

A Cognitive Semantic Analysis of Metaphoric Expressions in Fulfulde

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Abstract

Cognitive semantics sets out to explore the nature of human interaction with awareness of the external world and build a theory of conceptual structure. This aligns with how humans experience the world. In doing this, the central aim of this paper focuses on the cognitive semantic analysis of metaphorical expressions in Fulfulde. This paper adopts Deliberate Metaphor Theory as a theoretical framework, and the population covered in the data sampling is Adamawa State Nigerian speakers of Fulfulde. Some of the striking findings include the following: when conceptualizing metaphor, Fulfulde speakers do not follow the pattern that the target domain projects and; that the relationship between the components of metaphor does not solely rely on physical experiences of the world. The paper concludes that Fulfulde’s culture plays a vital role in producing a conceptual metaphor, Fulbe, believes that marriage is between and among humans and of the opposite sex, unlike other cultures.

Keywords: cognitive, communication, context, Fulfulde, metaphor, semantic

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1. Introduction

People interact and communicate with one another in society through the use of language, which is not only a tool for exploring environmental resources but also for the communication of thoughts. However, a metaphor is an effective vehicle for the conveyance of meaning. Using it often is not an easy task as interlocutors often find it challenging to establish the bond between sense and communication. This difficulty constitutes the interest of this paper which seeks to examine how Fulfulde speakers conceptualise metaphor. Hawkes (1972) observes that the term metaphor is taken traditionally as the basic form of figurative language. It is “a decorative additive to language, used in special ways, and at specific times and places” (p.1). A metaphor is a special device for special occasions across time and space for literary and non-literary contexts.

However, contrary to the literary or traditional perspective, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) developed a linguistic perspective that examines metaphor as a property of concepts that form one thing in terms of another rather than being considered as just a word or a creative literary device that serves an artistic or aesthetic function. This view does not only incline one to admit and think of metaphor in terms of the life of language, but it differentiates metaphors as they appear in figurative language (literary) and metaphors that are part of thought processes (linguistic).

Two types of metaphors are considered in linguistics which Lakoff and Johnson (1980) classified as conceptual metaphor and linguistic metaphor. Conceptual metaphors are metaphors that are produced to understand the *Target domains* through the *Source domain*. Source domains are conceptual domains from which metaphorical expressions are drawn, while the target domain is used for the concept area to which the metaphor is applied. The Conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A RACE leads to linguistic metaphorical expressions like:

She is off the track
 He will lose the race
 I don't think you will win this love competition

(Lakoff & Johnson 1980, p. 8)

Here, domain A (LIFE), which is the *target domain*, is abstract and is understood through domain B (RACE), which is the *Source domain*, because it constitutes a substantial bodily experience. Bandt (2004) sees Cognitive Semantics as the study of meaning in the embodied human mind (p. 1). The notion of Semantics in this context is functional and representative in the sense that, meaning is approached as a function in the processes of thought and communication. The paper adopts Cognitive Semantics, an approach to Semantics that focuses on thoughts or abstract ideas. Cognitive Semantics sets out to explore the nature of human interaction mindful of the external world and to build a theory of conceptual structure that is in accordance with how humans experience the world. The motivation for this paper arises from the fact that while many

empirical studies have discussed metaphor in Cognitive Semantics, studies on its use in Fulfulde are scarce.

2. Review of Related Literature

This section reviews literature related to the study and is arranged into major parts: Conceptual Review, Authorial Review, and Theoretical Framework. It begins with the conceptual review by defining metaphor from a literary and linguistic perspective, Cognitive Semantics and Semantics. The empirical studies were carried out by scholars in the field of cognitive semantics and metaphors by identifying and critiquing the literature that is related to the present study. Finally, the research identifies and discusses the theoretical framework suitable for the study.

