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## Cultural scripting of body parts for emotions

### On 'jealousy' and related emotions in Ewe\*

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Different languages present a variety of ways of talking about emotional experience. Very commonly, feelings are described through the use of 'body image constructions' in which they are associated with processes in, or states of, specific body parts. The emotions and the body parts that are thought to be their locus and the kind of activity associated with these body parts vary cross-culturally. This study focuses on the meaning of three 'body image constructions' used to describe feelings similar to, but also different from, English 'jealousy', 'envy', and 'covetousness' in the West African language Ewe. It is demonstrated that a 'moving body', a psychologised eye, and red eyes are scripted for these feelings. It is argued that the expressions are not figurative and that their semantics provide good clues to understanding the cultural construction of both in terms of the parts of the body that are scripted and of what they mean.

#### 1. Variation in emotion talk

The growing literature on the language of emotions shows that different languages have a variety of ways of talking about emotional experience. As Heelas (1996: 171) puts it:

Members of different societies talk about their emotions in a wide variety of ways, many of which strike us as distinctly imaginative. The Javanese of Ponorogo, for example, employ liver talk: "it is the liver 'atil that appears in idiomatic expressions indicating emotion"; and "the role of the liver is not altogether just a metaphor" (Weiss 1983: 72).

This variety of expression is not only found across languages but also within the same language. Thus in English, as Heelas (1996: 179) illustrates, one can make “direct reference to the emotions as inner experiences” as in expressions like *I feel angry*, *I hide my fear* or one can use body parts including organs as in *I vented my spleen* to talk about emotions. Physiological phenomena are also used as in *I tingled with fear* and so on. Languages vary in terms of the range of the vehicles employed and in terms of how elaborate a particular vehicle is.

In this paper, I am concerned with lexical and grammatical constructions that are used to express emotions roughly similar to “jealousy” and/or “envy” in Ewe, a Kwa (Niger-Congo) language of West Africa. The aim is to investigate the meaning of the expressions and to explore the following questions: Which components of the body are culturally scripted for “jealousy” and its relatives? What kinds of activities or states are associated with the body parts when they are used to talk about these emotions? It will be shown that the Ewe “jealousy”-related expressions present these emotions in terms of behavioural manifestations either of the person experiencing the emotion or in terms of events associated with a body part of the experiencer which is viewed as the locus of the emotion. The Ewe expressions to be discussed are:<sup>1</sup>

- (1) a. V N<sub>body part</sub>  
       *va* *ɲù/ ɲú*  
       move EYE/ body  
       ‘to be jealous or envious of someone’
- b. *biã* *ɲù/ ɲkú*  
       redden EYE/ eye  
       ‘to be envious of or covetous about an entity (persons or things)’
- c. <sub>SUBJ</sub>[(NP poss) N<sub>body part</sub>] V  
       *é-fé* *ɲkú* *biã*  
       3SG-poss eye red  
       ‘He is covetous; he is down-cast, sorrowful; he is revengeful’ (Westermann 1928).

As the glosses suggest, these expressions are collocations of verbs and body part nouns which can function in different constructions. The free translations also indicate that the expressions do not have the same significance as the English words. The semantic analysis of each of the expressions in Section 5 will show that there is overlap between them and that the expressions in (1b) and (1c) are only partially related to jealousy. The closest equivalent to jealousy is the expression in (1a) which, as we shall see, seems to be more related to a ‘mad with jealousy’ complex than just plain jealousy as one reviewer put it.

The use of expressions based on bodily symptoms and bodily images for expressing emotions is rather widespread crosslinguistically (see e.g., Jordan-skaja 1986 for Russian; Bugenhagen 1990 for Mangap-Mbula — an Austronesian language of Papua New Guinea — and Reh 1998 for Dho-Luo (Nilotic)). In fact, Wierzbicka (1999: 294) suggests that “in all languages one can talk about ‘emotions’ by referring to externally observable bodily events and processes understood as symptoms of inner feelings”. She proposes, in addition, that “all languages also appear to have conventional bodily images, that is, expressions referring to imaginary events and processes taking place inside the body, used as a basis for describing the subjective experience of feelings assumed to be based on thoughts (such as *my heart sank* in English)” (Wierzbicka 1999: 305).

Wierzbicka would be the first to acknowledge, I am sure, that even if the bodily symptoms and images are universal phenomena, the individual expressions in various languages, however similar they might be, would have culture-specific meanings. In this paper, I will demonstrate this and other differences as well between languages with respect to the expression of “jealousy”-related feelings and the parts of the body where they are thought to be located and the kind of activity or state associated with the body part(s). For instance, “jealousy” and “envy” tend to be linked with the eyes in many cultures. However, the states and the activities associated with them vary. Thus in Maasai, a Nilotic language, one’s eyes are black when one is envious (see Dimmendaal, this volume, and references therein), but in Ewe, as the expressions above illustrate, one’s eyes are “macro-red” when one is envious.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, there is a difference between languages in terms of the markedness of the bodily expressions in relation to other expressions for the same emotion. In some languages the bodily expressions are the unmarked or basic expression for an emotion while in other languages the basic term for a particular emotion may not be a ‘bodily’ expression; rather, the bodily expressions are subordinate to a non-bodily basic one. In general, English tends to use bodily expressions as subordinate to other basic level terms for specific emotions. In Ewe, by contrast, bodily expressions tend to be basic level expressions. For instance, in the domain of ‘jealousy’ the Ewe expressions listed above are the unmarked non-metaphorical ways of describing such feelings in the language whereas English does not seem to have similar unmarked bodily expressions in this domain.

The paper is organised as follows: First, I will discuss the issues concerned with the scripting of body parts for emotions (Section 2) and examine the lexico-grammatical evidence for the Ewe scripting of the body and the eye for “jealousy” and related feelings (Sections 3 and 4). The meaning of the three

'bodily image/symptom constructions' listed in (1) are then investigated (Section 5). The paper concludes with some observations on the Ewe forms in a cross-cultural perspective.

## 2. The scripting of body parts for emotions

Cross-cultural research on the experience of emotions in recent times points to two relevant findings: first, that places where people report to feel emotions vary for different emotions, and second, that there is considerable consistency between members of the same culture in terms of where particular emotions are reported to be felt. At the same time cross-cultural similarities, but not universals, are found in reports about some emotions. For instance, the findings of Hupka et al. (1996) in their experimental study of corporeal sites for emotions across five nations — Germany, Mexico, Poland, Russia and the United States — corroborate earlier results showing that individuals claim to distinguish different sensations for different emotions. Furthermore, they found that reports of differentiated bodily activity for different emotions are shared across cultures. However, they also found enormous cross-cultural differences with respect to the corporeal sites reported to be involved in anger, fear, envy and jealousy. These findings lead them to propose that "although the genetic and physiological bases of emotions may be similar in all human beings, talk about emotions may vary because of cultural scripting" (Hupka et al. 1996:246). That is to say, emotion talk varies cross-linguistically because emotions are socio-cultural constructions (cf. e.g., Averill 1980; Lutz 1988). The idea of cultural scripting is to be understood in terms of the standardised knowledge and specific beliefs in a culture about which emotions are felt where, and how these feelings are displayed. It is concerned with the schematic labeling of body parts for emotions in specific cultures. Moreover, Hupka et al. (1996:246) indicate that

... the findings point to the possibility that talk about emotions and verbal reports of the loci of their stimulation in the body are influenced by the language habits of the community particularly as expressed in metaphors (Lakoff and Kövesces 1987), symbolism (Averill 1974) ritual (Douglas 1973) and social relations or schemata (Rimé et al. 1990).

