ABSTRACT

Il contenuto di questa tesi magistrale unisce due passioni differenti: quella per il Malawi e quella per la lingua inglese, in particolare lo studio dell'esame di Linguistica Cognitiva. Nel tentativo di entrare ancora di più in contatto con la mentalità del popolo malawiano, in particolare i parlanti la lingua chichewa, questa tesi prova ad analizzare alcune parole relative alle emozioni alla luce di elementi della Linguistica Cognitiva, confrontando i risultati ottenuti con la lingua inglese. Questa ricerca è stata condotta sia attraverso lo studio della materia linguistica sia la ricerca attiva sulla lingua chichewa.

Inizialmente viene proposta una presentazione del Malawi, seguita da una descrizione della sua lingua, in particolare in alcuni aspetti della sua morfologia che la rendono peculiare rispetto al resto della famiglia Bantu. In seguito, un'introduzione alla linguistica cognitiva mette in risalto gli elementi che saranno necessari all'analisi, in particolare metafore concettuali e image schemas. Questi ultimi sono strutture prelinguistiche legate all'esperienza concreta del corpo umano nel mondo circostante, che stanno alla base delle metafore, che avvengono tra differenti domini concettuali e configurano il sistema cognitivo. Viene poi analizzata la teoria della relatività linguistica, molto dibattuta fino ad oggi, la quale studia se e in che modo la lingua influenzi il modo di concettualizzare e concepire il mondo. Successivamente, data la natura del lavoro, è necessaria una classificazione delle parole legate alle emozioni. A questo scopo viene preso in considerazione uno studio di Johnson-Laird e Oatley (1989), i quali trovano cinque emozioni di base: felicità, tristezza, paura, rabbia e disgusto. Relative a queste, vengono poi considerate le metafore specifiche al campo semantico delle emozioni, in particolare quelle teorizzate da Kövecses (1998). Nell'ultima parte del lavoro, si passa alla ricerca vera e propria: ho provato a comprendere se le metafore specifiche delle emozioni in inglese corrispondessero a quelle deducibili da alcuni elementi in chichewa. Inizialmente si analizza il modo di esprimere le emozioni in generale in questa lingua. I successivi metodi per un' indagine più precisa sono stati due: l'analisi tramite vari dizionari delle traduzioni specifiche delle parole, e il successivo confronto con un semplice questionario somministrato a un gruppo di 30 parlanti.

Fondamentale anche la lettura di alcuni proverbi tradizionali, che hanno permesso una più accurata analisi di tutte le cinque principali parole individuate per il lavoro.

La tesi si conclude con un parallelismo abbastanza fedele tra inglese e chichewa per quanto riguarda le metafore emotive, sebbene si scopra un'interessante legame tra il malessere fisico e le emozioni negative molto più prominente in chichewa.

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Chapter 1.
INTRODUCTION

The first time I visited Malawi was in 2014. I was just 18 years old, and it had been my dream since I was 14 to visit the African continent. It had been many years since I started volunteering in events and projects in support of the "DREAM" programme, started in the late ‘90s by the Community of Sant’ Egidio in many Sub-Saharan countries to treat and prevent malnutrition and AIDS. With a group of friends, we decided to go and visit Malawi, a country involved in this programme, that I had never heard of in other circumstances. Never would I have imagined how important that trip would be to me and how fond I would become of this country, also known as “The warm heart of Africa”. That trip was just the first one of a long series. What should have been a simple experience became a deep bond of affection. The young people of the Community of Sant’ Egidio in Malawi became our friends, as did the many Malawian people who work hard on the DREAM programme. So, every year my friends and I would save our money to travel again to Blantyre, the city that hosted us the following years, until 2019. We helped in the Feeding Centre in Machinjiri, one of the city's poorest areas, in which six to eight hundred children every day are fed and taken care of; we visited the elderly of the neighbourhood and helped the Street kids of the city centre.

As a foreign language student, I was always fascinated by the local language, Chichewa. I have also always wondered if speaking a different language can determine a different mindset of the people using it. When I attended the first lesson on Cognitive Linguistics, I understood that this hypothesis I was simply imagining was a theory studied and still discussed in Linguistics. Discovering the Sapir-Whorf theory, I wondered if I could somehow apply it to Chichewa to understand better the mentality of Malawi's people, their thought processes and ideas. I soon understood I wanted to write my thesis on this topic.

The second inspiration for the subject of this writing was “The Book of Human Emotions: An Encyclopaedia of Feeling from Anger to Wanderlust.” by culture historian Tiffany Watt Smith (2016). The book aims to describe the entire range of possible human emotions, analysing 156 terms in different languages. Of

course, it is not a scientific and linguistic analysis but a merely descriptive one. “This book is about [...] the different ways emotions have been perceived and performed” (Watt Smith, 2016) because there are indubitably “intriguing connections between our feelings and the word we use to describe them” (Watt Smith, 2016). As written by the author in the book's introduction, “The way we feel is also enmeshed in the expectations and cultures we live in” (Watt Smith, 2016). Even if no comments are reported on Cognitive Linguistics, the idea that Watt-Smith brings forward is very much suitable for the aim of this thesis: “Hate, anger and desire can seem to come from the most untamed, animal parts of ourselves. Yet they can also be aroused by those things which make us distinctly human: our language and the concepts we use to understand our bodies [...] The influence of our ideas can be so powerful that they can sometimes shape those biological responses we think of as the most natural.” (Watt Smith, 2016). The most intriguing question that the author reported, representing the actual connection between this book and Cognitive Linguistics, is: “if different people have different ways of conceptualising their emotions, might they feel them differently too?” (Watt Smith, 2016). This book, though being extremely speculative and not linguistic specific, aimed to better understand the mentality of the entire human species by describing all the words referring to emotions in different cultures and languages: so, as I was reading it, I wondered if it could be possible to do a more accurate and specific analysis in Chichewa and get into the mindset of people in Malawi and the differences with the European one.

I then discovered the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, also known as the Linguistic Relativity Hypothesis:

“[...] The idea that language might play some role in determining non-linguistic thought, and that speakers of different languages might therefore have different conceptual systems.” (Evans & Green, 2009). When discussing one’s conceptual system, the Conceptual Metaphor Theory comes to mind in the field of cognitive linguistics. Is it possible then to analyse some of the concepts behind words utilised to name an emotion? This thesis will be an attempt to do so.

In the second chapter, I will introduce Malawi, its history and the profile of Chichewa. The third, is a broad introduction to Cognitive Linguistics, the nature of image schemas and conceptual metaphors, then relevant for the following analysis. Afterwards, I will illustrate the Linguistic Relativity Theory, discussing if and how a language can influence how one thinks. Lastly, a classification of emotion terms will be illustrated.

In the fourth chapter the proper analysis will be found: the research methodology done through dictionaries and the questionnaire will be illustrated; after describing how emotions can be expressed in Chichewa, the five main emotion terms (happiness, sadness, fear, anger and disgust) will be discussed in the light of conceptual metaphors, such as EMOTION IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER (filled with emotion), EMOTION IS A PHYSICAL FORCE (be struck by an emotion) EMOTION IS BURDEN (be weighed down by an emotion), to find out if there are any similarities or differences between the Chichewa and English-speaking the conceptualization of emotions.

Chapter 2.
THE CASE OF CHICHEWA IN MALAWI

This chapter will give Malawi a brief presentation, with a focus on those aspects of its history and culture that can be inherent to the subject of the paper. Afterwards, a brief passage on the Chichewa language's history and its correlation with other languages present on the territory. Finally, I will draw a language description, mostly morphological, on general aspects of this tongue, that is useful to comprehend the study.

The warm heart of Africa

Malawi, the "Warm Heart of Africa", or "The land of the Lake", or "The Land of Smiling Faces" (Munthali, 2018) is a small country in the South-eastern part of the continent and borders Mozambique, Tanzania, and Zambia. It is so named, referring to the friendliness of its people. Under British rule, the area was known as Nyasaland. The name was then changed after independence in 1964. "Malawi" comes from the old term "Maravi", the vast ancient Chewa kingdom settled in the present countries of Malawi, Zambia, and Mozambique during the 16th century.

Malawi is indeed one of the poorest countries in the world. According to the Human Development Report (United Nations, 2021), almost 70% of the population lives below the "income poverty line", which is the percentage of the population living below the international poverty line of $1.90. According to the Human Development Indicator, it is one of the highest percentages in the world, ranking very low, number 174, on the list of countries (United Nations, 2021). The majority of the population lives in rural areas, only about 17% of the population lives in urban centres (The World Bank, 2022), and the primary source of support is agriculture. The two main cities are Lilongwe, the country's capital, and Blantyre, an essential centre for economics and trade. Looking at the map of this country, one can quickly notice right away the size of Lake Malawi, which is the third-largest lake in Africa. The only and most important lake's outlet is the Shire River. Of course, these water basins are crucial to the local economy.

As can be read on Britannica's website, Malawi's known history begins between the 1st and 4th centuries CE, when the first settlements of a Bantu-speaking population started spreading, whose identity is still uncertain. Later other Bantu-speaking peoples inhabited the region, and a rich oral history was maintained until 1500 when it was recorded in Portuguese and English by colonisers. The Maravi Empire was then established in 1480, and it included related ethnolinguistic groups situated in central and southern Malawi. In the 18th century, the slave trade was introduced in the region. The "Nyasaland District Protectorate" was established by the British in 1891, which was later joined with the colony of Rhodesia in the "Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland". As was the case in many other African states, all the negative aspects of colonial rule caused later nationalist sentiments to rise. However, Malawi became independent relatively peacefully. In 1963 the federation was dissolved, and in 1964, the country achieved independence under the famous president Hastings Kamuzu Banda, whose regime lasted until 1994.

Some data could be useful to frame Malawi's socio-economical situation better nowadays: the total population is about 20 million, whose life expectancy at birth is 65 years. Only 14% of the residents have access to electricity, and 10% of the inhabitants use the internet (The World Bank, 2022). According to UNICEF, in regards to education, just 17% of students attend upper secondary school, and 28% lower secondary school. Another critical social indicator that comes to one's attention when reading data about this country is the percentage of young women (20-24 years old) married before age 18: in Malawi, 42%, moreover the percentage of underaged childbearing is about 29%. This data shows the problematic social status of women and young girls in Malawi, an issue that experts have discussed in the last few years.

What about the "Malawian character"? In the words of Munthali (2018): "The Malawians are, by and large, honest, conservative, good-humoured, and mild-tempered. They tend to be quiet […] and are always smiling. […] Many call them ignorant and deeply superstitious. The Malawian traits of discipline, hard work, and perseverance come from a long tradition of strict social discipline that is imparted from birth. It includes respect for all elders and near godlike reverence toward

authority.[…] For strangers, this strict disciplinary code translates into warmth and helpfulness. Visitors are welcomed with open arms and offered meals, and, where required, a typical Malawian village as a community will host or help a total stranger. The legendary hospitality of Malawians, despite their poverty, is well known to Southern Africans who have visited or worked in Malawi". Malawian culture is highly based on sharing, communities, on solidarity: "most of them assume it is their duty to help whom they consider to be in need." (Munthali, 2018).

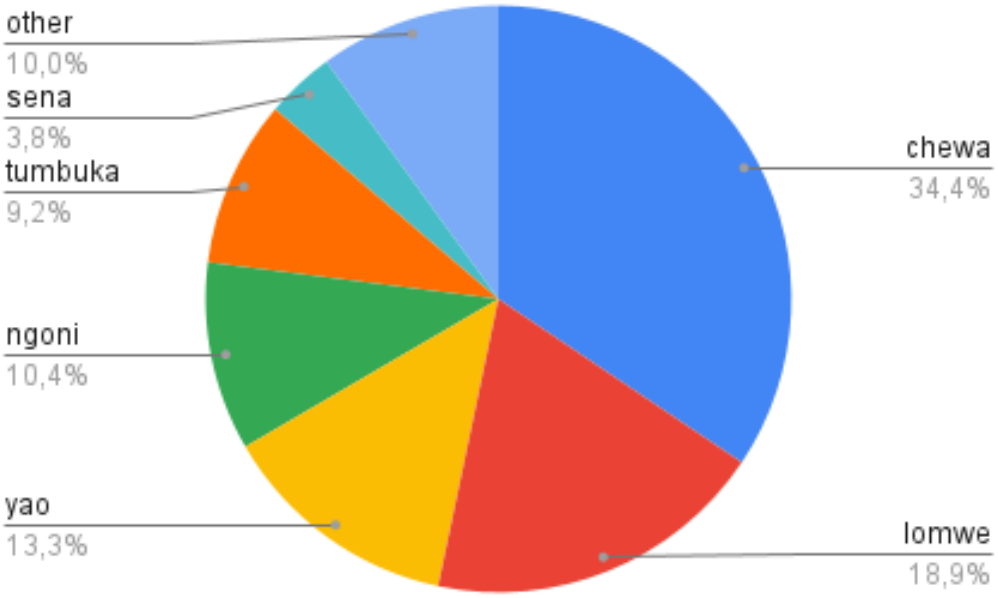
One of the most important aspects of Malawian culture is also religious tolerance. It is indeed one of the most peaceful countries in the African continent, and peaceful religious coexistence is an example of this virtue. The major religions are Christianity and Islam and interreligious marriages are common; another piece of evidence accounting for this peaceful coexistence is the fact that the majority of the population is Christian, pertaining to different confessions, and they elected twice a Muslim president (Munthali, 2018). Nonetheless, one of the aspects that are still deeply rooted in Malawian culture is witchcraft, or older traditions in general, that coexist together with religious ones. Magic is used particularly in medical practices.