2.1 *The Fulbe and their Culture*

The term *Fulfulde* is the name given to the language by its speakers. The ethnic group is called *Fulbe* (which is the plural and *Pullo*, is the singular). Fulfulde belongs to the Atlantic geographic grouping within the Niger-Congo family. Mukosky (1981) observes that there are no figures based on the census on which one may rely to give the reliable population of the *Fulbe*. *Fulbe* is identified with a variety of names. The names include *Fula*, *Pulaar*, and *Pulle*. These varieties are necessitated by linguistic or geographical differences, but Non-native speakers use the Hausa term “Fulani” to refer to the speakers and the language itself but Arnott (1970), in Muhammad (2006), adopts the name *Fula*. He further presents six major dialectal areas for the entire Fulfulde West-East continuum:

- (a). Futa Toro (Senegal)
- (b). FutaJalo (Guinea)
- (c). Masina (Mali)
- (d). Sokoto and Western Niger
- (e). North Central of Nigeria and Eastern Niger
- (f). Adamawa (Fombinarre)(91)

Traditionally, most *Fulbe* is cattle herders. Through the centuries, many have turned to politics, they have successfully settled down, and established their kingdoms between Senegal and Cameroon by the 19th century, after conquering the Hausa by about 1810. In addition, authorities like Ba’mikko (2005) aver that there has been a steady movement of *Fulbe* roughly from the region known as Senegal, Niger, Adamawa, within West Africa and beyond. *Fulbe has*

its roots in North Africa and the Middle East. They later intermingled with local West African ethnic groups.

Fulbe communities have become predominantly nomadic, and they exist as a less organized social system. The Sokoto Caliphate was, by far, the largest and most successful legacy of Fulani power in Western Africa. Before it was defeated by European colonial forces, throughout the 19th century, Sokoto was one of the largest, most powerful and most organized empires in West Africa until 1903. The Sokoto Caliphate included several emirates, the largest of which was Adamawa, others include Gombe Emirate, Gwandu Emirate, Bauchi Emirate, Katsina Emirate, Zazzau Emirate, Hadejia Emirate, and Muri Emirate (*woylaare*)

Every language is unique in its way, and so is the processing of metaphors. Studies have been carried out in English on the cognitive analysis of metaphors, but little attention has been given to the indigenous languages in Nigeria. Cultures across the world differ, so this paper investigates the universality and variations in the use of metaphors as cross-cultural studies carried out in metaphors and cultures across the world differ. Metaphors are categorised as linguistic or literary, but this paper only focuses on linguistic metaphors from the perspective of Cognitive Semantics. Therefore, the work focuses on the *fombinare* dialect in Adamawa State, Nigeria because it is the standardised dialect used to write many textbooks and translations of the Holy Quran. This paper is limited to doing a Semantic analysis of Metaphoric expressions in the Fulfulde language because it is also a new and emerging linguistic topic with challenging research possibilities.

In this study, it is essential to differentiate between metaphors as they appear in figurative language (literary) and metaphors that are part of thought processes (linguistic). Miller (1979) defines a Metaphor as a figurative language that displays the connection between two items: which leads to the transfer of one entity to another. This form of transfer is called a figure of speech, as Hawkes (1972) calls it tropes, turning a language away from literal meaning towards figurative meaning.

On the other hand, Black (1993) views metaphor at a Cognitive-Conceptual level, a level different from treating metaphors as mere concepts of language. He argues, metaphor is the interaction of systems by implication of two domains. This means having an experience through another pre-existing phenomenon. That is why Knowles and Moon (2006) claim that metaphor involves a relationship between a *source domain*, the literal meaning of metaphorical expressions, and a *target domain*, the domain of which the experience is being described by the metaphor.

Cognitive linguistics deals with language in a way that is compatible with what is known about human reason and treats language as reflecting and revealing the mind. That is why Geegaerts and Cuycken (2007) view Cognitive linguistics as the study of language in its cognitive function, where cognitive refers to the crucial role of intermediate informational structures in our encounter with the world. Evans and Green (2006) classify Cognitive linguistics into two domains: Cognitive Semantics which deals with the relationship between experience, embodied cognition and language. While the Cognitive approach to grammar deals with the theories of grammar, the present study is concerned with the former.

Cognitive Semantics investigates the relationship between experience, the conceptual system and the Semantic structure encoded by language. It represents an approach to the study of the mind and its relationship with embodied experience and culture. Sweetser (1990) proposes that cognitive Semantics sees linguistic meaning as a manifestation of conceptual structure, and nature with the organisation of mental representation in all its richness and diversity, and this is what makes it a distinctive new approach to the linguistic meaning which constitutes the interest and background of this study.

In an attempt to prove that culture plays a vital role in the conceptualisation of metaphors, Matsuki (1995) examines Metaphors of Anger in Japan and observes that all the metaphors for Anger in English analysed by Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) are found in Japanese. At the same time, there are enormous numbers of anger-related expressions that are found in the Japanese concept of “hara” (literally, ‘belly’). This is a culturally significant concept because it is unique to Japanese culture, and so the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS (IN THE) HARA is limited to Japanese. The fact that the Japanese shares all the anger metaphors in English and have some uniqueness to its culture shows the connection with this paper. In the sense that, there is a cross-cultural variation which the present study seeks to investigate.

To show the value of indigenous language, Jabaka (2004) carried out a study on A Comparative Analysis of Fulfulde and Morphological English processes. Jabaka, however, targeted explicitly at Nigeria. Some states have adopted Fulfulde in certain areas as the Lingua franca and regard Fulfulde as a prestigious language because of its association with Islam, the dominant religion in Northern Nigeria. In Cameroon, it is estimated that non-native speakers of the language are approximately four and a half million compared to half a million mother-tongue speakers. In Nigeria, the case is no different in Adamawa and, to a lesser extent, in Bauchi, and some parts of Zamfara, Sokoto, Katsina, and Kebbi. The connection between Jabaka (2004) and the present analysis is the focus on Fulfulde, as Jabaka did not attempt to integrate the concept of metaphor from a cognitive perspective as this paper does. The study, however, investigated morphological processes at the semantic level of analysis, the issue of derivative verbs and how class suffixes contribute to preventing ambiguity and unintentional misinterpretation. This relates

to the current paper in the sense that, Semantics plays a vital role in the realization of meaning which makes the work relevant to this present study.

Similarly, Okpe (2012) engages in A Semiotic analysis of the use of Metaphor in Selected Works of Wole Soyinka. She states that the study of metaphor is a unique way of understanding cognitive capability and its viability as an indispensable tool for solving problems in language understanding and acquisition. The study explains that metaphors contradict the traditional opinion of what metaphor is, as Lakoff and Turner (1989) see metaphor as a reflector, stressing that it is central to the understanding of culture and the world at large. The analysis of the work postulates that conceptual metaphor was a revolution that gave metaphor a new focus. The study views Metaphors as having a central role in human perceptual and cognitive processes which is relevant to the present study. The findings show that metaphors are rooted in thought, not just language. It also conceives metaphors based on bodily experience and imagination, among other things. Experience is also one of the major bases for the construction of concepts. This means that conceptualisation is a mental process that is knit to bodily experience. This also indicates the link between Okpe's study and the present study. Okpe also deployed the use of the eclectic model to tackle the multi-faceted nature of metaphor which guides the present study.

Oduh (2015) examines how "Nonce Words act as Conceptual Metaphors in some Nigeria Newspapers" and claims that Nonce words also known as coined words are used in metaphorical language which helps in the understanding of how language users use metaphor in context and how it functions. The study observes that, the theory of cognitivism in language derived from the notion of what individuals know about language and the world around them is by association, relating the unfamiliar to the familiar. This is a primary association to the present paper. The study finds out that, there are different forms of nonce words and the extent in which they are used in metaphorical context. The study claims that nonce words fill lexical and communications gaps and are temporary words in the spur of the moment. The study investigates conceptual metaphor with regards to nonce words in novel metaphor and that metaphor can conceal or reveal its bases and ideologies through literature. Also, the mind of children can be manipulated to accept certain assumptions through metaphor which is contrary to the view of metaphor in literature as a flowery or novel language.

The paper employs an eclectic procedure of Lieber's (2004) framework on lexical semantics and Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) Conceptual Metaphor Theory. The Metaphor Identification Procedure of Vrije University (MIPPVU) was used in the data analysis. The justification of Oduh's (2015) approach by Lieber (2004) is based on the assumption that the meaning of a suffix and that of a base combined gives the meaning of the derived product. One of the shortcomings of Oduh is its inability to explain the theoretical framework the work claims to have used. Another shortcoming of the study is that one of the research questions is not clarified because nonce words are contextual, and the researcher was asked if nonce words affect meaning as used in context.

In a related study, Tyler (2017) examines “Religious Metaphors and Structural Complexities” Majority of religious works associated with conceptual metaphor focus on the linguistic and sentential contexts of language while ignoring the phonological aspect of truth. Religious metaphors are accurate or patently literal in specific sentential contexts. Religious metaphors are direct and complex in nature. God is the only phenomenon to exist before existence itself and is the source of everything, so explaining the Christian God “is that the quality of God is derived from an underlying metaphor GOD IS BEING – ITSELF.

Furthermore, Tyler states that metaphors, as used in the discipline of Theology and Religious Philosophy, are derived from the philosophical works of Paul Tillich during the mid - 20th Century “*God is transcendent, infinite, not limited by the structure of creaturely existence ...*” the analysis that God is not a being at all, means God cannot be discussed in literal terms because it will violate the ultimacy of God and the intention should not even be made. So how does one assign properties to such an unknowable entity? From the result, the study distinguishes a similar process in religious metaphor from the operations of conventional metaphor for several reasons. As religious metaphor takes on the function of religious ritual in its expression of abstract, sacred domains, it can become conventional, in the sense that it is commonplace.

One of the study’s shortcomings is as Lakoff and Johnson (1999) state, it is believed that metaphor is accurate because nothing is objective beyond what the body can conceive of. It would be inaccurate to label religious metaphors as embodied (p. 45).

In a related study, Koki (2017) anchors the Cognitive Semantic study of Hausa symbolic Expression as used by Kano State Politicians” where politicians, use metaphors to convince their supporters. Because of the nature of metaphor, it affects the speakers, which inherently affects the essence of the source and target domains the speakers have to employ. The researchers employ Critical Metaphorical Analysis as both the theoretical framework and method of data analysis. The theory is made of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus linguistics. The use of identification, interpretation and description of metaphor in the analysis of the work guides the present study. Koko demonstrates the theories of metaphor concerning the concept and how Political metaphors prompt the explanation of the Speech Act Theory of J.L Austin. The study also explains how language performs an action which is a crucial feature of human activities, especially in politics. The nexus with the present study is the exploration of metaphor from a Cognitive Semantic perspective.

3. Deliberate Metaphor Theory

The theoretical framework associated with the present research is Deliberate Metaphor Theory (Henceforth DMT). It advances metaphor studies into a period of new and exciting research challenges and possibilities in various fields. Deliberate Metaphor Theory (DMT) is a theory proposed by Steen (2017) about the properties of metaphor in language use and discourse. It has emerged over the past decade in a series of publications developing new ideas and interpreting existing research from that perspective (Steen 2008, 2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2015, 2016). Steen (2017) proposes an operational definition of Deliberate Metaphor Theory as “...

potentially deliberate when the source domain of the metaphor is part of the referential meaning of the utterance is used”(p.9.)

The tenet of DMT by Steen (2017) states that the first assumption of DMT is that metaphor is as cross-mapping as thought. According to DMT, deliberate metaphor concerns the intentional use of metaphors as metaphors between the sender and addressee. This definition minimally implies that language users, in production or reception, pay special attention to the source domain as a separate reference domain.

The second central assumption of DMT is that metaphor in language use is not just a matter of language and thought but also of communication. In any situation, utterances are produced by cognizing people (thought) who are jointly aligned in their exchange of communication. This means that languages use a linguistic, conceptual and communicative dimension, and all languages used are described as related to these dimensions.

The central prediction of DMT is about attention Steen (2017) a metaphor is used deliberately when its structure signals the addressee to move away their attention momentarily from the target domain of the utterance or even phrase to the source domain evoked by the metaphor-related expression. This hypothesis is about attention to the source domain which is highly specific; it focuses on the mandatory representation of the source domain as part of the situation model in utterance processing. Deliberate metaphor is different from non-deliberate metaphor in that non-deliberate metaphor does not involve the intentional use of metaphor as a metaphor between the sender and addressee.

4. Methodology

This section focuses on the processes of data collection and analysis. It also discusses the instrument of data collection and techniques. This includes the sources of data, research instruments for data collection, data collection technique, Validation of transcription, sampling and research procedures

4.1 Sources and Forms of Data

The paper uses both secondary and primary sources of data. The fundamental differences between primary and secondary data are; the term primary data refers to the data originated by the researcher for the first time, while secondary data is the already existing data collected by other agencies. Thus, the research uses unstructured group discussion and Corpus design.

4.5 Instruments for Data Collection

The instrument includes a corpus design and a cellphone recorder. Drawing upon the different opinions concerning corpus design, as Sinclair (2004:16) elaborates a corpus is a collection of pieces of language text in electronic form, selected according to external criteria to represent, as far as possible, a language or language variety as a source of data for linguistic research. The justification of corpus-based metaphor research explores the systematic metaphorical patterns of certain expressions in a language in specialized genres. A representative corpus should consist of the range of text types the corpus is set out for. For instance, a general corpus should include as many text types as possible (academic text, fiction, news, religious text, etc), since its purpose is to provide an overall description of a language.

5. Data Collection Techniques

Having explained the instrument of data collection, the paper engages in an unstructured group discussion, observation and participation method with the people to make it natural and informal. The researcher records the conversation without the participants' knowledge so that the discussion is void of tension. The researchers listen and participate in the conversation by choosing eight different interpersonal contexts.

At the end of the conversation, the researcher goes through the recording and converts it to writing by transcribing and translating the recording from the source language to the target language. To tackle the problem of metaphor translation, Ivir (1987) states that recordings and text are to be analysed by metaphor analysis through transcription. According to him, three factors can interfere which are *linguistic-based issues*, that is, differences in the structures and systems between the SL and the TL, *pragmatic-based issues*, that is, contextual factors outside the languages that may impede communication through the translation process and lastly *culture-oriented matters*, that is, the conventions practiced in a community. This makes understanding ideas cognitively expressed by a writer through conceptual mappings, as pointed out by Lakoff (1993), often challenging. The difficulty increases when translation is attempted.

5.1 Validation of the Transcription

With the help of Fulfulde scholars, Dr. Umar Bamikko from Federal College of Education Yola and Dr. Aminu Abdulmalik from Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria Department of African Languages helped verify and validate the data.

5.1.1 Sampling

This study targets the speakers of Fulfulde. The population covered in this study is Adamawa State speakers of Fulfulde, specifically Girei town in Girei Local government. Fulfulde is the language of the environment. All the correspondents fall within the age bracket of 15-50. The aim of choosing *fombinaree* dialect is to limit the research to a specific dialect as there are six others.

5.1.2 Analytical Procedure

Steen (2017) proposes six stages in identifying deliberate metaphors using the Deliberate Metaphor identification Procedure (DMIP) coding scheme. These are:

1. read the entire text to get a general idea of what the text is about;
2. apply the Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit (MIPVU) to find all metaphorical lexical units (metaphor-related words, or MRWs);
3. look at the first MRW;

4. determine whether the source domain of the MRW is part of the referential meaning of the utterance in which the MRW is used;
 - a. if ‘yes’, mark the MRW as potentially deliberate, and proceed to step 5;
 - b. if ‘no’, mark the MRW as non-deliberate and proceed to step 6;
 - c. in case of doubt, mark the MRW as potentially deliberate, and add the code WIDLII (When in Doubt Leave It In). Then, proceed to step 5.
5. if the MRW is coded as potentially deliberate in step 4, describe *how* the source domain of the MRW is part of the referential meaning of the utterance; and
6. look at the next MRW.

6. Data Presentation and Analysis/ Sample Analysis

The analysis for this paper is precisely cantered on the metaphorical expressions in Fulfulde. The data collected were analysed using tables with the following sub-headings; Metaphorical Expression, Metaphor, Target Domain, Source Domain, Deliberate or non-deliberate.

Table 1. Marriage is human

Metaphorical Expressions	Type of Metaphor	Target Domain	Source Domain	Deliberate or Non Deliberate
Ta ta’udebbuJuddo Do not marry a tall woman	Conceptual Metaphor	Marriage	Human	Potentially deliberate

The example above contains one lexical unit identified as metaphor related word, also known as MRW by MIPVU. The adjective “tall” is related to metaphor at the linguistic level of utterance meaning. Comparing the contextual meaning to the dictionary meaning of the words, no similarities were found. Thus, the word is used metaphorically. At the conceptual level of utterance purpose, the word ‘tall’ is also metaphoric, it comes from a different associated domain than the target domain which is “Marriage”. This means that the meaning of the MRW which is concerned with “height” does not capture the target domain sense, which is concerned with ‘Marriage’.

In determining whether the MRW “ tall” is potentially deliberate or not at the level of communication, the analysis examines if the source domain “status” is part of the referential meaning in the utterance. In this case, the adjective ‘tall’, has a conventionalised sense

description available in the dictionary as “having a greater than average height” (OA1). This does not match the target domain of ‘Marriage’. Here ‘tall’ expresses a cross-domain mapping from the target domain of ‘marriage’ to a source domain of ‘status’ and it does not capture the meaning, as a result, the metaphor can be taken to introduce a new perspective on the target domain.

The referential importance of the utterance will thus be, ‘do not marry a woman having a greater than average height’. This makes ‘tall’ a potentially deliberate metaphor because the concept of ‘marriage’ is not about the physical feature of the woman but rather the physical distance between the man and the woman. This is one of the reasons why Fulfulde culture encourages Endogamy.

Table 2. Politics is a war

Metaphorical Expressions	Type of Metaphor	Target Domain	Source Domain	Deliberate or Non Deliberate
<p><i>To konutimmai, belimtatamaiybe</i></p> <p><i>If war not finish, count not death bodies</i></p> <p>You cannot count the death bodies before the war is over.</p>	Conceptual	Politics	War	Non deliberate

The example above identifies three lexical units as MRW by MIPVU. In this analysis, these three lexical units are identified as metaphor-related words at the conceptual dimension because they come from different domains with the target domain of “Politics”. The lexical unit “dead” has a basic sense available in the dictionary as “no longer alive” in fact it looks like there are no cues in the utterance that point to the source domain in the referential meaning of the utterance.

Also, the target domain “war” has a sense description available in the dictionary as “a situation in which two countries or group of people fight against each other over a period of time” as a conventionalised description and also captures the referential meaning of the utterance. Consequently, the verb at first glance can be viewed as non-deliberate. It can also be spelt out as ‘you cannot count the (no longer alive) bodies before (a situation in which a group of people fights against each other over some time). Here the expression is non-deliberate because when people talk about war, they do not pay distinct attention to the source domain as a separate domain of reference.

Table 3. Anger is colour

Metaphorical Expressions	Type of Metaphor	Target Domain	Source Domain	Deliberate or Non Deliberate
Berndemaakobelwikurum <i>Heart his/her black</i> Her/His heart is black	Complex	Anger	Colour	Potentially deliberate

In the above sentence, black is identified as a metaphor-related word utilizing MIPVU. This lexical item comes from a domain of colour which is different from the source domain (Heart) and part of the internal organ of the body. Consequently, ‘black’ at the conceptual level is related to metaphor. According to Merriam -Webster dictionary, the ‘heart’ is ‘the organ in your chest that pumps blood through your veins and arteries. Therefore, black is related to metaphor at the level of thought (linguistic level).

Then, to determine whether the MRW ‘black’ counts as a potentially deliberate metaphor, when observed is seen that the target domain Black plays a pivotal effect in deciding the referential meaning of the source domain. Because the attention to the source domain is highly specific, it focuses on the mandatory representation of the source domain as part of the utterance processing. The complete and coherent lexical entry of the words would therefore be ‘the organ in your chest that pumps blood through your veins and arteries’ is ‘having the very dark colour of coal or the night sky.

The sense description of the utterance contrasts with the basic meaning of the lexical utterance ‘‘a heart’’ which pumps blood that is red in colour, in contrast, to ‘‘black’’ that is very dark like coal or the night sky. Consequently, this is a poetic appreciation of anger by Fulbe. ‘Anger is Colour’ (black), which has the lexical entry ‘having a solid feeling of being upset or annoyed is a catchy grandness quality of anger depicted with colour. Thus, ‘Anger is Colour’ and be translated as Anger resides in the heart where emotions are felt, and the colour (black) is attributed to something bad.

6. Discussion

When conceptualising metaphors and selecting domains in communicative expressions, Fulfulde speakers do not follow the pattern of the Lakovian theory that the *target domain* must be abstract and the *source domain* is concrete as Fulfulde conceptualise POLITICS IS RELIGION, REALITY IS GOD which is both abstract. This shows that the relationship between the metaphor components does not solely rely on physical experiences of the world.

Metaphors can be conscious and potentially deliberate and not automatic or unconscious as the dominant theory of Conceptual Metaphor proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) claims. Language users are sometimes attentive to their choice of words with a specific communicative function. This does not exclude the fact that some metaphors have gained access into the domain of literal language or everyday language. Conceptual Metaphors like LIFE IS A JOURNEY or TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY.

Every language is unique in its way so is the process of metaphor in every language. Fulbe culture, especially regarding marriage, conceptualizes that MARRIAGE IS HUMAN. Thus the metaphorical expressions like *Do not marry a short woman, Do not marry a tall woman, fair or dark*. In this sense, marriage is a bond between a male and female as opposed to other cultures where bestiality is practiced and even legalized. Some cultures also recognise the same-sex-marriage where conceptual metaphors like MARRIAGE IS MEN and metaphorical expressions like ‘my fathers are celebrating their wedding anniversary or my father is pregnant’ can be possible and viewed as obscure or demonic in other cultures.

From the above, several findings were made. Metaphors beyond literary devices can be linguistic too. One does not also need any unique talent or skill to be able to use metaphor as many classical scholars claim. This paper observes that; when conceptualising metaphor, Fulfulde speakers do not follow the pattern of the target domain to communicate and the source domain as claimed by the dominant theory of conceptual metaphor; the study finds that the relationship between the components of metaphor does not solely rely on physical experiences of the world; one of the striking findings is that Metaphors are not automatic and unconscious, as Lakoff and Johnson (1980) claim, due to the reason that, there are metaphors which are deliberate and conscious among language users especially MARRIAGE and RELIGION metaphor; and Fulfulde culture plays a vital role in producing conceptual metaphor, *Fulbe* believe that marriage is between and among human and of the opposite sex, unlike other cultures.

Some experiences differ from culture to culture, while some physical experiences are common to all humans. Language users may reasonably hypothesize that some metaphors are universal while others are culturally specific.

7. Conclusion

The central aim of the paper is to analyse metaphorical expressions using the cognitive semantic model. Thus, metaphor is perhaps the most important means by which language develops, changes, grows, and adapts itself to changing needs of language users. When metaphors are successful, they “die” from being overused—that is; they become so much a part of our everyday language that we cease thinking of them as metaphors. Following this line of reasoning, metaphor is pervasive and essential in language and thought. It is not just a way of naming, but also a way of thinking. It is a figure of thought as well as a figure of speech. It is a process by which language users understand and structure one field of experience in terms of another domain of a different kind.

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