
Metaphorical Conceptualization of Happiness in Anywaa

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Abstract

In the traditional approach, metaphor is understood as a rhetoric device used by talented people like poets and singers. This implies that metaphor is used only in language. However, after Lakoff and Johnson published *Metaphors We Live By* in 1980 based on *Conceptual Metaphor Theory*, this view was challenged with the argument that metaphor is a cognitive device with language being its physical manifestation. Thus, metaphor is used by ordinary people as part of their cognition. The present study aims at describing how the Anywaa conceptualize happiness. The theoretical framework used for the study was *Conceptual Metaphor Theory*. The data were obtained by using introspection, elicitation, recording and listening to daily utterances. The analyses and interpretations indicate that in Anywaa happiness is conceptualized based on source domains like TASTY FOOD, WHITE COLOUR, and SPATIAL ORIENTATION. Linguistic metaphors like jì mét dótj dītʃáŋì 'Your stomach is very delicious today', jìà wáárò 'My stomach is white cotton', and tʃwíŋa jáá ŋááp máál bállt dzáát 'I have hanged my liver up in the tree' are some of the linguistic metaphors used to express happiness in Anywaa. The results indicate that in their conceptualization of happiness, the Anywaa select some sources over the others. For example, WHITE FLOUR is used as a source of happiness; however, RED FLOUR is not used although it is edible.

Keywords: Anywaa, metaphor, domain, source domain, target domain, mapping

1. Introduction: Background of the Study

In traditional approach, metaphor is understood as a literary device used by talented people like singers, poets, novelists or rhetoricians rather than ordinary people. Therefore, traditional approach to metaphor claims metaphors to be used only in literary works like song, poem, novel or drama. Koveces

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(2010:ix) adds that in traditional approach, most people think of metaphor as a simile in which two different things are compared like *He is a lion*. Thus, metaphor is traditionally believed to be a feature of language only. However, after the publication of *Metaphors We Live By* in (1980) by Lakoff and Johnson, traditional assumption was proved wrong with the findings that metaphor is mainly cognitive and the language we speak is its physical realization, Furthermore, it was discovered that metaphor is used by ordinary people rather than extraordinary people. Therefore, our thinking and activities are metaphorical.

1.1.The People and Their Language

The Anywaa are Nilotic people belonging to the Luo group of Eastern Africa. Crazzolara (1930:V) states that as opposed to Bantu people, the Nuer, Dinka and the Luo people are collectively grouped as the *dzì* (*dzó*) tribes. In Anywaa, Nuer and Dinka the word *dzí* means people of certain clan or group but in Dinka the word is modified as *äadzáj* 'people of certain group/place' (See also Perner, 2003:235). The tribal name *ápwwáá* (PL.*ápwwááè*) was derived from the root *nwààk* 'share, sharing', because in their real life the Anywaa share food, clothes, shelter and acting communally (Okello, 2014). The Anywaa language is locally called *dá ápwwáá*, which literally means *mouth of Anywaa*. According to Reh (1996), Anywaa is genetically a western Nilotic language belonging to Luo branch. The native speakers of the language live in Gambella Ethiopia and The Greater Pibor Administrative Area, South Sudan. Based on the National Census of Ethiopia (2007) and UNMSS (2010) the total number speakers of Anywaa in Ethiopia is 88,000 and in South Sudan there are 52,000 native speakers of Anywaa.

1.2.Tone, Vowel Length and Gemination

In Anywaa, vowel length and consonant gemination are distinctive. Vowel length can be illustrated in *kwàrò* wealthy vs *kwààrò* 'chief'. Example of consonant gemination can be found in *ābàllà* 'a person named after god Abala' and *ābàllà* 'a kick'. Based on Okello (2014) and Reh (1996) Anywaa is a tonal language with three major tone types: high (´), low (˘) and mid (ˉ) tones. For this reason Okello (2014) classified Anywaa as a register tone language. In this language, tone has both lexical and grammatical significance. An example of lexical tone in Anywaa can be found in *mòr* 'another' and *mór* 'warm'. To illustrate grammatical tone in Anywaa, the following imperatives have been given in (1a-c):

- (1a). l̀̀̀̀g -i
 go to bathe 2sg
 'Go to bathe (yourself).'

Example (1a) implies that the addressee goes to the river to bathe himself/herself but the addresser remains in the place. Hence, the low tone marks itive motion, in which the addressee goes away from the deictic center.

- (b). l̀̀̀̀g -ī
 bathe -2sg
 'You(2sg) bathe here.'

Example(1b) implies that the addressee bathes himself/herself near the speaker. So there is no movement away from the deictic center.

- (c). l̀̀̀̀g -i
 bathe him/her/it 2sg
 'You(2sg) bathe/wash him/her/it here.'

In example (1c), the addresser wants the addressee to bathe another person, another person's hand(s), a child or utensil without going somewhere. So the addressee bathes/washes a person/an object near the addresser.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Kovecses (2017) states that abstract concepts like emotions are abstract because we do not have direct physical and perceptual contact with them. Hence, their meanings are not clear or they are meaningless unless they are linked with physical or perceptual source domains. The major proposal of conceptual metaphor theory is that an abstract concept like happiness becomes meaningful and easy to reason about when linked with concrete source domain through metaphorical mappings. So far researchers like Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Kovecses (2002) found two major facts about emotion and human conceptual system: (a) Our conceptual system is organized metaphorically; (b) Emotion is very complex and we need tangible object as its source to understand it easily. However, despite these strong achievements, much remains unknown about the relation between emotion and experiences like voice, smell, taste, mixing different substances and the growing of plants (Esenova, 2011:3). These gaps imply that conceptual metaphor theorists need many studies to be conducted on emotion metaphors to fill the gaps. Nearly, there are no studies related to conception of happiness in Anywaa. Perner (1990:646) translates ètʃ mèt 'The stomach is tasty' as *happy*. But the correct translation should be *There is happiness/The people are happy*. Furthermore, in his translation, Perner (1990) does not elaborate the relation between taste, stomach and happiness. Thus, he did not analyze happiness in Anywaa based on *Conceptual Metaphor Theory*. The present study was therefore an

attempt to describe the metaphorical conceptualization of happiness in Anywaa based on *Conceptual Metaphor Theory*. The general objective of this study was to describe how the Anywaa conceptualize happiness by using *Conceptual Metaphor Theory*. The study had the following specific objectives:

