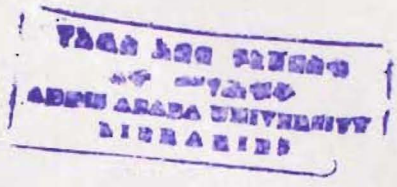
The Metaphors of Emotion in English and Amharic: Taking off from the runway of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis



Takkele Taddese

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A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS AND PHILOLOGY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMEMTS FOR THE DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY DEGREE IN LINGUISTICS

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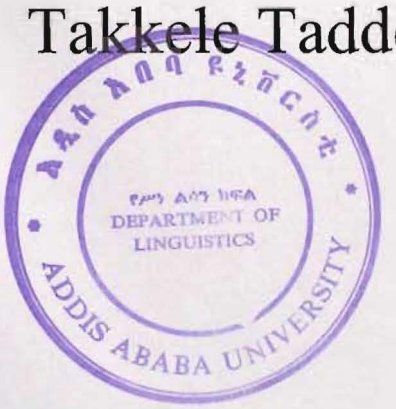
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Takkele Taddese



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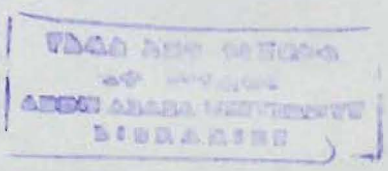
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ABSTRACT

The core subject of this thesis is The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. The main focus of the problem is that the Hypothesis overlooks the fact that language is the product of the cognitive power and that different languages externalize the product of that cognitive power through their native languages. It further overlooks the fact that language is **manipulable.** This study is therefore directed at showing the supremacy of the **mind** over language, and that language reflects thought and cannot be understood as **influencing thought**.

Moreover, the Hypothesis upholds the view that some languages can be inferior to others in the expression of concepts expressible in certain other languages. This view may also be unacceptable. My own main argument of the thesis also rests on the theory that **thought**, which emanates from the power of the cognitive faculty, **precedes** the creation of **language**. Language is thus shown to be the **embodiment** of thought.

To help me verify that language is the embodiment of thought, I was able to come by new terms such as **Fomits** (phonetic matters), and **Semits** (sememic matters). I believe that these are the core constituents of **Language**. It is pointed out further that, when compared with de Saussur's linguistic Sign, the Signifier, and the Signified (de Saussure, 1966 pp. 11 f, 65f, 111f) the use of Fomits and Semits can demystify the essence of language. Since this idea mainly focuses on the relationship between language and thought, the views of other scholars are brought in to get a much wider conception of this relationship and this is treated extensively in the background.

The comparative method is then used to show that any given language may not be inferior to any other and that it may not also influence thought. The metaphors of emotion of Amharic and English are used for the purpose of the comparison. The data of the English metaphors, as well as the theory of metaphor, are taken from Kővecses (2000, 2004). The Amharic data is collected by Ato Mulusew Asrate. He is not only a native speaker of Amharic but has also a lot of experience in teaching it at the Elementary, High School, and the University levels. The reliability of the data was tested on native speakers of some faculty members of the University.

. Supported by literature review, my own **New Hypothesis,** which is made to replace the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, and based on my theoretical framework, the metaphors of English and Amharic are compared to prove that even the weak version of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis is

wrong. The thesis thus shows that what is universally possessed by humans is the knowledge of associating Semits with Fomits to represent concrete and abstract referents. As shown in the body of the thesis, what **Semits** are associated with what **Fomits** are freely determined by the cognitive faculties of different native speakers. So, Fomits vary from language to language. Based on this, a conclusion is then made showing that the experiences, natural and social environments, frames of reference and the powers of cognition of the native speakers of different languages determine what Semits are encapsulated into what Fomits and that language-the Semit- encapsulated-Fomit- does not **influence thought.**

Key words

The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, the Formative Process, the Manipulative Process, Fomits, Semits, the New Hypothesis, metaphors and metonymies of emotion

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.0 Background

The scholarship of comparative linguistics has brought in fruitful results. For example, as the result of **comparative linguistics**, it has been possible to classify languages genetically into families such as Indo-European, Afro-Asiatic, etc.[1]

It has also been possible to classify languages into various types such as analytic, agglutinative and fusional. Iacobini (2006:279-280), and Harris and Z Xu (2006:509-513) discuss these in detail. Payne (1997:27-29) also presents explanations for these linguistic phenomena. A clear distinction is made by Harris and Xu between fusional and agglutinative types. So, in accordance with their explanation 'A language is said to be fusional (or flectional, or inflecting) if the separation between morphemes is not readily apparent.' Then, they provide illustrative examples from Russian. Furthermore, they present the description of the agglutinative type as follows: 'In an agglutinating language, words are made up of a sequence of morphemes, each expressing a separate category, and the boundaries between morphemes are unambiguous.'

Payne (Iibid: 27-29) discusses synthesis and fusion separately. He explains that synthetic languages show structures packed with morphemes. He further indicates that synthetic languages extend from the isolating type, for example Chinese and Vietnamese, at one end to the polysynthetic ones at the other end, for example *Yup'ik Eskimo*, (emphases in the original.) Interestingly, he distinguishes the fusional languages from the synthetic ones by explaining that the fusional languages are packed with meaning. So, any change in meaning changes the morpheme. He further adds that we may classify a language as agglutinative if 'each component of meaning is expressed by its own morpheme (Ibid: 28.)' He then gives Turkish as an example of the agglutinative type without giving any examples.

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[1] Bold faces indicate my emphasis and italics indicate emphasis on quotes from other authors unless indicated otherwise. All Amharic expressions, transcribed phonemically, are in bold.

Bell (1976:146) provides data from two agglutinative languages as follows:

Turkish
ev-ler-im-iz-de
house-plural-my-plural-in
'in our houses'

Kiswahili:
a-na-m-ataka
he -present-him-want
'he wants him'

It is also possible to provide data from Amharic to show that it is a fusional language. First of all, the contents of Amharic verbs fall on the consonants that are referred to as radicals (Hailu Fulass, 1967:1). These radicals get their comprehensible contents when vowels are used to give them their lexical phonetic shapes. For example, let us take the radicals **g-d-l.** So, we can have **gəddələ** 'He killed.' Therefore, the following are what we get when simple sentences are constructed with this single verb:

1. **gəddələ** 'He killed.'
2. **a-ggə-da-ddə -la-ččəw** a) 'He helped them kill.'
   b) 'He made them kill each other.'

The languages this study focuses on are analytic (English), and fusional (Amharic.)

1.1. Introducing New Terms

Here, I would like to introduce my own new terms to be used in this research. The reason is that I believe these new terms can demystify the conception of language. Language is nothing else but, basically, an instrument of communication. It consists of two manifest elements which are involved in two important processes: the **Sememic matters (Semits)**, **phonetic matters (Fomits)**, the **formative process**, and the **manipulative process**. I believe the use of these new terms do not only demystify the nature of language but can also help to verify that the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis is wrong.

'Semits' are used to refer to the **entire concrete and abstract referents**. The concrete referents include everything existing in the Universe. Everything non-concrete is abstract. What is concrete may extend from celestial bodies to atoms, neutrons, amoebas and viruses. Semits also contrast with 'meaning,' because 'meaning' might be conceived as bringing to mind our understanding or conceptualizations of Semits. Meaning can thus fall within the 'manipulative process,' which will be defined shortly. All abstract referents are phenomena such as friendship, love, civilization, etc. **Concepts** refer to our understanding of abstract referents.

'Fomits' refer to the entire phonetic matters that are used in the languages of the world. Linguists have been successful in analyzing them and describing their distinctive features. Fomits and Semits can now be cognitively understood as constituting the **distinct** elements of language. Fomits are used symbolically to convey Semits to the mind.

The '**formative process**' is here understood as being the process by which Semits, initially, from the very beginning, are associated with, or 'encapsulated into' Fomits by native speakers. The term 'encapsulate' is used here to highlight and reveal the fact that the Semits are **hidden from the sensory organs** when they are in the Fomits. This is because the Semits are 'wrapped up' in the Fomits but captured by the cognitive faculty as soon as they are conveyed to the mind by the concrete foregrounded, audible Fomits. What is interesting is that the Semits actually stare us in the face when they are not encapsulated into Fomits.

Finally, the '**manipulative process**' is used to refer to what we **do** with the **Semit-encapsulated-Fomits** (words, language.) Fomits and Semits are thus used to make the two essential elements of language distinct and transparent to the cognitive faculty. At this stage, what we may need to do is to fix firmly in our minds the fact that the Semits and Fomits are brought together by the cognitive faculty, and that this is **thinking par excellence.** Moreover, we should remember the fact that it may not be possible to tell each other about Semits without Fomits even though what we actually experience every day are the Semits.We come directly into contact with them through the sensory organs without any need for, or interference from, the Fomits.

What we may further need to know is that the process of perceiving all phenomena by the mind can now be understood as the process by which the cognitive faculty understands the nature of Semits in order to shape, classify, and categorize them into comprehensible entities. That is why Semits[2] are used to refer to these phenomena or entities. I believe that the distinction made between Fomits and Semits can indeed demystify our understanding of the real essence of language. The reason behind this is that we search, or look for Fomits into which to encapsulate Semits that we confront for the first time and capture them by the mind. This is because it may be only when we come into contact with a Semit for the first time that the need for Fomits and the question of what kind of Fomits should be used arises. After an agreement is made on the nature of the Fomits, the encapsulation process takes place.

Moreover; logically, the need for the Fomits arises because the perceived and understood entities may not remain hidden in the minds of individuals. The perceived, comprehensible Semits may need to be externalized during the process of human oral and written interactions. It is true that all concrete phenomena representing the real world surrounding us exist externally to the mind. The mind internalizes them for their cognitive processing and proper understanding. Interlocutors would then be able to know what the mind of the speaker or writer can produce during the communicative interaction. What are understood and internalized in this way is what is re-externalized showing what the cognitive faculty has done to Semits - the process of conceptualizing them and giving them the desired 'meaning.' I believe that such an internalization and externalization process is made possible through the encapsulation of the Semits into Fomits.

So, there is no need to create Fomits for concrete or abstract phenomena that do not exit. Moreover, it is important to know that native speakers may not be interested to know everything existing in their environment and may not therefore need to have Fomits for entire Semits. However, no normal human beings may find any concrete or abstract phenomena to be beyond the power of their cognitive faculty of some conceptualization. Therefore, the absence of certain

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[2] The reason why **Fomits** and **Semits** are used instead of **phonetic matters** and **Sememic matters**, respectively, is that Fomits and Semits are shorter, easier to remember and can be taken as lexicalized. **Fomits represent** the entire phonetic matters used in all languages, and **Semits,** the entire concrete and abstract referents. Therefore, **Fomits** will be used to represent **phonetic matters**, (ph changed to **f**) and **Semits** to represent **Sememic matters.**
'Sememe' is believed to have been coined by Leonard Bloomfield in 1933, according to the *Random House Dictionary*, 1971

concepts in some languages and their presence in others can be understood as based on factors such as lack of interest or need on the part of native speakers, or on the absence of the concrete phenomena in the surroundings of native speakers.

Henceforth, I therefore intend to use the term 'Semit' to refer to the entire concrete or abstract referents, whether reached by the minds of native speakers or not. In any case, the mind first encounters material objects, forms of abstract ideas, finds some Fomits into which to encapsulate them and then conceptualize them. 'Fomits' are thus used to refer to the entire linguistic sound units produced by the vocal tract to be employed as vehicles for conveying encapsulated referents to be conceptualized and used for communication.

It may at first be difficult to understand why Fomits and Semits are used instead of de Saussure's terms, the 'signifier,' the 'signified,' (de Saussure, 1966: 65.) The terms 'Fomits' and 'Semits' are new and some may think that the reason why such a clear cut distinction is made between them is to account for the relationship of Fomits and Semits (de Saussure's 'signifier' and the 'signified') through the literal translation of the conduit metaphor as understood by Reddy (1979, 1993.)

Fomits and Semits are used instead of de Saussure's 'signifier', and the 'signified' because, firstly, we will know that Fomits are used for encapsulation. The nature of the concrete and abstract referents, the Semits, can then be perceived in isolation from the Fomits. Secondly, the conception of Semits and Fomits can make the understanding of the essence of language transparent. This is because we now know that Fomits are needed for the encapsulation of the Semits. The cognitive faculty can grasp the two basic elements of language (Fomits and Semits) without much difficulty. Semits refer to concrete and abstract referents, Fomits to the entire phonetic matters of language.

Moreover, de Saussure's 'signifier' indicates the **function** of the element (the Fomit) without the revelation of its essence, and the 'signified' a reference to something **unknown**, some Fomit representation without distinctly indicating the 'thing, or the Semit' itself that is represented. The use of Fomits and Semits can further make the analysis of language easier and can also demystify

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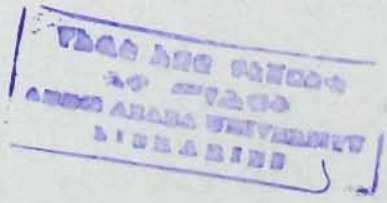
the understanding of language. Fomits encapsulate Semits. Their encapsulation and de-encapsulation is made possible through the power of cognition.

To illustrate this point more clearly, let us look into de Saussure's conception of language by using the 'signifier' and the 'signified,' and compare our understanding of 'language' by using Fomits and Semits instead of the 'signifier,' and the 'signified.' Under the topic entitled '*Place of Language in the Facts of Speech*,' he makes the following statement: 'A given concept unlocks a corresponding sound-image in the brain; this purely *psychological* phenomenon is followed in turn by a *physiological* process: the brain transmits an impulse corresponding to the image to the organs used in producing sounds' (Ibid: 11-12, emphasis in the original.)

In the first place, in accordance with my theoretical framework, a 'concept' does not 'unlock' anything such as 'a corresponding sound- image.' A concept is rather carried to the brain by Fomits as soon as they are heard. Fomits do not also have images. They are supposed to convey Semits, the images of which can rather be seen by the brain. In the second place, the cognitive faculty makes Fomits to be used as a means to make concepts available to the cognitive faculty, and the mind separates the Semit encapsulated in the Fomit. I further believe that the use of terms such as 'sound-image' mystifies the essence of language.

In fact, at first, his topic appears to be intriguing. It gives the impression that what is known as 'language' is found between Fomits and Semits. But a closer examination gives the understanding that '*the Facts of Speech*' refer to what goes on between two interlocutors during the speech act. Nevertheless, his long statement is not free from an intriguing conception of language. The true essence of language could be understood better, however, when the terms 'Fomit' and 'Semit' are used, and the statement is re-stated as follows:

A given concept is encapsulated into Fomits in the brain; this purely *psychological* phenomenon is followed in turn by a *physiological* process: the speaker transmits the Semit- encapsulated-Fomits to the hearer.



As to the idea that the use of Fomits and Semits imply a literal translation of Reddy's (1979) *conduit* metaphor, that 'language *transfers* human thoughts and feelings' (Reddy,1979 : 287), it can in fact be argued that it was Reddy himself who is doing that.

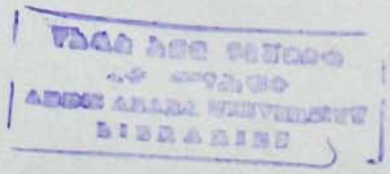
My understanding of the *conduit* metaphor is based on the theory given by Lakoff and Johnson (1980:127.) They state: 'the CODUIT metaphor defines a spatial relationship between form and content: LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS ARE CONTAINERS and their meanings are the *content* of these containers' (emphasis in the original.)

As can be understood from their definition, my Fomits correspond to their 'form' and my Semits to their '*content.*' So, their 'LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS' are my FOMITS and are therefore the 'CONTAINERS' of my Semits. Their relationship is 'spatial.' This means the more the space in the Fomits, the more the Semits they can hold and vice-versa. This can be understood analogically that a 'barrel' holds more liquid than a 'glass' and that one does not need a barrel when the liquid can be contained in a glass.

Now, let us compare this conception of the conduit metaphor with that of Reddy's (Ibid: 288.) He defines it as follows:

> 'The logic of the framework we are considering- a logic which will henceforth be called the *conduit* metaphor- would now lead us to the bizarre assertion that words have "insides" and "outsides." After all, if thoughts can be "inserted," there must be a space "inside" wherein the meaning can reside. But surely the English language, whatever metaphysical meanderings it has been guilty of thus far, cannot have involved us in this kind of patent nonsense.'

Now, doesn't the above statement by Reddy clearly show that he is not only giving a literal translation of the *conduit* metaphor but also misunderstands the overall concept of metaphor? This basic concept of the metaphor is explained by Lakoff and Johnson (Ibid: 5) as follows: '*The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another*' (emphasis in the original.) So, this theory tells us that 'Fomits' can be seen as if they are like barrels or glasses and 'Semits' like the liquids we pour into them, or for that matter, like bags and suitcases into which we put things. Therefore, Reddy in fact seems to sneer at this theoretical



framework because 'words' cannot 'have "insides" and "outsides" which can be seen as a literal translation of metaphor.

A few pages later, he in fact expresses his other view of the metaphor as follows (Ibid: 291):

> The major framework sees ideas as existing either within human heads or, at least, within words uttered by humans. The "minor" framework overlooks words as containers and allows ideas and feelings to flow, unfettered and completely disembodied, into a kind of ambient space between human heads. In this case, the conduit of language becomes not sealed pipelines from person to person, but rather individual pipes which allow mental content to escape into, or enter from, this ambient space. Again, it seems that this extension of the metaphor is aided by the fact that, somewhere, we are peripherally aware that words do not really have insides.

Reddy's ideas of the conduit metaphor are indeed the literal translation of metaphor in general. My Fomits and Semits, as well as my New Hypothesis, which is stated immediately below, however, are far from the literal translation of the conduit metaphor.

Language does not seem to determine, influence, or affect thought. It may rather be thought that it can facilitate the expansion and creation of new concepts thus confronting us with surprises, each language complementing the other rather than being used as a parameter for assessing the efficiency of one, and the deficiency or limitation of the other.

Besides, his major and minor frameworks seem to contradict. In his major framework, ideas are rightly understood as existing within 'human heads.' In his minor framework, ideas just float in space without hindrance, 'disembodied.' This seems to be strange because it has not been possible to see ideas spreading into the thin air without their encapsulation into Fomits. It is true ideas encapsulated in Fomits can be thought to be 'disembodied' because they are made to depart from the human body and mind as soon as they are encapsulated into and put out through Fomits and others embody them in the process of communication.

1.2. Scope and Limitation of the Study

I intend to confine the data of the research to the domain of the **metaphors** of **emotion** in **English**, and **Amharic**. This is because metaphors are not only interesting but, in accordance with the view of Lakoff and Johnson (1980:4) 'most of our ordinary conceptual system is metaphorical in nature.' Thus, **linguistic expressions** based on **conceptual metaphors**[3] such as ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, HAPPINESS IS UP, SADNESS IS DOWN, etc. (Kövecses, 2000:20-33) will be used for the discussion of the hypothesis by comparing conceptual metaphors, and their linguistic expressions[4] in the two languages. It may then be possible to know how **cognition** of reality can be perceived and understood by the mind.

1.2. Statement of the problem

The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis overlooks the fact that language is the product of the **cognitive power.** This is because, language can in fact be seen as an invention or discovery. It can be understood as a discovery when we think of its two existing elements, the Semits and the Fomits, brought together to constitute it. We can think of it as an invention when we think of it as a phenomenon created by bringing together these two far distant elements from each other-the Fomits and Semits. All languages are made up of these two natural phenomena and different languages reflect the cognitive powers of their native speakers. It further overlooks the fact that language (Semit-encapsulated Fomit) is **manipulable**. The study is therefore an attempt to show the two natural elements that are made to constitute it, and the **supremacy** of the **mind** over language and that language reflects thought and cannot therefore be understood as **influencing** thought. Furthermore, the metaphors of emotion from Amharic and English will be used to show how human thought is free to manipulate **language** to express what is needed without being manipulated or controlled by language itself.

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[3] These terms will be explained in **chapter three** based on Kövecses (2002).
[4] See 1.6 and the theoretical framework below.

1.4. *Research* questions

I believe the following three questions are relevant to help disprove the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis.

1. How do native speakers of different languages differ in their conceptualizations and expressions of emotions?
2. Can the differences be attributed to the Fomits or Semits, or something else?
3. Can the data of the metaphors of emotion of the two languages verify the New Hypothesis and falsify the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis or vice-versa?

1.5. The Objectives

This study focuses on the following two basic objectives, and some other related ones which will be shown in the discussion below.

1. To compare the New Hypothesis with the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis to see which one has a more explanatory power of the relationship between language and the human mind.
2. To explain the formative and the manipulative processes of cognition.

The main idea of presenting the objectives and research questions here is to give a clear view of the problems involved, and provide a solid background to the main arguments that may be used in support of the claims of the New Hypothesis. Repeated presentations on the relationship between language and thought are meant for emphasis and clarity, and are not thus meant for slackening the functions of the mind.

In the discussion of the first objective, the differences between the two hypotheses can begin with a simple comparison of how emotions are conceptualized. For example, the native speakers of English and Amharic may conceptualize 'anger' in different ways. The differences between such conceptualizations may be shown in the understanding of the emotion. In accordance with my theoretical framework, the making of language begins with the human cognitive power to first understand the abstract Semit, which, in this case, for example, is **anger.**

Such an understanding must necessarily begin before some Fomit is obtained into which to encapsulate it. So far, the mind is functioning independently of any Fomit concentrating on the Semit. Once the concept of what is to be understood is captured, the search for the Fomit begins to take place in the mind. When the appropriate choice is made, the mind immediately associates with it, or encapsulates the concept into it, and begins to stabilize the encapsulation process.

For the consolidation of the conceptual frame in the mind, the Chomskyian method can be used to represent language graphically as follows:

L⟶ Fomit $\vee^5$ Semit

The native speakers of Amharic thus came up with two sets of Fomits to encapsulate two aspects of anger- **nɨddet** and **k'ut't'a.** The difference seen here is that, in Amharic, there are two descriptive terms to encapsulate two related aspects of the emotion whereas in English, there is only one. Furthermore, there are two linguistic expressions in English based on the conceptual metaphor: ANGER IS FIRE (Table 5.1, no. 2 below,) the equivalents, and literal translation of which are given in Amharic respectively:

He is doing a *slow burn.* **k'əss bək'əss ɨyyətək'at't'ələ nəw**

k'əss bək'əss ɨyyəbəggənə nəw

k'əss bək'əss ɨyyəc'c'əsə nəw

k'əss bək'əss ɨyyənədəddə nəw

wɨst'wɨst'un ɨyyəbəggənə nəw

His anger is *smoldering.* **nɨddetu ɨyyəgamə nəw**

What can be understood, however, is that the native speakers of both Amharic and English share the same conceptual metaphor but the linguistic expressions of Amharic given above are expressions of **nɨddet,** not of **k'ut't'a.** Amharic can now be seen as having two descriptive

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[5] The sign $\vee$ symbolically represents the encapsulation process of Semits into Fomits.

terms and many more metaphoric linguistic expressions for the same conceptual metaphor. All the expressions of the first are native, and the literal translation is given for the second.

The native Amharic expression for **k'ut't'a** can be interesting:

ɨsat ləbso ɨsat gorso məṭ'ṭ'a

'He came wearing and putting fire in his mouth.' (Table 5.2, no.11.)

This native Amharic linguistic expression is based on the same conceptual metaphor:

ANGER IS FIRE.

The Amharic expression for **k'ut't'a** shows what goes on externally, and not what goes on internally.

However, the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis would attribute such differences in linguistic expressions to the influence of each language on the thoughts of their native speakers. The New Hypothesis, however, claims that thought took place during the formative process when the encapsulation of the Semit into the Fomit had taken place and could not thus be influenced by its own product.

Differences that can make the two hypotheses distinct can be made by comparing the conceptual frameworks of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis with the New Hypothesis to see which one has a more explanatory power. This can be done by showing the relationship between language and thought in the light of the two hypotheses. It is hoped that the comparison of the basic principles upon which the two hypotheses are based can strengthen the explanation of the New Hypotheses and highlight the main points of the study. It can be claimed that the comparison of the New Hypothesis with the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis may also show that the New Hypothesis has more explanatory power than the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. This can begin with the review of the inherent concepts of the two hypotheses.

The essential concepts of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis are:

1. Language determines thought.
2. Since language determines thought, each language determines the thoughts of its native speakers.

3. Scholars have already rejected 1 and 2. What is still persistent is 4.
4. Language **influences** thought.

Now, let us turn to a similar analysis of the New Hypothesis.

Its fundamental concepts are:

1. The New Hypothesis rejects 4.
2. Language facilitates the discovery and expansion of new concepts.
3. Its diversities confront us with surprises.
4. Any given language can complement the other.
5. Any language cannot be used as a parameter to measure the strength or weakness of the power of cognition and externalization of concepts by the native speakers of any other language.
6. Any language could be understood as reflecting the **cognitive** strength, the **frames of reference,** and the material and cultural **life** of its native speakers.

Before going into the discussion of the second objective and the claims made in association with the New Hypothesis, some examples from the data, and more views from other scholars can be added to make the relationship between **language** and **thought** even clearer.

Now let us look at an example from the data. The relationship that exists between language and thought is non-influential. This can be illustrated by taking and analyzing the first Amharic metonymic expression **anjətu k'ɨbe t'ət't'a** 'His intestine drank butter' (Table 5.10 below.)

According to the Amhara, or even Ethiopian culture, butter is regarded as the best and most delicious food. It is believed that it is not only tasty but also softens the stomach and makes it free from constipation. So, eating butter is not only pleasurable but it gratifies the body. It is thus used to serve as the domain to stand for something gratifying or even cathartic happening to a person. The intestine serves as the vehicle entity representing the person being gratified and thus happy on the part- whole metonymic principle. The verb **t'ət't'a** 'it drank' indicates that enough amount

of butter has been absorbed by the stomach representing the situation that made the person gratified and, as the result, happy. How can this serve as an illustrative example of the non-influential nature of the relationship between language and thought? The answer is that the language springs from the experience of the native speakers. It does not provide the experience unless it is made to do so.

Moreover, as explained in the formative process, it was 'thought' that made the discovery or invention of encapsulating Semit into Fomit possible. This discovery or invention has empowered all humans to use language as a means of communication because all humans use language. Crystal (ibid) suggests three possibilities for the origin of language but it may be necessary to bear in mind, as has been emphasized many times over, that what humans originally came into contact was not Fomits into which Semits were encapsulated. It is assumed that it was the referents of the natural phenomena that they might have encountered first. Thought therefore precedes the discovery and elaboration of language as a system of communication.

What can therefore be even more interesting and relevant to add here is the **thought** that went into the discovery of **verbs,** Fomits into which **actions** are encapsulated. As the result of this, what we can do with our **body** and **mind** is greatly facilitated. This in turn shows the outcome of the manipulative and elaboration processes. This elaborative manipulation may not only be seen as the manifestation of the complexity of language **use** but also the extension of the possibility of what we can do with our body and mind to concrete and abstract phenomena after encapsulation. After all, much thought had gone into the formative and the manipulative processes, an even higher level of thought. The Amharic metonymic linguistic expression just given above can illustrate this. So, it is **thought** developing from a lower level to a higher level that made language to function in the way it does now, not language **influencing** thought working backwards. So, language is the result of encapsulation, externalization and internalization of thought, not the **cause** of thought.

The second objective is meant to explain what is intended to achieve by using the formative and manipulative processes. These terms refer precisely to the **first** critical, initial act of understanding single abstract, as well as concrete Semits, their encapsulation into Fomits, and

make them ready for manipulation, to what de Saussure calls the 'naming-process' (Ibid: 65.) This can be considered to be an important first step. It is considered to be so because Fomits will not be thought about before Semits are known and understood. Then, the uttering of articulated Fomits must have taken place for the first time for the purpose of encapsulating the phenomena understood in this way into them for symbolic representation. When this act of knowledge had begun, it might have set the process of understanding more and more Semits and creating structured Fomits for their encapsulation. It can further be assumed that, perhaps initially, even the structuring of sentences, however rudimentary, might have begun then.

The 'manipulative process,' on the other hand, refers to the act of using the Fomits with their encapsulated Semits that are created at the formative level to express more complex, varied, new, and original ideas.

A simple illustration can clarify what is just stated above. Let us take the scientist who found the element '**oxygen.**' It can be logically assumed that he might have done a lot of research through many experiments before the finding of the gas. It can also be presumed that thought of what Fomit to use to symbolically represent it came **after** the discovery of the gas, not **before**. This is because it may be impossible to think that the scientist first came up with the Fomit 'oxygen' and then busied himself to discover the gas.

The main purpose of dealing with the Formative process is thus to provide basic evidence, before tackling the metaphors of emotion, that the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis was off track in understanding the real essence of language and the New Hypothesis can put such an understanding back on its proper track.

To meet this objective, it may be necessary to recapitulate some of the arguments presented so far to instill them into our minds. Therefore, as one of the evidences for disproving the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, within the framework presented above, it may be important to understand the essence of language more thoroughly and clearly from its **very inception.** The solution inevitably takes us back to the early stages of human mental and cognitive growth. More importantly, going back to the time when language had begun can help us to confirm our understanding that we did

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not come into being with the full knowledge of language. This can be seen in newly born babies. They have the innate ability to acquire and use the language provided by parents and society but they have not been seen so far creating a new one (see Crystal, 1987: 288).

Therefore, when, where, and by who was the idea of using Fomits into which to encapsulate Semits discovered for the first time? The answer may not be known in the near future. What scholars **do know** and **study,** however, is the existing Fomits with their encapsulated Semits without the full knowledge of the origin.

What is further interesting here, and what may need to be emphasized, is the fact that, even though scholars know that the function of the Fomit, the carrier of the Semit, is to **'land'** the Semit on the mind, they find it easier to analyze and describe Fomits than Semits because of their empirical nature, and the Semits are buried deep into them and cannot be easily accessible through the Fomits. This is because what can be presented as language is the Fomit. The Semit encapsulated in the Fomit is hidden from all the senses. However, what need not be forgotten is that all concrete referents are totally exposed to the senses without any Fomit being around. We can do anything we want or anything we wish to any concrete matter without uttering any Fomit for encapsulation. Therefore, it is possible to say that the mind uses Fomits to transfer the Semits to the cognitive faculty, so that the cognitive faculty then draws its attention to the received concrete matter for purposes of communication and be temporarily forgetful of the Fomits. This situation shows how complex the language system is during the **association** (of Semits with Fomits) and the **dissociation** (the separation of the Semits from the Fomits) during the manipulative process.

Moreover, it may be of further interest to note that, as already indicated above, the occurrence of the flicker of the encapsulation of some Semit into some Fomit was a fortuitous, and serendipitous incident. It can still further be understood as having marked the period between the inception of human cognition and its journey to growth, development, and expansion. In fact, the incident must have set the mind at work in the encapsulation of, theoretically, infinite numbers of Semits into equal numbers of Fomits. Moreover, this incident must have helped to develop

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multiple languages after contact had first been made with comprehensible phenomena and their Semit (traditionally referred to as 'meanings') had been captured and shaped by the mind.

In fact, what prompted me to go into the discussion of all such **evolutionary** and primordial **developmental** nature of language repeatedly is the fascinating relationship of the Fomit to the Semit, and to thereby reveal and highlight the fact that thought preceded the creation of language-Fomits into which humans encapsulated Semits. A simple focus on a given concrete Semit and its Fomit can further explain what is intended here.

Let us take the quadruped animal that gives milk to humans- the **cow.** Now, the basic question is: Is it the Fomit - [*kau*] - or the **'animal'** - the Semit - that we call language? This will be discussed in detail in the conceptual framework but it is presented here for the sake of emphasis, more focus and explanation to distance language from the concept of influencing thought.

In fact, this question is an enigmatic question. As far as I can remember, it has never been asked before. Therefore, I believe that an attempt to find an answer for it might help to understand the true essence of language. So far, the Fomit-- [**kau**] -- is what is habitually and virtually called 'language.' For an empirical illustration, firstly, let us take a person who does not know Amharic but is hearing two or more people speaking it.

Indeed, the person might become curious to know what language they are speaking and might ask: What language are you speaking, or what language are they speaking? However, it is obvious that the person had no way of making cognitive contact with, or knowing the Semits represented by the Fomits he could hear. This is because there could be **no way** by which the person might make contact with the Semits mentally or physically through the sensory organs at the time of his enquiry. How was it possible then for the person to know, or even guess what was heard was 'language,' Fomits into which Semits are encapsulated? It is because the Fomit is what **is** heard, and **it is** what is, habitually, normally, and virtually known as language.

Secondly, it is written in the Bible (Genesis 11) that all people at first spoke one language but God mixed their language and rendered them unable to communicate. How was this done? It is

logical to assume that it might have not been necessary to change the nature of the Semits. What might be necessary was to change the Fomits. So, when a person uttered 'water' what the receivers might have heard could have been 'stone.'

Thirdly, what different languages are can now be clearly understood. They are same, similar, or different Semits encapsulated in totally **different** Fomits, and thus what Semits are encapsulated into them unknown to native speakers of other languages. The different Fomits of the referent 'dog' given in the Fomits of six languages below (Ibid: 33) could provide concrete evidence for this claim.

It is also possible to further argue why what is just claimed above is true. Firstly, the Fomits are concrete and are therefore suitable for empirical investigation. Secondly, they are easily accessible through their native speakers. Therefore, phonetics, phonology, morphology, and syntax or what is generally known as Formalism, or now **Fomitism**, drew the full interest of linguists and, as the result, flourished and developed in linguistics with different approaches over the years.

On the other hand, the analysis and description of the Semits do not seem to be as easy as those of the Fomits since they are hidden from the sensory organs but only known to the mind as they are encapsulated into the Fomits by native speakers. They may not, therefore, be easily accessible to the mind by being immediately exposed to the senses. Ironically, it is the Semits that we experience first outside Fomits. They can be real, concrete and therefore exposed to our senses as cows, water, spacecraft etc., or what Whorf called the 'real world.' Semits can also exist in abstract or imagined forms such as the Grim Reaper. These abstract phenomena may even create difficulties to be seen by the mind. Moreover, both the concrete and abstract Semits are the ones that are most important for communication, in spite of the fact that they are encapsulated in Fomits and are thus hidden from the senses, and therefore from the mind when the language is unknown.

It may now be possible to use the conceptual framework of the formative process to show and explain the manipulative process- how Semit-encapsulated-Fomits could now be used as a means

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of thought manipulation, thought generation and elaboration. Therefore, it could now be clear that thought created the knowledge of getting Fomits for the encapsulation of Semits for the purpose of communication. How? The answer is this. As has already been indicated above, the very idea of coming up with the encapsulation of Semits into Fomits and using such a representation as an instrument of communication can be, as has been stated above, thought par excellence in itself. Inevitably, in the formative process, the cow, the Semit, must have been encountered first before its encapsulation into different Fomits.

In the Semit- encapsulated- Fomit situation, it may not be possible to argue that either the Fomit or the Semit alone can influence thought independently. This is because the very idea of using Fomits for the encapsulation of Semits can be the embodiment of thought and therefore thought had precedence over the Fomit-Semit existence. The result of this process-the encapsulation of Semits into Fomits- is what is known as language. Language can therefore be seen as the output of thought. It is some **artifact** that occurred after thought processes took place. It cannot thus be argued that language can influence thought by itself. So, it may in fact be necessary to notice that such a discovery had resulted in far-reaching consequences. This is because it has made us capable of encapsulating as many new Semits we can encounter into as many new Fomits we may be able to find. This discovery has indeed empowered us to encapsulate more and more Semits and associate them with new Fomits with the limit set by our mental ability, or cognitive power and not by the influence of either the Fomits or the Semits themselves.

It should therefore now be clear that thought created the idea of using Fomits as means of symbolically representing Semits that can be used to manipulate thought, and enable us to exchange our thoughts or ideas. Firstly, this is why the human cognitive faculty can be said to be the mediator between the Fomit and the Semit through their mere association in the mind. This mental association therefore is understood as man-made Fomit system to open the way to the manipulative process. Secondly, the use of the product-the Semit- encapsulated-Fomit- can further be thought of as being the mediator between the human mind and the external world.

1.6. The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis

The Sapir- Whorf Hypothesis focuses on the assessment of the cognitive capacity of native speakers of different languages. It appears to do so by trying to compare what concepts are externalized by speakers of different mother tongues. The Hypothesis might have overlooked those native speakers of different languages who come into contact with different Semits. Further still, the Hypothesis might have overlooked the fact that different native speakers encapsulate Semits into conventionally established different Fomits.

Essentially, the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis is inherently based on the relativity principle. It is stated as follows: 'all observers are not led by the same physical evidence to the same picture of the universe, unless their linguistic backgrounds are similar, or can in some way be calibrated' (Carroll, 1956:214.) Maybe Sapir might have influenced Whorf but his ideas on the Hypothesis do not show themselves as manifestly as those of Whorf's. In any case, the entire foundation of this principle is, however, pulled down by what is stylistically stated by Lakoff (1987:304):

> For the past few decades, most "responsible" scholars have steered clear of relativism. It has become a bête noire, identified with scholarly irresponsibility, fuzzy thinking, lack of rigor, and even immorality. Disavowals and disproofs are de regueur-even I felt obliged to cite the standard disproof of "total relativism" in the previous chapter. In many circles, even the smell of relativism is tainted.

Lakoff is not alone in his view on relativisim.Pinker (2000:420) expresses what he thinks and feels more strongly on the issue of relativism as follows:

> The thing is: I *hate* relativism. I hate relativism more than I hate anything else, excepting, maybe, fiberglass powerboats. More to the point, I think that relativism is very probably false. What it overlooks, to put it briefly and crudely, is the fixed structure of human nature.(That is not, of course, a novel insight; on the contrary, the *malleability* of human nature is a doctrine that relativists are invariably much inclined to stress; see, for example, John Dewey....) Well, in cognitive psychology the claim that there is a fixed structure of human nature traditionally takes the form of an insistence on the heterogeneity of cognitive mechanisms and

> the rigidity of the cognitive architecture that effects their encapsulation. If there are faculties and modules, then not everything affects everything else; not everything is plastic. Whatever the All is, at least there is more than One of it.

So, the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis can be understood as failing to see that native speakers of different languages encapsulate referents in different Fomits and conceptualize them in different ways for the purpose of externalizing their conventionally understood **Semits.** That is why it is said that the absence of referents in the environments of some native speakers can result in the absence of Fomits into which to encapsulate them. Again, as indicated above, such incidents may occur even in the presence of referents due to lack of interest, or need for those referents.

However, this need not lead to the conclusion that native speakers of such languages cannot find the Fomits into which to encapsulate them for subsequent conceptualization. For instance, speakers of Amharic might not have encountered the need for the English concept (encapsulated in the Fomit) 'habeas corpus' and, therefore, Amharic speakers have not formed the Fomits into which to encapsulate the concept. Nowadays, however, the need has arisen and the concept is being expressed in Amharic Fomits.

Furthermore, certain concepts can also be expressed in unique Fomit structures when compared with the Fomit structures of other languages containing more or less similar concepts. The Amharic fusional structure given above can again be a good example because it is even difficult to map the structure of the English sentence neatly onto the Amharic one. Nevertheless, these facts may not lead to the conclusion that language determines, influences, or affects thought. This means people are at liberty to use any Fomits, structure them in any way they like, and encapsulate into them any kind of Semits that fall within their interest and desire without being influenced either by the Fomits or the Semits.

This research was therefore motivated by the curiosity to know about the intriguing linguistic relativity principle, which was later known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. After having read some quotes from the writings of Sapir and Whorf in some sociolinguistic textbooks such as Fasold (1990), Hudson (1980), and Wardhaugh (1986), I thought the Hypothesis was rooted in

the feeling of superiority of the Western mind over the less 'civilized' people of the world. It gave me the impression that these uncivilized people, mostly the black, or most of what are known as the coloured in general, were barred from civilization because the languages they spoke natively did not let them think as effectively as the mother tongues of the Western nations.

The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis also appears to be based on the assumption that language compels its native speakers or in some way leaves no choice but to follow where its Semit-encapsulated-Fomits lead to, willy-nilly. This study posits that this view has no veracity. It is thus argued here that the Hypothesis distorts the true role of language in developing and enriching the human mind and experience through sharing the knowledge accumulated in different languages. So, 'development and enrichment' is empowerment of one's own thought to influence the thoughts of others. Language cannot thus influence **original** thought.

Essentially, the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis can be seen as a storehouse with a lot of ever-ongoing controversy. Since languages can mirror the cognitive faculty of the human mind, different languages can be understood as being the means of the externalization of the mental powers of their native speakers (see Langacker, 1987:11 ff). The Hypothesis might therefore be seen as having created a sense of linguistic inequality through unfavourable comparisons between the cognitive performances of Westerners and the native speakers of other languages.

I therefore assume that the Hypothesis fails to understand the real nature of language. Language can be understood as an initially accidental human discovery of associating some Fomit with some single referent to represent it symbolically for the purpose of communication. It may therefore be useful to decipher its real nature from the perspective expressed in the New Hypothesis.

The New Hypothesis is based on realty, not only because the original discovery of language had been based on two real phenomena-Fomits and Semits- but the same procedure is still used to bring out what we actually experience in our natural and social surroundings. It can therefore reveal the nature of language that it consists of Fomits and Semits. The following reasons can explain this basic principle.

Firstly, there are many different languages in the world. For example, Crystal (1987:284) gives the estimate of their number in the following words. 'Most reference books give a figure of 4,000 to 5000, but estimates have varied from 3,000 to 10,000.'

Secondly, native speakers of each language form Fomits or speech sounds into which to encapsulate concrete and abstract referents they come into contact with or experience. Then, they conceptualize them in their own ways. Furthermore, some Fomits, and their encapsulated referents of some languages may not be found in others.

The evidence for this can be provided by the Semit- encapsulated- Fomits, as conceptualized and accumulated in the vast literature of creative writings, and in the science literature found in languages such as English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Russian, or in the languages that are generally known as **standard languages**. Some of the concrete referents and concepts encapsulated in the Fomits of these languages may not be found, for example, in Amharic, Tigrinya, Oromo, Afar, Kiswahili, Wolof, Yoruba, Hausa, etc. However, this does not imply that native speakers of these latter languages are incapable of encapsulating those referents and concepts in Fomits. It may only mean that their native speakers have not thought in those lines and have not thus sought for ways of encapsulating them in the Fomits of their mother tongues, and so on.

Thirdly, the native speakers of those languages lacking the concrete referents and concepts in their mother tongues can get access to those concrete referents and concepts by either taking them as encapsulated in the native Fomits (which is called 'borrowing'), or encapsulate them into their own native Fomits (called 'coinage'). They may also choose to learn them entirely and make those languages their mother tongues. This is made possible, according to the New Hypothesis, because language functions on the Universal principle of encapsulating concrete referents and concepts into Fomits, and that native speakers of some languages can come by certain concrete referents and concepts unknown to, or unimagined by native speakers of other languages, thus presenting them with surprises.

Fourthly, when the languages with their current huge amounts of concrete referents and concepts in creative writing, and their literature on science and technology are compared with those that these same languages had accumulated two to three thousand years ago, it may help to assume that language may not have the power to determine, influence, constrain, or affect thought but may rather be thought of as facilitating the expansion of thought. Moreover, since what are now known as standard languages can be considered as extensions of other languages, Amharic, Kiswahili, Hausa, Bahasa Indonesia, etc. may grow fast in their accumulation of new concepts by taking them from English and the others. This is what the new Hypothesis is all about. This truth reality seems to have been revealed to Wierzbicka (1995:25) when she wrote: 'The conceptual worlds inhabited by different human groups are indeed not incommensurate and impenetrable to outsiders.'

It is therefore hoped that, with the New Hypothesis, the main aim of understanding the harmony of language and human nature will be arrived at. This is based on the assumption that language might have existed after its fortuitous discovery, and had also been used and developed by the then existing human groups. It might not therefore be difficult to imagine that those human groups and language had evolved into the currently existing more diverse human groups and languages. It might not also be difficult to further understand that that original language could serve as a rope that may tie all these diverse human groups into one. That is why a suggestion is made to replace the linguistic relativity principle, or the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, by the New Hypothesis to get a better understanding of the real essence of language, and its relation to humanity.

Moreover, the wrong active role of the weaker version of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis that language influences or affects thought is here found to be unacceptable. So, the mind can now be liberated from the **control** of language altogether. This does not, however, mean that the mind becomes devoid of language. It may only mean that language does not have the power or influence to control or limit the extent and depth of human thinking. It only means that humans can choose Fomits into which to encapsulate any kind of encountered and experienced Semits. The choice of Fomits into which to encapsulate any concrete and abstract referents can reveal the extent and depth of thinking that went into it. This can actually be noted when the process is

expanded and the Semits encapsulated in Fomits are externalized. And it is this means of externalization of Semits through Fomit that is known as language.

This new Hypothesis can therefore be said to be grounded in linguistic equality, the idea that all humans are equally empowered to use Fomits into which to encapsulate Semits for the purpose of communication. We can now understand that the diversity of languages emerged from that, maybe, original single language. We can further understand that it occurred due to reasons revealed by comparative historical linguists. So, the core thesis of the research is based on the principle that language may influence, affect or exercise any kind of control over the human mind **only when** speakers or writers **deliberately** and **intentionally** make use of it to carry out that **specific influencing function** on others.

