

Sami Uljas & Andreas Dorn (eds)

Crossroads VI:
Between Egyptian Linguistics and Philology

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Sadness, Anxiety and Other Broken Hearts

The Expression of Negative Emotions in Ancient Egyptian

Gaëlle Chantry¹

0 Introduction

Aims and general structure

This article aims at providing an overview of negative emotion expression in Ancient Egyptian, through the prism of figurative language. The general structure is as follows: after a brief introduction of the topic, the theoretical framework applied and the presentation of the corpus, the first section of the article is dedicated to lexical-level linguistic actualizations of conceptual metaphors – mostly metaphors and metonymies. These are divided in two categories: 1) single lexemes with metaphor-induced co-lexification² and 2) compound expressions. The second section of the article deals with the concept of ‘false friend’ metaphors, which are a major challenge in metaphor translation. The term, introduced here for the first time, refers to metaphorical expressions which, when translated literally in the target language, do correspond to an existing metaphorical expression but do not convey the same meaning as in the source language.

What is emotion?

The theoretical definition of emotion, feeling and temperament used in this paper is based on the framework established by Scherer,³ developed and adapted to the case of Ancient Egyptian by Di Biase-Dyson & Chantry.⁴ Scherer defines an emotion as ‘an organism’s affective response to specific situations’ (e.g. loss, danger, etc.) and, as such, to be distinguished from a feeling, which is ‘the subjective emotional experience component of emotion’.⁵ An emotion is moreover a ‘bounded event’ in the life of an individual, which

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2 François (2008) first proposed this term. He defines it as “the linking of two senses by a single lexeme in synchrony (*strict* co-lexification) or in diachrony (*loose* co-lexification)” (François 2008: 171). I chose to adopt it in this study because it allows to express the three steps in the metaphor-induced semantic evolution continuum of a lexeme: metaphorical use, polysemy and semantic change.

3 Scherer (2005, 2009, 2013).

4 Di Biase-Dyson & Chantry (2022: 604).

5 Scherer (2013: 25).

involves an appraisal of the event and consecutive mental and somatic changes leading to expression and reaction.⁶ An emotion is thus characterized as transient, momentary, while mood and character, by opposition, are characterized as more lasting. In Ancient Egyptian as in other world languages, ‘many lexical units describing emotion are additionally used to portray the temperament of a person, what Scherer⁷ calls an *affect disposition*’. The latter describes ‘the tendency of a person to experience certain moods more frequently or to be prone to react with certain types of emotions’ and they may also influence emotion regulation.⁸ The co-lexification of an emotion and the temperament characterized by this dominant emotion (e.g. anger and choleric) is thus very well attested in Egyptian.

How is emotion expressed in Egyptian? Conceptual metaphor theory and its actualization in the language.

Figurative language is a constant element in the expression of abstract concepts across cultures and languages.⁹ Ancient Egyptian makes of course no exception¹⁰ and emotion expression relies on it to a great degree. The theoretical framework used in this study is primarily the conceptual metaphor theory (CMT).¹¹ This theory makes the distinction between the use of metaphorical transfer on the conceptual level, as a transdomain mapping between a source and a target domain (e.g. SAD IS DOWN) and the actualization of this mapping in a specific language (e.g. in French ‘avoir le moral dans les chaussettes’ lit. ‘having the mood in the socks’ = feeling sad, discouraged, depressed). In Egyptian, on top of the linguistic dimension, can also be added the visual one. SAD IS DOWN will thus be actualized in the classifiers  or , for example. The first expresses the semantic feature *down* through body language (sited position and falling arms), and the second through the categories SMALLNESS/NEGATIVITY expressed by .

On the linguistic level, the conceptual metaphor can be actualized in a lexical unit – single lexeme or compound expression – and/or it can be expressed through an entire text passage. In the frame of this study, I will limit myself to the first case, the lexical level.

Source domains of emotion expression

A prominent source domain in metaphors expressing emotion is the domain of sensory perception,¹² but it is not the only one. While walking through the emotional landscape of ancient Egyptians, one realizes quickly that some of the variety of conceptual metaphors attested is rich but also corresponds to a well-defined taxonomy. Indeed, just as concepts,

6 Frijda and Scherer (2009); Scherer (2013: 24–25); Bender (2009: 300).

7 Scherer (2005: 705).

8 The detail of affective phenomena description by Scherer is given in Di Biase-Dyson & Chantrain (2022: 625, note 3).

9 Sweetser (1990); Traugott & Dasher (2001: 95).

10 Di Biase-Dyson (2018); Steinbach-Eicke (2019).

11 Lakoff & Johnson (2001).

12 Di Biase-Dyson & Chantrain (2022).

even abstract ones,¹³ can be organized in more or less detailed categories inspired by natural taxonomies (subordinate, basic, superordinate), conceptual paths can be hierarchized in the same way. In the case of EMOTION expression and similarly abstract concepts such as COGNITION or VOLITION, the standard cross-domain mapping is CONCRETE → ABSTRACT. Under this general direction, several cross-linguistically well-documented paths are actualized in Egyptian, both on the linguistic and the visual levels. This observation is particularly interesting because it adds a consequent historical depth to the validation of the conceptual metaphor theory as well as further data exploitable for cross-linguistic comparison. Going back to the idea of a taxonomy of conceptual metaphors, on the most general level, one finds MIND AS BODY¹⁴ and THE SOCIAL WORLD IS THE PHYSICAL WORLD¹⁵ as central in emotion expression. Directly under these general paths, one can identify a variety of other paths that apply to Egyptian as well. I will limit my description for now to the superordinate level. Further levels will be added in the conclusion, based on the findings.

- EMOTION IS PHYSICAL EXPERIENCE, including sensory perception¹⁶
- EMOTION IS PHYSICAL STATE
- EMOTION IS NON-QUIETNESS (including PHYSICAL ACTIVITY¹⁷ and SOUND¹⁸)
- EMOTION IS THE EFFECT OF AN EMOTION.

Conceptual metaphors are found in the text corpus in several forms of linguistic realizations,¹⁹ ranging from the lexical to the textual level. Visual metaphors or visual metaphor markers are also well-represented. Both linguistic and visual dimensions of figurative language are discussed in the present study, through the following scenarios:

- a lexeme is used metaphorically, with or without semantic change;
- the metaphor is conveyed through a compound expression;
- a metaphor is actualized on the visual level through classifiers;
- a specific classifier works as a metaphor marker;
- running through larger text extracts (including several elements from the lower levels).

Negative emotions: an overview of emotion categorization

Under the label ‘negative emotions’ are considered a large range of emotions, feelings, moods and temperaments. They are all situated in the spectrum of three primary emotions ANGER, SADNESS and FEAR. These primary emotions generate a network of related negative/afflictive emotions whose number and classification varies according to the different stu-

13 Chantrain (2021).

14 Sweetser (1990); Barsalou (1999); Traugott & Dasher (2001: 95); Casasanto & Gijssels (2015).

15 Kövecses 2010: 255; Di Biase-Dyson (2018).

16 Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2015); Steinbach-Eicke (2019); Vanhove & Hamid (2019); Di Biase-Dyson & Chantrain (2022).

17 Vanhove (2008).

18 Di Biase-Dyson & Chantrain (2022: 608–09).

19 In the broad sense, according to the MIPVU criteria: including direct, implicit, personification, similes. Cf. Steen & al. (2010) and <http://www.vismet.org/metcor/documentation/MIPVU.html>.

dies in emotion theory. For the needs of current study, four emotion categorization systems were taken as reference: the HUMAINE proposal for Emotion annotation and Representation in Language (HUMAINE-EARL),²⁰ Parrott's²¹ taxonomy, the Geneva Emotion Wheel (GEW)²² and the Plutchik wheel.²³

The HUMAINE-EARL proposal identifies 48 emotions distributed in 10 categories. Negative emotions are distributed into 5 main categories, among which 3 of them correspond to my 3 pivot notions: ANGER, SADNESS and FEAR. In the HUMAINE-EARL categorization, these notions correspond respectively to the categories *negative and forceful*; *negative and passive*; *negative and not in control*. To these, the HUMAINE-EARL adds two other categories: *negative thoughts* and *agitation*. I chose not to retain them because, after comparison with other categorization systems, they appear to be an unnecessary distinction. *Frustration* is listed in the category *negative thoughts* but it will be treated here as being in the semantic spectrum of ANGER, which is confirmed by the lexical data and overlaps with Parrott's classification (under the label *bitterness*). As for the category *agitation*, it covers stress, shock and tension, which I recategorized here under to the category *not in control*, based on the classification of Parrott (see category FEAR).

Table 1: Emotion categorization based on the HUMAINE-EARL proposal.

Negative emotions				
<i>Negative and forceful</i>	<i>Negative and not in control</i>	<i>Negative thoughts</i>	<i>Negative and passive</i>	<i>Agitation</i>
Anger	Anxiety	Pride	Boredom	Stress
Annoyance	Embarrassment	Doubt	Despair	Shock
Contempt	Fear	Envy	Disappointment	Tension
Disgust	Helplessness	Frustration	Hurt	
Irritation	Powerlessness	Guilt	Sadness	
	Worry	Shame		
Positive emotions				
<i>Positive and lively</i>	<i>Caring</i>	<i>Positive thoughts</i>	<i>Positive and quiet</i>	<i>Reactive</i>
Amusement	Affection	Courage	Calmness	Interest
Delight	Empathy	Hope	Contentment	Politeness
Elation	Friendliness	Humility	Relaxation	Surprise
Excitement	Love	Satisfaction	Relief	
Happiness		Trust	Serenity	
Joy				
Pleasure				

20 Douglas-Cowie, Cox et al. <https://web.archive.org/web/20080410193636/http://emotion-research.net/projects/humaine/earl/proposal> . The work started with EARL and later evolved into the EmotionML : <https://www.w3.org/TR/emotionml/#ref-emotion-xg> (Schröder et al. 2011).

21 Parrott (2001).

22 Scherer et al. (2013).

23 Plutchik (1980).

Parrott²⁴ divides the emotional domain into three main categories: primary emotion, secondary emotion and tertiary emotion. ANGER, SADNESS and FEAR belong to the first category. The related emotions that will be treated in this study belong to the secondary or tertiary emotion category.