I want to suggest that while metaphor, symbolism and ritual are expressions of the linguistic habits of a community, talk about everyday emotions using bodily parts, organs, symptoms and images which are not necessarily metaphorical

provide a good source of evidence for the "cultural scripting of components of the body with emotions" (Hupka et al. 1996:245). In addition, such expressions point to the cultural differences in the number and type of body-related components that are associated with particular emotions. In this paper I concentrate on the linguistic aspects of the habitual ways of talking about jealousy and related emotions involving body parts. By virtue of the fact that such expressions have become entrenched they give good clues to cultural scripting. However, the results from the linguistic investigation have not yet been tested in a psychological experiment of the kind reported by Hupka et al. (1996), for example. It is hoped that the results from such experiments will corroborate the linguistic findings.

## 3. Body parts scripted for "jealousy" and related emotions in Ewe

The expressions listed in (1) above repeated below as (2) involve a verb and a body part.

- (2) a. *va* *ɲù/ ɲú*  
 move EYE/ body  
 'to be jealous or envious of someone'
- b. *biā* *ɲù/ ɲkú*  
 redden EYE eye  
 'to be envious of or covetous about an entity (persons or things)'
- c. *é-fé* *ɲkú biā*  
 3SG-poss eye red  
 'He is covetous; he is down-cast, sorrowful; he is revengeful'  
 (Westermann 1928).

As the glosses suggest, there is no doubt that the body part involved in the expressions in (2b) and (2c) is the eye. The alternate forms of the word for 'eye' in the two expressions correspond to the difference between 'eye' as a physical organ, i.e., *ɲkú*, and 'eye' as a "psychologised" organ, so to speak, i.e., *ɲu*. The latter is glossed with upper case EYE to distinguish it from the physical eye. The historical basis for this distinction bears on the interpretation of the body part involved in the expression in (2a). There are two competing etymologies for the expression in (2a), based on the nominal component, which derives from the different tone values that can be assigned to it in different dialects. If it has a high tone, then the expression is rendered literally as 'move body'. If the noun

has a low tone, the expression is literally ‘move EYE’. Both interpretations are plausible physical manifestations of ‘jealousy’. Before exploring that issue let us first consider the relation between the physical and psychologised ‘eye’ in Ewe.

Regular historical phonological processes account for the fact that there are two or three forms for ‘eye’ in Ewe. The full form of the word that is still heard in some dialects is *ɲùkú* ‘eye’. This could be thought of as a compound of the form *ɲù* ‘eye’ and *kú* ‘seed, kernel, grain’ (cf. Pazzi 1980:152). The compound form undergoes vowel elision in the first syllable leading to a form with a syllabic nasal in the first syllable *ɲkú*. Thus *ɲù* is the older form and *ɲkú* is the newer form. In many contexts, especially in Verb–Noun collocations, both forms are intersubstitutable without any change in the semantic interpretation of the expression. Consider these examples:

- (3) a. *dó ɲù/ ɲkú NP*  
set EYE/ eye  
‘remember NP’  
b. *tɔ ɲù/ ɲkú*  
wander EYE/ eye  
‘to cast one’s eyes somewhere’  
c. *biā ɲù/ ɲkú PP<sub>[ALLATIVE]</sub>*  
redden EYE/ eye  
‘to be envious of a person or covetous about an entity’

It appears that contexts of the kind exemplified in (3) served as the bridging context for the semantic specialisation for each term where *ɲù* now refers to a psychological eye and *ɲkú* to a physical eye. This leads to contexts in which the two terms are not substitutable for one another any more as exemplified in (4).

- (4) a. *Mia ɲkú/ \*ɲù*  
close eye/ EYE  
‘Close your eye(s)’  
b. *Me-ga-tró ɲkú/ \*ɲù dé-m o*  
2SG.NEG-REP-spin eye/ EYE ALL-1SG NEG  
‘Do not eye me’.

In the examples in (4), the term for the physical eye is acceptable but not the psychological eye. In other contexts the reverse happens: the psychological eye is acceptable but not the physical eye. For example:

- (5) a. *kpe ɲù/ \*ɲkú*  
weigh EYE/ eye  
‘to be shy, ashamed’

- b. *dɔ ɲù/ \*ɲkú*  
spend-time EYE/ eye  
‘to keep wake’  
c. *ɲù/ \*ɲkú ke*  
EYE/ eye open  
‘It is day break’.

Ewe is perhaps not unique in having two terms for ‘eye’ one of which has a more “cognitive” dimension. For example, Timberlake (1993:881) mentions that in nineteenth century Russian the words *glaz* and *oko* were still both in use (the former has now displaced the latter except in poetry and songs), but with different meanings: *glaza* refers to eyes as “instruments of physical perception, with which one merely reads or looks”, whereas with one’s *oči*, one “gazes actively or reflects a sad thought” (see also Timberlake 1999: 52–57 for a survey of the development).

The Ewe terms for the two eyes — physical and psychological — also show different grammatical behaviour. First, the physical eye term can occur in a possessive phrase as in (2c) or (6), for instance. In such a context it is linked to its possessor by the possessive connective *fé* as is normal for body parts in Ewe grammar (Ameka 1996). The psychological eye term *ɲù* does not occur in a possessive phrase, let alone being linked to the possessor by the connective. It always occurs as an independent nominal and the possessor is always external to the constituent in which it occurs. Secondly, the physical eye term, as should be expected, can be pluralised while *ɲù*, the psychological eye term cannot be pluralised. For example:

- (6) [Context: He was numbed and he fell down]  
*Ési wò-fɔ lá é-fé ɲkú-wó biā*  
When 3SG-arise TP 3SG-poss eye-PL red  
*éye mé-té.ɲù fo nu o*  
and 3SG.NEG-can strike mouth NEG  
‘When he got up, his eyes were red and he could not speak’.  
(Ayeke 1998:82)

From these pieces of evidence, one can conclude that in Ewe talk the organ associated with ‘jealousy, envy, covetousness’ and similar emotions is the eye. Moreover, two forms of the eye are recognised — a physical one *ɲkú*, which can be linked to physical as well as emotional states, and a psychological one *ɲù*, which is linked more to emotional states. That both eyes are scripted as locus of envy and related emotions is not surprising from crosslinguistic or cross-

cultural perspectives. For instance, Swartz (1998) comments on how the Mombasa Swahili speak about envy as follows:

Envy ... is always at least potentially harmful to its objects and those closely associated with them. The harm that envy does is through the agency of the eyes of the envious (Swartz 1998: 30).