In fact, this seems to confirm and verify the work of fields like advertising and propaganda. For example, the propaganda of the **cold war** had brought the downfall of the USSR and its satellites. The language that did it was designed to produce carefully concocted, enchanting or thought reformulation effects. This can be better understood by its effect on people, in the case of advertising, without their awareness[6]. In other words, this influencing function is applied when a speaker or writer purposely tries to persuade others to accept certain other views, for instance, to convert them to a certain religion, doctrine or ideology, etc. Such an influence, however, can be successful only when the receivers are logically convinced, willing, forced, or swindled to accept such views, ideology, doctrine or religion.

At this stage, it might be necessary to show the path the New Hypothesis takes in relation to the universalistic and relativistic approaches to conceptualizations. What might be needed from the outset in this relation, however, is to know that the ability to find Fomits, encapsulate Semits into them, and conceptualize what are encapsulated is the property of the human mind. Therefore, we can understand that this ability is what is known as being Universal. This ability does not thus belong to language-the end result of the process of encapsulating Semits into Fomits. This is because language is nothing else but **disembodied thought**.

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[6] This idea was brought to my attention by Matthew Conner, personal communication.

Thus, according to the Fomit-Semit frame, the mind first encounters referents of concrete substances and abstract phenomena. Then, it finds the necessary Fomits into which to encapsulate them for conceptualization. This ability is the natural endowment of all humans. However, it might also be necessary to know that this ability may not be used by all individuals and groups uniformly to produce identical results. So, just as human physiological structure is uniform but differences are seen in the structure of their genotype, phenotype and their height and weight, the way they encapsulate and conceptualize, and what they encapsulate and conceptualize, can vary from one human group to the other. Therefore, what opinions and ideas they form about concrete and abstract referents they encounter, and what Fomits they choose into which to encapsulate these concrete and abstract referents, the Semits, can be different from one linguistic group to another. Thus, thought **precedes** language. The mind can carry on thought without language. Thus, language is one of the means used to manifest what kinds of thought processes take place in the mind.

So, the New Hypothesis follows this new understanding of the relationship between language and thought. Thought is located in the mind, made by the mind, encapsulated into Fomits by the mind, and externalized through the Fomits. This is what is called language. Therefore, this man made instrument known as language is used for the externalization-internalization of thought and thought processes. It cannot be seen as influencing thought. **Thought** goes on in the mind, and the mind is the power that is responsible for bringing language into being. Furthermore, following this path of thought may help to understand that what humans make and create, and what they are able to externalize through language can be understood as being part of culture.

What might be of further interest is a more detailed explanation of how language came into being in the first place. I believe that this may solve the difficulty of seeing thought by isolating it from what is known as language. This is because I think the confusion arises at the very instance when we start thinking of **language** and **thought**. We should have known that thought exists inherently in language. The very idea of encapsulating Semits into Fomits can be understood as being **thought**. The other problem is how language is acquired, what the role of language is in the development of thought.

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Crystal (1987:288) explains how different people at different times have tried to trace the beginning of language to its first occurrence without success. I believe that languages came into existence as the result of a fortuitous incident. This incident might have occurred as the result of some speechless human being starting to focus on some single Semit. This absorbing focus might have created a strong desire to draw the attention of some nearby other speechless but able to think individual. It can be imagined that such an absorbing attention might have forced out the utterance of some Fomit with an immediate and accidental discovery of associating it with the Semit that pinned the observer's attention. Then, the realization and awareness of how important this discovery was for communication followed. Moreover, from the current linguistic situation, it may not be difficult to understand that children come into the world with a blank slate of mind with the readiness and ability to receive an already existing ready-made language -a huge number of disembodied thoughts to be re-embodied by the child for mental development and creation of new thoughts.

So, children come into the world with their blank slate of mind but endowed with a tremendous power to think. Thus, just as plants and seeds take root and grow up in rich soil, ideas provided by language (Fomits into which concrete and abstract referents are encapsulated) grow in the minds of children until they reach the stage when they themselves are able to create new and novel ideas of their own, provided that other things being equal. Therefore, it is possible to think that the **ability to think** is endowed by nature. This ability resulted in language. Language became an effective instrument created by thought that can be used again for further enrichment and expansion of new thoughts. It is therefore impossible to think of language determining or influencing thought because language, the carrier of thought, has been exposed to human ears and eyes in the form of speech and writing, ready to be scrutinized, analyzed, reshaped, changed, sharpened and manipulated at the will of the mind. This obviously makes the mind the manipulator and creator of thought, including the **idea** of **language**. It is again possible to think of thought being in control of language.

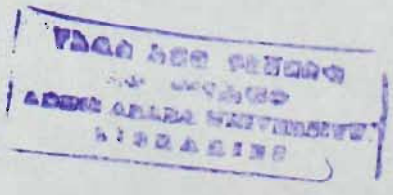
Any manmade object can be used to serve as an analogy for a further explanation to understand the relationship between language and thought. For example, a Kalashnikov is made by man. A person who holds this machine gun and knows how to use it properly can influence the behaviour

of another empty handed person. Similarly, a well informed person, a person who has mastery of a language and has accumulated a vast amount of knowledge can influence another person who is not in possession of such knowledge and other pieces of information. It can now be clear that people who know different languages carry differently formed and acquired pieces of information. Therefore, since different groups of people who live in different environments encounter different referents and concepts and encapsulate them into different Fomits, it does not seem logical to think that their mother tongue languages influenced or determined their thoughts. Moreover, what has just been said above can be supported by the fact that thought can exist in the mind without being externalized through language. That is why, it seems, that some people are heard saying that they could not find words (Fomits) to express the thoughts they have in their minds, because their thought is not yet well understood and has not therefore been encapsulated in some Fomit . Further evidence can also be provided by the difficulty of finding Fomits for the encapsulating technical terms for languages whose native speakers have not yet made advancements in areas of science and technology.

Now, it may be in order to look at some of the statements made by Sapir and Whorf themselves in the light of the New Hypothesis. Sapir (Mandelbaum, 1958:162) writes:

> Human beings do not live in the objective world alone or alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached.

As far as I am able to understand, Sapir seems to reflect a mixture of the principles of linguistic determinism, and linguistic relativity in the text given above (see Crystal, 1987: 15 for the distinction of the two principles). This mixture can be shown in a five-sentence paraphrase, each paraphrase followed by comments as presented below.



1. **A given society is under the control of the language spoken as the mother tongue** (the first statement).

This viewpoint reflects the principle of linguistic **determinism**, which has been rejected, for example, by scholars such as Hudson (1980:103), Keller and Keller (1996:115), Newmeyer (1988:16, 1986:137), Bolinger (1980: viii), etc. (see review of literature below).

2. Adjusting to reality without language can be unimaginable (the second statement).

This viewpoint is true. Its truth can be illustrated as follows. One can imagine being in a society where one cannot understand a single word of the language spoken in that society. This means, such a person has no way of accessing the Semits associated with the strange Fomits the person is exposed to. It may be possible to use what Sapir (1958:163-4) himself calls 'activities' that can be understood as being 'functional..., or as symbolic, or as the blend of the two.' The example he gives is 'shove open a door to enter a house,' or "knock at the door." He adds that the latter activity does not actually open the door but 'is a substitute for the more primitive act of shoving it open of one's own accord.' These kinds of activity, he adds, are 'the rudiments of what might be called language.' However, I think that these signs and activities might be used for some limited communication purposes but they cannot be considered to be adequate. It may therefore take a person in this situation a long time to 'adjust to reality.' This is because such a person might even be considered as being stupid, dumb, and alien and can be out of touch with what may be going on in the milieu, thus being marginalized by the society.

3. **Everything that can be seen, heard, touched, tasted, smelled, and cognized,** in other words, all Semits or what Sapir calls "the real world" **is based on** 'the language habits of the group' **without being aware of it** (7^{th} line).

The viewpoint expressed by this statement, here paraphrased literally, is related to the core concept of the Sapir- Whorf Hypothesis. It is believed that our **senses** put us in touch with everything **external to the mind**. The mind then begins to **understand**, **experience**, and

familiarize itself with that **world.** It is that world that is **put** into **Fomits.** The Fomits, commonly known as language, then represent concrete referents and **concepts**. This is because, as indicated above, such understandings and experiences, as well as concepts, do not remain hidden in the mind. They are disembodied through Fomits. What is disembodied in this way is what is called **language**.

Language can thus be understood as the phenomenon that made possible the presentation of the real **world** through the encapsulation of material objects and concepts into Fomits. This shows that the understanding, experiencing, and perceptualizing the real world took place before the encapsulation of the outcome into Fomits. To explain this analogically, the gun has to be made first (Fomits) and then loaded with bullets (Semits) before one picks it up and starts to shoot (speak, write.) However, we should never lose sight of the fact that something must have caused the making of the gun and the bullets. I think this is what Bolinger's book title '*Language: The Loaded Weapon*' (1980) indicates. Therefore, the act of understanding phenomena and discovering Fomits to encapsulate them into is the problem area that needs clarification.

The issue is whether the **real** world is based on **language**, or vice-versa. In accordance with the New Hypothesis, it is **language** that is based on the real **world**, and not the other way round. This is because the mind first encounters the real world, here represented by the Semits. It is impossible to get what is normally known as **language** without the **Semit.** What must be kept in mind in this connection, however, is that, after language (the loaded gun) came into being, it has also begun to serve as a means of internalizing knowledge and experience.

So, language can be seen as having two functions. It can **internalize** as well as **externalize** knowledge and experience**.** The extent and depth of the knowledge and experience we internalize and externalize can be understood as being proportional to the exertion of the cognitive faculty, and our efforts to acquire them. This means we need to really work hard to learn all the knowledge accumulated and stored in language over years in science, social science as well as in all other fields. Moreover, it might be necessary to keep in mind that all the products of modern technology, and the total knowledge humans have acquired in other areas so far are the products of a lot of hard work and dedication by very **intelligent** people, or by those who are, or close to

being **geniuses** in encapsulating Semits into Fomits (loading guns with bullets.) That is how we build up our awareness of the real world, and these cannot be said to be 'unconsciously built.' However, those that are 'unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group' may indicate the habits of those who pick up loaded guns and start shooting without hurting anyone by shooting at them or helping anyone by shooting at their enemies or dangerous animals. This kind of behaviour does not seem to require much thinking for the day-to-day, ordinary interactions.

Concerning the concept of 'consciousness', and 'unconsciousness' in relation to the genesis and evolution of language may need a little bit of elaboration here but will be treated in more details below.

For now, it may be enough to say that language can indeed be the product of consciousness, and cognition. Here, a distinction can be made between 'consciousnesses' and 'cognition.' Consciousness refers to the knowledge of the different kinds of phenomena surrounding us and being fully aware of their existence. Such knowledge and awareness can create a suitable condition for the cognitive faculty to take over and process the understanding of the nature of the phenomena when the need arises. It is possible to say that consciousness may draw attention, and that cognition enhances understanding. This means we were able, as human beings, to understand concrete referents and concepts that we come into contact with, and associate them with vocal units, or Fomits to represent them for the purpose of communication. It may therefore be difficult to imagine that such Fomit-Semit association for the purpose of communication could have been achieved without such consciousness and cognition.

Therefore, it is this kind of consciousness and cognition, as the result of **awareness** of the existence of realties surrounding us that helped create the means for their externalization. So, this can be understood as being closely related to **cognitive development**. It can further be said that it is this cognitive development that had brought language into existence in the first place. Once language has been made available in this way, its two functions of internalizing, and externalizing what can be experienced, grasped and understood by the mind has been made possible. This can be understood as an ever-ongoing process. What Sapir calls "the real world"

could actually have been what is consciously understood, and externalized through the means of consciously discovered, elaborated and used language.

This is because language can be understood as a complex phenomenon of human creation. It could be seen as being far from being the product of the **unconscious**. Once we have been able to be in control of it, we could use it to express things that fall within the conscious or the subconscious. The unconscious use of language, however, may lead to statements such as, for instance, the capital city of **Nairobi** is **Addis Ababa.**

Another essential fact about the 'real world' that Sapir is saying is 'unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group' may need to be further clarified. The real world is built up of natural phenomena. It may be difficult to tell whether what is 'built upon the language habits of the group' is actually the real world or not. I think that a real world cannot be easily accessible for a full and thorough understanding, but when it is 'unconsciously built' in the mind, the chance of its real nature accessibility becomes even far remote. This can in fact be understood as being the real problem humans have been grappling with ever since consciousness had been acquired and the use of language gradually discovered. It appears that the discovery of language was not an easy task. Some sort of rudimentary forms of 'language' might have begun a long time ago. Crystal (1987:291) gives results of some inconclusive scientific studies in the following words: 'There is general agreement on a time-scale from 100,000 to 20,000 BC for the development of speech.' In fact, the origin and nature of language is given full treatment by Otto Jesperson (1964) in CHAPTER XXI of his book

Even after some close understanding of the real world, it can be believed that language might not be an entirely dependable instrument to externalize what has been understood. What can be dependable is the persistent effort we exert to provide evidence for what can be put out through language. For instance, if some Ethiopian claims that Ethiopia had colonized Europe in 8000 BC, this person has used language to make a statement that is not true or real. This indicates that the vocabulary developed to ward off such statements is well motivated- vocabulary items such as 'liar,' 'dishonest,' 'untrue,' 'cheat,' false, unverifiable, unfalsifiable, etc. So, there can be no way of knowing that what language habits build up in the mind is the real world in its true natural or

false existence. What should be remembered, however, is that language can be used to express the fictitious, the real and the substantive, as well as the imaginative.

4. **Two languages cannot be adequately alike at all times to be regarded as externalizing corresponding social reality.**

This notion can be taken as a statement of fact. Different languages are different because their Fomit structures, the concrete referents and concepts encapsulated into them by different native speakers are different. The other truth based on this fact is that any difference in Fomits can entail structural differences. Such differences can thus be understood as the reflection of all kinds of distinctions between the social structures of the native speakers. This can be seen as the reflection of their cultural, physical, and environmental differences.

If we take the native speakers of Amharic, for example, some specific words are used to address elder sisters and brothers. A younger brother or sister may use one of the following words to address an older brother: **gašše** 'my shield,' **abbɨyye** 'my fatherly brother,' **wəndɨm gašše** 'my shield brother.' Similarly, a younger brother, or sister may address an older sister as: **ɨtɨyye,** 'endearingly, my sister,' **ɨtaləm** 'my sister world,' or **ɨtabɨyye** 'my flowerily sister'. By comparison, native speakers of English may use an altogether different system of Fomit-Semit structuring for the same purpose. What is universal is the use of the same albeit different Fomit-Semit structuring system.

Another example can be given from the rituals conducted in the Orthodox Christian church. On Sundays and Christian holydays, you go to 'kiss' the Church. This means, after arrival at the church, you prostrate yourself at the entrance and literally kiss the ground. Then you stand up and again kiss both sides of the door of the entrance. Then you enter the church and stand for nearly three hours to attend the prayers and chants conducted by the priests. At certain times, one has to prostrate oneself for several minutes before the end of the prayer. The prayer ritual is called **'k'ɨddase'**, and what one is doing is called **'mask'əddəs.'** These religious conceptualizations and practices may not be found among the native speakers of, for example, English, Hausa,

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Japanese, etc. This clearly shows that native speakers of different languages can conceptualize even such closely related phenomena differently.

By way of contrast, it is possible to look at, and compare what have been achieved in the areas of inventions, discoveries, and research as the result of which all the advancements made in modern technology, and in other fields of thought. These can be understood as being the products of the cognitive faculties of the native speakers of some languages, which have not so far been achieved by native speakers of say, Amharic. The English native speakers, for example, have therefore been successful in grasping, understanding, and conceptualizing those phenomena to widen their views of the world in their own way.

Thus, all Fomit distinctions made by all the different languages might reflect the world of phenomena the cognitive faculties of their native speakers might have been able to understand and encapsulate into.

5. **The natural environments inhabited by different people are markedly different and cannot simply be seen as being alike but only different Fomits are used to symbolically represent them.**

This last viewpoint is interesting. However, it is possible to imagine, taking the English and the Amhara as examples, how the landscape, the climate, and the sizes of the two nations differ. The same can be true of the social milieu. Even some natural and manmade phenomena such as 'climate,' 'country,' 'sky,' 'town,' 'road' etc. cannot be 'the same world (s) with different labels attached.' This is because native speakers of different languages can conceptualize them differently. Of course, there may not be equivalent Amharic Fomits for some of the man- made phenomena such as **drama, theatre, cinema**, **parliament,** etc. because the Amhara may never have thought about these things at all. So, the 'two worlds' can be different just as **Addis Ababa** is different from **London.**

What can be understood from this statement could, however, be that people inhabiting different corners of the globe cannot be seen as being different just because the land they inhabit is

different but they can rather be different because of the way they experience and grasp the referents of their environment, encapsulate them in Fomits and conceptualize them in a way that can make them different from other people.

The causes of such differences cannot be attributed to the differences of their mother tongues, however. This is because mother tongue Fomits externalize Semits that the cognitive faculties of their native speakers have perceived and encapsulated into them. And these cognitive faculties can be naturally expected to be different.

Now, it is a generally accepted view that Sapir and Whorf were responsible for the formulation of the Hypothesis but looking through their writings as presented by David Mandebaum (1958), and John Carroll (1956) respectively, it can be said that it was Whorf who contributed a lot to its creation. It might therefore be necessary to add Whorf's most quoted view to see how it fits with the New Hypothesis, as well as the understanding of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, and to provide some revealing picture to the background information.

> We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages. The categories and types that we isolate from the world of phenomena we do not find there because they stare every observer in the face; on the contrary, the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions that has to be organized by our minds-and this means largely by the linguistic systems in our minds. We cut nature up, organize it into concepts, ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way-an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language. The agreement is, of course, an implicit and unstated one, BUT ITS TERMS ARE ABSOLUTELY OBLIGATORY; we cannot talk at all except by subscribing to the organization and classification of data which the agreement decrees (Ibid: 213-4).

Whorf's views on language determinism can also be looked at from the point of view of the New Hypothesis as follows.

The first statement suggests that, first we come up with language, and then we might be able to examine the world in the way the language guides us to do so. The question now is: Which come

first into contact with human sensory organs, the Fomits, or the Semits (objects, and concepts) for the encapsulation process? For a further strengthening of this question, it can be asked in another way: Which came into existence first, the Fomits, or the Semits (the natural phenomena) that could be encapsulated? Logically, the objects and ideas must have come into existence first because Fomits are human productions. They may not, therefore, have been produced first and then Semits are searched for to be encapsulated into them.

Therefore, all the natural and man-made objects had their existence before they were experienced, grasped, perceived and then encapsulated into Fomits. After all this takes place, they could then be conceptualized and logically organized. So, would it be possible to say that these natural and man-made phenomena 'are laid down by our native languages,' in other words, by the Fomits of different languages? Can the Fomits have the power to determine what we encapsulate into them? The answer is negative. Moreover, the Semits do not also have any role in determining what Fomits they must be encapsulated into. All these complex symbolization and representation processes are carried out by the cognitive faculty of the mind.

I believe that Whorf was on the right track when he stated that 'the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which has to be organized by our minds' but went off track with his hyphenated statement '-and this means largely by the linguistic systems in our minds.' He went off track because, in accordance with my thesis, it is true: 'We cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do' during the experiencing, grasping, perception, and perceptualization processes, but **not after.** The phrase **'not after'** indicates the stage at which the understanding and perceptualizing of phenomena have been successfully completed and the results encapsulated in Fomits that are then known as **'Language.'** Further refinement of the conceptualization process can indeed continue, together with the manipulative process, thus deepening our understanding of Semits after encapsulation. It may also be possible to present Semits already encapsulated into Fomits to those who want to know about phenomena they are not familiar with. This is the principle used in education. What is known is imparted to those who don't.. This is because impressions are made by us, not by language, but we can express our impressions of any phenomena in language, i.e. in **Fomits.**

Fomits can have some kind of emotional effects as the consequence of their being part of natural and man-made phenomena such as water, beauty, music, and art, etc. Existing Fomits may therefore be cacophonous or melodious to the ears of some non-native speakers. Other than this, Fomits may not be thought of as having any influence on thought, let alone modify, or determine thought.

Following this, it may further be helpful to look at Crystal's cognition of the second principle (1987:15) 'that the distinctions encoded in one language are not found in any other language.' This can be understood as saying that firstly, the Fomits of different languages are **different from each other.** Secondly, it means that the phenomena encapsulated into Fomits of different languages are also conceptualized **differently from each other.** This means the same Semit encapsulated in different Fomits can also be conceptualized differently as the result of the differences in the cognitive processing by different native speakers. The Fomits of six different languages into which a single referent is encapsulated are given below to illustrate what this may mean.

English	German	French	Amharic	Oromo	Kiswahili
dog	**hund**	**chien**	**wušša**	**sǝre**	**mbwa**

As can be seen from the data, the same concrete referent is given differently structured Fomits by the native speakers of six languages. Moreover, these native speakers may also have conceptualized the referent differently. Many factors such as the cultural, the natural, the social environments, and frames of reference of native speakers might have caused these different conceptualizations of the same referent by native speakers of the six different languages.

Consequently, it can be realistic to think that what we virtually and habitually call 'language' is the Fomit or the encapsulater for the simple reason that the Fomits are what we actually encounter in reality. This is because the Semits cannot be seen in the Fomits. De Saussure (Ibid: 111-ff) appears to have faced the same problem regarding the relationship between the 'signifier,' (Fomit), and the 'signified' (Semit) and what to call their combination. He rightly states: 'To

prove that language is only a system of pure values, it is enough to consider the two elements involved in its functioning: ideas and sounds.'

As far as I can understand, the 'pure values' refer to the agreement made by native speakers as to what Semits must be encapsulated into what Fomits. The 'system' he is referring to, I believe, can be the result of the manipulative process that is applied to the Semit-encapsulated-Fomits, as will be explained more clearly below. The important question now, however, is: What is the sequence of their occurrence in the human mind? In other words, which one does the mind think of, seek out, or encounter first, the Fomit or the Semits? According to my theoretical framework, the mind first thinks of, or seeks out, or encounters the Semits first. Then, it engages itself in the finding of Fomits.

This procedure is actually verified by de Saussure himself (Ibid: 65) where he explains the '*Sign, Signifier, Signified*' (emphasis in the original.) First, drawings of a 'tree and a 'horse' are given. Then, the 'signifiers' (the Fomits) 'ARBOR' is given on the right side of the 'tree,' and 'EQUOS' on the right side of the 'horse.' He gives these examples to show the thinking of 'some people' that language is 'a naming- process only.' He does not seem to accept the fact that Semits precede the formation of Fomits for encapsulation. This is expressed in his own words as follows:

Such a 'conception' of language 'assumes that ready-made ideas exist before words; it does not tell us whether a name is vocal or psychological in nature (*arbor*, for instance, can be considered from either viewpoint) ; finally, it lets us assume that the linking of a name and a thing is a very simple operation---- an assumption that anything but true. But this rather naïve approach can bring us near the truth by showing us that the linguistic unit is a double entity, one formed by the associating of two terms.'

From the point of view of the Fomit-Semit framework, language is indeed initially a 'naming-process' which is similar to the **formative process**. It must take place before anything else follows. An important question now is: Is it correct to think that the 'naming-process' actually 'assumes that ready-made ideas exist before words?' In the first place, there cannot be any 'ready-made ideas.' Ideas are the results of the functioning of the cognitive faculty. Ideas cannot

be made by some external phenomenon and placed in the minds of people. Furthermore, a 'name' is definitely 'vocal' because it is produced by the vocal organs. It refers to Fomits. It is also 'psychological' because it is first heard by the auditory organ and the cognitive faculty begins to process it (to understand the Semit it carries.)

Again, how would it be possible to ever think that 'the linking of a name and a thing is a very simple operation?' The weight of this question can be imagined by taking it to the time when the human being was without speech. It must have taken the mind of a genius to carry out the first association of some Semit with some Fomit, or the encapsulation of some Semit into some Fomit. He thinks that taking this naming operation as being simple is not only false but also 'naïve' in 'approach.' Whatever the case, he confirms that the 'approach can bring us near the truth by showing us that the linguistic unit is a double entity, one formed by the associating of two terms.' What he meant by 'the linguistic unit' is 'the linguistic sign,' what we get as the result of the association of Semits with Fomits, or the encapsulation of Semits into Fomits.

Let us now bring in his conception of the 'linguistic sign' and compare it with the relationship of Semits and Fomits based on my frame to see which one can demystify the essence of language. He writes: 'The linguistic sign unites, not a thing and a name, but a concept and sound-image' (Ibid: 66) In accordance with my theoretical framework, his 'name' can only be my Fomit, his 'thing' my Semit. Accordingly, his 'name' can only be a Semit encapsulated into some Fomit. Since there cannot be a name without Fomit, a 'linguistic sign' cannot be understood as uniting a 'name' and a 'thing,' because the 'thing' is already encapsulated in the 'name.' It may not thus be possible to think that a 'thing' can exist outside the 'name,' in this context because my name, for instance, is some Fomit into which 'I' am encapsulated. In other words, I am associated with the Fomit. Moreover, Fomits cannot have 'images' but Semits can have an image, such an image being the understanding the cognitive faculty makes of the Semit in the mind. For example, my name can bring my image to the cognitive faculty of those who know me.

The next important question is what to call the Semit-encapsulated- Fomt, or the association of his 'signified with the signifier.' It appears that his problem is the same as mine. Following is how he understands the problem. He explains: 'Our definition of the linguistic sign poses an

important question of terminology. I call the combination of a concept and a sound-image a *sign*, but in current usage the term generally designates only a sound-image, a word, for example (*arbor*, etc.). One tends to forget that *arbor* is called a sign only because it carries the concept 'tree,' with the result that the idea of the sensory part implies the idea of the whole' (Ibid: 67.)

Let us now focus on terminology. Let us compare my terms, and de Saussure's terms with conventional usage as shown below.

my terms	**de Saussure's terms**	**conventional terms**
Fomits	Signifiers	Words
Semits	Concepts	Meaning
Semit-encapsulated-Fomit	Sign	Language

It can now be clear that the conventional terms seem to solve the problem. It further appears that my Semit-encapsulated-Fomit makes the beginning and nature of language clear to the mind, better than de Saussure's Sign. It can also now be argued that 'thought' had gone into the formation of language. 'Language' can therefore be understood as an already thought- carrying-Fomit and should not be given the role of influencing 'thought.'

What remains now is to clarify the relationship existing between 'word' and 'language' and to investigate how language can be seen as a system.

From the outset, language can be seen as making operational the sum total of words. What may need to be understood here is that words are not simply collected in one place when language is made operational. They are put in linear order. The cognitive faculty has created the way words should be used in accordance with what Semits need to be externalized during human interaction. This linear organization is what is known as a linguistic system. This system can be understood as the outcome of the manipulative process. Even though it is complex, the following example can be given as a simple presentation of our imagination of how its functions evolved through time, starting from our speechless ancestors.

Let us take the following words as the first ones that were made by few members of the speechless group: **animal, stone, hunger.** The first two Fomits encapsulate only what are seen and understood. The third encapsulates what is felt. Let us assume that one member of the group was very hungry, and he wants to tell the state he is in to his group. What we need to be aware of here is that thinking is going on here, thinking of a high calibre, considering the time and situation.

What was needed in that situation was the passing of information from one individual to another, and that part of the information required the taking of an action. The hungry person required some Fomit that can pass his hunger to the other. He had to say, 'I am hungry.' We can notice that every Fomit encapsulates some Semit. 'Hunger' required the use of '-y' to indicate the state the person was in, and not the cause of his state. Additional Fomits 'I' and 'am' required pointing at the speaker, and the expression of the state he was in. This cannot be considered as a simple kind of 'thinking' at that time.

What could have been the next step in the progress of communication of the time? It could probably have been: **Let us kill that animal with a stone.** So, a simple imaginary tracing of what went on in the mind of the utterer could be attributed to a strong urge to communicate. Notice the Fomits that are added: **let, us, kill, that.** All these Fomits encapsulate Semits essential for what the person wanted to impart to the group. This could be understood as the way language as a system might have been established.

To recapitulate the whole argument that referents are brought to the mind by the sensory organs first, we can use de Saussure's own reasoning. He has verified in his first topic: '*Language as Organized Thought Coupled with Sound*,' (Ibid: 111, emphasis in the original.) Now, his understanding of the relationship between Semits and Fomits hinges upon the Semit of 'Coupled.' According to the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (7th edition), the verb ' to couple' means 'to join together two parts of something, for example, two vehicles or pieces of equipment: *The two train cars had been coupled together*. CDTV uses a CD-ROM system that is coupled to a powerful computer.' It may also mean 'to link one thing, situation, etc. to another. *Overproduction, coupled with falling sales, had led to huge losses for the company.*' So, the first

meaning shows physical contact of the two things that are joined together. In the second sense, the two things have no physical contact but they occur at same time to result in something altogether different from each one of them.

Now, would it be possible to understand what kind of thing thought is before it is encapsulated in Fomits and externalized to the outside world? According to de Saussure, 'Psychologically [it]... is only a shapeless and indistinct mass' (Ibid.) The basic question now is: is it really? My answer is negative because everything surrounding us is brought to the mind through the sensory organs. The mind then begins to understand them, to see how they are structured or organized. It may not indeed be difficult to think, in this connection, that the human species had lived without language for a certain period of time. It is further possible to think that the mind could not have been idle during the whole of that period when there was no language. The discovery or invention of language, the idea of using Fomits to encapsulate Semits (thus hiding them from the sensory organs) must have solved the problem of human communication. After this invention, ideas would not remain hidden within the mind. Thought began to be expressed in Fomits. Would it be logical to conclude that the pre-language human thought was 'a shapeless and indistinct mass'?

Now, would it therefore be possible to conclude that the **cause** of the encapsulation of Semits into Fomits is 'language?' Would it then be possible to further conclude, in the light of this argument, that language influences thought? Therefore, the Fomit as a Semit carrier does not determine thought, nor does the Semit do anything of that sort after encapsulation. The Fomit can only be seen as a **means** discovered by humans for conveying what concrete or abstract referents their minds can grasp and understand. What is understood in this way is made ready for encapsulation for the purpose of externalization. What is experienced, grasped, and understood is thus revealed to others. Native speakers of certain languages carry on this process in ways different from native speakers of other languages.

What might need to be emphasized here is that having different Fomits and encapsulating into them the same referent by different languages need not be still understood as language influencing, or determining thought. This is because thought precedes encapsulation. How do we know this? We know this from experience. For example, did people first come up with the Fomit

'**COMPUTER**' and then proceed to build the computer, or did they first come up with the concept of the computer and then set out to build it? It is also possible to understand that conceptualization can take place before or after referent encapsulation in a Fomit, as indicated above. This can be further illustrated with the following example from English and Amharic.

Amharic and English belong to two completely different language families. Let us take the example given above 'dog'- the domestic animal close to humans. The origin of the English Fomit is not known. The Amharic Fomit appears to have been obtained from languages of the Cushitic family. In Sidama, Kambata, and Haddiya, the word (the Fomit) for 'dog' is **wušiččo,** with slight variations in pronunciation. Why the Amharic speakers preferred this Fomit, to the Semitic 'kalb' to which Amharic is supposed to belong, is not also known.

Now, whether this animal is called **dog, mbwa, wušša, wušiččo, kəlb, chien or hund** does not change the nature of the animal, even though their sizes and colours might vary. This idea in fact falls in line with what Gumperz and Levinson (1996:1) called 'a strand of robust common sense that insists that a stone is a stone whatever you call it.' The relevant idea would rather be to know the differences of ideas, thoughts, and opinions associated with the animal by the native speakers of the six languages –how the English and the native speakers of the other languages think of, and view the animal. Taking the Amharic and English speaking people as examples, it can be of interest to look at few connotative meanings associated with the animal for some illustrations.

From a simple observation, it is possible to understand that Amharic speakers do not allow dogs to come near any member of the family. Dogs are supposed to protect households. In the countryside, they are usually allowed to stay outdoors freely, always sticking around being alert to guard the homestead. They are expected to be ferocious and protective by barking threateningly violently to drive off any stranger approaching the homestead. In the cities, the tough ones are kept in chains and let loose only at night. Nobody may be willing or be allowed to touch, or caress dogs to whatever type they belong.

The English speakers, on the other hand, consider the dog as a member of the family. They are allowed to touch and caress it, or (him?) It is a pet, or even a friend. Children love to play with dogs. It is said that they even share beds with them.

Few expressions related to the dog can be given as examples from both languages to show how different ideas can be associated with the dog to express different thoughts. In English, they say '**give a dog a bad name, let sleeping dogs lie**' whereas in Amharic, they say, **bə wušša hod k'ɨbe ayadrm** 'Butter will not stay overnight in a dog's stomach.' This saying is used to describe the character of a person who spills the beans steadily.

wɨšša bəbəllabbət bet yɨč'ohal 'A dog barks where it eats.'

This Amharic saying highlights the fact that all a dog needs is to be fed well, not caring whoever the master is. This means that it is possible to stand for, and defend those who pay and take care well of someone even though they may not be principled.

At this stage, it may be necessary to indicate that the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis is grounded in the idea that the Semits encapsulated in the **Fomits** of non-Western languages are inferior, and that the **Semits** of Western languages are encapsulated in distinctly structured (Whorf uses 'calibrated') **Fomits** that **cannot be** successfully structured by speakers of other languages. What this may mean is that the Semits encapsulated into the Fomits of the different non-Western languages can be inferior because language determines thought ('language,' in this context, meaning Fomits.)

However, the view upheld here is that concrete or abstract referents **cannot be changed** by the means of their transport –the **Fomits.** They can only be thought of **differently** by native speakers of different languages (i.e., by those using different Fomits.) What the Fomits do is simply carry thought during the interaction of interlocutors. As pointed out above, since what we virtually and habitually call 'language' is the Fomits, they do not influence thought. Thought is 'encapsulated' into them. So, what the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis compares is the thoughts of native speakers, the **results** of the **power** of their **cognition**. Inevitably, native speakers of different languages

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conceptualize referents differently. For example, it is easy to see that 'democracy' is understood and conceptualized differently by native speakers of different languages throughout the world.

What is focused upon and argued here is that Fomits do not influence thought. They are only carriers of thought. They can be compared with all means of transport designed to carry different kinds of loads. The means of transport such as airplanes, cars and ships empower us to move fast from place to place. In the same way, Fomits empower us by serving us as encapsulaters of our thoughts for internalization and externalization. They cannot, therefore, be thought of as influencing our thoughts.

Some illustrative examples to support the view that Fomits do not influence thought can be found. The six differently structured Fomits representing six different languages for the referent 'dog' given above can serve as evidence that Fomits have no role in influencing how this animal is conceptualized by the six different native speakers.

Let us take another example from the metaphors of emotion. In Table 5.3 below, the English linguistic expression *Tears welled up in her* is used to show the effect of 'anger' or 'sadness' on the body. When this is translated into Amharic, it can be expressed in two ways:

1. **ɨmbawa tənk'orəzəzə** 'Her tears are hanging, ready to fall.'
2. **ɨmbawa dub dub alə** 'He tears fell, drop by drop.'

Interestingly, the first Amharic expression indicates only sadness while the second expression can show both anger and sadness. When the second expression is used to show the physiological effect of anger, it indicates that anger is welling up inside the angry person. This example can show that Fomits do not influence Semits and language cannot therefore be said to influence thought.

Some of the assumptions of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis are that it is the grammar of different languages that can influence thought, rather than the Fomits representing single concepts alone, which is also wrong. The reason is that grammar can be understood as a process found at the

manipulative level. As can be understood from experience, words can be manipulated to express concepts previously unknown to native speakers.

However, what may be changed can be the **conceptualizations** of the referent cargo. The nature of the Fomit is such that it lends itself to manipulation to transport what can be supposed to be **truth** and **reality,** or all other **ideas** of focus to the **cognitive faculty** of receivers by adhering to the structuring rules and conventions assigned to them by native speakers of individual languages. It may therefore be logical to think that some native speakers might have developed better manipulative skills of Fomits than others to encapsulate lots of referents with concepts that might not be found in the Fomits of other languages. This does not, however, mean that some native speakers cannot encapsulate referents and the concepts encapsulated in the Fomits of other languages in their own Fomits, and are, therefore, **'influenced'** by the Fomits, or Semits of their mother tongues. It may only mean that they may not have been **interested** in those referents or experiences and created concepts for them, or they may not have **encountered** the referents or ideas in real life in the first place, and so on.

Another aspect inherent in this thesis is the fact that once referents are encapsulated in Fomits and conceptualized in certain ways, it might be possible to use the 'product,' commonly known as '**language**' to influence the views of listeners or readers (see, for example, the appendix to George Orwell's novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, the B vocabulary).

In fact, a whole book is written and published by Lutz (1996) on how language can be manipulated to manipulate other people's views in this way. For example, his first sentence (p. 92) hits the nail on the head: 'In the semantic environment of law, no can mean yes.' So, Fomits carrying different cargoes can be manipulated to create new ideas. They can also be used to develop all our endeavours of **intellectual activities**. Such developments, however, may depend on the **power** and **strength** of cognitive faculties, and the **imagination**. They may also depend on intellectual and cognitive **efforts.**

1.7. Other perspectives

1.7.1. Pinker's questions

Pinker (2005:45) after having discussed the ideas presented in the appendix of the novel written by George Orwell (*Nineteen Eighty-Four*), asks the following relevant questions:

> Is thought dependent on words? Do people literally think in English, Cherokee, Kivunjo, or, by 2050, Newspeak? Or are our thoughts couched in some silent medium of the brain – a language of thought, or "mentalese" - and merely clothed in words whenever we need to communicate them to a listener? No question could be more central to the understanding of the language of instinct.

The last statement is worth agreeing with but the answers to Pinker's questions can help to show the falsity of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis and the veracity of the New Hypothesis. The answers to his questions will therefore be attempted one by one immediately below in the light of the Semit-encapsulated- Fomit frame.

The answer to the first question (Is thought dependent on words?) is 'no.' Thought is independent of words because thinking went into the creation of words—through the discovery of the usefulness of encapsulating Semits into Fomits (words) for the purpose of effective communication and thought manipulation. So, after the formative process, it has been possible to think and bring about new thoughts following new ways of thinking using the artifacts of the product of thought, the Semit encapsulated Fomits- the traditional lexical items. In this connection, what can be added is that thought is the product of the mind, the power of the cognitive faculty even without being an expert in how the brain works.

The answer to Pinker's second question (Do people literally think in English, Cherokee, Kivunjo, or, by 2050, Newspeak?) can also be 'no.' The reason is that, for example, both Tony Blair and Bertrand Russell speak English natively. Their thinking, however, can be different in substance and mode. In other words, it can indicate the extent and dimensions of their individual cognitive faculties. This idea is graphically elaborated by Keller and Keller (1996:115) as follows: 'Mental

activity occurs in diverse modes. Language, imagery,[7] sensorimotor representation, and emotion are among the forms in which ideas can be constructed, manipulated, and revised.'

What makes Pinker's third and last question (Or are our thoughts couched in some silent medium of the brain - a language of thought, or "mentalese" - and merely clothed in words whenever we need to communicate them to a listener?) even more interesting is that again he postulates an idea which can be similar to the proposition of language as being a mediator between the Semit and the Fomit (Chafe, 1970:15).What is important here is to know that what he calls 'the language of thought' is what is here called Fomit, and cannot be "mentalese" as he put it. Mentalese can only be understood as being the power of the cognitive faculty. There may not be any mysterious language (Semit- encapsulated-Fomit) called "mentalese" embedded in the brain to manifest itself in some unknown medium which is different from the well established Semit-encapsulated- Fomit. It can therefore be of further interest to note that the nature of the brain that had made the acquisition of the existing Semit- encapsulated- Fomit (language,) or the making of a new one possible has not been fully understood.

In this connection, Chomsky, who calls it "innate schemata" adds: 'For the present we cannot come at all close to making a hypothesis about innate schemata that is rich, detailed, and specific enough to account for the fact of language acquisition (1965:).' Interestingly, Lakoff (1987:463) says that "mentalese" is 'usually called a *logical form* or *semantic representation*-where the symbols are taken as being internal representations of external reality' (emphasis in the original.) In actual fact, it would have been clearer to my mind had Lakoff said '-where the symbols are

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[7] The following can be an example of some imagery I have been able to create using the English language.

Last week, I had time to fly to the sun, and land in some corner without having been changed into a gaseous form by the celestial body. Luckily, I found a safe place to stand on. Then, all of a sudden, I saw an elephant in space, the size of which no human being had ever set an eye on. It was much bigger than the earth itself. To my surprise, it was flying towards ***mother earth****. I was even more amazed because, as soon as it reached the earth, it put it on its back, darted and started to fly at twice the speed of light. It was out of my sight within a period of time I cannot now remember or even try to imagine. I do not think I will ever remember or tell now how long that was. Interestingly, the moon was watching the whole episode with surprise. What was even more interesting was that some stars were hastily dodging the elephant as it approached them. Then, I thanked God that I was standing at a safe place!*

taken as being "external" representations of "internal" reality.' This is because the external representations can be understood as representing disembodied thought.

The cognitive faculty can thus use the Semit- encapsulated- Fomit (words, lexical items) put in place during the formative process to show different or even novel ways of thinking through conventionally established albeit constantly variable system. However, it should now be clear that different languages create and structure different Fomits into which to encapsulate identical, similar or different Semits. Moreover, it might be important not to lose sight of the fact that native speakers of different languages do not only come up with different Fomits for encapsulation, but the Semits could also be seen and encapsulated under different frames of reference. All these can now be shown with illustrative examples from the data of the Amharic and English metaphors of emotion in Chapters Five and Six.

1.7.2. The views of other scholars

Since the relationship between language and thought is the central theme of the thesis, the views of four prominent scholars, Chomsky, Whorf, Vygotsky, and Piaget are presented below, respectively, to give more clarification to the presumed relationship. The views of these scholars are taken from Owens (1988:142) as follows, illustrated with figures but which are omitted here:

1. Language and thought are independent but related abilities.
2. The quality of thought is determined by language (linguistic determinism).
3. Thought initially precedes language but is later influenced by language.
4. Language is both based on and determined by thought (cognitive determinism).

In accordance with the argument of this thesis:

1. Thought, the attributive quality of the cognitive faculty can exist without language. Language cannot exist without thought that made it possible. Thus, cognitive abilities can be the attributes of thought, not of language.
2. This has already been rejected.

3. This may have to do with what is here referred to as the 'formative, and the manipulative processes.' If by 'influenced' Vygotsky meant 'thought cannot be expressed without language (Fomit)' he might be partially right to some extent but this does not mean Fomits can limit, constrain, or influence the mind from thinking freely in any way. Again, this aspect of the discussion is well treated by Keller and Keller (Ibid: 115-129.)
4. This is acceptable and goes in line with the ideas of the New Hypothesis because, as has already been emphasized, language is disembodied thought.

1.7.3. Jenkin's views

Objective one can be elaborated more with another short discussion of the question and answer posed by Jenkins (1969) as reported by Owens (Ibid: 144).

What is the relationship between thought and language?

1. Thought is dependent on language.
2. Thought is language.
3. Language is dependent on thought.
4. None of the above. Or perhaps, all of the above. (Ibid: 212)

The correct answer, according to Jenkins, is

> "all of the above." Stated another way, Lindsay and Norman (1977) concluded that "as his capacity to communicate symbolically develops, language and thought become so inextricably intermixed it becomes almost impossible to separate" (Ibid:437).

In accordance with the basic idea of the New Hypothesis,

1. is wrong because it is language that is dependent on thought.
2. is correct because language is disembodied thought, embodied in Fomits.
3. is right because it is thought that brought language into existence.

Two more interesting and apt views can be added on the language-thought relationship. The first one is Pinker's view. He writes (Ibid: 57):

> People can be forgiven for overrating language. Words [Fomits] make noise, or sit on a page, for all to hear and see. Thoughts are trapped inside the head of the thinker. To know what someone else is thinking, or to talk to each other about the nature of thinking, we have to use-what else, words! It is no wonder that many commentators have trouble even conceiving of thought without words- or is it that they just don't have the language to talk about it?

The second one originally comes from Labov's research. It is reported by Trudgill (1974:55.) In accordance with Trudgill's presentation, 'a fifteen-year-old lower-class American Negro boy' was interviewed on the colour of God. The boy speaks only the 'restricted code.' What he was asked, however, was a quite abstract idea. The following shows the result of the interview.

> *Interviewer:* Jus' suppose there is a God, would he be white or black?
> *Boy:* He'd be white, man.
> *Interviewer:* Why?
> *Boy:* Why? I'll tell you why! Cause the average whitey out here got everything, you dig? And the nigger ain't got shit, y'know? Y'understan'? So-um-for in order for *that* to happen, you know it ain't no black God that's doin' that bullshit.

Without any interference with the New Hypothesis, and the idea of this thesis, this interview brings out what can influence the cognitive faculty in addition to the various factors given above. Economic inequality, injustice, and segregation can create ideas such as what went on in the mind of the black boy. His answer proves that it is not English that influenced his answer. English has not also restricted what he wanted to say. He was able to express what he felt by manipulating whatever Semit-encapsulated-Fomit he possessed during the formative process.

1.7.4. The heart of the problem

One of the heart of the problems with the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis and the focus of this thesis are related to what is stated by Lindsay and Norman as shown above: 'language and thought become so inextricably intermixed it becomes almost impossible to separate.'