These three primary emotions also shape the left half of the Geneva Emotion Wheel (GEW). Its structure partially overlaps with Parrot's categories. However, no less than 20 emotions are listed as basic, which encompasses both *primary emotion* and *secondary emotion* (with a few divergences).

Table 2: Categorization of emotions according to Parrott (2001).

Primary emotion	Secondary emotion	Tertiary emotion
LOVE	Affection	Adoration, fondness, liking, attraction, caring, tenderness, compassion, sentimentality
	Lust	Desire, passion, infatuation
	Longing	longing
JOY	Cheerfulness	Amusement, bliss, gaiety, glee, jolliness, joviality, joy, delight, enjoyment, gladness, happiness, jubilation, elation, satisfaction, ecstasy, euphoria
	Zest	Enthusiasm, zeal, excitement, thrill, exhilaration
	Contentment	Pleasure
	Pride	Triumph
	Optimism	Eagerness, hope
	Enthrallment	Enthrallment, rapture
	Relief	relief
SURPRISE	Surprise	Amazement, astonishment
ANGER	Irritability	Aggravation, agitation, annoyance, grouchy
	Exasperation	Frustration
	Rage	Anger, outrage, fury, wrath, hostility, ferocity, bitterness, hatred, scorn, spite, vengefulness, dislike, resentment
	Disgust	Revulsion, contempt, loathing
	Envy	jealousy
	Torment	torment

²⁴ This categorization is based on the study by Shaver et al. (1987: 1067) in which a tree-structured representation of emotion categorization was proposed.

SADNESS	Suffering	Agony, anguish, hurt
	Sadness	Depression, despair, gloom, glumness, unhappiness, grief, sorrow, woe, misery, melancholy
	Disappointment	Dismay, displeasure
	Shame	Guilt, regret, remorse
	Neglect	Alienation, defeatism, dejection, embarrassment, homesickness, humiliation, insecurity, insult, isolation, loneliness, rejection
	Sympathy	Pity, mono no aware, sympathy
FEAR	Horror	Alarm, shock, fear, fright, horror, terror, panic, hysteria, mortification
	Nervousness	Anxiety, uneasiness, apprehension, worry, distress, dread

Finally, the Plutchik wheel is still a reference in emotion theory and inspired more recent works such as the GEW. Plutchik lists eight primary emotions: JOY, TRUST, FEAR, SURPRISE, SADNESS, DISGUST, ANGER, ANTICIPATION. Other emotions are associated to these eight primary ones with the same colour code but with a variation in intensity. The intensity of the colour corresponds to the intensity of the emotion (e.g. the primary emotion ANGER declines itself into the intense emotion *rage* and the mild emotion *annoyance*). These emotions are then combined into dyads, which correspond to feelings composed of two emotions. He distinguishes primary dyads (emotions that are one petal apart, e.g. love = joy + trust), secondary dyads (two petals apart, e.g. despair = sadness + fear), tertiary dyads (three petals apart, e.g. pessimism = sadness + anticipation). Finally, opposite emotions are situated four petals apart (e.g. sadness vs joy).

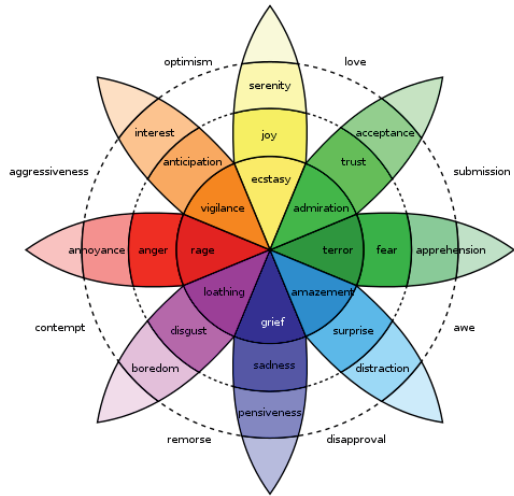


Fig. 1: Plutchik wheel (image: Wiki commons).

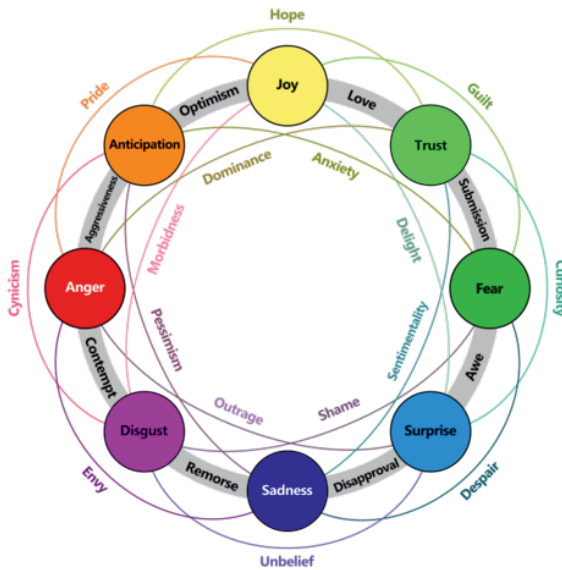


Fig. 2: Dyads of the Plutchik wheel (image: Wiki commons).

Some of the non-primary emotions lie at the intersection of several primary categories, to which they borrow their defining features. As an example, *frustration* lies at the intersection of ANGER and SADNESS. Indeed, in the EARL, it appears under negative thoughts, here recategorized as sadness, while its parasynonym *irritation* lies under the category *negative and forceful*, together with ANGER. *Irritation* thus appears as being closer to the pole ANGER, while *frustration* is closer to the pole SADNESS of the continuum. Worth is mentioning that not all negative emotions included in the wheel are found in pre-Coptic Egyptian. For example, shame and guilt do not seem to be lexicalized before the Coptic period, or if so, very scarcely.

The primary negative emotions ANGER and FEAR are not treated here. I chose to focus on the related non-primary emotions of *irritation/frustration* and *anxiety* respectively. In the same line, SADNESS is rather addressed through the related secondary emotions of *disappointment*, *discouragement*, *weariness*, *despair* and *depression*. *Compassion/empathy* (*sympathy* in Parrot) is also related to SADNESS but borrows feature to positive emotions since it partially overlaps with the category *caring* (EARL). Indeed, it is characterized as a form of sadness felt for someone else's condition and that involves a feeling of care for one's peers. It lies thus at the intersection between afflictive and positive emotions since it involves a part of suffering but is inspired by a positive and altruistic feeling. As for *anxiety*, unlike *fear* which is a direct response to a threat, it is based on projections into the future and apprehension of danger or unpleasant events to be faced.²⁵ Anxiety is shown in psychology studies to be tightly related to sadness and depression, which is reflected in the texts.

²⁵ Edna B. Foa et al. in Evan D. et al. (2017: 190).

Corpus and tools

The corpus considered is made of the texts from the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* (TLA)²⁶ and *Ramses*.²⁷ For the big picture, I considered the data from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period. Most of the examples discussed in the article though are from New Kingdom, Third Intermediate Period and Late Period texts. Data have been cross-checked with the *Wörterbuch* and the Hannig dictionary.²⁸

1 Lexemes and compound expressions

This section presents a sample of some lexemes expressing negative/afflictive emotions as a result of metaphor-induced polysemy. The list of lexemes and expressions treated here is not exhaustive but is meant to give an overview of the main cases encountered in the Egyptian lexicon. The examples are divided in two categories: 1) lexemes that can be used by themselves or in combination with body parts (most often the heart, *jb* or *ḥ3ty*) to convey an emotional meaning; 2) others conveying an emotional meaning only when part of idiomatic expressions (for example with *jb* and/or *ḥ3ty*). In this case, the components of the expression cannot be used independently to express the emotional meaning. The distribution of compound expressions in diachrony shows a clear increase of their use from the New Kingdom onwards, especially at the Ramesside period. This of course can be a partially biased observation due to the unbalanced ratio of sources between periods in the corpus. Nevertheless, it does say something about the language evolution and its growing tendency toward an analytic rather than synthetic functioning.

The lexemes and expressions analysed have been grouped by conceptual path: the metaphorical expressions with a similar source domain have been analysed together.

The expressions with *jb/ḥ3ty* are framed in a series of symmetries: quiet vs. motion/ action/speech; inside vs outside (of the body-container); weak vs strong and sick vs healthy.

1.1 EMOTION IS PHYSICAL EXPERIENCE (> EMOTION IS SENSORY PERCEPTION)

As already mentioned in the introduction, sensory perception is a major source domain in emotion conceptualization. In the scope of afflictive emotions, taste appears to be primary and the idea of ‘bitterness’, or, perhaps more generally of ‘bad/strong taste’ is associated to irritation and frustration. Two lexemes mainly represent this category: *dḥr* and *jkn*.²⁹

dḥr (Wb 5, 482.14–483.4): FRUSTRATION IS BITTERNESS

The verb *dḥr*, which translates as ‘to be bitter’ first appears in medical and magical texts from the Second Intermediate Period (SIP). In rare cases, it is used metaphorically

²⁶ <https://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/index.html>. Last accessed on October 21, 2021.

²⁷ <http://ramses.ulg.ac.be> (link to the beta version). I sincerely thank the directors of the project for granting me access to the entire dataset. Last accessed on October 21, 2021.

²⁸ Hannig (2006).

²⁹ For a more developed commentary about *dḥr*, *bnr* and *ndm*, see Di Biase-Dyson & Chantrain (2022).

in relation to people's temperaments or emotions, as it is the case in *The Teachings of Ptahhotep* (§305):

- Ex. 1 *jw=f dhṛ=f* *hnms bnr*
 BS=3SG.M be_bitter:IPFV=3SG.M friend sweet
 'He makes the kind (lit. sweet) friend frustrated (lit. bitter)' P. BM EA 10509, 4,
 16 (L2)³⁰

More often, *dhṛ* rather applies to the way of interacting. Indeed, in the New Kingdom, *dhṛ* is used attributively to describe unpleasant talk, especially in contrast to *bnr* and *ndm*:

- Ex. 2. *j-dd p3 ndm jw=f (hr) dd p3 dh{3j}<r>*
 say:IMP ART:M.SG sweet SBRD=3SG.M (on) say ART:M.SGbitter
 'Say what is pleasant (lit. sweet) when he says something unpleasant (lit. bitter).'