Malawi is in general, a peaceful and poor country, whose population warmly welcomes strangers and lives a simple yet serene life.

Profile of a language: Chichewa

Chichewa's history and other languages

As is well known, one of the main consequences of colonialism, and the so-called "Scramble for Africa", is the mixture of different tribes and ethnicities inside a present-day country. And the same applies to Malawi, in which different tribes coexist, all speaking Bantu languages and dialects. According to Britannica online, "Ten major ethnic groups are historically associated with modern Malawi—the Chewa, Nyanja, Lomwe, Yao, Tumbuka, Sena, Tonga, Ngoni, Ngonde, and the Lambya/Nyiha." (Ingham, 2022).



(Ingham, 2022)

As previously said, even if the population is very much divided into tribes nowadays, and throughout history, the country is characterized by a peaceful coexistence of the different group (Kayambazinthu, 1998), as well as religious tolerance.

To each of the ethnicities living in Malawi corresponds a regional language: Tumbuka, Yao, Tonga, Sena, Lomwe, Ngonde…etc. Chichewa, also known as Nyanja, Chinyanja or simply Chewa, is declared the official language in Malawi and Zambia, as well as being recognised as a minority language in the bordering countries of Mozambique and Zimbabwe. One could think that the prevalence of the Chewa population in Malawi led to the recognition of the official tongue, but this is not the only cause. In fact, the partially "artificial" process that brought Chichewa as the official language of Malawi was brought about by missionaries during the 19th century and later by President Banda, the leader that characterises the early history of independent Malawi.

To draw a more precise picture of Malawi's linguistic history, the study conducted by Edrinnie Kayambazinthu (1998) will be taken into consideration. She divides the linguistic process into three segments:

“The sixteenth–eighteenth centuries were dominated by the Maravi or Chewa in the southern and central regions of Malawi whilst other indigenous groups such as the Tumbuka and other smaller groups dominated the northern part of the country. One should look at this period of language contact as one of integration and synthesis between the immigrants and the earlier inhabitants. [..]
The nineteenth century Malawi was economically and politically dominated by intruders (Yao, Ngoni, and British) who subjugated the indigenous ethnic groups. [..] Factors such as the numerical size of the group, intermarriages, the nature of migration, the attitude of the immigrants and the friendliness of the indigenous groups can be put forward as possible causes of language shift. However, the continued existence of most of these immigrant language groups shows that this was a period of integration without total or complete synthesis. The coming of the British and the need for streamlining administration, language for education and evangelism ushered in a different language —English. This forms a different period altogether. Colonialism created and confined Malawi within its present borders and artificially separated linguistic groups from each other” (Kayambazinthu, 1998)

The choice of Chewa language was made in the first place by missionaries when they had to find a way to communicate with indigenous people. An ulterior effort was made in the latter years of colonization, between 1918 and 1964, by both the government and missionaries, in coordinating the standardization of language, for example the creation of the Chinyanja Orthographic Rules in 1931. Of course, this process was heavily influenced by colonial mentality, stereotypes, and economical interests: *“*Of importance, during the colonial period is the ideology and objectives of the colonialists, their treatment of various linguistic groups and their cultures and how this redefined the relations between the language groups in terms of status and prestige.” (Kayambazinthu, 1998).
Then, after his election in 1964, being himself part of the Chewa tribe, the newly elected president Kamuzu Banda decided in 1968 to establish both English and Chichewa as official national languages, the latter becoming the main medium of instruction.
“Because of the national language policy adopted by the Malawi government, which

promoted Chichewa through active educational programs, media usage, and other research activities carried out under the auspices of the Chichewa Board, out of a population of around 9 million, upwards of 65 percent have functional literacy or active command of this language." (Mchombo, 2004)

This action undertaken by the government led to a process of standardization of the language, as well as to the predominance of Chichewa over other dialects. However, this also produced some issues up to the present day. In fact, in 1996 the government policy decided that from grade 5, the medium of instruction would be English, which was already understood by less than one-fifth of the population at independence in 1964. This language though is still used widely in business, administrative and judicial matters and higher education. (Ingham, 2022)

For this reason, as stated by Kayambazinthu (1998) "The dominance and limited access to English from the colonial times to the present has created an elite group.". The major illiterate group of the population does not use English, if anything they are even more excluded from the country's administration and power. English is confined to the institutional, formal and written patterns of interaction, and it is the medium of communication for debates and speeches in the Malawian parliament, making it difficult for those whose proficiency is low to fully and meaningfully participate in the debate (Kayambazinthu, 1998). Even for the constitution and all the laws they did not use Chichewa.
The standardization of the language and the way in which it is taught in schools led to a separation between parts of society, and even further isolation of the poorest and less educated, in a country that has a literacy rate of just 62% (The World Bank, 2022).

Language description

"Chichewa belongs to the Niger-Kordofanian language family, specifically to the Benue-Congo phylum. On Guthrie's (1967, 1971) classification system of Bantu languages, Chichewa is classified as belonging to Zone N, Unit N31." (Msaka, 2019)

According to Glottolog (Glottolog 4.6 - Nyanja, s.d.), Chewa is found under the family of the East Bantu languages, and it appears to be a variant of Nyanja, classified with "nya" under ISO 639-3 classification.

In "The Handbook of Morphology", Mchombo (2004) says that the Chichewa, or Chinyanja language shares many morphological features with other Bantu languages, such as the agglutinative and complex structure of the verb. This tongue possesses an elaborate system of noun classification, which will be described in this chapter. It is also characterized by its tones, being in fact a "tone language". It displays a variety of both lexical and grammatical tones, which are used to distinguish similar words, or they have a role in verb construction, to identify tenses or relative clause verbs.

To better understand the structure of this language, it is necessary to start from the verb structure, which can be considered the core of Chichewa. The verb in Chichewa presents itself with a verb root, typically ending in *-a* in its citation form and different prefixes and infixes that denote different functions. In the infinitive form, the verb starts with *ku-*. As an example, we will analyse the verb *kudya* that corresponds to the English verb "to eat". In a sentence the verb combines with prefixes and infixes, which mark subject, tense, and aspect. The verb can be used without any infixes or prefixes only when it is used in the imperative mood, adding *-ni* at the end to express the plural or when talking with respect, *Idya*! ('eat!'), *Idyani*! ('please eat'). Single syllable verbs such as *-dya* add an extra *i-* at the beginning. The prefixes agree with the sentence subject: if it is a personal pronoun, the following person marker prefixes are to be used: *ndi-* (I) , *u-* (you, singular), *a-* (he, she, it, they), *ti-* (we), *mu-* (you, plural). In this instance, in most of the sentences, the subject marker allows the speaker to not use the personal pronoun. Of course, isolated personal pronouns exist in Chichewa (*ine* - I, Iwe - you, *ife* - we, *inu* - you all) but in most phrases are used just to draw attention to someone and not as a subject, i.e., the polite response *Kaya <u>inu</u>*? (How about you?) when asked *Muli bwanji*? (How are you?).

In the case of having a noun as a subject, there will be a subject marker and/or object marker in the verb, agreeing with the noun class features of the noun subject. Noun classes and noun agreement will be described further below.

Next, there are tense marker infixes: *-ku-* (present), *-ma-* (habitual action or past progressive, depending on the tone), *-a-* (perfective), *-na-* (past simple), *-naa-* (remote past), *-dza-* (future).
So, the verb *kudya* can be found in these forms:

ndi-ku-dya (I am eating), *ti-ma-dya* (we eat, habit), *u-na-dya* (you ate), *a-dza-dya* (they will eat)

Other useful infixes and prefixes are:

- the reflexive *-dzi-*, as in the phrases given as example by Mchombo (2004): Mkango *u-ma-dzi-supula* (The lion always bruises itself).
- the negative *si-*, i.e., *si-ndi-bwera* (I am not coming).
- *-ngo-* (just, merely), *-ka-* (go), *-dza-* (come), after the tense marker.
- *-sana-/-ka-*, representing conditionals, standing after the subject marker and before the tense marker.

The verb construction in Chichewa gets even more complicated by the suffixes, or extensions, that can slightly change the meaning of the verb. To understand this, here is a list of the same verb, *kuona* (to see) given in all the different forms:

- *ku-on-etsa* - to make someone see, to show
- *ku-on-edwa* - to be seen by someone
- *ku-on-etsedwa* - to have been made to be seen
- *ku-on-era* - to see something happening
- *ku-on-eka* - to be visible
- *ku-on-ekera* - to be visible to someone, reflection
- *ku-on-eketsa* - to make visible
- *ku-on-ana* - to see each other

As said before, a typical aspect of the languages belonging to the Bantu family is the classification of nouns. Regarding Chichewa, this complex classification influences

the construction of sentences involving also verb construction: the suffix of a certain noun class has to agree with a certain suffix of the verb. The table below shows a schematization of this classification and the noun-verb agreement, though this topic in Chichewa is still being discussed: “Noun classification is a strong areal feature of Bantu languages, however it remains one of the less well understood phenomena in this family [...] In terms of the Bleek-Meinhof system, it is assumed that modern-day Bantu noun-class systems can all be understood as being based on a set of reconstructed noun prefixes. If we consider these modern-day systems, however, it emerges that these noun prefixes are not found on every noun and not in every noun class. This is a distribution pattern that has been argued to have arisen due to language change, which has distorted the original regular morphological and semantic basis of the classes.” (Msaka, 2019)

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">Classes</th><th colspan="2">Prefixes</th><th colspan="2">Subject Marker</th><th colspan="2">Object Marker</th></tr>
<tr><th>sg</th><th>pl</th><th>sg</th><th>pl</th><th>sg</th><th>pl</th><th>sg</th><th>pl</th></tr>
<tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>m(u)-</td><td>a-</td><td>a-</td><td>a-</td><td>m(u)-</td><td>wa</td></tr>
<tr><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>m(u)-</td><td>mi-</td><td>u-</td><td>i-</td><td>u</td><td>i</td></tr>
<tr><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>li-</td><td>ma-</td><td>li-</td><td>a-</td><td>li</td><td>wa</td></tr>
<tr><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>chi-</td><td>zi-</td><td>chi-</td><td>zi-</td><td>chi</td><td>zi</td></tr>
<tr><td>9</td><td>10</td><td>N-</td><td>N-</td><td>i-</td><td>zi-</td><td>i</td><td>zi</td></tr>
<tr><td>12</td><td>13</td><td>ka-</td><td>ti-</td><td>ka-</td><td>ti-</td><td>ka</td><td>ti</td></tr>
<tr><td>14</td><td>6</td><td>u-</td><td>ma-</td><td>u</td><td>a</td><td>u</td><td>wa</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">15</td><td colspan="2">ku-</td><td colspan="2">ku</td><td colspan="2">ku</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">16</td><td colspan="2">pa-</td><td colspan="2">pa</td><td colspan="2">pa</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">17</td><td colspan="2">ku-</td><td colspan="2">ku</td><td colspan="2">ku</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">18</td><td colspan="2">m(u)-</td><td colspan="2">m(u)</td><td colspan="2">m(u)</td></tr>
</table>

(Mchombo, 2004)

Information about gender and number is encoded in the noun prefix, and the subject marker and object marker occur within the verb, agreeing with the head noun. Usually, when studying Chichewa as a second language, course books simply divide the nouns into just 6 classes, and give the corresponding Concordial Prefixes, as the following table found in “Chichewa Intensive Course” (N. Salaun, 1969):

	N - sg	N - pl	CP - sg	CP - pl
1	*M-, Mu-, Mw- (person)*	*A-*	*A-*	*A-*
2	*M-, Mu-, Mw- (object)*	*Mi-*	*U-*	*I-*
3	*Ch-*	*Z-*	*Chi-*	*Zi-*
4	*N-, Mb-, Mph-, Mv-, I-*	-	*I-*	*Zi-*
5	*others*	*Ma-*	*Li-*	*A-*
6	*U-*	*Ma-*	*U-*	*A-*

(N. Salaun, 1969)

Mchombo (2004) gives two examples of the same sentence with different head nouns to illustrate the sentence construction according to noun classification:

(a) ***chi****-soti* ***ch****-ángá* ***ch****-á-tsópanó* ***chi****-ja* ***chí****-ma-sangaláts-á* *a-lenje.*
7-hat 7SM-my 7SM-assoc.-new 7SM-rel.pro. 7SM-hab.-please-fv 2-hunters
'That new hat of mine pleases hunters.'

