

Metaphorical Use of the Concept *Ara* ‘Madness’ Among Ìgbò People of Nigeria

Aghaegbuna Haroldson Uwaezuoke
Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka Nigeria

Linguistic inquiry for meaning goes beyond the search for meaning of linguistic entities, (e.g. words, phrases, grammatical forms and sentences), to search for their contextual meanings. Contextually, meaning of linguistic entities may extend or be metaphorically used, which can be established through acquaintance with information on their context of use. Among Igbo people of South-East Nigeria, the concept ara ‘madness’ is metaphorically used at different contexts. The thrust of this paper is the examination of the concept’s metaphoric use using the Theory of Lexical Concepts and Cognitive Models, and Dynamic Construal Approach. It aims at identifying the various instances of the metaphoric use of the word among Igbo people as well as unravelling the reason(s) behind its use at such contexts. The data for analysis are from the primary source, precisely, through observing people’s reactions at different contexts, and tapping from the author’s wealth of experience as a competent native Igbo speaker. They are presented on the basis of Leipzig’s glossing rule and descriptively analysed. From the results, ara ‘madness’, in addition to its original meaning, metaphorically refers to policemen, road safety personnel, electricity providers, artisans and every other person(s) whose action(s) sometimes seem IRRATIONAL and ABNORMAL. It is also used to represent anger/annoyance, loud or noise-making/trouble-making, insensibility/bad attitude, and serious desire for something.

Keywords: *madness, cognitive semantics, Igbo, metaphor, conceptual metaphor.*

1 Introduction

It is an undisputed fact that meaning is a notion with many applications, ranging from meaning of linguistic entities to the extended or metaphoric meanings of these entities. Extended (or broadened) meaning and metaphoric meaning are interpreted through careful consideration of the context of an expression. In meaning broadening, there is an additional meaning to the original meaning of a word (meaning extension, involving an extension of the meaning of a lexical item) (Yul-Ifode 2001). For example, the meaning of the word *Google*, which originally is a name of a company that provides access to the internet, has been broadened to also mean an act of searching for something through the internet, e.g. *Google the internet to find the Map of Nigeria*. One major means of extension in meaning is the application of metaphoric usage of words, involving “first generalization and subsequent transference of external and inner qualities, functions and similar characteristics inherent to an object, event or movement to some other ones” (Hasanova 2020: 64). Different cultural areas differ in their use of language and perception of the world. This is postulated in Heath’s (2013) work, *Ways with Words*, where the children’s language development is examined with the results showing that the deep cultural differences between two speech communities is a result of differences in their ways of words, manifest in the pattern of the townspeople. From the point of ethnographies of communication in ROADVILLE and TRACKTON showing detail of the ways with words whereby each community socializes its children, Heath (2013: 220) notes,

First, patterns of language use in any community are in accord with and mutually reinforce other cultural patterns, such as space and time orderings, problem-solving techniques, group loyalties, and preferred patterns of recreation. In each of these communities, space and time usage and the role of the individual in the community condition the interactional rules for occasions of language use. The boundaries of the physical and social communities, and the extent and density of interactions within these influence such seemingly culturally remote language habits as the relative extent to which babies are talked to or about.

The metaphoric use of words is based on the cultural schemas (that is, the “encyclopaedic meaning that is culturally constructed for many lexical items of human languages” (Sharifian 2017: 42)) associated with the words by every native language. A typical example is given by Sharifian (2017: 43) with *wedding*, which he points out “refers to the type of event that is opposed to *engagement* or *dining out*” as a cultural category, but as a cultural schema will include “all the other aspects of the event, such as the procedures that need to be followed, the sequence of events, the roles played by various participants and expectations associated with those roles”. Johnson (1987) views image schemas as the “recurring cognitive structures which establish patterns of understanding and reasoning, often elaborated by extension from knowledge of our bodies as well as our experience of social interactions” (Sharifian 2017: 36). Sharifian (2017: 36) submits that Langacker and other cognitive linguists (e.g. Bartlett 1932; Bobrow & Norman 1975; Minsky 1975; Rumelhart 1980) would view schemas as representing “abstract representation” where, for example, “a noun instantiates the schema of [[thing]/[X]], whereas a verb instantiates the schema of [[process]/[X]]”; while in classical paradigms of cognitive psychology, “they are considered more broadly as building blocks of cognition used for storing, organizing, and interpreting information.” To establish meaning, cognitive linguistics makes use of schemas and conceptual metaphors as some of its analytical tools. By metaphor refers to “a new concept in the target domain, a concept that is similar to the original concept of the source domain in that it contains certain elements, although not all, of the source concept.” (Löbner 2002: 50). Conceptual metaphors are “the cognitive structures that allow us to conceptualise and understand one conceptual domain in terms of another” where, for example, “the English metaphorical expressions *heavy-hearted* and *light-hearted* reflect the conceptual metaphor of HEART AS THE SEAT OF EMOTION.” (Sharifian 2017: 37). Palmer (1996: 63) submits that “[i]t is likely that all native knowledge of language and culture belongs to cultural schemas and the living of culture and the speaking of language consist of schemas in action.” This is the case with Igbo people and the Igbo language, as reflected on the concept of *ara* ‘madness’. However, Sharifian (2017: 45-46) submits that “it does not follow that every use of an expression that is associated with a conceptual metaphor involves the online cognitive process of mapping from one domain to another” as “some cases of conceptual metaphor are simply FOSSILISED conceptualisations that represented active insight at some stage in the history of the cultural cognition of a group”, which the current speakers of the language lack any conscious knowledge of the cultural roots of the expressions they make nor engage in any conceptual mapping while using them.

Cognitively, the concept of *ara* ‘madness’ among Igbo people, refers to someone who is no longer mentally balanced, and has started behaving abnormally and irrationally. An Igbo person will simply refer to such a person as *onye arā* ‘a mad person’, and when they are more

than one, call them *ndị arā* ‘mad people’. Among the characteristics of the mad people are that they wander about, perhaps, without any defined destination; they talk to themselves as they walk on the road; and they wear dirty clothes, while some of them do not wear clothes at all; they eat anyhow foods picked from the environment they find themselves; and so on. This concept in contemporary Igbo society is metaphorically used in so many instances to address people who ordinarily are not insane, but their certain contextual behaviours portray them as being abnormal and irrational. For example, when someone does a job below expectation or someone fails to consider the plight of others through one’s action/inaction, it paints a picture of being ABNORMAL and IRRATIONAL, and such a person would metaphorically be referred to as *onye arā* ‘mad person’. It now requires the context of application of the word *onye arā* or *ndị arā* for the speaker’s intended meaning to be ascertained. As noted by Hasanova (2020), context and extralinguistic situation play vital role in determining the intended meaning of an utterance. Thus, “A word can assume several additional variants and shades of meaning in different contexts, together with its emotional colouring and stylistic peculiarities.” (Hasanova 2020: 62). This view is supported by Langacker (1991), who links the linguistic knowledge of the speaker to all the speaker’s well mastered structures/cognitive routines that aid their categorisation of usage events manifest from the phonetic details as well as the understanding of the context of use.