- (a) to identify linguistic metaphors used to express metaphors of happiness in Anywaa
- (b) to identify and state the mapping constraints imposed on the metaphors of happiness in Anywaa

2. Methodology and Design

In the present study, the researcher employed recording and listening to daily utterances to obtain data. The recordings and listening were made in Okuuna of Lul Region and Ilea of Openo region from December 20-26, 2021. In addition, the researcher used introspection and elicitation. The elicited data were checked with two native speakers Phillip Omod (75 yrs, m), the chief of Okuuna and pastor Ocathi Ojulu (80 yrs, m) in Ilea village. Based on the experience of working with these native speaker, the researcher has known that they have good native knowledge of Anywaa. The two dialects of Openo and Lul region were clearly understandable to the investigator as there is very high mutual intelligibility among the native speakers of Anywaa. The present study was designed as qualitative, because the mappings, identification of linguistic and conceptual metaphors and description of experience of metaphorical use do not require numbers.

2.1. The Approach and Procedures of Metaphor Identification

To identify or determine metaphors, the present study used the guidelines developed by the Steen's five step-procedures (MIP) for metaphor identification based on Steen (2002a&b). See also Pragglejaz Group (2007) and Yin (2013) based on which the steps are given as follows:

1. Identification of metaphor focus
2. Identification of metaphor idea
3. Identification of metaphor comparison
4. Identification of incomplete propositions
5. Identification of metaphorical mapping

In the first step **focus** means the metaphorically used word standing outside the background of literal frame (Steen, 2002a&b: 394, 1999:61). Example, in

This *journey*, we continue today (Barack Obama's Inaugural Address jan. 20th, 2009, in Yin,2013).The metaphorical focus is **journey**, which means *National life is like a journey* as there are obstacles and progress with the people involved.In the second step, metaphor idea identification is a matter of concepts, propositions and reference used to fill the gap between discourse and conceptualization (Steen,1999:64-65).For example, in the expression *And we'll get our economy going again and our best days are ahead of us*, the words **going** and **ahead** tell us that economy progress is like journey and economic prosperity is the intention as the word **ahead** shows.Step three has to do with comparing words in an implicit non-literal mapping.Example, in *Our economy has grown*, growth and economy are similar in that they both share the concept of development.In step four, implied ideas are inferred to fill the empty slots.For example, in the sentence, *But I know how to get America working again, restore our economy and take care of working Americans*, the incomplete proposition is **building**, leading to the metaphor **ECONOMY IS BUILDING**.In step five, as Steen (1999:71-72) states, complete non-literal mapping is done by clearly showing the source and target domains (see section table 1 and Yin,2013:1118-1121, Steen, 1994, Steen, 2007 for the detail).

3. Literature Review: Metaphor in Conceptual Metaphor Theory

In Conceptual Metaphor Theory, metaphor is understood as a cognitive device with language being its surface manifestation.Accordingly, in understanding metaphor there are two domains: the source and the target domains.The source domain is the concrete source of knowledge and experience based on which an abstract concept like emotion, life and time is understood.The correspondence between source and target domains is called mapping.A domain is any coherence organization of an experience (Lakoff and Johnson,1980 and Kovevces,2010).To illustrate the concepts of domain, target domain, source domain and mappings, the following examples were taken from Kovecse (2010:6):

- (2a). Look how far we have come.
- (b.) We are at a crossroad.
- (c.)This relation is a dead-end street.

Examples (2a-c) are linguistic metaphors underlying LOVE IS JOURNEY. Below is the table for illustrating the mappings.

SOURCE DOMAIN: JOURNEY	MAPPINGS	TARGET DOMAIN: LOVE
travelers	————→	lovers
vehicle	————→	love relationship
journey events	————→	events in the love relationship
distance covered	————→	progress made in love process
obstacles to journey	————→	difficulties in love relation
destination	————→	goal of love relation

Table 1: Illustrating mappings with LOVE IS JOURNEY (Kovecses,2010:9)

3.1 Classification of Metaphors

According to Kovecses(2010:38) metaphors are usually classified as follows:

(a) Structural Metaphor: In structural metaphor, the source domain provides rich knowledge and experience for the target domain. Therefore, TARGET A IS SOURCE B. For example metaphors like *He works for the local branch of the bank*, *They had to prune the work force* and *The business blossomed* take us to the conceptual metaphor SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE PLANTS (see Kovecses, 2010:100) for the mappings.

(b) Orientational Metaphor: In this metaphor, basic human spatial orientations like up, down, near, far, in-out and front-back are used as source of understanding metaphor. Based on Lakoff and Johnson(2003:15) orientational metaphors can be illustrated below (3a-c).

(3a) Get up.

(b) He sank into comma.

(c) He rises early in the morning.

