as in (21 & 23) and in other cases the object cannot be interpolated between the phrasal verb as in (22&24).

5.4.5 Na + sɛɛ see back

Na + sɛɛ is used in a situation where an issue supposed to be a secret is revealed or exposed to people. The direct

object to the verbal expression can be animate or inanimate. The meanings given in (c) above is very close to this one, except that this one involves revelation to secrets.

25. A na nuumo le see
3PL INDEF see man + old DETLOC back
(The old man's secrets have been revealed)

25b Wɔ na sane le see
2Pl . See case DET LOC back
(We have detected the issue).

In these expressions *na+see* 'see back' the direct object is normally an abstract NP referring to an issue which has been concealed. The object can be interpolated between the phrasal verb as in *na <NP> see* The NP may refer to a deal that was meant to defraud or harm the target.

5.5 Na used as an Imprecature

Na 'see' is used in religious and spiritual manner to mean an imprecature on the addressee/ hearer. This statement is often heard from an adult to a younger person, one marriage partner to the other or from adult to adult. Of late this statement is heard from a younger person to a friend of the same age .It is often used by the victim who has been offended, cheated, insulted, in one way or the other . It is used in situations of serious conflicts and grievances.

26. Mɛɛ o - baa - na
Wait, 2SG FUT. See
(Wait you will see)

In the Ga culture, this imprecature is seen as a verbal taboo and should not be uttered since it can cause harm to the addressee and even extent it to other members of the family depending on the pronouncement of the curse. This is therefore seen as an aspect of the power of the spoken word which is claimed by the culture to have the potency "to make and unmake" Agyekum (1996).

6.0 Conclusion

In this paper, we have seen that the lexical patterns of languages are normally linked with the cognitive experience of the people. In the case of perception verb, the verb is extended and shifted into the mental realm. The more they move away from the physical realm, the greater the mental realization. This shift and extension give rise to polysemous and metaphoric realizations and show that there is a connection between the physical and the metal realms. I may conclude that, there is an issue of relatedness between the basic verb of perception and other mental representations. In the case of metaphors, the verb of perception is compared to something else, thus shifting the meaning completely from the source domain to the target domain. Looking at metaphors at the semantic or pragmatic approach, (it would be more understood if the two is combined and even to add the cognitive abilities and intuition to analyze them well.

I propose that a future research should compare the Gã language to other two or three unrelated languages to find out whether conceptual polysemy can explain why and how conceptual mapping occur in certain way and direction. This might help us to understand and clarify the reason for changes of meanings.

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