Such thinking appears to be the result of confusing the relationship between the Fomit and the Semit. So, in accordance with the conceptual framework of this thesis, what can be thought of as

being 'intermixed?' Can they be the **Semits** and the **Fomits**? Fomits can be produced under the command of the brain in the mind. The Semits can be understood by the cognitive faculty in the mind with the support of the sensory organs. Both the Semits and the Fomits are not naturally found in the mind. According to the conceptual framework presented here, therefore, the gap between the Fomits and Semits is filled by the cognitive faculty because what associates the two is the power of the cognitive faculty in the mind. Can this power of the cognitive faculty be understood as being 'intermixed' with the Semits, with the Fomits, or with both? From the Fomit-Semit point of view, can they be said to be 'intermixed?' The answer to the first question is that it does not mix itself with each one of them or with both of them at the same time. It rather embodies itself in both matters to facilitate its own generation as an invisible power with unlimited effects. The answer to the second question is that Fomits and Semits cannot be understood as being intermixed because they are only associated by the cognitive faculty. So, Semits and Fomits cannot be 'intermixed' when Semits are known to be encapsulated in Fomits by the brain in the mind. This discussion will continue later in the literature review.

1.7.5. Verification

So, how can we verify the claim that the New Hypothesis has more explanatory power to show that the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis is wrong? As an example, the pride metaphor of Amharic, **lɨbbu abbət'ə** 'His heart swelled' (Table 5.21, no.4.) can show this. (See 6.1.7 below in the data interpretation section for details.)

1.7.6. Some questions

Now we come to the basic question. Is it **Amharic** that could have influenced all the expressions shown in Table 5.2.1 below to be metonymic? By the same token, is it **English** that limited all the expressions to metaphor? The answer expected from the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis is positive. The answer of the New Hypothesis, however, is negative. Why? It is because, thought, the power of the cognitive faculty, went into making the placement of concrete or abstract entities into Fomits during the formative process. This power and process cannot be ignored because it is not a trivial matter. Of course, the two languages can have differently structured Fomits for the same

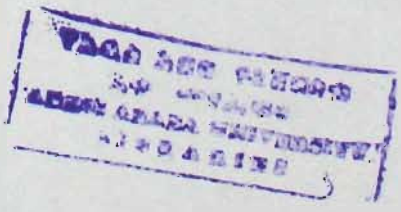
Semits. That can be one of the reasons why they are different. Logically, then, if their native speakers can structure Fomits differently, what can prevent them from conceptualizing something abstract and something concrete differently and develop different manipulative strategies? Nothing can do so because cognitive power can neither be willingly influenced nor controlled by anything so easily.

Moreover, an even more basic question can be: How can linguistic diversities be understood?

The short answer to this question can be: They must be understood as being different Fomits produced by the human vocal apparatus. Moreover, we need to further understand that the Fomits of different languages are different but not empty. They need to be understood as carrying some Semits not found in our mother tongue Fomits. Furthermore; we need to understand that different languages manifest their differences in the utterance and structuring of Fomits differently. We need not also lose sight of the fact that these Fomits naturally become unfamiliar to native speakers of other languages. They do so in spite of the fact that they are used to encapsulate referents, events and abstract phenomena in similar ways. We also need to know that the differently structured Fomits encapsulate Semits that may be conceptualized in some partially similar or totally unique ways when compared to Fomit structuring and Semit conceptualizations of our mother tongues.

Lack of awareness of these facts can create problems. Differences in Fomit structuring of utterances can create various attitudes towards the Fomits of other mother tongues. One domain of negative attitudes towards other mother tongues can be understood as stretching into the principle of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. As the result, its proposition can also be understood not only as trespassing but also as degrading or elevating the cognitive faculties of the native speakers of different languages.

Data from other kinds of complex metaphors can also be used to show such attitudes. Therefore; attitudes towards Fomits of other mother tongues can be metaphorically explained using drinking



utensils and what they are used to drink with as source domains and target domains, the utensils representing Fomits, and the drinks Semits.

Normally, what is important to most people is the **drink.** Nevertheless, to some other people, the types of materials and shapes and sizes of the drinking **containers** can also be, to some extent, important. But what is fundamental here is the realization that both the containers, and the drinks themselves can vary from society to society.

A brief focus on the drinking containers can demonstrate revealing facts. For example, the traditional Amhara drinking utensils are made from clay, oxen or buffalo horns, or even from gourds. What is drunk cannot be seen in these utensils. They are called **wanč'as**, and **šɨkkɨnnas** and may nowadays probably be found only in some remote countryside. Now, what would the English think of, and react to, these **wanč'as** and **šɨkkɨnnas** if they were offered wine poured into them? In other words, what would they feel if we replaced their 'dog' with '**wušša**?'

A similar focus on what is drunk can bring out similar attitudinal results. The English are accustomed to drinking wine, beer, champagne, whisky and other similar types of drink. What if they are offered drinks such as **t'əlla** (some intoxicating drink made from fermented cereals,) **t'əj** (another intoxicating drink made from honey,) and **arək'e**, or **katikala** (another drink made by distillation) in **wanč'as?** It may not be possible to predict their exact reactions.

Nevertheless, similar reactions can be expected when they are exposed to the Fomits of Ethiopian languages spoken in their presence without their participation. Their reactions towards the Fomits of Amharic and other Ethiopian languages, when encountered for the first time, may not be expected to be positive. If they are not told what Semits are encapsulated in the Fomits, they may simply find themselves inundated with floods of Fomits when they hear native speakers engaged in heated conversations. This can usually be painful, uncomfortable, or may even be unbearable. This is because they cannot have access to the Semits as they would to the drinks served in **wanc'as**. But if they can be made familiar with the Semits, and if they are willing to know, however, they may begin to brighten up a bit, and may gradually come to begin

to appreciate the phenomena the Fomits are made to symbolically represent by the native speakers. What would they do next?

They might probably begin to compare the Fomits of the Ethiopian languages with the Fomits of English. For example, some Amharic Fomits can be encapsulated with insulting or cursing Semits such as **afər bɨla!** The English can be at a total loss at first hearing. The Amharic native speakers may then begin to reveal to them that the Amharic insulting or cursing Fomit does literally encapsulate the English Semit of 'Eat soil!' Then they may continue to explain further to the English native speakers that the Amhara native speakers believe that a person eats soil when dead and buried instead of thinking that his dead body is 'eaten' by the soil itself. So, the Amharic Fomits seem to have encapsulated what may be somewhat equivalent to the Semit of the English Fomit 'Drop dead!'

The Amharic native speakers may then add that another similar Amharic insulting or cursing Fomit is **yansah**! This one literally carries the English Semit 'Let [God] lift you up!' The Amharic native speakers may again explain to the English that they believe that the soul of a dead person goes to heaven, which they believe is high up in the sky. The Amharic insulting or cursing Fomit may therefore be understood to have encapsulated the English Semit 'Let God separate your soul from your body and take it up into the heavens' where God is believed to dwell. How would the English native speakers react to these Amharic Fomits encapsulating such insulting or cursing Semits?

It is believed that something like the following idea may occur to them. 'Oh! It may be difficult to imagine how one would think this way.' Or they might say 'It is interesting to know how people who speak different languages think.' This is believed to be a normal human reaction. But what would the Sapir- Whorf Hypothesis say?

It would say that it is Amharic and the grammar of Amharic that set the minds of the Amharic native speakers to think in the way. They are ordained to do so by Amharic. Amharic is the cause of their coming up with this sort of Fomits into which to encapsulate such insulting and cursing Semits! The New Hypothesis can, however, be used to explain that those thoughts occurred to

the native speakers of Amharic during the formation of the Amharic Semit-Fomits and not after the creation of Amharic

Another relevant question is: Can the differences be attributed to Fomits, Semits, or something else?

This is an important question. It is closely related to Langacker's worry about whether a linguistic analysis should be 'natural' or 'unnatural.' He writes: 'I regard a description as natural to the extent that it deals with data in their own terms, with full regard for the richness, subtlety, and complexity characteristic of linguistic phenomena' (1987:13.)

His views are logical and acceptable. However, in accordance with the theoretical frame of this thesis, questions arise on two of the terms his uses. What are 'linguistic phenomena'? Which of their features are filled with 'richness, subtlety, and complexity'?

It appears that the answers to these questions can now be provided without any confusion based on the theoretical framework of this thesis. Accordingly, **linguistic phenomena** can only be **Semits** and **Fomits**. So, it can be understood that the distinctions of these terms are well motivated from the point of view of the description and presentation of what 'units' are by Langacker (Ibid: 57.) In fact, his understanding of units further fits well the conceptualizations of the **formative** and **manipulate processes,** which is fortuitous because it is provided by a seasoned linguist such as Langacker (Ibid) that it deserves a full presentation.

> A **unit** is a structure that a speaker has mastered quite thoroughly, to the extent that he can employ it in largely automatic fashion, without having to focus his attention specifically on its individual parts or their arrangement. Despite its internal complexity, a unit constitutes for the speaker, a "prepackaged" assembly; because he has no need to reflect on how to put it together, he can manipulate it with ease as a unitary entity. It is effectively simple, since it does not demand the **constructive effort** required for the creation of novel structures. Psychologists would speak of a "habit," or say that "automatization" has occurred.

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The 'internal complexity' Langacker is referring to needs some explication. No Fomits can be seen as complex in isolation. The complexity of Fomits can be articulated with the complexity of Semits. But can Semits be complex? In order to answer this question, we need to understand that no Fomits can be valid without 'hiding' some Semits within them. Just as the capsules of modern medicine, they can tease the mind by their bare appearance. Let us take the Fomit **New York City.** We can see no complexity in the Fomits. The Semit, however, can be complex when the size, the complex infrastructures, and the buildings of the city are considered.

These kinds of concrete Semits such as New York City can be reached by the mind easily. What about the cognitive understanding of 'democratization?' It can be assumed that this Fomit carries within it some complex Semit process. It may not be easy to make it locate, in exactly the same way as the Fomit of 'New York City,' the real essence of **democratization** in the minds of all those who know English.

So, the characteristics of richness, subtlety, and complexity can apply to both the Semits and the Fomits. Semits represent the entire natural phenomena surrounding us. The Fomits symbolically represent the entire colossal universe. We need not, however, forget the fact that we deal mostly with the Fomits in linguistic analysis. It is probably to the Fomits that Langacker attributed those characteristics. As to the question of artifactuality and naturalness, it is believed that what can be artifactual can only be the Fomits, not the Semits, except for some abstract phenomena such as 'happiness and democracy' and concrete phenomena such as 'computers, ballistic missiles' etc. Semits such as 'mountains, cows, and Ethiopians', however, are indeed natural.

The distinction made between Semits and Fomits can make the description of language not only easier but can also fulfil Langacker's wishes which he expressed a bit earlier as follows 'naturalness is something to be desired in a linguistic description.'

The use of Semits and Fomits can also solve the problems Langacker presented later. He writes: 'Almost everyone would agree that the *drive* of *drive a nail* and *drive a golf ball* are related, but what about *drive a car*?' He then cites lots of other similar examples.

The problem connected with this kind of situation is that we can hear the Fomits as phonetic matters and see them as graphic matters but we cannot see and hear the Semits in the same way when we are doing linguistic analysis because they can be far removed from us and the Fomits at hand. What we may need to remember in this regard, however, is the fact that no Fomits figure in language without the representation of Semits.

If we focus on the example given by Langacker, is the relationship he is indicating (*drive a nail, drive a golf ball,* and *drive a car,*) the relationship between Fomits, between Semits, or between Fomits and Semits? If he is referring to the Fomits (represented by graphic matters in this case,) then what worries him is the use of the same Fomit (**drive**) to represent different activities of Semits. The use of same Fomits could be due to economy but native speakers have no problem understanding what Semit activity each represents. If he is referring to the Semit activities occurring naturally, it is possible to see it this way. If one stands by and witnesses the activities of **driving a nail, driving a golf ball, and driving a car**, there is no way of being confused. They stare the on looker in the face.

So, in accordance with the theoretical framework and the claims of the New Hypothesis, then, the differences in the conceptualization of not only of emotions but also of all other referents can be attributed to all the factors mentioned above, and not to **Fomits** representing **Semits**, or **Semits** represented by **Fomits.** What can interestingly be noted in this connection is that the Fomits **unload** their **cargo** in the **mind** as soon as they are heard or seen and **disappear** without being noticed.

Finally, it is interesting to know how native speakers of different languages differ in their discovery and conceptualizations of phenomena in general, even phenomena other than the metaphors of emotion, despite the claims of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. A case in point is the absence of Fomits in English into which to encapsulate concepts of Semits which native speakers of Amharic have discovered and for which they have been able to find Fomits as the following examples show:

English	Amharic
full	**mulu**

not full	**godəlo**
hollow	**kɨft**
opp. of hollow?	**dɨfɨn**
[skai] sky	**səmay**
----------	**muday** 'a very small box made of basket for keeping women's jewellery and other trinkets.'

So, the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, either in its weak or strong version, has no place in the Semit-Fomit frame. So, it is assumed that the native speakers of English may not have any idea of what a **muday** is. Therefore, the idea of finding some Fomit for its encapsulation had not occurred in their minds. English women might therefore be fascinated by the idea of having one if they so desire. It can also serve as an example of what is meant by the idea of one language being the extension of the other. Would English ladies, if they are interested in the Semit **muday,** also adopt the Amharic Fomit or find a native one for its representation?

This comparison of **Semit-Fomit relationship** and sequences of occurrence can be ended with the following view from Wierzbicka (1995:21-23) who rightly notes: 'we don't have to turn to "exotic" languages and cultures to find evidence of different ways of conceptualizing and categorizing human experience.' In fact, interestingly, she provides ample evidence from European languages to show how they conceptualize '**emotion**' differently.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.0 Racism

Interestingly, as noted in the background, I was able to find some trace of Whorf's racist impression in the literature. For example, Cameron (1999:155) states: 'critics like Steven Pinker and Geoff Pullum charge latter-day Whorfians not only with ignorance but also with ***racism'*** (emphasis added). Newmeyer (1986:137) writes: 'Many of its factual claims are simply incorrect; furthermore, when carried to its logical conclusion it may well have some socially undesirable-perhaps even- ***racist-consequences'*** (emphasis added). He further adds that 'neither he nor his followers have approached Western and non-Western languages on an equal basis. If they did do so, if they looked for relationships between English or German language and culture in the same way as they have for Hopi and Shawnee, they might have been led to some self-evidently absurd conclusions.' Stubbs (1997:361) states: 'The Sapir-Whorf version(s) of linguistic relativism were in fashion in the 1940s and fifties.' He then adds: 'They then went very much out of fashion, and seemed indeed to have the racist implication that different groups of people might have different cognitive capacities determined by their different languages.'

In actual fact, the racist undertone of the hypothesis has been spelt out by tracing it right to its very inception by Kay (1984: 65-79) as follows:

> THE DOCTRINE OF RADICAL LINGUISTIC RELATIVITY is to be understood historically as a reaction to the denigrating attitude toward unwritten languages that was fostered by the evolutionary view prevalent in anthropology in the 19th century. Subsequently, the research of Boas and his students showed these languages to be as systematic and as logically rich as any European language, and it was perhaps inevitable that the latter finding should spawn a doctrine on non-European languages and cultures antithetical to the evolutionary view. If this doctrine of radical relativity has led to certain excess of its own-in that the valid instance on the integrity of each linguistic system has led to an underestimation of their common structural features-we should not forget that it nonetheless supplied a needed corrective to the ethnocentric evolutionism it replaced. Indeed, outside of certain rarified academic milieu, the

> early relativists' battle for a rational and unprejudiced view of our non-literate contemporaries is not yet won.

In fact, in accordance with Gumperz and Levinson (1996:1-2), the traditions of the German romantics led Humboldt to institute the idea of 'a unique *Weltanschauung,* "world view," *in* each language,' **which** can be thought as having planted the seed of racism. Then, they make the following statement that can be understood as permeating through the linguistic relativity hypothesis. 'The original idea, variously attributable to Humboldt, Boas, Sapir, Whorf, was that the semantic structure of different languages might be fundamentally incomprehensible, with consequences for the way in which speakers of specific languages might think and act.'

What can be of interest here is that 'the semantic structure of different languages might be fundamentally incomprehensible' to whom? It cannot definitely be 'incomprehensible' to the native speakers?

Gumperz and Levinson (Ibid: 3) further indicate the racist undertone prevailing during conquest and colonialism, where there were 'ruminations on the role of language in perceived cultural superiority.'

A more recent manifestation of some similar undertone of racism is reported in Lucy (1992:210) where Bloom is said to start an argument to prove that there is some weakness in the cognitive faculty of reasoning by the Chinese. He is reported to have begun his argument with what he noted about the Chinese way of thinking. They 'had difficulty with counterfactual questions.' It is said that he used anecdotes and experiments to prove his hypothesis that this difficulty can be attributed to 'the structure of the Chinese language.'

2.1 Linguistic differences

After having discussed the fact that different languages such as, for example, Eskimo have different words for snow, and that this idea was first thought about by Whorf for his linguistic relativity principle, Stubbs dismisses the whole idea on the grounds that it is common for different disciplines and professions to have special words to be used in those specific activities.

The important points he mentions are (Ibid: 363) that having many words for snow is not so much striking when the words of skiers and mountaineers for snow are considered, that people engaged in some specific professions such as cooks, and linguists have their own technical terms. He further notes that the idea of thinking that only some linguistic groups can be in possession of specific words is a ' myth' which may persist for some time because it has been imprinted in the minds of people by some linguists and often taken as something serious. It can also be understood as an instance of how language can be used to produce a certain kind of effect on the minds of people. Furthermore, such a fake belief has spread among people with its racist undertone. He then concludes his idea by a warning that a discussion of the relationship between language and thought, especially when the languages of far away unknown populations are used as illustrations, need to be considered cautiously and seriously before they are accepted as being true.

Moreover, it need not surprise anyone that speakers of different languages can 'think and act' in different ways. Furthermore, it might be **very important** to bear in mind that they do not only 'think and act' differently but they may also encapsulate those differences in **Fomits**. Language exposes cognitive **powers** through the Fomit .The phrase 'the semantic structure of different languages' is similar to Whorf's 'new principle of relativity' (Carroll, 1956:214), where he posits that the native speakers of these languages cannot obtain this picture 'unless their [languages]...can in some way be calibrated.' This sounds like saying that the Semits, and the Fomits into which to encapsulate them are made in ways that can make them inaccessible as well as incomprehensible to the native speakers of languages other than probably German, or those that belong to the Indo-European language family.

As far as I can understand the phrase 'can in some way be calibrated' might mean all of the following things:

1. The mother tongue Fomits of certain groups of people might have been structured in some specific and special ways.

2. This group of native speakers might have also been able to form complex and sophisticated ideas to conceptualize referents in unique ways, in ways that are not only totally inaccessible but also incomprehensible to native speakers of other languages.
3. They might have then been able to make sure that those ideas and concepts are encapsulated in some specifically and uniquely structured and readily manipulable **Fomits.**
4. They might have then been able to also use these specially structured Fomits and their uniquely conceptualized and encapsulated **Semits** to express ideas and referents that cannot be thought of, conceptualized and encapsulated in the Fomits of any other native speakers and can, therefore, be inaccessible to others.

This gives the impression that the Fomits such as those found in the Indo-European family are consciously and intelligently structured in such a way as to place and firmly encapsulate genuine, accurate, real and unmistaken picture of the universe in the cognitive faculties of their native speakers. This view of language, however, appears to ignore the fact that **all people are equally capable of conceptualizing Semits and encapsulating them in Fomits**. Fomits can thus be made and used to encapsulate all new ideas and concepts encountered by native speakers of any language.

What can be added here is that the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis appears to be not so well understood. When first encountered, it seems to mean that speakers of different languages are forced to think in the direction their particular language guides them to. However, interestingly, Slobin (2003:157) indicates that the whole mass of accumulated literature on the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis is concerned mainly with finding out about 'the influences of particular languages on nonlinguistic cognition **in situations in which language is not being used, overtly or covertly'** (emphasis in the original.) This view of the Hypothesis leads to the asking of two questions: Does this mean we have to find ways of how humans thought before the discovery of language? If this is not possible, is there a way of going 'behind' language to the innermost of cognition to find out how we think?

The key concept is found in 'nonlinguistic cognition.' In relation to this, Slobin in fact makes the following suggestive statement: 'anthropologists, psychologists, and linguists have sought to

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relate grammatical and semantic systems of a language to the world view or epistemology or culture of the community of speakers of the language.'

This means cognitive processes in which language is not involved might be thought to be similar to the 'imagery' adequately described by Keller and Keller (1996.) This article is actually about how we can carry out certain activities without resort to language but which cannot be achieved without cognition. This again implies what manipulates language itself is the cognitive faculty whenever and in whatever way necessary. Nonlinguistic cognition can therefore be understood as the phenomenon that can precede and follow linguistic cognition, the power that creates language, and manipulates it to create new ideas.

Heine (1997:10-14) has some perceptive presentation on the idea of universalism versus relativism. In accordance with his view, 'structural complexity and diversity' can be 'explained with reference to the extralinguistic forces that determine the shape languages take.' He gives a further discussion of linguistic relativism in connection with 'spatial orientation' which he categorizes into '*deictic orientation, object deictic orientation, landmark orientation'* and '*cardinal orientation.*' Interestingly, research on Balinese spatial orientations was made by Wassmann and Dasen (2000:689-711) who showed similar inclinations in favour of moderate relativism when they asked the right questions and gave the right answers. This seems to be contrary to the formative and manipulative processes that shape Fomits to represent cognitively understood phenomena thus showing that language has no role in influencing thought.

Hill (1988:15) seems to come close to the Fomit-Semit frame in the statement: 'Linguistic determinism is a hypothesis which proposes that the forms of language are prior to and determinative of the forms of knowledge and understanding. That is, human beings could not imagine a kind of knowledge which was not encoded in their language. Linguistic relativity suggests that there are no *a priori* constraints on the meanings which a human language might encode, and these encodings will shape unreflective understanding by speakers of a language. Fishman (1982) has noted the importance of a 'Whorfianism of the third kind:' an ethical linguistic relativism, which insists on the value 'little languages' like Hopi as precious contributions to the totality of human understanding.'

The part Slobin presents as being what anthropologist, psychologists, and linguists have been doing is again interesting. On one hand, what is **sought after** is nonlinguistic cognition, and on the other hand, what they wanted to do was 'to relate grammatical and semantic systems of a language to the worldview or epistemology or culture of the community of speakers of the language.'

Again, using the theoretical framework of this thesis, the key concepts are encapsulated in the Fomits 'grammatical and semantic systems.' These terms refer to Fomit structuring. What is important to bear in mind here is that the structuring of Fomits are representations of the cognitive understanding of Semits. What is more, speakers of different languages may use different Fomits and may also structure them in ways completely different from each other or maybe similar to each other and thereby reveal their cognitive processes. A simple example can be used to show what is involved in this situation.

In Amharic, a package of activities can be expressed in a single verb. This is made possible by the fact that Semits can be represented by consonants but activated by vowels (see Hailu, ibid.) For example, as the example given above-**gəddələ** 'He killed'- the consonants **l-m-n** bear the Semit 'beg.' When vowels are used, a single activity but involving verbal and body activity Semits come out as: **ləmmənə** 'He begged.'

What might appear to the native speakers of English complicated can, however, be seen when a package of activities are shown using the same consonants but using more vowels for the activation to show that even more than one person can be involved. The case in point is: **alləmamənačəw** to mean:

(1) 'He helped them to beg.'

(2) 'He made them beg each other.'

So, in accordance with Slobin's suggestion, the Fomit structuring (grammatical structure) and the Semits they represent (semantic structure) reveal the cognitive processes that went on during the formative and manipulative processes, and that these are what can be seen as being distinct from the English mode of cognition. What appears to be implied by this argument is, however, the

claim that the grammatical and semantic structures of their languages influenced them to think in this manner. The argument of this thesis is, however, that the thinking went on before the creation of Fomits (language) for externalization and it is wrong to say that language influenced thought. The Fomits 'grammatical and semantic structuring' appear to implicitly suggest that they went on in 'nonlinguistic cognition.' Grammatical structuring can indeed be understood as 'Semit understanding.' Such an understanding can be exemplified by the verb **kill** and **kill-ing.** It appears that this kind of understanding went on in the mind which can be referred to as the nonlinguistic cognition.

Such non-linguistic cognition seems to be responsible for the differences in grammatical structuring of different languages. It is this difference that Whorf claims influences the thoughts of native speakers of different languages differently. In this relation, Yule (1985:196-7) makes some apt comments: 'Whorf claimed that the Hopi Indians of Arizona perceived the world differently from other tribes (e.g. the English- speaking tribe) because their language led them to do so. In the grammar of Hopi, there is a distinction between 'animate' and 'inanimate', and among the set of entities categorized as 'animate' were clouds and stones. Whorf concluded that the Hopi believe that clouds and stones are animate (living) entities and it is their language which leads them to believe this. Now, English does not mark in its grammar that clouds and stones are animate, so English speakers do not see the world in the same way as the Hopi. '"We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages."'

Yule's following point, which he acknowledges he got from another scholar, hits the nail on the head regarding the inaccuracy of Whorf's claim (ibid.) 'A number of arguments have been presented against this view. Here is one from Sampson (1980). Imagine a tribe which has a language in which differences in sex are marked grammatically, so that the terms used for females have specialized markings in the language. Now, you find that these 'female markings' are also used with the terms for *stone* and *door.* We may then conclude that this tribe believes that stones and doors are female entities in the same way as girls and women. This tribe is not so unfamiliar to you. They use the terms la *femme* ('woman'), *la pierre* ('stone') and *la porte* ('door'). It is the tribe which lives in France. Do you think that the French believe that stones and doors are 'female' in the same way as women?'

Slobin[8], in another paper, points out that there is no problem with the idea that language and thought 'interact.' He then indicates that the huge disagreement lies in the idea that 'each specific language has its own influence on the thought and action of its speakers.' Then, after having pointed out how fascinating it is to know how languages differ from one another, comparing them can bring to light their 'universals' and '**particulars**' (emphasis in the original) which may be understood as revealing their similarities and their uniqueness. Following this, he explains that 'it is so difficult to pin down effects of a particular language on a particular thought pattern, this issue remains unresolved. It comes in and out of fashion and often evokes considerable energy in efforts to support or refute it.'

Slobin did not stop here in this paper. He delves into the discussion of relativism and determinism, the two thorny problems of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. He then gives different examples from English and Turkish to show how they differ in their indication of past action Semits, from Navajo in the choice of verb Semits depending on the shape of an object, and from Korean verbs showing the relative ages of the speakers or hearers. He then indicates that this led to the notion of some languages being 'exotic' when facts about them were encountered by linguists and anthropologists and were presented and shown adequately. He adds that such data provided the 'grist for the mill of linguistic relativity.'

So, he then continues to indicate that defenders of '*linguistic determinism* argue that such differences between languages influence the way people think- perhaps the ways in which whole cultures are organized' (emphasis in the original.) Slobin then wonders how 'such bold claims' can be supported by evidence other than confining the thought to each specific language. Then he states: 'human thought and action are overdetermined by an array of causes, so the structure of language may not play a central causal role' (Ibid:2.)

Swoyer (2003) reveals a sharp understanding of what is commonly known as the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis but which he says is 'sometimes called the *Whorf-hypothesis* or the *Whorf-Sapir hypothesis*' (p.1, emphasis in the original.) He says that 'large differences in language lead to large differences in experience and thought,' and that 'each language embodies a worldview, with

[8] http://www.sladc.org/fields/index.php?aaa=lang/?thought.htm Accessed on 26.10. 2004

quite different languages embodying quite different views, so that speakers of different languages think about the world in quite different ways (ibid).' What is even more fascinating is the distinction he makes between the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis and the linguistic relativity as follows: 'the label *linguistic relativity,* which is more common today, has the advantage that makes it easier to separate the hypothesis from the details of Whorf's views, which are an endless subject of exegetical dispute (Iibid).'

Following this, he makes two distinctions: 'Interesting versions of the linguistic relativity hypothesis embody two claims:

> **Linguistic Diversity:** Languages, especially members of different language families, differ in important ways from one another.
> **Linguistic Influence on Thought:** The structure and lexicon of one's language influences how one perceives and conceptualizes the world, and they do so in a systematic way (ibid).

From these two claims, he makes the following conclusions relevant to my thesis.

> Together these two claims suggest that speakers of quite different languages think about the world in quite different ways. There is a clear sense in which the thesis of linguistic diversity is uncontroversial. Even if all languages share many underlying, linguistic universals [**Fomits**] there are often large differences in their syntactic structures and in their lexicons. The second claim is more controversial, but since linguistic forces could shape thought in varying degrees, it comes in more and less plausible forms (p.2).

Henceforth, for convenience, I wish to make the use of 'word' to be restricted to the representation of **Semit-Fomit**. This means, a 'word' continues to carry its old sense except that in this context, it needs to be conceived as being a Fomit into which is encapsulated single referents such as '**dog, book, sky**,' etc., including added Fomits to show that they are more than one, and everything else.

So, concerning the scholar's use of the 'underlying, linguistic universals,' since the word 'underlying' makes the Semit mysterious, the concept of 'Semit-Fomits' will make what is wanted distinct and clear. Similarly, I suggest that 'Fomit-Semit structures' be used instead of

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'syntactic structures and lexicons.' When these suggestions are applied, the expression can appear as follows. 'Even if all languages share many Semit-Fomits, there are often large differences in their Fomit structures which parallel native Semit understandings.'

Inevitably, the scholar's statement concerning the controversial claim also needs to be commented on. His use of 'linguistic forces' may create a big problem. According to my theoretical frame, the word 'linguistic' can only mean 'of Fomits.' So, what kind of forces do Fomits have? However, if the scholar is using his words in the sense of Semit-Fomits (words,) again, how can we categorize the Semits in the Fomits as being 'forces' unless he is suggesting the 'neurological base' Kodish (2000-2004 :383) said language has? The Semit of 'atomic bomb' can indeed be a big force but what force can we see, for example, in 'milk'?

Another way of looking at it is from the point of view of Kodish (Ibid: 387.) He uses his childhood saying to show the effect of language on the nerves of individuals when it is manipulated with the intent of producing that kind of effect on others. He presents the saying he knew during his childhood as follows: "Sticks and stones can break my bones but words can never harm me." However, from experience, words can indeed be harmful when they are intentionally chosen and directed towards others to make them annoyed or nervous. Kodish describes such effects as follows: 'neuro-linguistic factors, i.e., *words with the associated neuro-evaluative processes in each of us*, can play a harmful, sometimes quite toxic role in our lives' (ibid. emphasis in the original.)[9]

The other problem is the idea that these 'forces could shape thought in varying degrees.' Once again, this idea does not conform to my theoretical frame. This is because, whatever 'forces' Semits have may acquire them when the cognitive faculty conceives them before encapsulation during the formative process. This fact rules out the chance of the Fomits shaping thought in whatsoever manner. If the 'shaping of thought' is thought to be occurring during the manipulative process, it can only come from external manipulators and does not apply to the

[9] Interestingly, in Amharic, they say there are some people who know Geez and who have learnt words that can have some concrete effects. Usually, they are learnt by heart and recited orally for a certain effect. For instance, if some domestic animals such as donkeys are lost at night, these words are recited to protect them from hyenas. The hyena is simply incapacitated and cannot even touch them.

entire population of native speakers. Moreover, since it is the native speakers that first shape their thoughts before they encapsulate them in Fomits, in accordance with my thesis, thought precedes the coming of language into being. Language cannot therefore shape thought unless it is manipulated.

Again, concerning the relationship between language and thought, Chandler (1994: 1) points out two theories: 'the mould theories' and 'the cloak theories.' Then, he cites their definitions from another scholar. '*Mould theories* represent language as 'a mould in terms of which thought categories are cast' (Bruner et al.1956, p. 11.)' He adds, '*Cloak theories* represent the view that 'language is a cloak conforming to the customary categories of thought of its speakers (Ibid.).'

It is now possible to show how much difficulties and misconceptions are made less cumbersome by the introduction of the Fomit-Semit frame. Accordingly, it would be much easier to understand that the 'mould' seems to refer to Fomits into which are encapsulated ('cast') Semits, and the 'cloak' are also Fomits with their encapsulated Semits but what is important in this connection is that they adhere to the Fomit structuring corresponding ('conforming') with their native 'categories of thought.'

Alford (1995) who seems to support Whorf strongly argues that Whorf never proposed either the strong or the weak version of the hypothesis named after his name. So, he points out that the 'effect' of the entire mass of literature written against the hypothesis named after him can be understood as aimed 'primarily to throw up a smoke screen around his ideas.'[10] What is interesting, however, is the description of what the scholar says he is going to say in his next lecture. Following is his presentation:

> 'You see, early in this century, that 'uncertain' Heisenberg was among the first to gain a 'glimpse' into the subatomic world; and, having done so, he rendered his opinion that, regarding the subatomic realm, "we have reached the limits of our language." He said this for two reasons:1) no matter how Western scientists talk about electrons, protons, neutrons, quarks, etc., when we look into that realm there are no 'things', only processes and relationships;

[10] http://www.enformy.com/dma-ls0.htm downloaded on 22.10.2004.

> but in order to make sense (i.e., complete sentences) in SAE languages, we need NOUNS-and there's nothing in the subatomic realm that you can, except willy-nilly, attach nouns to. And 2) given that, our most fundamental scientific terms such as 'same' and "different" are useless. He didn't then, and physics doesn't know now, whether there are gazillions of electrons or just one Electron with gazillions of manifestations. We have reached the limits of our language.'

This can be a suitable example of the Fomit-Semit frame. Since it is inevitable that we reach the Semit first, and then shape it somehow (i.e., understand it, categorize it, etc.) then we look for Fomits. In this case, the scientist declared that he has reached the limits of his language because there was nothing clearly understood after the limit of that particular realty, that nobody has yet found Fomits in which to encapsulate it.

Cameron (Ibid.) adds more information to what the above scholar said. Her major argument is that Whorf was targeted as a 'dissenter' by main stream linguists and a whole mass of criticism was directed at him. She puts the reason in the primarily controversial question: 'what if our ways of perceiving and understanding the world are determined by the structures of the languages we speak?' She even wonders 'whether his opponents have created a 'straw Whorf' because his 'crude linguistic determinism is easy to refute.'

Then, she directs attention to a graphically expressed idea: 'The idea now conventionally attributed to Whorf-that languages influence, shape, or at the extreme, determine what reality is for their speakers-is among the Big Ideas of the twentieth century.' Interestingly, she concludes her discussion with a contentious comment, 'Perhaps this controversy will never be settled because we do not want it settled.' However, what I suggest is that it might be possible to settle it if my New Hypothesis is properly understood, accepted and applied.

It could be of interest to present the contribution of Mcworher (2003) whose views can throw light not only on the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis but also on what became Langacker's worry referred to above, as well as what happens when the manipulative process is made fully operational.

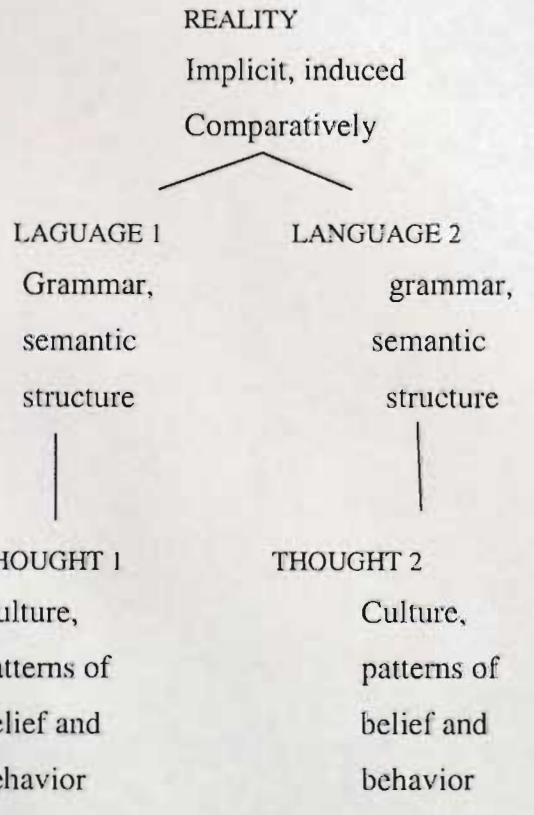
> Abley listens to a Mohawk speaker talking about the word KA'NIKONRIIO, "righteousness." The speaker says "You have different words. Something that is nice. Something coming very close to—sometimes used as a word for -- law. The fact of KA'NIKONRIIO is also –beautiful. Or good. So goodness and the law are the same. "Abley muses" I had the impression that a three-hour philosophy seminar had just been compressed into a couple of minutes."
> Abley's intentions are good, but I can't help wanting to ask him "OK—explain precisely how the semantic range of that word will illuminate your life, and / or please delineate for me just how you would construct a seminar on KAN'IKONRIIO that would stand alongside with Kant?
> I know we are not supposed to "go there." But then, let's take STAND. You STAND on a corner, you STAND rather than sit, you STAND up. One can STAND pat—even in an argument. That is, one can STAND up for a thesis, the point can STAND to reason, one can STAND firm on it ,STAND down dissenters, and when unrefuted ,the point STANDS, although the debate may also end in a STAND-off. We extend that meaning to say that something cannot STAND, and when we are not inclined to let something STAND we cannot STAND it. One person STANDS in for another; a symbol can STAND for a concept. Something noticeable STANDS out. And then when we probe deeper, STAND even lurks sheltered in longer words and seasons their meanings—we underSTAND an idea, we with STAND a threat. Then STAND even crosses the line between verb and noun, becoming what we might call a guiding spirit pervading the language. A persistent person may finally make their last STAND .People sell food at STANDS. To performers especially in the old days, a stay in one town was a STAND. You watch a ball game in the STANDS. And then one even hears of STANDS of trees. And STAND tucks itself into other nouns as well –one may have a unique bodily STANCE, or a STANCE upon an issue of the day.

This interesting data show how a single Fomit of a single language can be used to represent more Semits in addition to the core Semit.

Finally, the literature review can be concluded with views from some scholars known for their current interest in the study of linguistic relativity. For instance, Lucy (1992:257) explains that it was Boas who first put forward the idea that 'languages implicitly classify experience in diverse ways,' and that Sapir continued to say that 'these language categories could shape a person's

view of reality.' Such interesting thoughts are said to have reached Whorf's mind to put forward his own thought which 'clarified the operation and significance of the systematic interrelations among language categories and provided the first empirical evidence of effects on thought' (Ibid: 57-8.)

Lucy then says that the actual data used by Whorf were obtained through the comparison of the Fomit structures and the encapsulated Semits of two languages. He then gives what he calls 'Whorf's formulation of the linguistic relativity hypotheses as shown in the following figure (figure11, Ibid: 259.)





As can be seen from the figure, 'REALITY' can clearly be understood as representing the Semits, all the natural and social environments of the native speakers of the two languages, and the results of their role in shaping the beliefs and cultures of native speakers. The difficulty may be in getting the exact senses of the Semits encapsulated in the Fomits 'implicit, induced.' *The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* gives the meanings of 'implicit' as 'suggested without being expressed, forming part of something (although perhaps not directly expressed), or

complete and not doubted.' For the verb 'induce' the same dictionary gives the meaning as 'to persuade or influence, or to cause.' So, which of the three Semits are we expected to take for the Fomit 'implicit?' If we take 'suggested without being expressed,' this is expected to happen when native speakers are faced by the realty (the Semits) surrounding them, but how can it be understood as suggesting itself without being expressed? Or, does it indicate the time of understanding realty by native speakers before the idea of using Fomits into which to encapsulate Semits? Or, does it suggest that reality presents itself completely without hiding itself from native speakers?

Now, when we come to the second Fomit 'induce,' do we take the Semit 'persuasion' or 'cause'? Naturally, it may not be possible for native speakers of any language to be 'persuaded' by reality (natural and man-made environments) to form ideas about it. So, maybe what is expected is that it may 'cause' native speakers to conceptualize it in some way, i.e. force a certain mode of its own conceptualization on them? Maybe it is this latter understanding of the Semit of 'induce' that led to the formation of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis?

However, it is now clear that the Fomits of different languages are different. So, Lucy's LANGUAGE 1 and LANGUAGE 2 are definitely expected to have different Fomits. While it is true that Fomits can be structured, Semits get their structures either naturally or artificially. Therefore, it is during the formative process that Fomits get structured (understood) and the cognitive faculty ensures that their structuring (understanding) goes parallel to the Semit structures, eg. English: do, did, book, books, and booking.

Amharic: **bəlla** 'he ate,' **bəllač** 'she ate'

məblat 'to eat,' **mɨgɨb/məbɨl** 'food'

So, Semits 'guide' the formation of Fomits, and as to the differences of Semit-Fomit structuring of two different languages, the data just given from English and Amharic can be seen testifying to that fact.

So, ways of life, natural and social environments, frames of reference, and the freedom of thought in all directions, makes it possible for native speakers of different languages to

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encapsulate different thoughts in different Fomits. It is therefore possible to give examples from Oromo and Amharic to illustrate this fact. Such comparative methods appear to be more effective than other methods such as experiments, or looking for concepts that are present in one language but not in another.

The following lyric from Oromo can serve as an example of Oromo way of life, and their frames of reference which may not figure in other languages.

silaa duun inaftu yaa nafsi **jaano addati mari bira darbi**
since dying inevitable is oh soul jano on the forehead wrap and by pass
'Since death is inevitable, wrap jano on his forehead and pass

When I asked a few native speakers what this Oromo lyric means, they seem not to understand it at first but when they are told what it means, they began to appreciate it, get surprised and say that it is a rather sophisticated expression. However, the meaning is grounded in the Oromo ways of life, and reveals their social, psychological makeup, and customs. Such natural data are what may be used to disprove the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. Experiments and other kinds of concocted methods may take us far from the cognitive faculty responsible for the manipulation of language to express thoughts in the way native speakers lead their lives. A brief description is given below to highlight the basic features of the Oromo lyric.

In Oromo society, it is customary to carry a strong stick, slender but thick enough to fill the grasp of a male hand. It is long but must not be too long to be higher than the height of the carrier. It is used as a weapon by the Oromo. It is carried wherever one goes. It is customary to expect a fight to occur along the way, especially when people are drunk. The stick is called **dulla.**

Fighting with a dulla requires some expertise just as European skill in the use of the rapier in the old days. It can be considered a shame to an Oromo man to be easily hit with a dulla of his opponent. He must be able to defend himself with the art of what is known as **k'oləčču,** which may mean something like 'fending off.' This means he must be able to defend himself from being hit by using his dulla as a shield. This requires some skill of fast movement and watchful

eyes to see to which part of the body the dulla is directed. He must be ready at all times to place his own dulla between his opponent's dulla and his body so that the whole thrust of his opponent's dulla falls on the dulla. He must then attack fast enough before the opponent is ready for another assault. This is a simple description of the sense in which the expression is used. It means hit your opponent so hard that blood will gush out and cover his entire forehead –'wrap a jano around his forehead.' The 'jano' a red strip of cloth is metaphorically used to represent blood.

The lyric is sang when different groups are engaged in farming activities, or are celebrating holidays and one group feels another group intends to fight it. It is sung as a warning to the group having such an intention.

It may now be seen how distinct this mode of life of the Oromo is from the English or Amhara mode of life. Passing any kind of judgment on their linguistic expressions of their life can be seen not only as a kind of trespassing but also as showing lack of interest in the way native speakers think and express themselves.

Another simple example can be given from Amharic. The Amhara used to worship their kings like God. So, they have a saying which goes:

səmay ayttarəs nɨgus aykkəsəs
'The sky cannot be ploughed, a king cannot be indicted.'

This saying is found in Amharic and may not be found either in English or in Oromo. All that is needed is learn this mode of thinking by learning Amharic or by trying to understand what the nature of the matrix of its expression is.

One other example can be given to illustrate that language does not influence thought but can rather be thought of as a means of bringing out how individuals think, and what they can think of a given idea, whatever the language. Thinking is thus an activity that is carried out freely, unless it is suppressed by some external power. Let us look at the following illustration to understand what is meant by all this.

Suppose some extraordinary object comes flying from outer space. Peasants, mullahs, clergymen, gurus, scientists, workers, educators, linguists, etc. may ask: What is it? Where does it come from? Who sent it, God or man? As could be expected, each one of them will give different answers. It may not be necessary to even guess what their answers may be like. What is relevant is that their mother tongues may determine neither the substance of their answers nor the differences between their answers. The substance of their answers may be determined or influenced by the power of their cognitive faculties, their education, their experiences, their endeavours and interest to develop it through their mother tongues. The differences in their answers can further be explained in terms of the extent of the Semits their Fomits have been made to encapsulate. By now, these might be clearly understood as being the products of their cognitive faculties, their spiritual and material cultures. Language can consequently be seen as an instrument for making as well as externalizing ideas and thoughts.

Some scholars provide lexical evidence taken from single languages to show what is supposed to be the characteristic evidence for the principle of linguistic relativity. One such scholar is Kay (1996:97) who starts by arguing that 'it is dangerous' to conclude that, because speakers of different languages talk about the same Semit in distinct ways may also conceptualize it distinctly. This is because they may or may not do that. He further argues that such distinct ways of thinking can take place when people speak about the same Semit in their own mother tongue.

The evidence he gives for two distinct languages is taken from road signs in Brazil: *Entrada São Jose* versus *San Jose Exit.* As can be seen, the Semit expressed in both languages is identical. The difference lies in the conceptualization of the reason for the exit from the freeway. In the English expression, you exit from the freeway because, if you continue, you cannot get to your destination. In the Portuguese expression, you exit because you have come to the road that takes you to your destination. Does this prove the grammatical structures of the two languages influenced their thoughts? Kay does not think so. Neither do I.