(c) Ontological Metaphor: In ontological metaphor, abstract things are given an ontological status to be concrete. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980:456), examples of ontological metaphors are:

(4a). I lost **a lot** of time.

b. You are running **out of** time.

c. This is **a big** day (my own example).

3.2. Emotion

The etymological root of emotion comes from the Latin word *emotere*, which is composed of *motere* 'to move' and the prefix {e-}. This etymological

explanation of emotion implies that the tendency of acting and moving happens in every emotion. The fact that an emotion leads to acting is obvious in watching animals or children (Goleman, 2009:17). According to Oatley and Jenkins (1996:96) emotion is defined as conscious or unconscious evaluation of an event related to a concern that is important, readiness to act and a distinctive type of mental state that may be accompanied by physiology, expression or actions (see also Goleman, 2009:381).

The definition given by Oatley and Jenkins (1996) implies that emotion, language, physiology and cognition are related. Our feeling makes our mind agitated or disturbed leading to our negative or positive physiological or linguistic response. The definition also makes emotion a response to stimulus in various ways. Metaphor, emotion and language are related in that the language we use to express emotion is figurative. For example, the verb love both expresses and describes the condition of loving. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the language we speak is metaphorical because our conceptual system is metaphorical. Cognitive linguists assume that the same cognitive operations people use for making sense of an experience in general are also used for making sense of language. Hence, language is a part of general human cognition (Kovecses, 2006, Kovecses, 2010; Langacker, 2000). Furthermore, Goleman (2009:44) states that it is scientifically proved that the connection between the amygdala and the neocortex makes connection between head, heart, thought and feeling, which is expressed metaphorically. The connection between thought, heart and feeling takes us to conclusion that language, metaphor, emotion and culture are part of human cognition, because feeling can be expressed linguistically or physiologically. Physiology and language can be constrained by culture and perception (Swan, 2009:461).

4. Happiness and its Conceptualization

Chen (2010:172) and Goleman (2009:381-382) defines happiness as a pleasant feeling leading to satisfaction, comfort amusement or pride when the objective is achieved. This definition implies that happiness is the most needed emotion by any person. Based on Lakoff and Johnson (1980:462) and Chen (2010:172-174), happiness can be conceptualized as follows:

4.1.HAPPY IS UP

- (5a) My spirits rose.
- (b) I'm feeling up.
- (c) They are dancing on air

4.2 HAPPINESS IS FLUID IN A CONTAINER

- (6a) He has splitted his sides with laughter.
- (b) They have bursted into laughter

4.3 HAPPINESS IS REACTIONS IN EYE

In English, the image of eyes appear as a response to happiness as folows:

- (7a)His eyes were shining.
- (b) Amusement gleamed in his eyes.
- (c) Her eyes were sparkling like diamonds.

5. Metaphorical Conceptualization of Happiness in Anywaa

In Anywaa, the word for happiness is compounded as *mét ètʃ* 'tastiness of stomach' or *mét tʃwɪŋ* 'tastiness of liver', which is composed of *mét* 'tasty' and *ètʃ* 'stomach'/*tʃwɪŋ* 'liver'.The word implies that the Anywaa understand happiness in terms of DELICIOUS FOOD, which is the predominant source domain of happiness in Anywaa.The word happiness is usually expressed based on tasty stomach as *mét ètʃ* 'tastiness of stomach'.The relation between tasty food and stomach is that the tasty food we eat enters our stomach and satisfies us.Tasty food is also related to liver, because the Anywaa believe that the center of emotion, feeling and desire is liver,which is almost always clean but can be spoiled by external factors like bad smell,blood,dirty things and offensive language.So when we taste or eat tasty food, we become pleased due to the good mood triggered by liver.Among the Anywaa, stomach is also believed to be a feeling organ but the highest degree of feeling is believed to be concentrated in human liver. By changing the word order as *ètʃ mét* 'The stomach is tasty' the meaning is '*There is happiness/The people are happy*'.Consider the following examples to illustrate HAPPINESS IS TASTY FOOD in Anywaa.

- (8.) *jì* -à *mét*
 Stomach of 1sg tasty
 Lit. 'My stomach is tasty.'
 I'M happy.

This metaphor can also be uttered with LIVER as *tʃwɪnà mét* 'My liver is delicious'. The expression *jà bá mét* 'My stomach is not tasty' implies that the speaker is angry. Hence, ANGER IS A BAD FOOD. Happiness and tasty food are related in that both are enjoyable. In (8) the word *mét* 'tasty' evokes TASTY FOOD.

- (9.) *jì* -a -ā *mìnnò* *dòtʃ*
 stomach of 1sg pst become tasty deg
 Lit. 'My stomach has become very delicious.'
 'I have become very happy.'

One can also say *tʃwɪnà āmìnnò dòtʃ* 'My liver has become very delicious' to mean *I have become very happy*. The use of low tone on *dòtʃ* 'very' marks low degree of happiness, but vowel extension, which leads to rising tone as *dǎ...tʃ* 'ver...y' marks highest degree of emotion (happiness. Hence, HIGH INTENSITY OF HAPPINESS IS HIGH TONE; LOW INTENSITY OF HAPPINESS IS LOW TONE. If there is no degree word, vowel extension on *āmìnnò*... 'has become extremely delicious' can mark highest degree of happiness leading to dancing or jumping. Hence, MORE OF FORM IS MORE OF CONTENT. When a good salt is put in stew and makes it delicious, one can say *kàdò āmìnnò* 'The stew has become delicious'; such an expression is the basis for talking about happiness in terms of delicious food, which is clued by *mìnnò* 'become tasty', which metaphorically can be linked with stomach/liver to mean *to become pleased*.