(Ani, P. Boulaq 4, 22,7)

- Ex. 3. *[bn] tp.j(w)t-r' bnj bn st dhṛj*
 NEG utterance-F.PL sweet NEG 3PL bitter
 'Your utterances are [neither] sweet nor are they bitter'. (Letter of Hori, P.
 Anastasi I, 5, 2–3)

jkn (Wb 1.140. 4–5): FRUSTRATION IS 'BAD TASTE'

The lexeme *jkn* is overall rarely attested and, as far as sources can tell, appears exclusively in *The Teachings of Amenemope*. The usual translation of *jkn* as 'to be bitter' is based on its parasynonymic relation with *dhṛ*. Both lexemes are used as antonyms for *bnr* and *ndm*, expressing 'sweetness'.³¹

In *Amenemope*, an example associates *bnr* (sweet, pleasant) to *jkn* (bitter, unpleasant, frustrated), both lexemes being used in a metaphorical way. It illustrates the contrast between the form and the content of speech, highlights the lack of sincerity of the speaker, who speaks out of repressed anger (here figuratively realized as 'fire'). Moreover, in a metaphorical way, it shows that, the further from the surface the body part is in the body, the truer the emotion. This passage thus also illustrates the metaphor BODY AS A CONTAINER, in addition to EMOTION IS PHYSICAL EXPERIENCE.

- Ex. 4 *sp.ty=f bnr* *ns.t=f jkn* *t3 h.t*
 lip:F.DU=3SG.M sweet tongue:3SG.M bitter ART:F.SG body-F
rkḥ.tw m h.t=f
 burn:STAT in body-F=3SG.M
 'His lips are sweet, but his tongue is bitter. The fire burns in his body'
 (Amenemope, P. BM 10474, 13.6)

30 The causative *sdṛ* 'to make bitter' is attested in the parallel version of P. BM EA 10371+10435, a.7 (L1): *jw=f sdṛ=f* *hnms [bnr]* 'He makes the kind (lit. sweet) friend angry (lit. bitter).'

31 Laisney (2007: 130).

The idea expressed by *jkn* seems to be the one of a strong taste in general, rather unpleasant. The association of *jkn* with the idea of HEAT/FIRE might also be a clue for a possible translation as ‘piquant, spicy’, rather than ‘bitter’. However, *jkn* might also refer to the taste of something harmful, poisonous (a strong taste that indicates that some aliments have gone bad, for example).

Indeed, the association of dangerous things with the concept of ANGER (and, by extension, *frustration/irritation*) is well attested cross-culturally,³² including in Egyptian. Just to quote a few examples, the path ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL is actualized on the visual level by  *knd* ‘to be angry’ (*Wb* 5, 56.16–57.12) with the classifier of the baboon;  *3d* ‘to be angry’ (*Wb* 1, 24.12–15) with the classifier of the crocodile. In the same line, the path ANGER IS HEAT is represented for example by *šmm* ‘the hot one’, which designates an aggressive or impetuous person (*Wb* 4, 469.1–3). This lexeme is usually written with the classifier  [HEAT/FIRE], sometimes in association with  [NEGATIVITY] or  [ENEMY/DEATH].

Most attestations of *jkn* take the classifier  (G37), except for one (P. Stockholm MM 18416, 2, 9–*Amenemope* (= P. BM 10474 10,18–14,5)) which takes the group   (D20-A24). This latter case is interesting and suggests a possible connection between the semantic of *jkn* and the domain of SMELL, but also the pole ANGER. Indeed, the classifier  is found with lexemes from the following categories: [NOSE AND ACTIONS OF THE NOSE; HUMIDITY; RETAINING, LETTING BURST SOMETHING]³³. The group   (D20-A24) is otherwise attested as the normal group of classifiers for *tpj* ‘to breath’³⁴ and is also attested once for two negative emotions *knd* ‘to be furious’ and *hḏn* ‘to be outraged’. Finally, one attestation of *ršw.t* ‘joy’ in a lacuna is also written with this group. The idea of ‘outburst’, of ‘internal pressure’ might in my opinion constitute the key to the understanding of the use of  in this context. Indeed, OUTBURST is commonly used cross-culturally in joy and anger conceptualization,³⁵ which would both confirm this semantic value for the classifier  and explain its use in some specific contexts in relation to intense emotions such as joy and anger.

1.2 EMOTION IS PHYSICAL STATE

States affecting the physical body are often used to describe mental states. Sickness as physical suffering, is a very common way of conceptualizing afflictive emotions and states of mind, in Egyptian and in many world languages. Similarly, physical weakness is used to express discouragement.

32 Lakoff (1997: 382 sqq).

33 Based on the *Ramses* data. Last accessed Oct. 21, 2021.

34 Note that *tpj* might be a case that supports the hypothesis of the colexification of smell and taste by the same lexeme. Indeed, the lexeme *tpj*, is listed in Ramses as meaning both ‘to smell’/‘to atem’ and ‘to spit’, co-lexifying actions of the nose and the mouth. However, there is no token available for this entry.

35 *Ibidem*.

1.2.1 EMPATHY IS SICKNESS AND SUFFERING

m(h)r ḥ3ty/mḥr n ḥ3ty (*Wb* 2, 95.1–15) and *šnj ḥ3ty* (*Wb* 4, 494.15–18): SADNESS IS SICKNESS/SUFFERING OF THE HEART

The path followed with *m(h)r ḥ3ty* goes from physical sickness to psychological prostration, sadness. In the same line of ideas, the expression *šnj ḥ3ty* (lit. ‘the heart suffers’) is also attested. In example 6, *šnj* as mental suffering echoes the actual physical suffering of Seth.

The two compound expressions *m(h)r ḥ3ty* and *šnj ḥ3ty* have in common to express shared sadness, sadness for the suffering of someone else. In other words, compassion/empathy. Empathy is described in terms of embodied suffering, with SICKNESS as source domain.

- Ex. 5 *jw ḥ3ty n pr-ʕ3 ʕ,w,s mr ḥ3ty n=f*
 MCM heart of pharaoh life, prosperity, health sick for=3SG.M
r-jkr sp-sn
 excellently twice
 ‘And the heart of Pharaoh, l.p.h. was very sad for him’ (Two Brothers, P. Orbiney, 16, 6 = *LES* 26, 6)

- Ex. 6 *ʕš n ḥmty=t*
 shout:IMP to harpoon=2SG.F
sḥ jm=j
 get_off:IMP from=1SG
jnk p3y=k sn n mw.t 3s.t
 1SG POSS:M.SG=2SG.M brother of mother-F Isis-F
wn.jn=s ḥr šnn ḥ3ty=s n=f r-jkr zp-sn
 CJVB:CNSV=3SG.F on suffer:INF heart=3SG.F to=3SG.M excellently twice
zp-sn
 twice
 ‘Tell your harpoon to get off me, I (Seth) am your uterine brother, Isis! Then she felt for him an immense sadness’ (Horus & Seth, P. Chester Beatty 1, 9, 5)

Another lexeme that might illustrate the path MENTAL STATE IS PHYSICAL STATE, with PHYSICAL SUFFERING as source domain is *jnd* (*Wb* 1, 102.16). The possibility of physical sickness or injury as primary meaning of *jnd* is evoked in the *Wb.*, followed by the *TLA*. The examples of *jnd* with a clear physical meaning are rare to non-existent in the present corpus. However, other examples were brought to my attention³⁶ and confirm a physical meaning of *jnd* as well as its belonging to the SADNESS category, at least to some extent. A point worth highlighting here though is that some examples in medical context are interesting in several respects. Indeed, the meaning of *physical suffering*, which could appear as an obvious choice at first cannot always be clearly established. The reason for this is that the magical dimension of these texts is salient and disease or injuries are closely

36 See Jenkins (2022).

associated with manifestations of anger or frustration of gods and demons³⁷ and/or with personified elements (e.g. fire). In other words, the difference might sometimes be difficult to establish in spells of protection between an exhortation for the beneficiary of the spell not to be sick/injured and for the supernatural entity likely to cause the disease/injury not to become angry/frustrated and actually cause it. For example, in pBM EA 10059, 11.9: *m jnd zp-sn* is translated in the *TLA* as ‘Don’t be sick, don’t be sick’ but might also likely be an exhortation not to cause harm and therefore to be translated as ‘don’t be vexed, don’t be vexed’. A similar example is found in a *Spell against Burns* from pLeiden I 348³⁸: *m jnd=f m jnd=f m jr mw hw3*, which is translated as ‘Don’t vex him, don’t vex him, don’t make foul water’. Finally, one will note that, in some contexts, *jnd* seems to express frustration/irritation rather than sadness. Its semantics thus seems to be situated at the intersection between the fields covered by *mhr h3ty* and *snj h3ty* on the one hand and *dhr* and *jkn* on the other hand. *jnd* shares with the first two the meaning of *empathy* in some contexts³⁹, for example when associated to *jb*; and it shares with the two others the expression of *frustration*, or even *irritation*. It is thus situated on a continuum between the poles ANGER and SADNESS and moves closer to one or the other depending on its use in context.

1.2.2 DEPRESSION IS DECOMPOSITION

hw3 h3ty (*Wb* 3, 50.6–16): DEPRESSION IS A DECOMPOSING HEART

In the tale of the Two brothers, several metaphors based on the path EMOTION IS PHYSICAL STATE are used for the expression of SADNESS and related negative emotions. We have just seen *m(h)r h3ty*, in example 5, another one is *hw3 h3ty* ‘the heart decomposes’, attested earlier in the text.

Ex. 7 *jw h3ty=f (hr) hw3 r-jkr zp-sn m-s3 n3*
 MCM heart=3SG.F (on) decompose:INF excellently twice after ART.PL
 ‘*h^c.w m-dj=f m-mnt* 
 blame-PL with=3SG.M daily
 ‘Because his heart was really decomposing (getting sad) because of the blames he was receiving daily’ (P. Orbiney, 11, 1–2 = *LES* 20, 15)

The idea conceptualized through the image of decomposition, is the slow fading away of someone’s good mood or happiness because of an undermining situation (in the present case, the repeated blames addressed to the chief of the launderers).