Kay (Ibid.) in fact provides more examples of this nature from English *screwdriver*, and German *Schraubenzieher* ('screw puller'), and French *tournevise (*'screw turner').The main point is that the common Semit is the instrument for loosening or tightening screws, whether you drive them,

pull them out ,or turn them. To Kay's surprise, however, in spite of such apt examples, several attendants 'expressed the idea that his example had revealed to them that Brazilians and North Americans in fact conceptualize highways in distinct manners and went on to offer ingenious characterizations of the conflicting Brazilian and North American conceptualizations of road systems, based entirely on the observation regarding *entrada* versus *exit.*'

This incident turned Kay's interest to look for expressions that can express the same concepts in English itself. He thought that if such expressions are found, the linguistic relativity conceptualization may also work within the same language which may then prove that the hypothesis is wrong.

So, Kay (Ibid: 99) says that Lakoff (1972), and he himself (1983) studied the English hedging expressions among which the following are found: **loosely speaking, strictly speaking, technically speaking** (emphasis in the original). Suggestive of the sense Lucy used of 'implicit' above, Kay says that the 'first two represent a coherent tacit theory of how words refer to objects.'

He gives the following detailed explanation of the different but related Semits of these expressions and comments:

> I suggest that *loosely speaking*, and its cousin *strictly speaking*, are both based on a **schematization** of language and its use in which there are facts in the world and words in the language, along with rules combining the latter. **Words have inherent fit**, because of their **meanings or senses, to certain facts**, and the rules of language may be carefully or carelessly followed. If we select our words carefully so that each word exactly fits the facts it is supposed to fit, and closely obey the rules of the language, we are speaking strictly. Otherwise, we speak loosely.[11]

What is important here is Kay's primary objective. He wants to show that linguistic evidence can be found to verify that linguistic relativity can work even within a single language. He stipulates:

[11] I made the Fomits in Kay's text bold for a purpose. I want to indicate that his **schematization** is similar to my 'manipulation,' **words** to 'Fomits,' **have inherent fit** 'Fomits represent Semits correspondingly, whether abstract or concrete.

'Linguistic relativity is *within* each of us (if it is anywhere') [emphasis in the original]. He has succeeded in providing ample examples from English Fomit structuring, representing their corresponding Semit conceptualizations in his subsequent discussions. By doing so, he has been able to show that the part of linguistic relativity (the weak version of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis) can be correct in saying that there are different ways of saying the same thing in language but that this truth does not indicate or show that those different ways of expressing same ideas 'influence' or in any way affect the way we think or use our cognitive faculties. Nothing outside natural endowment can be thought to limit or in any way restrict our freedom to think or develop thought in the mind.

Lucy (1992) has also written a whole book to verify linguistic relativity à la Whorf by conducting research on Yucatec Maya and English to provide evidence. He claims his research to be '*comparative,*' and that the comparison 'should take the external nonlinguistic *reality* as the metric or standard for calibrating the content and linguistic categories.' In addition, 'the *languages* of the communities to be studied must be contrasted as to how they differently construe a different reality.' The fourth requirement is that 'the implications of the language differences for *thought* must be articulated (all emphases in the original).'

So, he set out to compare English with Yucatec Maya, spoken in southeastern Mexico. The main focus of the comparison was to find out how the native speakers of the two languages conceptualize number, how referents (specified as *Animal, Container, Tool,* and *Substance,* Appendix A, Ibid: 164) can be conceived as being one or more than one by showing their pictures to native speakers of Yucatec. He uses various techniques such as showing them objects, and pictures to elicit their number conceptualizations to bring his research to conclusions.

I should begin my brief comments with his 'cognitive findings' (Ibid: 156-58). His final word on the 'cognitive findings' is stated as follows: 'In short, there is good preliminary evidence that diverse language forms bear a relationship to characteristic cognitive responses in speakers.' In accordance with the conceptual framework of this thesis, 'diverse language forms' refer to Fomits. As we know, Fomits contain Semits, and that they inevitably differ from language to language. What can be similar, or different are the Semits. In Lucy's research, the Semits appear

to be universal because all humans are expected to know how to count, and be able to understand how substances can have some kind of units. So, in English and Yucatec Maya, the typical cognitive responses also bear a closest relationship to the cognitive processes that went on during the formative processes. So, what other Fomits could have any connections to the Semits entrenched in the cognitive faculties of each native speaker to be used automatically in response to any question related to them at all?

So, it appears that it is not possible to find solution to the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis through experimentation or any other method of research. What appears to be fruitful is the comparative method. Comparing expressions in different Fomits and examining their Semits can truly reveal the cognitive processes that went into their creation by native speakers of different languages.

2.2 Veracity vs. Falsity

Hudson (1980:103) writes: 'It is clear that the extreme hypothesis is wrong.' He adds (Ibid: 105-6) 'It is ideas that shape language, rather than vice versa, except in relatively abstract areas of thought. Formulation of ideas *is* on the whole an independent process, relative to language. We dissect the universe along lines laid down by nature and by our communicative and cognitive needs, rather than by our language. The meanings of linguistic items *can* be adjusted by the individual to meet his needs, by metaphorical extensions.'

Lakoff (2000:47) says: 'The hypothesis, while intriguing, is unprovable, since it is impossible to step outside of language to test it.' Haugen (1971:165) says: 'To me the Whorfian hypothesis is questionable and a bit repugnant when stated in its extreme form, simply because it denies by implication its own opposite, namely that all languages are translatable into one another.' Bolinger (1980: viii) thinks that 'linguists have hardly pursued this question beyond where Whorf left it, and some have been sceptical of the whole idea.' Newmeyer (1988:16) believes that the hypothesis is 'largely discredited.' He adds, 'Many of its factual claims are simply incorrect.' Fasold (1990:63-4) thinks that 'few scholars would agree with its strong version that says a speaker of a particular language is locked into a particular world-view by that language.' Wardhaugh (1986:212) thinks that, 'in the weaker version, grammar empowers a mother tongue

to 'predispose' native speakers 'towards adopting a particular world-view.' Later, (1986:218) he adds that the hypothesis 'is quite unproved.' Pinker also thinks (1994:47) 'But it is wrong, all wrong.'

2.3 Discussion

In the first place, the theory that the structure of any language (the way Fomits are structured reflecting the structure of Semits) can create difficulty in **thinking overrides the supremacy of the human cognitive faculty** over Fomits and, over the encapsulated Semits as well. Both Fomits and Semits are **shaped by the mind.** Both are also under the **control of the cognitive faculty**. The mind can thus manipulate both **Fomits** and **Semits**. The creativity of language, (structured Fomit-Semit) is an ever-ongoing process. It can be made possible through the creative power of the human mind. Consequently, we may assume that different languages are different because not only their **Fomits** are different but also their encapsulated **Semits** can be different. This can reflect the very modes of thinking of the native speakers of different languages. Some evidence for this can be the fact that the way of thinking of individuals, even within the native speakers of the same language, can differ from one another. This has been well presented by Kay (1996:97) who begins his theory with the following opening statement: 'linguistic relativity, so-called, takes on a new and reduced significance when we realize that the kinds of differences *between* languages which are routinely taken as evidence in favor of the Whorfian view commonly occur *within* languages.' This goes in line with the reaction of some Chinese to Bloom's experimental questions (Lucy, Ibid: 210):

> While administering a questionnaire designed to measure levels of abstraction in political thinking to residents of Hong Kong, Bloom found that respondents had difficulties with questions framed as counterfactuals. When presented with a counterfactual statement such as "If the Hong Kong government were to pass a law requiring that all citizens born outside of Hong Kong make weekly reports of their activities to the police, how would you react?" Subjects consistently responded with statements such as "but the government hasn't," "it can't," or "it won't." Bloom pressed subjects further and got responses such as "we don't speak/think that way," "it's unnatural," or "it's unChinese." By contrast, American and French subjects responding to similar questions

> never seemed to find anything unnatural about the questions and readily indulged in the counterfactual hypothesizing the questions were designed to elicit.

Well, if the Chinese mother tongue cannot fit into the furrows of the thinking of the English as reflected in their mother tongue, or any other mother tongue, it is because Chinese is different but not **deficient,** or **deviant** from any other mother tongue. Moreover, there can be many factors, for example, culture, environment, interest, need, curiosity, creative power, imagination, etc., that induced or may have induced the Chinese to think and shape their language to reflect their **specific and distinct modes of conceptualization and thinking**. In Bloom's experiment, the Chinese were tested in the English mode of thinking, not in the Chinese. This is like asking an Ethiopian wearing a kimono if he indeed feels, acts, behaves, and thinks like Japanese and whether he is in fact Japanese. He can't be any of these unless he was born and brought up in Japan. Therefore, again each language **externalizes the cognitive powers and other aspects of the stock –in- trade of the native speakers of specific languages.**

It is further reported by Lucy (Ibid: 217) that a debate began between Au, who I presume is a Chinese scholar, and Bloom. He says that she began with a summary of Bloom's argument by citing the following of his conclusion: "the Chinese language has no distinct lexical, grammatical or intonational device to signal entry into the counterfactual realm" (Au, 1983, Ibid: 157.) This kind of argument is actually what I call **an intrusive venture**. It is worth remembering in this connection that each language is made to develop by its native speakers ***in the*** **way they channel their modes of thinking unique to them.** Trying to compare these different modes of thinking by comparing the different structures of Fomits can be likened to comparing the natural features of the different lands of the world. In this connection, it may be helpful to establish the fact that when languages are compared in the Whorfian sense, the comparison might aim at finding out what kind of Semits are found in the Fomits of a language that are lacking in the Fomits of another and to learn and grasp those concepts and find native Fomits into which to encapsulate them.

Therefore, there seems to be a need to follow the principle of learning the Fomits of any language in exactly the way its native speakers have shaped them, and in the way they **understand** the

Semits encapsulated in them, thus refraining from passing any forms of judgment in terms of the structuring of Fomits and their encapsulated Semits –the **modes of thinking**- of mother tongues. A corollary to this principle can be that, if a comparison among different languages is made, the aim may need to be to enhance understanding that different **modes of thinking do exist** and different languages are bound to show them. Thus, there seems to be a need to try to learn different languages in order to **expand the understanding of each other's experiences.**

Lucy (Ibid) further reports that Au in fact agrees with Bloom's conclusion 'but argued that it made no difference because "in the real world ...Chinese speakers use counterfactuals with little ambiguity" (1983, Ibid:157) and because counterfactuals are '"as explicit to Chinese speakers" as English counterfactuals are to English speakers' (1983, Ibid:158).Incidentally, how else were Bloom and Whorf expecting speakers of different languages to form Fomits and think of what Semits to encapsulate into them?

Therefore, that is why scholars react to the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis in so many different ways. Whatever the case, it may be possible to generalize, at this point, that **the hypothesis has to do with the fact that Semits encapsulated in the Fomits of different languages externalize native concepts studied by different scholars under the rubric of psychology, anthropology, sociology** and what not. It can now be said that the **core concept of the whole idea that generates such endless scholarly debates and discussions** can be understood **as being embedded in** what Whorf (1956:214) stated as a principle–'all observers are not led by the same physical evidence to the same picture of the universe, unless their linguistic backgrounds are similar, or can in some way be calibrated.'

2.4 Language and thought

Repeated discussions are made on language and thought. This is done from different perspectives, taking the views of different scholars into consideration because the relationship of language and thought is the core concept of this thesis. So, what can be interesting is that the actual conceptualization of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis may sometimes appear to be unclear in the presentation of some scholars such as Wassmann and Dasen (Ibid.)

The question and answer are based on what is externalized through the Balinese mother tongue. The graphic description of the article makes clear that the Balinese spatial orientation 'is geared to the island's central mountains, to the uphill direction, prototypically to the central volcano, Gunung Agung (3142m.), the dwelling place of the Hindu gods of Bali.'

Very interestingly, the Balinese orientation is influenced by this mountain. So, in accordance with the article, '*kaja* 'towards the mountain' is 'the sacred direction' and '*kelod* 'towards the sea' is not so 'pure' a direction. Another sacred direction is '*kangin* 'the direction from which the sun rises' whose opposite is *kauh.*

So, the article portrays that the Balinese orientation is 'spatial and spiritual' and therefore spiritually geocentric. On the other hand, the Indo-European orientation is basically egocentric. However, in spite of a clear presentation of how natural environments could affect the cognitive functioning in the formation of concepts by native speakers during the formative and manipulative processes, surprisingly, the authors of the article conclude: 'our answer, based on empirical evidence, is in favour of moderate linguistic relativity.'

It appears that there is something tricky in the concept of linguistic relativity. It seems that scholars are creating a degree of the effect of language on the mind. After they have converted Whorf's 'principle' into a hypothesis, they have, for instance, automatically rejected linguistic determinism but started talking about its 'influence' and not determinism. Now, Wassmann and Dasen talk about 'moderate linguistic relativity,' in conclusion to their 'empirical finding.' I think that the hypothesis appears to be based on a wrong premise as explained by the Fomit-Semit theoretical frame. That is why it has never been possible to find any conclusive evidence in support of its main thesis other than generating endless and inconclusive debates and arguments. It seems therefore, that the arrival of the New Hypothesis at this time appears to be fortuitous because it might help to divert the direction of thinking towards understanding the diverse ways of thinking by humans in their diverse mother tongues. This direction may help to share each other's experiences and knowledge.

2.5 Introducing metaphors

The metaphors of emotion can now be introduced to see how the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis can provide the bases for their understanding. These will be compared with those of the New Hypothesis.

The use of metaphors in general can be a good illustration of the creativity and manipulability of language. Lakoff and Johnson give the inherent characteristic of metaphor (1980:5) in a revealing statement: '*The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another* (emphasis in the original.)'

This means that we understand ideas, (Ibid: 49) for example, in terms of:

a) A PHYSICAL FORCE
I was *magnetically drawn* to her.

b) A PATIENT
This is a *sick* relationship.

c) MADNESS
He's gone *mad* over her.

d) MAGIC
She is *bewitching.*

e) WAR
He *overpowered* her.

Amharic also has similar linguistic expressions but in some way different from the English ones. Therefore, a look at the Amharic expressions, which can match the English ones given above, can give the following picture.

a) **bəfɨk'ɨr sɨbaňňalləčč**

with love she has pulled me

This means, just as a magnet attracts metals, she has attracted me to her by her love.

(I was *magnetically drawn* to her.)

b) **yɨh yə t'ena gɨnɨňňunət aydəlləm**
'This is not a healthy relationship.' (This *is* a sick relationship.)

c) **abdollatall**
He's gone *mad* over her.

d) **yə fɨk'ɨr mətətwan (mɨtatwan) bəsəw lay tɨt'ɨlalləčč**
She is *bewitching*.

e) **təšənnɨfallətalləčč**
'She has submitted herself to him.' (He overpowered her.)

As in the example for fusional structures given above, a single verb sentence in Amharic can express the whole English metaphorical expression as shown in c) and e).

Metaphors of emotion are studied and presented by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1987), Kövecses (1995, 2000, 2002), Russell (2002), Newmeyer (1997:87-106), etc. These and other sources will be used to gather data for the comparison of the metaphors of emotion of English and Amharic to see whether or not the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis is based on a wrong premise.

Chapter Three

Conceptual Framework

Introduction

As shown in the literature review, most scholars reject the strong version of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. However, those who still hold on to the weak version may not still realize that the Hypothesis is based on **the tail-wagging-the-dog** principle. Therefore, the **contact-capture-encapsulate-process** is intended to show how the oversight of the relationships of Fomits to Semits might have led to the postulation of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. The **Fomit -Semit relationship** actually takes off from conceptualizations made by two scholars-De Saussure and Chafe.

3.1 De Saussure and Chafe

De Saussure's (1966: 65) **linguistic sign** has been discussed in the introduction in detail. What may be needed here is to discuss it again in light of how Chafe sees the relationship between the Fomit and the Semit. This is because the understanding of the essence of language may help to verify or falsify the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. What is needed is to keep in mind that the Semit is external to both the **Fomit** and the **human mind.** Moreover, the Fomit is concrete and substantive, and perceptible whereas the Semit **is not**, in as far as the Fomit is concerned. The only striking phenomenon that makes language what it is is the conventional **association** made **cognitively** between the **Fomit** and the **Semit.**

This conventionally agreed upon association of two physically unrelated phenomena could show the power of the **cognitive faculty.** It is further believed that their separation can help to describe and explain the Semit in isolation from the Fomit, and vice-versa.

Chafe (1970:15) also makes a proposition nearly similar to de Saussure's **linguistic sign.** However, he sees the Fomit and the Semit slightly differently. Following is his proposition:

'Language is a system which mediates, in a highly complex way, between the universe of meaning and the universe of sound' (emphasis added).

In as far as my theoretical framework goes, only the human mind, not language, can be seen as **a mediator** between the universe of meaning and the universe of sound - between the **Fomit** and the **Semit.** It may however be of interest to think again over Chafe's view. By the conceptualization of 'language' as a 'system,' does he intend to refer to what we do with Semit-encapsulated-Fomits (words) when we want to communicate? For instance, what was explained to have taken place in the minds of the speechless community can be repeated with other examples in order to get to the sense of Chafe's referent encapsulated in the Fomit of 'language.'

Let us take three different words[12], **water, drink, wash.** The Semits each encapsulates can show the system when it is made operational. When they stand alone, the first Fomit primarily encapsulates a life saving and perpetuating liquid. The remaining two encapsulate actions of doing something in addition to their other Semits when manipulated.

The following examples can illustrate the nature of the system by using the given words.

1. Drink water.
2. Water is a healthy drink.
3. Water can be used for washing.
4. Don't drink water.

As can be seen in the constructions given from 1-4, the words are put in a certain order, and some other words are put in between, and some Fomits such as **n't**, and **–ing** are added to make the system complete. This application of the system is what is called grammar. Each is called a sentence. Terms used by linguists thus focus on Fomits and the Semits are left to remain in the background. The Fomits inevitably occur in the foreground.

Now, if this understanding by Chafe is accepted and we agree to it, how can we compare this understanding with de Saussure's signs, system of signs, and my Semit- encapsulated-Fomits,

[12] Note that 'word' is now used as a technical term to refer to de Saussure's Sign, and my Semit-Encapsulated-Fomit.

and system of Semit-encapsulated- Fomits? The sense in which Chafe used 'language' seems to refer to this system-the organization of words to express ideas. The Fomit 'language' is thus polysemic. The encapsulation of so many concepts into a single structure of Fomits can indicate the power of the cognitive faculty. It can manipulate Fomits to encapsulate and express theoretically infinite concepts. Therefore; the creation of such a system can be understood as a means of empowerment. It cannot be understood as a means of imposition, as a system of influencing thought.

It must also now be clear that it was that first fortuitous incident of the act of mediation by the cognitive faculty between Fomit and Semit that created language in the first instance. It may not also be difficult to imagine that, after the **idea** of encapsulating Semits in **Fomits** had been successfully discovered, the Fomit began to serve as a mediator, in its own turn, between the universe of the human cognitive faculty and the universe of Semit. The cognitive faculty could thus be used to grasp new ideas and concepts and encapsulate them in new Fomits. That is why the **Fomit is** said to be **manipulable.** In fact, the understanding and conceptualization of the Semit is paralleled by the shaping and moulding of the Fomit. Moreover, the created Semit encapsulated Fomit can also be effectively manipulated to create novel ideas such as in creative writing, as well as help in creating new Fomits during the process of inventions, and new discoveries.

3.2 The core theory

The core theory lies in the sequence of the process of encapsulation. 'Language' can now be understood as being **Fomit [Thought, Thinking] Semit.**[13] In accordance with this core theory, first we come into contact with the Semit. Then we think of the Fomit into which to encapsulate it. These processes can be understood as demanding the thinking power of the cognitive faculty. The argument here is that, in this process, neither the Semit nor the Fomit can have any influence on the cognitive faculty. Bringing out the ideas of the linguistic sign, and the way Chafe understood language contributed to a better understanding of the nature of language, and the

[13] The idea of putting 'Thought,' and 'Thinking' in square brackets between Fomit and Semit is to show that the two totally unrelated phenomena are brought together by the mind in the mind.

linguistic relativity hypothesis from the perspective of the separation of the Semit from the Fomit.

The following diagram can show the processes that are assumed to have taken place in the making of language.

Sensory organs contact with
concrete phenomena (the real world)
↓
Need to communicate
↓
Cognitive Faculty Power starts operating
↓
Thinking process takes place: Capturing, Understanding
and categorizing concrete phenomena
↓
Discovery of the idea of Fomit-Semit encapsulation
↓
Development of thinking increasing
↓
The expansion of Fomit-Semit use
↓
Enhancement of cognitive faculty
↓
Entire process? Result of thinking
No room for Fomit - Semit influence on THOUGHT.

Language is indeed complex. What makes **it** complex is the discovery that Fomits can be used to symbolically represent referents of the real world. What can again make it more complex is the fact that referents encapsulated in Fomits can serve as nuclei for the association of various additional concepts around them. Metaphors can be good examples of such associations on top of

concepts associated with already encapsulated referents. In addition, it may be necessary to emphasize that Fomits alone cannot be language even though only the Fomits can be audible or visible and can pass as language without the Semits.

3.3 Fomits without Semits

A few examples of **Fomits** that have never been used for the encapsulation of **Semits** by any known language in the world can be created as an illustration as follows:

tifo	**lativu**	**taki**	**baku**	**latige**	**kalika**
alika	**fugo**	**dagi**	**gutile**	**matife**	**balima**

The creation of these empty Fomits is to demonstrate the opposite of what was supposed to go on in the mind during the Contact-Capture-Encapsulate-Process. In accordance with the convention set in the making of language, the actual process should have been first to come into contact with some reality, grasp it, experience it and understand it and find some Fomit in which to encapsulate it. In the examples given, however, the Fomits are provided first, and they are now ready for the encapsulation of some realities and experiences. Can these Fomits now be considered as language? Actually, they look like language, they sound like language, and they can be made into language. Nevertheless, as they are now, since they lack the Semits, they cannot be called language **per se**. This will be discussed in detail during the comparison of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis with the New Hypothesis which will be given later.

3.4 Fomits

Fomits can manifest some fascinating characteristics. For example, they have the tendency to draw human attention, and to pin down a feeling of attachment even without belonging to any natural language. They can overwhelm the mind with their presence when they are heard or seen on paper. However, when they are not 'coded', they are valueless by themselves as far as communication is concerned. Therefore, they appear to be more significant than the Semits without actually being so. It appears that that is why linguists find it easy to study them more

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scientifically than the Semits. It is therefore possible to find some readers who could feel that the above empty Fomits are words that belonged to a certain unknown language in the world; especially had I claimed that they belonged to a dead language of Ethiopia some one thousand years ago. However, as already explained, they are empty Fomits. They do not, therefore, so far belong to any known language. Nevertheless, they can be good illustrations that Fomits can be created and manipulated even without Semits.

What can be intriguing is that Semits cannot be made to feel like language in isolation of the Fomits. This is because, they can only be sensed when our sensory organs are employed. They can also only be thought about, processed, grasped and understood by the mind, or pointed to. Of course, we need not lose sight of the fact that there are objects made by humans that have meanings, objects such as rings, statues, churches, crosses, the Red Cross and the Red Crescent. Nevertheless, the encapsulated ones cannot be seen in the Fomits. So, encapsulated Semits can only be revealed to others by native speakers or by teachers of language during the teaching-learning process. It may therefore be easy to imagine how difficult it can be to learn a new language. One has to familiarize oneself with the utterances and structures of Fomits with a further attempt to grasp the Semits encapsulated in them.

Fomits are interesting in themselves. What makes them unique is the way they get their structuring from native speakers of different languages. For instance, when a certain Semit is presented in the Fomit of another mother tongue, it usually turns off the native speakers of the Semit..For example, Gumperz and Levinson (1996:1) have some graphically expressed ideas in connection with Fomits.

> Every student of language, or society should be familiar with the essential idea of linguistic relativity, the idea that culture, *through* language, affects the way we think, especially our classification of the experienced world. Much of our experience seems to support some such idea, for example the phenomenology of struggling with a second language, where we find that the summit of competence is forever over the horizon, the obvious absence of definitive or even accurate translation (let alone the ludicrous failure of phrasebooks), the wreck of diplomatic efforts on linguistic and rhetorical rocks.

Fomits seem to act like the dresses of other people and the reactions of individuals. For instance, some Japanese might like to wear Ethiopian dresses but some might not. In the case of Fomits, some people may not even accept some structures of Fomits when a change is made to a single phoneme without introducing a different structuring system. The case in point is the suggestion made to find Fomits in the Amharic structuring ways for the Semit 'economics.'

As has already been indicated above, the Semits of Amharic are basically represented by consonants. Vowels give them their structures. Takkele (1992, 2000) suggested the use of some Fomit by thinking logically. He figured the needed consonants can be found from the English Fomit of 'economics' itself by dropping the vowels and the consonants of the suffix. So, the consonants **k-m- n** were obtained. Using vowels in the right way enable the formation of the following Fomit structures with their corresponding English Semit encapsulations.

To economize	**məkəmmən**
economics	**kɨmməna**
economy	kɨmmɨn
economist	kəmmaňň
economzing	akkəmaməm

This suggestion was not fully accepted, however. This makes the reaction of people to Fomits unpredictable.

3.5 Questions and answers

The question now is: The Fomits of different languages are **definitely different**. Can the **conceptualizations of Semits also be different**? The answer is: 'Yes, definitely they can be.' The more relevant question, however, is: What makes the Semits of different languages different? The answer to this question can in fact contribute to the falsification of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. So, an attempt is made to answer the question below.

The process of understanding Semits by cognitive faculties of native speakers may be determined, according to the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis , by language, i.e. by Fomits, and according to Hymes (1971:114-167) by **culture.** It must now be clear that, according to the New Hypothesis, neither determines them. This is because the encapsulation of Semits, or thoughts in Fomits, is made possible by the cognitive faculty, and that 'culture' can be understood as a scholarly categorization of some part of the product of thought. 'Culture' can now be understood, therefore, as being that part of all man-made **artifacts** of a different nature, and the thoughts, or referent conceptualizations of a people speaking different languages encapsulated in their own specific Fomits. Therefore, it is nothing else but the ways of life, attitudes and beliefs of a given community encapsulated in native Fomits. Essentially, contacts with referents precede encapsulations followed by further conceptualizations of the referents. Analogically, therefore, Semits can be seen as **cargoes** and the Fomits as **vehicles.**

In other words, this same idea can be understood with the analogy of guns and bullets. The Fomits are like guns and the Semits like bullets. Moreover, the bullets can analogically be understood as being thoughts which can be determined by the **natural** and **social environments** surrounding native speakers. They can be further understood as being the products of their **intelligence**, and efforts to investigate and know things, their **interest** in discovering new ideas and new environments, and so on as has already been indicated above.

3.6 Logical conjecture

It may be reasonable to conjecture that, at its very inception, the process of associating the Semit with the Fomit, or using Fomits to symbolically represent referents, may have begun at the **lexical level**. The idea of language as a system may have been a later development as the cognitive faculty began to grow and be able to create, and manipulate the lexicon for the expression of new and novel ideas. This is what makes **Fomit-Semit matter universal.**

A question may arise as to why the **Fomit** instead of 'word' and the **Semit** instead of 'meaning' are used here. It appears that the culprit in the confusion of the separation between language and thought is the use of '**word.**' This is because its use does not in any way show its constituent

elements-Fomits and Semits-and the thought that went into their association. The **Semit is** used to get a symbolic representation of material referents including what is conventionally referred to as 'meaning.' This is because the **Semit cannot** be perceived through the senses in Fomits. It only represents the conception of referents by the **cognitive faculty.** Furthermore, the use of Fomits and Semits can also help to explain them better and to make their analysis convenient by dealing with them **separately. It is believed that the showing of their separate existence can be easily perceived by the mind when separate symbols are used to represent them to give them their important status.**

3.7 Thesis claim

It is claimed here that the analysis of language into Fomit – Semit constituents might be used to show the falsity of the Sapir- Whorf Hypothesis. This is because, Whorf and Sapir must have known that the Fomits of different languages could not have been the same. What they figured determined thought must have therefore been the Semit, but not the Fomit. The reason is that conceptualizations of experiences and phenomena by native speakers of a given language take place before, as well as after, encapsulation. This leaves the Fomit free from the power of determination or influence. This idea has the support of cognitive linguists. According to cognitive linguistics (see, for example, Lakoff, 1987), **cognition is the ability to conceptualize** (emphasis added). This process of concept formation could not have, therefore, been determined, influenced, or affected by Fomits since language could only come into being after encapsulation. Conceptualizations could have therefore been determined by the power of cognition. The purpose of encapsulation is externalization as well as internalization for the primary objective of communication. That is why it is said that the Fomit serves as a vehicle to launch the Semit so that it reaches the minds of receivers without being perceived by sensory organs in the Fomit.

In principle, therefore, there may be neither limits nor restrictions to what can be encountered, and how and what kind of Fomits can be shaped for encapsulation. Therefore, the process of novel conceptualizations, and the formation of new Fomits in which to encapsulate them can be seen as the characteristics of language, and an ever ongoing process carried out freely by native speakers within set conventions. Any kind of limitation or determination can only be attributed to

the **power of cognition during conceptualization**. Therefore, there is the possibility of knowing all the languages of the world. Thus, the contact-capture encapsulate-process introduced earlier can now be reduced to basic processes of **cognition—conceptualization-and encapsulation**. These three processes in language formation may now enable us to visualize the mind as having special characteristics. For instance, it can analogically be viewed as a natural, complex **factory. Its linguistic abilities can therefore be viewed as the ability to conceptualize and encapsulate ideas.** The making and production of language can in fact be understood as a **conceptualization and encapsulation industry,** with Fomits and Semits used as raw materials. This can be the true manifestation of **the power of cognition in the making of language.**

3.8 Concrete differences

Within the Fomit-Semit frame, therefore, it might now be possible to show differences across languages. This means both the Fomits and Semits can be different for different languages for different reasons. However, such differences cannot be seen as **consequences of the determination** by **language** of the **power of cognition** that brought language itself into being. For example, Moore (2004) provides ample examples of what he calls untranslatable words into English from languages across the world. He begins with 'the Czech proverb, "Each new language offers you another life" (Ibid: 2).' This Czech proverb thus shows that native speakers of different languages can conceptualize phenomena differently from others. It can further prove one of the hypotheses of this thesis that different languages can be understood as being **extensions of one another**. This does not thus show the efficiency of one and the deficiency or deviation of the other. This means, for example, if native speakers of Amharic have never encountered the referent 'oxygen' and they come across it when they begin to attend school, they need not think their native language is deficient or deviant. What they can do is take both the Fomit and referent **oxygen** and use it in Amharic, or form another Fomit that sounds native to them and encapsulate the concept into it. In both cases, English is serving as a concept source, as an extension of Amharic.

3.9 Moore's further elaboration

Moore gives the proverb in the Czech language itself, and then writes: 'This wonderful Czech proverb, impossible to translate exactly, proclaims that you live a new life for every new language you speak' (Ibid: 40.) The point here is to show that concepts can be externalized in many different ways with **the Semit-Fomit formation**. Some examples of Fomits from different languages that Moore thinks are untranslatable can be given for more illustration.

Chinese: *mianzi "face" (Ibid: 8;* all emphases in the original unless indicated otherwise.)

Moore then comments:

> ...it [*mianzi*] represents, very roughly, *the inner dignity that is possessed by every human, which all others dealing with its possessor are duty bound to uphold, and neither to threaten nor to challenge.* Shout an insult to a Chinese shopkeeper and you make him *lose face*, you threaten his *mianzi*, and you commit the most cardinal of sins.

Additional examples are also given from other languages. In Japanese: '*mono-no-aware* ... means no more and no less than appreciating *the sadness of existence.*' In accordance with the explanation given, this phrase is associated with cherry blossoms, which appear and soon disappear in Kyoto (Ibid: 9).

In Finnish, Moore gives the word *sisu* as 'an untranslatable word, meaning something like a dogged and proud refusal to lie down and be beaten' (Ibid: 10).

Moore adds another interesting word from a West African language, the word **Palatyi.** He then explains: 'The West African Bantu people talk of a supernatural being thought to haunt their land. It's called the *palatyi* or "plat-eye prowl" and is a mythical animal-like ghost that comes and scratches on your door on cold, dark nights. What could possibly be more frightening if you live in a remote village and you hear something in the night?' (Ibid:78)

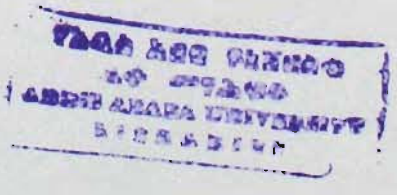
These examples show that speakers of different languages can primarily conceptualize all kinds of referents that may not be familiar to speakers of other languages, and encapsulate them in unfamiliar Fomits in unfamiliar ways for reasons noted above, namely the differences in their ways of thinking, their social and natural environments, their interests, and what is more important, their cognitive powers among other things.

Finally, it can be of interest to indicate that the main thesis of this research has been graphically expressed by Winchester (2004:7) as follows in the 'Foreword' to Moore's book written not to verify or falsify the strong or weak versions of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis but to show to those interested the 'Intriguing Words Around the World' :

> People who are not us-or *foreigners*, which of course includes *us* in *their* eyes too-speak, write, and do things that are alien, mysterious, and impossibly difficult to translate, which, when explained, often make an awful lot of sense.
>
> And further: The moment you understand the words and phrases and the wonderfully sensible concepts that they frequently encapsulate, you have come some small way toward understanding the people who employ them. Which, it seems to me, is the prime benefit (aside from the serendipitous pleasures of browsing) of the delightful treasure-house-literally the *thesaurus* -of linguistic marvels that follows.

Moreover, the idea that concepts formed in the minds of native speakers are externalized through Fomits is well noted by Professor Kate Remlinger as reported by Moore (Ibid: 10): 'The way people talk is a reflection of their worldview, their history, and their upbringing.'

Using the Fomit-Semit conceptual frame, therefore, I intend to compare and show how the formations of the Fomits and Semits of the metaphors of emotion in English differ from those of Amharic. Furthermore, an attempt will be made to demonstrate the unacceptability of the underlying theory of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis on the basis of the comparative analysis of the data of the metaphors of emotion of the two languages.



3.10 Fortuitous Incident, Immense End Result

Extending our imagination to the incidental beginning of language can provide us with logical conjectures, however speculative. We can stretch our mind and go back to the fortuitous day, the day language was discovered. The cognitive faculty of a certain Homo sapiens was functioning reasonably well. Something extraordinarily interesting captured his attention. He focused with all his cognitive energy on the object. He could not hold back his feelings. He looked around to share his feelings with someone around. He found one and uttered a certain **FOMIT,** maybe repeatedly over and over again. That utterance could be imagined as being the first Fomit that led to the proliferation of all the Fomits of the languages of the world.

It appears reasonable to hold on this imaginative view and think of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. Could that first Homo sapiens have been influenced by the **Fomit** he uttered? Could he also have been influenced by the **Semit** that captured his whole attention? It does not seem to be logical to give positive answers to both questions. Therefore, the core theory revolves around this imagination.

3.11 The Theory of Metaphors

The first chapter of the book by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) traces the conception of metaphor to the time when poetry and rhetoric dominated the intellectual world. Its current cognitive conception developed into a more systematic understanding of its functioning in everyday language use.

The cognitive linguistic view of metaphor is well presented by Kővecses (2002: 3-5) He explains that there are two domains in the cognitive linguistic view, the source domain and a target domain. The target domain is understood in terms of the source domain. These domains are understood further as being conceptual in nature.

He explains that the source domain is usually well understood from experience, and that it is concrete while the target domain is abstract. He gives ample examples.

The target domains given as examples include life, love, argument, theory, ideas, etc. He explains that metaphors are constituted of conceptual metaphors and their metaphorical linguistic expressions as shown below.

Conceptual Metaphors	**Metaphorical linguistic expressions**
LIFE IS A JOURNEY	I'm *where I want to be* in life.
LOVE IS A JOURNEY	I don't think this relationship is *going anywhere.*
AN ARGUMENT IS A WAR	He attacked *every weak point* in my argument.
THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS	The theory needs more *support.*
IDEAS ARE FOOD	Let's let that idea *simmer on the back burner* for a while.

In two previous articles (1995), Kővecses discusses 'concepts' and 'anger.' The title of his first article, 'LANGUAGE AND EMOTION CONCEPTS,' is interesting from the point of view of my theoretical framework. His use of 'language' in this context seems to be equated with **FOMIT.** This is because concepts are encapsulated in Fomits. The title therefore appears to be identical to saying 'FOMITS AND EMOTION CONCEPTS.'

What is just observed above is confirmed because he gives the Fomits that encapsulate the basic emotion concepts as being anger, sadness, fear, etc. He says that these Fomits contain (encapsulate) concepts while still others express them. Those that express are given as '*shit*! when angry, wow! when enthusiastic or impressed, *yuk*! when disgusted' (Ibid:3.) His full treatment of the metaphors of emotion is made in his book entitled (2000) 'METAPHOR AND EMOTION.'

Chapter Four

Methodology

4.0 Introduction

The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis is based on the principle of comparison. It purports that language determines, or influences thought. This means that each language determines the thoughts of its native speakers. It also implies that the way languages determine the thoughts of their native speakers can make their thoughts either superior or inferior to the thoughts of the native speakers of other languages. What this line of thinking actually does in principle is therefore to compare the cognitive powers of the native speakers of different languages. Lucy also emphasizes (1992:263) that the linguistic relativity hypothesis 'is irreducibly *comparative'* (emphasis in the original.)

4.1. The focus of the comparison

This comparison of native speaker- cognitive- capacity through the claim that language determines thought appears to be the result of overlooking what actually takes place in the making of language as shown above. It is repeated here for emphasis. First, native speakers make sensory contacts with phenomena, understand and grasp them, experience them and then encapsulate them in agreed upon Fomits. Whorf (1956:57), however, compares the Semits as exemplified by the following comparison between the conceptualizations of Semits by the Hopi Indians, and the speakers of Indo-European languages.

> I find it gratuitous to assume that a Hopi who knows only the Hopi language and the cultural ideas of his own society has the same notions, often supposed to be intuitions, of time and space that we have, and that are generally assumed to be universal. In particular, he has no general notion or intuition of TIME, as a smooth flowing continuum in which everything in the universe proceeds at an equal rate, out of a future, through a present, into a past; or, in

> which, to reverse the picture, the observer is being carried in the stream of duration continuously away from a past and into a future.

In accordance with the Fomit-Semit frame, the purpose of the Fomit is to hold the Semit and place it in the minds of receivers using the Fomit as a carrier. The Semits, as conceptualized, understood, grasped and internalized by the native speakers of the Indo-European languages, cannot reach the minds of the Hopi native speakers. Whorf is the researcher who claims that he understood how the Hopi Indians conceptualize **time** and **space.** But how is it possible to tell that Whorf has actually understood exactly how the Hopi Indians conceptualized time and space? Even if he did, what made him think that all speakers of different languages think alike and conceptualize referents in the same way? It is true that it is possible to understand concepts as originally thought by their native speakers if the languages are learnt thoroughly to **native speaker ability** to make the knowledge reliable. **Time** and **space** and their concretizations can be universal but can the ways of their conceptualization in different languages be considered to be universal? For example, even for modern man, the concepts of time and space do not seem to be easy to fully understand. Einstein's theory of relativity can reveal the depth of such conceptualizations. Whorf, according to Lucy (1992:25) 'was trained as a chemical engineer at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology' and his understanding of the concepts of time and space, as can be imagined, might be quite different from those of the Hopi Indians.

In the case of the comparison of the metaphors of emotion of Amharic and English, however, I am a native speaker of Amharic. I have also a good command of the English language. Moreover, I have been able to know English well as the result of teaching it beginning from the Elementary school to the University level throughout my entire career even though I cannot fully claim to have native speaker ability.

4.2 Data collection

A native speaker and teacher of Amharic, Ato Mulusew Asrate, was chosen for the collection of the data on the metaphors of emotion in Amharic. He has experience in teaching Amharic with Diploma and BA degrees at the secondary school level. After an MA degree, he has also been

teaching linguistics at the University level in the Department of Ethiopian Languages and Literature.[14]

After having made contact with the data collector, discussions were held with him on the metaphors of emotion. Then, a copy of the 'prototypical emotion concepts' from Kövecses (2000:20) was made. The conceptual metaphors were omitted and only their linguistic expressions were given to the data collector. However, later, he told me that he had ignored the English list of descriptive emotion terms he was provided with once he had grasped the main purpose and idea of the collection. In accordance with the data collector's report, the data were collected in the way they are used natively in Amharic.

Since Amharic is a written language, some of the data are collected from books, some by the elicitation method from native speaking students of the data collector, and from other native speakers of the language. Initially, some 400 linguistic expressions assumed to be the Amharic metaphors of emotion were written down in Amharic by the data collector. I sat with him and discussed the raw data carefully. Most were found to be inaccurate. They were discarded and only 200 tested and accepted ones were kept.

However, the metaphoric expressions were not organized under anger, fear, love, etc. provided in the English list given to the data collector. It seems that the data collector had ignored the list. I pointed out this fact to him and asked him to kindly organize all the expressions belonging to 'anger' under anger, 'love' under love and so on. This means the collector had to list the metaphoric linguistic expressions under each descriptive emotion word. The data collector then took some time to come out with a reasonable listing of the Amharic linguistic expressions under the given descriptive emotion words.

[14] There are two reasons for having the data collected by the data collector. Firstly, there is nothing written on the emotions of Amharic.Secondly, I teach English and linguistics and do my research in English most of the time. So, I figured that a native speaker and teacher of Amharic has the expertise to collect the wanted data more easily and effectively.The rationale was not to have the data collected by proxy.

4.3 Data authentication

It is of interest to note that the metaphors of Amharic in general have not been studied so far, and could not therefore be understood clearly and easily. For instance, I could not understand the linguistic expressions of the metaphors of emotion myself. So, firstly, I made six copies of the data, and gave each to six different native speakers. These native speakers are also staff members of the **Addis Ababa University** and are affiliated with the **Department of Ethiopian Languages and Literature,** as well as with the **Ethiopian Language Research Centre.** In a memorandum I wrote in Amharic and attached to the list, they were kindly asked to write, on the lines provided, the descriptive emotion words that correctly fit the metaphoric linguistic expressions under which they are given. This means they are asked to write **anger, love, fear, lust,** etc. on the lines provided above the list of the linguistic expressions of the indicated emotion since the terms that describe the emotions were deliberately omitted. The reason of the omission was to know whether the metaphoric expressions correctly express the emotion they were supposed to express. Surprisingly, they all wrote the correct term on the given lines.

Moreover, some of the scholars even took interest in the matter themselves and started to examine not only the veracity of the descriptive emotion words but also the metaphoric linguistic expressions given under each descriptive term. They made valuable suggestions and added their own data and explained their meanings, and suggested further written material sources to my satisfaction.

4.4 A discovery

What was discovered during the discussion with each of these scholars was the fact that Amharic does not have a super ordinate descriptive emotion word for the English 'emotion.' There is only one word in Amharic- **sɨmmet-** for both 'emotion' and 'feeling.' The Semit of this Amharic Fomit is closer to 'feeling' than it is to 'emotion.' It is in fact a verbal derivative from '**səmma**' 'he heard' which also means 'it became hot' in reference to an earthenware pan put on fire and when it gets heated to the level of being hot. Further discussions also brought out the fact that there are two descriptive emotion words in Amharic for the English 'ANGER.' These are

'k'ut't'a' and 'nɨddet,' 'to be angry at somebody or something' or 'to just get angry' without directing reaction to the cause of the anger, respectively. This second Amharic word is derived from the verb '**nəddəddə**' 'it burned, or it caught fire and started to burn.'

I thought about all these ideas and carried out such discussions with more scholars and made a final version of the data for analysis and discussion. The final data are then made ready to seek solution to the problem, to achieve the objectives and answer the research questions set out in the introduction.

Chapter Five

Data Presentation and Analysis

5.0 Introduction

This Chapter is an important juncture in the thesis. More explanations may be needed as to how the metaphors of emotion are said to '**take off**' from the runway of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. It was indicated in the acknowledgement that the idea came from my first advisor, Prof. Elizabeth Lanza.

The reason why I raise this issue again is not only because other scholars thought the metaphors of emotion of the two languages should have been treated separately from the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. It is also because I thought a satisfactory reason could be provided for their joint treatment.

My motivation could be taken as the first reason. So, what motivated me initially to write this thesis was the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. Secondly, I took the Hypothesis as a challenge and wanted to try to disprove it. The idea of treating the metaphors of emotion of different languages was a later development. Now, how can metaphors of emotion take off from a runway? What does 'runway' represent metaphorically in this context?

In accordance with the cognitive view of the theory of metaphor, there are two domains-the source domain and the target domain (Kővecses (2004: 4).) The two domains are joined in a conceptual metaphor. For example, 'ideas' are given as target domains and 'food' as the source domain. The conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD is drawn from these two domains. What follow are metaphorical linguistic expressions such as, for example: I just can't *swallow* that claim. She *devoured* the book (Ibid: 5.)