- (10.) *tʃwɪn* *ādzùlù* *ɲwééʃ* *káámár* *tʃúkár*
 liver of Ajulu sweet like sugar
 Lit. Ajulu's liver is sweet like sugar.
 'Ajulu is very happy.'

In Anywaa, when a person is very angry, he/she says *bàggìn pá r tʃwɪnà* 'My liver has no appetite for anything', i.e. nothing makes me happy.

- (11.) *jì* -ì *máár* *òdùéélà*
 stomach of 2sg fat of bichir
 Lit. Your stomach is the fat of bichir.
 'You are very happy.'

The fat of bichir is very delicious and when mixed with the flesh of bichir and eaten, it is very delicious making a person drink a lot of water without becoming hungry for a long time.

- (12.) *jì* -è *kitʃ*
 stomach of 3sg bee
 Lit. His/Her stomach is bee.
 He/She is very happy.'

Example (12) has metonymic metaphor, because bee metonymically stands for honey, which has been used as a source domain. So the direction of metaphorical extension is **bee > honey > happiness**. The relation between bee and honey is metonymic based on producer-product pattern of metonymy.

- (13.) jì -à kát ɲwèètʃ
 stomach of 1sg stew of monitor lizard
 Lit. My stomach is the stew of monitor lizard.
 'I'm very happy.'

Stews like those of monitor lizard, Nile perch, electric fish and cane rat are very delicious and therefore used as a source of happiness in Anywaa.

- (14a.) jì -à ʒééŋ ʒùkèer
 stomach of 1sg cane of sugar
 Lit. My stomach is sugarcane.
 'I'm very happy.'

Sugarcane is not used with LIVER *astʃwíɲà ʒééŋ ʒùkèer* 'My liver is sugarcane' to refer to happiness, because the image of putting sugarcane in a wider container like house is correlated with stomach.

As examples (8)-(14a) imply, metaphor is not used arbitrary but based on cultural, physical experience, cultural convention and evaluation. According Kovecses (2010) image schema restricts the use of metaphors to be partial: only specific parts of a source domain is used to talk about target domain. In Anywaa, bad foods like leaven and hard foods like boiled maizes are not used as source of happiness. Hence, mapping constraint. Below is table (2) showing mappings for HAPPINESS IS DELICIOUS FOOD in Anywaa.

TARGET DOMAIN:HAPPINESS	SOURCE DOMAIN:TASTY FOOD
happiness	tasty food
intensity of happiness	degree of taste
experiencing happiness	eating tasty food
intensifier of happiness	salt/sugar
causer of happiness	cook
quest for happiness	quest for food
happy person	eater of tasty food
liver/stomach	tongue

Table 2: Happiness is Tasty Food in Anywaa

The Anywaa's understanding of happiness based on tasty food further implies that our perception, bodies and manipulation of concrete objects contribute to our reasoning and use of language. Thus, experience precedes thinking.

The use of stomach and liver with delicious food implies the Anywaa's choice of inner organs for expressing emotion. In the conception of Anywaa, liver is the center of emotion, feeling, faith, personality, fact and status of human health. Stomach is second to liver but the emotion in stomach is spontaneous. To the Anywaa, life is centered in wɛ̀nɔ̀ 'heart'³, which when a person dies, flies to God as a spiritual heart called ā̀dù̀nnò̀/dz̀wìè̀j 'life'. So among the Anywaa the most valued organ is liver and the least valued organ is intestine, especially the anus. Yet the Anywaa believe that emotion and life are in high interaction, because what happens in liver affects heart and vice versa.

5.1. The Metaphysics of Causing Happiness based on Tasty Food

Metaphysics studies the highest level of causal principle based on the reason for which things exist the way they are (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999:374). In Anywaa, making a person happy can be conceptualized in terms of making the his/her liver/stomach tasty. Hence, MAKING A PERSON HAPPY IS MAKING TASTY FOOD FOR HIM/HER TO EAT; TASTY FOOD MAKES LIVER TRIGGER PLEASANT FEELING. An interesting question to a cognitive linguist here should be Why do the Anywaa talk about causing happiness based on making a liver or stomach tasty? The Answer is *As we make foods tasty, we also make people happy by making their livers/stomachs tasty based on the pleasure caused by tasty food they eat. In our daily lives, we cook tasty foods and give them to people to eat.* Consider the linguistic metaphors in (14b-c) to understand causing happiness based on making food tasty in Anywaa.

- (14b.) nī̀l̀à̀l tʃwíjɔ̀ -è éé tiò nī mét
 child liver of 3SG perf make CON tasty
 Lit. The child has made its liver tasty.
 The child has made itself happy.

³The literal meaning of wɛ̀nɔ̀ 'heart' is 'bird': when a bird flies, it produces the voice pír... Similarly, during palpitations, which may bring death and the flying of heart to God, the heart produces the voice pírrpírr. So the relation between heart and bird is that they both fly and express omens.

In example (14b), the cause of happiness is based on making tasty food by oneself for oneself. This has been clued by the child's making its own liver tasty. The example therefore optionally takes *kèèrè* 'by itself'.

- (c.) jì -ɛ ò -tìitf tʃòòr -è nī mèt
 stomach of 3sg perf make husband of 3sg CON tasty
 Lit. Her husband has made her stomach tasty.
 'Her husband has made her happy.'

In example (14c), the experience of the cause of the wife's happiness is tasty food prepared by another person and gives it to another person to eat it. In this example, it was the husband who cooked the tasty food for the wife and this metaphorically means the husband has made the wife happy. Hence, CAUSES OF HAPPINESS ARE TASTY FOODS; OFFENDING A PERSON IS GIVING HIM/HER A BAD FOOD.