37 Di Biase-Dyson, *Religious thought and figurative language – some case studies from Egypt*, communication given at the *Language, Semantics and Cognition* conference (Yale University, April 2021).

38 pLeiden I 348, v° III, 4 (*Ramses* id 5207).

39 Jenkins (2022), ex. 10.

1.2.3 GLOOM/DISCOURAGEMENT IS LACK OF PHYSICAL ENERGY

bgj ḥ3ty (*Wb* 1, 431.2–11): GLOOM IS A TIRED HEART

The expression written *bgs ḥ3ty*, only found in the *Doomed Prince*, is most likely to be interpreted as *bgj ḥ3ty*. It appears in the well-known passage where the young prince wants a dog, despite the prophecy. Retaining the *bgs* hypothesis, the literal translation would be ‘so that his heart will not revolt’, which would then likely refer to the fact of being upset. However, the classifiers suggest rather a lack of activity. In this case, *bgj* appears as a more likely interpretation, since the group  is the one usually used to classify this lexeme.

- Ex. 8 *jmj jt.tw n=f w^c ktk šrj, [tm] {bgs} <bgj>*
 give:IMP take:PASS to=3SG.M one springer little, NEG be_tired
ḥ3ty=f 
 heart:3SG.M
 ‘Have brought to him a little dog (lit: ‘little hopping thing’), so that he (his heart) will not be sad anymore’ (*Doomed Prince*, P. Harris 500, v° 4, 10 = *LES* 2, 9)

The lexeme *bgj* can also be used by itself to refer to both physical and psychological state of tiredness/weakness. Furthermore, it takes in some contexts the negative connotation of *laziness*, as illustrated in example 9.

- Ex. 9 *s3w tw jmj=k bgj* 
 watch:IMP 2SG not_be:IMP=2SG.M be_tired:INF
 ‘Watch yourself! Don’t be lazy’ (P. Anastasi 4, 13, 10 = *LEM* 49, 16)

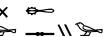
bdš ḥ3ty (*Wb* 1, 487.15–23): HELPLESSNESS IS A TIRED HEART

The compound expression *bdš ḥ3ty* expresses psychological discouragement in terms of physical tiredness. This expression appears in military context and seems mostly restricted to royal inscriptions in *Égyptien de Tradition* from the New Kingdom onwards.

- Ex. 10 *ḥ3ty.w bdš(.w)*  *m ḥ.wt=sn n snd[=i]*
 heart-PL be_tired:STAT in body-F.PL=3PL because fear[=1SG]
 ‘Their (= the enemies) hearts were discouraged in their bodies because of the fear of me’ (Qadesh (K1), §135)

hsj jb/ḥ3ty (*Wb* 3, 398–399.10): HELPLESSNESS IS A WEAK HEART

Finally, another construction *hsj jb/ḥ3ty* also expresses discouragement, or cowardness. There too, it seems to be attested mostly in royal inscriptions.

- Ex. 11 *wn.jn=f ḥr bdš jb=f ḥs(.w) snd.t ʕ3.t*
 CJVB.CNSV=3SG.M on tired:INF heart=3SG.M be_weak:STAT fear-F great-F
ʕk.tj m ḥ^c.w=f  
 enter:STAT in limb-PL=3SG.M
 ‘He (Menen) was discouraged, his heart was miserable and a great fear had entered his body’ (Qadesh poem §207, P. Sallier 3, 5, 4)

In this example, *jb h̥s(.w)* is reinforced by the verb *bdš* ‘to be tired, discouraged’, in this case used on its own.

1.2.4 Other physical states used for emotion expression

ft jb/h̥ty (*Wb* 1, 580.8–13): WEARINESS IS A DISGUSTED HEART

Physical sensation of disgust is here used as source domain to express the feeling of ‘being weary’. Both expressions with *jb* and *h̥ty* are attested from the early 19th dynasty. The expression *ft jb/h̥ty* expresses extreme mental tiredness and discouragement, to the point of disgust.⁴⁰ Note that, in the first example, the classifier of the tongue 𓂏 (F20) is added to 𓂏 (A2). The first one visually reflects the source domain SENSORY PERCEPTION > TASTE, while the second one, as superordinate classifier for INGESTION/SPEECH/EMOTION/COGNITION, encompasses both source and target domains of the metaphor.⁴¹

Ex. 12 *h̥ty=j* *ft* *m* *dd* *mtr:t* 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏
heart=1SG be-disgusted:STAT in say:INF testimony-F
‘My heart is weary of teaching’ (P. Sallier 1, 7, 10 = *LEM* 85, 8)

Ex. 13 *jr* *jrj=k* 7 *rnp.wt* *n* *wh̥=f*
COND do:SBJV=2SG.M 7 year-F.PL of search:INF=3SG.M
m-dj *ft* *h̥ty=k* 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏
PROH-CAUS be_disgusted:SBJV heart=2SG.M
‘Even if you spend seven years looking for it, may your heart not get discouraged’
(P. Orbiney, 8, 5 = *LES* 18, 1)

1.3 Emotion is non-quietness

1.3.1 EMOTION IS MOTION

One common way of expressing a large range of negative emotions is to use MOTION (most often of the heart) as source domain. Motion is used in opposition with quietness (*gr*), which stands both for absence of sound and of movement. This relation is thus partially asymmetrical since the semantics of *gr* covers two fields and thus involves two series of possible antonyms.⁴²

1.3.1.1 SADNESS IS (MOTION) DOWN

sh̥ h̥ty (*Wb* 4, 207.2–5): OUTRAGE IS CAUSING (THE HEART) TO GO DOWN

The verb *sh̥j* 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 is the causative form of the verb *h̥j* whose primary meaning is ‘to go down’ and, later on, evolved into meaning ‘to fall’. The primary meaning of *sh̥j* was thus ‘to cause to go down’ or ‘to cause to fall’ (*Wb* 4, 206.10–15). In the New Kingdom, *sh̥j*

⁴⁰ This might be somehow similar to the modern concept of ‘burn out’.

⁴¹ This ‘agglutinative’ classification strategy is very common in the New Kingdom (Chantrain, in press).

⁴² Di Biase-Dyson & Chantrain (2022).

adopted the metaphorical meaning ‘to act in a downgrading way’, ‘to cheat’, ‘to lie’.⁴³ It seems that the causative form with *s-* then became exclusively affected to the metaphorical meaning, while the primary meaning ‘making go down’ (the actual motion) became then assumed by the so-called *new causative* construction [*rdj* (= do, make) + *h3j*]. A compound expression *sh3j h3ty*, which means ‘causing the heart to go down/to fall’ is also attested. It conveys the meaning of ‘fooling someone’ and causing disappointment. The case of *sh3j* clearly illustrates the conceptual paths EMOTION IS MOTION and NEGATIVE IS DOWN.⁴⁴ It falls under the non-primary emotion *outrage*. On the classifier level, two changes can be seen: instead of the initial classifier $\blacktriangle$ reflecting the source domain MOTION, most attestations take the classifier $\blacktriangleleft$, which works here as metaphor marker (ex. 14).⁴⁵ In addition to this, three attestations take yet another classifier, 𓂏 , instead of $\blacktriangle$ (see ex. 15) and as an alternative to $\blacktriangleleft$. In this case, the classifier has thus been adapted to the target domain: 𓂏 (SMALLNESS/NEGATIVITY) is used instead of $\blacktriangle$ (MOTION).

Ex. 14 *jr ptr=k ky jw=f hr sh3* 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏
 COND see:SBJV=2SG.M other SBRD=3SG.M on go_down:INF
j.jr=k sw3 n=f m-w3w
 THMZ=2SG.M pass:INF to=3SG.M away
 ‘If you see another committing fraud, you should go away from him’ (*Amenemope*, P. BM 10474, 18, 6–7)

Ex. 15 *j.jr=tw m dd=t*
 THMZ=IMPRS in say=2SG.F
 One will act only according to what you said
bn sh3<=j> 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 *h3ty=t m dd(.t) nb.t*
 NEG CAUS-go_down=1SG heart=2SG.F in word(-F) every-F
j.jr.t<=j> spr r=t
 to:do=1SG reach:INF to=2SG.F
 ‘I will not fool your heart with any word until I join you’ (Letter to a departed wife, O. Louvre N698, v° 21)

43 Winand (2018: 130, 132).

44 Lakoff & Johnson (2003: 15–16). Symmetrically, positive emotions are linked to the fact of being up, which is sometimes expressed visually in the spellings in Egyptian, for example, with the classifier of the exulting man 𓂏 (A28).

45 Chantrain (2021; in press) argues that the classifier $\blacktriangleleft$ works as metaphor marker in specific genres – mostly wisdom texts and oracular texts (see also Chantrain & Di Biase-Dyson: 2017). This usage of $\blacktriangleleft$ is attested between the end of the NK and the LP. Besides this usage, it also stands for the conceptual category BACKWARD/REROUTED MOTION. The reason for the choice of this classifier as marker of a metaphorical meaning may appear somewhat obscure at first glance. Indeed, it is not always motivated by a contiguity relation toward the meaning of the lexeme: the classifier $\blacktriangleleft$ is also used as distinctive classification for other verbs than motion verbs when used metaphorically. It is here argued though that the choice of the classifier is thus in this case not motivated by the semantics of the lexeme itself, but by the very concept of METAPHOR AS ‘REROUTED’ WORDS and thoughts.

However, in ex. 16, the classifier $\blacktriangle$ (MOTION) is exceptionally maintained, even though the meaning is also metaphorical.

- Ex. 16 *r-dd sh3=k*  *m p3 hđ hr m w^c*
 COMP CAUS-go_down=2SG.M in ART:M.SG money say in one
 ‘you cheated with money – they said to one another’ (Tomb Robberies, P. BM 10052, v^o 8, 9 = KRI 786, 7)

Finally, one should note that another expression, *h3j jb/h3ty* ‘the heart goes down’, with the heart as agent, is attested too, but does not refer to a negative emotion. It is rather the idea of ‘calming down’ that is conveyed in this case through the image of the heart going down, going back to its right place.

1.3.1.2 ANXIETY IS REPEATED MOTION

Repeated motion of the heart inside the body

phr jb/h3ty (Wb 1, 544.14): CONCERN IS THE HEART TURNING TO SOMEONE and ANXIETY IS THE HEART MOVING AROUND

To my knowledge, the first example below from the Love Songs, is the only one that features *phr* in the sense of ‘overthinking’, conceptualized as REPEATED MOTION, as the heart running around in someone’s body (*phr m-hnw h.t*). This reference to restless thoughts describes very accurately one of the main symptoms of anxiety. Admittedly, this example is somewhat problematic since the subject of *phr* is in a lacuna. However, the reconstruction is likely and based on the high number of personifications of the heart present in the text as well as on the use of the adverbial complement of location *m-hnw h.t*.

- Ex. 17 *jr jry=j 3.t n tm m33=s*
 COND do:SBJV=1SG moment-F of NEG see:INF=3SG.F
[jb/h3ty]=j hr phr  *m-hnw h.t*
 heart=1SG on turn_around:INF inside body-F
 ‘If I spend one moment without seeing her, my [heart] is moving around in my body’ (O. DeM 1266 + O. CG 25218, 26)

Other examples show that *phr h3ty* or *phr jb* can express concern or interest toward a person or an affair.

- Ex. 18 *nfr 3ms-jb s3 phr=f*  *h3ty m-s3 jt=f*
 perfect concern son turn_around:REL=3SG.M heart after father=3SG.M
 ‘Perfect is the concern of a son who cares about his father’ (Abydos, Great dedicatory inscription of Ramses II, 30 = KRI II)

In example 19, the constructions *jb phr* and *h3ty m-s3* are used symmetrically, which highlights their semantic proximity. Indeed, the expression *h3ty m-s3*, treated below in section 1.3.4., expresses extreme care or concern.

Ex. 19 *jb=j* *phr:w*  *n* *nty* *wrd* *h3ty* *m-s3*
heart=1SG turn_around:STAT to REL:M.SG tired:PTCP heart after
jt=j *m3c*
father=1SG true
‘my *jb*-heart is concerned about the one who is tired, my *h3ty*-heart cares about my true father’ (Abydos Stela of Seti I for Ramses I, x+18)

phr h3ty can also mean ‘to divert the attention of someone’ (toward something else), or, in the same spirit, ‘to put someone in the right mood’. Such case occurs in amuletic and oracular texts, as a way of protecting the beneficiary of the text:

Ex. 20 *jw=j* (r) *phr*  *h3ty* *n* *ns-sw-hnsw* *t3y*
fut=1SG FUT turn_around:INF heart of name ART:F.SG
srj.t *n* *t3-hn.t-dhwty*
daughter-F of name
jw bn jw=s (r) *jr.t md.t nb.t bjn.t r p3y-ndm p3 srj n 3s.t-m-3h-bjt*
‘I will divert the attention of *ns-sw-hnsw*, the daughter of *t3-hn.t-dhwty*,
and she will not say anything bad against *p3y-ndm*, the son of *3s.t-m-3h-bjt*’
(Nesikhenesu, T. CGC 46891, l. 36)

Cases like *phr h3ty* show well the importance of looking at all attestations and their context. A same metaphorical path may indeed result in expressing slightly different ideas and therefore being translated differently. The *TLA*⁴⁶ (lemma 62010 and 854241) and the *Wörterbuch*⁴⁷ for example do not mention the link with anxiety (*phr h3ty m-hnw*) but they do list focus switch related meanings: ‘driving away someone’s attention’, ‘being inclined toward someone (else)’ or ‘caring for’.

tjtj n h3ty (*Wb* 5, 357.7–9): ANXIETY IS A TROTting HEART

The meaning of the expression *tjtj n h3ty* refers to an anxious state, to running thoughts. The classifier  is used here again in its function of metaphor marker, as previously seen for the verb *sh3j*.⁴⁸ The spelling with the reduplicated *β*-bird in example 21 is exceptional: besides its phonetic value, it may as well play a role on an iconicity level. Indeed, this spelling might refer to ANXIETY AS NON-QUIETNESS OF THE HEART in two ways: MOTION vs QUIET and LOUD vs QUIET. An anxious heart would then be a wandering and loud heart, if one assumes that the spelling    is somewhat onomatopoeic.⁴⁹ This conceptual path may thus be seen as expressed through a double metonymy: the expression of worry as its symptoms – a faster heart rate and louder, stronger heartbeats.

46 *phr h3ty* (lemma 62010) and *phr jb* (lemma 854241).

47 *Wb* 1, 544.14–545.3.

48 The usual classifier is  (D54). The use of  (D55) is possibly also conferring a negative nuance of ‘wrong doing’, which appears to be part of the semantic features assumed by this classifier, judging by the list of lemmas with which it appears (Chantrain, *in preparation*).

49 This interpretation might be conformed by an attestation of *tjtj* in pBoulaq 4 (18, 6) written with the classifier  (A17).

- Ex. 21 *jw=n* (r) *šd=f* r n3 *tjtj* n *h3ty* 
 FUT=1PL FUT protect=3SG.M against ART:PL trot:INF of heart
 ‘We will protect him from the peregrinations of heart’ (P. Berlin P. 3059, 52)

Both expressions *tjtj n h3ty* and *phr jb/h3ty m hnw* thus describe a state of anxiety, of concern. They have in common the fact of conceptualizing this emotional state in terms of 1) repeated motion, which reflects the obsessive character of the thoughts and 2) introspection, or even rumination, which is expressed through the location of the heart inside the body.

1.3.1.3 EMOTIONAL DETACHMENT IS CENTRIFUGAL MOTION

Centrifugal motion of the heart (source oriented)

tmh h3ty (*Wb* 5, 369.2): ANNOYANCE IS A HEART TURNING AWAY

- Ex. 22 *wnn=f* (hr) *dj.t* *hnnw* m *pr=f*
 when=3SG.M (on) give:INF trouble in house=3SG.M
jw *h3ty.w* (hr) *tmh* 
 CORD heart-PL on turn_away:INF
 ‘When he (the Akh-spirit) places trouble within a house, the hearts turn away’
 (Ani, P. Boulaq 4, 22, 3)

The expression *tmh h3ty* seems to refer to annoyance, to the fact of taking distance from someone consecutively to an argument. However, it is a bit hard to assess with certainty since this is the only attestation of *tmh h3ty* found in the corpus, except for a parallel version of *Ani* (P. Louvre E 30144). There seems to be no similar construction with *jb*.

rwj h3ty (*Wb* 2, 406.2–407.4): WEARINESS IS A HEART GOING OUT

This expression refers to a kind of depressive attitude which has for result a lack of dedication to tasks and duties. Literally, the attention (the *h3ty* here) moves away. This meaning is obtained through the association of *rwj h3ty* with the lexeme *gh/g3h*. This lexeme is attested only a few times in the New Kingdom, as a verb⁵⁰ and as a noun.⁵¹ The translations given are the ones of ‘being tired/weary’ and ‘tiredness/exhaustion, weariness’.

- Ex. 23 *rwj* *sw* *p3y=j* *h3ty* m *gh=f*
 go_away:PFV 3SG.M POSS:M.SG=1SG heart in exhaustion=3SG.M
w3h.n=j *m3w.t=j*
 offer:PFV=1SG refrain-F=1SG
 ‘My heart moved itself away in its weariness after I have performed my refrain’
 (Harpist, TT 194, F 10)

⁵⁰ Ramses id: gAH_1002_5706.

⁵¹ TLA id: 856733.

1.3.1.4 LACK OF CONTROL IS CENTRIFUGAL MOTION (TARGET ORIENTED)

Centrifugal motion of the heart (target oriented)

jb/h3ty m-s3 (*Wb* 1, 59.10–60.11): WORRY IS A HEART BEING/PLACED AFTER STH.

In the first example, from the P. Harris 500, the ‘sister’ is concerned about the sincerity of her lover’s feelings. Her thoughts are focused on him and everything that relates to him, to the point of becoming an obsession.

Ex. 24 *sn mry{.t} jb=j m-s3 mrw.t=k*
 brother love:PTCP heart=1SG after love-F=2SG.M
km3yt n=k nb
 create:PTCP for=2SG.M every
 ‘Brother, my beloved, I worry about your love (my heart is after your love) and everything that was created for you’ (Love Songs, P. Harris 500, r° 4, 2)

A related expression is *rdj jb/h3ty m-s3*, which is based on a target-oriented centrifugal transfer action (the heart is moved from the owner’s body to another location).

In the following example, the potential worries are about how works are performed in the tombs of the royal children.

Ex. 25 *twj hr b3k m-s3r zp-sn*
 PRS-1SG PRS= work:INF excellently twice
mnh zp-sn m jr nfr m jr mnh
 efficient twice in do:INF perfect in do:INF efficient
m-dy dj.t p3y=j nb h3ty=f m-s3=w
 proh:CAUS give:SBJV POSS:M.SG=1SG lord heart=3SG.M after=3PL
y3 twj hr b3k r-jkr zp-sn
 EXLM PRS-1SG PRS= work:INF excellently twice
 ‘I work really excellently and perfectly, acting well and efficiently.
 Do not let my lord worry about them (= the tombs of the royal children)
 Indeed, I work really excellently!’ (O. OIC 16991, v° 4–5)
 Ramses III – letter

jb/h3ty m-s3 has usually a rather negative meaning ‘to worry’ or ‘to care’, but excessively. The positive meaning ‘to be interested in’, ‘to invest oneself into’ is rather expressed by the expression *rdj jb m* ‘to put the heart into something’.

Ex. 26 *jmy jb=k r s3.w r-wr sp-sn*
 give:IMP heart=2SG.M to writing-PL very-greatly twice
 ‘Have great interest in writings’ (O. Gardiner 2, 2)

tfj h3ty/jb (*Wb* 5, 297.11–298.10): AGITATION IS A HEART THAT JUMPS OUT

In the first example, obsessed with her love for the ‘brother’, the ‘sister’ feels agitated, restless and goes out at night to see him, despite the prohibition. She acts irrationally, oblivious of social conventions.

- Ex. 27 $tf \overset{\circ}{\hookrightarrow} \overset{\times}{\wedge} \quad jb=j \quad r \quad pr \quad r \quad rdj.t \quad gmh=j$
 jump:PFV heart=1SG to go_out:INF for give:INF see:SBJV=1SG
 $sn \quad m \quad p^3 \quad grh$
 brother in ART:M.SG night
 ‘My heart jumped to the point of going out to let me see the brother tonight’ (Love Songs, P. Chester Beatty I, v° C4, 5–6)

In the second example, it is the young scribe’s lack of dedication to its duties that is stressed. The lemma is here spelled *tff*, which appears to be derived from *tff* (Wb 5, 300.7).

- Ex. 28 $jb=k \quad tff \overset{\circ}{\hookrightarrow} \overset{\times}{\wedge} \quad h^3ty=k \quad mhy$
 heart=2SG.M jump:STAT heart=2SG.M fly_away:STAT
 ‘(I have been told that you gave up writing and that you lost yourself in pleasures)
 Your heart jumped out, your heart flew away’ (Advice to an idle scribe, P. Turin A, v° 1, 5 = LEM 121, 14)

A heart that is jumping out is thus a way to express a restless attitude or a lack of commitment, of dedication. In both cases, the expression denotes an impulsive and unreasonable attitude, based and emotional impulse instead of rationality.

1.3.1.5 IMPATIENCE IS FAST MOTION

3s-jb (Wb 1, 20.1–6): IMPATIENCE IS A FAST HEART

- Ex. 29 $nn \quad 3s-jb \overset{\circ}{\hookrightarrow} \overset{\times}{\wedge} \quad šw \quad m \quad hrw.w=f$
 not_existant fast-heart free from enemy-PL=3SG.M
 ‘There is no impatient free of enemies’ (O. Michaelides 16, 6–7)

A fast heart conceptualizes impatience, thus an affect disposition rather than a transient emotion. The expression *3s-jb* refers to a kind of personal behaviour that interferes with peaceful, cordial relations to others, as opposed to a thorough, quiet and balanced way of dealing with tasks and people.

This is confirmed by the symmetry with the patient and pondered behaviour expressed two lines below, by the verb *gr* (to be quiet). This example perfectly illustrates the fact that *gr* can express quietness on two levels: absence of sound and absence of movement.

- Ex. 30 $nn \quad k^3 \quad wšm=tw \quad n=f \quad md.t$
 not_existant think:PTCP question:SUBJ=IMPRS for=3SG.M speech-F
 $jr \quad gr=k \overset{\circ}{\hookrightarrow} \overset{\times}{\wedge} \quad hpr \quad n=k \quad ph.wj$
 COND be_silent:SBJV=2SG.M become:SBJV for=2SG.M limit
 ‘There is no thinking man whose words are questioned(?)’.⁵² If you stay quiet, you will get your way’ (O. Michaelides 16, 7)

Note that the classifiers in Ex. 29 also reflect the idea of both MOTION $\overset{\circ}{\hookrightarrow}$ (D54) and INTERACTION/OPPOSITION ($\times$ Z9).

⁵² The meaning of *wšm* $\overset{\circ}{\hookrightarrow} \overset{\times}{\wedge}$ is unclear.

1.3.2 EMOTION IS ACTION

1.3.2.1 The heart as agent

1.3.2.1.1 Centripetal action (source oriented): WORRY IS TAKING IN

ḥ3ty shr:w (*Wb* 1, 150.12–13): WORRY IS A HEART THAT TAKES MATTERS

The idea conveyed by this expression is the one of worrying about a situation, and perhaps take responsibility for it. It seems to be attested only in Wenamun for the present corpus. One finds here the conceptual metaphor THINKING IS OBJECT MANIPULATION,⁵³ with the sub-path TAKING INSIDE THE MIND IS TAKING INSIDE THE BODY.

Ex. 31 *jw=f* (*hr*) *dj.t* *jn.tw* *n=j* *t3-n.t-njw.t* *w^c.t*
 BS=3SG.M on give:INF bring:PFV.PASS to=1SG name one-F
hs.t *n* *km.t* *jw=s* *m-dj=f*
 singer-F of Egypt-F SBRD=3SG.F with=3SG.M
r-dd *hsy* *n=f*
 COMP sing:IMP for=3SG.M
m-dj *ty* *ḥ3ty=f* *shr:w*
 PROH-CAUS take:SBJV heart=3SG.M plan-PL
 ‘He made brought to me *t3-n.t-njw.t*, a singer who was with him
 and said: ‘Sing for him! Do not let his heart take matters’ (do not let him worry)’
 (Wenamun, P. Moscow 120, 2, 69 = *LES* 74, 6)

This expression is conceptually linked to another one: *t3 ḥ.t m ḥ3ty* ‘the thing in the heart’, which designates the object of worry, of concern (i.e. the matter that was taken by the heart). Their common idea is INTROSPECTION/RUMINATION.

Ex. 32 *mntn* *t3* *ḥ.t* *nty* *m* *ḥ3ty=j*
 2PL ART:F.SG thing-F REL in heart=1SG
jw=j (*hr*) *h3b* *r* *rdj.t* *m=tn* *n3y=tn* *rmt.w*
 CORD on send:INF to give:INF know:SBJV=2PL POSS.PL=2PL people
nh *wd3* *snb*
 live:STAT be_wealthy:STAT be_healthy:STAT
m dy.t *ḥ3ty=tn* *m-s3=w*
 PROH-CAUS heart=2SG.PL after=PL
 ‘You are the matter which is in my heart. I wrote to inform you that your men are alive, wealthy and healthy. Do not worry about them’ (P. Genève D 407, v^o 15–16 = *LRL* 16, 5)

1.3.2.2 The heart as patient

This section deals with various actions undergone by the heart. Two main categories have been distinguished: the actions that the protagonists inflict to their own heart, and the ones inflicted to someone else’s heart.

53 Lakoff (2014: 1).

1.3.2.2.1 NEGATIVE EMOTION IS VIOLENT ACTION

nḥm jb (Wb 2, 295.12–297.4) and *tḥj jb* (Wb 5, 297.11–298.10): HELPLESSNESS IS A HEART TAKEN AWAY

Taking away the heart of someone conceptualizes the fact of causing despair and self-control – or even identity – loss. The concept of deprivation, of non-wholeness, seems to be central in this metaphor. This expression is regularly used in royal ideology texts, in battle scenes. The heart is seen as the keeper of the individual's personality and strength and its metaphorical removal corresponds to a major trauma and its consequences on someone's behaviour.

- Ex. 33 *mš^c.w* *wpwty.w* *n.w* *t3* *nb* *jb=sn* *tḥj(.w)*
 envoy-PL messenger-PL of-PL land every heart=3PL remove:STAT
nḥm(.w)
 take_away:STAT
 'As for the envoys and messengers of every land, their heart was removed and taken away' (Medinet Habu 28, 39 = KRI V, 24, 1)

In this category are listed other expressions that conceptualize emotional affliction as physical concrete impact of a violent action. This action can affect the patient by modifying the heart's physical integrity as if it were an entire body. The actions undergone by the enemies' heart modify their body posture and their agency potential (from up to down and from standing to lying: *ḥdb jb/ḥ3ty* and *dḥ jb/ḥ3ty*) and compromise their physical integrity (*ḥd jb/ḥ3ty*)

In the first two examples, a parallel is clearly made between the physical prostration of the enemies and their emotional distress.

ḥdb jb (Wb 3, 205.8–17) and *dḥ jb* (Wb 5, 483–484.8): DESPAIR IS AN OVERTHROWN HEART

- Ex. 34 *ḥdb.n=k* *jb.w* *stty.w*
 lay:PFV=2SG.M heart-PL Asiatic-PL
 'You have prostrated the hearts of the Asiatics' (Medinet Habu, KRI V, 34, 3)

- Ex. 35 *dḥ.n=f* *jb.w* *mšwš*
 overthrow:PFV heart-PL asiatic
n3y.w *nḥt-^c.w* *sm3* *m* *ḥf^c[=f]* *m* *dnḥ.w*
 POSS:PL hero-PL kill:STAT in fist=3SG.M in captive-PL
r-ḥ3.t *ssm.wt*
 before horse-F.PL
 'He has overthrown the hearts of the Asiatics, their heroes are slain in [his] grasp or are captives before his horses' (Medinet Habu, KRI V, 45, 4)

ḥd jb/ḥ3ty (*Wb* 3, 212–213.16): UNFAITHFULNESS IS A BROKEN HEART

The second expression, *ḥd-jb*, conceptualises a break in someone's line of conduct that leads to unfaithful actions. It can take different nuances of meaning, depending whether it applies to the subject's own heart or to someone else's heart. The case of *ḥd-jb* is treated in detail in section 2.

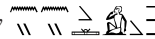
1.4 EMOTION AS EFFECT OF THE EMOTION

1.4.1 Emotion as physical effect of the emotion

Another way of conceptualizing emotions in Egyptian is their description as the physical manifestation of this emotion. The intensity criterion in this case seems to be playing a predominant role. In both cases below, this intensity is highlighted by a reduplication pattern 1) in the structure of the lemma itself (*nyny*) or 2) in the expression of the instrument, the medium, conveying the emotional manifestation (*m jr:tj*).

nyny ḥ3ty (*Wb* 203, 8–13): DESPAIR IS AN IMPLORING HEART

This expression of emotional distress, of despair, is related to a form of supplication prayer (*Wb* 2, 203.7).⁵⁴ Rather than transient sadness, *nyny* suggests a lasting or recurring feeling. In contrast with the expressions seen before, this form of sadness is not interiorised but clearly and loudly expressed. The interaction/externalization feature contained in *nyny* 'to implore' makes the difference with the next expression *rmj.t jb m jr:tj*. Indeed, while the two expressions share the feature intensity, the second one does not involve a recipient. Furthermore, in *nyny ḥ3ty*, an attempt is made at regaining control on the situation.⁵⁵

Ex. 36 *ḥ3ty=s* (*ḥr*) *nyny* 
heart=3SG.F on implore:INF
jw=s *ḥr.tw* *<ḥr>* *sp.t* *<n>* *p3* *ym*
SBRD=3SG.F stand:STAT on shore-F of ART:M.SG sea
jw=s (*ḥr*) *nyny* *rḥ* *nb* *zp-sn* 
CORD=3SG.F on implore:INF day every twice
'Her (Isis) heart implores, while she is standing on the seashore. Her heart implores every single day' (P. Boulaq 6, r^o II, 1)

rmj.t jb m jr:tj (*Wb* 2, 417.11–13): GRIEF IS A HEART THAT CRIES WITH TWO EYES

The meaning of this expression is very clear, it is a simple case of personification with effect of an emotion standing for the emotion itself. The adverbial complement *m jr:tj*

54 As already suggested by Koenig (1981) in his edition of P. Boulaq 6 (1981: 19, 135). He makes the parallel with 'faire le geste *nyny*', an imploration gesture. Some confusion exists in dictionaries databases (both TLA and Ramses) as for the number of entries and their respective token distribution (*Wb* II 203, 8–13; Hannig 2006: 415; Ramses *nyny_1010_67805* and *nyny_1001_3569*; TLA id 80180).

55 DESPAIR is categorized under *not in control* in the HUMAINE-EARL categorization.

‘with two eyes’ makes explicit the intensity of the emotion (in a similar way as *zp-sn*) and thus refers to deep sadness, despair.

- Ex. 37 *jb=j* (*hr*) *rmj.t* *m* *ir.ty*
 heart=1SG on cry:INF in eye-F.DU
 ‘My heart cries with two eyes’ (O. Turin N57380, r° 4)

1.4.2 EMOTION AS PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECT OF THE EMOTION

1.4.2.1 EMOTION IS IGNORANCE

hm + jb (*Wb* 3, 278.5–280.5): AGITATION IS AN IGNORANT HEART and NEGLECT IS AN IGNORED HEART

Emotional reactions are framed in an opposition with rational, conscious, reactions. The heart, as centre of both emotions and reason, is described as being ignorant of the latter when its owner becomes a slave to their emotions, oblivious of the constraints of contextual circumstances and social conventions. The cross-domain mapping attested here is a bit different since it does not follow the path CONCRETE ABSTRACT seen in the other examples. It results too from a personification of the heart and is based on transfer from COGNITION to EMOTION, in other words, from an abstract domain to another.⁵⁶

- Ex. 38 *hm* *tw* *jb=j* *r-jkr* 
 be_ignorant:PTCP 2SG.M heart=1SG excellently
 ‘You are really ignorant, my heart’ (P. Chester Beatty I, v° C2, 7)

Worth is also mentioning that besides the expression *hm + jb* ‘the heart is ignorant’, with *jb* as subject of *hm* means ‘to act foolishly’, another one is attested, featuring *jb* as object of *hm* (‘to ignore the heart’). The latter has a totally different meaning, since it refers to an unfaithful, dishonest or hypocrite attitude. Purposely ignoring one’s own heart is ignoring, dismissing, one’s own moral principles, in other words, acting in a way that is not in line with one’s own values or thoughts.⁵⁷ This expression is semantically close to *hd jb/h3ty* ‘to break the heart’ when applied to someone’s own heart. This case is developed below in section 2.

- Ex. 39 *hm=k*  *jb=k* *r* *nh*
 be_ignorant:PFV=2SG.M heart=2SG.M to swear:INF
 ‘you ignored you heart at the time of taking the oath’ (O. DeM 1595, 2)
 19-20 dyn. – teaching

⁵⁶ This is attested elsewhere in Egyptian, for example in the metaphorical use of *rh* ‘to know’ as referring to carnal knowledge, sometimes with the classifier variation  (D53) in addition to  (Y1), which reflects the figurative meaning (see for example *Truth and Falsehood*, P. BM 10682, r° 4, 5 = *LES* 32, 5).

⁵⁷ Chantrain (2023).

2 ‘False friends’ metaphors

2.1 *ḥd jb/ḥṣty* (Wb 3, 212–213.16) ‘to break the heart’

Another example of the necessity of a philological analysis in semantic studies is that a thorough reading of the cotext and context can help identifying ‘false friends’ metaphors hidden in texts and that keep fooling our dictionaries and databases.

The expression *ḥd ḥṣty/jb* appears in the Love Songs and is regularly translated literally as ‘He cannot break my heart’. This Egyptian expression is usually understood as having the same meaning as its literal English translation: sadness caused by love misfortune. Their semantics is indeed very close in the context of the Love Songs, but, looking at attestations in other texts, one can see that the Egyptian *ḥd ḥṣty/jb* carries a specific semantic feature that English does not have: *unfaithfulness*. This unfaithfulness can be toward someone else (= to break someone else’s heart), for example while cheating on someone in a love context, but it can also be a form of unfaithfulness toward oneself: betraying one’s own values/principles (= break one’s own heart). In other words, in this specific case, even if the conceptual mapping seems similar to the one in the target language,⁵⁸ the meanings of the two expressions do not overlap completely. ‘Breaking the heart’ in Egyptian thus seems to also refer to the fact of breaking a line of conduct, a behavioural pattern based on moral values, whether it is in the faithfulness toward someone else or toward yourself and your principles.

Meaning 1: OFFENDING SOMEONE IS TO BREAK SOMEONE’S HEART

The meaning of *ḥd jb/ḥṣty* when applied to the heart of someone else is explicitly expressed in the passage of the Love Songs from P. Harris 500: *ʿd3=f wj <m> ky dd gm=f kt.t* ‘he cheated on me; he found another one’.

The use of *ḥd ḥṣty* echoes the compound word *p3 ḥd-jb* in line 5.11 of the same text. This compound is translated as ‘intrigue, offense’ in the Hannig dictionary,⁵⁹ which is a quite accurate translation since it reflects the idea of *unfaithfulness* by hiding something from someone else and by acting against their interest.

Ex. 40 *bw gr jb=j*
 NEG be_silent:PFV heart=1SG
ḥṣb=f n[=j] wpwtj 3s {=j} rd.wj m ʿk
 send:PFV=3SG.M to=1SG messenger fast foot-M.DU in enter:INF
ḥr pr.t
 on go_out:INF
r dd n=j ʿd3=f wj <m> ky dd
 to say:INF to=1SG cheat:PFV=3SG.M 1SG in other say:INF

58 In this case the target language is English, but the same conceptualization is well-attested cross-linguistically. Kövecses (2000: 27) refers to LOVE IS A UNITY OF PARTS as the central metaphor of LOVE.

59 Hannig (2006: 619; [22498]).

gm=f kt.t sy hr g3g3w n hr=f
 find:PFV=3SG.M other-F 3SG.F on be_astonished:INF of face=3SG.M
jh rf p3 hɔ-jb n {ky} <k.t> hr hpp
 Q thus ART:M.SG break-heart of other-F on alienate:INF
 ‘My heart is not quiet,
 He sent to me a fast messenger going back and forth
 To tell me that he cheated on me, in other words, that he found another one
 She is in admiration of him
 So, what? The **offense** caused by another one is taking me...’ (Love songs, P.
 Harris 500, r° 5, 8–12)

A few lines above though, the ‘sister’ was still affirming about the brother ‘he cannot break my heart’ and evoking her status of favourite, which, as the rest of the text shows, was not meant to last.

Ex. 41 *dj=f wj m tpy.t n nfr.wt*
 give:PFV=3SG.M 1SG in first-F of beautiful_one-F:PL
bw hɔ=f p3y=j h3ty
 NEG break:PFV=3SG.M poss:M.SG=1SG heart
j.dj=j hr=j hr p3 sb3 n bnr
 give:THMZ=1SG face=1SG on ART:M.SG door of outside
mk sn (hr) jy.t n=j
 ATTN 3PL on come:INF to=1SG
 ‘He placed me as the first of the beautiful ones
He cannot break my heart
 It is toward the outside door that I turn my attention
 See, the brother is coming to me’

Meaning 2: TAKING OUTRAGE IS TO BREAK YOUR OWN HEART

The next example illustrates the semantics of *hɔ-jb* when the agent affecting the integrity of the heart is its own owner. Translated here as ‘do not take offense’, *hɔ-jb* conveys the idea of breaking with the usual line of behaviour and/or getting emotionally affected by someone else’s action. In the *Wb* (213), this use of *hɔ-jb/h3ty* is indeed listed with the translation ‘sein eigenes Herz kränken’ which corresponds to the meaning 2 ‘to fool oneself’, ‘to take offense’. This idea conveyed by *hɔ-jb/h3ty* seems to enter the scope of the emotion OUTRAGE established by Plutchik

Ex. 42 *whn n3y=k tnr:w*
 overturn:IMP poss:PL=2SG.M resentment-PL
tm bi3.t=k knd {r} wp=k
 NEG character-f=2SG.M angry open:INF=2SG.M
m-jrj hɔy jb hr ds=k
 PROH-do break:INF heart on self=2SG.M

The general path actualised by *hdjb/h3ty* is thus MORAL INTEGRITY IS PHYSICAL INTEGRITY, derived itself from the superordinate path MIND AS BODY.

Other candidates to the ‘false friend’ metaphor status are the Egyptian expressions that translate literally as ‘to be heartless’. The fact of being heartless refers to someone insensitive in the target language⁶⁰ and thus belongs to the domain EMOTION. However, the construction has a different meaning in Egyptian: heartlessness does not refer to a lack of emotional sensitivity but to a lack of consciousness, of rationality. It usually translates in context as ‘to be foolish’, ‘to be irrational’, ‘to act stupidly’. Being heartless in Egyptian thus expresses a hiatus between the actual person’s attitude in a given situation and a socially acceptable way of behaving. Interestingly, rather than expressing a lack of emotion, heartlessness in Egyptian expresses exactly the opposite since the rational reason for the grounded behaviour of the subject to be affected is often overwhelming emotions. The meaning of the expressions *nn wn ḥ3ty m ḥ.t=k* and *sw m jwty jb=f*⁶¹ are thus not the equivalent of the English expression ‘to be heartless’ or of the French one ‘être sans cœur’ but rather corresponds to ‘being out of one’s mind’. It is clearly the cognitive dimension of *jb* and *ḥ3ty* that is stressed here rather than the emotional one.

The first example below comes from the corpus of Miscellanies. In this text, the profession of soldier is compared to the one of scribe: all the disadvantages of the first with respect to the latter are highlighted. The conclusion reached here is that wanting to be a soldier with all the disadvantages of the condition is such a foolish idea when you can be a scribe and have a much higher social status and a comfortable life.

60 I am here talking about the specific case of English. This might of course vary according to the target language of the translation.

61 The semantics of this expression is close to *hm jb/h3ty* (cf. *supra*).

ndm *ʕš3* *h.wt* *p3y=k* *gstj*
 sweet numerous thing-F.PL POSS:M.SG=2SG.M tablet
t3y=k *ʕr.t* *dmʕ*
 POSS:F.SG=2SG scroll-F papyrus
 ‘One will beat you!
 Are you out of you mind? (lit: there is no heart in your body)
 Work as for you in this function of magistrate
 Your tablet and your papyrus scroll are full of sweet things!’
 (P. Anastasi 5, 10, 8–11, 1 = *LEM* 61, 6–7)

Example 44 comes from the Love Songs and illustrates a recurring theme of this corpus: the lack of control experienced by the lovers on their own feelings and the resulting behaviours. The situation described here by the sister is the fight of reason against passion: her ‘rational’ heart is irritated by the loss of control that she is experiencing. The love feelings that the brother inspires her have a hold on her, which is expressed here by *jtt* *wj mrw.t=f* ‘his love captured me’, a clear actualization of the metaphor TO MAKE FALL IN LOVE IS TO CAPTURE. Somewhat funnily, the sister’s heart (*jb*) is in this passage itself described as having no heart (*jb*), as being out of its mind.

Ex. 44 *mk* ***jb=j*** ***h3dn*** <*m*> *sh3=f*
 ATTN heart=1SG be_furious in remember=3SG.M
jtt *wj* *mrw.t=f*
 capture:PFV 1SG love-F=3SG.M
mk *sw* ***m*** ***jwty*** ***jb=f***
 ATTN 3SG.M in NEG.REL-M.SG heart=3SG.M
jw *swt* *jw=j* *mj-kd=f*
 CORD but SBRD=1SG like=3SG.M
 ‘See, my heart is irritated while remembering it
 His love captured me
 See, he is acting foolishly (lit: heartless)
 But I am like him’ (P. Chester Beatty I, v° C2, 1)

4 Conclusions

The figurative language of negative emotions is expressed through a very large panel of lexemes and metaphorical expressions. They have in common to be based on the general MIND AS BODY metaphor. This superordinate level path is declined in more precise ones according to this schema in the negative/afflictive emotion domain:

- EMOTION IS PHYSICAL EXPERIENCE
 - EMOTION IS SENSORY PERCEPTION
 - FRUSTRATION IS BITTERNESS
 - FRUSTRATION IS ‘BAD TASTE’

- EMOTION IS PHYSICAL STATE
 - EMPATHY IS SICKNESS AND SUFFERING
 - DEPRESSION IS DECOMPOSITION
 - DEPRESSION IS A DECOMPOSING HEART
 - GLOOM/DISCOURAGEMENT IS LACK OF PHYSICAL ENERGY
 - GLOOM IS A TIRED HEART
 - HELPLESSNESS IS A TIRED HEART
 - HELPLESSNESS IS A WEAK HEART
 - WEARINESS IS A DISGUSTED HEART
- EMOTION IS NON-QUIETNESS
 - EMOTION IS MOTION
 - SADNESS IS (MOTION) DOWN
 - OUTRAGE IS TO CAUSE (THE HEART) TO GO DOWN
 - ANXIETY IS REPEATED MOTION
 - CONCERN IS THE HEART TURNING TO SOMEONE
 - ANXIETY IS THE HEART MOVING AROUND
 - ANXIETY IS A TROTting HEART
 - EMOTIONAL DETACHMENT IS CENTRIFUGAL MOTION (SOURCE ORIENTED)
 - ANNOYANCE IS A HEART THAT TURNS AWAY
 - INDIFFERENCE IS A HEART THAT TURNS AWAY
 - WEARINESS IS A HEART GOING OUT
 - LACK OF CONTROL IS CENTRIFUGAL MOTION (TARGET ORIENTED)
 - WORRY IS A HEART BEING AFTER STH.
 - AGITATION IS A HEART THAT JUMPS OUT
 - IMPATIENCE IS FAST MOTION
 - IMPATIENCE IS A FAST HEART
 - EMOTION IS ACTION
 - WORRY IS TAKING IN
 - WORRY IS A HEART THAT TAKES MATTERS
 - NEGATIVE EMOTION IS VIOLENT ACTION
 - HELPLESSNESS IS A HEART TAKEN AWAY
 - HELPLESSNESS IS AN OVERTHROWN HEART
 - OUTRAGE IS A BROKEN HEART
 - EMOTION IS (LOUD) SOUND
- EMOTION AS EFFECT OF THE EMOTION
 - EMOTION AS PHYSICAL EFFECT OF THE EMOTION
 - DESPAIR IS AN IMPLORING HEART
 - GRIEF IS A HEART THAT CRIES WITH TWO EYES
 - EMOTION AS PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECT OF THE EMOTION
 - EMOTION IS IGNORANCE
 - AGITATION IS AN IGNORANT HEART
 - NEGLECT IS AN IGNORED HEART

BODILY EXPERIENCE and LACK OF QUIETNESS – whether it is actualized in sound, motion or action – are thus central in the expression of negative emotions in Egyptian. They all express emotions, feelings, moods or characters related to the primary emotions of ANGER, SADNESS and FEAR.

When looking at the data distribution in diachrony, one can see a clear increase in metaphor usage in the New Kingdom, with a peak in the Ramesside Period. This is tight to two observations that deal with two different levels in lexicon organization. The first observation is a high number of lexemes that colexify at least one metaphorical meaning in addition to their primary meaning. This highlights the important role of metaphor-induced colexification in the semantic evolution of the Egyptian lexicon. The second observation is a clear increase in the usage of compound expressions involving body parts, especially *jb* and *h3ty*. This may be influenced by several factors. First of all, as always, due precaution must be taken given the uneven distribution of the corpus, with a higher number of texts available for the New Kingdom. Besides this obvious statement, this development might also be related to the tendency of the language to become more analytic in its functioning. Indeed, in Late Egyptian, besides this statement being clearly observable for grammatical constructions, the lexicon also tends to increasingly develop on the basis of compound expressions. Without surprise, texts with literary qualities display a much higher number of metaphors.

Compound expressions based on a personification of the heart are very frequent in emotion expression. The heart can assume different semantic roles: agent, patient or experiencer. When the heart is an agent, it denotes a lack of control of its owner; when it is a patient, there are two main cases: 1) the heart is affected by its own owner, which reflects a break in personal behaviour patterns and/or a hiatus between moral values and actual behaviour; 2) the heart is affected by someone else, which refers to negative emotions triggered by someone else's behaviour. Finally, the heart can be an experiencer and be described as feeling the emotion instead of its owner.

Ancient Egyptian data add a diachronic depth to the validation of the conceptual metaphor theory. Indeed, despite the temporal and cultural gaps, a great majority of conceptual paths represented in Egyptian are well attested cross-linguistically. The linguistic actualization of these paths does vary to some extent from a language to another since it is influenced by the general background and environment of the speakers: natural environment, climate, culture, epoch, technology, etc. An important nuance to add to the picture comes with the concept of 'false friends' metaphors introduced here. Indeed, a linguistic expression that appears as the exact translation of one known in another language, their semantics does not necessarily overlap (completely).

An adapted table of the different negative emotions based on the comparison between the different categorisations and the actualisation of these emotions in the Ancient Egyptian lexicon can be presented as follows in table 3. The categories in grey are the negative or ambivalent emotions attested elsewhere in the Egyptian lexicon⁶² but were not treated in this study.

62 The examples given in the table are not exhaustive.

Table 3: Adapted table of negative emotions and distribution of the Egyptian lexemes and expressions by category.

Negative emotions		
<i>Negative and forceful</i> ANGER	<i>Negative and passive</i> SADNESS	<i>Negative and not in control</i> FEAR
Anger <i>3d, knd</i> Annoyance <i>tmh h3ty</i> Contempt (ANGER $\cap$ DISGUST) <i>shrj-^c</i> (Wb 4, 271.1–3) Disgust <i>ft jb/h3ty</i> Irritation <i>jkn</i>	Grief <i>rmj.t jb m jr.tj</i> Gloom <i>bgj h3ty</i> Weariness <i>rwj h3ty</i> Depression <i>hw3 h3ty</i> Empathy (SADNESS $\cap$ LOVE) <i>mhr h3ty</i> <i>šnj h3ty</i> <i>jnd</i>	Anxiety/ restlessness/agitation <i>tjtj n h3ty</i> <i>phr jb/h3ty</i> <i>tfj h3ty</i> <i>hm jb (subj)</i> <i>nn wn h3y m h.t</i> <i>jwjt jb</i> Worry <i>jb/h3ty m-s3</i> <i>Ḃ h3ty shr.w</i> <i>phr jb/h3ty</i> Fear <i>snd, hrj.t</i> Terror <i>b3 m dr.t^a</i>
Frustration <i>dhr</i> <i>jnd</i> Outrage (followed with disappointment) <i>hd jb/h3ty</i> <i>sh3j h3ty</i> (Wb 4, 207.2–5) Neglect <i>hm h3ty</i> (obj.) Envy/greed <i>wn-jb</i> (Wb 1, 172.12–13) <i>skn</i> (Wb 4, 318.9–10)		
Pride (ANGER $\cap$ JOY) <i>wmt-jb</i> (Wb 1, 306.13)	Despair <i>nyny h3ty</i> Helplessness/Powerlessness <i>bdš h3ty</i> <i>hsj h3ty</i> <i>nhm jb</i> <i>tfj jb</i> <i>dh jb</i>	

a *Hori*, P. Anastasi 1, 24, 1. The expression of ‘having the ba in the hand’ might refer to the ba being about to leave its place (the body) and fly away because of a deadly fear (Renaud Pietri’s sugges-

tion in a personal communication; October 18, 2021). This interpretation of extreme fear, already suggested by Fischer-Elfert, is confirmed by the bodily reactions described in the direct cotext : $\beta \{hr\}=k p3 dnn; d3d3=k snrf$ ‘a shiver takes possession of you, your hair is standing on end’. The later illustrate the path EMOTION IS THE EFFECT ON AN EMOTION. This expression likely falls under the primary emotion FEAR, with enhanced intensity, which corresponds to *terror* (see Plutchik wheel).

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