Fillmore (1976), in his *Frame semantics theory*, had argued that the analysis of a language system should go beyond a mere description of lexis and grammar to describing the cognitive and interactional frames speakers use to interpret their environment, formulate and understand messages and create their own model for the world. To understand metaphoric expressions, there is the need for a careful consideration of the importance of the social function of language, the nature of the processes of speech and comprehension as well as the relationship of the speaker’s utterance and the context of the utterance (Fillmore 1976). Fillmore notes,

A proposal that I favour is that in characterising a language system, we must add to the description of grammar and lexicon a description of the cognitive and interactional “Frames” in terms of which the language-user interprets his environment, formulates his own message, understands the message of others, and accumulates or creates an internal model of his world.

(Fillmore 1976: 23)

Some linguistic anthropological thought such as LINGUISTIC RELATIVISM (or CULTURAL DETERMINISM), ETHNOSEMANTICS, ETHNOBIOLOGY, ETHNOGRAPHY OF SPEAKING and ETHNOGRAPHY OF COMMUNICATION lay emphasis on the native language users’ point of view in interpreting reality. The ethnosemantics studies “the ways in which different cultures organise and categorise domains of knowledge, such as those of plants, animals, and kin” (Palmer 1996: 19) and ethnobiology studies how plants and animals are categorised and used across different cultures (Berlin 1992). Through ethnography of speaking or the ethnography of communication (Hymes 1974; Gumperz & Hymes 1972), the culturally distinctive means and modes of speaking, and of communication is explored. “Hymes emphasises the role of socio-cultural context in the way in which speakers perform communicatively” (Sharifian 2017: 36) and argues for emphasis on communicative competence that includes competence in “appropriate” norms of language use in various socio-cultural contexts. The Sapir-Whorf

Hypothesis (also known as *Linguistic Relativism* or *Cultural Determinism*) also proposes that the people's worldview is influenced by their language. In other words, language, nay Igbo language, shapes the way its users, nay Igbo people, think and view things around them (see Lee 1996). That is why a word like *snow* could have different names among the Eskimos unlike other cultures that do not witness snow. Among the English people, *Fox* is known to be a cunning animal, but *Fox* is not known to the Igbo culture. Therefore, in any English expression where *Fox* is mentioned, Igbo people will simply replace it with *Mbè* 'Tortoise', which exists in Igbo culture and is known by Igbo people for its cunning behaviour. For example, an idiomatic expression, such as: *Charlse is a Fox* will be translated into the Igbo language as *Charlse bù Mbè* metaphorically meaning 'Charlse is cunning'. This is possible because the cultural schema of *Fox* in English culture is the same as that of *Mbè* 'Tortoise' in Igbo culture. The Igbo people attach so much importance to yam production followed by cassava such that whenever they talk about farming, they talk about yam, which cultivation is usually governed by strict rules and a highly ritualized process (Korieh 2007). The *Ahiajioku* (*Ifèjioku* in Ogbunike and some other Igbo varieties) festival marks the end of yam cultivation when sacrifices are performed to appease the "yam spirit" to ensure good yield and continuity of life itself; while the New Yam Festival marks the harvest season when sacrifices are also performed to thank *Ahiajioku*, the yam spirit, for ensuring good yields and appealing that yam should be eaten without any harm. All these are possible because of the influence of the Igbo language and culture that attach such importance to yam. Metaphorically, Korieh (2007) describes yam as KING and cassava as the MOTHER of all crops; and Onuoha and Uchechukwu (2022) report that the ritualized process associated with yam was part of what anchors the traditional time reckoning system in the consciousness of the Igbo.

Some scholars (e.g. Cruse 2004) provide clue on how to identify the default meaning of a lexical item. In the opinion of Cruse, the default meaning of a word is the first meaning that comes to the mind once the word is mentioned out of context. There are diachronic and synchronic approaches to meaning extensions. Drawing a distinction between the two approaches in relation to ascertaining the default meaning of a word, Cruse (2004: 196-197) submits that the "plausible path" criterion and the "basic experience" criterion sort of give the right answer for diachrony whereby when one plausible path is involved, the diachronic literal/figurative relationship persists irrespective of later frequency changes; but synchronically, when alternative metaphorical extensions exist, the most frequent/familiar reading is taken to be the literal, and the least familiar is regarded as the extended. Given this explanation, the frequent and familiar meaning of the concept of *ara* 'madness' in Igboland is insanity; while the least familiar emerging metaphorical meanings are its extensions. Chie (1996) avers that the metaphoric meaning is in line with the tenets of cognitive grammar that views language as an outcome of the interaction of different inherent and experimental factors, such as: physical, biological, behavioural, psychological, social, cultural, and communicative.

This study explores the metaphoric use of the concept of *ara* 'madness' by Igbo people. It first identifies the various instances of the use of the word among Igbo people based on their experiences, which differ from their original conceptualisation of the word. It goes further to unravel the reason(s) behind its use at such contexts. The subsequent sections discuss the theoretical framework, review relevant literature, present the methodology, present findings and discussion, and the summary and conclusion, in this order.

2 Theoretical orientation

Two theories guide this study – the *Theory of Lexical Concepts and Cognitive Models* (LCCM) and *Dynamic Construal Approach* (DCA). These theories are here reviewed.

Evan's (2009) Theory of Lexical Concepts and Cognitive Models (LCCM) is a modification to the ideas of Lakoff & Johnson (1980, 1999), Langacker (1987), Croft (2002), and Goldberg (2006) on cognitive approaches to grammar and semantics. Lakoff & Johnson (1980), for instance, in their publication *Metaphors We Live By* introduce the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), which proposes a cognitive conceptualisation of one domain in terms of another. In other words, two domains of experience (the source and the target) are involved in conceptual metaphor. The source domain is concerned with the literal meaning from which metaphorical expressions are derived, while the target domain deals with the information being understood. Some corresponding elements, according to Lakoff (2006), are involved for the understanding of the source domain in terms of the target domain, and they are joined by a cognitive process of MAPPING (see also Evans 2019: 35). Evans (2007: 136) buttresses Lakoff's (2006) position,

Conceptual metaphors often consist of a series of conventional mappings which relate aspects of two distinct conceptual domains. The purpose of such a set of mappings is to provide structure from one conceptual domain, the source domain, by projecting the structure onto the target domain. This allows inferences which hold in the source to be applied to the target.

LCCM Theory views word meaning as “variable in language use occasioned by both encyclopaedic knowledge and context of use” (Long 2018: 162). Evan's proposal hinges on five different beliefs that: “1) lexical representations are points of access to encyclopaedic knowledge; 2) encyclopaedic knowledge is structured; 3) encyclopaedic knowledge is dynamic; 4) encyclopaedic knowledge is distinct from contextual information; and 5) there is no principled distinction between semantics and pragmatics” (Long 2018: 162). Two key concepts are basically recognised by the theory, and they are: lexical concepts, which talks about a part of the linguistic knowledge that conveys various types of highly schematic linguistic content; and cognitive models representing the range of cognitive models to which lexical concept facilitates direct access, and the range of additional cognitive models to which it therefore facilitates indirect access (Long 2018).

The Dynamic Construal Approach (DCA) to meaning agrees with LCCM. It views words as “not having permanently assigned meanings, but rather their meanings emerge based on the actual use as a result of various processes of construals” (Cruse 2004: 262). The phenomenon of construalisation, according to Abdulkarim & Mubarak (2022), plays a fundamental role in cognitive semantics. Construalisation is “our manifest ability to conceive and portray the same situation in alternate ways” (Langacker 2008: 43). For example, the expressions, *The time is quarter past 1pm* and *The time is 15 minutes past 1pm* are the same except that in the former, emphasis is on the four quarters in an hour, but the latter focuses on the number of minutes involved. The DCA views meaning as being a result of a conscious grasp of the import of an utterance, and which is highly context-dependent.

In DCA, there are CONVENTIONAL CONSTRAINTS and CONTEXTUAL CONSTRAINTS; and contextual constraints stands for a high degree of contextual variability that exists with the semantic stability of the conventional constraints. The contextual variability “affects all aspects of meaning, from basic structural and logical properties to the subtlest nuances” (Cruse 2004: 264). There are also various features of context that affect construal; and they are: physical context, referring to what can be seen, heard, and so on by the participants in their immediate situation; cognitive context, which represents the speaker’s enormous store of knowledge and remembered experiences which form background for processing utterances and can affect how a word is construed; type of discourse, that is, the construing of word according to the discourse type, whether formal or informal as well as the field of discourse; and relations between communicants, which deal with issue of the social and power relations between the addresser and the addressee and their thinking and feeling about one another (Cruse 2004).

In relation to the present study, these two theories are applied in order to show that understanding word meaning involves more than one variable, ranging from the simple encyclopaedic knowledge to ascertaining the context of use. With the theories, the metaphorical use of the word *ara* ‘madness’ by Igbo people is accounted for based on the actual use as a result of various processes of construals.

3 Literature review

In this section, the concept of madness, and some of the previous studies on conceptual metaphor and metaphoric expressions are reviewed. This enabled us to make a justification for the current study.

3.1 *Explication of the concept of madness*

Madness (which in Igbo translates as *Ara*) is a “health-related behaviours and practices across diverse settings” (Cohen et al 2016: 1). Shafer (2014: 42) defines madness as “a severe and dangerous state of mind, leading the possessor of the madness to break rules, threaten the status quo, and provoke a general state of anxiety and unrest”. That is why Frith (2016: 635) avers that madness reduces people to the level of beasts, and suggest that it be managed by the techniques developed for training animals. Frith notes that “madness affects the brain” (p. 635) and “results into loss of reason” (p. 636), although he later considers alluding madness to loss of reason as obsolete considering that normal people frequently behave irrationally (Kahneman 2011); noting also that the proposal that the main function of reasoning is not to improve knowledge and make better decisions, but rather to win arguments (Mercier & Sperber 2011). He suggests that madness should better be explained as resulting from loss of common sense.

The most frequent signs of madness include violence, aggression and disruptive social behaviours in some East African ethnic groups; while its causes vary in different settings and include: disease (e.g. East Africa), social environment (e.g. China), psychosocial stress (e.g. India), and biological factor (e.g. Nigeria) (Edgerton 1966; Cohen et al 2016). Typical signs of madness identified by Cohen et al (2016: 4-7) are visible violent and aggressive disturbance; wandering and running away sometimes half naked or with burst down clothes and eating from the dustbin, being very dirty and unkempt; odd behaviours, such as laughing to oneself or

inappropriately; self-harm like deliberately harming oneself and attempting suicide; decline in function like being unable to work and poor self-care; poor hygiene, like not taking bath, not changing clothes, not brushing teeth, and not trimming one's nails; withdrawal from life; having distorted perception and beliefs like seeing a human being as a dangerous animal; and somatic symptoms like continuous vomiting, severe stomach pain, headache, and sleep disturbances.

Causes of madness, according to Cohen et al (2016: 7-8) are supernatural like black magic, casting of spells or demonic possession; psychological and social factor like overloading of the brain through over-thinking, family problems like thwarted marriage wishes, tensions from polygamous marriages, and being forced into an unwanted marriage; biological factor like inheritance, head or brain injuries, fevers, untreated infections and wounds, chemical imbalance in the brain, and malnutrition; use of substance like cannabis, cocaine, heroin, and other illicit and harmful drugs; multiple causes like infidelity of a loved one/sexual abuse/womanising/too much thinking/eating unwholesome foods/ancestral curse and hereditary.

Looking at the mystery of madness through art and mad studies, Netchitailova (2019) identifies bio-medical and art world models to madness, says that bio-medical model reduces madness to mental illness; while the art world removes any scientific explanation of madness and presents an unknown factor of madness that makes it remain a mystery. Some madness are neurological and curable sickness, while some are psychological and incurable sickness (Frith 2016).

3.2 Empirical review

Empirical works abound on metaphoric expressions in Igbo and other languages. Some of these works are reviewed.

Egenti (2018) investigates the semantic prosody of *ọkụ* 'fire' in Ìgbò with the goal of finding out if *ọkụ* has a negative semantic prosody. Through the use of AntConc software, the lexical item was sourced from sixteen Igbo novels in its various contexts; and with the adoption of the component of the Extended Unit of meaning oriented approach for the data analysis, the various meanings of *ọkụ* reveal that its basic meaning is 'fire', which was confirmed based on its having the highest number of occurrences in the corpus, while its other meanings, such as: 'light', 'hot' are its extensions, and while 'desire', 'annoyance', 'quickly/urgency' are its metaphoric meanings. The study also shows that *ọkụ* tends towards a negative SP when the meaning is 'to burn', even where it intended to 'put something on fire' (in relation to cooking), especially when used in its figurative sense. The study concludes that *ọkụ* 'fire' in Igbo has a negative semantic prosody, except in a few cases where its meaning is to 'illuminate a place' and when it is used to refer to culinary items.

Onuoha & Uchechukwu (2022) is an investigation of the metaphorical expression of time in Igbo. The scholars expressed worry that despite that the Igbo traditional system of reckoning time, which is cyclical, having recurring ecological and festive-cum-religious events as anchor points for its calculation, has been superseded by the western system, which is linear, the same Igbo language is used for expressing them thereby raising the question regarding whether the same or different language structures or linguistic elements are used for both. The paper argues that, apart from the named entities in ecological and festive-cum-religious events,

the same linguistic elements in the form of verbal constructions for the expression of concrete, physical activities, are metaphorically used for the expression of time in both systems. It concludes that SPACE seems to dominate as the source domain for the metaphorical expression of time in the Igbo language. It also confirms that the concepts of “Moving Time Metaphor” and “Moving Observer Metaphor” apply to the conceptualization of time in Igbo, whether expressed in the traditional or in the modern system of reckoning time in the language.

Nwobu & Uwaezuoke (2023) is a cognitive linguistic analysis of Igbo words of promiscuity with the goal of finding out the metaphors that Igbo people use in expressing promiscuity, knowing the type of image schema used in explaining these things, ascertaining how they relate psychological ideas to the physical, and finding out whether these metaphors could be analysed using image schema. The data obtained from the researchers’ critical thinking as native Igbo speakers are analysed using the Image schema theory, and the findings reveal that the metaphors used by the Igbo people to show promiscuity include: *igba n’ezi* ‘keeping outdoors’, *igba awantilo* ‘engaging in sexual activity’, *okụ enu* ‘prostitution’, *abalị agba aka* ‘having sex every night’, *ukwu idi n’ezi* ‘always outside looking for patronage’, *ipu n’aka* ‘always looking out for money’, *akwa aju oyi* ‘always keeping bed ward with sex’, *igba nrira* ‘engaging in sexual activity’, *ikwunye kotin* ‘covering doors and windows’, *ikpu iku anya* ‘not being ashamed’; the type of image schema used in understanding these metaphors are: force schema, path schema, containment schema and counter force; and the identified types of ideas being used in understanding these metaphors include: dancing, shaving the eye brow, many people lying on one bed, light flashing up, putting curtain in the room, goats mating, and so on. The scholars conclude that Igbo promiscuity metaphors follow the rule of cognitive linguistics.

The conceptualisation of àzu ‘back’ in Igbo is a study by Egenti et al (2024), where they examine the various groupings of *àzu*, such as *àzu* as part of human body, *àzu* in terms of location in time, and *àzu* in terms of space. They observe a conceptual metaphor involving a mapping between this concrete meaning and these other domains, where speakers of the language use the HUMAN BODY as the source domain to conceptualise the target domains following their anthropocentric experiences of the world. Adopting the Conceptual Metaphor Approach, the data elicited from everyday conversations, and a concordance of the keyword drawn from self-created corpora consisting of fictional, popular periodicals and religious Igbo texts, which was extracted using the LancBox corpus tool, were analysed and the findings reveal that *àzu*, apart from its concrete and idiomatic meaning ‘back’, can also be conceptualised metaphorically in Igbo, and that the metaphorical extensions are found within the domain of space and time, with the domain of space being more prominent. For instance, the source domain *àzu* can be mapped unto the target domain of ‘behaviour’, ‘academics’, ‘competition’, ‘distance’ such as the domain mapping of SPACE and TIME in terms of the speakers’ knowledge of the position of *àzu* ‘back’ in the human body, in order to express progression or retrogression, winning or losing a context or to denote time. Their conclusion is that the use of corpora reveals the various nuances of meanings and conceptualisation of *àzu*, which is very useful for language teaching and learning, especially with regards to expression that can only be disambiguated in context.

Nweya & Ejinwa (2024) investigate *anya* ‘eye’ as source of conceptual metaphor in Igbo with the goal of finding out how *anya* ‘eye’ body part in Igbo is variously conceptualized and used metaphorically to express abstract concepts. While previous studies on body part

metaphors in Igbo mainly concentrated on the traditionalist perspectives that sees metaphor as a rhetoric or figurative device, theirs was based on the conceptual metaphor perspective which sees metaphor as a systematic cognitive device used in the understanding of abstract concepts through the application of concrete ones. Their data, which were obtained from 20 native speakers of Igbo through oral interview and observations, were subjected to semantic analysis. They discovered that *anya* ‘eye’ body part is a source domain or concrete concept used in mapping out or expressing abstract concepts in Igbo such as intelligence, love, hope, time/distance, greed, among others; and that metaphor is a powerful cognitive tool that helps in expressing the Igbo worldviews comprising their culture, belief system, core values, and morals, among others. For example, the concept “jealousy/envy” can be simply referred to as the feelings or state of bitterness, hostility towards someone because they have something that the other does not have, such that the use of the linguistic metaphorical expression *anya ũfu* for ‘jealousy’ in Igbo is because the meaning of pain is mapped on the word ‘eye’, as exemplified in (1).

- (1) a. *anya ũfu*
eye pain
‘jealousy’
- b. *onye anya ũfu*
person eye pain
‘a jealous person’ (Nweya & Ejinwa 2024: 78)

The scholars point out that in terms of metaphorical mapping, *anya* ‘eye’ is the source domain, which is used in expressing the target domain ENVY or JEALOUSY in Igbo. They concluded that the Igbo language is rich in the use of metaphors in everyday conversation and in expressing and understanding the worldviews of native speakers of the language.

Aniagboso (2015) in her study of *The semantics of body part idioms in Igbo* examines body parts individually with their corresponding idiomatic expressions alongside similar idiomatic expressions in two other languages, bringing out the semantic notions body parts portray in Igbo culture, extricating the similarities and differences in the languages while highlighting the uniqueness of Igbo culture in some areas and the commonness of human body part perceptions across languages. The idiomatic expressions discussed show the riches, convenience, spices and saltiness of idiomatic expressions, particularly in Igbo language and culture as well as highlighting the relationship between the functions of our body parts in language and communication, and the uniqueness and universality of such functions across languages. For example,

- (2) Head: a. *isi bù-rù m*
head daze-PST me
‘I was amazed/astonished’
- b. *ò nwe-ghĩ isi*
it have-not head
Literal: it does not have head
Figurative: ‘it is meaningless/ unsuccessful’ (Aniagboso 2015: 129)

‘Head’ is part of the body on top of the neck that contains the eye, nose, mouth, brain, etc., but is understood in the Igbo language as the highest position in the human body. In example (2a), the head is presented as the data processing unit and whatever it cannot be demystified is regarded a wonder. For (2b), the head is seen as the highest part of the body used to infer the main crux in a matter which its absence renders the matter unsuccessful or meaningless.

In a study, *Conceptual metaphor analysis of Igbo youth language*, Nkamigbo (2015) explores the youth language used by young Igbo people of south-eastern Nigeria, which is characterised by extensive use of metaphor, and utilized by youth to express the mechanics of sexual activities and their gratifying appeal, using lexically and contextually driven sexually explicit codes to conceptualize and reconstruct sex and sexual relations within their social universe and group’s dynamics. The study anchors on Lakoff & Johnson’s (1980) Conceptual Metaphor Theory to establish the existence of conceptual metaphors in the language of Igbo youth in many ways, example

- (3) Sex as Performance: a. Nwata *chi* *oku* *n’* *akwa*
 Female partner carry fire PREP bed
 ‘the lady is good in bed’
- b. *Nne, i* *na-* *adu* *ya* *nke* *oma*
 mother 2SG AUX- pierce 3SG very good
 ‘baby, you’re a good screw’ (Nkamigbo 2015: 92)
- (4) Sex as a Home Town: a. *Adazi* *àni*
 a town land (dialectal; metaphorically, low)
 ‘Vagina’
- b. *Adazi* *enu*
 a town up
 ‘Breasts’
- c. *Adazi* *nnukwu*
 a town big
 ‘Buttocks’ (Nkamigbo 2015: 92)

In example (3a), the verb phrase *chị oku* ‘carry fire’ metaphorically means that THE LADY PERFORMS WELL SEXUALLY, while *nà-àdu* ‘are pinching’ in example (3b) metaphorically refers to HOW THE FEMALE PARTNER ROLLS HER WAIST DURING SEX. For (4a-c), *Adazi Anị*, *Adazi Enu*, and *Adazi Nnukwu* are names of three different towns in Anambra State Nigeria, but their three names metaphorically represent VAGINA, BREAST, and BUTTOCKS respectively. The author concludes that young people use sexual metaphors to structure their experience of women, men and sex in terms of status/objectification, dominance/power, possession/control and hostility/aggression.

Against the use of insights from linguistics, anthropology, sociology, cultural studies, religious studies, among others, to show how Igbo people express their social and cultural experiences, Kamalu (2020) has used the Conceptual Metaphor Theory as well as descriptive

and analytical methods to study the Igbo people's construal of dreaded diseases and medical conditions in their environment with the goal of showing how the group uses metaphors to express ideation and tenor in relation to some dreaded diseases and conditions. The results reveal that Igbo people use different conceptual metaphors such as: container, journey, leaf, natural/physical force, heavy burden, etcetera, to frame their understanding of some dreaded diseases and conditions, which are named/classified according to the narratives around them, the effects of the disease on the skin of the sufferer, the visual impression of the disease on the distant others, the effects of the disease on the mind/brain of the sufferer, the physical effects of the disease on the body of the sufferer, and the assumed causes/sources of the disease. For example, *Mminwu* 'a body shrinker' is what most Igbo scholars call the dreaded Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) based on their perception that the disease can shrink the body of the sufferer up to the point of death. The metaphorical force of the expression is located in the word *shrinker*, but its basic meaning is the act of reducing or contracting in size. At the surface level of signification, it personifies AIDS or regards it as substance that reduces the body size of an entity. However, at the deeper level of signification, the frame is motivated by the conceptual metaphor, DISEASE IS A SUBSTANCE with the entailment HUMAN BODY IS A CONTAINER metaphor. The disease is construed as a harmful property that shrinks the size of the container, and the shrunk or affected parts of the container are the vital organs and immune system of the body which the HIV virus attacks and destroys, and the possibility of depleting the container over time as a result of the effects of the substance implies the fatality that may occur as a result of the infection if unchecked. Stopping the act of shrinking or depleting the size of the container implies taking steps to check the spread of the virus in the body system of the carrier by boosting the immune system. Most Igbo speakers call the disease *òbirinajocha* 'a journey to the grave', by relating AIDS to a fatal journey or a journey to death through the motivation of the conceptual metaphor SICKNESS/ILLNESS IS A JOURNEY, which entails that sickness/illness could be a journey to recovery or a journey to death, but in the case of HIV/AIDS is an inevitable journey to death since the cure had not been discovered, especially in the 1980s and early 1990s when HIV/AIDS came into existence and there appeared to be no effective treatment for it.

Adopting the pragmatic methodological approach involving interviews of 20 participants drawn from various Igbo culture, Orji et al (2023) in a study of *Animal-based metaphors in Igbo*, examine animal-based metaphors in Igbo with the goal of collecting animal-based metaphors and their meanings and interpretations. From the analysis of the data introspectively collected, it is revealed that animal-based metaphors are used to describe human personality, conduct or behaviour by associating some features or attributes of the animals with human conduct and personality. The animal *ewu* 'goat' in Igbo culture, for example, is perceived as foolish and senseless, based on its tendency of straying away in search of food. *Ewu* 'goat' to Igbo people is a metaphor for foolishness, and could be used to describe a human, his conduct or behaviour, as illustrated in (5).

- (5) a. *Emeka bu ewu*
 Emeka be goat
 'Emeka is foolish or senseless.'

- b. *A-bu* *m* *ewu* *gi?*
 PREF-be 1SG goat 2SG
 ‘Am I a fool or senseless to you?’ (Orji et al 2023: 16)

They also point out that some metaphors could be used in dual metaphorical sense, i.e., derogatory/negative, and commendatory/ positive depending on the cultural connotations as well as contextual meanings and interpretations of the referents. Example,

- (6) a. Ada bụ nkita
 Ada cop dog
 ‘Ada is promiscuous/ a protector/ a guardian.’
- b. Jiri nwayo i bụ-zi nkita
 take.it easy 2SG be-now dog
 ‘Take it easy, you are (now) a noise maker.’ (Orji et al 2023: 16)

Nkita ‘dog’ in (6) is a metaphor among the Igbo frequently used in dual metaphorical sense for derogation or negation, as well as commendation or positivity. Promiscuity as a feature of *nkita* ‘dog’ as seen in (6a) is based on the fact that a dog has multiple unspecified sex partners or it engages in indiscriminate sexual activity, and this is used to describe a male or female who has multiple, unspecified sex partners. The barking of dog in (6b) signifies noise in the ears of an unconcerned person, but a danger alert to its owner. This is metaphorically associated derogatorily with someone who is loud. The scholars conclude that animal-based metaphors in the Igbo language and culture reflect and represent the description of a person, conduct or behaviour, as well as beliefs and realities among the Igbo.

In a study, *Judging ordinary meaning*, Lee & Mouritsen (2018) look at the law and how it has continued to grapple with meaning of words. They express concern over the inability of a breakthrough in providing determinate answers to word meanings or the communicative content of the language of the law. They show how the law has done a poor job conceptualising the notion of ordinary meaning, pointing out that from the way judges assess ordinary meaning of words, uncertainty and division would remain inevitable. According to them, judges have consistently resorted to crediting “the communicative content of statutory text where it is ‘plain’, and in that event, to close the door to the consideration of extratextual sources of meaning or intent” (Lee & Mouritsen 2018: 797). They cite as an example, the rule of lenity which requires that genuine ambiguity in criminal laws should be resolved in favour of the defendant, but this rule does not take effect where the statute is clear. They note the confusion in interpreting word meaning whereby ordinary meaning also goes for plain meaning, pointing out that courts and scholars sometimes use plain meaning to denote ordinary meaning, that is, the meaning that would normally be attributed to the words of statute when there is limited information about their context. This, to them, was witnessed in a case before MUSCARELLO COURT in United States v. Muscarello, where the court was to determine if “a person is guilty of carrying a firearm (under a federal sentencing enhancement provision) in connection with a drug crime if he merely transports it to a drug deal in a locked glove compartment of the car he is driving”; and the nine Justices agreed that the question was that of "ordinary meaning" of the notion of carrying a firearm, but were yet divided 5-4 on “whether the ordinary sense of

that phrase encompassed the conveyance of a gun in a glove compartment.” (Lee & Mouritsen 2018: 789), and they resorted to dictionary meaning and etymology of the verb *carry*. The thesis of their work is that words have meaning and that meaning can be theorised and measured using linguistics principles and methods that has to do with corpus linguistic tools. They suggest a collaboration by judges, lawyers, and linguists in proposing the best practices in corpus analysis, which include finding out the best corpus for a given type of ambiguity, standards for the appropriate sample size for a given search, standards for determining appropriate search terms and search methods for various types of inquiries, and the identification of suitable coding methods.

Lakoff (1991) discussing the metaphor system used to justify war in the Gulf, considers the discourse over whether to go to war in the Gulf as being filled with metaphor, citing for example, the Secretary of State, Baker, as seeing Saddam Hussein as “sitting on our economic lifeline”, while Bush portrayed him as having a “strangehold” on our economy, and General Schwarzkopf characterised Hussein’s occupation of Kuwait as a “rape” that was ongoing. He says that President Bush justifying going to Gulf war used the metaphors of SELF-DEFENCE and RESCUE MISSION, where for Self-Defence, he says “Iraq is villain, the US is hero, the US and other industrialised nations are victims, the crime is a death threat, that is, a threat to economic health.”; and for Rescue Mission, he states “Iraq is villain, the US is hero, Kuwait is victim, the crime is kidnap and rape.” Drawing from Clausewitz metaphor *War is politics pursued by other means*, Lakoff (1991: 3) notes

Clausewitz is commonly presented as seeing war in terms of political cost-benefit analysis: Each state has political objective, and war may best serve those objectives. The political “gains” are to be weighed against acceptable “cost”. When the costs of war exceed the political gains, the war should cease.

By adopting a version of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) based on the notion of main meaning focus, Abu Rumman et al (2024) studied *A Cognitive linguistic analysis of FACE and HAND metaphors and metonymies in Jordanian Arabic* with the goal of identifying the metaphorical and metonymical uses of hand and face in Jordanian Arabic. Using a 30,000-word corpus, and employing the original Metaphor Identification Procedure (Pragglejaz Group, 2007) for identifying the metaphorical expressions, and Steen’s (2007) procedure for extracting the conceptual metaphors, the results reveal that hand as a source domain can be used to conceptualize CHARACTER TRAITS, CULTURAL VALUES, STATES, AND EMOTIONS, while face as a source domain can be used to conceptualize CHARACTER TRAITS and EMOTIONS. For example, “Building on HAND IS A CONTAINER FOR WEALTH, when someone’s hand is tightly closed, this metaphorically indicates that this person is mean and stingy.” (Abu Rumman et al 2024: 8). This conceptualization is realized through METAPHTONYMIES in which the source domain is constructed metonymically. Some similarities and differences existing between Jordanian Arabic and other languages and varieties in relation to HAND and FACE metaphorical conceptualizations are also revealed. The similarities are as a result of the universality of human embodiment, while the differences are due to cultural variations.

Finally, it can be seen from the empirical works reviewed that studies abound on conceptual metaphor, just as this current study, both in Igbo and other cultures. However, the present study differs from these studies in the sense that it examines the metaphoric expression

of *ara* ‘madness’ among Igbo people (which has not been studied) in order to identify the various instances of the use of the word among Igbo people, which differ from their original conceptualisation of the word; and unravelling the reason(s) behind the use of *ara* ‘madness’ at such contexts.

4 Methodology

This study is designed to be qualitative in nature, whereby there is a description and interpretation of the language data. Qualitative research, as explained by Johnson & Christensen 2008, involves a narrative report with rich description rather than a statistical report. It, therefore, aims at explaining rather than measuring or quantifying (Onuoha & Uchechukwu 2022: 8). The objective of the study is to find out the metaphorical use of *ara* ‘madness’ among Ìgbò people.

The data for the study are obtained from the primary source, using manipulated situational technique and based on the author's experience as a native Igbo speaker. This technique enables an observation of peoples' use of language both at home and while on a journey as well as bringing the author's wealth of experience to bare. As at 2021, the Igbo language had 27 million speakers (Sasu 2022), and with different varieties (see Ikekeonwu 1987; Nwaozuzu 2017). However, elicitation of data is based on purposive sampling technique whereby data are elicited as situation warrants.

The data are presented for analysis on the basis of Leipzig Glossing Rule of word-by-word alignment, and descriptively analysed. The analysis is guided by the tenets of the Theory of Lexical Concepts and Cognitive Model and the Dynamic Construal Approach. The data are also tone-marked in order that the real meanings of the words would be made clearer. The tone-marking convention adopted is Green & Igwe's (1963) convention of leaving the high tone unmarked, marking the low tone with a grave accent / `/, and marking the down stepped tone orthographically with a macron / ¯/.

5 Findings and discussions

The data presentation takes care of different contexts where the concept of madness is expressed. This is followed immediately by discussion to bring out the contextual meanings.

- (7) a. Question: *kèdù ihe nwokē ahū* *nà- èkwu?*
 what thing man DEM Adj AUX Progr. saying
 ‘what is that man saying?’
- b. Response: *rapù onye arā ahū.*
 leave person mad DEM Adj
 ‘leave that mad person’

Data examples (7a&b) are from discussion between two individuals. Someone else had said something which is not what the responder expected to hear. It could be that the person just

came in and started warning the person asked the question concerning an earlier action. Now the individual being warned does not want to respond. So immediately the third person wanted to find out from him, the responder, what the warning was about, the responder made the comment, *rapù onye arā ahù* ‘leave that mad person.’ The man is in this context referred to as *onye arā* ‘mad man’ because the responder considers what he had told him as an expression that could only come from someone abnormal and irrational.

(8) a. Question: *ezi ò dī mmā?*
road PRON be good
‘is the road clear?’

b. Response: *ndī ara jùrù n’ ezi*
people mad fill PREP road
‘mad people are everywhere on the road’

In the data example (8a&b) is a conversation between two commercial bus drivers coming from opposite direction. One of the drivers wanted to find out from the other the condition of the road at the time. The reason for asking the question is because some officers of the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) use to mount road blocks on the road; and just about a distance of one pole are also always officers of the Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC) checking the conditions of vehicles plying the road. The motorists dislike the presence of the police officers and road safety officers on the roads because they extort them of their hard-earned money. At the context where they extort money from the motorists and sometimes book them, the motorists regard their action as being akin to behaviour of mad people. So, as the question in (8a) was asked, the response in (8b) was, *ndī ara jùrù n’ ezi* ‘the mad people are everywhere on the road’, thus referring to the police officers and the road safety officers as *ndī arā* ‘mad people’. The use of the term may be as a result of the hardship in the country for which people manage to survive. In addition to hardship, there was no case of car snatching that would warrant mounting road blocks for stop and search operation. The police officers are there just with the intent to extort the motorists without doing any genuine stop-and-search activity. For the road safety officers, people consider their action of checking the motorists as being irrational since the roads they claim to maintain safety on are, in the first place, not safe for use and government seems not bothered. In fact, the Road Safety Officers even prefer stationing themselves and their vehicle at damaged portions of the roads for ease of stopping oncoming vehicles. In that context, people regard them as behaving irrationally and abnormally, and the only right term to use for them is *ndī arā* ‘mad people’.

(9) a. Question: *ọkụ, ò dī?*
light PRON be
‘Is there light?’

b. Response: *ndī arā à wè-kwà-rù ọkụ èrì ùtùtù.*
people mad these take-again-PERF light since morning
‘these mad people have taken the light since morning’

For data examples (9a&b), *ndị arā* ‘mad people’ in the response in (9b) refers to the officers of the Electricity Distribution Company. People dislike their innumerable negative actions against electricity consumers, ranging from taking the light at will without passing any information at all to let people be aware of when not to expect the light to serving electricity consumers bloated/ irrational bills raised from estimations rather than from meter readings; they hoard the pre-paid meters instead of issuing them out to interested subscribers in order that they will continue to bill them exorbitantly. With the indiscriminate taking of light, and sometimes leaving it to last for up to a week or a month, many people have lost a lot of valuables that would have been preserved in the refrigerator. Even those who depend on electricity to eke a living (mostly the artisans), like welders, electronics repairers, cybercafé business people/business centres operators, etcetera, find it difficult to carry on with their businesses without light. The actions of the Electricity Distribution Companies are considered as abnormal and resemble the behaviour of insane people. That is why in (9b), they are referred to as *ndị arā* ‘mad people’. To Igbo people, once light is taken, *ndị arā* ‘mad people’ have struck and have exhibited their madness.

- (10) [sudden going-off of light]
 Comment: *ndị arā!*
 people mad
 ‘mad people!’

The context of the expression of the comment in (9) is the same as that of (10) because both refer to the Electricity Distribution Company. However, unlike in (9) where light had already been taken and someone asks question to ascertain its situation, (10) represents a spontaneous reaction of people as soon as light is taken, especially when one is using light for something very important. It may be that in the process of making arrangement to begin to press one’s clothes, the electricity distribution company suddenly takes the light; the reaction is usually, *ndị arā!* ‘mad people!’. This kind of spontaneous reaction nowadays is often witnessed from people of various classes: the children, the youths, the elderly, the women and the men.

- (11) a. Question: *ọ rụ-chaa-la ụgbọàlà ahụ?*
 3SG work-finish-PERF. vehicle that
 ‘has he finished working on that vehicle?’
 b. Response: *rapụ onye arā à*
 leave person mad this
 ‘leave this mad person’

The pronoun *ọ* in (11a) and *onye arā* in (11b) refer to the same individual - a motor mechanic. The person expected to provide answer to the question in (11a), probably, the owner of the car had expected that given the time already spent on the car by the mechanic, the repairs would have been completely done. But because the car owner views that the mechanic either did not know what he was doing or that he had left the car to concentrate on other cars, on receiving the question from, may be a friend, provides the spontaneous answer in (11b), referring to the mechanic as a madman. At this point, there seems to be no other adjective to qualify the

mechanic. The car owner now considers the mechanic as being INCOMPETENT, IRRATIONAL, or INCONSIDERATE – a behaviour that may be considered akin to ABNORMALITY.

- (12) *nèkene ihe ndị arā à nà- àrụ-ghè-ri*
 see thing/what people mad these AUX Progr- do-complete-everywhere
 ‘look at what these mad people are doing’

The comment in (12) is from a road maintenance site. The company maintaining the road are fortifying the gutters and repairing damaged portions of the road. People admire government’s decision to repair the long-damaged road as well as the job of the Maintenance company because of their smooth plying of the road. However, at some areas, one sees spots their attention was not drawn to; while at some portions they asphalted, they did not close it up at the gutter. So, when it rained heavily with heavy flooding, the left-over spots began to widen, while holes started to form around the gutters; some areas that were asphalted were also washed off. People’s expectation was that the repairs would ease their sufferings on the road for a reasonable period, but the quick spoil of some already repaired portions had made them to start feeling disappointed. It was in this disappointing state that a passenger pointed a washed off portion to the driver conveying him and uttered the statement in (12). The government and the company doing the repairs were, in this context, viewed as not knowing what they were doing. The road maintenance was being done below what the people had expected. Their action of not doing the maintenance well was considered irrational and abnormal since they failed to put their expertise to bare. That is why the term *ndị arā* ‘mad people’ was used to refer to them. Ara ‘madness’ can also be used metaphorically to portray anger, severe rebuke, noise making, heavy desire for something, insensibility. These can be seen in the following examples.

- (13) a. *iyisa ara* ‘to be very angry/ to rebuke severely’, as in

Emma yisà-rà onye- ūwē- ōjī ahụ ara.
 Emma displayed greatly-PST person- dress- black DEM Adj. mad
 Literal: Emma was mad at the policemen and attacked them
 Figurative: ‘Emma was very angry at the policemen and severely rebuked them’

- b. *iwị ara / ara igba* ‘to be very angry/annoyed’, as in

i. *ara ga- awị nne ya ma o lota*
 mad FUT- display mother her/his when PRON returns
 Literal: her/his mother will become mad when she returns
 Figurative: ‘her/his mother will be very angry when she returns’

ii. *ara ga- a-gba nne ya ma o lota*
 mad FUT- PREF-run mother her/his when PRON returns
 Literal: her/his mother will become mad when she returns
 Figurative: ‘her/his mother will be very angry when she returns’

In example (13), *iyisa ara* literally means to ‘to be mad at’, but it is metaphorical in the sense used, showing how angry or annoyed someone is at another person, ‘be profusely

angry/annoyed’. *iwị ara* or *ara igba* literally means ‘to become mad’, but they are used metaphorically in (13bi&ii) to express how angry or annoyed one becomes as a result of a negative action.

(14) *nkịtā arā* ‘noise maker/ trouble maker’, as in

	<i>Chike</i>	<i>bù</i>	<i>nkịtā</i>	<i>arā</i>
	Chike	be	dog	mad
Literal:	Chike is a mad dog			
Figurative:	‘Chike is a trouble maker’			

For example (14), *nkịtā arā* has a literal meaning of ‘mad dog’. A mad dog is known for barking profusely and making irritating noise as well as being uncontrollable. In this context, *nkịtā arā* is metaphorically used to mean noise maker or trouble maker.

(15) a. *ara òpùpù* ‘insensibility/ display of bad attitude’

	<i>onye-isī</i>	<i>bù</i>	<i>onye</i>	<i>ara</i>	<i>òpùpù</i>
	person-head	be	person	mad	act of being
Literal:	‘the head is a mad person’				
Figurative:	‘the head is an insensible human being’				

b. *ikwūsi ara òpùpù* ‘stopping the display of bad attitude’

	<i>unù</i>	<i>gà-à-kwūsi</i>	<i>ara</i>	<i>òpùpù</i>	<i>ahù</i>
	2PL	MOD-PREF-stop	mad	act of being	Adj.
Literal:	you should stop being mad				
Figurative:	‘you should stop displaying the bad attitude’				

There is a metaphorical use of *ara òpùpù* [Lit: ‘mad person’] in (15a) to qualify an insensible person or someone who exhibits bad attitude. In (15b), *ikwūsi ara òpùpù* metaphorically means stopping the display of bad attitude.

(16) *ara ihē ipù mmadụ* ‘being desirous of something seriously’

	<i>ara</i>	<i>ozima</i>	<i>nà-</i>	<i>a-pū</i>	<i>Nkechi</i>
	mad	evangelism	HBTL-PREF-go		Nkechi
Literal:	evangelism has made Nkechi mad				
Figurative:	‘Nkechi is very desirous of evangelism’				

Ara ihē ipù mmadụ used in example (16) is metaphoric. It is used in Igbo culture to show how desirous someone is for something. In this context, *ara* ‘madness’ does not connote negativity.

6 Summary and conclusion

The study examined the metaphoric use of the concept of *ara* ‘madness’ among Igbo people with a view to identifying the various instances of the use of the word metaphorically among

Igbo people and unravelling the reason(s) behind its use at such instances. On the basis of the Theory of Lexical Concepts and Cognitive Models, and Dynamic Construal Approach; and using observation method and the author's wealth of experience as native Igbo speaker, the data obtained from the primary source, precisely, by observing people's reactions at different circumstances were analysed descriptively. The results revealed that the concept of *ara* 'madness', in addition to its original encyclopaedic knowledge, is now metaphorically used among Igbo people to refer to policemen, road safety personnel, electricity providers, mechanics, and every other person(s) whose actions are considered IRRATIONAL and ABNORMAL by the society. The use of the term for these different groups and persons is also discovered to be contextual. Also, *ara* could be applied at certain contexts metaphorically to represent ANGER/ANNOYANCE, LOUD or NOISE-MAKING/TROUBLE-MAKING, INSENSIBILITY/BAD ATTITUDE, and SERIOUS DESIRE FOR SOMETHING. The phenomenon of metaphor, also applies to the Igbo language, and *ara* 'madness' is among the words that could metaphorically be used.

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Abbreviations

AUX Progr.	auxiliary progressive
DCA	dynamic construal approach
DEM Adj	demonstrative adjective
FRSC	Federal Road Safety Commission
LCCM	lexical concepts and cognitive models
NPF	Nigeria Police Force
2SG	2nd person singular
3SG	3rd person singular
2PL	2nd person plural
PERF	perfective
PREP	preposition
PRON	Pronoun
AUX	auxiliary verb
HIV	Human Immune Virus
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HBTL	habitual
PREF	prefix
MOD	modal
FUT	future

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Aghaegbuna Haroldson Uwaezuoke
 Department of Linguistics,
 Nnamdi Azikiwe University Awka, Nigeria
 E-mail: ha.uwaezuoke@unizik.edu.ng

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