5.3. HAPPINESS IS WARM

An outside temperature which cools or warms the body is used as a source of happiness in Anywaa. The temperature comes from fire, sun or another person hugged. Therefore, warm temperature which is metaphorically in liver, body or stomach expresses slight happiness. Broadly, the change in the degree of temperature can be used as source domain for emotion metaphors in Anywaa. The use of warm temperature as source domain of happiness implies that the degree of happiness is mild.

In general, the use of temperature as a source of happiness is emphasized by Kovecses (2010:21) as "Heat and cold are extremely basic human experiences. We feel warm and cold due to the temperature of the atmosphere. Metaphorically, we often use the temperature to talk about our feelings or attitudes to people or things". Below are the linguistic metaphors used with warm temperature as source domain of happiness in Anywaa:

- (15a.) tʃwíjɲ -à mór
 liver 1sg warm
 Lit. My liver is warm
 'I'm slightly happy.'

Example (15a) underlies SLIGHT HAPPINESS IS WARM TEMPERATURE.

- (b.) ōmɔd tʃwíjɲ -è ā -mòòr -ì
 Omod liver of 3sg cold make warm 2sG
 Lit. You made Omod's liver warm.
 'You made Omod a bit happy'.

In (15b) Omod's mild happiness is caused by the addressee who told him a good news. This implies MAKING A PERSON HAPPY IS WARMING HIS/HER BODY/LIVER.

- (c.) n -ā gɔɔtʃ mààtʃ, dèèr -è ā -mùjjò
 when pst fire gun body of 3sg perf become warm
 Lit. When he fired the gun, his body became warm.
 'When he fired the gun, he became happy and active.'

Generally, in Anywaa, understanding happiness in terms of temperature, imposes high constraint. The cold temperature is used as source of mild fear and warm temperature is used as a source domain of slight happiness. However, very cold temperature and very hot temperature are not used as sources of happiness. When the temperature is very cold, we tremble and shrink. The Anywaa use very cold temperature as a source of FEAR. Similarly, because we are agitated by hot temperature, hot temperature is used as source of anger in Anywaa. So, gènā n̄j̄n̄ò 'They have become cold' implies that the people have become afraid/silent with fear and tʃw̄j̄n̄è pòòt líét 'His/Her liver is still hot' implies that the person is still angry. Hence, DIFFERENT CLASSES OF EMOTIONS ARE DIFFERENT TEMPERATURES; FEAR IS VERY COLD; ANGER IS VERY HOT. Therefore, very hot heat of the sun or fire is not a source for happiness as hot temperature gives irritation by burning the body.

- (d.) dʒààl p̄j̄n ā -mòòr kī wààtʃ
 old man earth PST warm with stories
 Lit. The old man warmed the earth with the stories.
 'The old man made the people happy with the stories.'

When the intensity of fire increases, the heat increases, so people go away. Warm temperature is pleasant because it warms the body to the needed level and that is why the Anywaa associate it with the positive emotion *happiness*. In (15d) the people were happy, because the old man was telling them interesting stories. In Anywaa, the word p̄j̄n 'earth' can be extended to atmosphere or condition. The Anywaa believe that the best place to live is the earth as it has rivers, plants, trees, soil and animals to eat. The air on earth is the one important for the Anywaa, but the air in sky is inhospitable and terrifying, because it is filled with spiritual matters bringing madness or impeded perception.

5.4.HAPPINESS IS HEALTH

In Anywaa, happiness can be conceptualized as *dʒóót dèèl* 'health', which literally means lightness of body as the word is composed of *dʒóót* 'light' and *dèèl* 'body'. When we are happy, we are active and can run jump, walk fast, shout or fire a gun. In fact in Anywaa *dʒóót dèèl* 'lightness of the body' can mean being *healthy* of *being active*. The process of conceptualization happiness based on health in Anywaa therefore is that health leads to being active which leads to being happy. The Anywaa's conceptualization of happiness as HEALTH is supported by Archibald et al, (2005:) that words can be associated with physical and psychological states entrenched in our physical experience. Unhappiness and ill health tend to be associated with lethargy and inactivity, which often involve being on one's back (physically down). In contrast, happiness and good health are often correlated with energy and movement, which involve being on one's feet (high up). Below are linguistic metaphors of Anywaa for **HAPPINESS IS HEALTH (LIGHT)**.

- (16a) *nīlāàl* *dèèr* *-è* *ā* *-pùt* *dʒòònnò*
 child body of 3sg pst do immediately become light
n *-ā* *ó* *ménn* *-í*
 when pst come mother of 3sg

Lit. The child's body immediately became light when its mother came.
 'When the mother came, the child immediately became happy.'

Example(16a) presupposes that before the coming of the mother, the child was sad, but started playing actively when the mother came. When we are sick or sad, we fall down, sleep or lean against something and it is difficult for us to walk. In Anywaa, greeting is related to well being as *déeri dʒóót?* 'Are you fine/well?' which literally means *Is your body light?* The expression *dèeri bá dʒóót* 'Your body is not light' implies that the addressee is not healthy.

- (b.) *dèèt* *-ò* *ò* *-níkér*
 bodies of 3pl:incl perf scatter

Lit. Our bodies have scattered.
 'We have become active and happy.'

The happiness and being active expressed in (16b) can be caused by firing a gun, drinking good beer or joining dance.