Following this principle, we can keep 'IDEAS' as the target domain and 'PLANES' as the source domain to introduce a new conceptual metaphor: IDEAS ARE PLANES. The linguistic expression of

this conceptual metaphor could be: The ideas of the genius are *taking off in every direction.* The ideas of communism seem to be *grounded.*

Now, using the **manipulability** of language, we can suggest that the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis is an idea and it took off from the brains of Sapir and Whorf. When I am dealing with their Hypothesis, I am expected to read Sapir, and Whorf which metonymically means their written ideas. Their ideas took off from their brains. Their brains are therefore resented by runways. So, when the metaphors of emotion are thought of as **taking off** from the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, they are metaphorically meant to take off from the **brains** of the originators of the Hypothesis. Similarly, my **New Hypothesis** can be understood as having taken off from my brain. My Hypothesis and theirs can be seen as engaged in a 'dog fight,' and I believe their Hypothesis may be 'hit' and 'crashed.'

So, before the presentation of the metaphors of emotion of Amharic and English, it may now be helpful to get a brief understanding of the nature of **emotion** itself. Kővecses (2000: 131-33) presents how emotion can be understood on the bases of some theories as a kind of agitation 'a form of agitation, that is, as a form of physical agitation, or bodily disturbance.' However, the theory does not tell which specific part of the body is agitated. For example, he gives the conceptual metaphor:

EMOTIONS ARE NATURAL FORCES on which the following linguistic expressions are based:

> Emotions *swept over* her.
> There was a *groundswell* of emotion.
> Emotions were *running high.*

I believe that emotions can be feelings spread in the body without being understood to be felt only by some identifiable part of the body. They can thus be understood as being embodied but caused by external factors, and according to Lakoff (Ibid: 5-6,) they are also subject to categorization. The result of categorization is the specification of the nine basic emotion entities represented, according to Kovecses (Ibid: 20) by the following nine descriptive Fomit entities: **anger, fear, happiness, sadness, love, lust, pride, shame, and surprise.**

So, according to Kövecses (1995:3-5, 2000:2-6), emotions can either be 'named, or expressed.' The 'naming' refers to the encapsulation of emotions in conventionally accepted Fomits in any language. The 'expressions' refer to the linguistic expressions of conceptual metaphors and metonymies. From this point on, we will embark upon the presentation and analysis of the metaphors and metonymies of these emotions in the two languages one by one. The model set by Kövecses (Ibid) will be used for the analysis.

5.1. The emotion of ANGER –Amharic: nɨddet, k'ut't'a[15]

Amharic has two Fomits for the encapsulation of two closely related emotion entities associated with the single English descriptive Fomit 'anger.' These are ***n ddet*** and ***k'ut't'a.***

The Amharic **nɨddet** is a derived nominal from the verb **nəddədə** 'He/ It is burning, or is inflamed.' So, ***nɨddet*** indicates the inward flow of anger in the form of strong heat spreading in the body. It can occur without an outlet or a response can occur in the form what is encapsulated in the Fomit **k'ut't'a.** Therefore, ***k'ut't'a*** is used to refer to a situation when **nɨddet** gets an outlet, or there is a response from an angry person.

This distinction between **nɨddet** and ***k'ut't'a*** can be illustrated by how native speakers of Amharic express the idea of 'God is angry.' When they see that there is a heavy storm, thunder and lightning while it is raining cats and dogs, they say: **ɨgziabher tə *k'ot't'a*** 'God is angry.' So, they use **tə *k'ot't'a,*** not **tənaddədə,** maybe because they see that it is not in the nature of God to do so.

A close examination of the English metaphoric linguistic expressions of **anger** can reveal the fact that most belong to the Amharic **nɨddet** and some to **k'ut't'a.** For the English metaphoric linguistic expressions given by Kövecses (Ibid: 21), it has been possible to find comprehensible

[15] The Amharic glosses of the English descriptive terms are from Thomas Kane's *Amharic English Dictionary.* fm=feminine marker, pm=passive marker

literal Amharic translations as shown below. The literal translations and the Amharic native equivalent expressions are given in consecutive columns.

Since some of the literal translations of the Amharic metaphors of emotion shown in the Tables below are not commonly used, the comprehensibility and possible acceptability and reliability of a few of these metaphors were initially tested on three PhD students, two of whom are University lecturers. They responded that the Amharic translations they saw were comprehensible, and acceptable, especially when they are explained.

The whole of the rest of the translations were tested on native speakers of the staff members of the Ethiopian Language Research Centre. These are Ato Sirgew Gelaw, then a PhD candidate himself, Mesfin Messele, now a PhD candidate, and Dr. Amsalu Aklilu, Associate Professor, of the Department of Ethiopian Languages and Literature. Finally, Professor Baye Yimam has not only checked the literal translations but provided most of the native equivalent expressions that were not provided by the data collector and the others. In addition, he has also checked the authenticity of native metaphoric linguistic expressions and made the necessary omissions and replacements. In addition, the native English counterparts were provided by Professor Orin Gensler of the Department of Linguistics and Philology, Addis Ababa University. He did this after having checked the given literal translations from Amharic into English.

Table 5.1 English metaphoric expressions of anger

Conceptual metaphor	English linguistic expressions	Amharic literal translations	Amharic equivalent expressions
1. ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER.	She is *boiling with* anger	**bənɨddet**[16] **ɨyyə nəffərəč nəw**	**bənɨddet ɨyyətək'at't'əčč nəw** **bənɨdde ɨyyəgayyəčč nəw** 'She is burning with anger.'
2. ANGER IS FIRE.	He is doing a *slow burn.*	**k'əsbək'əs ɨyyətəka't't'ələ nəw**	**wɨst' wɨst'un ɨyyəbəggənə/ ɨyyəc'c'əsə/ ɨyyətəka't't'ələ /ɨyyənəddəddə nəw** 'He is burning/smoking/burning/burning inside.'
	His anger is *smoldering.*	**nɨddetu ɨyyəgamə nəw**	**bənɨddet ɨyyəgalə nəw** 'He is getting hot with anger.'
3. ANGER IS INSANITY.	The man was *insane with* rage.	**bənɨddet abbəddə**	**bənɨddet abbəddə** 'He was mad with anger.'
4. ANGER IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL.	He *unleashed* his anger.	**k'ut't'awɨn fətto ləkʼk'əkʼə əw** 'He untied his anger and let it go.'	**k'ut't'aw gənaffalə** 'His anger overflowed.'
5. ANGER IS A BURDEN.	He *carries* his anger *around* with him.	**nɨddetun yɨzot yɨzoral**	**čay nəw** **'He** is patient.'
6. ANGER IS A NATURAL FORCE.	It was a *stormy* meeting.	**Ma?ɨbəl yəbəzzabbət sɨbsəba nəbbər**	**hɨwkət yəbəzzabbət sɨbsəba nəbbər** 'It was a meeting filled with a lot of disturbance.' **č'uhət bəč'uhət yəhonə sɨbsəba nəbbər** 'It was a meeting filled with lots of shouting.'

[16] A translation of the Amharic into English is omitted when the literal tranlation is equivalent to the English expression

7. AN ANGRY PERSON IS A FUNCTIONAL MACHINE	That really *got* him *going.*	**nɨddetu aramdotal**	**bənɨddet tədənabbərə** 'He staggered/ or was startled by anger.'

Let us now look at the native Amharic metaphors of the emotion of anger picked from the data and given their English translations to see whether or not their English counterparts exist, or their literal translations can be as acceptable as their Amharic counterparts.

Table 5.2 Amharic metaphoric expressions of anger

Conceptual metaphor	Amharic linguistic expressions	English Literal translations	English equivalent expressions
1. ANGER IS BEING CHARCOAL	**bənɨddet kəssələ**	He turned into charcoal with anger.	He is eaten up or consumed with anger.
2.ANGER IS HOLDING ELECTRICITY	**korenti č'əbbət'ə**	He held electricity.	He is charged up, or worked up.
3.AN ANGRY PERSON IS THE DEVIL'S OVERNIGHT STAY	**səyt'an addərəbbət**	The devil has stayed overnight on him.	He is possessed by the devil.
4.ANGER IS INTOXICATION	**nəgər asəkkərəw**	Some matter made him drunk.	He is drunk on anger.
5.THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS PHYSICAL AGITATION	**səwnnətu tənzəfəzəfə**	His entire body is shivering.	His is shaking with anger.
6.ANGER IS AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOUR	**yazuňň lɨk'ək'k'uňň alə**	He said 'don't hold me; let me go!'	He refused to be refrained (to attack, to kill.)
7. ANGER IS A FAST, WILD MOVEMENT	**ində k'əst təwərwro mət't'a**	He came flying like an arrow.	He is attacking like a wild animal, a mad dog, or a mad man.
8. ANGER IS A POSSESSIVE SPIRIT	**jinniam atetiam**	full of **djinn.** full of **atete.**	Such a person gets angry easily and reacts quickly
9.ANGER IS A PROTECTIVE FEMALE ANIMAL	**aras nəbɨr honə**	He became a leopardess that just gave birth.	He acted like a provoked, ferociously protective leopardess or tigress of a just born off spring.
10. ANGER IS SICKNESS	**bəšitaw tənəssa**	His sickness stood up.	His sickness is recurring.

11.ANGER IS FIRE CLOTHES AND FOOD	**ɨsat ləbso isat gorso mət't'a**	He came wearing fire and putting fire in his mouth.	He is burning up with anger, or he is breathing fire.

Table 5.2 shows that, except for the expressions of 1 and 2, all the rest of the Amharic metaphoric linguistic expressions are expressions of **k'ut't'a** when **nɨddet** reaches its highest level.

In a word for word translation of expression 11, the verbs **ləbbəse** 'He put his clothes on,' and **mət't'a** 'He came' may not need any explanation. The verb **gorrəsə,** however, may need some explication. This verb indicates the process of putting food in the mouth. The process begins with how the food is prepared before it is put in the mouth.

Ethiopians use their hands to eat most of their foods. One of these is **injəra,** some circular thin bread eaten with **wət'**, a spicy Ethiopian sauce. More explanation will be given on this subject in the data interpretation.

Metonymies appear to create problems when their functions are explained in the domain of emotions. For instance, in accordance with the conceptual frame set by Kővecses (2002: 4,) conceptual metaphors consist of a source domain and target domain. These domains appear in a conceptual metaphor as in the example, SADNESS IS DOWN (Kővecses, 2000:25.) Moreover, the target domain is abstract. In the case of metonymies, however, instead of domains, two entities are involved-the vehicle entity, and the target entity. It is further pointed out that both entities belong to the same domain. The vehicle conceptual entity 'provides mental access' to the target conceptual entity (Kővecses, 2002:145). The metonymy 'We need a better *glove* at third base' can illustrate this because 'glove' serves as the source entity to bring the baseball player in that position to our mind.

Earlier (Ibid: 20-21), Kővecses has also clearly indicated: 'Target domains are abstract, diffuse, and lack clear delineation; as the result they "cry out" for metaphorical conceptualization.' Soon after, he adds: 'The domain of emotion is a par excellence target domain.'

The problem arises later on when he introduces the *'semiotic triangle'* under the title 'Same Realm versus Distinct Realm' (Ibid: 148-9). Then he explains that metonymy can find a place between some Fomit and a concept, or between the same Fomit and the thing or event this Fomit represents. Therefore, because of this complication, I intend to limit the analysis within the vehicle entity-target entity conceptualization of metonymic expressions. This applies, in this context, when a part of the body is used to give mental access to the whole person-a part for the whole metonymy.

Now the English metonymic expressions will be presented together with their Amharic counterparts or translations.

Table 5.3 [17] English metonymic expressions of anger

Conceptual metaphor	English linguistic expressions	Amharic Literal translations	Amharic Equvalent expressions
ANGER IS A PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECT	*1.She was flushed with anger* (Her face was flushed with anger.) *2. Tears welled up in her.*	**fitwan akkosattərəčɨw** 'She frowned in an angry way.' **ɨmbaawa tənk'orəzzəzə** 'Her tears are hanging, ready to fall.'	**bənɨddet fitwa tələwawwət'ə** 'Her face changed with anger.' **ɨmbaawa gənəffələ** 'Her tears overflowed.' **inbawa dubdub alə** 'Her tears fell, drop by drop.' **nɨddetwa gənəffələ** 'Her anger overflowed.' **ɨmbaawa t'əb t'əb alə** 'Her tears fell, drop by drop.' **ɨmbawa tənannək'at** 'She struggled to hold her tears back.'

[17] The English examples 1, 2 and 3 are taken from Ungerer & Schmidt (1996:132) while the fourth example is taken from Kővecses (2000:148)

	3 His heart pounded 4. Smoke was coming out of his ears.	**lɨbbu mətta** **č'is bəjorow məwt'at jəmmərə** 'Smoke started coming out through his ears.'	**jorow bənɨddet k'əlla** 'His ears became red with anger.'

The Amharic translation of the first expression indicates that she either wrinkles her face, frowns, or her face changes when she is angry. The expressions of the second and third metonymies can show not only anger but also fear in Amharic. The second can also be an expression of sadness in English. The concept of the fourth metonymy does not exist in Amharic and therefore lacks an equivalent expression. It can, however, be expressed metaphorically as **bənɨddet č'əsə** or **bənɨddet tək'at't'ələ** ('He is smoking with anger, he is burning with anger,' respectively.) The reason why I consider the English metaphor as a metonymic expression is because ears are used to represent the whole person.

Amharic has plenty of metonymic linguistic expressions for anger but only a few are shown below. None of the Amharic metonymic expressions appear to have counterparts in English.

Table 5.4. Amharic metonymic expressions of anger

	Amharic linguistic expressions	English Literal translations	English equivalent expressions
ANGER IS A PHYSIOLOGICAL DAMAGE TO VITAL ORGANS	**1.k'ošttu arrərə** **2.lɨbbu tək'at't'ələ** **3.gubbətu arrərə**	His pancreas is burnt. His heart is scalded, or singed.	

	4.**anjətu arrərə** **anjətu** **tək'at'ələ**	His heart is burnt. His intestine is burnt. His intestine is scalded, or singed.	

The Amharic metonymic linguistic expressions shown in Table 5.4 seem to be interesting. This is because the vital organs are metonymically used to represent the whole person. What makes them interesting is the awareness of native speakers that if these organs are affected, the person's physical and emotional health and wellbeing may be disrupted and such a person may not be able to lead a normal life, and that his life may even be in danger when compared to something happening to the external parts of the body. Native speakers of Amharic seem to be cognitively aware of this fact and so, they seem to differ from the native speakers of English in this respect.

Another point that can be noted in this connection may be the mistake made in giving the role of the function of an AGENT to language. This is because we encounter language when Semits are externalized using Fomits. We may be swindled by thinking that it is the Fomits that shaped the cognitive faculty to think rather than thinking that it is the cognitive faculty that shaped them and put the Semits into them. It appears that it is their external presence in spoken and written forms that gave them the semblance of functioning as **AGENT** to influence our minds backwards.

5.2 The emotion of FEAR-Amharic: fɨrhat[18]

The English metaphoric linguistic expressions of **fear** (Kővecses, Ibid: 23) are presented first to see if their Amharic counterparts exist.

[18] ***fɨrhat*** appears to be the basic descriptive Fomit in Amharic with the following other non-basic ones associated with it given in Kane's Dictionary: **sɨgat** 'worry,' **dɨnggat'e** 'the state of being alarmed,' **č'ɨnk'ət** 'anxiety, distress,' **čɨggɨr** ' trouble, problem.'

Table 5.5 English metaphoric expressions of fear

Conceptual metaphors	English linguistic expressions	Amharic literal translations	Amharic equivalent expressions
1.FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER	The sight *filled* her *with* fear.	**yayyəčč‡w nəgər bəfirhat mollat**	**yayyəčč‡w nəgər asfərrat** 'What she saw *filled* her *with* fear.'
2.FEAR IS A HIDDEN ENEMY	Fear slowly *crept up on* him.	**f‡rhat səwnnətun k'əsbək'əs wərrərrəw**	**bəf‡rhat təwat'ə** 'He is swallowed with fear.'
	He was *hounded by* the fear that the business would fail.	**n‡gdu ‡ndaykəsrbbət f‡rhat assaddədəw**	**n‡gdu ‡ndaykəsrbbət bəf‡rhatt təč'ənnək'ə** 'He was troubled by the fear that his business will go bankrupt.'
	The thought continued to *prey on* her mind.	**hassabu a‡mrowan ‡yyəbottəbottəw hedə**	**səwnnətwa bəhasab allək'ə** 'Her body is diminishing with thought.'
3.FEAR IS A TORMENTOR	My mother was *tormented* by fear.	**‡nnate bəf‡rhat təsək'ayta nəbbər**	**‡nnate bəf‡rhat tənbədəbbəčč** 'My mother was shaking with fear.'
4.FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING	He was *haunted* by fear.	**bəf‡rhat ‡yyək'aššəw nəbbər** 'He had a nightmare with	**bəf‡rhat ‡yyətəč'ənnək'ə nəbbər** 'He was stressed and worried with fear.'

		fear.'	
5. .FEAR IS AN ILLNESS	Jill was *sick with* fright.	**jil bəfɨrhat tammməməč**	
6. FEAR IS INSANETY	Jack was *insane with* fear.	**jak bəfɨrhat abbədə**	**jak bəfɨrhat rasun satə** 'Jack lost consciousness with fear.'
7. THE SUBJECT OF FEAR IS A DIVIDED SELF.	I was *beside* myself with fear.	**bəfɨrhat abbədku**	**bəfɨrhat tənbədəbəku** 'I was shaking with fear.'
8. FEAR IS AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE	Fear *took hold of* me.	**fɨrhat č'əbbɨt'o yazəň** 'Fear shook me(like shaking hands) and held me hard.	**bəfɨrhat tənk'ət'ək'ət'ku** 'I was shaking with fear.'
9.FEAR IS A BURDEN	Fear *weighted heavily on* them.	**fɨrhat kɨfuňňa təč'anaččəw** 'Fear pressed on them very hard.'	**bət'am fərru** 'They were afraid very much.'
10. FEAR IS A NATURAL FORCE	She was *engulfed* by panic.	**bədɨnɨgat'e səmt'a nəbbər** 'She was sunk in the sea of panic.'	**bət'am dəngt'a nəbbər** 'She was panicking very much.'
11. FEAR IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR	His actions were *dictated* by fear.	**dɨrgittoču bəfirhat sɨr honəw nəbbər** 'His actions were under fear.'	**hulləmənaw kək'ut'ɨt'ɨr wɨč'č'i hono nəbbər** 'His entire self was out of control.'

It is interesting to know that the literal translations of all the English metaphoric expressions of fear have been found to be comprehensible in Amharic.

The following data are found to be near typical expressions of fear in Amharic after putting the non-typical ones in footnote. [19] Can their literal expressions be found comprehensible in English too? Let us find out.

[19] A lot of metaphoric linguistic expressions of fear were provided by the data collector in Amharic itself. However, most are found to be closely associated with sickness, panic, distress, stress, worry, anxiety, sadness, etc. This was noted as the result of a discussion and critical analysis of the linguistic expressions of the metaphors of emotion, and

Table 5.6 Amharic metaphoric expressions of fear

Conceptual metaphor	Amharic linguistic expressions	English literal translations	English equivalent expressions
1.FEAR IS PHYSIOLOGICAL CHANGE	**lablab ələw**	It said sweat to him.	He broke into a cold sweat.
2.FEAR IS INCONTINENCE	šɨnt šɨnt ələw	He felt like urinating.	He pissed his pants. He wet his pants.
	k'ɨzən k'ɨzən ələw(aššənnaw)	He felt like shitting.	He shitted in his pants.
		He made him piss.	He wet his pants.

As can be seen from the data of Table 5.6, only two conceptual metaphors were found to contain typical expression of fear. The rest, which are placed in footnote, are in some way connected with fear but they are not typical. Some of the expressions can actually be, as indicated by Kane,

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the metaphors of fear in this particular context, with Professor Baye Yimam. This discussion has resulted in more understanding.The results are the addition of the 'Conceptual metaphor,' the 'Literal and equivalent translations' columns, and the placement of non-typical expressions in footnotes such as the folloing one. They may also be used as expressions of fear in the appropriate context.

bɨrbɨrd ələw 'It said cold cold to him. 'He felt a chill in his heart.'

dɨngay honowal 'He became stone and remained as such. 'He was petrified with fear.'

wɨk'abi rak'əw 'His guardian spirit has abandoned him.'

wɨlu t'əfabbət 'He could not find the knot.'

k'olew təgəfəff 'He is stripped of his 'k'ole' (some kind of a guardian spirit.)'

k'ɨsmu təsəbbərə 'His grace, his spirit, his hope, and his entire self are broken. 'His backbone was broken. His spirit was broken.'

wəha hono k'ərrə 'Having become water, he remained there. 'He shit his pants from fear. His knees turned into jelly.'

k'umsɨk'lun ayyə 'He saw his standing up and hanged self. 'He was deathly afraid. He was scared to death.'

sənenna seňňo honəbbət 'It became June and Monday to his detriment. 'It has become Friday the 13th for him.'

mɨt' yazəw 'He is caught with labour.'

lɨgwam at'əbbək'ə 'He tightened bit. 'He put on the brakes.'

expressions of anxiety, troubles and problems, worry, and the state of being alarmed. These experiences are somewhat related to the emotion of fear and that such a relationship may confuse even native speakers.

For example, the expression, **bɨrbɨrd ələw,** can be an expression of sickness and pain, and may be remotely thought of as being an expression of fear. It could express fear in a context. The expression, **wəha hono k'ərre,** can be understood as an expression of the state of being alarmed. They are not thus typical expressions of fear as given by the data collector and later confirmed by the other scholars who are also native speakers of Amharic. They may, however, be expressions of fear when the proper context can be created for them. This indicates that a thorough investigation awaits the concepts and expressions of Amharic.

What can be of interest is the perspective the two native speakers have on fear. For example, according to Kővecses (2000:23) the first conceptual metaphor given for fear is:

FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER and its linguistic expression is: The sight *filled* her *with* fear.

When this is compared with the Amharic expressions, **šɨnt šɨnt ələw, k'ɨzən k'ɨzən ələw,** we can see the differences in the point of view of the native speakers of the two languages regarding the emotion of fear.

We can see that liquid is involved in both cases. However, in the case of English, the liquid comes from an external source to fill the body. In the case of Amharic, the liquid is already in the body as urine, shit. From the point of view of native speakers of English, fear fills the body and its cause and effect are not indicated. In the view of Amharic native speakers, however, the liquid either is made to actually leave the body '**aššənaw,**' 'He made him piss,' or is made inclined to leave the body '**šɨnt šɨnt ələw, k'ɨzən k'ɨzən ələw**' as the result of fear. Thus, what comes from an external source is the 'fear,' the real cause of which can only be known to the speaker. So, in the Amharic case, the body loses control and fear makes the person powerless.

A suggestion can now be made for the concept of the metaphor of emotion in general: EMOTION IS POWER, and for conceptual metaphor of fear in Amharic: FEAR IS POWERLESSNESS. This

suggestion occurred to me when a native speaker described a situation which could indicate the cause of fear. He said that a person travelling on foot, at night, empty handed, through a jungle full of wild and dangerous animals such as lions, hyenas, snakes and tigers, etc., can be filled with a strong emotion of fear because he has nothing to defend himself with. His powerlessness has become the cause of fear. The fear could have been nil or minimal had he been carrying bombs, and a loaded Kalashnikov with extra cartridges and the person is well trained to use these weapons well.

What is even more interesting is the Amharic linguistic expression based on a given conceptual metaphor. In this conceptual metaphor, 'fear' is not seen as the liquid in English which fills the body. It is seen as something spreading quickly throughout the body. The expression is: **fɨrhat ləkʼkʼə kʼkʼə bbət** 'It has made fear to spread quickly all over his body.' So, in Amharic, fear is made to spread in the body and not seen as a liquid to fill the body.

Fɨrhat 'fear' is also found in the metonymic linguistic expressions of Amharic. Let us look at the following metonymic linguistic expressions and see whether their counterparts can be found in English.

Table 5.7 Amharic metonymic expressions of fear

Conceptual metaphors	Amharic linguistic expressions	English literal translations	English equivalent expressions
1. FAER IS CHANGE IN SOME PARTS OF THE BODY	**aynu təgoləggolə**	His eyes bulged.	His eyes bulged with fear.
	wənew kəddaw	His courage betrayed him.	

2. FEAR IS THE BERAYAL OF THE HEART	**lɨbbu kəddaw**	His heart betrayed him.	He lost heart. He is faint- hearted.
3. FEAR IS PHYSICAL CHANGE ON THE BODY	**tənk'ət'ək'k'ət'tə tənbədəbbədə**	He is shaking	He was shaking with fear.
4. FEAR IS A FLOOD	**tənbok'əbbok'ə**	It flooded (the body with fear?)	He is afraid.

There are also other expressions[20] which cannot be claimed to be typical of metonymic expressions of fear.

It is of further interest to note that the two languages express fear metonymically in totally different ways as shown above in Table 5.7.

Some are of the opinion that, all the following expressions in the footnote are not typical expressions of fear. For example, the expression, **'hodu təšəbbərə'** is an expression of sadness and sorrow, not of fear. Some also believe that it is indeed an expression of fear. Still some others argue that **'təšəbbərə'** without **'hodu' can** be a metaphorical expression of fear. The expression,

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[20] **hodu tə šəbbərə** 'His stomach is terrorized. 'His bowels are quaking with fear. He is lily-livered. He is yellow- bellied.'
wəyšmət'u tə k'orrət'ə 'His side (from the armpit to end of the spine) is cut, or he lost hope. 'He has become spineless.'
lɨbbu təsənət'ť'ək'ə 'His heart cracked . 'His heart broke (shows sadness, not fear).'
jorow k'omə 'His ears stuck out.'
k'ənd ašəššə 'He made horns turn away.'
hamotu fəssəssə 'His bile is spilt. 'His mouth is filled with bile.'
hamotəbiss 'Bileless.' 'He has no balls. He is gutless. He is bilious (shows anger, not fear.)'
angətun səbbərə 'He bent his neck.' 'His head is bending low (discouraged.) 'He holds his head up (shows pride, not fear.)'

'wəyšməťu tək'orrəť'ə' expresses sadness. It expresses the emotion of how one may feel when something unpleasant happens unexpectedly.

What can be thought as being important is the difference in the conception of fear by native speakers of the two languages. For instance, the expression **'lɨbbu təsənəť'ək'ə,'** 'His heart broke' can be understood as an expression of being in a state of alarm, not fear. In English, it is an expression of sadness.

Some have indicated that **'jorow k'omə,'** is not an expression of fear but may indicate a person whose main interest is to overhear what others are saying to gather information like a detective. The expression **'k'ənd ašəššə'** will be discussed in detail in Chapter Six.

In the conception of native speakers of Amharic, the 'bile' and the 'heart' are associated with courage whereas native speakers of English use it to indicate, according to the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 7th Ed.*, anger and hatred.

When it comes to the expression **'gulbətu tənk'ət'ək'k'ət'tə'** 'His knee is shaking' some suggest that expressions such as **tənk'ət'ək'k'ət'tə** 'He is shaking,' **təšk'ot'ək'k'o'tə** 'He is being slavish and overacting as a sycophant,' **tərbətəbbətə, tənbədəbbədə** 'He is totally confused and at a loss of what to do' are nearly typical expressions of fear.

5.3 The emotion of HAPPINESS-Amharic: dəsta

According to Kővecses, (2000:24) various source domains are used in the conceptual metaphors of this emotion concept. He provides ample conceptual metaphors and their linguistic expressions in English. Let us look at some of the linguistic expressions and compare them with their Amharic counterparts, if any.

Table 5. 8 English linguistic expressions of happiness

Conceptual metaphors	English linguistic expressions	Amharic literal expressions	Amharic equivalent expressions
1.HAPPY IS UP	We had to cheer him *up.*	**ɨndinək'a madrəg nəbbərəbbɨn**	**ɨndidəsət madrəg nəbbərəbbɨn**
2. HAPPY IS LIGHT	She *brightened* up at the news.	**wərewɨn sɨtsəma fitwa bərra**	**wərewɨn sɨtsəma fitwa fəkka** 'Her face turned into popcorn when she heard the news.'
3.HAPPINESS IS VITALITY	He was *alive* with joy.	**dəsta anək'k'aw** 'Happiness woke him up.'	**dəsta nəfs zərrabbət** 'Happiness sowed soul on him.' **bədəsəta fənəddək'ə** 'He was cheered up by happiness.'
4. A HAPPY PERSON IS AN ANIMAL THAT LIVES WELL	He was happy as *a pig in shit.* He looks like *the cat that got the cream.*	**k'ošaša wist' indətəňňa asama dəss bɨlot nəbbər wətət yəagəňňəč dɨmmət yɨməslall**	**ayt' yəyazəčč dɨmmət yɨməslal** 'He looks like the cat that caught a mouse.'
5. HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER	He *was overflowing* with joy.	**bədəsta tət'lək'lk'o nəbbər**	**bədəsəta təfnəkənəkə** 'He was sparkling with happiness.'
6. HAPPINESS IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL	His feelings of happiness *broke*	**yədəsta sɨmmetu tələk'k'ək'ə** 'His	**bədəsta fənət't'əzə** 'He ran here and there

	loose. She couldn't *hold back* her feelings of happiness.	feelings of happiness was let go.' **yətəsəmmatɨn dəsta məgəddəb alčaləč čɨm**	like a calf or lamb with happiness.' **yətəsəmmatɨn dəsta mək'ot't'at'ər alčaləččɨm** 'She could not control her feelings of happiness.'
7. .HAPPINESS IS AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE	He was *knocked out*! She was *overcome* by *joy.*	**bədəsta təzərrərrə** 'Happiness felled him flat.' **bədəsta təššənfa nəbbər**	**bədəsta fənət't'əzə** 'He ran here and there for happiness.' **bədəsta təwt'a nəbbər** 'She was swallowed by happiness.'
8. HAPPINESS IS INSANITY	They were *crazy with* happiness.	**bədəsta əbbədəw nəbbər** '	**bədəsta əbbədu** 'They were mad with happiness.' **bədəsta fənət't'əzu** 'They ran here and there with happiness.' **bədəsta fənədək'u** 'They were full of laughter with happiness.'
9. HAPPINESS IS A NATURAL FORCE	He was *swept off his feet.*	**dəsta azzələlləw** 'Happiness made him jump.'	**bədəsta fənət't'əzə** 'He ran here and there like a calf or lamb with happiness.'

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The direct translations of the English metaphoric expressions of happiness (Table 5.8 above) have been found to be comprehensible in Amharic. Can the direct translations of the native Amharic metaphoric expressions of happiness into English be as comprehensible to native speakers as the Amharic ones? Let us examine the expressions given in Table 5.9 below.

Table 5.9 Amharic linguistic expressions of happiness

Conceptual metaphors	Amharic linguistic expressions	English literal expressions	English equivalent expressions
1. HAPPINESS IS DEATH	**bəsak' motə**	He died of laughter.	He is laughing himself to death.
2. HAPPINESS IS AN EXPLOSION	**bəsak' fənədda**	He exploded with laughter	He burst out with laughter.
3.HAPPINESS IS LIMITLESS	**meda t'əbbəbbəw**	Space became too small for him	His happiness knows no bounds.
4.HAPPINESS IS FULFILMENT	**hadraw mollallət**	His **hadra** has been fulfilled.	
5.HAPPINESS IS ULULATION	**ɨllɨll alə**	He ululated.	He shouted for joy.
6.HAPPINESS IS A PHYSICAL EXPRESSION	**dankira mətta**	He hit **dankira** (the act of jumping up and down with a certain rhythm, accompanied with songs, kicking the ground forcefully as an expression of happiness.)	He was dancing for joy.
7. HAPPINESS IS A WEDDING CEREMONY	**sərgginna mɨllaš honəllət**	It became **sərg and mɨllaš** for him.	

8.HAPPINESS IS HIGH	**məngistə səmayat yəgəbbač məssəlat**	She thinks she has entered heaven.	She feels like she is in 7th heaven. She feels like she is in heaven. She is on cloud nine.
9.HAPPINESS IS THE EXPRESSION OF BODY MOVEMENT	**bədəsta fənət't'əzə**	He jumped here and there like a lamb.	.He jumped for joy.
10.HAPPINESS IS A SPECIAL EXPRESSION OF BODY MOVEMENT	**č'obbe rəggət't'ə č'obbe rəggədə**	He jumped and hit his ass with his legs over and over again.	He is jumping for joy.
11. HAPPINESS IS AN EXTERNAL CAUSE	.(a) **asdəsətnəw** (b)**dəss ɨnddiləw adərəgɨn** **(c)asfənat't'əznəw**	We made him happy. We saw to it that he is happy. We made him run and jump here and there like a lamb or calf.	
12.HAPPINESS IS REVIVING	**bədəsta nəfs zərra**	He sowed life with happiness on himself.	It rained happiness on him.
13. HAPPINESS IS A PREPARATION OF FOOD FOR A WEDDING CEREMONY	**sərgu təbokkallət**	The food of his wedding has been prepared.	
14.HAPPINESS IS THE FULFILMENT OF THE HEART'S DESIRE	**yəlbbu dərrəsəllət**	His heart's desire has been fulfilled.	

None of the literal translations of the Amharic expressions into English were found to be comprehensible as normal English expressions. For example, the literal translation for no. 12, instead of THE 'Soul,' rain is used as the source domain in English.

In addition to the metaphors, there are metonymic linguistic expressions in Amharic as shown in the data of Table 5.10 below.

Table 5.10 Amharic metonymic linguistic expressions of happiness

Coceptual metaphor	Amharic linguistic expressions	English literal expressions	English equivalent expressions
1.HAPPINESS IS LAUGHTER	**bəsak' lɨbbu fərrəsə**	His heart broke into pieces with laughter.	He was bursting with happiness.
2. HAPPINESS IS THE DRUNKENNESS OF THE HEART	**lɨbbu bədəssɨta səkkərə**	His heart was drunk with happiness.	He was drunk with happiness.
3.HAPPINESS IS A CHANGE IN FACIAL EXPRESSION	**fitu fəkka**	His face became like popcorn.	His face lit up with happiness.
4.HAPPINESS IS THE DRINKING OF BUTTER BY THE INTESTINE	**anjətu k'ɨbe t'ət'ə**	His intestine drank butter.	Butter wouldn't melt in his mouth.
5.HAPPINESS IS THE CUTTING OF REED-LIKE GRASS BY THE ASS	**k'itu k'etəma k'orrət'ə**	His ass cut reed-like grass.	
6.HAPPINESS IS THE WETNESS OF THE STOMACH	**hodu rasə**	His belly got wet.	

What makes the Amharic expressions shown in Table 5.10 metonymic is the fact that part of the body is used to represent the whole person-part for the whole metonymy. In English, however, all the Amharic metonymic expressions came out as metaphoric expressions except for no. 3, **'fitu fəkka.'** Besides, the Amharic metonymic expressions (nos.4, 5, and 6) have no English

counterparts and their literal translations cannot be taken as representing normal Semits as perceived by the English.

The Amharic expression no.4, **'anjətu k'ɨbe t'ət'ə,'** is an expression of gratification. Gratification can be understood as a combination of physical pleasure and happiness. More explanation will be given on this and no.5 in the data interpretation below in Chapter Six.

5.4 The emotion of SADNESS - Amharic: hazən

English has a lot of metaphoric linguistic expressions for the emotion of sadness as shown in Table 5.11 below. Would it be possible to find their Amharic counterparts? Let us examine them one by one.

Table 5.11 English linguistic expressions of sadness

Conceptual metaphors	English linguistic expressions	Amharic literal translations	Amharic equivalent expressions
1. SADNESS IS DOWN	He *brought* me *down* with his remarks.	**k'ɨsmen səbbərəw** 'He broke my entire self.'	**k'ɨsme tasəbbərə** My entire self is broken.'
2. SADNESS IS DARK	He is in a *dark* mood.	**bəč'əlləma sɨmmet wɨst' nəw**	**təkəftoall** 'He has been unhappy.' **tədəbbɨroall** 'He has been bored and gloomy.'
3. SADNESS IS A LACK OF HEAT	Losing his	**yabatu mot**	**babatu mot mɨknyat**

	father *put his fire out;* he has been depressed for two years.	**ɨsattun at'afaw: hulətt amət mulu təkorammətə**	**k'ɨsmun təsəbbərə hulətt amət mulu təkorammətə** 'Because of his father's death, his entire self is broken. ; he was cramped for two years.'
4. SADNESS IS A LACK OF VITALITY	This was *disheartening* news.	**yɨh təsfa yəmiask'ort' wəre nəbbər**	**lɨbb yəmminəka nəgər nəbbər** 'It was a heart touching thing.'
5.SADNESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER	I am *filled* with sorrow.	**bəhazən təmollahu**	**hazən tədərarrəbəbbɨň** Sadness has been layered on me. **tədərarrəbəbbi hazən dərrəsə bbɨň** 'Layers of sadness arrived on me.'
6. SADNESS IS A PHYSICAL FORCE	That was a *terrible blow.*	**ask'əyami mɨt nəbber kəbbad mɨt nəbber** 'It was a heavy hit.' **mɨtu hayləňňa nəbber hayləňňa mɨt nəbber**	**hazənu kəbbad nəbber** 'The sadness was powerful.'

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		'The hit was powerful.'	
7. .SADNESS IS A NATURAL FORCE	*Waves* of depressions *came over* him.	**yəhazən maɬbəl ləbbəsə** 'He wore the storms of sadness.'	**bəhazən maɬbəl tət'ək'ələkə** 'He was overflown with the sea of sadness.'
8. SADNESS IS AN ILLNESS	She was *heart-sick.* Time *heals* all sorrows.	**lɬbbwa tamumual gize hullun hazən yəasrəssal**	**ɬhɬlwəha hazən yasrəssall** 'Food and drink can make sadness to be forgotten.' **nuro hazən yəasrəssall** 'Life makes sadness to be forgotten.' **ɬnjəra hazən yəasrəssall** '**ɬnjəra** makes sadness to be forgotten.'
9. SADNESS IS INSANITY	He was *insane* with grief	**bəhazən abdo nəbbər**	**bəhazən abbədə** 'He went mad with sadness.'
10. SADNESS IS A BURDEN	He *staggered under* the pain.	**hɬməmu angədagədəw** 'The pain made him stagger.'	**bət'am təsək'ayyə** 'He suffered, or is suffering a lot.' **bəhazən təsək'ayyə** 'He suffered, or is

			suffering from sadness.'
11. SADNESS IS A LIVING ORGANISM	He *drowned* his sorrow in drink.	**hazənun ɨmət'ət' bahɨr t'aləw**	**mət'ət' hazənun əsrəsaw** 'Drinking made him forget his sadness.'
12 SADNESS IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL.	His feelings of misery *got out of hand.*	**yəgusk'ulɨnnaw sɨmmet kəjju afətəlləkə'**	**hazənu k'ɨt' at't'a** 'His feelings of misery became chaotic.'
13. SADNESS IS AN OPPONENT	He was *seized by* a fit of depression.	**yəhazən lɨkkɨft č'əmdɨdo yɨzot nəbbər**	**hazən akkorammətəw** 'Sadness cramped him.' **bəhazən təkorammətə** 'He was cramped with sadness.' **bəhazən təč'əmaddədə** 'He was shrunk with sadness.' **kurmtmmɨt alə** 'He shrank and looked folded up.'
14. SADNESS IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR	She was *ruled* by sorrow.	**yəhazən təgəži honalləč**	**bəhazən təsək'ayyə č** 'She suffered, or is suffering from sadness.'

Interestingly, all the given English metaphoric expressions have received their Amharic translations without creating ambiguity. The literal translations of English into Amharic are given their English literal translations whenever necessary. The differences in the perspectives of the way emotions are perceived and expressed in the two languages can be shown by taking a few examples.

These examples are given on the basis of the general principle given above: **emotion is power.** This is because the cause of emotion comes from an external source and that it can have a positive or negative effect on the human body. As the result, the affected person may react in response to this external phenomenon either in a positive or negative way. If we take the first conceptual metaphor as an example, 'SADNESS IS DOWN,' and its linguistic expression 'He *brought* me *down* with his remarks,' we notice that the English express it in the active voice. On the other hand, the Amhara use the passive voice for its expression, **k'ɨsme tasəbbərə** 'My entire self is broken.' Besides, the Amharic Fomit **k'ɨsm** encapsulates the lack of body strength, power, texture, stamina, and **k'ɨsme tasəbbərə** indicates a total loss of the spirit to live, the look of a healthy body and normal personality.[21]

The second conceptual metaphor, SADNESS IS DARK, and its linguistic expression 'He is in a *dark* mood,' can illustrate the differences in the perspectives of the native speakers of the two languages. Native speakers of Amharic understand sadness in more than one perspective, depending on the nature of the thing or event that caused it. They use 'darkness' as a source domain when the sadness is caused by the death of a close relative. A wife who has lost a husband may say **k'ənu č'əlləməbbɨňň** (see table 5.12 below) 'The day has become dark to my detriment.' This means she wants to express what she feels. The day has become dark as if she lost her eyes and there is nobody to guide her and take her where she wants to go and give her what she wants. In other words, she feels helpless, hopeless, disheartened, dispirited and confused. When sadness is used in connection with 'mood,' native speakers of Amharic see it as

[21] For all rare Semits encapsulated in some less common Fomits, I have rferred to Ethiopian Language Research Centre (2001 E.C.)

being in a state of unhappiness. They say **təkəftwall** 'He has become unhappy,' or **tədəbbɨrwall,** using a neological expression.

Another example can be the Amharic expression, **hazən tədərarrəbəbbɨňň** 'Sadness has been layered on me.' The conceptual metaphor in English is: SADNESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER. So, from the perspective and frame of reference of the native speakers of English, sadness is seen as some liquid that fills the body, and the linguistic expression is: I am *filled with* sorrow. From the perspective and frame of reference of the native speakers of Amharic, however, sadness is perceived as a layer. Therefore, when native speakers of Amharic see that a person has been extremely sad, they think that it is because sadness has been piled up in layers upon his body. So, the use the expression: **hazən tədərarrəbəbbɨňň** 'Sadness has been layered on me.'

There is also another perspective from which native speakers of Amharic see sadness. Sadness does not only come in layers. It can also pursue people. The Amharic verb **dərrəsə** 'He, it arrived' is used in this context. So, they say: **tədərarrəbəbbi hazən dərrəsəbbɨň** 'Layers of sadness arrived on me.'

In Table 5.12 below, Amharic metaphoric expressions are presented to see if their English counterparts can also exist.

Table 5.12 Amharic linguistic expressions of sadness

Conceptual metaphors	Amharic linguistic expressions	English literal translations	English equivalent expressions
1. SADNESS IS DARK	**k'ənu č'əlləməbbət**	The day turned into darkness to his detriment.	His face clouded over with fear.
2. SADNESS IS A FALLING SKY	**səmay tədəfabbət**	The sky fell on him.	The sky fell on him.
3. SADNESS IS A WILTED LEAF	**k'ort'əw yət'alut**	He became like a leaf cut and thrown away.	

	kɨt'əl honə		
4. SADNESS IS A CURSE	**yətəfət't'ərəbbətɨn k'ən rəggəmə**	He cursed the day he was born.	He cursed the day he was born.
5. SADNESS IS HALF A DAY	**k'ənu goddələbbət**	The day became half full to his detriment.	His life is empty.
6. SADNESS IS MAK'	**yəhazən mak' ləbbəsə**	He wore the **mak'** (a sort of garment made from the fleece of a black sheep) of sadness.	He was wrapped in sadness.
7. SADNESS IS BITTER	**ɨrrɨrr mɨrrɨrr aləč**	She became burnt and bitter.	
8. SADNESS IS A SIGN OF WEARING	**zək'zik'a ləbbəsəč**	She wore her clothes upside down	
9. SADNESS IS A TEAR OF BLOOD	**yədəm ɨnba ələk'k'əsə**	He shed tears of blood.	

Some of the Amharic expressions such as, for example, expressions nos.3, 5,6,7,9 have no counterparts in English because they are specific to the Amhara culture and frames of reference.

Table 5.13 Amharic metonymic expressions of sadness

Conceptual metonymies	Amharic expressions	English literal translations	English equivalent expressions
1. SADNESS IS FACE SCRATCHING	**fitwan nəč'č'əč**	She scratched her face.	
2. SADNESS IS A CHARCOAL	**fitwa bəhazən kəssələ**	Her face turned	Her face was like

FACE		into charcoal with sadness.	a stone.
3. SADNESS IS A WILTED FACE	**fitu t'əwəlləgə**	His face wilted.	His face fell.
4. SADNESS IS A BENT NECK	**angətun dəffa**	He bent his neck	His head was bent in sorrow.
5. SADNESS IS A CUT RIGHT HAND	**k'əňň ijju tək'orrət'ə**	His right hand is cut.	He lost his right hand man.
6. SADNESS IS LIP SUCKING	**kənfərun mət't'ət'ə**	He sucked his lips.	
7. SADNESS IS A BLEEDING HEART	**lɨbbu bənəgər dəmma**	His heart bled with some matter.	He was heart-sick. He was sick at heart.
8. SADNESS IS A TERRORIZED HEART	**lɨbbu təšəbbərə**	His heart was in terror.	His heart was broken.
9. SADNESS IS A STARTLED HEART	**lɨbbu bərəggəgə**	His heart was startled. His heart startled.	
10.SADNESS IS A SLOSHING ORGAN	**anjətu tənboč'č'abboč'ə** **hodu tənboč'č'abboč'ə**	His intestine sloshed. His stomach sloshed.	His guts were churning.
11. SADNESS IS AN EATEN ORGAN	**anjətun bəllaw** **hodun bəllaw**	It ate his intestine. It ate his stomach.	
12. SADNESS IS BREAST EXPOSURE	**dərətwan t'aləč**	She let down her breast.	