(b) ***m****-kóndó* ***w****-angá* ***w****-á-tsópanó* ***u****-ja* ***ú****-ma-sangaláts-á* *a-lenje.*
3-spear 3SM-my 3SM-assoc.-new 3SM-rel.pro. 3SM-hab.-please-fv 2-hunters
'That new spear of mine pleases hunters.'

The Chichewa language has some features that are essential to the creation of new nouns: reduplication, nominal derivation, and compounding.

Reduplication, i.e., the repetition of a word or syllable to create a new meaning, can occur within a sentence or in a noun. A verb can be repeated in a sentence, underlining a repeated or frequent activity. An adjective or an adverb can be repeated as a superlative or to express intensity: *pangono pangono* - very little/little by little. Reduplication inside a noun happens when the last two syllables are repeated, to underline a strong characteristic, mostly used when describing people, i.e. *mwamuna* - man, *mwamunamuna* - macho man, real man. In this manner, further meaning is created.

Nominal derivation can occur with the nominalization of verbs, replacing the last vowel and placing an appropriate prefix, denoting gender, and class of the noun. It can happen also with suffixed verbs, adding new meaning to the word. This is particularly interesting to the aim of this study, as it involves some words regarding emotions:

kond-a	'love'	*-kond-an-a (v)*	'love each other'	*chi-kond-an-o*	'mutual love'
d-a	'hate'	*-d-an-a* (v)	'hate each other'	*m-d-án-i*	'enemy'

Compounding is another way in which nouns are constructed. It takes a verb and a noun together to create a new word, a noun that can either have a similar meaning to the original words or a totally different one. This can be observed in the examples given by Mchombo (2004):

ph-a dzuwa 'kill the sun'	*ch-phadzuwa* 'beautiful woman'
tol-a nkhani 'pick up news'	*m-tolankhani* 'reporter'
pal-a matabwa 'scrape timber'	*m-palamatabwa* 'carpenter'
low-a m'malo 'enter in place'	*m-lowammalo* 'substitute, pronoun'
gon-a m'bawa 'sleep in bar'	*chi-gonambawa* 'a drunk'

Chapter 3.

LINGUISTIC RELATIVITY HYPOTHESIS AND THE WORDS USED TO DESCRIBE EMOTIONS

The following chapter will provide a description of Cognitive Linguistics, its origins and development, its commitments, and principles. The means later described, image schemas and conceptual metaphors, are at the basis of our cognitive system, and will be used for the analysis in this thesis. Then in the following part we will see the Linguistic Relativity Theory as illustrated by Marcel Danesi (2021). The last section will be a classification of emotion terms, provided by Johnson-Laird and Oatley (1989) with the selection of the basic modes to analyse: happiness, sadness, fear, anger and disgust. Then, thanks to the work by Kövecses, we have a list of emotion specific metaphors, which are useful to understand their conceptualization in the English language.

Cognitive Linguistics

Evans and Green described this branch of linguistics in their work "Cognitive linguistics: an Introduction" (2009): this relatively recent field of study focuses on language's systematicity, its functions and how they are expressed in the language system. The most important element that stands at the basis of cognitive linguistics is that all languages are an expression of thought, patterns inside one's mind that can be universal for all human beings. Language is a representation of our cognition, and it reflects the same links we have in our minds, or to say it more precisely, it "reflects patterns of conceptualization". (Evans & Green, 2009).

The first studies on Cognitive linguistics began in the 60s and 70s when modern cognitive sciences originated, all the studies referring to the brain and how the human mind represents and processes the world around it. Cognitive Linguistics does not represent "a specific theory" but rather "an approach that has adopted a common set of guiding principles, assumptions and perspectives which have led to a diverse range of complementary, overlapping (and sometimes competing) theories" (Evans & Green, 2009). The two main principles that form the basis of this branch of linguistics are the "**Generalisation Commitment**" and the "**Cognitive**

Commitment". The former states that common structuring principles are common in different aspects of language. These areas (such as phonology, semantics, and morphology) can be analysed according to, at least, three properties: categorisation, polysemy, and metaphor. Areas of language can be organised in categories (usually fuzzy); polysemy is exhibited in different areas of language and shows an essential part of its organisation; finally, another example of systematicity in language is metaphor, which represents a "meaning extension" in different areas.

The latter commitment states that all the principles tied to the linguistic structure should be in line with what other cognitive sciences, like neuroscience and psychology, claim about human cognition. Our brains possess certain cognitive abilities that are common to all these different fields of cognitive studies. An example of cognitive ability is attention, and the ability to shift it from one thing to another. This can be found likewise in language: we can in fact direct attention from one item to another, from one word to another, thanks to morphology or sentence construction, and this is called profiling.

As Evans and Green (2009) explained, cognitive linguistics considers that language has two main functions: a communicative one, that is, human interaction with one another, and a cognitive one, meaning the human mind's interaction with the world. As said before, cognitive linguistics represents an outcome of general properties of cognition and reflects patterns of thought, of **conceptualisation**. This conceptual representation in the human mind results from one's interaction with the socio-physical world, from our cognitive function. Our conceptual system tries to organise all concepts, from the simpler to the more abstract ones, in terms of more concrete kinds of experiences. This is why cognitive linguists say that language structure mirrors conceptual structure, because every linguistic system is inseparably interwoven with the rest of the human physical and cognitive self, with the experience of being human. Hence, the embodied experience and its recurring patterns are essential to conceptualising and verbalising thought. Meaning is the outcome, the consequence of human experience. Linguists Lakoff and Johnson have termed this view **experiential realism**, as opposed to the previous theory of objective realism, which stated that meaning stands, independently, outside the self.

The precedent assumptions lead to one of the areas of cognitive linguistics: **cognitive semantics.** "[...] cognitive semantics sees linguistic meaning as a manifestation of conceptual structure: the nature and organisation of mental representation in all its richness and diversity, and this is what makes it a distinctive approach to linguistic meaning." (Evans & Green, 2009).

There are four guiding principles in cognitive semantics, all deriving from the two main commitments described before.

1) **Conceptual structure is embodied**: as explained above, the conceptual structure theory that cognitive semantics tries to create is rooted in the human interaction with the world and how the human mind experiences the world.
2) **Semantic structure is conceptual structure**: meanings conventionally associated with words and linguistic units are equated to concepts because concepts are not referred to external objects. As stated by objective realism, they do not come directly from reality, but they come from concepts inside the speaker's mind.
3) **Meaning representation is encyclopaedic**: linguistic units' meaning is not specific as it may be in a dictionary. Instead, a linguistic unit represents a "point of access" to a vast conceptual domain. The encyclopaedic way of meaning representation allows one to interpret a word, which could be polysemic, thanks to the context in which it stands. This process is called meaning construction.
4) **Meaning construction is conceptualization:** meaning is understood thanks to inferencing strategies that one has to make, and it is not a precise signification encoded by language itself. For this reason, it is equated to conceptualisation.

Conceptual structure, then, derives from embodiment. The crucial theory standing at the basis of embodied cognition is the **image schema.** Image schemas are a

schematization of the experience that most humans have in common: the relation between our body and space. They apply to both physical and abstract concepts. “Image schemas are not rich or detailed concepts, but rather abstract concepts consisting of patterns emerging from repeated instances of embodied experience” (Evans & Green, 2009)

How do these schematic concepts work? They were first theorized by Johnson in his book “The Body in the Mind” in 1987. They come from a repetition of bodily experience, how we go about in the world. The most common one, of course, is our physiological standing upright. We are inevitably exposed to gravity, and this creates a vertical axis: top-down or up-down. Our vertical axis interacts necessarily with gravity when objects fall to the ground, or we see something flying in the sky. We interact with those objects in action, and we give rise to meaning, due to the manner in which the interaction happens. This creates the UP-DOWN schema, which we can find in most contexts related to different aspects of language, for example, in the language of emotions almost universally when someone is happy, they relate the word with the schema UP, when they are sad with the word DOWN. We see as well that UP in most languages is related to something positive, whereas DOWN is related to negativity. Language is anthropocentric, meaning that it puts the human being at the centre, and this centre is regulated by the already mentioned vertical axis, together with the horizontal one.
Below is a partial list of image schemas found in “Cognitive Linguistics: an introduction”.

SPACE	UP-DOWN, FRONT-BACK, LEFT-RIGHT, NEAR-FAR, CENTRE-PERIPHERY, CONTACT, STRAIGHT, VERTICALITY
CONTAINMENT	CONTAINER, IN-OUT, SURFACE, FULL-EMPTY, CONTENT
LOCOMOTION	MOMENTUM, SOURCE-PATH-GOAL
BALANCE	AXIS BALANCE, TWIN-PAN BALANCE, POINT BALANCE, EQUILIBRIUM
FORCE	COMPULSION, BLOCKAGE, COUNTERFORCE, DIVERSION, REMOVAL OF RESTRAINT, ENABLEMENT, ATTRACTION, RESISTANCE
UNITY/MULTIPLICITY	MERGING, COLLECTION, SPLITTING, ITERATION, PART-WHOLE, COUNT-MASS, LINK(AGE)
IDENTITY	MATCHING, SUPERIMPOSITION
EXISTENCE	REMOVAL, BOUNDED SPACE, CYCLE, OBJECT, PROCESS

(Evans & Green, 2009)

If all language is influenced by embodiment and image schemas, the same applies particularly for more complex and abstract thoughts. For this reason, the "conceptual structure is in part organised in terms of a metaphor system, which is characterised by related sets of conventional associations or mappings between concrete and abstract domains." (Evans & Green, 2009)

This would lead to the creation of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, by Lakoff and Johnson in 1980. A metaphor is not just a poetic figure of speech used in language, but "thought itself is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (Evans & Green, 2009). In fact, all conceptualization in our mind is structured with mappings between different conceptual domains. Aiming to form more complex conceptual structures, mappings are built on embodied experiences: as the example given by Evans and Green "we can think about and talk about QUANTITY in terms of VERTICAL ELEVATION".

Marcel Danesi again explained the theory in his "Linguistic Relativity Today" (2021): "The central premise of CMT is that figurative meaning pervades language and discourse; it is not a part of rhetorical style but, rather, a building block of linguistic thought". The author goes further to explain the theory of Lakoff and Johnson, saying that two kinds of metaphors exist: a linguistic one and a conceptual one. The linguistic metaphor *he is a snake* is given as an example in which it also represents the metaphorical concept PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS. The latter is a conceptual metaphor, from which stems different other examples. The psychological mechanism found behind conceptual metaphors is image schemas. "This converts physical, affective, and other kinds of concrete experiences into source domains for understanding specific kinds of abstractions. For example, the physical experience of orientation—up versus down, back versus front, near versus far, and so on—produces an image schema in the brain underlying how we commonly conceptualize such abstractions as happiness ("Lately my spirits are up"), time ("This goes considerably back in time"), affection ("We are really close to each other"), among many others. The physical knowledge of containers underlies another kind of image schema that produces conceptualizations such as those related to the mind ("My mind is full of good memories"), emotions ("My heart is filled with hope"), and so on" (Danesi, 2021).

Metaphor is then crucial in our conceptual system, allowing us to correlate concepts different from each other, especially when we are thinking about abstract thought. As Danesi (2021) states, metaphor is the tool that "allows us to grasp abstractions in experiential and culture-specific ways, shaping how we see certain sectors of reality". The author goes further to explain the metaphor "life is a stage" in English, which has

created expressions related to theatre and life to correlate often, like “life is a comedy”, or “life is a farce”. Metaphor consists in two parts: the target, meaning the concept area in which the metaphor is applied (life) and the source, the concept area from which we take the metaphor (stage). These two elements, then, become evocative of each other.
Therefore, according to the CMT, our “conceptual structure is organised according to crossdomain mappings or correspondences between conceptual domains” (Evans & Green, 2009). These mappings are due to image schemas and embodied experiences, and others derive from all these different experiences, creating a far more complex conceptual structure, which involves also abstract meaning. Nevertheless, many everyday concepts, such as emotional ones, are very metaphorical by nature. Evans and Green consider the concept ANGER, which is one of the primary human experiences, and give these examples to show how metaphorical it actually is:

a. You make my *blood boil*.
b. He was *red with* anger.
c. She’s just *letting off steam.*
d. Don’t *fly off the handle.*
e. Try to *get a grip on yourself.*
f. He almost *burst a blood vessel.*

Emotions are of course related to subjunctive experiences, but the Conceptual Metaphor Theory “holds that abstract concepts can, at least in part, be traced back to image schemas” (Evans & Green, 2009)

Linguistic Relativity

A question that has most certainly intrigued any foreign language student is the one about which Marcel Danesi wrote in the first chapter of “Linguistic Relativity Today”(2021):

“Do words affect how we perceive things and influence how we react physically and emotionally? Does the particular native language we learned in childhood shape how

we understand the world? [..] Does the particular native language one speaks habitually influence the thoughts a speaker has? Does a specific language affect how its speakers understand reality, known as worldview?"