- (c.) *ātfáálá* *tʃlálá* *-í* *nī* *lèèŋŋ* *-á* *báát* *-è*
 Achala walk hab con throw foc shoulders of 3sg
 Achala walks/is walking by throwing away her shoulders.
 'Achala is walking with pride and happiness.'

- (d.) tièt -ù ā -dʒòònnò
 legs of 2pl pst become light
 Lit. Your(2pl) legs have become light.
 'You have become happy and walking faster.'

The above examples in (16a-d) imply DISEASE, SAD/PASSIVE IS HEAVY; HAPPY/ACTIVE IS LIGHT. When an Anywaa says *dèèrà péék* 'My body is heavy', he/She must be in a bad mood or a bit sick. In addition, the expression *dèèrì bá dʒóót* 'Your body is not light' implies that the addressee is not healthy/not active. Anger can be understood in terms of HEAVY OBJECT as *tʃwínà péék* 'My liver is heavy' implies that the speaker is sad. So HAPPY IS LIGHT; SAD(DISEASE) IS HEAVY.

5.5. HAPPINESS IS WHITE

White colour is used as source domain of happiness in that it is related to cleanliness, visibility and health. Thus, in Anywaa, this colour is more often associated with clear or clean thing, which brings pleasure. Purity is also associated with white colour contrary to being devil-eyed. In using white colour as a source domain of happiness, the Anywaa connect this colour with stomach or liver to express happiness or love of people or things. White colour usually triggers clean object in the mind of Anywaa and clean object is pleasant to human eye, head and liver, the center of feeling. So, if a red clothe is dirty, it metaphorically has black colour and if this red clothe is washed, it metaphorically has white colour, because it is clean. Consider the following linguistic metaphors in (17)-(22) for detail.

- (17.) dʒààl jì -è tár
 old man stomach of 3sg white
 Lit. The old man's stomach is white.
 'The old man is happy.'

This metaphor can also be uttered with LIVER as *dʒààl tʃwínè tár* 'The old man's liver is white'.

- (18.) jì -à tár
 stomach of 1sg white
 My stomach is white.
 'I'm happy.'

The metaphor *jà/tʃwínà tár kī dʒèj* 'My liver/stomach is white with people' can mean *I'm happy with people or I like them*. Hence, love and happiness are in high interaction in Anywaa.

- (19.) jì -è òtíít
 stomach of 3sg white flour
 lit His/Her stomach is white flour
 'He/she is happy.'

White flour is prepared out of white maize or white durra. The reason why this flour is used as a source of happiness is that white colour is positive. Red flour, which is prepared out of red maize/durra is not used as source domain of happiness in Anywaa, because among the Anywaa, red is metaphorically the colour of fire, blood, death, gun, bullet, spear or danger. Yet, the red flour is edible among the Anywaa. When an Anywaa says *jìà mòòḡò* 'My stomach is flour' to express his or her happiness, he or she therefore has the source of *mòòḡò mánà tá' WHITE FLOUR* 'in his/her head'.

- (20.) jì -à āwáágà
 stomach of 1sg white bead
 Lit. My stomach is white bead.
 'I'm happy.'

Among the Anywaa, white bead is used to cure disease, chase away bad spirits, bring happiness and prevent an attack by a devil-eyed. It is usually used as a charm for many diseases. White bead is used as a charm for god *gùòḡò* (*tùòl*), which manifests itself as a white snake. That is why Anywaa children usually wear a string of white bead for protecting themselves from diseases, spirits and devil-eyed attack (see also, Perner, 1994:155).

- (21.) *nàkòò* jì -è wáárò
 girl Stomach of 3sg cotton
 Lit. The girl's stomach is a cotton
 'The girl is happy.'

In example (21), although the source domain *wáárò* 'cotton' is general, the specific source domain or source frame is *wáárò mánà tá' white cotton* whose tree grows in Anywaaland.

- (22.) *ká* *ābòòjá*, *nīlāal* *tjwín* -è *ā* -*tímò* *nī* *tón*
 in afternoon child liver of 3sg pst become con clean
 Lit. In the afternoon, the child's liver became clean.
 'In the afternoon, the child became happy.'

A person who loves people or is happy with people can be said to have a clean face as *tjī āblà* *jímè léér* 'The face of Abala's wife is clean' implying her happy look.

With the use of WHITE COLOUR as a source of HAPPINESS, the following mappings can be generated: DEGREE OF HAPPINESS IS DEGREE OF WHITENESS; A HAPPY PERSON'S LIVER/STOMACH IS WHITE/CLEAN. STOPPING HAPPINESS IS THE FADING OF WHITE COLOUR.

5.6.HAPPINESS IS SUBSTANCE AND CONTAINER

Among the Anywaa, the experience of putting objects with different sizes or amounts in space, house, gourd, pot or water body can be used for happiness as substance in a container. Happiness can also be used as a container of people or speech. This is one way of illustrating ontological metaphor. The followings are examples for the detail.

- (23.) tʃwɪŋ -i pɔŋ kɪ mét ètʃ
 liver of 2sg full with tastiness stomach
 Lit. Your liver is full of happiness.
 'You're very happy.'

In (23), happiness is a substance in liver as a container. When someone is offended, he/she says qinātʃááni bà kɔnni kɪ mét ètʃ 'What you said will not bring hapiness (in liver/stomach)'. Since happiness is full in liver here, we can formulate the cognitive metaphor INTENSITY OF HAPPINESS IS THE AMOUNT OF SUBSTANCE IN THE CONTAINER: LOW DEGREE OF HAPPINESS IS A SMALL AMOUNT/OBJECT IN A CONTAINER.

- (24.) jì -à dá mét ètʃ
 stomach of 1sg exist tastiness of stomach
 Lit. Inside my stomach, there is tastiness of stomach.
 'I am happy.'

In example (24), happiness is a substance in stomach.

- (25.) dèèr náǰòò pɔŋ kɪ mét ètʃ
 body of girl full with tastiness of stomach
 Lit. The girl's body is full of tastiness of stomach.
 'The girl is very happy.'

In the context of (25), the girl can be seen dancing, running or walking fast and speaking happily, because there is physiology as the body is full of happiness. Hence, HUMAN BODY IS A CONTAINER OF HAPPINESS/EMOTION.

- (26.) nèjjà ā -tʃʌ́nò kɪ dòòl mō jì -è da
 king pst speak with voice rel stomach of 3sg exist
 mét étʃ dóóŋ dóʃʃ
 tastines of stomach big DÉG
 Lit. The king spoke with the voice which contains a very big happiness.'
 'The king spoke with the voice of delight.'

In (26), the voice of the king is the container of happiness. Esenova (2011:8-9) states that voice container metaphor focuses on the intensity and control of emotion; emotions affect the quality of our voices and we can understand people's feelings and emotions based on their voices.

- (27a). wà béédò jì mét ètʃ
 1pl:excl live stomach of tastiness of stomach
 Lit. We live in happiness.
 'We are leading a happy life.'

In (27a), happiness is a container of people. Therefore, INTENSITY OF HAPPINESS IS THE SIZE OF THE CONTAINER OR SPACE IN WHICH PEOPLE LIVE.

- (b) wà béédò jì tár
 1pl:excl live stomach of light
 Lit. We are living in light.
 'We are leading a happy life.'

Example (27b), has the conceptual metaphors HAPPINESS IS LIGHT (BRIGHT) and A HAPPY STATE IS A LIT LOCATION. Unlike example (27a), example (27b) has lower degree of metaphoricality, because light metonymically stands for happiness. Light is also closely related with happiness, because when there is light, we become pleased as we sit or stand in light. Usually, the Anywaa are happy when there is moon light as it is easy to go from one village to another and play in sands near rivers. Furthermore, Light makes the Anywaa active and conscious, because it chases away and destroys spiritual matters. Thus, light and happiness are very closely related. This implies that light can in some contexts be understood literally, but can be understood metaphorically in other contexts as it evokes happiness (see, Lakoff and Turner, 1989:58).

5.7. Orientational Metaphors of Happiness

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Chen (2010) put it that, metaphors used to express happiness are usually related to space and orientation: the erect posture of body is used to express happiness and this use leads to HAPPY IS UP. In reference to Anywaa, orientational metaphor of happiness makes people jump up with different degrees. This happiness is also accompanied by dance, song, shouting with bull names and firing. In this metaphor, the space between the earth and the sky is used as a borderline to measure happiness intensity. So, mét ètʃ mō éná máál' happiness which is up in the sky' is the highest, mét ètʃ mō éná dièr' happiness which is in the middle of the earth and sky' is at the medium level and mét ètʃ mō éná pìj 'happiness which is down on the earth' is the lowest happiest. Orientational metaphor usually expresses high intensity of happiness. Below are the linguistic metaphors for HAPPY IS UP in Anywaa:

- (28.) dītʃáŋ -ì tʃwíj -à já -à njááp máál bálát
 day this liver of 1sg perf 1sg hang sky on
 dzáàt
 tree
 Lit. Today, I have hung my liver up in the tree.
 'Today, I'm very happy.'

5.8.HAPPINES IS A PLANT LEAF

Plant leaf is green and it is amusing to see. Particular to the Anywaa, plant leaf is used as source of happiness, because among the Anywaa people are blessed by beating their bodies with leaf so that they become happy, active and healthy. Therefore, the metaphor *bóógò āqòòtʃ* 'The leaf was beaten' means the bodies of the villagers were beaten with leaves so that they will live happily, actively and healthily as the leaf will eradicate epidemic. People are also blessed with leaves by fanning their bodies with plant leaves. Yet, very selected plant leaves are more often used as source domains of happiness. Usually the kind of leaf to be used for prayer and blessing varies from village to village and from lineage to lineage based on ancestral belief. For example, *ōtèèè* which is a kind of durra leaf is used in Adongo by *ñīgāa* lineage. In doing so, *lwííqò* 'a person who is very native to the village' puts durra leaves in a gourd with water inside it, then the bodies of the villagers are beaten with them to make them happy, blessed and protect them from danger. The conviction is done before drinking water, beer or eating food so that the conviction will be real based on the interaction with God. However, *ōpàt* leaf is used almost by all Anywaa to protect oneself from fetiches used by foreigners like the Dinka and the Nuer. Examples (34)-(40) have been provided to illustrate HAPPINESS IS A PLANT LEAF in Anywaa.

- (34.) *jì* *-è* *ò* *-pèèqò*
 stomach of 3sg perf stretch
 Lit. His/Her stomach has stretched out.
 'He/She has become happy.'

This metaphor is based on GREEN LEAF, which stretches out and moved easily by wind. Such a leaf is pleasant to see.

- (35) *kěé* *dèèr* *-ì* *rè* *-è* *éé* *kòàqò*
 evi *body of* *2sg* *body of* *3sg* *perf* *fan*
 Lit. Your body has fanned itself (with leaf)
 'You have become very happy.'

In the context of happiness in (35), the addressee is seen to be active by moving fast and speaking happily. The rising tone on *kěé* implies that the speaker knows the cause of the addressee's happiness. Hence, EVIDENTIAL IS RISING TONE.