As can be seen from the above data, all the expressions whose English counterparts are not given reveal the different perspectives the native speakers of Amharic have from the native speakers of English.

Such perspectives vary among native speakers themselves. For instance, the expression **kənfərun mət't'ət'ə** 'He sucked his lips,' (no.6) **anjətu tənboč'č'abboč'ə** 'His intestine sloshed,' **hodu tənboč'abboč'ə** ' His stomach sloshed' show sadness for the sad state others are in. They do not show the sadness of the agent of the action. Furthermore, the expressions **lɨbbu təšəbbərə** 'His heart was in terror,' and **lɨbbu bərəggəgə** 'His heart was startled, His heart startled' (no.s 8 and 9) express fear, not sadness.

5.5 The emotion of LOVE –Amharic: fɨk'ɨr

English has many metaphoric expressions of love. The following ones are taken from Kővecses (ibid, p.26) as shown in Table 5.14 below. Their Amharic counterparts may also be provided in ways acceptable to native speakers, if they do not already exist in the language.

Table 5.14 English linguistic expressions of love

Conceptual metaphors	English linguistic expressions	Amharic literal translations	Amharic equivalent expressions
1. LOVE IS AN OPPONENT	She tried to *fight* her feelings of love.	**yəfɨk'ɨr sɨmmetwan lɨtkot'at'tərəw mokərəč**	**yəfɨk'ɨr sɨmmetwan məkot'at'tər ak'atat** 'She could not control her feelings of love.'

2. LOVE IS A JOURNEY	It's been *a long, bumpy road.*	**rəjjɨmɨnna korəkonč məngəd nəbbər**	**yəfɨk'ɨr məngəd wɨt'awɨrəd yɨbəzabbətall** 'The journey of love is full of ups and downs.'
3. LOVE IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL	She *let go of her* feelings.	**sɨmmetwan ləkʼkʼəkʼə-ččɨw** 'She let her feelings go.'	**sɨmmetwan məkʼkʼotʼatʼtʼər alčaləččɨm** 'She could not control her feelings.'
4. LOVE IS A UNITY OF PARTS	They're *breaking up.*	**ɨyyətələyayyu nəw** 'They are going apart.'	**məlləyayyətaččəw nəw** 'They are going to break up.'
5. LOVE IS CLOSENESS	They're very *close.*	**bəməhalaččəw nɨfas aygəbam** 'Air cannot enter between them.'	**bətʼam yɨffakʼərallu** 'They love each other very much.' **fɨkʼɨr naččəw** 'They are in love.'
6. LOVE IS WAR	She captured him.	**marrəkəččɨw**	**kəswa sɨr aywətʼam** 'He cannot be without her.'
7. LOVE IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER	She was overflowing with love.	**bəfɨkʼɨr gənəfəllʼəč**	**bəfɨkʼɨr abbəddəč** 'She

			went crazy with love.' **bəfɨk'ɨr kənnəfəč** 'She flew with love.' **bəfɨk'ɨr č'rk'wan t'ɨla heddəč** 'She went naked with love.'
8. LOVE IS MAGIC	He was *enchanted.*	**tədəgmobəttall**	**mədhanit asnəkkačč ɨw** 'She made him touch a charming medicine. She charmed him.'
9. LOVE IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR	She is completely *ruled* by love.	**bəfɨk'ɨr təgəztalləč**	**bəfɨk'ɨr mululəmulu təšənnɨfalləč** 'She is completely beaten by love.'
10. THE OBJECT OF LOVE IS A DEITY	He *worships* her.	**yɨsəgdɨllattall**	**yaməlkatal**

All the given Amharic metaphoric counterparts are comprehensible to the native speakers even though they may be conceptualized and expressed in the Amharic Fomits differently. Some may express ideas different from love. For example, the literal translation of the conceptual metaphor 'LOVE IS CLOSENESS.' **bəməhalaččəw nɨfas aygəbam** can be understood as an expression of agreement, cooperation and harmony between any two individuals, regardless of sex. Furthermore, the equivalent Amharic expression for the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS MAGIC, **mədhanit asnəkkačč ɨw** 'She made him touch medicine' reflects the frame of reference of the native speakers of Amharic. This means that traditionally, if a woman loves a man but finds out

that he does not like her, she may go and see a **dəbtəra,** a well educated man in the traditional church school. He may give her a scroll of parchment on which are written some magic words that can transform the person into a devoted, ardent lover. The expression is used to refer to this situation.

There are fewer metaphors of love in Amharic than in English as the following data show.

Table 5.15 Amharic linguistic expressions of love

Conceptual metaphors	Amharic linguistic expressions	English literal expressions	English equivalent expressions
1. LOVE IS UNRULY	**k'olo yəmmiaguarɨs fɨk'ɨr**	Love that makes lovers put **k'olo** in each other's mouth (gurša.)	
2. LOVE IS WAR	**ak'ossələččɨw**	She wounded him.	
3. LOVE IS SELFISHNESS	**yəjib fɨk'r**	The love of a hyena	puppy love
4. LOVE IS FOOLISH	**yəmoňň fɨk'ɨr**	The love of a fool	
5. LOVE IS STUPID	**yəjil fɨk'ɨr**	The love of a jerk	
5. LOVE IS FIRE	**bəfɨkɨr nəddəddə bəfɨk'ɨr tək'k'att'ələ**	He burnt with love.	

As can be seen in Table 5.15 above, all the Amharic metaphoric expressions are based on the culture of the native speakers.

Amharic has also about the same number of metonymies.

Table 5.16 Amharic metonymic expressions of love

Conceptual metonymies	Amharic metonymic expressions	English literal translations	English equivalent expressions
1. LOVE IS A THIEF	**lɨbbun wəssədəččɨbbət**	She took his heart.	She stole his heart.
2.LOVE IS PREPAREDNESS	**aynwan t'ɨlabbəttaləč**	She has cast her eyes on him.	
3. LOVE IS WAR	**lɨbbun marəkəčɨw**	She has captured his heart.	
4.LOVE IS ADMIRATION	**bəlɨbbu anəggəsat**	He crowned her in his heart.	He took possession of her heart.
5. LOVE IS A VITAL ORGAN	**yanjət fɨk'ɨr**	The love of the intestine	
6.LOVE IS LOSS OF HEART	**lɨbbu t'əffa**	He has lost his heart	He is love-sick. He is sick with love.
7. LOVE IS MADNESS	**yəwəddədə abbəddə**	A person in love is mad.	
8.LOVE IS BLINDNESS	**yəwəddədə ayn yəlləwɨm**	He who is in love has no eyes.	Love is blind.
9. LOVE IS HUNGER	**anjətun bəllaččɨw**	She ate his intestine	
10.LOVE IS A PLACE SEEKER	**k'əlbu arfobatall**	His **k'əlb** has landed on her.	

5.6 The emotion of LUST -Amharic: fɨtwəta sɨga, k'ɨnzɨrɨnna, sɨsɨnna, sesəňňɨnnət, k'ɨnzɨrəňňɨnnət

The English metaphoric expressions of lust shown in Table 5.17 below are from Kővecses (ibid, p.29).Whether their literal translations into Amharic can be acceptable or not will be shown in the following the data.

Table 5.17 English linguistic expressions of lust

Conceptual metaphors	English linguistic expressions	Amharic literal linguistic expressions	Amharic equivalent expressions
1. LUST IS HUNGER	She's sex-*starved*	**bəwəsib tərɨballəč**	**k'oltwattal** 'She is hot.' **k'ənəzzərəč dərrač šafəddəč** 'She has become too hot.'
2. LUST IS PRESSURE INSIDE A CONTAINER	Her whole body *exploded* in passion.	**yəsərra akəlatwa bəkəbbad sɨmmet fənədda**	**šafdalləč**
3. A LUSTFUL PERSON IS A FUNCTIONING MACHINE	She *turned* me *on*.	**abərraččɨň**	**k'əsək'k'əsəččɨbɨňň** 'She woke it up in me.'
4. LUST IS WAR	She was his latest *conquest*	**yəməč'ərrəšawa**	

		mɨrkoňňaw nəbbərəč	
5. LUST IS A NATURAL FORCE	There were *waves* of passion.	**yəsɨmmet maɨbəlat nəbbəru**	
6. LUST IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR	He was completely *ruled* by lust	**mululəmulu yəwəsib təgəži honoall**	**bət't'am sesəňňa honoall** 'He has become very sexy.' **wɨšša honoall** 'He has become a dog.' **ɨssu wɨšša nəw** 'He is a dog.'

As can be seen from the data, Amharic has four Fomits into which the core concept, which Kane (Ibid) describes in general as 'desire of the flesh, strong sexual desire,' etc is encapsulated, that in fact revolves around the central concept of 'LUST.'

The native Amharic data show seven metaphoric expressions of different Fomit-Semit structures.

Table 5.18 Amharic linguistic expressions of lust

Conceptual metaphors	Amharic linguistic expressions	English literal translations	English equivalent expressions
1. LUST IS A SNAKE	**ɨndə k'ətɨr ɨbab təkləfəlləfəč**	She ran here and there in all directions like a mid-day snake.	

2 .LUST IS INSANITY	**ak'nəzənnəzat**	She went crazy with lust.	
3. LUST IS IRRESPONSIBILTY	**t'ɨdo zəllə**	A sexy woman who forgets what she cooks on fire and runs off to her lover	
4.LUST IS OVERSEXINESS	**wɨk'k'ač'am** **məsgərt** **sesəňňa** 'sexy' **k'ɨnzɨrəňňa** 'lustful'	Some Fomits describing a sexiest woman.	

What the Amharic data show is the lack of plenty of metaphoric and metonymic expressions.

5.7 The emotion of PRIDE - Amharic: kurat, tɨ?bit

English has five metaphoric expressions for pride as shown in Table 5.19 below.

Table 5.19 English linguistic expressions of the metaphors of pride

Conceptual metaphors	English linguistic expressions	Amharic literal expressions	Amharic equivalent expressions
1.PRIDE IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER	The sight *filled* him with pride.	**yayəw nəgər lɨbbun bəkurat mollaw**	
2.PRIDE IS A SUPERIOR	Her self- esteem *did not* let her do it.	**kɨbrwa ɨndɨttadərrgəw alfək'k'ədəllatɨm**	**kɨbrwan ləmət'əbbək' sɨtɨl təwəččɨw** 'She left

			it to keep her honour.'
3.PRIDE IS AN ECONOMIC VALUE	Don't *underestimate* yourself.	**ləras‡h z‡k'k' yalə g‡mm‡t att‡st'**	**ras‡h‡n z‡k'k' z‡k'k' attarg** 'Don't make yourself lower and lower.'
4. CAUSING HARM TO A PROUD PERSON IS CAUSING INJURY TO SOMEONE	His pride was *injured.*	**kuratuu k'oslo nəbbər**	**k‡bru tənəkka** 'His honour was touched.'
5. CAUSING HARM TO A PROUD PERSON IS CAUSING PHYSICAL DAMAGE TO A STRUCTURED OBJECT	That *put a dent* in his pride.	**nəgəru k‡brun dərəməsəw**	**nəgəru k‡brun nəkkaw** 'The matter touched his honour.'

There are six metaphoric expressions in native Amharic for pride as shown below. Can their English counterparts be found for them? Let us find out.

Table 5.20 Amharic linguistic expressions of pride

Conceptual metaphors	Amharic linguistic expressions	English literal translations	English equivalent expressions
1. PRIDE IS A DIVIDED SELF	**bəkurat təbət'at't'əsə**	He is cut into pieces with pride.	
2. PRIDE IS OVEREATING	**t‡?‡bit wət't'ərəw**	He is full with pride.	

3. PRIDE IS SELF-AGGRANDIZEMENT	**mɨdɨr lək'k'ək'k'ə** **mɨdɨr dəhna wayi alə**	He quit the earth He said goodday to earth	He is off the ground He is ten feet off the ground.
4. PRIDE IS INFLATION	**t'ɨgab nəftotal**	He is inflated with pride	

The Amharic metaphoric linguistic expressions shown in Table 5.20 are interesting. None of them, however, have counterparts in English. The couterparts given for no. 3 are expressions of

happiness, not pride in English. They can thus be examples of how things and events can be conceptualized in different ways and encapsulated in uniquely structured Fomits.

Amharic has also metonymic expressions for pride as in all other emotion entities. Fifteen are shown below.

Table 5.21 Amharic metonymic linguistic expressions of pride

Conceptual metonymies	Amharic linguistic expressions	English literal translations	English equivalent expressions
1. PRIDE IS SWOLLEN SHOULDERS	**tɨkəššaw abət't'oall**	His shoulders are swollen.	
2. PRIDE IS THE SHOWING OF SHOULDERS	**tɨkəššawɨn asayyə**	He showed his shoulders.	
3. PRIDE IS HAVING A SOLID HEART	**lɨbbu tədəffənə**	His heart has become solid.	
4. PRIDE IS A COVERED HEART	**lɨbbu təšəfənnə**	His heart has	

		been covered (with fat.)	
5. PRIDE IS TOTAL SELF-CONFIDENCE	**yəlɨbblɨbb bək'aw**	Heart of heart was enough for him.	
6. PRIDE IS HAVING A COMPACT HEART	**lɨbbu dəndnwal**	His heart has become pudgy.	
7.PRIDE IS INFLATING THE CHEST	**dərətun nəftwal**	He has inflated his chest.	
8.PRIDE IS SHOWING CHEST	**dərətun asayyə**	He showed his chest.	
9. PRIDE IS BELITTLING OTHERS	**baynu lɨkk səw t'əffa**	Nobody could be found to measure up to the size of his eyes.	
10. PRIDE IS LOOKING DOWN ON OTHERS	**baynu k'it' ayyə**	He saw with the ass of his eyes.	

These Amharic metonymic expressions appear to be falling outside the culture, frame of reference, and perspective of the English native speakers.

5.8 The emotion of SHAME- Amharic: hafrət, wɨrdət, k'ɨllet

In accordance with Kane's understanding, **hafrət** may also mean 'disgrace.' He further adds that the Amharic **wɨrdət** may mean 'disgrace, humiliation, degradation and affront.'

There are nine metaphoric expressions for this emotion entity in English as shown below.

Table 5.22 English expressions of shame

Conceptual metaphors	English linguistic expressions	Amharic literal translations	Amharic equivalent expressions
1. A SHAMEFUL PERSON IS A PERSON HAVING NO CLOTHES ON	I felt so *naked*; so *exposed*. I was *caught with my pants down.*	**ɨrk'anen yək'ərəhu yətəgallət'hu məssəllən surriye wəlk'o tayəzhu**	**ɨrk'anen k'ərrəhu** 'I am found naked.'
2. SHAME IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER	The memory *filled* him with shame.	**tɨsswɨstaw bəhafrət mollaw**	**siastawsəw yafrall** 'He is ashamed when he remembers it.'
3. SHAME IS AN ILLNESS	He *suffered* much embarrassment in his youth.	**bəlɨjɨnnət hafrət yassək'ayyəw nəbbər**	**bəlɨjɨnnət hafrət yaššəmak'ɨk'əw nəbbər** 'Shame used to make him shrink in his childhood.'
4. SHAME IS A DECREASE IN SIZE	I felt *this big.*	**ičči̇n akkəlku**	**dɨnbit' akkəlku** 'I felt as big as a robin.' **mammasaya akkəlku** 'I felt as big as a

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			mammasaya (a short slender stick for stirring **wət'**.'
5. SHAME IS HIDING AWAY FROM THE WORLD	I wanted to *bury my head in the sand.* I wished the *ground would just swallow me up.*	**rasen ašəwa wɨst' ləmək'bər təməňňəhu**	**məret bɨtwɨt'əňň wəddədku** 'I liked the earth to swallow me up
6. A SHAMEFUL PERSON IS A DIVIDED SELF	I tried to *regain my composure.*	**rasen ləmarrəgagat mokkərku**	**hafrəten ləməššəššəg mokkərku** 'I tried to cover up my shame.'
7. A SHMAEFUL PERSON IS A WORTHELESS OBJECT	I felt like *two cents waiting for change.*	**ləmɨnɨzzare yətək'əmmət'u hulət santimočč yəhonku yahɨl təsəmmaň**	**yəgešo yahl k'əlləlku** 'I felt as light as hops.' **ɨndə bərbbərre k'əlləlku** 'I felt as light as red pepper.'
8. SHAME IS PHYSICAL DAMAGE	I was *shattered.*	**təfərəkakəsku**	**təšəmak'k'əku** 'I am shrunk.'
9. SHAME IS A BURDEN	Guilt was *weighing him down.*	**s'əs's'ət wədətač yɨč'č'anəw nəbbər**	**bət't'am tə s'əs's'ɨto nəbbər** 'He regreted deeply.'

In Amharic, the Semit of **hafrət** is 'shame,' and **wurdət** is 'disgrace, dishonour, etc.' As in all other English metaphoric expressions, the Amharic translations of the English metaphoric expressions for shame given in Table 5.22 are all comprehensible. Most reflect the culture, frame of reference, and the perspectives of the native speakers. For instance, the Semit of **wɨrdət** indicates the concept of going down, the falling from high to low. Other concepts are getting small in size, and becoming light in weight when a person becomes shameful.

Interestingly, only three of the following Amharic metonymic linguistic expressions are found for **wurdət.**

Table 5.23 Amharic expressions of shame

Conceptual metaphors	Amharic linguistic expressions	English literal translations	English equivalent expressions
1.SHAME IS HIDING ONE'S FACE	**fitun šaffənə**	He covered his face.	
2. SHAME IS BEARDLESSNESS	**t'imu bərrərrə**	His beard flew away.	
3.SHAME IS DISHONESTY	**bəmlasu təšomə**	He got appointed (to a position) by tongue.	

There will be a discussion of these in the data interpretation.

5.9 The emotion of SURPRISE-Amharic: mədənnək', məggərəm, məddəməm[22]

[22] All the metaphoric expressions of Amharic are kindly provided to me by Dr Sergiw Gelaw, then a PhD candidate himself.

The emotion represented by 'SURPRISE' has few linguistic expressions in both English and Amharic. Amharic even lacks an exact equivalent descriptive term. Two suggestions are offered by Kane (ibid). These are:

təgərrəmə 'to be surprised, to be astonished, amazed, to be impressed; to take offense; get in a huff at; to be rendered sensible.

dənnək'ə 'to surprise, to astonish.'

Amharic has another descriptive term-**tədəmməmə,** which is closely related to the two given above. However, none of them can give the exact sense of the English emotional Semit represented by the Fomit [sə'praɪz]. It is indeed surprising, however, that if any native speaker of Amharic is asked to translate the English sentence 'He is surprised' into Amharic, one of the following may come into his mind:

təgərrəmə, tədənnək'ə, tədəmməmə.

From these three, **tədəmməmə,** which is a Geez word for the Amharic **tədənnək'ə,** can give the sense of a quiet or calm surprise. As will be shown below, the active form of **dənnək'ə** i.e. **adənnək'ə** is 'He admired.' The following data show the English metaphoric expressions according to Kővecses (Ibid: 33.) Three linguistic metaphoric expressions are given for surprise.

Table 5.24 English linguistic expressions of surprise

Conceptual metaphors	English linguistic expressions	Amharic literal translations	Amharic equivalent expressions
1. SURPRISE IS A PHYSICAL FORCE	I was *staggered* by the report.	**yənəggəruňň nəgər angədagdoňň nəbbər**	**mərdowɨn alčalkutɨm** 'I am unable to carry the surprise.'
2. A SURPRISED PERSON IS A BURST CONTAINER	I just *came apart at the seams.*	**məgat'təmiawočče təlak'k'ək'u**	**məgat'təmiawočče wəlakllək'u** 'My

			seams fell out.'
3. SURPRISE IS A NATURAL FORCE	I was *overwhelmed* by surprise.	**agramot aššənnəfəňň**	**bagramot təwč'č'e nəbbər** 'I was swallowed by surprise.'

As has already been noted, most of the Amharic verbs are polysemic. For example, **adnak'ot,** a derived nominal from **dənnək'ə,** cannot be used in place of **agramot** because, if it is used in its place, the Semit will change to 'admiration,' and the expression **adnak'ot aššənnəfəňň** 'I was *overwhelmed* by surprise,' may not be acceptable in Amharic. Besides, native speakers of Amharic have not come up with the Fomit encapsulating the concept of 'overwhelming.' Instead, the Fomit **aššənnəfəňň** 'It (He) has beaten me' is used.

In fact, the exact sense of the English Semit in 'surprise' may not be captured at this moment in Amharic. For instance, if one tries to get the exact sense of the English 'surprise attack' in Amharic, we may use expressions such as **dɨngətəňňa adəga** 'a sudden accident,' **yaltassəbə nəgər,** 'something unexpected,' **yaltassəbə gud** 'some unexpected strange thing.' So, the Amharic expressions given in the table could be understood when explained and do occur to a native speaker naturally.

It has been possible to find five metaphoric expressions in Amharic for surprise.

Table 5.25 Amharic linguistic expressions of surprise

Conceptual metaphors	Amharic linguistic expressions	English literal translations	English equivalent expressions
1. SURPRISE IS AN EXPECTATION	**gud sayssəmma məskərəm ayt'əbam**	September does not come without	

		something surprising happening.	
2. SURPRISE IS DEATH	**gərmoňň lɨmot**	I was about to die with surprise.	
3.SURPRISE IS THE OCCURRENCE OF THE UNEXPECTED	**yɨgərmal yənatɨš dəm mək'rət**	The stoppage of your mother' monthly period (menstruation) is surprising.	
4. SURPRISE IS THE HAPPENING OF THE UNEXPECTED	**aynen attasɨk'əw t'ɨrses lɨmadu nəw**	Don't make my eyes laugh; laughing with my teeth is my usual habit.	
5.SURPRISE DOES NOT LAST LONG	**bɨrk'ɨnna dɨnk' yaland k'ən aydəmk'**	Something rare and something surprising will not last more than a day.	

As can be seen from the data, none of the Amharic expressions have their counterparts in English. More discussions will be attempted in the data interpretation.

Chapter Six

Data Interpretation

6.0 Introduction

From now on, what is important is to find evidence from the metaphors of emotion of the two languages through data interpretation to prove that language **does not influence thought.** How can this be done? The answer is that it can be done by comparing the metaphors of emotion of the two languages on the basis of the New Hypothesis, the objectives, and the research questions. All of these will be supported by evidence from the data.

6.1. Anger metaphors

Now, what seems to be necessary is to provide evidence from the data to support the claims made by the New Hypothesis and thereby disprove the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis even more.

The evidence for the first claim that language, the embodiment of thought, **facilitates the discovery and expression of new concepts** can begin with the fact that Amharic has two descriptive terms for the English anger- **nɨddet** and **k'ut't'a.** The discussion of this claim can also provide the answer to the first question as to how different languages differ in their conceptualizations of emotion. Therefore, while the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS FIRE is common to both languages, the linguistic expressions based on it differ because the Amharic linguistic expressions pertain to **nɨddet** and not to **k'ut't'a.** So, the English expressions (Table 5.1, no. 2) 'He is doing a slow burn,' and 'His anger is smouldering' indicate that anger is affecting the angry man negatively and that no action is taken to relieve the anger. The same thing is true of the corresponding literal Amharic expressions:

2. **k'əss bək'əss ɨyyətək'at't'ələ nəw** 'He is doing a slow burn.'

3. **nɨddetu ɨyyəgamə nəw** 'His anger is smoldering.'

These modes of Amharic expressions show that they come from different frames of reference and are also based on different cultures. The discovery by the native Amharic speakers that anger can be conceived in two different ways and the finding of two separate Fomits structured differently (**nɨddet** and **k'ut't'a**) into which to encapsulate them can show the English native speakers something new. The English do not thus only learn, if they so desire, that anger can be conceptualized in two ways but also that there are different ways of structuring Fomits in language. In the same way, the Semit encapsulated in the English Fomit 'emotion' can serve as a discovery of a new generic way of conceptualizing 'feeling' which can be understood as being equivalent to the Amharic **sɨmmet,** showing that native speakers of Amharic therefore did not come by such a new concept, and the Fomit for its encapsulation. These examples can show how language facilitates and expands concepts when the cultures and frames of reference of different native speakers are externalized through it.

More can be shown by the fact that, culturally, Ethiopians prefer to be patient, or to restrain their anger. However, when they become angry, the anger can take the **nɨddet** to the **k'ut't'a** direction because **k'ut't'a** requires the manifestation of some kind of behavioural response. **nɨddet** exemplifies some theories of emotion that when the body is filled with emotion, 'physiological changes...occur' in the body (Kővecses, Ibid: 133-4). When it becomes intense, it might even explode. But, in this Amharic case, **nɨddet** can take the form of a mixture of irritation, annoyance, worry, anxiety, distress, stress (see Kane,) all of which may result in total body agitation because the cause might have been overwhelming and may sometimes become beyond the means of the subject to take action.

What is even more interesting is that Amharic has metonymic expressions to externalize such bodily agitations as the metonymies show (Table 5.4):

1.**k'oštu arrərə** 'His pancreas is burnt.'
2.**libbu tək'at't'ələ** 'His heart is burnt.'
3.**gubbətu arrərə** 'His liver is burnt.'
4.**anjətu arrərə** 'His intestine is burnt.'

All of these metonymic expressions, which are not found in English, show how the man is 'seething with anger' being helpless to take action for one reason or another. Interestingly, most of the vital organs are used to serve as the vehicle entities to show the degree and intensity of the effect of anger on the body. Interestingly, the first metonymic expression indicates how the native speakers were able to understand how the drying up of insulin in the pancreas can cause damage to the body by causing diabetics. English has expressions using the heart to show sadness, not anger. The common ones are: **His heart is broken. Her heart sank.**

Some people with whom the distinction between **nɨddet** and **k'ut't'*a*** was discussed confirm what is said above that **k'ut't'*a*** indicates the spontaneous response of an angry person. Furthermore, it can be understood as a manifestation of dissatisfaction or annoyance at the behaviour or action of a particular person, or some unpleasant event. **nɨddet,** on the other hand, may lead to a deep, premeditated violent response, when it occurs and whenever possible.

The two Amharic Fomits thus encapsulate two related processes in connection with fire. This can be revealed when they are used in their verbal forms. Both **nəddədə** and **tək'at't'ələ** mean 'he or it is burning.' However, in the case of **nəddədə,** the fire is burning with a flame whereas in the case of **tək'at't'ələ,** the burning takes place with or without a flame. Even more interestingly, Amharic has a third verb **gamə** which means the burning substance has no flame but it may show some glowing feature constantly gathering a tremendous amount of heat .This verb is used in the third Amharic expression in Table 5.1 **nɨddetu ɨyyəgamə nəw** 'His anger is smouldering.' The verb **nəddədə** is not therefore even used in both metaphoric expressions of Table 5.1.

So, an even better illustration of how language can facilitate the expansion and discovery of new concepts springing from the effects of the differences in the culture, experiences, cognitive power, and frames of reference of the native speakers of different languages can be seen in the metaphoric expressions (Table 5.1, no.5) for English, 'He *unleashed* his anger' and (Table 5.2,

no.12,) for Amharic: **ɨsat ləbso ɨsat gorso mət't'a** 'He came wearing and putting fire in his mouth.'

This Amharic metaphoric expression indicates the manifestation of **k'ut't'a**. The fire in the mouth and worn as clothes show the degree of intensity of the anger and the resolve of the angry man to take some drastic and violent action. Looked at from this metaphoric expression, it seems that he himself appears to be converted into fire. The intensity of the anger inside the body seems to manifest itself in some external immense power.

The second claim of the New Hypothesis is that linguistic diversities confront us with surprises. The two Amharic descriptive terms of anger- **nɨddet** and **k'ut't'*a*-** and the two metaphoric expressions based on them can again be used to show how the native speakers of the two languages encapsulate things in unfamiliar Fomits and conceptualize them differently, thus confronting us with surprises.

For instance, the English verb 'unleashed' implies letting a sudden anger be felt or have an effect on someone, the Semit of which is illustrated by the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (7th Ed.) in the statement: '*The government's proposals unleashed a storm of protest in the press.*' In contrast, it would be interesting to compare the given English metaphoric expression 'He unleashed his anger' with the just given somehow similar but different corresponding Amharic expression - **ɨsat ləbso ɨsat gorso mət't'a** 'he came wearing and putting fire in his mouth.'

The concepts associated with each unit of the Amharic Fomits need some explication to show the importance of the cultural artifacts initially encapsulated into them during the formative process. In Amharic, **gurša** is a noun derived from the verb **gorrəsə** 'He put food in his mouth.' In order to make the **gurša**, a piece of **injera,** some thin circular Ethiopian bread, is taken and put on some **wət',** some spicy Ethiopian sauce, to cover it up. The piece of injera is then lifted with a lot of **wət',** folded and filling up the palm and fingers of the right hand. Thus, the food made ready in this way to be put in the mouth for eating is called **gurša.**

The second verb **'ləbbəsə'** means 'he put on clothes, or he wore clothes.' **ɬsat** is 'fire.' One can then imagine the coming of an angry man 'wearing' fire, and some **'gurša** of fire' in his mouth! This Amharic metaphor contrasts with the English one because, in the English expression, the effect of anger is implied, but the angry man may not be manifesting the intensity of his anger whereas, in the Amharic expression, the wearing of fire, and the fire in the mouth of the angry man serve as source domains to indicate what can be seen as the result of the effect of the anger on the body and the change in the behaviour of the angry man. It can therefore be seen that such a man can be as dangerous as fire itself. This conceptualization of the Amharic metaphor can however correspond to the English expression of breathing fire.

These examples can show what kinds of surprises can be expected when all the remaining languages are analyzed, examined and interpreted in a similar vein. Still something more surprising though can be noted in the capacity of Amharic to accommodate the literal translations of the English metaphoric expressions of emotions without being totally strange to Amharic native speakers and with a further capacity to be familiarized and put to use in future. The case in point is the rendition of the English 'He unleashed his anger' into:

k'uť'awɬn fətto lək'k'ək'əw. 'He untied his anger and let it go.'

This expression was accepted and was understood by native speakers without difficulty.

The third claim of the New Hypothesis is that any given language complements the other. The evidence for this can be found in the first metaphoric expression of anger in English (Table 5.1 no.1) 'She is *boiling with* anger' the literal translation of which in Amharic is: **bənɬddet ɬyyənəffərəč nəw**

The following can be the conceptual metaphors of the two languages.

English: ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER

Amharic: ANGER IS ASSORTED CEREAL BOILING IN A CONTAINER.

In the English conceptual metaphor, the boiling water represents the source domain and anger represents the target domain and the container is the human body. In the Amharic one, anger is

the heat boiling the water that is boiling the cereal in the container. Furthermore, in the case of Amharic, **nɨfro** (the boiling cereal) is serving as the source entity and the person receiving the anger as the target entity. This means the heat that went into the boiled assorted cereal represents the amount of anger that went into the body of the woman showing how it has affected her body.

The way English is serving Amharic as a complement in the above example is not confined to the discovery of the new metaphoric expression. It can also be seen as contributing the structuring of Fomits representing corresponding structuring of Semits. This is seen in the newly introduced –*ing* form of the English verb Fomit into the Amharic structuring. The native expression of this metaphor would have been:

2. **bənɨddet nəffərəč** 'She boiled with anger.'

What is left out in this second expression is -**ɨyyə-nəw** functioning as *x-ing-* in English, the x representing the verb whereas the Amharic verb is located between **ɨyyə-** and the copula - **nəw-** occurring in the final position. This is a newly introduced Fomit-Semit structuring into Amharic.

It can therefore be claimed that this introduction of the aspectual Semit into the verbal Fomit structuring of Amharic can serve as a concrete example and evidence as to how one language can complement the other. This is so because this Amharic word for word translation of the English metaphoric expression has never been used before in Amharic and it surprised a colleague who heard it for the first time because he thought that it was effectively expressive. Lots of further evidence can be picked from the data for those interested.

Some more evidence from other domains of thought can be used to show that realities that are not grasped as well as experienced by native speakers of one language, concepts that are expressed in one language but not in another, might be discovered only by learning those languages. The idea inherent in the truth just described indicates the effectiveness of the possibility of lining up all languages and examining them to see what realities and concepts are found in one language but not in another. This can be possible because all languages are made up of variously structured Fomits in which various kinds of referents with which are associated

various kinds of concepts are encapsulated. Concepts that are not found in one language can thus be found in another. This might be the sole reason why modern Ethiopian schools teach English or other **Standard Languages** to give modern education.

In fact, something that actually occurred can be cited, something that is relevant to the point under discussion. This is the exact words of what a German Ambassador to Ethiopia once said at the graduation of students who took a German course in the Deutche Schűle in Addis Ababa. He said: **'Yetzt Sind sie ser Reich Weil sie haben eine neue Sprache gelernt.'** 'Now you are very rich because you have learnt a new language.'

The basic argument is not to deny that the native speakers of English have made tremendous progress in the fields of science, technology, literature and other domains far more than the native speakers, for example, of Amharic as evidenced by English. It is to argue that it is not the English language that made them achieve such progress. Rather, it is to verify that what enabled them to do so are their thinking power, their cognitive ability, and their ability to use their brains to discover and develop scientific methods to investigate and analyze things. Moreover, by the same token, it is **not Amharic** that made its native speakers trail behind the English in those domains of knowledge. Many other factors might have contributed to the situation. **Culture can** be one of such factors highlighted by scholars. However, culture is one category which may not include all other influencing factors accounting for all different kinds of knowledge accumulated so far.

Another comparison could now be made in the expression of anger. Native speakers of English have an expression of anger based on the conceptual metaphor, ANGER IS A NATURAL FORCE: It was a *stormy* meeting (Table 5.1, no.7.) In the case of the native speakers of Amharic, a single Fomit of expression-**jinniam** 'full of djinn' (Tabele 5.2, no.8) - is made to encapsulate the behaviour of a djinn, some kind of spirit, borrowed from Arabic. It is used to describe a constantly angry person. In the case of English, the metaphoric expression appears to come from the observation of what happens when storms occur in the oceans or the seas, which surround the English. In the Amharic case, the idea of the djinn must have come to their attention by the close contact with Arabs. In both cases, the influence does not appear to come from the languages themselves but from the experiences of their native speakers.

6.2 Fear metaphors

Let us again look at another example from the fear emotion:

k'umsɬk'lun ayyə 'He saw his hanged and standing self' (Table 5.6, no.9.)

Two English counterparts of this expression are given as being: 'He was deathly afraid. He was scared to death.'

The Amharic expression consists of two verbs: **k'ɔmə** 'He stood,' and **təsək'k'ələ** 'He is hanged.' So, the expression indicates that the man who is either engulfed in fear or suffering from misery can see himself as hanged or standing at the same time. It can be interesting to see from this Amharic expression how the cognitive faculty manipulates language.

Even more interesting can be the explication given of the active counterpart of the expression: **k'um sɬk'ɬl asayyə** 'He showed a person's standing and hanged self,' Amsalu and Dagnachew (Ibid: 57.) What the expression indicates in this context, according to the two authors, is 'putting too much pressure on a person to do something.' This indicates that the expression carries more than one Semit, which is normal in language. The data collector, however, gave the expression under the fear emotion.

The expression appears to be unique even to native speakers of Amharic when it is thought about seriously. It is unique because the expression is paradoxical. How can a man find himself standing when he is virtually hanged? Such kind of manipulation of single Semit entities originally encapsulated in Fomit units during the formative process could only be made possible by the cognitive faculty. Moreover, the ability and knowledge of such kind of a manipulation by the native speakers of Amharic might have evolved from their socio-cultural, psychological, environmental, philosophical and experiential matrix. The Amharic language, which could only have been made by the cognitive faculty to externalize the knowledge accumulated, evolving from the above mentioned matrix, could not have made any influence on its own expression. So,

the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis appears to be promoting the erroneous principle that the instrument made for a certain purpose influences the cognitive faculty of its maker. Moreover, the Hypothesis must have mistaken the influence of a loaded Kalashnikov trained at an empty handed man, asking him to open a safe full of money to be the same influence which instigated the holder of the weapon to forcefully take somebody else's property. Therefore, there is no mistake in the New Hypothesis because it upholds the principle that language is made by the cognitive faculty by articulating Semits and Fomits for the purpose of communication to amass and share all kinds of human knowledge.

The following fear metaphor can serve as further evidence for the claim of the New Hypothesis that any language cannot be used as a parameter for assessing the **efficiency of one and the deficiency of the other.** The Amharic metaphoric expression no.10 (Table 5.6) can be cited as a concrete illustration.

k'ollew təgəffəfə 'His **k'olle** is peeled off.'

This Amharic expression is culture specific because, **k'olle** is the guardian spirit of individuals. It is believed that if a person is without it, they lose their grace, personality and courage. The verb **gəffəfə** is equivalent to the English 'He ripped off, or peeled off (somebody's clothes.') In the metaphoric expression, this verb is used in the passive-his **k'olle** is peeled off, or ripped off. This means the person is abandoned by his **k'olle** suddenly, and in such a situation, the person can be exposed to a sudden and overwhelming fear. This Amharic expression might therefore surprise the native speakers of English because the concept of **k'olle** can be unfamiliar to them. The question is: Do the English, or linguistic scholars have any ground for thinking that native speakers of Amharic could not make progress in science and technology because they spend time encapsulating the Fomits of their mother tongue with concepts of non-existing guardian spirits, thus giving power to their language to negatively influence their mode of scientific thinking?

6. 3 Happiness metaphors

Another example can be the Amharic metaphoric expression: **bəsak' motə** 'He died of laughter.' Its native English counterpart is 'He is laughing himself to death.' The two expressions differ,

however, in the way the native speakers of the two languages manipulate language. The English expression implies that the cause of death is not happiness but rather the non-stop, continuously on-going act of laughter. In this context, it can be said that the conceptual metaphor of the Amharic expression is: HAPPINESS IS DEATH whereas the English one can be: LAUGHTER IS DEATH. This can be seen as a surprise because the native speakers of Amharic could manipulate language to show how happiness can put a man in a state of total oblivion of all bad feelings just as they can be when they are in the state of death. Such kinds of different ways of conceptualization and expression can be understood as confronting us with surprises and do not therefore call for, or deserve pejorative remarks on each other's mother tongue cognitive expressions as would be expected to be the raison d'être of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis.

In fact, even more fascinating can be two of the following concrete examples (Table 5.8, nos.4 and 5).

4. He was happy *as a pig in shit.* **c'ɨk'a wɨst' ɨndətəññə asama dəss bɨlot nəbbər**

5. He looks like *the cat that got the cream.* **wətət yagəññəč dɨmmət yɨməslall**

At first, I was totally unable to figure out how the English pig metaphoric expression could show happiness. So, I had to ask a native speaker by e-mail[23] who kindly provided me with the following apt answer.

> The metaphor you asked about is considered quite humorous and made me laugh. Fundamentally, it is an image of pure and extreme joy when one remembers that pigs, in contrast to humans, are drawn to dirty things. A pig in a puddle of mud is probably a more common formulation; substituting shit for mud just makes the metaphor extreme. Yet the paradox of happiness in dirt or the undesirable is central to the metaphor's meaning. Sometimes, the incongruity is for humor value alone. More commonly, it is used as a mild degradation of the nature of happiness. The source of happiness is dirty and undesirable and the one who experiences such happiness is tainted in the process. The metaphor is similar to a related one which says that X attracts attention like "flies on shit." This implies that X is repellent, the nature of the attraction is revolting, and the ones who are attracted are contemptible like

[23] (Matthew Conner, PhD, my friend's son)

insects. This last metaphor however, is considered more insulting than the first which is more humorous.

Pigs are not well known in Ethiopia. In fact, they are abhorred. Donkeys, however, are favourite animals. Donkeys also like to roll on a pile of ashes. However, Amharic speakers didn't think of a similar metaphoric expression. In the same way, the cat is a very common domestic animal in Ethiopia and it is also known that milk is its favourite food. Nevertheless, native speakers of Amharic have not so far come up with any metaphoric expression using the cat and the milk as source and target domains. These metaphors are not therefore known by the native speakers of Amharic. But it may be possible to introduce them into Amharic with a high possibility of acceptance because Amharic appears to have the capacity of manipulability and accommodation of new metaphoric expressions from English. These facts can serve as evidence that native speakers use their mother tongues in accordance with their interest, needs, experience, and the nature of the influence of their environmental and social milieu on their frames of reference. These different ways of metaphoric expressions in the two languages can therefore confront us with surprises.

Two more examples can be given from the expressions of happiness (Table 5.10, no's 4 and 5) to show that their encapsulated concepts cannot be expected to occur within the frames of reference of the English native speakers.

4. anjətu k'ibe t'ət't'a 'His intestine drank butter.'

5. k'it-u k'et'əma k'orrət'ə 'His ass cut reed-like grass.'

The metonymic expression 'his intestine drank butter' describes a very happy and gratified man. Most Ethiopians cherish eating their foods with butter. They think that it is not only nourishing but that it can also protect the intestine from constipation. In fact, they are even accustomed to putting butter on their heads. Therefore, they think that if a person can afford to eat foods with butter all the time, his intestine can be free from the trouble of constipation.Now, how would the proponents of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis again react to this? We expect they would say Amharic influenced Amharic native speakers to think so. In accordance with the New Hypothesis, however, the Amharic native speakers must have known from experience to believe

that butter is good for the intestine. This might not have happened under the influence of Amharic. On the other hand, the native speakers of English wouldn't express such ideas in English because concepts associated with such Semits were not found within the domain of their experience, culture, and frames of reference in general. In accordance with the New Hypothesis, therefore, the kind of thinking inherent in the weak version of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis can now be considered as trespassing into the cognitive territory of other native speakers. This is because the native speakers of other languages should not use their mother tongues as parameters to decide how the Fomits of other languages should be patterned and used to symbolically represent the Semits of their cognitive products.

The origin of the second metonymic expression ' his ass cut some reed-like grass' to mean that he is very happy is not familiar even to some native speakers of Amharic, and the concept may not be expected to exist in English, let alone having a counterpart.

What makes this expression interesting is that, in Amharic, **k'et'əma** is some slender, green grass, and during festivities, this grass is spread on the floor galore while coffee is being prepared and people gather in a family household and celebrate a holiday. The grass enhances the spirit of happiness by pleasing, traditionally, some hidden, supposedly sticking around unknown guardian spirit.

A much relevant and more interesting explanation is that the grass is very comfortable like a modern cushion when it is sat on. So, sitting on a pile of this grass feels very comfortable to the ass. Since the grass is not easy to come by, a person who is lucky enough to get the grass to make a pile to sit on makes a person happy. Therefore, the expression indicates a person who is unable to get the grass but wishes to get some to sit comfortably on. So, when his 'ass cuts grass,' it means he is happy. Thus, even though both languages have descriptive Fomits for happiness (**dəsta** in Amharic,) their metaphoric and metonymic expressions can be totally different as this culture specific Amharic examples show. In addition, they can be good examples to show how the mind can employ the manipulative process to bring out altogether different Semits by using the Semit-encapsulated Fomits laid down during the formative processes.
The ass metonymy is also used to express happiness in the expression:

kit'u sak'ə 'His ass laughed' to mean 'He is extremely happy.'

6.4 Sadness metaphors

Two Amharic expressions, one metaphoric (Table 5.12, no.9,) and the other metonymic (Table 5.13, no.12.) can be used to show how native speakers of different languages differ in their conceptualizations and expressions of emotions. These are, respectively,

9. **zək'zik'a ləbbəsəč** 'She wore her clothes upside down.'
12. **dərətwan t'aləč** 'She lost(dropped) her breast.'

Metaphoric expression (no.9) has to do with how a woman wears her traditional clothes called '**šəmma**' when a relative dies. The '**šəmma**' is about four metres long and one and half metres wide. It is made by a weaver with beautifully coloured threads and fringes at both ends. It is worn on top of some sari-like dress. During a mourning period, it is folded and worn turned upside down with the coloured edges and fringes put towards the neck. Does this put any Semit in the minds of the English native speakers?

Metonymic expression (no.12) can serve as a prime example of the Amhara culture. This is because, the death of a close relative depresses one and would put the fire out of, mostly, women. So, the expression **dərətwan t'aləč** 'She lost (dropped) her breast' can illustrate this in a way that may not be experienced and conceptualized by the English. How?

The following explanation can give answers to both questions posed above. The expression **dərətwan t'aləč** shows that a woman wears her traditional dress in some special way when a close relative dies. She has to pull her dress from the shoulders down just below her breasts. She has to expose her breast, hiding her tits, and beating it by jumping up and down, crying out with short sounds rhythmically occurring with the jumping, during the whole mourning period with some intermittent resting sessions. So, the metaphoric linguistic expression indicates how deep her sadness is. This is not all. As expression **fitwan nəč'č'əč** 'She scratched her face'(Table

5.13, no.1) indicates, the scratching is done with some very rough material or even with some thorny bush branches to deliberately deform her face to show the world the depth of her sorrow.