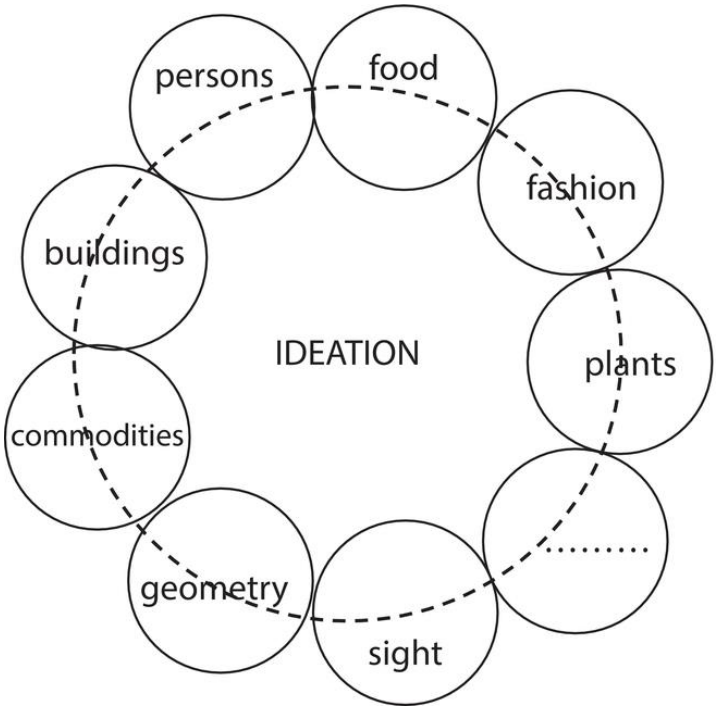
One can assume these are the questions that have given rise to the so-called "Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis". Edward Sapir (1884-1939) was an anthropologist at Yale. Benjamin Lee Whorf was his student, and he expanded his teacher's studies by creating the "Linguistic Relativity Principle".
This hypothesis is nowadays simply called "linguistic relativity", because of the many disputes and debates that this view still produces. Nowadays, this hypothesis has taken two versions: determinism and relativity. Linguistic determinism, or the "strong version" of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis", consists in the idea that the language one speaks determines, shapes their thoughts and their mind's conceptual structure. According to linguistic determinism, if two languages differ from each other, the speakers will naturally understand and conceptualize the world in a different manner. This is the most highly disputed and contested theory. The weaker and more accepted version of the hypothesis is that of linguistic relativity. It states that the language we speak "may influence (rather than determine) how the speaker performs certain cognitive processes, because the structure of different languages influences how information is 'packaged'" (Danesi, 2021).
As anticipated, the weak version is generally accepted, or at least discussed, by today's cognitive linguists: the idea that the language we use may influence our thought. Of course, relativity can affect different language levels. As concerns phonology, Danesi speaks about phonemes and how they could shape the perception of the referents. On the level of morphology, relativity affects how some morphemes could "index specific cultural categories" (Danesi, 2021). Speakers could see differently the world in its connections between events according to the syntax of their native language. In the pragmatics category, relativity effects can shape how politeness and greetings work in culture-specific ways in every language. The latter level, also the one concerning this thesis, is semantics, "the level at which the different morphemes and lexemes cohere into meaning-bearing structures" (Danesi, 2021). On this level, different word meanings could affect the interpretation of information.

Cognitive linguistics and Conceptual Metaphor Theory were already discussed previously. Danesi correlates metaphorical language and linguistic relativity, citing Lakoff as the first one that noticed this correlation, from which the author derives some questions. Of course, linguistic and cultural systems differ in some cognitive aspects, and the author asks himself if the study of figurative language could help understand the level of linguistic relativity in those terms.

Figurative language is certainly culture-specific in every language, and it is related to the socio-cultural context from which it arises. But we know that in the Conceptual Metaphor Theory "image schemata are seen as the connective mechanisms between experiences in different regions of the brain. The result is now called a blend." (Danesi, 2021). Image schemas are then the primary source of metaphoric cognition, and they are related to embodied experience, something primal, that all human beings can share. Following the reasoning of Danesi, he adds the description of Idealized Cognitive Models, which are the source for image-schematic thoughts: "Blending manifests itself in higher-order conceptualizations that link different source domains, producing what Lakoff (1987) calls idealized cognitive models (ICMs)." (Danesi, 2021). These conceptualizations can be configurated in two different visual arrangements (clustering or radiative), to understand how these different source domains blend together. The author takes into consideration the notion of *ideation*, which includes:

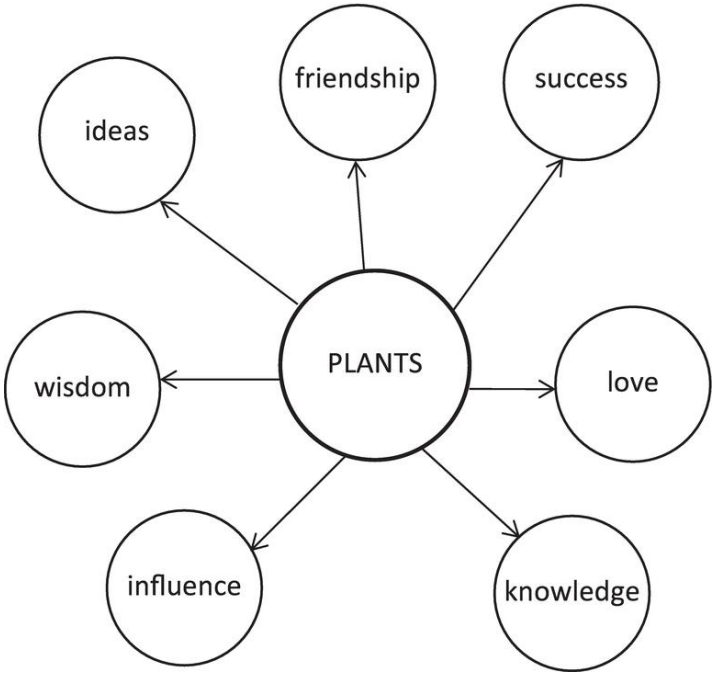
- sight ("I cannot see what you are saying")
- geometry ("The views of Plato and Descartes are parallel in many ways")
- plants ("That theory has deep roots in philosophy")
- buildings ("Your theory is well-constructed")
- food ("That is an appetizing idea")
- fashion ("His theory went out of style years ago")
- persons ("Those ideas have long legs")
- commodities ("You must package your ideas differently").

Following, the clustering system of *ideation*, standing at the centre of the circle, and creating a cluster of different concepts, connected metaphorically to the main one.



(Danesi, 2021)

These clusters are of course strongly related to cultural motives because some source domains are understandably very culture-specific, as the *commodities* one. The radiative system on the other hand "reveals the tendency to envisage some abstract concepts as implicating each other through a specific associative frame of reference (source domain). It explains why we talk of seemingly different things, such as wisdom and friendship, with the same metaphorical vehicles." (Danesi, 2021)



(Danesi, 2021)

In this model, the ICM's structure starts in the centre with the concept from which metaphors are drawn.
Metaphor permeates our conceptual system, even in everyday phrases. Of course, not all parts of language are metaphorical, but this cognitive mechanism influences a large part of our language system. Danesi remarks that metaphor is, for example, intensely utilised in proverbs, and these sayings are clearly deeply rooted in culture. While proverbs' cultural specificity is more comprehensible, the author goes further arguing how "Science, too, is largely based on metaphorical reasoning. Science often involves things that cannot be seen—atoms, waves, gravitational forces, magnetic fields, and so on. So, scientists use metaphor to get a look, so to speak, at this hidden matter." (Danesi, 2021)

Everyday speech is loaded with metaphorical connections, and the studies on cognitive linguistics have given "concrete implications" to what it was Sapir and Whorf's theory, now known as Language Relativity Hypothesis. In conclusion, although obviously the strong version of Sapir and Whorf's Hypothesis cannot be sustained, it can be argued with some certainty that somehow the language one

speaks influences the way the world is seen, understood, and re-elaborated into a cognitive system.

Emotions, a classification

For this study to proceed, a classification of the words referring to emotions in English is needed.
In their paper, "The language of emotions: An analysis of a semantic field. Cognition and Emotion" (1989), Oatley and Johnson-Laird tried to classify terms denoting emotions in "five basic families of emotion modes, roughly speaking: happiness, sadness, anger, fear, and disgust." (Johnson-Laird & Oatley, 1989). As stated before, we are interested in studying semantics, the meaning that words bear, to understand cultural specifics and differences. Semantics can study the relationship between words (polysemy, synonyms, antonyms, homonyms) and the way in which words are grouped into domains, or semantic fields (T. Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2017).
The authors of the paper collected a corpus of all the emotion words in English, described it, considered if these terms had a semantic analysis, outlined a structure of a semantic field and then proceeded with the description of the classes. The analysis of the semantic field leads to its structure, divided into seven main categories:

0. Generic emotions, e.g., "emotions" and "feelings".
1. Basic emotions, e.g., "happiness" and "elation".
2. Emotional relations, e.g., "love" and "hate".
3. Caused emotions, e.g., "gladness" and "horror".
4. Causatives, e.g., "imitate" and "reassure".
5. Emotional goals, e.g., "desire" and "avarice".
6. Complex emotions, e.g., "embarrassment" and "pity".

Emotional relations, caused emotions and causatives all entail a relationship with something external to the human being, making them caused or triggered by an event, a person, an experience in the world. Considering these categorisations and the aim of the thesis, the focus will be on the most primitive ones, the simpler and

maybe universally accepted and existing in different languages, which are the "Basic emotions", as shown in the table below. These represent the most basic modes and possess a cluster of words with different intensities.

TABLE 1

Basic Emotions: A sample of words denoting basic emotions of differing intensities, which can occur in the absence of any known propositional content. These words can also be used to refer to moods and to personality types

Basic Modes				
Happiness	*Sadness*	*Fear*	*Anger*	*Disgust*
Light-hearted	Wistful	Timid	Grouchy	
Carefree	Gloomy	Tense	Touchy	Queasy
Happy	Sad	Anxious	Irritable	Nausea
High	Melancholic	Fearful	Angry	
Euphoric	Depressed	Panicky	Irascible	
Ecstatic	Wretched	Craven	Splenetic	

(Johnson-Laird & Oatley, 1989)

"These modes (...) should be universally accepted as discriminable categories of direct experience. Basic emotion signals have no internal structure that is parsed and interpreted within the system. Hence, it follows from our theory that there is no way in which words that refer to the subjective experiences corresponding to these modes can be analysed semantically: the modes are primitive subjective experiences that the words denote." (Johnson-Laird & Oatley, 1989)

But how are these terms conceptualized in our minds? Oatley and Johnson-Laird helped in categorizing and making order in the vast vocabulary of words referring to emotions, but to answer this question, two works by the Hungarian linguist, Zoltàn Kövecses come to aid: "Conceptualizing Emotions. A revised Cognitive Linguistic Perspective" and the paper "Are there any emotion-specific metaphors?" found inside the collection "Speaking of Emotions" edited by A. Athanasiadou and E.

Tabakowska. In both these works, the author investigates several emotion concepts, and how they are metaphorical by nature. For the scope of this thesis, I will consider only the ones shared by the analysis of Oatley and Johnson-Laird: happiness, anger, sadness and fear.

The analysis of Kövecses considers that at the conceptual core of emotions there is figurative language. There are four "conceptual ingredients"*:* conceptual metaphors, conceptual metonymies, related concepts and cognitive models. In particular, he states that cognitive models are the primary mental representation of any emotion. From this derive conceptual metaphors, as stated before, set correspondence between the physical world and an abstract target domain. The author then lists a list of the most typical conceptual metaphors relating to emotions:

EMOTION IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER (filled with emotion)
EMOTION IS HEAT/FIRE (burn with emotion)
EMOTION IS A NATURAL FORCE (be overwhelmed by an emotion)
EMOTION IS A PHYSICAL FORCE (be struck by an emotion)
EMOTION IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR (be governed/ruled by an emotion)
EMOTION IS A OPPONENT (be overcome by an emotion)
EMOTION IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL (let go of an emotion)
EMOTION IS A FORCE DISLOCATING THE SELF (be beside oneself with an emotion)
EMOTION IS BURDEN (be weighed down by an emotion).

These conceptual metaphors described by Kövecses are always characterized by a "force-dynamic pattern". This is because, usually, an external entity, such as a cause or emotion, strikes another entity, which would be "the rational self". This causes emotion concepts to be based on force dynamics. Also, some metonymies motivate the language of emotion, as an emotion can be linked to an after-effect (EFFECT OF EMOTION FOR THE EMOTION metonymy), as the examples below may show:

BODY HEAT FOR ANGER (being a hothead)
DROP IN BODY TEMPERATURE FOR FEAR (getting cold feet)
CHEST OUT FOR PRIDE (puffing one's chest out with pride)
RUNNING AWAY FOR FEAR (fleeing the scene)

WAYS OF LOOKING FOR LOVE (looking at someone amorously)
FACIAL EXPRESSION FOR SADNESS (having a sad face)

These metonymies listed by the author are linked to "physiological, behavioral, and expressive responses associated with particular emotions" (Kövecses, 2014). This is why, in another proposal given by the scholar in this paper, it is said that numerous metaphors and metonymies are conceptually connected: the physiological responses we have as a consequence of feelings are the basis for the metaphor we create in our minds, for example, BODY HEAT and ANGER, LACK OF BODY HEAT and FEAR, PHYSICAL CLOSENESS and LOVE, UPWARD MOTION and HAPPINESS, CHEST OUT and PRIDE, BLUSHING and SHAME. To better understand the conceptual connection between emotion metaphors and metonymies, Kövecses goes further and explains how sadness is linked to the downward bodily orientation.

"Given the general EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy [...] and given that behavioral responses function as metonymies in emotion concepts [...], we get the specific metonymy DOWNWARD BODILY ORIENTATION FOR SADNESS. The metonymy functions inside the SADNESS frame, since DOWNWARD BODILY ORIENTATION is one of the behavioral responses associated with sadness. Downward bodily orientation can lead to metaphoric conceptualization in two, possibly successive, ways. The first is that "downward bodily orientation" can be generalized to the concept of DOWN(WARD). DOWN is a spatial concept that, in virtue of the process of generalization (or schematization) from behavioral responses characterized by a downward spatial (bodily) orientation in sadness, is divorced and distinct from the actual behavioral responses associated with sadness inside the SADNESS frame. As a result of the generalization, it (DOWN) can now be seen as a (source domain of a) metaphor for sadness: hence the conceptual metaphor SAD IS DOWN." (Kövecses, 2014)

As stated above, basic emotion concepts are then embodied, and this would explain how so many emotion metaphors are probably shared by most languages around the world. Taking as an example the metaphor SAD IS DOWN, we see how different languages express it, including English and Italian, from the easier "feeling down", "be in low spirits" or in Italian *sentirsi giù.* Can we positively implicate that this means all emotion concepts are universal? No, Kövecses argues that "Emotions are

conceptually represented in the mind as cognitive or, rather, cognitive-cultural models" (2014). This means that emotion metaphors are both universal and culture specific. The bodily response to emotion affects different aspects, and the cultural context plays an important role in this process.

In the paper "Are there any emotion-specific metaphors?" (1998), Kövecses tries to answer the question of the existence of emotion-specific metaphors. To do this, he tries to explore all the metaphors related to emotion concepts. In his work he looks at nine emotions: anger, fear, happiness, sadness, love, lust (sexual desire), pride, shame, and surprise. In the first place, the author sets out all the metaphors related to the singular emotions. Here a list of the one concerning this study:

- **Anger metaphors:**

  HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER (she is boiling with anger), FIRE (oh, boy, was I burned up!), INSANITY (the man was insane with rage), OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE (I was struggling with my anger), CAPTIVE ANIMAL (he unleashed his anger), and BURDEN (he carries his anger around with him); AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR (don't snarl at me!) For angry behaviour; and TRESPASSING (here I draw the line) and PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE (he 's a pain in the neck) for the cause of anger; ANGER IS A NATURAL FORCE (it was a stormy meeting); ANGER IS A SUPERIOR (his actions were completely governed by anger).

- **Fear metaphors:**

  FLUID IN A CONTAINER (the sight filled her with fear), VICIOUS ENEMY (fear slowly crept up on him), TORMENTOR (my mother was tormented by fear), SUPERNATURAL BEING (he was haunted by fear), ILLNESS (jill was sick with fright), INSANITY (jack was insane with fear), INCOMPLETE OBJECT (/ was beside myself), OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE (fear took hold of me), BURDEN (fear weighed heavily on them), NATURAL FORCE (she was engulfed by panic), and SUPERIOR (his actions were dictated by fear).

- **Happiness metaphors:**

  UP (we had to cheer him up), BEING OFF THE GROUND (I am six feet off the ground), BEING IN HEAVEN (that was heaven on earth), LIGHT (lighten up),

VITALITY (he was alive with joy), WARM (that warmed my spirits), HEALTH (it made me feel great), AN ANIMAL THAT LIVES WELL (he was happy as a pig in shit), PLEASURABLE PHYSICAL SENSATION (I was tickled pink), FLUID IN A CONTAINER (he was overflowing with joy), CAPTIVE ANIMAL (his feelings of happiness broke loose), OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE (he was knocked out), RAPTURE/HIGH (I was drunk with joy), INSANITY (they were crazy with happiness), and NATURAL FORCE (he was swept off his feet).

- **Sadness metaphors:**

  DOWN (he brought me down with his remarks), DARK (he is in a dark mood), LACK OF HEAT (his remarks threw cold water on the party), LACK OF VITALITY (this was disheartening news), FLUID IN A CONTAINER (7 am filled with sorrow), VIOLENT PHYSICAL FORCE (that was a terrible blow), VIOLENT NATURAL FORCE (waves of depression came over him), ILLNESS (she was heart-sick, time heals all sorrows), INSANITY (he was insane with grief), BURDEN (he staggered under the pain), LIVING ORGANISM (he drowned his sorrow in drink), CAPTIVE ANIMAL (his feelings of misery got out of hand), and OPPONENT (he was seized by a fit of depression).

The metaphorical source domain that applies to all emotions are EXISTENCE OF EMOTION IS PRESENCE HERE (All feelings are gone), EXISTENCE OF EMOTION IS BEING IN A BOUNDED SPACE (She was in ecstasy), EXISTENCE OF EMOTION IS POSSESSION OF AN OBJECT (She has a lot of pride), and EMOTION IS A LIVING ORGANISM (His fear grew) (Kövecses, 1998). The list goes forward with source domains that apply not to all but to most emotion concepts, such as "container". Given the fact that all human beings sense feelings inside their bodies, it is expected that this "**container**" quickly becomes a metaphor in our minds. In many cultures, this occurs. Another metaphor that appears to be common in most emotions is "**natural force and physical force"**, especially in the case of stronger emotions. This source domain appears because emotions can strike as an uncontrollable external, potent force, almost like a natural force. Physical phenomena as heat and attraction of bodies are included. The "social equivalent of physical-natural forces" (Kövecses, 1998) is the source domain **"superior"**, applied to emotions such as anger and fear. The following is

"opponent, captive animal, insanity". In this case, we see the reoccurring idea that emotion has a force-like form, and again we find the container source domain. For most negative emotions, finally, we find the source domains "**incomplete object", "burden", and "illness".** The author concludes that most source domains are not specific to emotions, they are in fact part of "general metaphorical mappings whose range of application covers large portions of our conceptual system" (Kövecses, 1998). We use other concepts from other parts of our system in order to build an abstract domain regarding emotions.

Finally, looking at image schemas, the primary source of our conceptualizations, it clearly appears the link between them and emotion metaphors. Mental schematizations of CONTAINMENT, FORCE, IDENTITY and EXISTENCE are the ones found in emotion concepts. The following table offers the relation that holds between image schemas and emotion metaphors.

Image schemas	**Emotion metaphors**
CONTAINMENT	EMOTION IS FLUID IN A CONTAINER
FORCE	EMOTION IS A NATURAL FORCE EMOTION IS A PHYSICAL FORCE EMOTION IS AN OPPONENT EMOTION IS A FORCE DISLOCATING THE SELF EMOTION IS A BURDEN EMOTION IS A FIRE
IDENTITY - SUPERIMPOSITION	EMOTION IS SOCIAL SUPERIOR
EXISTENCE - BOUNDED SPACE	EMOTION IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL

In the mind of the English-speaking population, emotions are then intricately linked to the image schema of FORCE, which is clearly the most profound sense in which we understand happiness or sadness, and it represent the way in which they interact with our minds.

Chapter 4.
WORDS REFERRING TO EMOTIONS IN CHICHEWA

Research methodology

As I was undertaking the ideation of this thesis, I imagined it would be hazardous, very speculative, and primarily theoretical. The intriguing debated and ever-changing world of Cognitive Linguistics seems a great field to do such a job. For the scope of the paper, the following paragraphs will broadly analyse the "primitive subjective" modes previously described by Oatley and Johnson-Laird: happiness, sadness, fear, anger, and disgust. The existence and support of these basic emotions are theorised also by Paul Ekman in his "Are there basic emotions?" (1992a), in which facial expressions are taken as proof of these basic modes:

"Nearly 20 years ago, in reviewing the previous 30 years of research on how observers in Western cultures judge the emotion shown in facial expressions, Ekman, Friesen, & Ellsworth (1972) found that every investigator had obtained evidence for six emotions (happiness, surprise, fear, sadness, anger, and disgust combined with contempt).1 Fifteen years later, reviewing subsequent research on facial expression with the further requirement that there be evidence of universality, Fridlund, Ekman, and Oster (1987) reaffirmed this listing."

It will be attempted then to find out, thanks to the research described below, which conceptual metaphors or image schemas can be deduced from the Chichewa expressions and to compare them with the ones listed before, given in the work of Kövecses (1998).

The investigation will be conducted in different steps. Firstly, an analysis based on the definitions found in three different dictionaries:

- Oxford Chichewa Dictionary, fifth edition (online version), by Steven Paas (2016);
- English – Chichewa/Chinyanja Dictionary, Complied and Edited by Steven Paas (2003);

- A concise English - Chicheŵa Dictionary, A draft from personal notes, by J. Guerin (1985).

Though being by the same author, the first two dictionaries differ in length, examples, and structure of some definitions. The latter dictionary is a true gem: two thick volumes, gifted by the Montfortian missionaries from Balaka. It is described by the author, a missionary himself, as just "a draft" in the very title. Despite its declared inaccuracy and approximation, it turned out to be remarkably valuable, thanks to its numerous examples, given context, and personal annotations from the author, containing specifics of socio-cultural elements. When searching the words in the dictionaries, I first began by searching all the emotion terms listed in the classification of Oatley and Johnson-Laird, so that I would find eventual synonyms. For example, for the instance of the word "happiness", I searched as well: happy, high, euphoric, ecstatic, carefree, light-hearted. Of course, being the verb at the core of Chichewa and Bantu languages, I found mostly verbs have a set of nouns deriving from them. In the table below will be listed the terms on which this work will focus, found thanks to the dictionary search and the questionnaire. I found out that, opposite to the different intensity levels of words in English, in Chichewa, the same verb or noun is used most of the time. My Chichewa language knowledge is admittedly not extremely high, but I could observe some interesting patterns just through this study. It should be mentioned that the reason behind the high polysemy of emotion terms in Chichewa could also be related to the low alphabetization of most of its speakers.

In addition to the research through dictionaries, I had the pleasure to briefly interview Sister Luisa, a teacher and Chichewa expert who has been living in Malawi since the '70s. She helped me navigate the definitions, resolve some of my doubts and understand better the socio-cultural context.

Happiness	*chisangalalo - chimwemwe*
Sadness	*chisoni - mkwiyo*
Anger	*mkwiyo - kukwiyitsa*

Fear	*mantha - kuopa*
Disgust	*kunyansidwa*

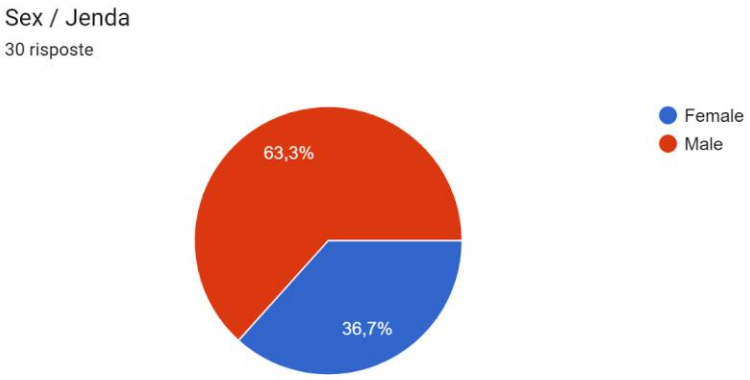
Note that the terms beginning with *ku-* are verbs.

The second step of the study was to submit a questionnaire to different Chichewa-speaking individuals, to analyse the results obtained, and to understand if the context in which the speculations made in this thesis are of any value. The said questionnaire will be illustrated in the following chapter.

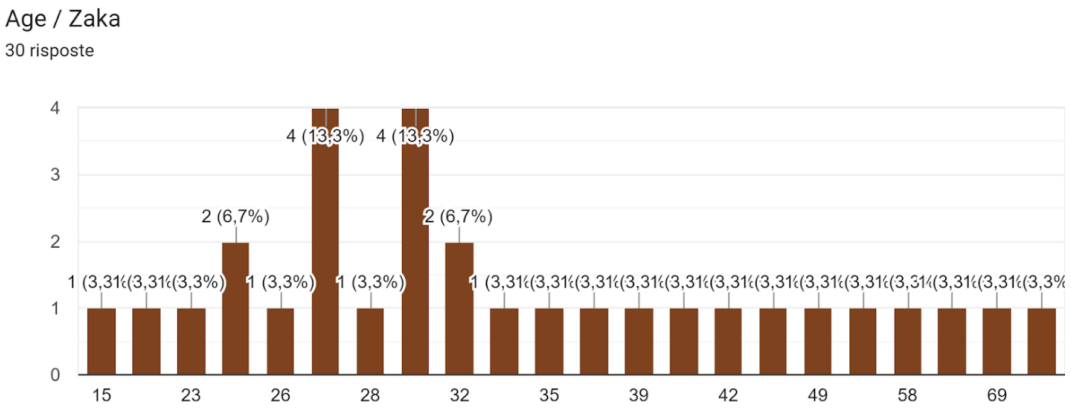
One element that could also support the speculation is, in just for some of the words, the analysis of Chichewa traditional proverbs, to better understand the concepts at the root of the words and the speakers' culture. Thanks to all these elements, an attempt will be made and try to retrieve the metaphors and the mappings inside Malawian's conceptual structure, and their similarities or differences with English.

Questionnaire

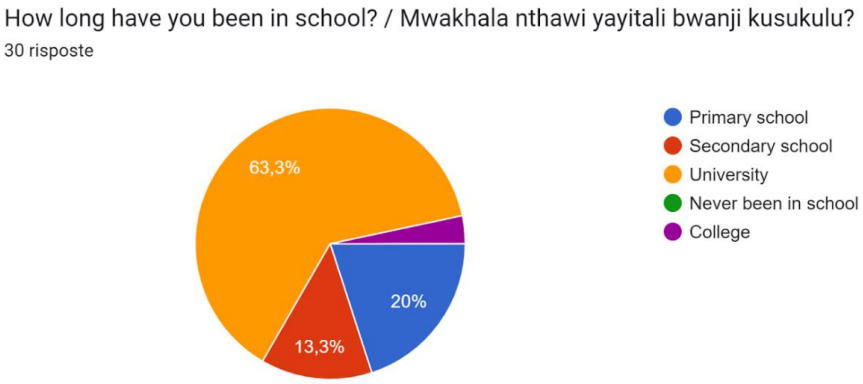
During my latest trip to Malawi, in October 2021, I was able to interview and submit a simple questionnaire to 30 speakers of Chichewa, coming from different backgrounds. Thanks also to the precious contribution of Professor Peter Kondwani Msaka, who revised and helped translate the questionnaire, I could construct a simple yet effective survey. At the time I did not know the exact direction this study would take, that is the reason why the questions are non-specific and broad. Considering that the questionnaire had to be doable for all levels of alphabetization, and sometimes I would have to submit it to non-English speakers, it is uncomplicated and straightforward, focusing on the word's meaning in context. Moreover, sometimes I had to personally submit the questions without a translator, so simplicity was essential to making sure that people from all English and Chichewa levels understood what I was asking. The first queries focus on the general details about the person's background: gender, age, education level, area of origin, English level, and job.



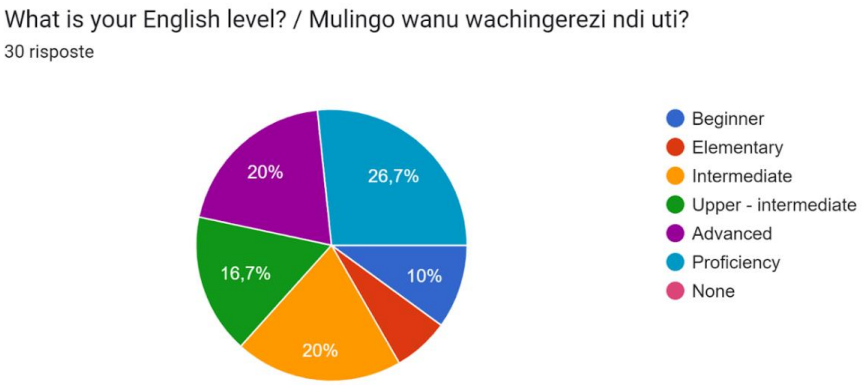
The questionnaire has been submitted to 19 males and 11 females, ranging from 15 to 69 years old.



Most of them came from the southern regions of Malawi since that was the area in which I stayed. Three of the 30 people interviewed were non-native speakers of Chichewa, living as missionaries in Malawi since the mid-70s.



Approximately 66% of the people interviewed completed higher studies, such as at university or college. 20% of them completed just primary school, and about 14% middle school. The field of work of the respondents varies, going from farmers, and students to jobs in the sanitary or business fields.



The level of English of the interviewed varies, but every person interviewed had some sort of knowledge of the language. Being around a rather big town, Balaka, made it impossible to find people completely ignorant of the English language.

The questions were focused on the situations in which one could feel happiness, sadness, fear, anger and disgust, and the word used in these different situations. The whole questionnaire will be at the end of this paper. Example of question: “Please, tell below 3 (or more) different situations in which you feel ____, and what word in Chichewa you would use in that context.”.

The interviewees mostly understood the assignment, but of course, some of them did not give a complete and exhaustive answer, especially the ones taking the questionnaire on their own. Most of the responses are either an example of terms or examples of contexts in which one feels that emotion. All the answers given both a word and context will be documented in the tables in the corresponding chapters, avoiding repetitions, and off-topic answers.

Expressing emotions in Chichewa

Before analysing the specific terms on which this thesis focuses, we should examine the ways in which feelings are expressed in Chichewa, in general.

To say, *how are you* in Chichewa you say *Muli bwanji?* (or *uli*, if you are talking to a friend or a child). The verb *kuli* means "to be", and since there is no verb corresponding to 'have', it is used in a special construction followed by the preposition *ndi,* and this translates to *to be with* (Salaun, 1969). This expression is used to express an emotional state, sometimes with the meaning of having a feeling, sometimes with the meaning of a status:

- *Ndili ndi mantha* = I am afraid, literally I am with fear
- *Ndili chimwemwe* = I am happy, literally I am happiness

A synonym to express possession (or more precisely to be with, to stay with) is the verb *kukhala ndi,* used replacing *-li* when the sentence is not in the simple present or simple past tenses. This verb translates to a range of different meanings in English, such as sit, live, inhabit, exist, and reside. Almost like the Italian verb *stare*, though it is not used in the context of emotions in our language. The literal translation, or at least, the concept in the mind of the speaker is that one *lives* with that feeling: *ndimakhala ndi chimwemwe,* I have happiness. If we observe the metaphors related to feelings, we can positively state that in Chichewa the metaphor EXISTENCE OF EMOTION IS POSSESSION OF AN OBJECT motivates the linguistic expression.

Another verb used to express emotions is *kupeza* used in the expression 'how do you feel?' *mukupeza bwanji?* The translation given on the Online Chichewa Dictionary is

also “find, discover, and achieve”. This indicates a change of state, it seems just by observing the meaning that the image schemas standing at the base of this conceptualization of a feeling is the one of LOCOMOTION, in particular SOURCE-PATH-GOAL. If we look at the example, the sentences given are *“kupeza bwino* = feeling well/ feeling better/ being rich/ being content; *kupezako bwino* = feeling better/ getting better from illness/ remission/ richness/ wealth/ delivering a baby;*”* (Paas, 2016).

Yet there is another verb indicating “to feel”: *kumva*, that is used for hearing, thought and emotions. The range of meanings this verb has is interesting:

- 1.-hear (refers to hearing, thought and emotion); ndikumva kuimba = I hear singing; [..] 2.-listen; kumva bwino = listening well (good audibility); [...] **3.-feel**; msungwana anamva chisoni ndi anthu = the girl felt sorry for people; ndikumva njala = I feel hungry; ndikumva kupweteka = I feel pain; ndikumva chisoni = I feel sad; ndikumva kuzizira = I feel cold; ndikumva kutentha = I feel hot; ndikumva chisanu = I feel cold wind; kumva bwino = feeling well/ enjoying oneself/ hearing with no difficulty; kumva bwino = feeling well (having comfort); kumva chisoni = feeling of sorrow/ compassion/ grief/ sadness; kumva ngati malungo = feeling like being sick of malaria/ of having a malaise; kumva ululu = feeling pain/ anguish/ suffering/ agony; kumva msanga = feeling quickly (acumen); momva kupweteka/ momva kuwawa = while feeling pain/ painfully; 4.-sense/ -have sensation; kumva kutentha = having the sensation of warmth; 5.-understand; 6.-pay attention; 7.-perceive; 8.-become aware of; m’mbuyo mwanga ndimangomva waliwali = behind me I was aware of (cameras) flashing; (Paas, 2016)

This simple verb is remarkably similar to the Italian verb *sentire* which is used almost in every situation similar to the ones given in the dictionary’s description. On the contrary, when we consider the English verb *to feel* we can use it only in the context of a physical or emotional sensation. *To hear* is used in the context of sound, these verbs are two distinct and well distinguishable words.

Lastly, in Chichewa is often used, together with this verb, the expression “in the heart”: *kumva mu mtima* means to feel in the heart. It is used in expressions such as *kuvutika mu mtima* suffering in the heart, to mean sadness. This demonstrates what was said before: clearly, the image schema of CONTAINER linked to emotions is part of almost every culture, surely the Malawian one. The place in which emotions are felt, the place in which emotion resides is inside our bodies. Specifically for the people of Malawi, this place is the heart.

HAPPINESS - CHISANGALALO, CHIMWEMWE

The Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines 'happiness', the first "family" of the five emotion modes, as "a state of well-being and contentment". Oatley and Johnson-Laird in their work describe it as a "subjective feeling", and Paul Ekman in his paper "An argument for basic emotions" (1992) says that a goal has to be achieved in order to feel happiness. To better understand the conceptualization of the feeling that every human being longs for, we can observe the emotion-specific source domains given by Kövecses (1998). In the list of the previously cited metaphors, we found some unique ones referring to just happiness. These are: HAPPINESS IS BEING OFF THE GROUND, HAPPINESS IS AN ANIMAL THAT LIVES WELL, and HAPPINESS IS A PLEASURABLE PHYSICAL SENSATION.
In this particular case, we understand the emotion concept thanks to its cause of effect, with the metonymy EMOTION IS AN EFFECT OF THAT EMOTION or EMOTION IS A CAUSE OF THAT EMOTION.

But is this emotion conceptualized in the same way in Chichewa? Below are the translations given by the dictionaries and their use in context.

- happiness: 1.**chisangalalo\zi-**; her happiness was very great = chisangalalo chake chinali chachikulu zedi; 2.**chimwemwe**; 3.nsangala (pl.) (Paas, 2016)

- Happiness: (1) State of s.o. who is contented, satisfied, blissful, happy, kudala, kwa/-, chodala(zo). (2) contentment (with the idea of joy) **chimwemwe**, chisangalalo, chikondwero(zi) (3) H. caused by abundance, kufala, kwa/-,mafaye, a/- (Paas, 2003)

- happiness: 1.chisangalalo|zi -; her happiness was very great = chisangalalo chake chinali chachikulu zedi; 2.chimwemwe; my happiness is enough = chimwemwe changa chakwanira; 3.nsangala; (Guerin, 1985)

The main word referring to the term happiness in Chichewa is *chisangalalo,* which is translated in the Chichewa-English dictionary as pleasure, joy/enjoying, happiness, entertainment, merriment, ecstasy, bliss. As already noted before, one word has quite an extensive translation in English. *Nsangala* comes from the same root, meaning

being happy or cheerful. The second word, *chimwemwe,* is a synonym and can be used in almost every context in which one utilises *chisangalalo.* However, the word *chikondwero* comes from the same root that *chikondi* and *kukondwa* have. The first term means celebration, *chikondi* is "love, affection" (but also translates into "charity") and *kukondwa* means happiness, once again. Both the terms *chikondi* and *chimwemwe* are used as proper nouns as well, they are all beginning with *chi-* and belong to the 7th/8th class.
As a result of noun derivation, the original words are likely the verbs *kukondwa* and *kusangalala.* Alternatively, to the construction with the verb *kuli ndi* (to be with), the nouns are used with the construction "to have" *kukhala:* "*ndimakhala ndi chimwemwe"* translated as "I am happy".

The table below will illustrate some of the answers given in the questionnaire, in particular the more complete and explanatory ones.

I feel good being around old people they make me happy *Ndimakondwera kwambiri kukhara pafupi ndi okalamba* (I really enjoy spending time with the elderly)
I feel happy when loved by people *ndimakhala ndi chimwemwe* I feel happy being close to old people, they make me happy *agogo ndi chimwemwe changa* (Elderly are my joy)
CHIMWEMWE - when someone passes exams, *KUSANGALALA* - when the soccer team wins *KUKONDWA* - synonyms
Passing an exam, winning a sports match and getting hired on a job...and I would use *zandisangalatsa kwambiri*, meaning it has made me very happy
When I meet an old friend, when my kid does well in school, when I become successful in something, *Kukondwera koposa* (I rejoyce even more)

The terms *chisangalalo* and *chimwemwe,* and the verbs *kusangalala* and *kukondwa* are used in the context of extreme happiness just by adding the reinforcement of the

word *kwambiri,* an adjective or adverb meaning "very, extremely": one of the responders said, "*zandisangalatsa kwambiri* meaning it has made me very happy".

The situations described by the responders as to when one is happy, divide into two categories: status of happiness, joy, tranquillity and calm, or external events causing happiness, such as the victory of the soccer team, or receiving an unexpected gift. The general responses, in order of priority given by the majority, are being with family and friends, playing or watching sports, studying and learning, dancing and celebrating an event, passing exams, being with children, food, being with the elders, money, success, receiving gifts, travelling, feeling loved, drinking beer.
Happiness, though, seems more an idea connected to peacefulness and stability, rather than excitement or enthusiasm. One person responded that "when I am with my family and friends l always feel safe and happy", and another said that words such as *kukondwa* are used "when you feel accomplished, spiritually and humanly".
Another example was *ndimakhala ndi chimwemwe chodzaza* (I am full of joy): the verb *kudzaza* means to be filled, and the translation would be *I have full joy*. The verb definition, as reported in the Oxford Chichewa dictionary:

"-dzadza/-dzaza 1.with ndi: -be full, -become full; ndowa yodzadza ndi madzi = a pailful of water; [...] nkhope yake idadzadza ndi chidwi kuona nyumba = her face was full of curiosity to see the house; [...] anadzadza ndi mphamvu za mtundu wina (lit.: he was filled with a kind of power) = he was inspired; [...] 3.transitive: -fill; fungo la perefyumu lidadzaza m'galimotomo = the smell of parfume filled the car;[...]; chimwemwe chodzadza tsaya = joy filling her cheeks;" (Paas, 2016)

This idea that happiness fills someone, in particular someone's cheeks, suggests that in the conceptual structure of Chichewa speakers understand the metaphor HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, as is the case in English and Italian.

SADNESS - CHISONI, MKWIYO

Sadness, always understood as the counterpart of happiness, is in fact described by Ekman (1992a) not as an accomplishment but as a failure to obtain a certain goal. It is associated with pain most of the time (Johnson-Laird & Oatley, 1989).When one feels sad, it can also be described, in a literal way, as they are feeling "as one does when one thinks that what one has desired to happen has not happened and will not happen" (Wierzbicka, 1972). Does this mean that this emotion must be always caused by some external event (or lack of it)? No, as Oatley and Johnson-Laird (1989) said, "the members of a culture have a prototype for the sorts of events that cause an emotion such as sadness, and for the sorts of events that ensue; but they do not have a prototype for the subjective feeling itself. It is an unanalysable primitive experience. Hence, we conclude that a basic emotion, such as sadness, has causes and consequences, but is itself only a part of a prototypical sequence.". So, even if it is indeed classified as a Basic Emotion, what are the causes of sadness in the Chichewa language?

Here are the translations to the word "sadness":

- sadness 1. **chisoni**\-; 2. **mkwiyo**; (Paas, 2016)
- Sadness n. (1) Gloom, sorrow, melancholy, dismalness, cheerlessness, **chisoni**, cha/-. (Paas, 2003)
- sadness 1. **chisoni**: expression: wandisiya manja ali mkhosi (lit: he has left me with hands in the neck) = he has left me alone in sadness/misery; 2. **mkwiyo**; (Guerin, 1985)

The primary expression to utter sadness in Chichewa is *chisoni.* This noun is part of the 7th/8th category as the ones in the previous chapter.
The translation given in the dictionary is "grief". This is obviously intended as a much deeper and more powerful feeling than the English correspondent. The translations following are "sadness", "melancholy", "contrition", and "misery"; the term acquires an even heavier meaning when we look at the following terms: it is used as "compassion", "mercy", "woe", and even "death" in some contexts. As in the case of "happiness", *chisoni* is used to describe a range of emotions, from the lighter

feeling of "gloomy" to the heavier "depressed".
The case of *mkwiyo* is fascinating: the word denotes a negative feeling, and it is both translated with "anger" or "sadness", depending on the context. Further analysis of this term will be found in the paragraph regarding anger.

The main external factors that may cause sadness according to the interviewees are: death, accidents, sickness, witnessing injustices, failure in school or life, fighting and having a tough life.
The expressions used to express sadness are the following: *kumva chisoni*, *kudandaula* (to complain, to mourn), *kukhumudwa* (to be disappointed), *kumva kupweteka* (feeling pain). The latter expression lets us understand that the feeling of sadness is certainly compared to internal pain in Chichewa, or even to a physical one. Is it possible that the metaphor SADNESS IS ILLNESS is then also likely to be conceptualized in Chichewa? Another respondent gave the expression *kuvutika mu mtima* translated as feeling sad in the heart, though the literal meaning is "having difficulty, having a problem" most of the time related to health.

When your friend passes away or have made an accident *Kukumudwa* - When you feel this everything is bad, you can't be happy, you have seen bad things
When someone died, when you are crying and sorry for something, or you fight with family *NDILINDI CHISONI* used in funerals, or with sick helpless people
Loosing a loved one Failing in class *Ndimalira ndikakhara ndataya okondedwa wanga* (I cry when I lose my loved ones)
I feel sad loosing loved ones I feel sad failing exams I feel sad not having a job *Ndimakhala osakondwa* (I am unhappy)
DZANDIKHUDZA -touched, affected by something Funeral, sickness, failure

KUPEPESA - condolences sickness, of parents or personal *KUVUTIKA MU MTIMA* - feel sad in the heart
*Ndimamva chisoni wina akapanga kapena kulakhula zokhumudwits*a (I feel sad when someone does or says something hurtful)
Failing an exam, death of loved one and getting upset over something...I would use *"zinthu sizinakhale bwino*" (things did not go well), meaning things haven't gone the expected way
When am sick, when my child is sad, when I lose something valuable (*kukhumudwa*)

FEAR - MANTHA, KUOPA

FEAR IS A VICIOUS ENEMY, FEAR IS A TORMENTOR, FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING: these are the source domains relating to fear, listed by Kövecses (1998). Fear is, amongst other emotions, the one that more clearly has an uncontrollable physiological reaction from the human being. “sweating, and a racing pulse” (Johnson-Laird & Oatley, 1989) are bodily somatic consequences. Of course, it can also happen without any tangible cause, otherwise, sentences like “She feels fear but he does not know why” should not be acceptable. It is, though, most of the time, caused by something external, or as shown by the specific metaphors above, as something that overpowers the human mind and perception. Will this be the case in Chichewa?

- -fear 1.-**opa**; 2.-chita **mantha**; fear not! = musachite mantha!; 3.-opsedwa; 4.-thupsana/ -opa/ -opana (make people fear one another); (Paas, 2016)
- 1. nthumanzi; caught with fear = adagwidwa nthumanzi; 2. **mantha**; 3. nthewe; 4. chinthenta; 5. **kuopa** (Paas, 2003)
- Fear[1] n. (1) painful emotion caused by thought of danger or evil, **mantha**, a/-, nthumanzi, njeruria, nthenthumanzi, nthenu, nthewe, kkhawa, ya/za,

maopaopa, a/-; chinthenu, chipemba, chitezi, chinthenthe(zi); linthenthe, lityolo, liderere (ma) (2) Sudden movement expressing f., dzidzimuko (ma). (3) Great f., bebe(ma). (4) Cowardice, livalo(ma). (5) Shiver, trembling caused by f., bedebede(ma), njenjemero, ya/za; mnthunthumire (mi). (6) To tremble with f., kugadima, kunjenjemera, kunthunthumira. (7) One who fears, muwopi (miy.). (8) Without f., or favour, impartially, popanda tsankho. (9) (colloq.) No fear! Not likely! Never! Iyayi! Iyayi konse! (10) To be excited with f. (of heart) to give a leap (e.g. when spotting game), kudukhula, kudukhulira, mtima. (11) The lion gave me a fright, mkango wandikhulitsa mtima. (12) He's afraid, ali gwa! (13) To put the f. of God into s.o., to terrify, kuwopsetsa. (14) The f. of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom (Prov., 9:10), chiyambi cha nzeru kuwopa Mulungu.

Fear ² v.i. & t. (1) To be afraid, **kuwopa**, **kuchita mantha**. (2) To f. greatly, kukhulula, kudololoka. (3) To shake or tremble with f., kunjenjemera, kunthunthumira. (4) To shiver with f., kuchithimira, kuchita chithima. (5) To be startled with f., kudzidzimuka. (6) To f. or be alarmed without apparent cause; to be nervous, restless, suspicious, jittery (of man and animals) kunyunyuma, kunyunyumwa, kunyunyoma, kutukutwa. (7) To f. or revere God, kulemekeza Mulungu. (8) To hesitate to do , kukaikakaika. (9) I f., I'm afraid, that you friend won't come back, pepani, koma bwenzi lanu sadzambweranso. (10) Never fear!, There's no danger of that; will she stop teaching this year? Never fear!, Kodi adzaleka kuphunzitsa chaka chino? Iyayi! (Guerin, 1985)

The first aspect that comes to one's attention is the length with which Guerin gave different translations of the English word fear. Furthermore, just as much length and detail as the dictionary entries were in the answers on this topic. This must be the emotion that is felt in a much heavier way by Malawians. The name of this feeling is *mantha*: dread, anxiety, alarm, cowardice, horror. -*Opa* or *Kuwopa* is the verb that denotes being afraid, dreading something or someone.
This is the only emotion of the five analysed which has a range of different expressions and synonyms found even just in a single dictionary entry.

The reasons for someone to fear are multiple and are very interesting from a cultural perspective: wild animals, darkness, accidents, losing jobs, witnessing fights, sickness, the future, being poor, strangers, thugs, death, natural disasters, betrayal, wars, electricity-related incidents, being arrested, seeing a dead body. These are just the summary of the question that presented the most extended and precise answers.

Fear represents in Chichewa also the feeling that is an obstacle in life, as presented by two proverbs that were found under the "fear" category, in the book "Wisdom of The People: 2000 Chinyanja Proverbs" by J.C. Chakanza (2000):

- "*Chithupsa chosatumbyla sichionetsa (sichigonetsa) tulo* -
  A boil which has not been cut open prevents you from sleeping.
  If one has a case to answer, one has no peace of mind until the case is settled."

- "*Mbawala sikumwa (siimamwa) madzi galu ali kumbuyo* -
  A bush buck does not drink water when being chased by a dog.
  No peace of action under threat. Without peace of mind, nothing goes well."

The opposite of fear is then "peace of mind" which in Chewa culture is particularly important to achieve in order to live well. We may speculate that FEAR IS OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE, FEAR IS A TORMENTOR though it is not backed by a specific expression, could be a metaphor that the speaker recognises. When we look at the expression *adagwidwa ndi nthumanzi*, which means 'he was caught by fear/phobias', the verb used, *-gwidwa*, is translated by Paas (2016) as "be caught, be infected, be contaminated, be trapped". This expression confirms the FEAR IS A TORMENTOR metaphor, and adds in another possible metaphor: FEAR IS ILLNESS.

Now let's observe the answers given:

Nthawi dzina za tsogolo langa zimandipatsa mantha. (Sometimes my future gives me fear.) *Kutaya okondedwa anga ndimaopanso nthawi zonse.* (Losing my loved ones is also a constant fear.)

When an animal is hitting you - *mantha* When you walk on the road and in that road you see an accident, you become scared
In front of electric wires, you say *NDILINDI MANTHA* Afraid of a river, because you don't know how to swim.
when I hear of war, sickness like Coronavirus and when I hear of hunger especially in African Countries, in Chichewa I can say, *Mavuto ndiambiri (*The problems are many)
Am always afraid to be a failure Am always afraid to not make it in life *Ndimazimvera chisoni* (I feel sorry for it)
The darkness in the night, fear of the future (za nzogolo) many people are afraid of the future, poorness
Ndimachita mantha ndi umphawi (I fear of being poor) *ndimaopa kufa opanda ubale ndi Mulungu* (I fear to die without a personal relationship with God)
Being threatened, being anxious, .I would use "*ndili ndi mantha*" meaning I'm afraid or "*ndikuopa"* which carries the same meaning "I'm afraid"
Being threatened, being attacked by thieves (*kuopa*)

ANGER - MKWIYO

Anger is defined as “a strong feeling of displeasure and usually of antagonism” («anger», s.d.). Its corresponding and specific metonymies are: ANGER IS TRESPASSING, ANGER IS PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE (Kövecses, 1998). These of course come from “typical causes” (Kövecses, 1998), and even in this case, the emotion, typically, is caused by something external. The first expression that comes into mind for this word is “being angry at someone or something”, so this emotion is felt towards someone or something. There is a sort of collision, a clash happening when talking about anger. But how is it expressed in Chichewa?

- -anger 1.-**kwiyitsa**; 2.-lengula mtima; her speech angered me = mawu ake anandilengula mtima; 3.-thamanga magazi; 4.-nyanyula; (Paas, 2016)

- anger: **mkwiyo**: he showed anger on his face = anawonetsa mkwiyo pa nkhope pake. (Paas, 2003)

- anger[1] n. (1) Violent displeasure, pronounced discontent, **mkwiyo** (mi), kukwiya, kukalipa, kwa/-, ukali, wa/-, mphembe (mi) (Elephant's angry trumpetting). (2) Unfriendly temper, surliness, dungu (ma). (3) Great a., wrath, rage, nthuku, ya/za. (Mk.); kuzaza, kwa/-.
  anger[2] v.t. (1) To make angry, to enrage, **kukwiyitsa**, kukalipitsa, kuzazitsa, kuwirula. (2) To provoke the anger of s.o. (esp. one who is very irritable), kuputa mabvu (Mk.). (Guerin, 1985)

Anger is expressed with the same word referring to sadness. The two feelings are negative, and this overlap of meaning would convey that the concept at the core of the words is one only. One negative concept entails anger and sadness. In the questionnaire, two different people described anger as a 'burning sensation' (*kupsa myima*) in the Chichewa meaning. From this, we can deduce that the metaphors ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER and ANGER IS FIRE are true for Malawians. Another expression used to describe anger is *kuwawidwa mtima,* literally meaning "pain of the heart". The meaning proximity with "sadness" is shown in this instance: we have already seen an expression related to the heart and its illness caused by a feeling. This could possibly mean that also ANGER IS ILLNESS/LACK OF HEALTH is to be true in Chichewa.

Another element that helps us analyse the metaphors motivating this expression is the proverb found in the work of Chakanza (2000):

"Mtima uli ngwizi, kadziwe ka mu Likuni.
The heart is downcast, like a pool in the Likuni river"
Used to express extreme anger. Very upset.

The heart, the host of all emotions, is pictured at the bottom of a river, to represent metaphorically the feeling of anger. Then we can say that the image schema DOWN is used metaphorically in the expression of anger, rather than in the expression of sadness. ANGER IS DOWN is a possible metaphor inside a native's mind. Or maybe the

metaphor is referred to the feeling of sadness, which is clearly interwoven with the meaning of anger.

When you are accused wrongly, *wandikwiitsa kwambiri* When things are going wrong and you are not given a chance to make things right When someone speaks I'll of your loved ones, *wandipsetsa mtima, kundipweteketsa mtima, kundiwawitsa mtima* Anger in chichewa is *Mkwiyo, kuposa mtima, kukwiya, kuwawidwa mtima*
whenever l see People fairing to accept the truth. *nthawi zonse pamene ndaona anthu asakuvomeleza kuyankha chilungamo.* 2-When things are happening opposite more especially My plans in life and my future, *pamene zinthu zikundichitikila mosephana maka mapulani anga pa Moyo komanso tsogolo.* 3- whenever My Loved Ones are Hurting and Crying, *nthawi zonse pamene anthu anga okondedwa akumva Kuwawa kapena kulira kumene.*
When your wife have done something bad that you did not expect - *mkwiyo* When you know someone killed someone else
When you lose job or they steal your money *NDIKUKWIYA CHIFUKWA ANANDIBERA* (I am angry because they stole from me)
When someone tries to say something bad that I did not do, when someone is arrested for the offence he never did, and when a little child dies and i call it *Dziko ndi loipa*
Ndimakwiya zedi ndikakwiya and i use the word *musandikwiyise*
I got anger when people talk bad of me behind my back I got anger when underlated For example *ndimakwiya*
Ndimamva mkwiyo wina akandiputa popanda chifukwa (I feel anger when someone annoys me for no valid reason) ndimakwiya wina akandinamizira zithu zoti sindinapange (I feel angry when someone falsely accuses me a thing which I didn't do) ndimakwiya zithu zikakhala kuti sizikundiyendera being bwino(I get angry when my

plans are not going accordingly to the plan)
When someone betrays you, when someone rubs you the wrong way whether in an argument or something else, I would use "*zandinyasa*" or "*zandibhowa*" meaning "it hasn't pleased me"
Being lied to, being kept waiting for long, my child not obeying me, *kukwiya*

DISGUST

Disgust is quite an easy emotion to detect, even from the point of view of the expression one makes: “when you see a person with a disgust expression, you know that the person is responding to something offensive to taste or smell, literally or metaphorically, that the person is likely to make sounds such as “yuck” rather than “yum”, and is likely to turn away from the source of stimulation.” (1992). Another negative emotion is listed in the modes of Oatley and Johnson-Laird, which most of the time can, again, be aroused by an external factor. In Chichewa:

- **disgust (n.)** kunyansidwa; (Paas, 2003)
- disgusted (-be d.) 1. -sukidwa/-koledwa (by over eating); 2.-nyansidwa (Paas, 2016)

As in English, the word “disgust” in Chichewa refers to the nauseous feeling one could experience: a physical sensation, sickness, or indisposition. From the dictionaries' entries it seems that the only meaning is the literal one, though it is vastly used as a synonym for anger, *mkwyio.* This word has not been analysed by Kövecses when researching emotion-specific metaphors, but it was included in the questionnaire proposed for this thesis, and the responses are pretty interesting. Though most people saw this term linked to dirtiness and inadequate hygiene in general, a portion of people found that *kunyansidwa* is best used as a more robust version of “anger”. The same instances, rumours, injustice, and violence, that cause anger can cause disgust. Some said that it is in fact, similar, and some that it is indeed a different level than anger.

Kunyansidwa it's a little bit similar to *mkwiyo* When someone makes something dirty that you have just cleaned. When something is bad, Is the time in which your heart is not happy
ZONYASA = Dirty stuff, bad things, sin When you confess, you say this to the priest *NDINACHITA ZONYASA* Not a good situation of the soul. *NDANYASIDWA* it strikes you inside, the verb that makes you feel something, hitted from the outside, when you see something dirty, gross
Munthu akamakamba za ine kumbali And I use the word *musandinyase*
It’s so disgusting seeing people not taking care of the city flowing things anyhow Ndimanyasidwa
Higher level than *mkwiyo*, revolting, causes you to feel bad. Mostly referred to things, it is a very heavy word. If someone does something really bad and you don't want to speak to them anymore
The same with *mkwiyo*, if I break something of someone else's, when people steal my things, when you eat a fruit that it's not good
Sikawiri kawiri kunyansidwa koma zimatengera ndimulingo omwe ndakhumudwitsiladwa (I don't easily get disgusted but it depends with how persistant in annoying me)
When someone betrays you, when someone rubs you the wrong way whether in an argument or something else, I would use "*zandinyasa*" or "*zandibhowa*" meaning "it hasn't pleased me"
Seeing dirty items (*kunyasidwa*)

In this last analysis, we see that even in the responses there were discrepancies: some see disgust, anger and sadness unified in one single negative feeling, *mkwiyo*. It almost seems that in Chichewa all these different negative feelings are conceptualized as one.

Chapter 5.
CONCLUSION

This thesis's main aim was to understand a little more about the Malawians' mentality and conceptualization of their state of mind and thoughts towards emotions. Some things have been noted through the analysis of conceptual metaphors related to emotional words.

As for the feeling of happiness, we can deduce the expression *ndimakhala ndi chimwemwe chodzaza* (I am full of joy) is motivated by the metaphor HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER; the same metaphor instantiates English: *I am filled with joy, I am overflowing with joy*.

When describing a feeling like fear, this feeling is understood as a TORMENTOR, OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE, ILLNESS, something that prevents peace of mind and serenity, which are crucial in our life. *I am tormented by fear, fear is taking a hold of me* are some expressions that a person from Malawi has probably internalized. This is shown also by the analysed expression *adagwidwa ndi nthumanzi,* meaning 'he is caught by fear'.

The most interesting fact that this study has disclosed is the parallelism between sadness, anger, and disgust: they can all be expressed with the word *mkwyio,* which appears to represent metaphorically a universal metaphorical sense of DOWN and ILLNESS. In the first place, when we have to express sadness in English we can say *I am feeling down, I am heart-sick* which in Chichewa can be expressed with *kuvutika mu mtima* (feeling sad in the heart, having problems), *kumva kupweteka (*feeling pain), *kudandaula* (to complain). *Chisoni* is the main word used to define *sadness*, but it can be also used *mkwyio.*

The interesting part comes when describing anger and disgust: it appears that *mkwyio* can be used in all three emotional situations, and that, other than anger being a HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, and FIRE as seen in the chapter, it appears that one could express it with *kuwawidwa mtima* (pain in the heart). We can positively say that ANGER IS ILLNESS in Chichewa. This is the same metaphor used to describe sadness, and another parallelism with sadness is the metaphor ANGER IS DOWN, shown by the

proverb "*Mtima uli ngwizi, kadziwe ka mu Likuni.* - The heart is downcast, like a pool in the Likuni river - Used to express extreme anger. Very upset." (Chakanza, 2000). Lastly, thanks to the questionnaire, it is understandable as *mkwiyo* is used also to describe disgust. This may mean that the same metaphors could apply also for this feeling.

The Table below offers a summary of the metaphors found in Chichewa, with the corresponding English expressions and their metaphors.

Chichewa expression	metaphor in Chichewa	English expression	metaphor in English
ndimakhala ndi chimwemwe chodzaza	HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER	*I am filled with joy*	HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER
Adagwidwa ndi nthumanzi	FEAR IS ILLNESS/LACK OF HEALTH FEAR IS OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE	*I am tormented by fear* *fear is taking a hold of me*	FEAR IS TORMENTOR FEAR IS OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE
kuvutika mu mtima	SADNESS IS ILLNESS/LACK OF HEALTH	*I am heart-sick*	SADNESS IS ILLNESS/LACK OF HEALTH
kuwawidwa mtima	ANGER IS ILLNESS/LACK OF HEALTH		

Note that in English there is no particular metaphor that links ILLNESS and anger. In general, the most interesting aspect of my research is, in my opinion, the relationship that all the negative emotions have with the idea of lack of health, and the logical consequence that happiness is, in the end, linked to a healthy life in the mind of Malawian people. The only question that remains, having now these speculative deductions, is whether happiness is the source of a healthy life or the other way round.

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APPENDIX

Chichewa language survey

PLEASE ANSWER IN ENGLISH WITH EXAMPLES IN CHICHEWA LANGUAGE. Zikomo!

This is a survey concerning cognitive linguistics and Chichewa language, particularly the words referring to emotions. Please respond in the most sincere way possible, and try to focus on how you would express these concepts in your native language, Chichewa. / Uyu ndi kafukufuku wokhudzana ndi chilankhulo cha Chichewa, makamaka mawu omwe amakhudzana ndi mmene anthu amamverera mumtima. Chonde yankhani moona mtima kwambiri, ndipo yesetsani kuganizira momwe mungafotokozere malingaliro anu mchilankhulo chanu, Chichewa.

*Campo obbligatorio

1. Name / Dzina *

2. Sex / Jenda *

   Contrassegna solo un ovale.

   - ◯ Female
   - ◯ Male
   - ◯ Altro: _____

3. Age / Zaka *

4. Where are you from in Malawi? / Mukuchokera kuti ku Malawi? *

5. How long have you been in school? / Mwakhala nthawi yayitali bwanji kusukulu? *

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

- ◯ Primary school
- ◯ Secondary school
- ◯ University
- ◯ Never been in school
- ◯ Altro: _____

6. What is your English level? / Mulingo wanu wachingerezi ndi uti? *

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

- ◯ Beginner
- ◯ Elementary
- ◯ Intermediate
- ◯ Upper - intermediate
- ◯ Advanced
- ◯ Proficiency
- ◯ None

7. What is your job? / Ntchito yanu ndi chiyani? *

_____

8. Please, tell below 3 (or more) different situations in which you feel HAPPINESS, and what word in Chichewa you would use in that context. / Chonde, fotokozerani pansipa zinthu zitatu (kapena kupitilira apo) zomwe zimakuchititsani kukhala WOSANGALALA, ndi liwu liti mu Chichewa lomwe mungagwiritse ntchito potero. *

9. Please, tell below 3 (or more) different situations in which you feel SADNESS, and what word in Chichewa you would use in that context. / Chonde, fotokozerani pansipa zinthu zitatu (kapena kupitilira apo) zomwe zimakuchititsani CHISONI, ndi liwu liti mu Chichewa lomwe mungagwiritse ntchito potero. *

10. Please, tell below 3 (or more) different situations in which you feel FEAR, and what word in Chichewa you would use in that context. / Chonde, fotokozerani pansipa zinthu zitatu (kapena kupitilira apo) zomwe zimakuchititsani MANTHA, ndi liwu liti mu Chichewa lomwe mungagwiritse ntchito potero. *

11. Please, tell below 3 (or more) different situations in which you feel ANGER, and what word in Chichewa you would use in that context. / Chonde, fotokozerani pansipa zinthu zitatu (kapena kupitilira apo) momwe mumamvera MKWIYO, ndipo ndi mawu ati mu Chichewa lomwe mungagwiritse ntchito potero. *

12. Please, tell below 3 (or more) different situations in which you feel DISGUST, and what word in Chichewa you would use in that context. / Chonde, fotokozerani pansipa zinthu zitatu (kapena kupitilira apo) zomwe zimakuchititsani kumva KUNYANSIDWA, ndi liwu liti mu Chichewa lomwe mungagwiritse ntchito potero. *