- (36.) *kêé* *dèèr* *-ì* *rè* *-è* *éé* *kòàqò* *dòtʃ*
 dub *bod of* *2sg* *body of* *3sg* *perf* *fan* *deg*
 Lit. Why has your body fanned itself?
 'Why are you very happy and active?'

In example (36), the falling tone implies that the addresser does not know the cause of the addressee's happiness although the addressee is active and very happy. Hence, DUBITATIVE IS FALLING TONE. The example also implies DEGREE OF HAPPINESS IS DEGREE OF FANNING THE BODY WITH PLANT LEAF.

- (37) dīt/áŋ i dááŋò jì -è bòògò bàr -è
 day this person stomach of 3sg leaf whole:3sg 3sg
 Lit. Today, everybody's stomach is leaf.
 'Today everybody is happy.'
- (38) nààkòò jì -è éé gòòŋŋò bòògò
 girl stomach of 3sg perf beat for leaf
 Lit. The girl has beaten a leaf for her stomach.
 'The girl has become happy.'
39. òdzùlù jì -è éé gòòŋŋò kífél
 Ojulu stomach of 3sg perf beat for leaf
 Lit. Ojulu has been beaten a leaf for his stomach.
 'Ojulu has become happy.'

Example (39) is code-mixed. It is uttered by an Anywaa who speaks Amharic. The word *kitél* 'leaf' is modified from the Amharic word *k'it'əl* 'leaf'. The ejectives *k'* and *t'* have not been used in Anywaa, because they do not exist in the language. Further, the close mid vowel *ə* has been replaced with the open mid vowel *e* as the phonemic inventory of Anywaa does not contain it.

- (40) dèèr -è ò -gòò bòògò
 body of 3sg perf beat leaf
 Lit. His/Her body has been beaten with leaf.
 'He has become happy.'

Sometimes *dèèrè òkòááò bòògò* 'His/Her body has been fanned with leaf' is also used to express similar meaning to example (40).

Based on examples (34)-(40), an interesting question to be raised is Why is LEAF used only with external body and stomach to express happiness but not with liver while the center of emotion among the Anywaa is liver? This is because the major parts of human body beaten with leaf are chest, belly, shoulders and legs. In addition, leaves are usually put in water or boiled so that the body of the people are beaten or fanned with them for happiness and bless. Water of boiled leaves is also drunk to bless people for happiness and health. Therefore, liver is not directly connected with the use of leaf for bless although the strength of bless expands to it.

6. Summary and Conclusions

Happiness is one of the basic human emotions. The present study was an attempt to describe the conceptualization of happiness in Anywaa based on Conceptual Metaphor Theory. In traditional approach, metaphor is understood to be used by talented people like poets, singers and rhetoricians. However, cognitive linguistics disproved this view with the finding that metaphor is

mainly used by ordinary people and the language we speak is the physical realization of the conceptual metaphor. Hence, language is intertwined with human cognition. In Conceptual Metaphor Theory, metaphor is the mapping between source and target domain. While target domain is abstract, source domain is concrete and makes abstract concept easy to understand. The analyses and interpretations indicate that in Anywaa happiness can be conceptualized as TASTY FOOD, WHITE COLOUR and PLANT LEAF. Linguistic metaphors like *jià mét* 'My stomach is tasty', *tʃwɪŋwà tár* 'Our livers are white' and *jià bòògò* 'My stomach is leaf' are therefore used to express and understand happiness in Anywaa. In the conceptualization of happiness in Anywaa, image schemas constraint the selection of source domains. For example HAPPINESS IS WHITE FLOUR, but not RED FLOUR as red colour is a negative colour among the Anywaa. Thus, at the language and cognition levels, metaphor is partially used. The results of this study indicate that in Anywaa, the locus of emotion is liver, but in many Ethiopian languages such as Amharic emotion is centered in heart.

This study also implies that in Anywaa, metaphor (of happiness) is conceptualized in two ways: one way is linking the source and target domain like in linking happiness with big object to form HIGH INTENSITY OF HAPPINESS IS A BIG OBJECT. This way of forming happiness in Anywaa is what cognitive linguists like Lakoff and Turner (1989) usually emphasize that in conceptual metaphor theory, metaphor is experience based mapping between target and source domains. The other way of creating metaphors of happiness in Anywaa is by linking concrete objects like tasty food, white colour, warmth, health and plant leaf to liver/stomach to conceptualize happiness as a positive emotion. In doing so, a concrete object is linked to liver or stomach then happiness is conceptualized in a positive way. For example, PUTTING A LIVER ON TREE to express HAPPY IS UP implies that liver stands for happiness. One may argue that the linking of tasty food with liver or stomach to talk about happiness in Anywaa may yield HAPPINESS IS TASTY LIVER/STOMACH; however, the clear source domain for happiness is TASTY FOOD linked with STOMACH/LIVER, which triggers emotion. Hence, HAPPINESS IS TASTY FOOD. The linking of concrete object to stomach or liver or linking warmth with liver, stomach or body to talk about happiness does not challenge conceptual metaphor theory but strengthens embodiment hypothesis, i.e. bodily basis of meaning due to cultural convention, functions of body and interaction with environments (See Lakoff and Johnson, 1999).

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Abbreviations and Symbols

con	connective	prosp	prospective
deg	degree	pst	past tense
dub	dubitative	rel	relativizer
evi	evidential	sg	singular
excl	exclusive	1	first person
foc	focus	2	second person
incl	inclusive	3	third person
lit	literally	`	low tone
loc	locative	ˊ	high tone
perf	perfective	-	mid tone
pl	plural	ˋ	rising tone
pres	prespresent tense	ˆ	falling tone