He further reports an ethnotheory of the generation of this emotion in the eyes thus:

A shared understanding ... among Old Town Mombasa Swahili community members is that envy begins in the eyes that see what is desirable, is experienced and influenced in the heart where the desire to have what the other has is produced and may find expression through the tongue thus spreading and increasing the envy (Swartz 1998: 31).

For the Mombasa Swahili then envy begins in the eyes but other body parts such as the heart and the tongue are involved in the spread and manifestation of the feeling. As we shall see below, for the Ewe the kind of emotion that centres around envy and covetousness or longing for is linked with a sensation that makes one's eyes red. The same bodily symptom is felt when one is in danger or anxious or in panic and it causes one to strive to achieve a goal.

The question that remains to be addressed is which body part is scripted for 'jealousy' in the expression *va nù/njú* 'move EYE/body'. Is it the eye or the body or both? As noted earlier, there are two folk understandings depending on the tone assigned to the nominal *nu*. Nyomi (1980) commented in his radio discussion on the subject that there are two explanations for the word *nuvava* 'jealousy' — the nominalised form of the Verb-Noun collocation *va nù/njú* 'move EYE/body' thus:

- (7) a. *Le go gbãto me lá, nùvava gome-é nyé*  
 at side first inside TP EYE-RED-move meaning-AFOC COP  
*nù aló nkú va-va le ame dókui me dé ame búbu*  
 EYE or eye RED-move at person self inside ALL person other  
*yome le é-fé dzi-dzé-me-kpɔ-kpɔ aló nú búbu ádé*  
 trails at 3SG-poss heart-land-inside-RED-see or thing other INDEF  
*si ku dé é-njú lá ta: ame-dókui-me-njú-va-va*  
 REL hang ALL 3SG-side TP because person-self-inside-eye-RED-move  
*dé ame-há-ví fé zɔ-zɔ-me yome.*  
 ALL person-group-member poss RED-walk-inside trails  
 'In one instance, the meaning of the word *nùvava* is moving one's

eyes in oneself towards another person because of his/her successfulness or on account of something else which pertains to him/her: The movement of one's eyes within oneself with respect to a neighbour's progress'.

- b. *Le go eve-liá me lá, nùvava gome-é nyé*  
 at side two-ORD inside TP body-RED-move meaning-AFOC COP  
*njú aló nùti-lá va-va le ame dókui me dé*  
 body or body-flesh RED-move at person self inside ALL  
*ame-há-ví fé zɔ-zɔ-me njú le é-fé*  
 person-group-member poss RED-walk-inside side at 3SG-poss  
*dzɔgbenyui aló nú-nyó-ná-me búbu ádé ta.*  
 fortune or thing-good-for-person other INDEF because  
 'In the second case, the term *nùvava* means the movement of one's body or flesh in oneself towards the progress of a neighbour because of his fortunes or because of some other good or pleasant things that may have happened to him/her' (Nyomi 1980: 7).

As Nyomi explains, those speakers (and dialects) whose thinking follows the lines of the first explanation in (7a) of moving eyes produce the word *nuvava* with a low tone on the first syllable. However, those speakers whose thinking goes along the lines of moving skin or body or flesh produce the word with a high tone on the first syllable. Lexical evidence suggests that Ewe makes a distinction between an "outer body", i.e., skin, and an "inner body", i.e., flesh. This opposition between *njú* 'body', *njúi* 'skin' and *njúti* 'whole body' on the one hand, and *njútilá* 'body flesh', on the other, is exploited by Nyomi in (7b) above. The historical processes invoked above to explain the relation between *nù* 'EYE' and *nkú* 'eye' can be used to account for the words for "outer body, skin", namely, *njú* 'body', *njúi* 'skin', and *njúti* 'whole body'. The phonologically heavier term *njúti* 'whole body' looks like a compound derived from *njú* 'body' and the form *ti* which is probably related to a form meaning 'accompanying, together with'. The form *ti* also forms a compound with *ame* 'person' as in *ameti* 'outer person, whole person'. The form *njúti* 'whole body' got simplified by the loss of the medial consonant yielding the form *njúi* 'skin'. Both *njúti* 'whole body' and *njúi* 'skin' are used interchangeably for "skin, outer body" in expressions like the following:

- (7) c. *Tútú njú/ njúti nyúte*  
 wipe skin body well  
 'Scrub your skin/body well'

- d. *Ku ηúí/ ηúítí ná-m*  
 scoop skin body DAT-1SG  
 'Scratch my outer body for me'

The form *ηú* 'body' behaves like a generic term for "body" and functions as a direct argument of various verbs in some collocations such as *sé ηú* 'be strong body', i.e., 'be strong, tough', *té ηú* 'press\_down body', i.e., 'be able to, can' and *nyś ηú* 'spurt body', i.e., 'to be disgusting, loathsome'. It should be noted that both *ηú* and *ηúítí*, but not *ηúí*, have grammaticalised into postpositions used to designate an outer surface and region of an entity. For instance, one can say *ze-a ηú/ηúítí kɔ* (pot-DEF outer\_surface be\_clean) to mean 'the outer surface of the pot (as opposed to its inner side) is clean'. In this example, *ηú/ηúítí* function as postpositions and are not used as body parts. As postpositions, they are bound to the nominal (pot) and cannot occur without such dependent items (see Duthie 1996 and Ameka 1995 on postpositions).

The upshot of this discussion is that even though there are three terms in the domain of "body" in Ewe, the one that is involved in the expression *va ηu/ηú* 'move EYE/body' is the one for the whole body. It also seems that *ηú* 'EYE' is related to *ηkú* 'eye' in abstractness in the same way that *ηú* 'body' is related to *ηúí* 'skin' and *ηúítí* 'whole body'. It is fair to say that both the eye and the body are scripted in Ewe for jealousy. It is instructive that in Gungbe, a sister dialect of Ewe in the Gbe language cluster spoken in Benin, there is no variation of the kind found in Ewe. The expression for jealousy is *hwan awu* 'move body' (Enoch Aboh p.c.). Were one to assume that the Ewe form could also have historically been just 'move body' and then through tonal change creating a folk etymology with respect to the psychological eye, it would be plausible to explain it as a product of metonymy: a part of the body being used to represent the whole. The common denominator of all this, however, is that whether it is the body or the eye, 'jealousy' in Ewe is more behavioural and action-directed than just a mental state. In fact as Nyomi explains, it is not just the part that is lexically scripted, as it were, for the emotion which is moved when people are experiencing jealousy. He observes that when women are jealous because of their husbands or lovers they move all parts of the body. Consider his description of such a situation:

- (8) *Le nyónu-wó gó-me lá vevé-se-se kplé dzikú fé gbɔgbɔ sia*  
 at woman-PL side-in TP pain-RED-feel and anger poss spirit DEM  
*ná-ná bé wó-va-a tó-wó, va-a ηɔ́tí,*  
 give-HAB SAY 3PL-move-HAB ear-PL move-HAB nose

*va-a afo kplé así hékpédé ηkú-wó va-va ηú*  
 move-HAB foot and hand in\_addition\_to eye RED-move side  
*kpuie lá wó-va-a wó-fé ηúítí-lā blíbo kátā*  
 short TP 3PL-move-HAB 3PL-poss skin-flesh total all  
 'In the case of women, this painful and angry spirit makes them  
 move their ears, their noses, their feet and their hands in addition  
 to moving their eyes: in short, they move the whole of their body'

From the linguistic evidence, the eye and the body are scripted for 'jealousy' while the eye is scripted for 'envy' and related emotions. It seems however that even though the particular body part that is scripted for the emotion may be crucial and may give us information about what the Ewes think of as the seat of these emotions, the event or the processes associated with the body part are equally important. In the case of jealousy it is the movement of the part (or the whole body) while in the case of envy and related emotions it is the colour of the eyes. In the subsequent sections I will show that the grammatical patterns that are available for the scripted body parts and the experiencers are also instructive for the understanding of the emotions and the cultural conceptions about the specific body parts.

#### 4. The construal of the experiences and experiencers

As we have seen earlier, the grammatical constructions and processes in which the jealousy-related expressions participate provide clues to our understanding of the cultural scripting of the components of the body for these emotions. In this section, other clues that can be derived from the grammatical behaviour of the expressions are explored, especially with respect to the way the experiences and the experiencers are construed. Recall that two of the three forms being discussed are verb-noun collocations *va ηu/ηú* 'move EYE/body' and *biā ηu/ηkú* 'reddden EYE/eye' whereas the third one is a (Possessive) N(P)-verb collocation: (*X fé*) *ηkú biā* '(X's) eye red'. Because of their different internal structures, they participate in different argument structure constructions (cf. Essegbey 1999). The verb-noun collocation structures can function in two-place (transitive) constructions, with the body part term functioning as a direct argument of the verb, while the Possessive N-verb collocation is primarily a one-place construction, as will become clear from the examples below.

Another difference between the two sets of structures is that the expressions

of the verb-noun collocation type are construed as “active” or “processual” experiences, while the Possessive N-verb collocation type is viewed as “stative”. A piece of evidence in support of this comes from the nominalisation of the structures. The verb-noun structures are nominalised by permutation and reduplication, whereas the noun-verb type is nominalised by simple compounding. The nominalised forms of the expressions are shown in (9).

(9)	Predicate	Nominalised form
a.	<i>va ŋu/ ŋú</i> → <i>ŋu/ ŋú-va-va</i> (process, active) move EYE/ body	EYE/ body-RED-move. 'jealousy, envy'
b.	<i>biā ŋu/ ŋkú</i> → <i>ŋu-bia-biā/ ŋkú-bia-biā</i> (process, active) reddden EYE/ eye	eye-RED-red/ eye-RED-red. 'redness of the eye' <sup>3</sup>
c.	<i>ŋkú biā</i> → <i>ŋkú-biā</i> (non-process, stative) eye red	eye-red 'anxiety, envy, covetousness, desperation'

The interpretation of the output of the nominalisation strategies used with the different structures is consistent with the general patterns found in the language: the permutation and reduplication of verb strategy yields processual nominals, whereas the compound of N and V yields stative nominals (cf. Duthie 1996; Ofori 2002). Consider the uses of the nominalised forms of the expressions in the following examples.

- (10) ...*ŋu-va-va*      *sia dzi*      *fu-lé-lé...*  
eye/body-RED-move DEM give-birth enmity-RED-hold  
–‘this jealousy gave rise to enmity’ (Ayeke 1998: 53)
- (11) *gaké ŋubiabiā*    *dé ga*    *ŋú*    *trɔ́*    *é-fé*    *lɔ́lɔ́*  
but EYE-RED-red ALL money surface change 3SG-poss love  
‘[Ezuagba loved Nyuiemedi very much,] but envy because of  
money changed his love’ (Ayeke 1973: 24)
- (12) *É-srɔ́*    *nú*    *le afɪma kplé*    *ŋkúbiā*  
3SG-learn thing at there with red-eye  
‘He studied there with complete attention’ [and after just two  
years, he passed his exams with flying colours] (Ayeke 1973: 45).

Another piece of evidence in support of the ‘active’ vs. ‘stative’ character of the experiences is that the active ones are construed as controllable or under the control of the experiencer, hence they can occur in the prohibitive. The

“stative” experience expression cannot occur in the prohibitive because it is not viewed as being controllable by the experiencer. Thus *biā ŋu/ŋkú* ‘envy, covet, etc.’ is used in the translation of the Ten Commandments that have to do with covetousness as shown in (13).

- (13) *Me-ga-biā*      *ŋu dé ha-wò-ví fé afé dzi*      *o*  
2SG:NEG-REP-redden eye ALL neighbour poss house upper-surface NEG  
*Me-ga-biā*      *ŋu dé ha-wò-ví srɔ́, é-fé dɔ́lá-ŋútsu*  
2SG:NEG-REP-redden eye ALL neighbour spouse 3SG-poss servant-man  
*aló é-fé dɔ́lá-nyɔ́nu, é-fé nyi aló é-fé tédzi*  
or 3SG-poss servant-woman 3SG-poss cow or 3SG-poss donkey  
*aló nú-sia-nú si nyé ha-wò-ví tɔ́ lá fé dɛké*  
or everything REL COP neighbour POSSPRO TP poss any  
*dzi*      *o*  
upper-surface NEG  
(Mose II 20:17 Eve Biblia)

“You shall not covet your neighbour’s house. You shall not covet your neighbour’s wife, or his servant, man or woman, or his ox, or his donkey or anything that is his”  
(Exodus 20:17. The Jerusalem Bible (Popular edition))

Similarly, one can use *va ŋú/ŋu* ‘move body/EYE’ in the prohibitive. In fact, such expressions underlie Ghanaian English expressions like: “Don’t jealous me”.

- (14) *Me-ga-va*      *ŋu/ ŋú-m*      *o*  
2SG:NEG-REP-move EYE/ body-1SG NEG  
‘Don’t be jealous/envious of me’.

The “active” nature of the experiences encoded in *va ŋu/ŋú* ‘move EYE/body’ and *biā ŋu/ŋkú* ‘reddden EYE/eye’ is also reflected in the grammatical function that the experiencer argument can have. The experiencer of both expressions functions as subject as shown in the following expressions.

- (15) a. *né é-tsɔ́-e*      *ná dɛví dɛká lá, mamlé-á-wó á-va*      *ŋu-i*  
if 3SG-take-3SG give child one TP rest-DEF-PL POT-move EYE-3SG  
‘If he gives it to one of the children, the others would be  
jealous of him/her’ (Ayeke 1998: 31).
- b. [Several people liked him because of his many qualities]  
*Nenémá ké-é*      *futɔ́-wó hā biā*      *ŋu dé é-fé*  
same very-AFOC enemy-PL also reddden EYE ALL 3SG-poss

*ngɔ-yiyi n̄ú*  
 progress side  
 ‘In the same way, his enemies also envied his progress’  
 (Ayeke 1973: 16).

These experiences can also be packaged as a one-place *nyá* modal construction in which the body part nominal functions as the only direct argument of the verb and the experiencer is presented as a dative experiencer. The *nyá* construction has the function of indicating the judgement and disposition of the entity coded as the dative prepositional argument (in this case the experiencer). The possibility of using the *nyá* construction to talk about these experiences is further indication of their active nature because it is only such states of affairs that can be packaged in *nyá* constructions (cf. Ameka 1990; 1991; Essegbey 1999). Compare:

(16) *ny nyá va-na ná deví má*  
 EYE MOD MOVE-HAB DAT child DEM  
 ‘That child is wont to be jealous.’

(17) *ny nyá biā-na dé ga n̄ú ná nyónu má*  
 EYE MOD redder-HAB ALL money skin DAT woman DEM  
 ‘That woman covets money.’

However, there are some differences between the two active experience expressions. The stimulus of *biā ny* ‘redder EYE’ can be expressed as a direct argument. In this case the experiencer functions as the dative prepositional object (see example 25 below). The stimulus can also function as the complement of the allative preposition *dé*, in which case the experiencer retains the grammatical function of subject (see examples 13 and 15b above). By contrast, the stimulus of *va ny/n̄ú* ‘move EYE’ can be expressed either as the second object, as in example (14) above, or as the complement of the allative preposition *dé*. In both cases, crucially, the experiencer always has the function of subject.

The “stative” expression *X fè nkú biā* ‘X’s eye is red’, as noted earlier, is different from the active ones. First, it occurs only in a one-place construction. Second, the experiencer possessor can be left unexpressed. Moreover, the experiencer possessor can be expressed externally. In this case it is coded as the object of the dative preposition. For example,

(18) *nkú biā ná suku-ví-á-wó*  
 eye red DAT school-child-DEF-PL  
 ‘The students are focussed completely.’

In sum, the suggestion that some of the experiences are active and the others are stative has adequate support in their grammatical behaviour. In the next section we turn to the semantics of each of the expressions.

## 5. The semantics of the “jealousy”-related expressions

### 5.1 “Person X *va ny* / *n̄ú* person Y (*dé* entity Z *n̄ú*)”

Consider first the characterisation of this expression in some dictionaries:

*va ny*: to be jealous, envious (Westermann 1928)  
*é-va ny-m* il a laissé fremir son corps vers moi, c. à d. il a jaloux de moi  
 (Pazzi 1980: 146)  
 ‘He moved his body towards me, i.e., he is jealous of me’  
 (my translation FKA).

Typically, the target of the experience is a person represented by the NP that functions as a second object in the construction. In some cases the reason for the emotional situation can be represented in a prepositional phrase such as the allative prepositional phrase. It is something about someone else that triggers the feeling in the experiencer. As indicated in example (7) above, it is a thought about good things like good fortune or success that happen to other people that makes the experiencer move the body or parts thereof to show she is having an experience. For this reason, I propose that a component of the meaning of the expression is: something good happened to person Y. Presented in this way, *va ny* sounds very much like English *envy* and it is no wonder that it is sometimes glossed as such, as in the entry from Westermann above. As the example below shows, one can experience this on account of the fact that someone else has children and the experiencer doesn’t. That is to say, natural endowments can be the source of this emotion in people that do not have the privilege of such endowments.

(19) *Né-nyé bé ame ádé fé vimadzimadzi-é d̄s-e dá bé*  
 if be that person INDEF POSS barrenness-AFOC send-3SG forth SAY  
*wò-a-va ny n̄vɛ-á si dzi vi...*  
 3SG-SBJV-move EYE friend-DEF REL bear child...  
 ‘If it be that someone’s barrenness makes her jealous of the friend who has children’ [then this jealousy is an empty one because jealousy will not make her get a child if she is not destined to have one.] (Nyomi 1980: 19)

While some situations that are described by *va nu/nyú* ‘move EYE/body’ relate clearly to envy, other situations pertain more to ‘jealousy’. Thus it is used to talk about different kinds of jealousies — economic, social or romantic — including jealousy between lovers, partners, husband and wife, colleagues, siblings, etc. In all these cases, the experiencer feels something on account of the good things that have happened to someone else. In her discussion of jealousy in English, Wierzbicka (1999:99) suggests that “jealousy involves (prototypically) three parties rather than two and that it has to do with other people’s good feelings”. The focus of the Ewe expression *va nu/nyú* ‘move EYE/body’ is on two people even if a third party is involved, in the case of lovers: it is not so much about the third party as about the way the experiencer feels about the target of the feeling. In fact, one can *va nu/nyú* ‘move EYE/body’ his or her own position or success as the context of the following example shows.

- (20) [A successful woman wants to give up her position, her marriage, her respected role in the village as the Women’s leader and the husband admonishes her with these words:]

*né ma-va nu dé wo dofé sia-wó nyúto dé...*  
 if 2SG:POT-move EYE ALL 2SG status DEM-PL side NEG TP  
 ‘[My dear...] if you would not be jealous/envious of your own position...’  
 (would you not have pity on me and your children and change your mind from what you want to do) (Hlomatsi 1994: 104)

One feature in which *va nu/nyú* ‘move EYE/body’ is close to “jealousy” is in its active nature. In fact, *va nu/nyú* ‘move EYE/body’ has to be manifested behaviourally. The things that can be done include verbal actions, physical actions and general conduct in relation to the target of the feeling. Nyomi (1980:16) describes some actions women engage in when they experience *nyuvava* on account of their husbands’ infidelity.

- (21) *éye wó-fo-a nu dzu-ne, du-a tsé*  
 and 3PL hit-HAB mouth insult-HAB:3SG bite-HAB smack  
*aló si-a ahamá dé é-nyú aló fo-a fi dé-ne*  
 or cut-HAB insinuation ALL 3SG-side or hit-HAB curse put-HAB:3SG  
 ‘and they insult her (the husband’s lover), show contempt towards her or cast insinuations at her or curse her’
- (22) *né é-vá do do-fé ádé-wó lá,*  
 if 3SG-come reach reach-place INDEF-PL TP

*wó-tsó-á así gblé-á nú-i.*  
 3PL-take-HAB hand spoil-HAB thing-INV

‘When it gets to a certain point they use their hands to destroy things.’

Example (21) talks of some of the verbal actions that women engage in which include casting insinuations, and swearing at the third party as well as their husband. These verbal actions can be thought of as things done with a part of the body, namely, the mouth, and are thus covered by component (24h) below. The Ewe term for ‘talking’ or ‘speaking’ is *nufofó*, a nominalisation of the phrase *fo nu* ‘strike mouth’. Example (22) further makes it clear that physical harm and destruction can be the manifestation of jealous behaviour.

A song, sung by girls, recorded by Egblewogbe (1975), in the Kpando dialect of Ewe, draws attention to acts that emanate from a husband’s jealousy. Egblewogbe (1975:48) comments that: “The song suggests that a man was so jealous that he locks the door and goes to bed at an unusually early hour”. The lyrics of the song say it all:

- (23) *Yee, yee*  
*Yee, yee*  
*Gale anukli wó dé nye ta*  
*Anukliwó a yee*  
*Zāmedómedó d’att hɔ me*  
 ‘Oh ho  
 He’s still jealous about me  
 O, jealous one  
 It’s scarcely dark  
 And he has barred the door’ (Egblewogbe 1975:85)

It is behaviour of this kind that ensues from the feeling of *nyuvava*. It is significant that in the song, the Kpando Ewe use the verb *wó* ‘do’ together with a nominal *anukli* ‘jittery’ to express the feeling of jealousy. Once the behaviour is manifested, people can evaluate it and on the basis of that think something good or bad about the experiencer. If one is jealous of the success of someone else and then strives to be successful through working hard — one’s manifested behaviour as a result of jealousy — then people will think something good about this person. On the other hand, if a jealous husband locks the door and goes to bed early, people will think something bad about him. Again, as Egblewogbe (1975:48) notes: “Jealousy is a necessary element in human behaviour. But excess of it, especially when misplaced, is bound to disrupt social order. It is therefore looked upon as mean and it is ridiculed”.

On the basis of all these considerations and as a kind of summary, I propose the following Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM)<sup>4</sup> explication for *Person X va ŋu/ŋú person Y*:

- (24) *Person X va ŋu/ ŋú person Y*
- a. X thinks something like this:
  - b. something good happened to person Y
  - c. the same kind of thing did not happen to me
  - d. I feel something bad towards person Y because of that
  - e. I want the same kind of thing to happen to me.
  - f. I have to do something because of that
  - g. X felt something because X thought something like this
  - h. X does something with (part of) the body because of this
  - i. people can think something (good/bad) about X because of it

The explication suggests that the concept encapsulated in *va ŋu/ŋú* 'move EYE/body' is a complex of physical states, mental processes and dispositions which are thought to happen in the body. This is a general pattern for emotion concepts in the language. As argued in Ameka (1994: 65–66) the verb *se* which could be an exponent of the semantic primitive FEEL has various readings including 'perceive', 'hear', 'smell', 'taste' and 'feel' depending on the elements it collocates with. To get the reading of 'feel', it takes a locative prepositional phrase complement as follows:

*se le lā-me*  
 V at flesh-containing\_region\_of  
 'to feel'

The nominalised form of this phrase *se-se-le-lā-me* can be used to translate 'emotion, sensing'. The anthropologist Kathryn Geurts in her ethnographic investigation of the senses among the Anlo Ewe comments, referring to the term *seselelāme*:

Seselelāme is an ideal illustration of a culturally elaborated way in which many Anlo [Ewe] speaking people attend to and read their own bodies while simultaneously orienting themselves to objects, to the environment, and to the bodies of those around them. ...it is difficult to make a direct translation into English of the term *seselelāme* for it refers to various kinds of sensory embodiment which do not fit neatly into Anglo-American categories or words (Geurts 2001:5).

Contrasting the term *seselelāme* with Western views about the senses she writes:

Whereas we make fairly clear distinctions between external senses (hearing, touch, taste, smell, sight) and internal senses (balance, kinesthesia, proprioception) and then emotion ... they seem to have a traditional category or domain of immediate bodily experience (referred to by many Anlo Ewe speakers as *seselelāme*...) that encompasses and links states of perception, affect, and disposition that we treat as independent variables that can be separated or distinguished from experiences in the other domains. ...as a cultural category, a model for organising experience, and a theory of knowing, *seselelāme* is based on a fundamental principle of integration whereas the five senses model is premised on separation and distinction (Geurts 2001:9–10).

She concludes that

...*seselelāme* represents a cultural meaning system in which bodily feeling is attended to as a source of vital information. Instead of concentrating on distinctions between sensations and emotions, and between intuition and cognition, these experiences (or processes) are ... subsumed in one category called *seselelāme* (Geurts 2001:16).

I suggest that the lower level terms for various experiences in Ewe, like the superordinate label *seselelāme*, do not distinguish between emotion, sensation, perception, cognition, etc. Instead, there are components that link to a bundle of these things at one and the same time. I have tried to capture these components for *va ŋu/ŋú* 'move EYE/body' in (24) above. Thus there are components that go to thought processes (e.g., component (a)) and the content of the thought includes feelings and desires (components (d) and (e)), to feelings (component (g)) and to bodily behaviour (component (h)) as well as a moral judgment (component (i)). Similar components are proposed for the other two expressions in the following subsections.

## 5.2 *biā ŋu/ŋkú*

As noted earlier, there are two syntactic frames in which this expression occurs, viz.

	X	<i>biā ŋu/ŋkú</i>	( <i>dé</i> entity Z <i>ŋú</i> )
	Experiencer		Stimulus
Y		<i>biā ŋu/ŋkú ná</i>	X
Stimulus			Experiencer

This feeling, like that of *nywava* 'jealousy/envy', is also triggered by something good that someone else has or does. It is also the case that the experiencer feels s/he does not have such a property. Thus there are similarities in meaning between *va nyu/nyú* 'move EYE/body' and *biā nyu/nykú* 'redden EYE/ eye'. One feature in which the two experiences are different is that *biā nyu/nykú* 'redden EYE/ eye' has an element of the experiencer intensely wanting to have the good thing that someone else has and doing something to make this come about. This is the aspect, I believe, that the Ewe lexicographers have tried to capture. Consider the following two entries:

*ébiā nyu* il a fait rougir son oeil, c.à d. il s'est appliqué de toute sa force; il a convoité (Pazzi 1980: 151) 'he has caused his eye to be red, i.e., he has applied all his force'

*biā nykú*: to redden one's eye, to covet, to long for (Westermann 1928).

The focus of the *biā nyu/nykú* 'redden EYE/eye' experience is on the quality of someone else and not so much on the person per se, as is the case with *va nyu/nyú* 'move EYE/body'. In example (25) below, it is the attributes of someone else which trigger the experience, leading the experiencer to do something bad to the possessor of those qualities. Consider the following example:

- (25) [A criminal confesses and explains why he set fire to the exam papers of a class mate]

*Nye-é fi Nyuiemedi fé dodókpɔ-gbalē-wó hé-tɔ dzo wó*  
1SG-afoc steal N. poss exam.-paper-PL MOD-set fire 3PL

*élabé é-fé zazā, núnýá... biā nyu ná-m nyutoɔ*  
because 3SG-poss activeness knowledge redden eye to-1SG much  
'I stole Nyuiemedi's exam papers and set fire to them because I envied his activeness and wisdom ...' (Ayeke 1973: 14).

In this expression both the term for the physical eye *nykú* and the one for the psychological eye *nyu* can be substituted for one another. However, there is some evidence to suggest that in this context the physical symptom is psychologised. Part of the evidence comes from the fact that the term *nykú* 'eye' cannot be modified, not even for the plural. Thus even though the physical term can be used, it is used generically. Because of this, in the explication below it is suggested that people can detect that the experiencer has the feeling through what they can see about the eyes of the experiencer and the meaning component does not refer specifically to the physical colour of the eyes as the expression literally signifies.

- (26) *Person X biā nyu/nykú dé Y nyú / Y biā nyu/nykú ná person X*
- X thinks something like this:
  - I don't have Y
  - someone else has it
  - I want very much to have it
  - I want to do something because of this
  - X feels something bad because X thought something like this
  - something happens in a person's eyes when a person feels like this
  - because of this if people can see (the eyes of) person X they can know X feels like this

### 5.3 Person X fé nykú biā

As is obvious from the forms, there is a close relationship between this expression and the *biā nyu/nykú* 'redden EYE/eye' expression just described. There are at least three differences between them. First the *biā nyu/nykú* 'redden EYE/eye' expression is a verb-noun collocation — a transitive expression, while the *X fé nykú biā* 'X's eye is red' is a one-place construction involving a possessive phrase. Second, and following from the first, typically the experiencer of the latter is coded as a possessor, while the experiencer of the former is an independent NP functioning as Subject or as the Object of a preposition. Third, the *X fé nykú biā* 'X's eye is red' has a very literal and physical meaning, while *biā nyu/nykú* 'redden EYE/eye' involves a psychologised eye. Nevertheless there is an overlap between them, as Westermann's glosses in (27) below suggest.

- (27) *é-fé nykú biā*  
his-eye is red,  
'he is covetous; he is down-cast, sorrowful; he is revengeful'  
(Westermann 1928).

One may well wonder what all the situations captured in the glosses have to do with one another. The answer is that when people are in these conditions, from an Ewe point of view, the physical state indicative of it is that their eyes are red. In some cases the links are clear. Thus people who are bereaved and who can be thought of as sorrowful could have red eyes because of wailing and crying a lot — a cultural imperative in Ewe society. Situations that in English would be linked with envy and covetousness can be described using this expression, as in the following example where the experience is triggered when the experiencer perceives a good thing that someone else has and desires very much to have it.

- (28) *ési Ezuagba kpó ga-a ko lá é-fé nkú biā vévé*  
 when E. see money-DEF JUST TP 3SG-poss eye red seriously  
 'As soon as Ezuagba saw the money he became very envious' [and he began  
 to behave as if he no longer knew who his friend was] (Ayeke 1973:22).

The expression is also used to describe situations where the experiencer is fixated on something, that is, where s/he directs complete attention to someone or something. Thus when a prisoner escapes from prison and in the process wounds a guard, after the guard is taken to hospital, the police now turn all their attention to looking for the culprit. This is the situation characterised in the next example.

- (29) [Nyuimedi escapes from prison after beating and wounding a guard. The guard was taken to the hospital and]  
*nkú biā azó dé Nyuimedi dídí nítí*  
 eye red now ALL N. RED-seek side  
 'now, Nyuimedi was being desperately looked for' (Ayeke 1973:30).

Similarly, a student who studies with complete concentration and seriousness because he will be facing a final external examination in the year is described as follows.

- (30) [The time for him to go to the final year was approaching]  
*éyata é-fé nkú biā dé nú-só-sr3 nítí*  
 therefore 3SG-poss eye become\_red ALL thing-RED-learn side  
 'therefore he focussed all his attention on studying' (Hlomatsi 1994:54).

All the contexts described so far can lead to one's eyes literally becoming red. The eye term in the expression can be pluralised and the psychologised form, as we mentioned above, cannot be substituted for the physical organ term. On the basis of all these considerations, I propose the following explication.

- (31) *Person X fé nkú biā*  
 a. person X thinks:  
 b. something can happen  
 c. I want this thing to happen  
 d. I don't want anything else  
 e. I cannot not think about this  
 f. because of this I want very much to do something  
 g. X feels something because X thought something like this  
 h. something happens in a person's eyes when a person feels like this: people can see that the eyes are red

- i. because of this if people can see the eyes of person X they can know that person X feels like this

One difference between this explication and the ones before is that there is no judgmental component. Furthermore there is an element of preoccupation and not being able to do anything about it, as in the component "I cannot not think about this". Recall that the experiencer of this experience is an undergoer who does not have control over the situation.

## 6. Conclusion: Moving bodies and red eyes in cross-cultural perspective

In the foregoing I have demonstrated through a lexical and grammatical analysis that the terms used to denote "jealousy" and related notions (like "envy", covetousness, etc.) in Ewe are different in meaning from one another and from equivalent expressions in other languages such as English. In addition, I have shown that different parts of the body are scripted as the seats of these feelings and also as places in the body for the display of the experiences not only in Ewe but also across languages. In spite of the differences, the three Ewe expressions described in this paper also have similarities. One thing that emerged is that the terms are not in a hierarchical relationship to one another, but rather overlap in their range of applications. Thus *va nu/nú* 'move EYE/body' more or less covers jealousy and envy while *biā nu/nkú* 'reddened EYE/eye' more or less covers envy, covetousness and longing for, and *X fé nkú biā* 'X's eye is red' covers covetousness, fixed attention, etc. It was noted that these are basic level expressions for the various feelings.

In fact, languages seem to differ in the structuring of this "jealousy/envy"-related domain. To give an example of the distinctions made by the Angbandi of the Central African Republic and the body parts that are associated with the feelings, I quote from Bibeau (1982:73). He writes:

I note that jealousy, with a connotation of anger is called *mo* when the Angbandi refer to the general feeling, *sobere* when it is produced by conjugal infidelity, *kombe* when it translates husband's jealousy caused by his wife's infidelity and *mbanda* when it refers to the wife's jealousy in front of the husband's jealousy. ... *sobere* is a feeling located in the *be*, *mo* is located in the *ya*, that is the belly, and *kombe* and *mbanda* are located in the *tere* ['body' FKA], because they are said to effect the whole personality. These four words translating the one sentiment of jealousy-anger reveal native psychology.

What I want to point out with this quote is not just that there are several words covering this domain but more importantly that they seem to be hierarchically structured with *mo* at the top and the others on a different level since they are specific types, so to speak, of *mo*. What is also significant is that they are linked to different parts of the body.

Another dimension of variation comes from the use of equivalent expressions involving the same body parts and the same processes for different feelings. That is, the same images in different languages are scripted for different feelings. Take the Dutch expression *vlinders in je buik*, whose equivalent in English is *butterflies in your stomach*. The Dutch expression is used to describe the feeling one has when one falls in love. The English expression is used to describe the feeling one has when one is about to take part in a competition, for example. The image in both languages probably relates to anxiety. Incidentally, the Ewe expression *X fē nkú biā* 'X's eye is red' can also be used in the situations just described for the Dutch and the English expressions.

A further difference between languages and cultures is that even though the same body part may be scripted for similar feelings, the processes associated with the parts differ. It has been demonstrated in this paper that the body is scripted for jealousy and envy in Ewe. However, it is the movement of the body which is crucial for linking it with these feelings. In Akan, an areal and genetic relative of Ewe, the body is also scripted for jealousy and envy; however, in Akan it is the pain in the body that is relevant for these feelings. The Akan term is *ahōeyaa* literally, 'body/skin pain'.

Similarly, although in many languages and cultures the eyes have been scripted for emotions in the jealousy-envy domain, different functions and states are ascribed to them. We have already pointed out the function of the eyes with respect to the generation of envy among the Mombasa Swahili (see Section 3.0). A particularly relevant area in which differences manifest themselves with respect to eyes and the jealousy-envy domain is in the colour that is attributed to the eyes. In English one is green with envy, but we have seen that in Ewe the colour attributed to the eyes with respect to these feelings is the colour red. Dimmendaal (this volume) has drawn attention to the "colour-full" expressions for different emotions with respect to body parts in African languages. As he notes, the colour red has various uses and interpretations in several African languages. It is interesting that in Bari, an eastern Nilotic language, a clause that literally means 'your eyes are red' is interpreted as 'you are a ferocious fellow' (see Dimmendaal, this volume).<sup>5</sup> Here we have the same image as the Ewe expression 'X's eyes are red' but the interpretations in the

different languages are different even though it is conceivable that the interpretations might be related at some abstract level. There is the need for further research in this domain. Let me point out again that the colour verb *biā* is used for macro-red including focal red such as the colour of blood as well as the colour of a ripe mango or orange (cf. Vorseub 1994).

The connection between red eyes and envy and related emotions is not only an Ewe phenomenon but seems to be an areal feature in Ghana and West Africa. Thus in Akan we get an expression similar to the Ewe form as shown in:

- (32) *M'ani a-bere*  
 1SG-eye PERF-become\_red (FKA)  
 lit: My eyes are red  
 'I am jealous/covetous' (Gyekye 1995:166).

Like the Ewe expression, there is a nominalised form in Akan as well, derived by the compounding of *ani* 'eye' and *bere* 'red'. Gyekye (1995:167) gives the following glosses for the nominalised form which are very instructive and, *mutatis mutandis*, apply to the Ewe form as well:

*anibere* 'ambition, determination, anxiety, jealousy, envy, covetousness, desperation'.

In fact, this semantic pattern of red eyes being linked to these feelings has been transferred into Ghanaian English. A graffiti on a rock in the National Botanic Gardens of Ghana at Aburi (near the capital Accra) looks like this:

DEV'T  
 MEANS  
 EYE-RED

The graffiti can be interpreted as "Development requires focussed attention". The form eye-red is a calque based on the indigenous language patterns: *nkúbiā* (Ewe) and *anibere* (Akan). This shows that culturally scripted parts and the associated properties and processes are enduring patterns which can influence and diffuse across language boundaries.

It seems to me that what has emerged from the discussion of the Ewe scripting of body parts for emotions with particular reference to jealousy and related feelings is that for us to understand how emotions are expressed using bodily language we must pay attention not only to the body parts that are viewed as the seat of the emotions but also to the processes and states associated with those parts linked to the specific feelings. Furthermore, it is not at all clear

that the use of bodily image expressions for talking about feelings involves any mappings as such. Languages may differ with respect to whether they use these terms as basic level expressions or not. Ewe and many other Ghanaian languages use them as basic terms for describing experiences without any suggestion of figurative language.

## Notes

\* The subject matter of this paper was first presented at the 21st LAUD symposium on 'The language of emotions' held at the University of Duisburg, April 10–11, 1995. I am grateful to the participants in the symposium for their helpful suggestions. Several years later, the more grammatical aspects of the expressions discussed here were presented at a Workshop on the Typology of Ghanaian Languages at the University of Ghana, Legon, March 1999. The final write up of the research reported on here was done with the support of the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen, and Leiden University. I am grateful to Eva Schultze-Berndt who read the final version of the paper and spotted some infelicities. I am also greatly indebted to the editors for their encouragement and patience and their very helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

1. In the traditional orthography of Ewe, only few tones are marked. In this paper, all high tones are marked throughout with an acute accent ´. Low tones, marked with a grave accent ` , are only indicated when demanded by the orthography or to make explicit the tone of the item being discussed. Rising and falling tones are marked by a hacek ˇ and a circumflex ^ respectively, where necessary. "ƒ" and "v" are the orthographic forms for IPA /ɸ/ and /β/ respectively. "f" and "ʃ" contrast phonologically. However in italic script the distinction is neutralised. The following abbreviations are used in the interlinear glosses:

ALL	allative preposition	POSS	possessive linker
COP	copula	POSSPRO	possessed pronominal
DAT	dative	POT	potential
DEF	definiteness marker	PRES	present
DEM	demonstrative	PROG	progressive
AFOC	argument focus marker	RED	reduplicative formative
HAB	habitual	REL	relative clause introducer
INDEF	indefinite	REP	repetitive
INV	invariable pronominal	NP	nominal phrase
LOG	logophoric pronoun	SG	singular
MOD	modal	NEG	negative
NPRES	non-present	TP	terminal particle
ORD	ordinal marker	1	first person
PERF	perfect	2	second person
PL	plural marker	3	third person

2. Ewe has a basic three colour system. There are three adjectives which designate the three focal colours: *yí* 'white', *yibɔɔ* 'black' and *dzi* 'red'. There are three verbs which cover a bigger range than the focal colours: one for 'macro-white' *fi*; another for 'macro-black' *yɔ*. The third verb is *biã* 'become\_macro-red'. It is used to cover not only focal red but also orange and yellow. Thus the colour of blood as well as of the sun and of a ripe mango or banana can be described using this verb.
3. Westermann (1928) gives the following nominals as equivalents of *ɲubiãbiã*: 'covetousness, desire, lust, avarice'.
4. For the representation of the meanings of linguistic expressions I adopt the principles of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) approach as espoused and practiced by Anna Wierzbicka and colleagues. For an application of the method to the explication of emotion terms in different languages see Goddard (1998) and Wierzbicka (1999), among others.
5. It is interesting to observe that the German expression *Blutunterlaufene Augen* meaning literally 'blood in the eyes' is interpreted as 'ferocious, angry' (Eva Schultze-Berndt p.c.).

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