The expression **kənfərun mət't'ət'ə** 'He sucked his lips' (Table 5.13 no. 6) is the practice of tightening the lips and making some implosive sound to express how sad one is for the deceased or when some sad event occurs. Furthermore, the native speakers of Amharic think that sadness can eat the intestine or the stomach as shown by expression **anjətun bəllaw** 'It ate his stomach.' (Table 5.13 no.11) These cultural practices can be totally absent from the English culture. Such evidences can therefore be sufficient enough to show that it is illogical to pass any judgments on the Amhara culture by the English or any other linguistic groups for that matter, as proposed by the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. This is because the idea of wearing the Ethiopian dress by women making the breast bare for beating it with the two hands when a close relative dies has nothing to do with the influence of the Amharic language. It is only manifesting the fact that differences among languages are differences in sound utterances to present differently conceived referents. By the same token, the absence of such ideas has nothing to do with the English language. Tracing back to the origin of this practice would have revealed the factors outside language that led to its creation. Such a possibility can, however, be very remote. What can be positively stated is that the Amharic language could not have been the influence. It is only a language with differently structured Fomits representing differently conceptualized Semits.

This argument may not convince some scholars because the idea that language influences thought could have been firmly fixed in their minds. My argument may thus need more explanation in order to make it clearer. The explanation is made by following the steps taken to create 'language.'

First, a start is made from nothing except the cognitive power. Second, somebody **thinks** of the idea of going to the moon. Third, he realizes that the moon is far away and that one cannot walk or run to it. Fourth, the need to build something fast to travel in arises.

Now, we know that that 'fast travelling something' has been built. The question is; did the people who built it first get the Fomit into which to encapsulate it and then built the Semit (the craft)?

Never. This step has never been taken so far. So, the Fomits 'spacecraft, lunar module, etc.,' and Fomits for all the parts of the craft were then discovered and used to encapsulate them. What do we infer from these activities? Without raising any further argument, we can infer that thinking took place to bring language into existence. So, the moment we encapsulate a referent into some Fomit, we know thought has been locked into the Fomit. That is why 'language' can be understood as being **disembodied thought.**

6.5 Love metaphors

The answer to the question as to how native speakers of different languages differ in their conceptualizations of emotions can be given by comparing the English expression of love 'They're very *close'* with its Amharic counterpart. The English expression is based on the conceptual metaphor: LOVE IS CLOSENESS *(*Kővecses, 2000:26.*)* It appears that the conceptual metaphor is common to both English and Amharic but the linguistic expression of Amharic is different from that of English. It seems to suggest that there is no space between lovers. The following is the Amharic metaphoric linguistic expression:

nɨfas bəməhalačəw aygəbam 'Air will not enter between them.'

As can be noted from the given Amharic expression, the English expression does not show the degree of closeness between lovers to the extent of that of the Amharic. This is because the Amharic expression indicates that lovers are so close that even air cannot find any space left to occupy between them. It appears that the native speakers of Amharic wish to show the degree and intensity of love that exists between the lovers. So, in this case, the difference lies in the mode of expression, and not in the core concept of the conceptual metaphor of the emotion.

6.6 Lust metaphors

An interesting Amharic lust expression is: **ɨndə k'ətɨr ɨbab təkləfəlləfəč** 'She ran here and there in all directions like a mid-day snake' (Table 5.17, no.1.)

How did native speakers of Amharic come by such a metaphoric expression? One possibility could be that they must have observed how a snake behaves aggressively when it is hot as the result of the sun being overhead at mid-day. The Semit in 'observed' is used to represent the beginning of the functioning of the cognitive faculty. This function of the cognitive faculty begins to manipulate the Fomits containing the relevant Semits during the formative process. The manipulative process thus enables the cognitive faculty to see that the snake becomes alert, active and ready to attack whenever it is interfered with. Then the cognitive faculty associates this behaviour of the snake with the behaviour of a lustful woman. Such a woman can be going here there anxious to have sex with whoever is at hand. The expression is used to refer to this kind of woman who can also be considered to be loose.

The snake is extremely abhorred by native speakers of Amharic even more so when it is actively crawling here and there when the sun is hot. The oversexed woman is abhorred in a similar way. So, the woman in reference to whom it is used can also be a social outcast.

What can now be argued here is this. At the formative level, the native speakers of English might have encountered different kinds of snakes. They may not have, however, got the chance to observe the behaviour of snakes under a hot sun in the dry tropical season. Moreover, they might not have been interested in using such a metaphoric expression since they might probably have had more respect for women. So, instead, they use expressions such as 'You bring out the *beast* in me' (ibid, p.29.) This expression is based on the conceptual metaphor: LUST IS A VICIOUS ANIMAL. In the Amharic expression, the animal is specified. It is the snake. So, the conceptual metaphor of the Amharic expression can be understood as being: LUST IS A VICIOUS SNAKE. This implies that lust is not considered as a desirable emotion by the Amhara since the snake is considered as a very abhorrent animal.

So, going back for a further discussion of the expressions, what could have been the cause of such differences in the conceptualization of the lust emotion between the native speakers of the two languages? The answer, again, in accordance with the tenets of the New Hypothesis, can be that the cause might have mainly been the environment in this context. All the other factors presented many times over in the thesis might have contributed to what had occurred in the minds

of native speakers when they thought about the expressions. According to the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, the cognitive processes which took place prior to the manipulative processes to come by the expressions, and their later manipulation to express new ideas can be attributed to language. However, the New Hypothesis again claims that this idea to be wrong because language is the **means**, not the **cause** of the expressions and cannot therefore have any influence on the mind. Moreover, such differences cannot thus be attributed to Fomits, or Semits. The causes can be environmental (eg. hot climate), the abhorrence for the snake, cultural conceptualization of a respectable woman and so on.

In fact, this metaphoric expression of Amharic can serve as evidence to verify the New Hypothesis. On the bases of the theoretical framework, and the New Hypothesis, the snake, and the woman came into existence before the knowledge of using Fomits into which they are encapsulated by the cognitive faculty for a communicative purpose. It was such knowledge that resulted in what is known as language. At the next level, using the mid-day snake to represent the behaviour of a lustful woman could only have been the consequence of the manipulative process of the cognitive faculty, not of language.

6.7 Pride metaphors

The pride metaphor of Amharic, **lɨbbu abbət'ə** 'His heart swelled' (Table 5.21, no.4.) may be used to verify the claim that the New Hypothesis has more explanatory power than the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. The expression shows the high level of pride a person feels but which can be negatively viewed by observers. Conceptually, it may be related to what Kővecses (2000:30) calls 'vanity or conceit.'

When the source domains of pride used by the English native speakers are compared with those used by the native speakers of Amharic, we can see a lot of differences. According to Kővecses (ibid) the source domains of pride used in English are shown in the following conceptual metaphors:

1. PRIDE IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER

The sight *filled* him with pride.—**fluid in a container**

2...PRIDE IS A SUPERIOR.

Her self-esteem did *not let* her do it. **–a superior**

3. PRIDE IS AN ECONOMIC VALUE.

Don't *underestimate* yourself. **–economic value**

4. CAUSING HARM TO A PROUD PERSON IS CAUSING INJURY TO SOMEONE.

His pride was *injured.* **–causing injury**

5. CAUSING HARM TO A PROUD PERSON IS CAUSING PHYSICAL DAMAGE TO A STRUCTURED OBJECT.

That *put a dent* in his pride. **–causing physical damage**

So, there are five source domains indicated in bold following the linguistic expression of each conceptual metaphor. When these source domains are compared with those of Amharic for pride, we can see how divergent their differences are. A look at Table 5.21 for the metonymies of Amharic can reveal this.

As shown in the data of the Table, the first fundamental difference is that Amharic expressions are metonymic and what figure in the expressions are vehicle entities and target entities, whereas the English expressions are metaphoric and therefore contain source and target domains. The vehicle entities in the Amharic expressions are all connected with human and animal body parts- **shoulder, heart, chest, horn, tail and eyes**.

If we now look at the expression we started with- **lɨbbu abbət'ə** 'His heart swelled,' we can ask: Why did the Amharic speakers think that the swelling of the heart can show pride? The heart is not exposed to the eyes. So, it is not possible to see how it behaves when it may swell due to some illness. This can be where the manipulative process comes in. What kind of cognitive manipulative process could make the swelling of the heart be connected with pride? The answer can be the same cognitive power that began to encapsulate Semits in Fomits even when, presumably, it was in its incipient stage. The power of the cognitive faculty of the native speakers might logically be considered as being the power that made the Amharic metonymic expressions possible.

In Amhara culture, the heart is the locus of some characteristics such as, for example, fear, intrepidity, forgetfulness, etc. as .illustrated in the following examples:

lɨbb yəlləwɨm 'He has no heart = He is a coward.'

lɨbbə bis nəw 'He is heartless = He is forgetful.'

lɨbbə mulu nəw ' He is heartful = He is intrepid.'

So, the given metonymic expression, **lɨbbu abbət'ə**[24] 'his heart swelled' might have the conceptual metonymy: PRIDE IS A SWOLLEN HEART. This does not seem to have been conceived by the native speakers that the heart swelled because of illness. Swelling indicates enlargement. When a person appears to be too proud, his heart, considered to be where pride is located, becomes large to show the size of his pride metonymically, based on the part for whole principle.

6.8 Shame metaphors

It appears that the conceptual metonymy for the linguistic expression 1.**fitun yazə** 'He held his face' (Table 5.23) can be: SHAME IS HIDING ONESELF. This maybe a shameful person is liable to hide himself from his social counterparts. His holding of the face gives mental access to the extent or intensity of the state of shame the person is in.

Expression 2. **t'imu bərrərrə** seems to be a recent introduction into the language by the young. My own experience can serve as evidence for its newly introduced status. One day, one of my daughters was making a sign as one of their methods of silent communication. She was moving her hand on her entire chin and moving it away several times. When she was asked what she was doing, at first she was hesitant to tell but finally she agreed to explain. The moving of the hand all over her chin is to show where the beard is supposed to grow and moving the hand far away from her chin showed the way her supposed beard was expected to be flying away from her chin. When this is translated into an Amharic expression, it comes out as **t'ime bərrərrə** 'My beard

[24] Prof. Baye thinks that **ɨbbu təšəffənə** is more common than **lɨbbu abbət'ə.**

flew away.' When she was asked what that meant, she explained that it meant that she was found to be wrong or lying and is therefore put to shame.

To the native speakers of Amharic, being a sycophant is shameful. A person who serves an official to get some advantage in a menial way is often despised. This kind of behaviour is therefore considered to be a shameful act and such kind of a person is often said to be shameless-**hafrətəbis.**

The metaphoric expressions for **hafrət** 'shame' are not even shown in a Table because they are few in number. The expressions can also be said to be unique and specific to Amharic. Two expressions contain material and animal referents as the following expressions illustrate:

amədu bunn alə ' His ashes blew off.'
labaw bunn alə 'His feathers fell off.'

It is interesting to note that certain concepts that have Fomits in Amharic do not have any in English and vice versa. The case in point is the Amharic **bunn alə.** This expression is used to describe what happens when something full of dust is hit with a stick or with some other object. The dust then fills the air and is seen spreading in all directions. The same thing is true of **labaw bunn alə** except that, in this case, the dust comes into the air when a chicken ruffles its feathers.

Another unique metaphoric linguistic expression is '**indalhonə honə.**'
It is unique because **honə** has its English counterpart 'He or it became' but lacks the Fomit to encapsulate the Amharic concept encapsulated in **indalhonə,** which can roughly be glossed as 'that which became as it shouldn't have become.'

It is possible to describe a situation that can give mental access to what the Amharic metaphoric expression refers to. For instance, if a person witnesses a condition whereby another person is seen shitting on his pants and urine has also wetted most parts of his trousers, then the expression can correctly be used to direct the listener to have mental access to the situation. It is easy for native speakers to grasp the situation to be terrible when the expression is heard but might ask to

know the exact situation because such a situation can vary from person to person and from what has been described above.

6.9 Surprise metaphors

Now, examples of expressions from the surprise emotion can be used for illustration.

English: I was *overwhelmed* by surprise (Table 5.24, no.3.)

Amharic: **gud saysəmma məskərəm ayt'əbam** (Table 5.25, no.4)

'September will not come without something surprising being heard.'

Firstly, conceptual differences can be seen in the two expressions. The obvious difference is that the English expression is personalized but the Amharic one is generalized. As the result, the occurrence of surprise in the conceptualization of the native speakers of Amharic is extended over an entire year until September since the Ethiopian New Year begins in September. What the expression implies is that it is very unlikely for a year to end without something surprising taking place, something as surprising as the one that occurred at the time of speaking.

Secondly, the conceptual metaphor of the English linguistic expression is: SURPRISE IS A NATURAL FORCE (Kővecses, ibid, p.33) whereas the Amharic one can be: SURPRISE IS A UNIQUE OCCURRENCE IN A YEAR. This second difference can be understood as the difference in the formative and manipulative processes of the two languages. These processes can also be understood as being the results of the factors mentioned above, and not the result of the influence of Fomits upon the cognitive faculties of the native speakers of the two languages.

Let us take the next Amharic linguistic expression of the metaphor of surprise and its English literal translation:

yɨgərmal yənnat ɨš dəm mək'rət 'The stoppage of your mother's menstruation is surprising' (Table 5.25.)

As can be seen, the literal translation of the given Amharic expression may not be comprehensible to the native speakers of English because they have never heard it before. The reason is that the Amharic expression expresses a mixture of lust and surprise emotions based on the experience of a lusty impatient husband whose wife has just given birth. The story goes that his mother-in-law, according to custom and tradition, came to nurse and to take care of her daughter during her maternity period. The daughter, after giving birth, is usually confined to her bedroom for a month or so. The husband then somehow manages to have sex with his mother-in-law in the mean time. Then, much later, he notices that she is not having her monthly period. The husband then makes the metaphoric statement to his wife.



Chapter Seven

Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations

7.0 Introduction

The main problem with the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis is that it subordinates the cognitive faculty to language. Based on this subordination, it also suggests that the languages of some native speakers can make their cognitive faculties either superior or inferior to native speakers of other languages. Such a subordination, assumption and suggestion can raise a logical question: How can what is made or created control, determine, or even influence the maker or creator? If there are those who suspect that this question was designed in such a way that it forces readers to answer it in exactly the way the investigator wishes it to be answered, then it seems that they are denying that language is not created but given by some external power. Moreover, they may also be saying that thought did not take place when the cognitive faculty found the idea of using Fomits to encapsulate ideas into them for the purpose of communication. An attempt will now be made to answer this question with the support of some of the findings of this research.

7.1 Findings

7.1.1. The formative and manipulative processes

The main finding can be considered as being the distinction made between the formative and the manipulative processes because it is found to be useful for disproving the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. As indicated above, this distinction was led by the understanding of the nature of language by Ferdinand de Saussure and Wallace Chafe (Ibid).The formative process sprang from de Saussure's linguistic sign and Chafe's conceptualization of the universe of meaning and the universe of sound. These two universes are represented by **Semits** and **Fomits**, which realistically manifest the nature of language. They are what can indubitably be understood as being universal. This is because they can provide the foundation of the conceptual framework upon which the falsification of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis could be based.

Now, the centre stage of the focus is taken by the formative process. De Saussure's linguistic sign identified the constituents of language as being the *signifier* and the *signified.* Instead of the 'signifier,' the **Fomit** is used here as its concrete representative. In place of his 'signified,' the more elaborative **Semit** is used. Chafe's identification of the basic constituents of language as being embedded in the two universes of meaning and sound showed that the two universes are again the concrete **Semits** and **Fomits**, respectively. Such distinctions enable us to think of and see the universe of meaning and the universe of sound distinctly. We can then find ways to analyze, describe, and handle them separately. This is not, however, to mean that this is the main task of this thesis, and so, it will not be dealt with here at length

What is relevant here is that De Saussure stopped after the equation of language with the linguistic sign. Chafe, however, went on to say that what is known as language is actually a system which mediates between the two universes. This suggestion by Chafe is indeed fascinating. The reason is that it is hard to grasp whether the system he has in mind refers to the linear organization of Fomits or the mental association of them with the Semits.

Scientists have described the solar system, the digestive system, and the respiratory system and so on. Those systems are clearly explained. Chafe, however, has not provided such an explanation for the linguistic system. Even if he did, it may not be possible to think that the linguistic system can be explicable as the just mentioned other natural systems.

Chafe's essential query can be solved by the theory that, first of all, humans lived in, experienced, observed, and understood what he called 'the universe of meaning,' which is presumed to be the natural, visible and audible world, the Semit. We know it exists in the form of natural phenomena, or in what humans can understand by the cognitive faculty as abstract phenomena. It is then argued here that this human understanding occurred, and still occurs, before the idea of using Fomits to create language crossed the mind of any human being. Finally, language came into existence as the result of being able to strongly notice the importance of communication to sustain life. This means, human beings succeeded in coming up with, or discovering the idea of using Fomits to represent every bit of what they saw, heard, touched, tasted, smelt, and in general, what they experienced and perceived of Chafe's universe. We still do.

So, Fomit utterances came to be the unit entities for the encapsulation and symbolic representation of referents, bodily and mental activities, and abstract phenomena. It could not therefore be possible to find any ground for thinking of any kind of concrete or abstract phenomenon that could mediate between the Fomits and the Semits other than the cognitive power. Therefore, Chafe might have thought of the human cognitive power that could associate the Fomits with the Semits as being the mediator. If so, it is possible to understand its intent but if he meant something else, it can be difficult to comprehend what he is referring to. In accordance with the Fomit –Semit frame, however, it is made by man. This is the point at which the manipulative process comes in.

The manipulative process can be considered as the most important stage in the development of language. It can be seen as the stage where the real use of language (Fomits) as an instrument of communication began. This stage appears to be the stage where humans wanted to describe what they **did** with their **bodies** and **minds**. It appears that this is the time when **verbs** were introduced for this purpose. So, people can say that they can **kill, eat, jump, think** etc. In other words, they found a way of using Semit-encapsulated Fomits to tell others what they want to do or of what they were going to do. After this, no Fomits could take position in a linear ordering without representing corresponding associated Semits. All the occurrences of Fomits could therefore be

understood as motivated. This process can be thought of as the process that laid down the grammatical system.

It may now be necessary to show how the finding of the Semit-Fomit framework can help to falsify the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. Quite simply, it must be clear that it is only the human cognitive power and intelligence that enabled the first discoverer to associate Fomits with concrete or abstract Semits. At the moment of that discovery, it might not be possible to say that either the Fomit, or the Semit associated with it could influence the thinking of that genius discoverer. That incident might have set the pace of the birth of language. It could be understood as being the first step of the formative process. It might have begun the conception of language, its birth, and growth. It could have facilitated the parallel development of human intelligence, and cognitive power through the subsequent manipulative processes.

The cognitive power cannot therefore be thought of as being influenced by its own creation. Instead of being influenced by it, it is possible to say that it has been enhanced by its manipulable capacity and the capacity of the cognitive power to take advantage of this capacity to create new ideas, that is to say, to find new ideas and encapsulate them in new Fomits, or to manipulate the existing ones to create new ideas. This is the same thing as saying that man made instruments and machines do not influence thought. However, they can be used to influence the thoughts of others. The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis can therefore be seen as being built on a shaky foundation. That is why it has been found to be necessary to substitute it by the New Hypothesis. The New hypothesis thus indicates the situation which can enrich human cognitive growth and understanding through learning each other's native languages instead of denigrating them. This can be considered as one of the major findings of this research.

The awareness of the Semit-Fomit frame and the formative-manipulative processes might equip us for the real understanding of the true essence of language. Moreover, the power of the cognitive faculty must have been responsible for the Semit- Fomit association, and the setting of the awareness of the manipulative process into action. The formative process must therefore have necessarily begun before the manipulative process. The reason for this is that it appears to be

logical to assume that the birth of what is called 'language' must have started with the association of a single referent with some structured unit of Fomit.

To give a brief review of the procedure of the creation of language, we can begin with a few examples of universal, natural phenomena first exposed to all humans. These examples can be thought of as being things such as **food**, **water**, **stone, tree**, **animal, sky,** etc., and emotions can be understood as being universal phenomena of such examples par excellence. What needs to be noted in this connection is also the fact that the Fomits for the encapsulation of these, and many others similar to them must have begun in structured forms and set the knowledge to spread and grow like unicellular organisms. Once this knowledge is familiarized, the Fomit structuring, and the conceptualization of such single entity Semits went on without constraint or obstruction. This implies that, initially, all the diverse languages we see today were the consequences of free encapsulations of freely conceptualized Semits by the native speakers of these diverse languages. It seems, therefore, to be illogical to assess the ability of making use of such freedom of Fomit – Semit associations either to be superior or inferior on the grounds that the cognitive powers of the people who spoke them as mother tongues varied accordingly. It may also be illogical to think that either the Fomit or the Semit had any influence on thought at the very instant of their association by the cognitive faculty.

Therefore, the finding here claims that the initial encapsulations at the formative level set in place Fomits only for the symbolic representation of concrete objects. The manipulative process must have begun to gain importance when the need to incorporate the **actions of the body and the mind** entered the cognitive faculty. In this connection, what is needed is to bear in mind that no Fomit structuring can take place without the representation of some structured Semit in the mind by the mind. So, actions such as **running, jumping, seeing, grasping, thinking**, etc might have begun to receive Fomit representations. In other words, the manipulative process could have been taking root, growing and spreading freely in all directions. So, in accordance with this claim, the cognitive faculties of the native speakers of diverse languages do not follow either identical modes, methods, strategies and techniques of manipulation. They may not also be expected to have similar strength in the width, depth and strength of their thinking. The only means they have in common is the knowledge of the Semit-Fomit association and manipulation.



In other words, they have the knowledge of associating Semits with Fomits in common but they may differ in how they conceptualize Semits and in the nature of the structuring of the Fomits themselves. The fact that mental abilities vary is a universal fact. They vary not only from individual to individual but also from one group of people to another.

Let us take the Amharic expression **mɨt' yazəw** 'He is in labour'(Table 5.6) to express fear as an example to show how native speakers of Amharic conceptualize the world differently It might surprise the English when they hear the expression as to how a man could be in labour. The Amharic native speakers, however, might have compared the agony and suffering of a man from fear with the agony and suffering of a woman in labour and used the metaphor. What we can understand from such examples is that the languages do not have anything to do with the power of manipulation by the cognitive faculties of their native speakers.

7.1.2 The metaphors of emotion as proof of the findings

The first two findings have indicated how the minds of native speakers of different languages could be free to think and choose Fomits into which to encapsulate the products of their unconstrained thoughts. Such freedom can be shown by a metaphoric expression of English and Amharic.

Let us take an example again from the emotion of fear and analyze the Fomit structuring and their encapsulated Semits of the two languages thereby further demonstrating how native speakers of Amharic and English conceptualize the world differently.

She was *engulfed* by panic. **bədɨnggat'e səmt'a nəbbər** (Table 5.5.)

The example can show the differences in unit by unit Fomit structuring and linear arrangement between the two languages. Moreover, the Semit each represents are also different in interesting ways. For example, the verb Fomit 'engulfed' can be analyzed as *en-gulf-ed*, each Fomit having its own function- en- changes 'gulf' into action and -ed indicating the time of the action. As can be seen from the Amharic Fomit layout and their corresponding Semit representation, it can be seen that it uses different procedures. These Fomit-Semit structuring and arrangement, specific to

the native speakers of each language, may not even allow a smooth mapping of one to the other. English is an analytic, Subject Verb Object language whereas Amharic is a fusional, Subject Object Verb language.

As far as the Semit structuring is concerned, in the given metaphoric expression, the English native speakers, according to Kőveces (ibid), have based the expression on the conceptual metaphor: FEAR IS A NATURAL FORCE. This concept appears to have come from the understanding that the Fomit 'gulf' encapsulates 'a large area of sea partly surrounded by land' (*Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, 7th Ed.) The same dictionary also tells us that 'to engulf' represents the Semit 'to surround or to cover sb [somebody] completely' as well as 'to affect sb [somebody] very strongly.' In the metaphoric expression of fear, the Fomit 'panic,' not 'fear' is used.

When we come to the Amharic expression, it is based on the same conceptual metaphor since it is a word for word representation. However, in the Amharic case, she is not 'surrounded by' but she 'sinks into '-**səmt'a**- a body of water-the sea. Interestingly, 'fear' f**ɨrhat** is not used in the expressions of both languages. Instead, 'panic' and **dɨnɨgat'e** are used, respectively. It can now be seen that native speakers of different languages conceptualize things differently, encapsulate them in differently structured Fomit units, arrange the units differently, and use different modes of metaphoric expressions. It can now be clearly seen that it is in this kind of situation that the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis expects us to accept the proposition that language influences thought because of the fact that native speakers of different languages use differently structured Fomits to symbolically represent differently conceptualized Semits. It also expects us to accept the idea that the ability of using differently structured Fomits, associating them with correspondingly conceptualized Semits and expressing them in different ways through the manipulative processes could influence their thoughts.

In fact, more detailed discussions can be made and more examples can be provided to show how native speakers of Amharic and English conceptualize the world differently. The reason seems to be based on the universal fact that **language** (FOMIT) is part of the world. This is because, there are different Semits, the natural and social environments surrounding the native speakers of both

languages. So, these different Semits are encapsulated in Fomits articulated by naturally endowed articualtory organs. The Fomits are however different in their utterance and structuring. For instance, some consonant English phonemes such as the voiced and voiceless sounds of the **th** are not found in Amharic. Similarly, the Amharic ejectives such as **/č',t',s',p'/** are not found in English. Structurally, English is analytic but Amharic is fusional. Furthermore, the grammatical structure of English is Subject + Verb+ Object whereas that of Amharic is Subject+ Object + Verb. In accordance with my thesis, the making of such structuring of Fomits did not take place outside the cognitive faculties of their native speakers and then encapsulated into their minds. Rather, they are structured by their own cognitive faculties. This fact can begin to show how the two native speakers understand the world.

As the result of such differences in Fomits and their structuring to represent the world in the way they understand it, it is possible to expect different ways of understanding the world by the native speakers of the two languages. Some simple examples can be given to show such differences. Let us take the use of pronouns for illustration.

	Amharic	**English**
Feminine	ɨrsɨwa (ɨswa)	she
Masculine	ɨrsu (ɨsu)	he
Neuter	-------	it

As can be seen from the data, there is no Fomit to represent 'it' in Amharic because the native speakers may not have thought about doing so. So, in the minds of native speakers of Amharic, all animals are either male or female based on natural gender, and 'she' (ɨrsɨwa), or 'he' (ɨrsu) are used to refer to humans as well as animals. Since no neutral gender distinction is made by native speakers of Amharic, all inanimate things can also be referred to as either ɨrsɨwa 'she' or ɨrsu 'he' depending on the preference of the speaker. There are no rules for it.

As a boy, I still vividly remember the way I understood the use of the English pronoun 'it' in Amharic. The lady teacher of English used the translation method and wrote on the board:

He = **ɨrsu**

She =**ɨrsɨwa**

It-= **ɨrsu ləɨnsəsa** 'he for animals.'

She did not explain what is really involved. So, one day, she wrote the sentence 'It is a horse' and asked me to translate it. I stood up confidently and said:

ɨrsu ləɨnsɨssa fərəs nəw 'He for animal is a horse.'

She smiled.

What can even be interesting is the way some native speakers of Amharic categorize inanimate things in their use of pronouns. For instance, I use the masculine gender pronoun 'ɨrsu' when I refer to water.[25] So, I always get surprised when some people use the feminine gender 'ɨrsɨwa' to refer to it. So, can we say that it is Amharic or English that made such pronominal distinctions for the native speakers of both languages? Can we also say that it is Amharic that influenced them to think so? No. Such distinctions can be made first by the mind and then Fomits may be used to represent their conceptualizations, not vice-versa.

Two other interesting examples can be added from Amharic. At the level of manipulation, in Ethiopia, it is customary to express political and other views in songs and couplets. It was during what is known as the Reign of the Princes in Ethiopian history that one of the couplets was made. The princes and noble men ruling the provinces of the time competed with each other to become kings. It was also known that they can succeed to become one if they got the support of the archbishop called '**Abun'** in Amharic**.** One of the princes who wanted to be a king was a nobleman from the Northern Province. He was called **Woube.** So, this Woube won the friendship of the Abun, desiring to be the next king. It was at this time that a certain gentleman noticed the intensions of Woube and said:

ɨbab honə Woube səwnnətun tɨto

linəgs nəw alu kabun tət'əggɨto

[25] All gender cases in Amharic are indicated by the verb.

When this is translated into English, it comes out as follows:

ɨbab honə Woube 'Woube became a snake.'

səwnnətun tɨto 'having abandoned his humanity'

linəgs nəw alu ' it is said that he is going to bite.'

kabun tət'əggɨto ' by lurking behind the **kab**'

The person who made the couplet must have been proficient in the manipulative process. In Amharic, 'kab' is a mud wall. Snakes are believed to be lurking behind or in the nooks of kabs. So '**kabun**' means 'behind the mud wall.' However, '**kə-Abun**' also means 'with or behind the Abun-the archbishop.'

The Amharic Fomit **linəgs** means actually **linəgɨs** 'to be a king.' Written, or pronounced without the /ɨ/ vowel, the /g/ consonant is inevitably pronounced as /k/.This difference changes the meaning of the Fomit to the Semit 'to bite,' instead of 'to be a king.'

When the couplet is first encountered, it appears to mean 'Woube has abandoned his humanity for a snake. He is lurking behind the **kab** ready to bite.' Actually, it means that Woube is to be the next king by getting the support of the archbishop (lurking behind the Abun - **kə Abun tət'əggɨto**.)

The next couplet is a bit odd but it can serve the purpose. It was said by a well known scholar of Geez (a classical Ethiopian language.) Abba Jiffar was the king of Jimma, one of the south west provinces of the country. As a Muslim, he had lots of wives. The Geez scholar had heard that the Shoa noble men were not good in bed with women. At one time, the scholar went to Jimma for a visit. He was then invited to dinner by king Abba Jiffar. At the dinner, the scholar was introduced to a pretty young lady by Abba Jiffar as his wife. The next day, the king invited him to breakfast. But the scholar was taken to different quarters of the palace. Abba Jiffar again introduced another

pretty young lady as his wife. Since the king found the company of the scholar fascinating, he invited him again for lunch. The scholar was introduced to an even prettier young lady as Abba Jiffar's wife. The scholar starts to be surprised by the number of the king's wives. What led to the climax and the making of the couplet was when the scholar was introduced to the prettiest of the king's wives at the last invitation for dinner. Then the scholar wrote:

yəšəwa məkuant mɨn asč'ənnək'ačč ɨhu

bəjimma abba jifar izzih alləllačč ɨhu

When this is explained, it means,

yəšəwa məkuant 'the noble men of Shoa'

mɨn asč'ənnək'ačč ɨhu 'why do you have to worry'

bəjimma abba jifar 'in Jimma, Abba Jiffar'

izzih alləllačč ɨhu 'is found right here.'

However, it is interesting to note that the scholar knew that if the phoneme 'j' is replaced by 'ɨ' in Amharic, the Fomit **-ɨmma-**when suffixed to a verb, the name of the town, Jimma, where Abba Jiffar, the king, lived changes its Semit something like 'as to something.' So, **bəji** 'fucker' comes out as **bəji- ɨmma, the** act of fucking well. So, what the scholar was saying was that the Shoa noble men need not bother themselves, or worry at all about their weaknesses in sex because Abba Jiffar, the fucker '**bəji,**' '**-ɨmma**' the real one, '**ɨzzih alləllačč ɨhu**' is found right here in Jimma.[26]

What can be said here is that it may be possible to express concepts using pun in English also but it might be inevitable to find differences springing, not from the differences that can be attributed

[26] What could be interesting was my being naive in not being able to understand the way the scholar was using the manipulative process taking advantage of the fact that some Fomit units can be used to encapsulate more than one Semit. So, when I was teaching in the elementary school, I asked grade four students if anyone of them could understand the couplet, other than what it exactly means that Abba Jiffar in found right there in Jimma. Luckily, none claimed to understand it to mean in any other way. It was much later that I understood the couplet when it was explained by an Amharic scholar at one of his public lecture sessions!

to language, but to the differences of the natural and social milieu, in the differences of the cognitive power of some native speakers that are good at language manipulation.

7.1.3 The Amharic literal translations

Another interesting aspect of this study is the finding of the manipulability of Amharic in making comprehensible the word for word translations of the English metaphoric expressions. The comparison of two expressions, one from Amharic and the other from English, may make this point clear.

The Amharic linguistic expression of the metaphor of surprise (Table 5.24) concerning the lusty husband and his mother-in-law can serve as a good example. Now let us take an English metaphoric expression and translate it into Amharic to see whether it can be comprehensible to native speakers. The metaphor is an expression of sadness as shown below (Table 5.11, no.10):

He *staggered under* the pain. **yəməkəra hɨməm angədagədəw**

The English expression is based on the conceptual metaphor: SADNESS IS A BURDEN.
The Amharic expression, on the other hand, is based on the conceptual metaphor: SADNESS IS STRESS, AGONY, AND A TESTING SITUATION.

The differences between the conceptual metaphors reveal the differences in the functioning of the cognitive faculties of the native speakers of the two languages. In the minds of the English native speakers, one carries sadness as a burden. In the minds of the native speakers of Amharic, sadness is something unpleasant imposed externally upon the body causing suffering. In the English expression, one 'staggers' and the cause is 'a burden,' which is sadness. In the Amharic expression, one also 'staggers,' but the cause is 'pain, agony, stress, a confronting trial,' brought about by some external cause. Here it could make clear to note that it might not have been Amharic that caused the native speakers to think and structure the Fomits in the way they did by Amharic. The same thing can be true of the native speakers of English. The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis cannot therefore explain this situation adequately, still holding the view that language influences thought.

7.1.4 The New Hypothesis

The New Hypothesis can be considered as a finding in itself as the result of thinking to disprove the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis by showing the true essence of language. It can be understood as opening up a new horizon, a positive outlook towards the mother tongues of other people. It may also help us not to forget that even though modern standard languages inevitably receive positive attitudes from native speakers of non-standard languages, it may be necessary not to lose sight of the fact that the non-standard languages also carry some surprising pieces of facts and knowledge in their own unexpected ways. Some of the ideas they express in their different Fomits can be new to others. Some may be heard uttered in unique and surprising ways, encapsulating and structuring Semits unheard of in one's own mother tongues. The New Hypothesis thus helps to be prepared to appreciate all these differences instead of entertaining the idea that some mother tongues are superior and thus can be used as parameters for the evaluation of their Fomit structuring to express Semits not found in the surroundings of other native speakers.

7.2 Can the differences be attributed to Fomits, Semits or other factors?

The differences in the conceptualization of the world between the native speakers of the two languages cannot be attributed to Fomits or Semits. The differences may occur due to other factors.

One major factor can be the natural environment such the climatic conditions, the topography of the land they inhabit, the way they live, and think to solve problems, their interest and curiosity to find out about their natural environment and so on and so forth. What might be necessary to know is that the mind is totally free from any kinds of constraint to think in all directions to know and decide what can be right and what can be wrong, what can be good and what can be bad, and so on. Such mental freedom to think without the mind being channeled to any one particular direction by language might give the chance to think to each and every native speaker of the two languages in different ways and directions. Therefore, the native speakers of both languages can be understood as being free to encapsulate any Semit in any Fomit of their

choices without restriction. It may thus seem to be illogical to expect language (**Fomits** and **Semits**) to influence such a powerful and free cognitive faculty.

7.3 Do the findings validate the New Hypothesis?

Yes. They do validate the New Hypothesis. The first claim of the New Hypothesis is that language does not determine, influence, or affect thought. In accordance with the major principle of the finding, inevitably, the mind must first encounter the Semit before thinking about the Fomit into which to encapsulate it. The very first discovery of such a possibility, the encapsulation of Semits into Fomits, could be considered as being the outcome of the thinking of an intelligent being. This incident was supposed to have occurred before the very idea of using Fomits for the encapsulation of Semits ever crossed the human mind. It could also be considered as being the highest level of thinking that led to such a discovery because it set the cognitive faculty to begin and continue to evolve intellectually to higher and higher levels.

The second claim is that, language, instead of affecting our thinking in any way, can in fact help to enhance the power of the cognitive faculty to think better by revealing what thoughts took place in the mind to others. This process might have also created the situation whereby proper assessment, criticism, and suggestions could be made to the ideas and thoughts made available to others through language. Moreover, this could have helped the refinement of externalized thoughts with the aim of achieving precision in subsequent thinking processes. It may further be possible to expect some **surprising** creations of new, and unexpectedly novel ideas as the result of the discovery of language for sharing ideas through proper communication. The evidence for this can be provided by everything achieved so far in science, literature, philosophy and even in the study of language itself throughout the centuries.

The third claim that languages complement each other rather than some of them being used as more accurate means of measuring the quality and standard of ideas and thoughts expressed by others can be verified with a simple example. Let us take English and Amharic. Amharic native speakers may not have encountered the need to use concepts encapsulated in the English Fomits such as **oxygen**, **camera, democracy**, **president, electromagnetic waves**, and so on .There

could be hundreds and thousands of others like these. The problem is solved, however, either by learning English, or by taking those Fomits of English, give them some native touch and use them in Amharic, or use them as they are. When this happens, native speakers need not feel inferior or superior because ideas are infinite, and what is more, nobody can be capable enough to know everything perfectly. Besides, sharing ideas does not seem to be wrong or unpleasant. Thus, English can be thought of as being the extension of Amharic.

7.4 Conclusions

The main cause for the emergence of the enquiry of this thesis was the racist gesture of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. However, reading through the relevant literature verifies that its strong version, that language determines thought and therefore the languages spoken by different native speakers determine the way their native speakers think, was totally dismissed by prominent scholars. What is still held by some scholars is the weak version known as the linguistic relativity. This one upholds the view that language in some way influences thought and, as the result, mother tongues influence the thoughts of their native speakers.

This weak version is also dismissed here on the grounds that language is an instrument made by the mind and, therefore, does what the mind makes it do. The mind has therefore supremacy over it. Moreover, at its very inception, the human mind was able to discover either accidentally, or fortuitously the idea of using Fomits into which to encapsulate Semits to symbolically represent the Semits for the purpose of communication. This theoretical framework reveals the precedence of thought over Fomit (language) and how the mind could constantly employ its power to manipulate, change, and use the Fomits together with the Semits encapsulated into them, in any form acceptable by the mind, and desirable to the mind.

The metaphors and metonymies of English and Amharic have been presented to show how different languages make use of them to express differently conceptualized ideas by their native speakers. It was further shown that the formative processes had laid down the groundwork for the manipulation of thought without the need to search for ideas and referents that fall outside the existing Fomits. This does not, however, rule out the possibility of coming up with new ideas and

finding new Fomits into which to encapsulate them. Moreover, it was also shown that encapsulated ideas are manipulated to create new, original, and novel ideas, as well as ideas that are intended to direct the minds of others into domains desired by the manipulator, when the mind is involved in the manipulative process[27]. It can therefore be suggested that the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, together with what is known as its weak version, can hereby be replaced by the New Hypothesis. This is because the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis could be seen not only as a kind of trespassing on the domains of the cognitive powers and intellectual endeavours of the native speakers of other mother tongues but also as a fault finder instead of knowledge seeker.

Finally, the main points of the argument of this thesis can now be presented succinctly as follows.

Firstly, the urge to communicate could have occurred among humans.

Secondly, environmental awareness and understanding and grasping of the natural phenomena, and the need for communication, must have taken place in the cognitive faculty.

Thirdly, a certain creative individual must have understood the problem and discovered the idea of using the first unit of structured Fomit for the encapsulation of the first concrete Semit.

It can now be understood that all the three steps taken in the order presented to be the product of thought. Moreover, it could now be clear that neither the Semit nor the Fomit could have influenced thought. They still don't when this same procedure is followed. Actually, they can be understood as means of facilitating, refining, and developing thought.

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[27] Suppose an Englishman hears an African name and decides to use it to scare children out of eating sweets. He might start by describing a certain monster let loose on the world from the mountains of Ethiopia. Suppose he tells children that this monster is one hundred and fifty feet tall when it chooses to appear to humans, and it is called '**NAMAŇATA**'. Suppose he adds that its very sight could make children totally unconscious .He might further add that children could never be able to recover their consciousness once they had been affected. Moreover, he might add that what is worse is that it has arrived in England, and is believed to spit poisonous gases and liquids onto all forms of sweets it comes into contact without being seen, and that all those who dare accidentally taste all such kinds of sweets henceforth might die immediately. It would then be difficult to imagine all the weird ideas that might be associated with the name **NAMAŇATA**!

What might be conjectured here is that the negative psychological effect that the Fomits of certain languages create in the minds of the speakers of other languages might have probably led to the conception of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis in the first place. The possible reason for this could be the following. Native speakers of certain languages may create certain negative attitudes towards the Fomits used by others into which to encapsulate certain identical referents. The case in point is the changing of names. For example, in Ethiopia, the names of certain towns, places, and persons used to be changed due to the fact that native speakers of different languages happen to live under one state. Some examples are shown below.

Place names

Original Oromo name	**Amharic name**
Haremaya	Alemaya
Bishoftu	Debre Zeit
Shager/Finfinne	Addis Ababa (originally Amharic)
Adama	Nazret

Sidama name	**Amharic name**
Hawassa	Awassa

Personal names

Oromo name	**Amharic name**
mərəra	basaz+nəw 'if I could get his simpathy (lit. trans. into Amh.)
gaddisa	t'+laye 'my shade'

Such changes usually occur in a multilingual situation where speakers of many different mother tongues happen to find themselves in the same country. This appears to create disagreements among native speakers of different languages. Such disagreements may seem to occur as the result of applying the principles of the cross-Fomit-Semit Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. This means

that the substitution of the Fomit-Semit of a mother tongue by the Fomit –Semit of another mother tongue can negatively influence the native speakers whose Fomit-Semit is substituted by another. The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis may allow evaluatory assessment and trespassing into other Fomit-Semits but not replacement of one Fomit-Semit by another. However, the New Hypothesis may not allow even evaluatory assessments and trespassing into the cognitive faculties of other native speakers, let alone the substitution of the Fomit-Semit of a mother tongue by the Fomit-Semit of another. What is interesting in this situation is that even though the places are identical, and the persons are also identical, the Fomit structuring may not, in principle, have changed the Semits physically or otherwise by being encapsulated in differently structured Fomits. The Semits in themselves might not also have been seen as creating the psychological problem. The behaviour and attitude of native speakers who changed the Fomits of other mother tongues into their own Fomits might have been the cause of the created negative attitude. In any case, it can be seen as interfering with the native languages of others.

What can be of interest is that changing personal names also occur in economically advanced countries by immigrants, or in forceful situations by colonialists in ex-colonies but without the intense negative attitudes of those who change their names in multilingual, economically less developed countries. Therefore, these kinds of attitudes cannot be considered as being part of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis since the factors of their cause can be anthropological, sociological, psychological, and the interference with other mother tongues and what not.

What can be interesting and relevant here, however, is the way native speakers conceptualize emotions differently. Such differences could be understood as being the results of their way of life, cognitive power, frames of reference, and how they externalize them through their mother tongues. For instance, the concept of **gurša** does not exist in English and that the literal English translation of the Amharic metaphor of anger using fire as the source domain given above does not fall under the conceptualizations of things in English. It is in fact felt that **gurša** could be disgusting in the culture of the native speakers of English, and in English, one can 'burn up with anger, or breathe fire' but one cannot 'wear or put fire in the mouth.'[28]

7.5 Recommendations

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It appears that the arguments presented in this thesis are supported by enough evidence to disprove the weak version of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis that language influences thought. It is therefore strongly recommended that native speakers of different languages be encouraged to find out how ideas and referents are conceptualized and encapsulated in Fomits in ways different from their own mother tongues by making all possible efforts to learn them from their native speakers.

It is true that some languages can express more sophisticated ideas than others because of the efforts and cognitive power of their native speakers. But it may also be equally true that no human thought can be considered so simple and inferior that it is not worth the effort to know what it is like. All human cognitive faculties can be taken as being capable of producing something of value, some thought about something new and structured in some unique ways from our own. Despising the mother tongues of others can be seen as despising the cognitive faculties of their native speakers. This shows that there is no need to close the doors of our minds on other languages but to keep them open to let in concepts and modes of conceptualization by their native speakers whenever we get the chance. If this is not found to be possible, it is recommended that we at least leave our minds open for some positive thinking towards the languages spoken natively by others. Most importantly, we must refrain ourselves from using our mother tongues as parameters to evaluate or denigrate other mother tongues and stop thinking that their mother tongues influenced their thoughts. It is strongly believed that these recommendations can be of more value to multilingual countries if accepted and applied positively.

Moreover, I recommend that the Fomit-Semit theoretical framework be made operational by interested scholars in the future.

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Appendix I

I. Anger Expressions

	Amharic	Phonetic transcription	Gloss
	ንዴት	**nɨddet**	anger, rage, fury
	ብሽቀት	**bɨšɨk'ət**	annoyance, rage
	ብስጭት	**bɨsɨč'č'ɨt**	vexation, irritation, frustration, aggravation, exasperation
	ቁጣ	**k'ut't'a**	anger, rage, indignation
1	በንዴት ሆዱ ነፈረ	**bənɨddet hodu nəffərə**	He is boiling with anger.
2	ፊቱን አኮሳተረ	**fitun akkosattərə**	His emotions were *written all over his face* (Kővecses, ibid, p.134).
3	በቁጣ ደነፋ	**bək'ut't'a dənəffa**	He yelled with anger.
4	በንዴት ከሰለ	**bənɨddet kəssələ**	He is turned into coal with anger.
5	ልብ አክሳል	**lɨbb aksɨl**	A converter of the heart into coal.
6	አከሰለ	**akəssələ**	He converted (someone) into coal.
7	አራስ ነብር ሆነ	**aras nəbɨr honə**	He has become a tigress or leopardess that has just given birth.
8	ደሙ ተለዋወጠ	**dəmu tələwawwət'ə**	His blood is changing.
	የስድብ ናዳ	**jəsɨdɨb nada awərrədəbbət**	He has let an avalanche of

	አወረደበት		insults fall on him.
9	የስድብ መዓት አወረደበት	jəsɨdɨb məʔat awərədəbbət	He let lots of insults descend on him.
10	ቡራ ከረዩ አለ	burra kərrəju alə	He said burra kərreyu
11	ደመ· ፈላ	dəmu fəlla	His blood boiled.
12	አይኑን አፈጠጠ	ʔajnun afət'ət'ə	His eyes bulged with anger.
13	አይኑን አዥጎረጎረ	ʔajnun ažgorəggorə	He changed the colour of his eyes.
14	አይኑን አጉረጠረጠ	ʔajnun agurət'ərrət'ə	He bulged his eyes with anger.
15	ዳንኪራ መታ	dankira mətta	He danced with anger.
16	እሳት ለብሶ እሳት ጎርሶ መጣ	ʔɨsat ləbso ʔɨsat gorso mət't'a	He came wearing and breathing fire.
17	እንደ ቀስት ተወርውሮ መጣ	ʔɨndə k'əst təwərwɨro mət't'a	He came shooting like an arrow.
18	እንደ ቀስት ተወረወረበት	ʔɨndə k'əst təwərəwərəbbət	He flew like an arrow towards him.
19	በቁጣ አበደ	bək'k'ut'a abbədə	He went crazy with anger.
20	በብስጭት ቆሰለ	bəbɨsɨč'č'ɨt k'ossələ	He got wounded with rage.
21	በአይኑ ገላመጠው	bəʔajnu gəlaməṯ't'əw	He eyed him with anger.
22	ደመ ቁጡ ነው·	dəmə k'ut't'u nəw	He has the blood of anger.
23	ዛሩ ተነሳበት	zaru tənəssabbət	His guardian spirit has started in him.
24	ቡፍ አለ	buff alə	He is puffed up with anger.
25	ብው· አለ	bɨww alə	He is burning with anger.
26	ጋል ጋል አለ	gall gall alə	He is being heated up.
27	በቁጣ ገነፈለ	bək'k'ut'a gənəffələ	He is overflowing with anger.
28	ልብ አብሽቅ	lɨbb abšɨk'	Heart irritant
29	ልብ አብግን	lɨbb abgɨn	Heart burner
30	ልብ አትክን	lɨbb atkɨn	Heart burner
31	ምንጭሩ ድብን አለ	mɨnč'ɨru dɨbbɨn alə	His lip burnt up.
32	ራሱ ዞረ	rasu zorə	His head turned round and round.
33	አካኪ ዘራፍ አለ	akaki zəraff alə	He boasted with anger.
34	ያዙኝ ልቀቁኝ አለ	jazuň lɨk'ək'uň alə	He refused to be restrained with anger.
35	ናላው ተናወጠ	nalaw tnnawət'ə	He went absolutely crazy.
36	ሸበት አወጣ	šɨbət awwət'a	He grew gray hair with anger.
37	ጸጉሩ ተለወጠ	s'əguru tələwwət'ə	His hair changed constantly.
38	ዓይኑ ደም መሰለ	ʔajnu dəm məssəllə	His eyes looked like blood.
39	ሰይጣኑ መጣ	səjt'anu mət't'a	His devil came over him.

40	ሰይጣናም	səjt'anam	Devilish.
41	ዛራም	Zaram	Full of guardian spirit.
42	በነገር ቀቀለ	bənəgər k'ək'k'ələ	He made (s.o) boil with some irritant matter.
43	ቆሽቱ አረረ	k'oštu ʔarrərə	His intestine burnt.
44	ልጓም በሊታ	lɨg^{w}am bəllita	Bit eater
45	ጠፍር በሊታ	t'əfɨr bəllita	Leather eater
46	ልቡ አረረ	lɨbbu arrərə	His heart burnt.
47	በንዴት ገነፈለ	bəndet gənəffələ	He breathed with anger.
48	ጥቁር አለ	t'ɨk'k'ur alə	His face darkened.
49	ሰይጣን አደረበት	səjt'an addərəbbət	He is possessed by the devil.
50	ፊቱ አጋም መሰለ	fitu agam məssələ	His face looked like *agam*.
51	ልቡ ቆሰለ	lɨbbu k'ossələ	His heart is wounded b with anger.
52	አንጀቱ አረረ	anǰətu arrərə	His intestine is burnt.
53	አንጀቱ ተቃጠለ	anǰətu tək'at't'ələ	His intestine caught fire.
54	ጉበቱ አረረ	gubbətu arrərə	His liver is burnt.
55	አንጀቱ ቆሰለ	anǰətu k'ossələ	His intestine is wounded with anger.
56	አንጀቱ ደበነ	anǰətu dəbbənə	His intestine is burnt up.
57	ሆዱ በገነ	hodu bəggənə	His stomach is burnt.
58	ተቁነጠነጠ	tək'unət'ənnət'ə	He is fidgety.
59	በብስጭት ተከነ	bəbɨsɨččɨt təkkənə	He burnt with anger.
60	ቀንድ አወጣ	k'ənd awət'ta	He grew horns.
61	ጨርቁን ጣለ	č'ərk'un t'alə	He took off his clothes.
62	በቁጣ አምቧረቀ	bək'ut't'a ʔamb^{w}arrək'ə	He shouted with anger.
63	ነገር አሰከረው	nəgər ʔasəkkərəw	He is drunk with anger.
64	ጂኒያም	ǰinjam	Full of djinn
65	እሩር መስሎ መጣ	ʔɨrur məslo mət't'a	He came as an 'ʔɨrur.'
66	በቁጣ አበደ	bək'k'ut'a abbədə	He went crazy with anger.
67	እብድ ውሻ ሆነ	ʔɨbd wɨšša honə	He became a mad dog with anger.
68	ብግን አለ	bɨggɨn alə	He got burnt with anger.
69	አንጀቱ ነፈረ	ʔanǰətu nəffərə	His intestine got burnt with anger.
70	ግልፍ አለው	gɨllɨf aləw	Anger overpowered him..
71	ግንፍል አለበት	gɨnfɨl aləbbət	He overflowed with anger.
72	ፀጉሩ ቆመ	s'əguru k'omə	His hair stood.
73	ክንፍ አወጣ	kɨnf awət'ta	He grew wings.

74	ሆዱ ነፈረ	**hodu nəffərə**	His stomach is boiling with anger.
75	ልቡ ነፈረ	**lɨbbu nəffərə**	His heart is boiling with anger.
76	ልቡ ተቃጠለ	**lɨbbu tək'k'at'ələ**	His heart is burning with anger.
77	እርር ቅጥል አለ	**ʔɨrrɨr k'ɨt'ɨl alə**	He over burnt with anger.
78	በንዴት ተቃጠለ	**bənɨddet təkˈk'at'ələ**	He is burning with anger.
79	አሳበደኝ	**asabbədəñ**	He drove me crazy.
80	ደሙን ሊጠጣው ደረሰ	**dəmun lit'ət't'aw dərrəsə**	He was about to drink his blood.
81	በንዴት ቆሰለ	**bənɨddet k'ossələ**	He got wounded with anger.
82	ሆዱ ቆሰለ	**hodu k'ossələ**	His stomach got wounded.
83	ኮረንቲ ጨበጠ	**korrənti č'əbbət'ə**	He is charged up.
84	ፊቱ ኮሶ መሰለ	**fitu kosso məssələ**	His face looked like *kosso*.
85	ጭራ አወጣ	**č'ɨra awət't't'a**	He grew a tail.
86	ቁጭ ብድግ አለ	**k'uč'č' bɨddɨg alə**	He sat down and stood up.
87	ትኩስ ነው	**tɨkkus nəw**	He is hot.
88	ቱግ አለ	**tugg alə**	He got angry all of a sudden.
89	በሽታው ተነሳ	**bəšɨttaw tənnəsa**	His illness has restarted.
90	ናር ናር አለ	**narr narr alə**	He is overacting.
91	ልቡን አመገለው	**lɨbbun aməggələw**	He made his heart produce puss.
92	እብድ ሆነ	**ʔɨbd honə**	He went crazy.
93	አቴቴአም (ግልፍተኛ)	**atetejam (gɨllɨftəñña)**	Full of *atete (*a guardian sirit.

II. Fear Expressions

	ፍርሃት	**fɨrhat**	Fear
	ስጋት	**sɨggat**	fear, worry, care, dread, anxiety, alarm, apprehension
	ድንጋጤ	**dɨnɨggat'e**	fright, scare, alarm, shock, consternation, dismay
	ጭንቀት	**ɨnk'ət**	stress, strain, worry, concern (anxiety), anguish, pressure, anxiety, depression (psychological)
	ችግር	**cɨggɨr**	difficulty, distress, straights, problems, want, misery, need, trouble, nuisance, annoyance,

			bother, encumbrance
1	ሆዱ ባባ	**hodu babba**	His stomach is afraid.
2	(ሆዱን) ባር ባር አለው	**hodun barbar aləw**	His stomach felt fear.
3	በፍርሃት ራደ	**bəfɨrɨhat radə**	He is shaking with fear.
4	ጆሮው ቆመ	**ǰorow k'omə**	His ear stood.
5	ዓይኑ ተቅበዘበዘ	**ʔajnu təkʼɨbəzəbbəzə**	His eyes looked everywhere.
6	ሽንታም	**šɨntam**	Full of urine.
7	አሸናው	**ʔaššənnaw**	He made him urinate.
8	ቀንድ አሸሸ	**k'ənd ašəššə**	He let horns run off.
9	ተንቀጠቀጠ	**tənk'ət'ək'k'ət'ə**	He is shaking with fear.
10	ዘረጠ	**zərət'o**	Full of fart.
11	ቦቅቧቃ	**bok'bʷak'a**	Full of fear
12	ልቡ ራደ	**lɨbbu radə**	His heart is shaking.
13	ምላሱ ተያያዘ	**mɨlasu təjajazə**	His tongue is tied.
14	ደርቆ ቀረ	**dərk'o k'ərrə**	He is petrified.
15	ልቤ ደነገጠብኝ	**lɨbbe dənəggət'əbbɨň**	My heart is alarmed to my detriment.
16	ጉልበቱ ተንቀጠቀጠ	**gulbətu tənk'ət'ək'k'ət'ə**	His knees are shaking with fear.
17	ጉልበቴ ከዳኝ	**gulbəte kəddaň**	My knees betrayed me.
18	ሰውነቱ ተርበደበደ	**səwɨnnətu tərbbədəbbədə**	His entire body is shaking with fear.
19	የባጥ የቆጡን ቀላደመ	**jəbat' jək'ot'un k'əlammədə**	He talked about the ceiling and the wood bed.
20	በድን ሆነ	**bədɨn honə**	He became dead.
21	ብርክ ያዘው	**bɨrk jazəw**	He could not move his legs.
22	ቆሌው ተገፈፈ	**k'ollew təgəffəfə**	He became helpless.
23	ዕጡ ዱብ አለ	**ʔɨt'u dubb alə**	His ɨt fell from him.
24	ክው አለ	**kɨww alə**	He is petrified with fear.
25	ዓይኑ ተጎለጎለ	**ʔajnu təgoləggolə**	His eyes bulged with fear.
26	ዓይኑ ፈጠጠ	**ʔajnu fət'ət't'ə**	He stared with fear.
27	ተንበቀበቀ	**tənbək'əbbək'ə**	He is too frightened.
28	ብርግግ ብርግግ አለ	**bɨrggɨg bɨrggɨg alə**	He startled repeatedly.
29	ልጓምአጠበቀ	**lɨgʷam at'əbbək'ə**	He tightened the bit.
30	ሀሞቱ ፈሰሰ	**hamotu fəssəsə**	His bile spilt over
31	ሆዱ ቀጠነ	**hodu k'ət't'ənə**	His stomach quaked.
32	ልቡ ቀለጠ	**lɨbbu k'əllət'ə**	His heart melted.
33	ሀሞተቢስ	**hamotə bis**	bileless

34	ልቡ ተሸረሸረ	lɨbbu təšərəššərə	His heart eroded.
35	ተርበተበተ	tərbətəbbətə	He is confused.
36	ተፍረከረከ	təfɨrəkərrəkə	He loosened.
37	በረገገ	bərəggəgə	He startled.
38	ተሸበረ	təšəbbərə	He is terrorized.
39	ሽብር ሽብር አለ	šɨbbɨr šɨbbɨr alə	He is terrorized continuously.
40	ደነበረ	dənəbbərə	He startled.
41	ልቡ ከዳው	lɨbbu kəddaw	His heart betrayed him.
42	ቦተቦት	botəbot	
43	ብርድ ብርድ አለው	bɨrd bɨrd aləw	He felt cold.
44	በረክ በረክ አለ	bərək bərək alə	He became physically unstable.
45	ወሀ ሆነ	wuha honə	He wetted his pants.
46	ወሀ ሆኖ ቀረ	wuha hono k'ərrə	He watered.
47	ሰኔና ሰኞ ሆነበት	sənenna səñño honəbbət	He got into a June and Monday situation.
48	ውሉ ጠፋበት	wulu t'əffabbət	He does not know what to do.
49	ግራ ገባው	gɨra gəbbaw	He got confused.
50	ናጠው	nat'əw	He is shaken.
51	ዓይኑን አራመደ	ʔajnun arraməda	He made his eyes step forward.
52	በጭንቀት ተወጠረ	bəč'ɨnk'ət təwət't'ərə	He is ressed with frustration.
53	በፍርሃት ራደ	bəfɨrɨhat radə	He is shaken u with fear
54	በላብ ታጠበ	bəlab tat't'əbə	He is sweating all over.
55	መሬት መሬት አየ	məret məret ajjə	He looking into the ground.
56	መላቅጡ ጠፋው	məla k'ɨt'u t'əffaw	He is completely lost.
57	መላቅጡን አጣ	məla k'ɨt'un at't'a	He is in disorder.
58	ላብላብ አለው	lab lab aləw	He is sweating.
59	እመክራ ማጥ ውስጥ ገባ	ʔɨməkəra mat' wɨst' gəbba	He entered into a quagmire of agony.
60	ቁም ስቅሉን አየ	k'um sɨk'lun ajjə	He is in great trouble.
61	ምጥ ያዘው	mɨt' jazəw	He is in labour.
62	ውቃቢ ራቀው	wɨk'abi rak'əw	He is abandoned by his wuk'abi (his guardian spirit.)
63	ልቡ ተደባለቀ	lɨbbu tədəballək'ə	His heart got mixed.
64	ድንጋይ ሆኖ ቀረ	dɨngaj hono k'ərrə	He is petrified.
65	ድንጋይ ሆኗል	dɨngaj hon^{w}al	He has been petrified.
66	ልቡ ተርፏ አለ	lɨbbu tərf^{w}a alə	His heart
67	ወሽመጡ ተቆረጠ	wəšɨmət'u tək'k'orət'ə	His left side is cut.

68	ልቡ ተሰቀለ	lɨbbu təsək'k'ələ	He became anxious.
69	መንፈሱ ተረበሸ	mənfəsu tərəbbəšə	He is mentally shaken.
70	ልቡ ታወከ	lɨbbu tawwəkə	His heart is in trouble.
71	ምጥ መጣ	mɨt' mət't'a	The feeling of being in child labour is about to occur.
72	ነፍሱን አጣ	nəfsun at't'a	He lost his soul.
73	ሆዱ ተሸበረ	hodu təšəbbərə	His stomach is in turmoil.
74	ግቢ ነፍስ ውጪ ነፍስ	gɨbi nəfs wɨč'i nəfs	Enter soul, get out soul
75	ልቡ ተሰበረ	lɨbbu təsəbbərə	His heart broke.
76	ቅስሙ ተሰበረ	k'ɨsmu təsəbbərə	He lost his strength.
77	አንገቱን ሰበረ	angətun səbbərə	He bent his neck.
78	በፍርሃት ራደ	bəfɨrɨhat radə	He is shaking with fear.
79	ልብ የለውም	lɨbb jəlləwɨm	He is heartless.
80	ልቡ ተሰነጠቀ	lɨbbu təsənət't'ək'ə	His heart slit.
81	ልቡ ተሸበረ	lɨbbu təšəbbərə	His heart is in terror.

III. Happiness Expressions

	ደስታ	dəsta	joy, happiness, pleasure, delight, amusement
	እርካታታ	ɨrkata	being slaked
1.	በሳቅ ሞተ	bəsak' motə	He laughed himself to death.
2.	በሳቅ ልቡ ፈረሰ	bəsak' lɨbbu fərrəsə	Laughter burst his heart asunder.
3.	በሳቅ ፈነዳ	bəsak' fənnəda	He burst out laughing.
4.	ፊቱ ፈካ	fitu fəkka	His face brightened up.
5.	የሚይዘውን የሚጨብጠውን አጣ	jəmmijizəwɨn jəmmič'əbbɨt'əwɨn at't'a	He could not find what to hold and what to grasp.
6.	በደስታታ ፈነጠዘ	bədəssɨta fənət't'əzə	He jumped with happiness.
7.	ሜዳ ጠበበው	meda t'əbbəbəw	His happiness has no bounds.
8.	ሀድራው ሞላለት	hadraw mollalət	His hadra is fulfilled.
9.	አንጀቱ ራሰ	ʔanǰətu rasə	His intestine has become wet.
10.	ሀሴት አደረገ	hasset adərrəgə	He is happy.
11.	ልቡ ራሰ	lɨbbu rasə	His heart has become wet.
12.	የልቡ ደርሰ	jəlɨbbu dərrəsə	His heart's desire has been fulfilled.
13.	የአንጀቱ ደርሰ	jəʔanǰətu dərrəsə	His desire has been fulfilled.
14.	ቅቤ ጠጣ	k'ɨbe t'ət't'a	He drank butter.
15.	ሆዱ ራሰ	hodu rase	His heart has become wet.

16.	እልል አለ	ʔɨllɨl alə	He ululated.
17.	አንጀቱ ቅቤ ጠጣ	anǰətu k'ɨbe t'ət't'a	His intestine drank butter.
18.	ጮቤ ረገጠ	č'obbe rəggət'ə	He danced for joy.
19.	ጮቤ ረገደ	č'obbe rəggədə	He danced for joy.
20.	መንፈሱ ረካ	mənfəsu rəkka	His spirit has been gratified.
21.	ዳንኪራ መታ	dankira mətta	He danced for joy.
22.	ልቡ ረጋ	lɨbbu rəgga	His heart has become quiet and stable.
23.	ልቡን ማረከው	lɨbbun marrəkəw	It captured his heart.
24.	ሰርግና ምላሽ ሆነ	sərgɨnna mɨllaš	It became a wedding and a return.
25.	ምድር ቀለጠ	mɨdɨr k'əllət'ə	The land has been turned into chaos.
26.	ልቡ በደስታ ሰከረ	lɨbbu bədəssɨta səkkərə	His heart has been drunk with joy.
27.	መሬት እልል አለች	məret ʔɨllɨl aləč	The earth has ululated.
28.	ዳንኪራ መታ	dankira mətta	He danced for joy.
29.	ፈነደቀ	fənəddək'ə	He laughed and smiled for joy.
30.	ቂጡ ቁጠማ ቆረጠ	k'it'u k'et'əma k'orrət'ə	His ass cut some grass-like reed.

IV. Sadness Expressions

	ሐዘን	sadness, compassion, sorrow, grief	
1	ፊቷን ነጨች	fitʷan nəč'č'əč	She scratched her face.
2	አንገቱን ደፋ	ʔangətun dəffa	He bent his neck.
3	ቀኑ ጨለመበት	k'ənu č'əlləməbbət	The day became dark to his detriment.
4	መከራ ዋጠው	məkəra wat'əw	He is swallowed by a quagmire..
5	ጋራው ተናደበት	garaw tənadəbbət	The sky fell on him.
6	ቀኝ እጁ ተቆረጠ	k'əñ ʔɨǰǰu tək'orrət'ə	He lost his right hand man.
7	ከንፈሩን መጠጠ	kənfərun mət't'ət'ə	He sucked his lip.
8	ልቡ በነገር ደማ	lɨbbu bənəgər dəmma	His heart bled with some disturbing matter.
9	ፊቱ በሃዘን ከሰለ	fitu bəhazən kəssələ	His face darkened with sadness.
11	ቆርጠው የጣሉት ቅጠል መሰለ	k'ort'əw jət'alut k'ɨt'əl məssələ	He looked like a leaf cut and thrown away.
12	የተፈጠረበትን ቀን ረገመ	jətəfət't'ərəbbətɨn k'ən rəggəmə	He cursed the day he was born.
13	ደም አለቀሰ	dəm aləkʾk'əsə	He shed blood tears.

14	እህህ አለ	**ʔɨhɨh alə**	He sighed with sadness.
15	አንጀቱ ተንቦጫቦጨ	**ʔanǰətu tənboč'č'aboč'č'ə**	His intestine sloshed.
16	ሆዱ ተንቦጫቦጨ	**hodu tənboč'č'aboč'č'ə**	His stomach sloshed.
17	ገልብጣ ለበሰች	**gəlbɨt'a ləbbəssəč**	She wore her clothes turned.
18	ዘቅዝቃ ለበሰች	**k'zɨk'a ləbbəssəč**	She wore her clothes upside down.
19	የደም እንባ አለቀሰ	**jədəm ʔɨnba alək'k'əsə**	He cried tears of blood.
20	ደረቷን መታች	**dərətʷan məttač**	She beat her breast.
21	ደረቷን ጣለች	**dərətʷan t'alləč**	She made her breast bear.
22	ልብሷን ቀደደች	**lɨbsʷan k'əddədəč**	She tore her clothes.
23	ሀዘን ተነባበረባት	**hazən tənəbabbərəbbat**	Sadness is layered upon her.
24	እርር ምርር አለች	**ʔɨrɨr mɨrɨr aləč**	She became dark and bitter.
25	እርር ኩምትር አለ	**ʔɨrɨr kumttɨr alə**	She darkened and shrank.
26	(ሆድ) ሆዱን በላው	**(hod) hodun bəllaw**	It ate his stomach.
27	አንጀቱን በላው	**ʔanǰətun bəllaw**	It ate his intestine.
28	ልቡ ተሰበረ ልቡ ከዳው	**lɨbbu təsəbbərə** **lɨbbu kəddaw**	His heart broke. His heart betrayed him.
29	ቀን ጎደለበት	**k'ən goddələbbət**	The day is half-full to his detriment.
30	በሀዘን ተቆራመደ	**bəhazən tək'oramməda**	He is miserable with sadness.
31	የሀዘን ማቅ ለበሰ	**jəhazən mak' ləbbəsə**	He wore the blanket of sadness.
32	ከል ለበሰ	**kəll ləbbəsə**	He wore black clothes.
33	ሰማይ ተደፋበት	**səmaj tədəffabbət**	The sky fell on him.
34	ሆዱን ቆረጠው	**hodun k'orrət'əw**	He has stomachache.
35	ማቅ ለበሰ	**mak' ləbbəsə**	He wore black.
36	ልቡ ቀዘቀዘ	**lɨbbu k'əzək'k'əzə**	His heart became cold.
37	ቅስሙ ተሰበረ	**k'ɨsmu təsəbbərə**	He lost his spiritual and physical strength.
38	ፊቱ ጠወለገ	**fitu t'əwəlləgə**	His face turned into grey.
39	ሆዱ ጎሸ	**hodu goššə**	His stomach muddied.
40	ልቡን ነካው	**lɨbbun nəkkaw**	It touched his heart.
41	ልቡን በላው	**lɨbbun bəllaw**	It ate his heart.
42	ምርር አለው	**mɨrɨr aləw**	He became bitter.
43	አንገቱን ቀለሰ	**ʔangətun k'əlləsə**	He bent his head.
44	ልቤን አደማው	**lɨbben adəmmaw**	He bled my heart.

IV. Love Expresiions

	ፍቅር	love, affection	
1	ልቧን ጥላበታለች	**lɨbb^{w}an t'ɨlabəttalləč**	She has cast her heart on him.
2	ቆሎ የሚያጓርስ ፍቅር	**K'olo jəmmijag^{w}arɨs fɨk'ɨr**	Love that makes lovers gives *gursha* of k'olo to each other.
3	የጅል ፍቅር (መዝዝ ያለ ፍቅር)	**jəǰil fɨk'ɨr**	The love of an imbecile.
4	የጅብ ፍቅር (ለመክዳት ጊዜው እስኪያመች)	**jəǰib fɨk'ɨr**	The love of hyena
5	ያንጀት ፍቅር	**janǰət fɨk'ɨr**	The love of the intestine
6	የልብ ፍቅር	**jəlɨbb fɨk'ɨr**	The love of the heart
7	ፍቅር ጣለባት	**fɨk'ɨr t'ələbbat**	Love is cast over her.
8	ፍቅር አደረባት	**fɨk'ɨr t'addərəbbat**	Love stayed overnight with her.
9	በመሀላቸው ንፋስ አይገባም	**bəməhalačəw nɨfas ajgəbam**	Air cannot enter between them.
10	አሳበደችኝ	**asabədəččɨň**	She made crazy.
11	አበድኩላት	**abbədkullat**	I went crazy for her.
12	ዘረጋችኝ	**zərəggaččɨň**	She stretched me.
13	ልቡ ጠፋ	**lɨbbu t'əffa**	His hear is lost.
14	በፍቅር እፍ አለ	**bəfɨk'ɨr ʔɨff alə**	They have fallen head over heels in love.
15	ልቤ ተንሰፈሰፈላት	**lɨbbe tənsəfəsəfəllat**	My heart has been too eager for her.
16	ልቤ ደነገጠባት	**lɨbbe dənggət'əllat**	My heart is alarmed for her.
17	የኔ ወፍ	**jəne wəf**	My bird
18	ገላዬ	**gəlajə**	My body
19	ፍቅር ያዘው	**fɨk'ɨr jazəw**	Love caught him.
20	ልቡ ቀረ	**lɨbbu k'ərrə**	His heart is left behind.
21	ልቡን ማረከችው	**lɨbbun marrəkəččɨw**	She captured his heart.
22	ልቡን ሰለበችው	**lɨbbun səlləbəččɨw**	She castrated his heart.
23	ልቡ ወደደ	**lɨbbu wəddəddə**	His heart loved.
24	የወደደ ሰው ዓይን የለውም	**jəwəddəddə səw ʔajn jəlləwm**	A person in love has no eyes. (Love is blind.)
25	የፍቅር እሳት አነደደው	**jəfɨk'ɨr ʔɨsat annədədəw**	The fire of love burnt him.
26	የፍቅር እሳት አቃጠለው	**jəfɨk'ɨr ʔɨsat ak'k'at'ələw**	The fire of love has burnt him.

27	በፍቅር ተይዟል	**bəfɨk'ɨr təjɨz^{w}al**	He is caught with love.
28	በፍቅር ሞተላት	**bəfɨk'ɨr motəllat**	He died with love for her.
29	ልቡን ወሰደችበት	**lɨbbun wəssədəčɨbbət**	She took his heart.
30	በፍቅር ነደፈችው	**bəfɨk'ɨr nəddəfəčč ɨw**	She stung him with love.
31	በልቡ አነገሳት	**bəlɨbbu anəggəsat**	He crowned her in his heart.
32	በውበቷ ተማረከ	**bəwɨbət^{w}a təmarrəkə**	He is captured by her beauty.
33	በፍቅሯ ሆድ ባሰው	**bəfɨk'ɨr^{w}a hod basəw**	
34	በፍቅር ነሆለለ	**bəfɨk'ɨr^{w}a nəhollələ**	He lost his mind with love.
35	ፍቅሯ አሳበደው	**fɨk'ɨr^{w}a asabbədəw**	He went crazy with her love.
36	የፍቅር አባዜ ያዘው	**jəfɨk'ɨr abaze jazəw**	He is obsessed by love.
37	የወደደና ያበደ አንድ ነው	**jəwəddədənna jabbəd and nəw**	He who loves is the same as he who has gone crazy.
38	ቀልቡን ማረከችው	**k'əlbun marrəkəčč ɨw**	She has captured his heart.
39	ቀልቡን ነሳችው	**k'əlbun nəssačč ɨw**	She made him lose his memory.
40	ቀልቧን ነሳት	**k'əlb^{w}an nəssat**	He made her lose her memory.
41	ልቡ መታ	**lɨbbu mətta**	His heart is beating.
42	ልቡ ደነገጠ	**lɨbbu dənəggət'ə**	His heart startled.
43	አቆሰላት	**ʔak'ossəlat**	He wounded her.
44	ነፍሴ	**nəfse**	My soul.
45	ነፍስ ነው	**nəfs nəw**	He is a soul.
46	ነፍስ ሆነ	**nəfs honə**	He became a soul.
47	ልቡን ነሳው	**lɨbbun nəssaw**	He has become heartless.
48	ልቡ ገባ	**lɨbbu gəbba**	His heart has entered.
49	ሴትዮዋን ያመልካታል	**setɨjowan jaməlkatal**	He worships the woman.

VI. Lust Expressions

	ፍትወት	**fɨtwət**	desire, lust, concupiscence, oestrus
	ፍትወተ ስጋ	**fɨtwətə sɨga**	desire of the flesh, lust, concupiscence
	ቅንዝርና	**k'ɨnzɨrɨnna**	strong sexual desire, overindulgence in sex, lewdness
	ስስና	**sɨssɨnna**	being licentious, highly sexed

1	ንደቀትር እባብ ተክለፈለፈች	ʔɨndə k'ətɨr ʔɨbab təkɨləfəlləfəč	She ran here and there like a noon (mid-day) snake.
2	አቅነዘነዛት	ʔak'ɨnəzənəzat	She in the her heat period.
3	ጥዶ ዘለል	t'ɨdo zəllə	She who puts a pot on fire to cook and takes off.
4	አመንዝራ	amənzɨra	Philanderer (Full of lust).
5	ሂያጅ	Hijiaǰ	A sexy philanderer (for both female and male)
6	ዓይነ ሌባ	ʔajnə leba	She who is an eye thief.
7	መስገርት	məsgərt	A sexy woman
8	ሴሰኛ	sesəñña	Sexy
9	ሸርሙጣ	šərmut'a	prostitute
10	የእንግዳ ቁርበት	jeʔɨngɨda k'urbət	A guest leather mat (prostitute)
11	ውቃጫም	wɨk'k'ač'am	sexy
12	ቅንዝረኛ	k'ɨnzɨrəñña	over sexy

VII. Pride Expressions

	ትዕቢት ኩራት	pride, arrogance, haughtiness, conceit pride, vanity	
1	በኩራት ተበጣጠሰ	bəkurat təbət'ət't'əsə	He broke into pieces.
2	ብክትክት አለ	bɨkɨtkkɨt alə	
3	ተዘባነነ	təzəbannənə	He became too proud.
4	ታሸ	taššə	
5	ትከሻ ሰጠ	tɨkəšša sət't'ə	He gave shoulders.
6	ናጠው	nat'əw	It has shaken him.
7	ትከሻውን አሳየ	tɨkəššawɨn asajjə	He showed his shoulders.
8	ልበ ድፍን	lɨbbə dɨfɨn	Of a solid heart
9	ልቡ አበጠ	lɨbbu abət'ə	His heart swelled.
10	ልቡ ሰባ	lɨbbu səbba	His heart fattened.
11	የልብልብ በቃው	jəlɨbblɨbb bək'k'aw	Heart of heart was enough for him.
12	ቀንዱን አሳየ	k'əndun asajjə	He showed his horns.
13	ልቡ አደገ	lɨbbu addəgə	His heart grew.

14	ትዕቢት አነቀው	**tɨʔbit ʔanək'k'əw**	He is choked with pride.
15	ቡራከረዩ አለ	**burra kərrəju alə**	He is boasting.
16	በዓይኑ ልክ ሰው ጠፋ	**bəʔajnu lɨkk səw t'əffa**	Nobody measurable to his eyes is found.
17	ጉራውን ነዛ	**gurrawn nəzza**	He is broadcasting his boasting.
18	ገንዘብ አሳውሮታል	**gənzəb ʔasawrotal**	Money has made him blind.
19	ምድር ለቀቀ	**mɨdɨr lək'k'ək'ə**	He is off the ground.(he let go of the earth.)
20	ወገቡን ያዘ	**wəgəbun jaze**	He held his waist.
21	ዘለል መለል አለ	**zələl məlal alə**	He jumped and elongated.
22	ምድር ደህና ዋይ አለ	**mɨdɨr dəhna waj alə**	He said goodbye to the earth.
23	ምን ቆርጦት	**mɨn k'ort'ot**	What could cut him.
24	ተወጥሯል	**təwət't'ɨr^{w}alə**	He is tightened up.
25	ጭራውን ነከሰ	**č'ɨrawn nəkkəsə**	He bit his tail.
26	ጥጋቡ ገንፍሎበታል	**t'ɨgabu gənfɨlobbətal**	His fullness is overflowing.
27	ልቡ ደንድኗል	**lɨbbu dəndɨn^{w}al**	His heart has become pudgy.
28	ደረቱን ነፋ	**dərətun nəffa**	He blew up his chest.
29	ደረቱን አሳየ	**dərətun asajje**	He showed his chest.
30	በትዕቢት ተወጠረ	**bətɨʔɨbitu təwətt'ərə**	He became tight with pride.
31	በዓይኑ ቂጥ አየ	**bəʔajnu kit' ajjə**	He saw with ass of his eyes.
32	ሰው ጡፉ	**səw t'efu**	For whom a person is **t'ef**.

VIII. Shame Expressions

	ሀፍረት	**hafrət**	disgrace, shame
	ውርደት	**wɨrdət**	disgrace, dishonour, humiliation, degradation, affront
1	ፊቱን ያዘ	**fitun jazə**	He covered his face with his hands.
2	ገመናው ተገለጠ	**gəmənaw təgəllət'ə**	His inmost secret is revealed.
3	ውሻ ሆነ	**wɨššа honə**	He has become a dog.
4	ውሻ አደረጉት	**wɨššа adərrəgut**	They treated him like a dog.
5	እንዳልሆነ ሆነ	**ʔɨndalhon honə**	He has become, as it should not have been.
6	ሀፍረት ለበሰ	**hafrət ləbbəsə**	He is wrapped u in shame.
7	በሰው ፊት ቀለለ	**bəsəw fit k'əllələ**	He became light before eole.
8	አመዱ ቡን አለ	**amədu bunn alə**	His dust blew.
9	ላባው ቡን አለ	**labaw bunn alə**	His feathers blew dust.
10	ጢሙ በረረ	**t'imu bərrərə**	His beard flew.

11	በአፍ ተሾመ	bəʔaf təšomə	He got promoted in words.
12	መሬት አስላሰ	məret aslasə	He made the ground licked.

IX. Surprise Expressions

	አድናቆት	Surprise	
1	ሪፖርቱ አንገዳገደኝ	reportu a-ngədaggədə-ňň	I was *staggered* by the report.
2	መገጣጠሚያዎቼ ተላቀቁ	məgat'təmia-wočče tə-lak'k'ək'k'u	I just *came apart at the seams.*
3	አግራሞት አጠለቀኝ	agramot at'əllək'ə- ňň	I was *overwhelmed* by surprise.
4	ጉድ ሳይሰማ መስከረም አይጠባም	gud sayssəmma məskərəm ay-t'əbam	September does come without something surprising happening.
5	ገርሞኝ ልሞት	gərmoňň lɨmot	I was about to die with surprise.
6	ይገርማል የናትሽ ደም መቅረት	yɨ-gərmal yə-ɨnatɨs dəm mək'rət	The stoppage of your mother' monthly period (menstruation) is surprising.
7	አይኔን አታስቀው ጥርሴስ ልማዱ ነው	ayn-en att-a-sɨk'-əw t'ɨrse-s lɨmad-u nəw	Don't make my eyes laugh; laughing with my teeth is my usual habit.
8	ብርቅና ድንቅ ያለ አንድ ቀን አይደምቅ	bɨrk'-ɨnna dɨnk' yə-aland k'ən ay-dəmk'	Something rare and something astonishing will not last more than a day.

Related data

Hatred Expressions

	ጥላቻ	t'ɨlačča	hatred
1	ዓይንሽን ለአፈር አሏት	ʔajnɨš ləʔafər ʔalʷat	He wished her eyes for soil.
2	ዓይኑን እንዳያይ	ʔajnun ʔɨndajaj təmməňə	He wished not to see his eyes.

	ተመኘ		
3	አላምጠው ተፋት	**alamt'əw təffut**	They chewed and sat him.
4	በልቡ ረገማት	**bəlɨbu rəggəmat**	He cursed her in his heart.
5	እርግፍ አርጎ ተዋት	**ʔɨrgɨf ʔargo təwat**	He left her completely.
6	ምርዝ አደረገ	**mɨrrɨz adərrəgə**	He poisoned.

Regret Expressions

	ጸጸት ቁጭት	s'ə s'ət k'uč'č'ɨt	repentance, regret, remorse, sorrow , remorse, chagrin, hidden rancour or grievance; rage
1	የእግር እሳት ሆነበት	**ʔɨgɨr ʔɨsat honəbbət**	It has become the fire of the feet to his detriment.
2	ወዲያልኝ	**wədjallɨñ**	It is a pity.
3	የጸጸት እሳት ገረፈው	**jəs'əs'ət ʔɨsat gərrəfəw**	The fire of repentance whipped him.
4	ራሱን አከከ	**rasun akkək**	He scratched his head.
5	ናፍቆት	**yearning, longing (for s.o)**	
6	በዓይኑ ዞረች	**bəʔajnu zorəč**	She is going around his eyes.
7	ለዓይኑ ራበችው	**ləʔajnu rabəččɨw**	She has become the hunger of his eyes.
8	በናፍቆት ነሆለለ	**bənafk'ot nəhollə**	Missing her made him a fool.
9	ከልቤ አልወጣ አለች	**kəlɨbbe ʔalwət'a ʔaləč**	She refused to get out of my heart.

Repentance Expressions

	ቅናት	**k'ɨnat**	jealousy, envy, zeal, being solicitous of one's country, one's religion, or of doing good
	ምቀኝነት	**mɨk'k'əññɨnət**	envy, spite (a feeling of wanting to hurt or upset sb; syn. malice)
1	ዓይኑ ጉም ለበሰ	**ʔajnu gum ləbbəsə**	His eyes put on fog (mist0.
2	የቅናት ዛር ጋለበው	**jək'ɨnat zar gallə bəw**	He is ridden by the **zar** (some spirit) of jealousy.
3	በቅናት ልቡ ተንቀጠቀጠ	**bək'ɨnat lɨbbu tənk'ət'ək'k'ət'ə**	His hear is shaking with jealousy.
4	ዓይኑ ደም ለበሰ	**ʔajnu dəm ləbbəsə**	His eyes wore blood.

Boldness Expressions

	ድፍረት	audacity, boldness, intrepidity,	

		impudence, nerve	
1	ልቡ ተደፈነ	**lɨbbu tədəffənə**	His heart has become solid.
2	ልቡ ሞላ	**lɨbbu molla**	His heart is full.
3	ልቡ አበጠ	**lɨbbu abbət'ə**	His heart swelled.
4	የልብልብ ሰጠው	**jəlɨbb lɨbb sət't'əw**	The heart of heart was enough for him.
5	ሴት የላከው	**set jəlakəw**	He who is sent by a woman
6	ልበሙሉ	**lɨbbə mulu**	Heartful
7	ልበቆራጥ	**lɨbbə k'orrat'**	Of a decisive heart
8	ልበደፋር	**lɨbbə dəffar**	Of a courageous heart
9	ልበጎረምሳ	**lɨbbə gorəmsa**	Of the heart of a lad
10	ወኒያም	**wənijam**	Full of courage
11	ምንአለብኝ	**mɨnaləbbɨñ**	He who feels there is nobody for whom he cares for.
12	የግንባርስጋ	**jəgɨnbar sɨga**	The meat of the forehead

Haste Expressions

27	ችኮላ	haste, hurry, rush, precipitation (rush)	
28	የዛር በቅሎ	**jəzar bək'ɨlo**	The mule of a **zar**
29	ሲበሉ የላኩት	**sibəlu jəlakut**	He who is sent while eating
30	ልበቀላል	**lɨbbə k'əllal**	Light hearted
31	ልቡ ቆመ	**lɨbbu k'omə**	His heart stood up.

Resentment Expressions

	ቂመኛ ቅሬታ	**k'iməñña** **k'ɨreta**	resentful, vindictive or vengeful person discontent, chagrin, displeasure, disappointment, resentment, dissatisfaction, grievance, reluctance, feeling of incompleteness
1	ሆደ ባሻ	**hodə bašša**	Of a heart of **bašša**
2	ሆዱ ሻከረ	**hodu šakkərə**	His heart became rough.

Patience Expressions

	ትዕግስት ቻይነት	**t ɨg ɨst** **čaj ɨnnət**	patience, resignation, endurance state of being patient
1	ሆደ ሰፊ	**hodə səffi**	Wide bellied
2	ልበ ሰፊ	**lɨbbə səffi**	wide hearted

3	ልበ ባህር	lɨbbə bahɨr	Ocean hearted

Kindness Expressions

	ርኅራኄ	rɨhɨrahe	ity, leniency, clemency, goodness, kindness, kind-heartedness, compassion, sympathy, quarter (mercy)
1	ሆደ በብ·	hodə bubbu	Kind hearted
2	አንጀቱ አይችልም	ʔanǰətu ʔajčɨlɨm	His intestine is incapable

Cruelty expressions

	ጨካኝነት	č'əkaňňɨnnət	state or condition of being cruel, unfeeling; ruthlessness, cruelty
1	ልበ ደረቅ	lɨbbə dərək'	Dry hearted
2	ልበ ድንጋይ	lɨbbə dɨngaj	Stone hearted
3	ልበ ጥኑ	lɨbbə t'ɨnu	Of a strong heart

Sorrow Expressions

	እሮሮ ራሮት ስቃይ	ɨroro rarot sɨk'aj	grief, sorrow, lament regret, compassion, mercy torment, affliction, torture, agony, distress, suffering, discomfort, pain, horror
1	ደይኑን አየ	ʔajnun ajjə	He saw his own sufferance
2	ፍዳውን በላ	fɨddawn bəlla	He ate his own heart.
3	አበሳውን አየ	abəsawn ajjə	He saw his own sufferance, or misery.
4	አሳር በላ	asar bəlla	He ate misery.
5	አሳሩን አየ	asarun ajjə	He saw sufferance.
6	አሳር አገኘው·	asar agəňňəw	Misery got him.

Appendix ii

Comments and interviews on the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis by Professor John Conner, University of Hawaii, USA.

The results of an interview conducted on the researcher's behalf by Professor Conner, to which he added his own views afterwards, are presented here. He kindly undertook the task of interviewing two university staff members from the Department of Linguistics of the University of Hawaii. Both of them are in sociolinguistics and one of them, Michael Forman, is an elderly man in his 60's. The second, Andrew Wong, is a young man formally trained in the sociolinguistics discipline in the Stanford University in California.

Professor Conner wrote:

> Both agreed on the basic position of the "hypothesis", though Forman felt it was not originally postulated as a formal "hypothesis" but only as a more informal speculative theory that was later elevated to the formal, disciplined "hypothesis" level by later adherents after the death of **Sapir and Whorf**. Andrew Wong, the formally trained sociolinguist, declared that it was originally indeed a true "hypothesis". In any case, they both affirmed the basic position: that language itself determines our thinking, especially by certain grooved, persistent patterns of expression.

> Foreman said the position doesn't mean only that we can **never** break out of this established patterns of expression for individual freer thought, but that is with some **difficulty** that we can overcome this. This qualification led to the main parts of the position: the so called **strong** theory and the **weak** theory. The "strong" says language wholly **determines** our thought. The "weak" theory says language merely **influences,** to some degree, our **thinking** –which I suppose opens the door to the possibility that our independent thinking can also influence language development? Michael Forman and I, it turns out, were Peace Corps volunteers in the 1960's and we had similar experiences with this problem. I told him that when I was learning Siamese (Thai) in Thailand, my expression would sometimes provoke laughter. When I asked for the reasons of the laughter, so I would improve, I went through the check list: **pronunciation?** No, fine, **grammar/ syntax** error? No, **fine. Vocabulary** deficiency? No, fine. Well, then, I said, with some exasperation, **what** was the **problem?** The answer somewhat apologetically, "well, we just never would think of saying something like that!" Now Michael Forman said he had the exact same experience many times when learning Philippine language as a Peace Corps volunteer there!

Then he added that he tested his Thai language recently on a Thai language teacher who taught for more than 40 years. He said to her the Thai sentence: "When you grow old, your long term memory is generally better than your short term memory." But the Thai teacher completely failed to understand the sentence. He says that when he explained it to her what he meant, she corrected his Thai sentence 'but wondered....and here is **the point:** "if many Thai language speakers would ever say such a thing!" He then writes: ' I found this surprising, since a lapse of short term memory, compared to long term memory, is, I think, a biological-physiological **constant** pretty **universally true** among the elderly, whatever the culture.'

In accordance with the additional information passed on to the researcher by Conner, as to whether the study on the hypothesis should be pursued or not, he wrote: 'Michael Forman and Andrew Wong had **somewhat** different views. This is apparently a quite old theory- hypothesis, formulated about a century ago, and has had many conflicting views and controversial papers done on it. Forman thought you should be encouraged....Andrew Wong "the youngster," on the other hand, felt that so much has already been done on the question, both for the "strong" theory and the "weak" theory, that he was not so very encouraging for you to pursue it.'

Finally, he adds the following comment of his own: