

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES, LANGUAGE STUDIES,
JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION

METAPHORICAL CONCEPTUALIZATION OF EMOTION IN ANYWAA

BY

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A PH.D DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS AND PHILOLOGY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN LINGUISTICS

March, 2024

Declaration

This is to certify that the thesis entitled **Metaphorical Conceptualization of Emotion in Anywaa**, prepared by Okello Ojhu Ogud and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the doctoral degree in linguistics, complies with the regulations of the university and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality. All the sources have been acknowledged clearly.

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BY

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ABSTRACT

Anywaa is a Western Nilotic language spoken in the Republics of Ethiopia and South Sudan. Under Western Nilotic, Anywaa belongs to the Northern branch of Lwoo. The present study was conducted in Gambella, Ethiopia. Traditionally, metaphor has been concerned with literary devices like poem, fiction, novel, style and short story. Hence, metaphor is understood as the use of figurative language only. Standing in an opposition to traditional approach, Conceptual Metaphor Theory, which was started by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), views metaphor to be used by ordinary people in their daily lives and thinking. Thus, language is considered a surface manifestation of conceptual metaphor. Because our conceptual system is metaphorically structured, the emotion concepts used in people's daily lives are metaphorically structured. Since emotion is complex, understanding it requires simple, basic and concrete concepts and experiences linked with it. Yet, little is understood about the reality of emotion metaphors in Anywaa. Therefore, to carry out the present study and gain detailed understanding of emotion in daily lives of the Anywaa, this study used Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) to investigate the metaphorical conceptualization of anger, fear, happiness, love and jealousy, which are basic emotions in Anywaa.

In this study, various approaches were applied to identify and interpret emotion metaphors in Anywaa. To understand the discoursal metaphors, *Steen's Five Step Procedures of Metaphor Identification* were used. To determine conceptual and linguistic metaphors, the researcher used Top Down and Bottom Up Approaches. Since metaphor and metonymy interface, Source-domain-oriented Approach was used to understand emotion metaphors based on lexical extension. The data for the present study were collected by using elicitation, recording and listening to daily utterances. Hence, the study was designed as qualitative.

Different linguistic metaphors of emotion are used in the daily lives of Anywaa. The linguistic metaphor *tʃẃiɲà ātìmò nà mààtʃ 'My liver has become fire'* is used to realize anger as FIRE and jìà bɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ̀ '*My stomach is a leaf*' is used to realize happiness as A PLANT LEAF. The present study has indicated that there are constraints imposed on emotion metaphors of Anywaa. For example, WHITE COLOUR is used as a source domain of HAPPINESS but RED and BLACK COLOURS are used as source domains of ANGER. In Anywaa, emotion degree is marked by using degree adverb, tone, object size and space between the earth and sky. The source domains of emotions analyzed in the present study have the scopes outside emotion target domains.

Keywords: Anywaa, Domain, Emotion, Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Mapping, Image Schema

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

ABL	Ablative
ADRE	Addressee
AGO	Agonist
ANT	Antagonist
ASS	Associative
ATR	Advanced Tongue Root
AUX	Auxiliary Verb
BEN	Benefactive
BRV	Breathy Voice Quality
C	Co-event, Cause
C_2	Second Consonant (left to right)
COMPL	Complement(izer)
COMPLT	Completive Aspect
CON	Connective, Conjunction
DEF	Definite
DEFINE	Defining
DEG	Degree
DEM	Demonstrative
DEO	Deontic
DIM	Diminutive
DIR	Direction (al)
DIS	Distal
DIST	Distributive
DUB	Dubitative
DVM	Derivational Morpheme
E. C	Ethiopian Calendar
ECMT	Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory
EMOT	Emotive
EMPH	Emphatic
EXCL	Exclusive

F	Figure
FEM	Feminine
FOC	Focus
FQ	Frequentative
FUT	Future Tense
G	Ground
GEN	Genitive
H	High Tone
HAB	Habitual Aspect
HL	High Low
ICM	Idealized Cognitive Model
IFT	Infinite Complement
INCL	Inclusive
INF	Infinitive
INCOH	Inchoative
INTERO	Interrogative
INS	Instrumental
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
ITV	Itive
JUSS	Jussive
LGC	Leipzig Glossing Convention
LIT	Literally
LOC	Locative
LV	Link Verb
M	Mid Tone, Motion
MANN	Manner
MASC	Masculine
MIP	Metaphor Identification Procedures
MV	Middle Voice
MITV	Monovalent Itive
MVEN	Monovalent Ventive

NEG	Negative
Nom	Nominalizer
OBL	Oblique Case
OFF	Offensive
P	Path
PASS	Passive
PERF	Perfective
PERM	Permissive
PL	Plural
PRES	Present Tense
PROG	Progressive
PROSP	Prospective
PROX	Proximal
PST	Past Tense
PURP	Purpose
QUOT	Quotative
REL	Relativizer
SG	Singular
SD	Source Domain
T	Time
TG	Target Domain
VEN	Ventive
VOC	Vocative
VS	Versus
X	Assumed, Unknown Experiencer
1	First Person
2	Second Person
3	Third Person
..	Breathy Vowel
...	Vowel, Consonant Extension
+	Plus, Presence of Feature

-	Minus, Absence of Feature
( )	Or , Optional Use
/	Or
=	The same as, Results in
ˊ	High Tone
ˋ	Low Tone
ˉ	Mid Tone
ˇ	Rising Tone
ˆ	Falling Tone
>	Greater Than, Grammaticalized to
/ /	Underlying Representation
{ }	Morpheme Representation
[ ]	Surface Representation

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It has been a good opportunity for me to conduct a study in the area of cognitive linguistics, particularly, Conceptual Metaphor Theory for two main reasons. First, the theory is new requiring more studies. My second reason is that investigating metaphor is dealing with language, culture and mode of thought, which in turn helps to understand people, who are proud of respect and identity. In the beginning of my study in 2017, the work was challenging due to complexity of the culture, emotion, language of Anywaa and the framework itself. Yet my dedication contributed to my courage and success. However, in addition to my dedication for the love of the Anywaa, there were people whom I want to thank due to their various contributions, which made my study a reality in 2023. First of all, I want to thank my principal supervisor Dr.Moges Yigezu, whose stimulating advice, encouragement and moral outlook made me linguistically inclined to this study. I am too very grateful to my co-advisor Tatjana Radanovic Felberg for critically commenting my paper and providing me with valuable metaphor books. While I was looking for metaphor and emotion books, Tadesse Woldegebriel provided me with valuable books, which helped me gain adequate knowledge of metaphor and emotion. For this reason, I am obliged to say thank you to him for this unforgettable support.

For the first time, the world of cognitive linguistics was mysterious to me, but when Dr.Derib Ado advised me to investigate emotion metaphors after he critically evaluated my proposal, I became very interested in the study of cognitive metaphor of Anywaa. Therefore, for his advice and help, I owe a special thanks to Dr. Derib Ado. I would also like to thank Prof. Baye Yimam for revising my first draft and suggesting important points, which improved my paper. In different institutions, villages and other places, there were informants who provided me with reliable data. In the villages of Okuuna and Wangkaak of Abwobo district, which is a part of Lul Region, I am grateful to Chief Phillip Omod, Queen Didumu Ajiba and John Ogol. In Ilea and Pinyngiew villages of Openo Region, my special thanks go to Ocathi Ojulu and Abuya Nyiboro, Nyngiew Othooy and Okweeri Oleeng. In Gambella town, I am indebted to Mr. Guurnyaang Obang, Pastor Omod Oway, Prince Othoo Ojulu and Prince Obang Ojulu for checking metaphorical expressions and providing data related to clanship, chiefdom, kingship, marriage and religion of the Anywaa.

In Gambella Teachers' Education and Health Science College, Alfred Okuch, Omel Ojulu, Peter Obang and Ongom Oman, checked my elicited data and improved them. For their assistance, I thank these personalities from the bottom of heart. In Gambella Evangelical Church, Gambella Regional Educational Bureau and The Regional Culture Bureau, different experts helped me with data, cultural experiences elaboration and translations. Among these, I am grateful to the bible translators Desalign Omod and Ajulu Ojwato, the culture experts Ariet Omod and Oguta Adiw and the educational and language experts Abala Omod, Okello Okugn and Peter John.

Special thanks are due to Akeek Giilo, Ojulu Okiich, Okuch Golo, Muudhi (Obang) Ochan and John Oria for singing emotion songs. When I stayed in Abwobo town, my friend Owar Ojulu kindly introduced me to the informants and generously made my accommodation and stay in the town favourable. At this point, I am obliged to say thank you to him for his kind support. Last but not least, Akwaata Okello, Omod Odio, Okugn Agaak, Poyia Okello and Sara Ochan were the Anywaa children who took part in the riddle games by answering the questions and reminding me of important riddles. For their participations, I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to these children.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

1.1.1 Traditional and Modern Views on Emotions

In Western culture, reason was believed to be superior to all human faculties (Evans and Green, 2006:44). This belief in the superiority of reason to other aspects of human mind was very strong so that it led to many wrong assumptions. One wrong assumption was that only reason is important for finding truth and human behaviour. There was also a wrong belief that no emotion is involved in human reasoning. Thus, emotion was considered to be an obstacle to reasoning. Briefly, in Western culture, it was believed that emotion could be separated from reason. Many modern scholars state that this wrong belief in the separation of emotion from cognition comes from the French philosopher René Descartes' Cartesian philosophy of seventeenth century, which considers human mind to be separate from body and emotions. This philosophy which believed in the study of mind without body was called *dualism* or *Cartesian philosophy* (Evans and Green, 2006:44-45). However, this fallacious assumption has been disproved based on recent findings in neurological studies. For example, in his work **Descartes' Error: Emotion, Reason and Human Brain**, Damasio (1994) provides evidences which contrast with the separation between emotion and reason by convincingly demonstrating that there is a close link between emotion and reason, because it is difficult to make logical reasoning without emotion. For example, the frontal lobe of human brain regulates motor activity, mood and the making of decision. Furthermore, Lako ff (1993) argues that real reason is connected with emotion: nobody can be rational without being emotional (Esenova, 2011:1-2 and Lakoff and Johnson, 1999:5).

Although traditional account considers reason to be disembodied, in modern thought, reason is embodied, but many people still believe that emotion is simply feeling without conceptual structure and content. This makes many people ignore research on emotion metaphors as emotions are understood to be meaningless. However, abstract concepts like emotions, which are not directly grounded in experience, can be understood by using metaphor, metonymy and mental imagery (imagination). The use of experience and imagination makes emotion clearly embodied and meaningful (Lakoff, 1987:xiv).

1.2 Cognitive Linguistics and Metaphor

Cognitive linguistics is a contemporary branch of linguistics concerned with human language, mind and socio-physical experience. It mainly investigates language and conceptualization (meaning construction). Cognitive Linguistics first appeared in 1970s due to contributions of Fillmore (1975) and Lakoff and Thomson (1975), but it was later greatly developed and elaborated by Langacker (1987, 2000), Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Lakoff (1987). See Debela (2011:12-13). Cognitive linguistics combines knowledge from other sciences like cognitive psychology, neuroscience, artificial intelligence, philosophy, literature and sociology. The central tenet of cognitive linguistics is that language is an integral part of human mind and its therefore important to study languge based on what is generally known about human cognition whether the study is based on experiment, observation or common sense. Thus, the knowledge of language comes from usage and experience. Cognitive linguists' view that language is part of our cognition contradicts with generativists' view that language has faculty, i.e a child is born with grammar (universal grammar), which later develops as an adult's grammar (Taylor,2002:8). Lakoff and Johnson (1999:11) state that all aspects of thought and language like phonology, grammar, conceptual system, mental imagery, emotion, storage of information and the conception of motor operations are cognitive.

Some modern programs under cognitive linguistics include cognitive grammar, cognitive semantics and Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Cognitive grammar deals with mental grammar, with fundamental claim that the basic unit of grammar is symbolic pairing (linguistic unit). Evans, Bergen and Zinken (2007:21) classify symbolic units of language into semantic pole (meaning) and phonological pole (sound). Cognitive semantics captures meaning as mental construction (conceptualization), which is further viewed to be based on experience and convention. Conceptual Metaphor Theory is one of the most important and effective theories to use cognitive semanitics approach to metaphor and meaning (Evans, Bergen and Zinken, 2007: 16-18).

In Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), metaphor involves both language and knowledge structure. Thus, thought itself is metaphorical. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Gibbs (2005), conceptual structures and conceptual metaphors are organized by mappings stored in one's long term memory (see also Evans, Bergen and Zinken, 2007:16 and Kövecses,

2020:52). The study of emotion metaphors of Anywaa is therefore very important to understand the Anywaa's world view, which is in turn important for the study of cognitive metaphor in general.

1.3 The People and the Language

1.3.1 The People

The Anywaa are Nilotic people who belong to the Luo[1] group of Eastern Africa. This sub-classification coincides with what Crazzolara (1930: V) broadly mentions and states that as opposed to Bantu people, the Nuer (Naath), Dinka (dʒʌʌŋ) and the Lwoo people are collectively grouped under the **dʒíí (dʒɔ́**) people. The word dʒíí 'people of certain origin or home' with little modifications is actually common to the three groups of people. For example, in Nuer, the word for rebels is the compound noun dʒí dùààr (Lit. forest people) and in Anywaa the word for rebels is dʒí (dʒɔ́) pááp (Lit. forest people). Similarly, in Dinka, the English word rebels is compounded as ăadʒàj dɔ̀ɔ̀r (SG.àdʒàj dɔ̀ɔ̀r) 'forest people'. See also Perner, 2003:235).

The tribal name **áɲwáá** (PL.áɲwááɛ) was derived from the root ɲwààk 'share, sharing'. This terminology is further elaborated by Okello (2014) that in their daily life, the Anywaa share tʃàm 'food', ábíié 'clothes' and ɔ̀tɔ̀ 'shelter' and fighting against enemy. Among the Anywaa, places for gathering are gender specific: men share things at wī mààtʃ 'fireplace', where fish and prey stews are cooked and women share things around kéénnó 'hearth', where porridge is cooked. The Anywaa often settle along Openo (Baro[2]), Gilo, Alworo, Oboth and Akobo rivers[3]. Hence, cultivation of maize and durra and fishing support the life of the Anywaa. In addition, gold

[1]The word Luo means clean person. Thus, the Anywaa and other Luo people hate bad things like theft, greed, promiscuity, and evil eye. In Anywaa, the synonym for this word is **tɔ́ŋ** 'clean' or wááɲ 'clear'. This is based on my personal communication with Alfred Okuch. The Nuer datum was provided by John Koang, a native speaker of Nuer, who is doing his Ph.D in linguistics in Addis Ababa University. The Dinka datum was provided by Deng Okello, a native speaker of Anywaa and the native speaker of Dinka called Makuei Majiok Lem. Both of the informants currently live in northern Bahr al Ghazal, South Sudan.

[2] Although some researchers like Reh (1996) use the name Sobat as a single river, this is of no agreement. For example, Kurimoto (1996:32) asserts that Openo (Baro), Giilo, Akobo and Oboth merge as one tributary called Sobat, which joins the White Nile. This was also confirmed with my personal communication with Omod Itangi, a friend of mine who was in Juba, South Sudan in 2013.

[3] This must be the reason why Kurimoto (1996:29) describes the Anywaa as riverine people relying on rivers for subsistence economy. Openo is an Anywaa name for Baro River; the river was named after Chief Openo who ruled the area called Irwaanye in the upper part of Baro river. This area is currently called Bonga (See,Perner, 1994).

mining (panning), which takes place in Dambala[4] in Dimma district and Lungnga, hunting and preparation of local drinks are also used by the people as their livelihood to assist their lives and economy.

Although the cattle rearing is not so common nowadays among the Anywaa, according to Evans-Pritschard (1940) and (Reh 1996), in earlier times like 18th and 17th centuries, the Anywaa were good at cattle domestication; one of the strong evidences comes from the fact that Anywaa has cattle names like āgìirà 'dark brown cow', ōgìira 'dark brown bull' dìlààrɔ̀ 'red cow', ōlààl 'red bull' ādóóló 'a cow with white tail', ōdóóló 'a bull with white tail', kwàtʃ 'black bull with white spots all over' and ākwátʃ 'a black cow with spots all over'. Another very related evidence comes from terms related to tʃààk 'milk' and its products such as tʃǐéébɛ́ 'sour milk', bwòbò 'butter', ādòògá 'the first very solid milk while milking the cow'. Yet, currently, in Anywaa areas like Joor, Gilo, Omiila, and Otalo, the people still have better cattle rearing. This must be the reason why cattle are still used as dowries among the Anywaa who live in these areas .

There are different reasons for the decline of the degree of cattle rearing among the Anywaa. Evans-Prtichard (1940) states that many years back, the Anywaa cattle were raided by Murle and Nuer; yet the Anywaa themselves provide mythical reason that in the beginning God gave cows to Anywaa, Shilluk, Nuer and Dinka, but the Anywaa killed their cows. Another reason is provided by Perner (1994) that ecological factors of tsetse fly resulted in the death of more Anywaa cattle leading to their decline of cattle herding interest.

According to Okello (2014:4), more often, the Anywaa identify themselves based on the river along which they settle. To illustrate, the Anywaa who live along Baro or Sobat river are identified as dʒɔ̀ òpéénó 'Openo Anywaaks' and those who live along Gilo river are called dʒɔ́ gíílɔ́ 'Gilo Anywaaks'. And those Anywaaks who settle along Akobo river are referred to as dʒɔ̀ ákóóbó 'Akobo Anywaaks'. However, the Anywaa who use shifting cultivation are called dʒɔ̀ lùl 'Lul Anywaaks' as they cut forest for cultivation in the farm locally called áŋɔ́ttá[5] (PL, áŋɔ́ttɛ́).

[4] Dambala is located in the upper Akobo, near Gurafarda in the former Kaffa region and Lungnga is located in the upper part of Alworo River near south- eastern Abwobo. Compared to all gold mining places in Anywaa regions, the largest gold business is found in Dambala.This is because the most abundant gold is found in Dambala and it was the place in which gold was found for the first time. When they find gold, the Anywaa say wárkí āmák 'Gold has been found, caught.' See Kurimoto (1996: 49).

[5]The Anywaa word ŋɔ̀t means 'cut' in English and lùl means forest.

The word lùl means forest. Broadly, the clear geographical classification of the Anywaa regions is provided by Perner (1994). Accordingly, Openo, Lul, Chiro, Adongo, Ojwaa, Thim, Gilo, Joor and Rwaanye make up what he calls **pá áɲwáá** 'Anywaa country'. In earlier times, village settlement among the Anywaa was based on clan relation. For example, the village called Inyuany, which is found along Openo river, was inhabited by the dʒɔ̀ wʌ̀ʌ̀t dʒʌ̀ʌ̀ŋɔ̀' the Anywaa whose ancestor was dʒʌ̀ʌ̀ŋ 'Dinka'. Similarly, the Anywaa in Pochala, South Sudan, belong to **dʒɔ́ wʌ̀ʌ̀t tʃwʌ́ʌ́á**[6], the Anywaa who claim themselves as original Anywaaks and born to be kwʌ̀ʌ̀rì 'chiefs' to rule the rest of the Anywaaks.

1.3.2 The Language

Anywaa is a Western Nilotic language which is spoken in the Republic of South Sudan and Ethiopia. In Ethiopia, the language is spoken in the Regional State of Gambella whereas in South Sudan, Anywaa is spoken in the Greater Pibor Adminstrative Area (GPAA). The language is locally called **d̪á**[7]**áɲwáá** which literally means *mouth of Anywaa*. However, different tribes give different names to this language. For example, in Arabic, Anywaa is called aɲwaakawi and in Amharic the language is called aɲwaakiŋŋa; in Dinka, Anywaa is called t̪úɔ̀ŋ áɲwáák and afan Anywaa in Oromo (See also Okello, 2014).

Varied spellings such as Anyuak, Anywa, Anuak, Agnuak and Anywaak which refer to both the language name and the people's name are used by expatriates. One reason for using the voiceless velar consonant is that the root of the word is ɲwààk 'to share' and there are some Anywaaks who pluralize the tribal name as Anywaaki, in which <A> is the derivational morpheme and <i> is the plural number marker which is equivalent to the English plural number marker {-s}. Nevertheless, these different spellings do not express negative connotations to the native users. Currently, many Anywaa claim that the correct spelling of the tribal name is Anywaa[8] and this study adheres to the use of *Anywaa*. The claim by some natives that Anywaa should contain <ng> and be spelled as Anywaanga is not acknowledged by the present study because those natives are confused by nasalization in which ny spreads its feature to <aa>. Hence, **<aa>**

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[6]The Anywaa word tʃwʌ́ʌ́j means 'God, creator'; thus, these Anywaa believe that they were originally created by God unlike the other clans of Anywaa.

[7] The language name is formed out of d̪ɔ̀k 'language (Lit. mouth)' + the tribal name áɲwɑ̃́ɑ̃́ resulting in the underlying form d̪ɔ̀k áɲùáá, which is uttered as d̪á áɲwɑ̃́ɑ̃́, which is amalgamed as dááɲwɑ̃́ɑ̃́ in fast speech.

[8]This implies and suggests that the correct spelling for the language name is dha Anywaa 'Anywaa language', which is used almost in all textbooks and teachers' guides written in the current Latin based Anywaa orthography.

becomes **<ãã>** after the nasal consonant <ny> but unlike voice quality, nasalization should not be marked in the current Latin based Anywaa orthography as it is predictable. For the detail of the current Latin based Anywaa orthography, see Okello and Mekonnen (2017) and Reh (1999).

According to Bender (1975:5) and Kurimoto (1996:30), Anywaa belongs to Western group of Nilotic languages which are in turn part of the Eastern Sudanic sub-group of Chari-Nile group of the Nilo-Saharan language phylum; within Western Nilotic Group (WN), the language belongs to northern branch of Lwoo languages. The following figure shows the detail of the genetic position of Anywaa.

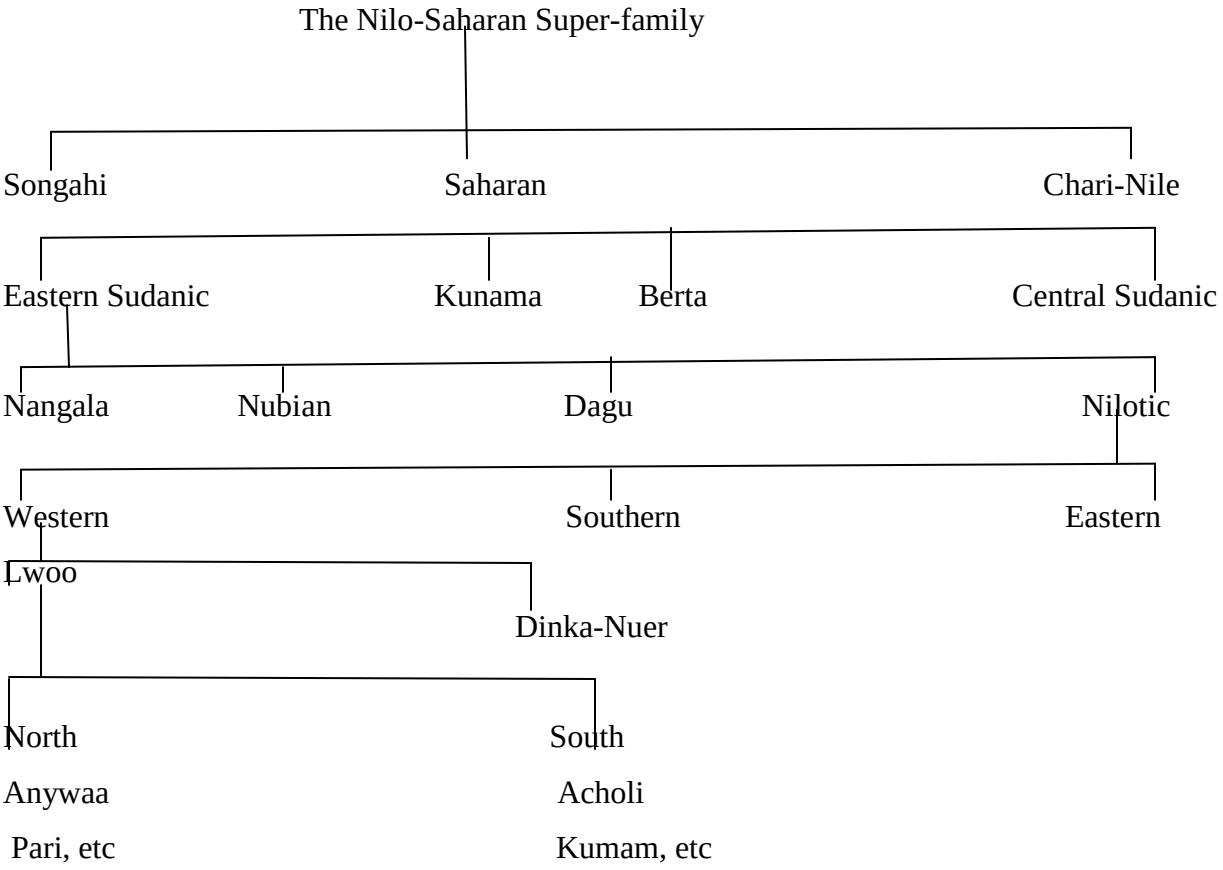


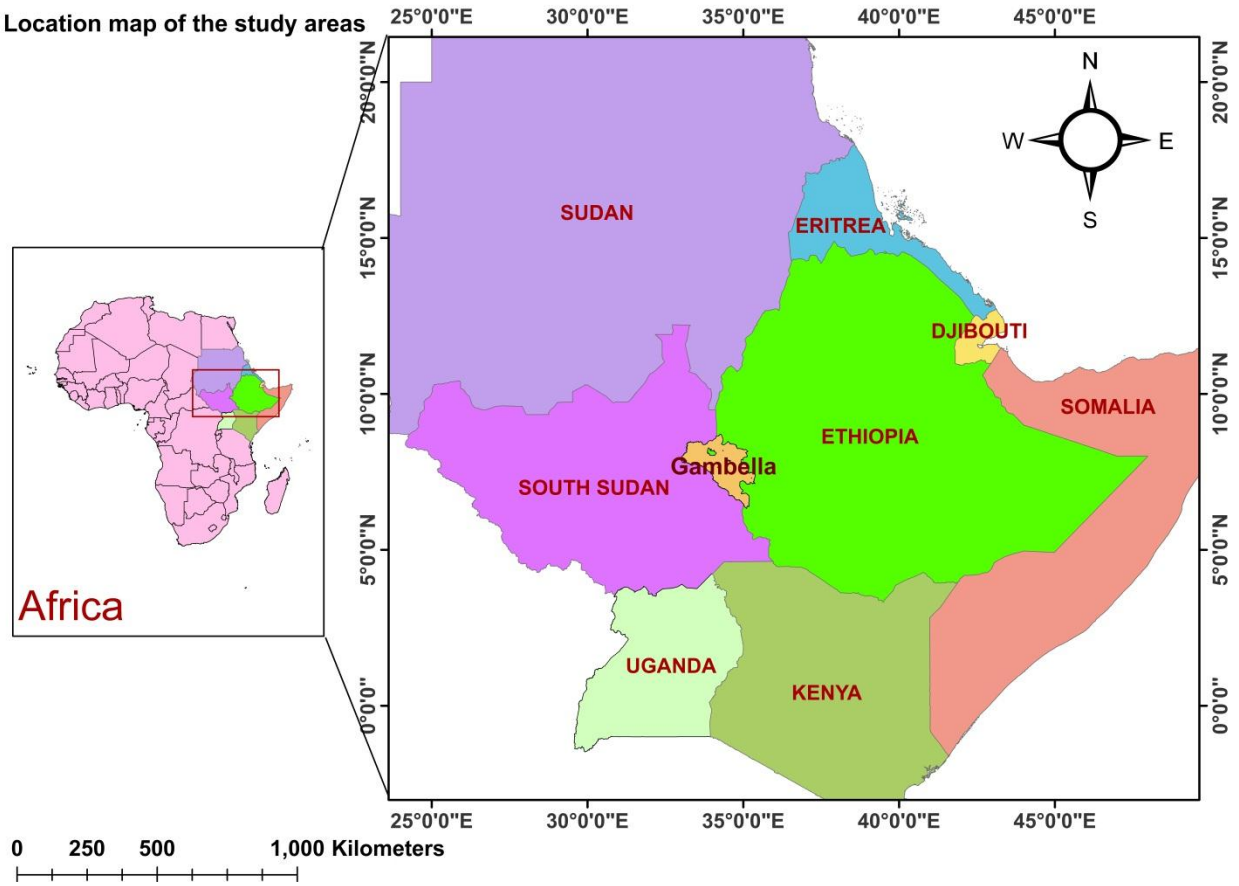
Figure 1: The Genetic Position of Anywaa adapted from Reh (1996) and Andersen (2017)

Lusted (1976:495), classifies Anywaa dialects into the following four dialects: Openo, Lul, Chiro and Adongo. This classification of the dialects is regional or geographical because Openo and Lul dialects are spoken in Gambella, Ethiopia whereas Chiro and Adongo dialects are spoken in South Sudan particularly in the villages of Otalo, Ajwaara, Apaarawanga and Alaalli of South Sudan. Though the aforementioned regions show clear dialectal variation

geographically, the classification cannot be regarded to be adequate in the present study. For example, areas like Akobo need further investigation for detailed classification of Anywaa dialects, because there are some variations despite the fact that speakers from these areas of Anywaa understand each other. For example, the word **tààllò** 'wander' is an Akobo dialect which is **ʈààjjò** in Openo, Lul, Chiro and Adongo dialects.

1.4 Status

According to National Census of Ethiopia (2007) Anywaa has 88, 000 speakers and the UNMSS (2010) puts the total number of Anywaa in South Sudan as 52,000. Therefore, in this two countries there are 140,000 native speakers of Anywaa (See also Okello,2014). Unlike in South Sudan, in Ethiopia, Anywaa has a better pedagogical development. Since 1991, Ethiopia has entered into a new chapter of linguistic development in which different linguistic communities in different regional states were given opportunitiies to use their mother tongues for schooling by first creating their alphabets. Following this golden opportunity provided by the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) in 1994 (1986 E.C), the Latin based Anywaa script was devised by revising the Latin based script of Anywaa created in 1948 for bible translation in Akobo, Sudan (currently part of the Republic of South Sudan). The bible translated into Anywaa was published in 1962 . Since 1995, in Gambella, Ethiopia, Anywaa has been used as a medium of instruction from grades 1-4 and as a subject from grades 8-10. Since 2014, the language has started to be used as a subject in grades 11 and 12. Currently, Anywaa has a department in Gambella Teachers' Education and Health Science College (GTEHSC). Yet, in South Sudan, Anywaa is not used for schooling (See Baye, 2005, Okello and Mekonnen, 2017).



Source:http://www.divia-gis.org/

Figure 2:Maps showing study areas and Neigbours

1.5 Statement of the Problem

Kövecses (2010:198) states that speakers of all different languages apply several various metaphors when communicating about the world (see also Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). But a closer look behind linguistic metaphor can tell us that many different languages use conceptual metaphors in different situations in unique ways. There are also universal conceptual metaphors of emotion. For example, Yu (1995) found out that the English conceptual metaphor *HAPPY IS UP* is also used in Chinese.

Kövecses (2014:15) mentions that many studies in 1980s and 90s attempted detailed descriptions of emotion concepts like anger and fear. Yet, he was not convinced regarding the way emotion concepts were handled in the literatures, especially with regard to the function of metaphor and metonymy in emotion expression. The importance of emotion research is implied and strengthened by Kövecses (2010:xiv) and Swan (2009:460) that human body is the source of

language and other concepts like emotion. Because of this, the cultural understanding of thought and abstract things embodied in the body need careful study for adequate understanding. From this, we can conclude that the study of emotion is linked with human being and researching human emotion is vital to understand ourselves and other creatures thoroughly.

Despite the fact that emotion is embodied, studying its conceptualization is not as easy as one may expect. This is broadly strengthened by Esenova (2011:3-4) as follows:

> Cognitive linguists argue that abstract concepts are understood in terms of more basic (concrete) ones. Emotion is a very subtle and complex concept. Therefore, it is systematically conceptualized in terms of concrete concepts. Studies like those of Barcelona (1986) and Lakoff (1987) confirmed that our conceptual system of emotion is organized metaphorically. However, behind this strong achievement, much remains unknown about emotion. To mention one area, it is fact that emotion emanates from bodily experience but we do not clearly know the role of fundamental physiological experience like child containment, voice production, smell and taste perception of metaphorical conceptualization of emotion.

With the above gaps clarified by Barcelona (1986), Lakoff (1987) and Essenova (2011), we can infer that further studies on emotion based on conceptual metaphor are needed to fill the gaps by including many languages of which Anywaa is one. There are no studies about conceptualization of emotions in Anywaa. For example, in Okello (2017:115), there are metaphors like tʃĩ ōdʒùlù gùòk dɔ̀tʃ 'Ojulu's wife is a big dog', used to express the greed of Ojulu's wife by giving the attributes of dog to Ojulu's wife. This example therefore did not contain conceptual mappings but was given based on traditional approach. Ekman (2003) emphasizes that the findings from emotion expressions help to guide and improve our life. The present study therefore dealt with metaphorical conceptualization of emotion in Anywaa in detail.

1.6 Basic Research Questions

The present study had the general research question *How do the Anywaa use emotion metaphors?* Under this main research question, the followings were the basic research questions of the present study:

- What are the linguistic metaphors used to express emotions in Anywaa?
- What are the mapping constraints imposed on the metaphorical conceptualization of emotion in Anywaa?

- What are the techniques and resources used to mark and express emotion intensity in the metaphorical conceptualization of emotion in Anywaa?
- What is the scope of source domain chosen for the metaphorical conceptualization of emotion in Anywaa?

1.7 Objectives of the Present Study

The general objective of the present study was to describe the metaphorical conceptualization of emotion in Anywaa in terms of *Conceptual Metaphor Theory*. In addition to this general objective, the present study had the following specific objectives:

- to identify the linguistic metaphors used to express emotions in Anywaa.
- to find out the mapping constraints imposed on emotion metaphors of Anywaa.
- to find out the techniques and resources used to mark and express emotion intensity in the emotion metaphors of Anywaa.
- to find out and describe the scope of source domains used for the metaphorical conceptualization of emotion in Anywaa .

1.8 Significance of the Present Study

The present study has an enormous contribution in different ways and areas. The study contributes to the description and documentation of Anywaa language and culture. The present study also contributes to the future study of the cognitive and functional grammar of Anywaa. The study further fills in the linguistic and cultural gaps left by previous researchers. Lastly, the present study helps researchers working on Nilotic languages in general and/ or Anywaa in particular.

1.9 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The present study focused on the metaphorical conceptualization of five human emotions namely anger, fear, happiness, love, and jealousy. The reason for choosing these five emotion categories is that they are hypothesized in this study to be basic emotions in Anywaa. Furthermore, there is no fixed classification of emotions (See Soloshenko, 2016). Therefore, non-linguistic emotions like advertisement, cultural symbols like tatto, drawing, sculptures, films and others were not dealt with although they can underlie love metaphor like LOVE IS BOND. In addition, the analyses and interpretations were not linked with psychotheraphy, medical or laboratory

experimentation. Generally, the description was synchronic. Hence, the diachronic development of the source domains for metaphorical conceptualization of emotions was not reconstructed and the analyses and descriptions were not accompanied by pictures. The limitation of this study is that it draws examples only from Anywaa spoken in Ethiopia. Due to financial constraint, the data of Anywaa spoken in South Sudan was not used for this study. Furthermore, because some of very important informants like singers and proverb interpreters were not met, interpretations of some poems and proverbs became difficult.

1.10 Organization of the Study

The present study is divided into ten chapters. The first chapter deals with the introduction of the background of the study, people and their language, basic research questions, objectives, significance of the study, scope of the study and statement of the problem. Chapter two addresses methodology and chapter three discusses theoretical literature which includes the discussion of framework, previous studies, tone, vowel length, and theoretical explanation of concepts pertaining to metaphorical conceptualization of emotion. In chapter four, data presentation, analysis and interpretations of the general conception of emotion and metaphors of anger in Anywaa is made. Chapter five, discusses emotion metaphors of fear, and chapter six deals with emotion metaphors of happiness. In chapter seven, love metaphors in Anywaa are analyzed and described. In chapter eight, jealousy metaphors are presented. Chapter nine discusess the scope of emotion source domains in Anywaa and finally, chapter ten deals with results and discussion, summary and conclusions.

Chapter Two: Paradigm and Methodology

This study was generally conducted based on the research paradigm of *interpretivism*, which assumes that reality is created based on our five senses and perception. Thus, our interaction with people and environment results in the creation of background knowledge, concepts, names and meaning of different phenomena (Flick,2004:89).

Therefore, in the present study, listening to daily utterances and recording daily utterances were mainly used by sitting in different places where different natives used Anywaa for different purposes. In doing so, when necesssary, the purpose of recording would be explained to the language users and the recordings were made based on the informants' consent. Introspection was also used to collect data as the researcher is the native speaker of Anywaa. In addition to listening, recording and introspection, non-translational elicitation was used in this study by first eliciting various emotional metaphor expressions pertaining to the selected emotion types. Next, the source and target domains were also identified by the researcher. Finally, the elicited data for emotion expressions were checked and validated with 3 old men and 2 old women from two villages of Pinyngiew and Ilea and Okuuna and Wangkaak of Openo and Lul dialect regions. The dialects were chosen because they are spoken in Gambella[9], Ethiopia, where the researcher

[9]According to Prince Othoo Ojulu and Omod Itangi, the name *Gambella* was composed of two Anywaa words: gàm 'catch' and bèèlà 'big male leopard'. The place was named by ōdʒúlù wá ābààrɔ̀ (kwʌ̀ʌ̀rò wór ōbulu) who suggested the place for the British people who came from the Sudan and rested at Itang but asked kwʌ̀ʌ̀rò wór ōbúlù to give them a better residence. So, kwʌ̀ʌ̀rò wór ōbúlù told his team to clear the place which is currently where The Commercial Bank of Ethiopia exists in Gambella town so that the British would live in. Since the place was covered by forest, while clearing the place, the team found a big male leopard and killed it with big sticks. Then, the team handed over the leopard to kwʌ́ʌ́rò wór ōbúlù and the chief said that the palce would be named as gàmbéélá which literally means *the group who killed the big male leopard* . The team was therefore recognized as a clever team by the chief after they had killed the leopard . So, based on this activity of the team and where the leopard was killed, Gambeella, which is pronounced by the Anywaa as gàmbéélà, literally means, the chief's team who killed the big male leopard. Therefore, the place where Gambella started as a town is where The Commerical Bank of Ethiopia exists today, the place in front of Arenguade Hotel. However, Omod Itangi and others argued that the word *Gambella*, is composed of the two Anywaa words: gàm 'receive, catch' and bèèllà ' my sorghum head'. That time Baro River was narrow and could be crossed easily. There was no bridge built over Baro River. While chief tʃwʌ̀ʌ̀j and bàa̤tá, the chief of Gambella land, were about to cross Baro River, bàa̤tá crossed the river before the chief. bàa̤tá reached the other side which is currently the island near dʒínììná while tʃwʌ̀ʌ̀j remained in the other side which is currently the harbour of dʒìnììná, where Anywaa males bathe. Because chief tʃwʌ̀ʌ̀j was carrying a head of sorghum, he decided to throw it to Baatha so that he would cross the river easily. So, the chief ordered Baatha as : gám bèèlla 'Catch, receive my sorghum head (2SG)'. Then, the sorghum was caught by him and the chief crossed the river and joined Baatha. Based on this, the morphological analysis of Gambella can be done as gàm 'receive' + bèèll-'sorghum of' + à '1SG'. The history of the origin of Gambella town name can be historicaly approximated to have started before 1900's, i.e before the establishment of Gambella town. The Anywaa word for town or city (urban area) is pʌ́ʌ́ŋ (PL. pʌ̀ʌ̀ŋè). A big town or capital city is called in Anywaa pʌ̀ʌ̀ŋ máná dʊ̀ɔ̀ŋ/pʌ́ʌ́ŋ dʊ́ɔ́ŋ. Nowadays, Gambella refers to both the town and the whole region. Before Gambella town was used as port, Itang was used as a port for transport between the Sudan and Gambella.

resides and are both understood by the researcher. The two dialects were also used because the some data like kingship issues, which could not be easily found in Openo dialect, were found in Lul dialect. Metaphors related to fishing experience were easily discussed with Openo informants as the Openo Anywaa live a long Openo area where the largest river in Gambella being Openo/Baro and many lakes, streams and ponds, which are used for fishing are found .

The elicited data were validated through dialogues, discussions and structured interview from March 10-22/ 2020. Old men and women having bloodline with kings and chiefs were involved in the validation. Some emotional metaphors were validated with 3 college teachers, 2 native bible translators and 2 native speakers working on Anywaa in Educational Bureau of the region. Furthermore, 2 singers from both Openo and Lul sides were involved in the validation of the data through group discussions. To the least extent, the researcher used textual analysis to obtain additional written data for the present study. In doing so, very few documents like text books, bibles and dictionaries were used as secondary sources of data. The texts used mainly consisted of those written in Lul and Openo dialects. See appendix V for the detail of key informants and the interview questions.

2.1 Tools, Transcription and Glossing

For the collection of data like songs and conversation/utterances which required recording, tape recorder or mobile phone was used by the researcher to collect these data. The recordings were made in the villages of Ilea, Pingngiew (Opaanya), Okuuna and Wangkaak. In all of the villages, five recordings of emotion metaphors songs and some emotion metaphor utterances were made with five singers and groups of native speakers conversing/talking for different reasons. The recordings were carried out from December-February 2020. In doing so, the researcher recorded the data by being together with the informants. However, after completing the recordings, the researcher listened to the data and transcribed them while he was away from informants or any other person. The use of tape recorder or mobile phone could further assist the tonal analysis of different tone types in Anywaa as the investigator listened to the tape or mobile several times until he understands the actual tone type.

In the present study, the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) was used to transcribe the words by using phonemic transcriptions so that underlying representations of utterances became clear. While transcribing the data, morpheme boundaries were marked clearly by using morpheme-by-morpheme correspondence rule of Leipzig Glossing Convention (LGC). The translations mainly consisted of both literal and free translations. Literal translations were mostly used in order to understand the metaphorical extension of meaning, experiences or source domains of the emotion metaphors. Through out this paper, examples, tables and figures are numbered consecutively.

The present study was designed as qualitative, because identification of source and target domains, mappings, identification and analysis of emotional expressions which were under the investigation in the present study did not pertain to numbers. The descriptions and analyses were therefore not done numerically. Using purposive and snowball sampling techniques, 12 informants were selected. Purposive and snowball samplings were used because native informants whom the investigator knew to have better intuitive knowledge about emotion expressions in Anywaa were chosen first and these informants and other assistants were asked to include other informants whom they trusted to have better tacit knowledge of metaphorical use of Anywaa.

2.2 Approaches and Procedures of Metaphor Identification

To identify metaphors and state the metaphorical entailments, the present study used the guidelines developed in the Steen's five-step procedures (e.g Steen, 2002a&b) for metaphor identification procedures (MIP) 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 (see also Pragglejaz Group, 2007 and Yin, 2013)

In the first step, **focus** means the metaphorically used word standing outside the backgound of literal frame (Steen, 2002a&b:394,1999:61). Example, in“This journey, we continue today” (Brack 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 the metaphorical expression "Our economy has grown", *growth* and e*conomy* 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 table 3 and Yin, 2013: 1118-1121, Steen, 1994, Steen, 2007 for the detail).

2.3 Top Down and Bottom Up Approaches

In order to distinguish between conceptual and linguistic metaphors easily and organize the data, **Top-Down** and **Bottom Up** approaches were applied in the present study. According to Kövecses, 2008), In top-down approach, based on small number of decontextualized examples, conceptual metaphors are formed and then mappings, entailments and others are analyzed and interpreted. Since the approach goes from conceptual to linguistic metaphors, more attention is given to generating and analyzing conceptual metaphors. But in bottom-up approach, many linguistic expressions are studied and their metaphorical expressions are identified and these expressions are analyzed to understand their semantic, structural, pragmatic or esthetic structures in concrete context and finally conceptual metaphors are generated (see also Pragglejazz Group, 2007).

Therefore, in the present study, when the linguistic metaphors of Anywaa are given first, the conceptual metaphor which they reflect is given after them and when the conceptual metaphor of Anywaa is given first, its linguistic metaphors are given under it.

2.4 Source-Domain-Oriented Approach

In order to anaylze and interpret the interaction between metonymy and metaphor in emotions, the present study also used the **Source-Domain Oriented Approach**. Regarding the concept

and use of source-domain-oriented approach, Esenova (2011:6) explains that metaphorical and metonymic expressions always contain lexical items from their source domains; in this approach, the researcher first selects words associated with the source domains that he/she wants to investigate. Then, the researcher searches for the selected lexical items in a chosen data source (dictionary and/corpora). In the next step, the researcher retrieves the metaphorical expressions from the data source and groups them under their conceptual metaphors. The major advantage in this approach is that all metaphorical expressions contain words from their source domains. Therefore, by searching for dictionary entries for the words related to certain source domains, a researcher finds the metaphorical expressions associated with the source domain (See also Deignan, 1999 and Stefanowitsch, 2006.)

Accoding to Hanks (2004), Deignan 1999a&b, 2003) cited in Stefanowitsch (2006:2), the choice of lexical items to be used in Source-domain-oriented approach can be based on a prior knowledge, based on existing exhaustive lists, or it can be based on a preceding keyword analysis of texts dealing with target-domain topics. The search for the lexical items can then be exhaustive. Furthermore, Cserép (2014:265) states that intuition can be combined with other data sources to make the study of metaphor very effective. Regarding Anywaa in the present study, the source domain-oriented-approach was vital mainly for metonymic-metaphorical use of drum dance and body parts like tʃwìŋ 'liver', wɛ̀ŋɔ̀ 'heart', tʃììn 'intestines' and others, which can be used as source domains from which related linguistic metaphors and metonymies could be derived.

Chapter Three: Review of Related Literature

3.1 Vowel Length and Tone

This section of the study briefly deals with vowel length and tone, which are important in emotional expression and measuring emotional intensity metaphorically. In Anywaa, vowel length is distinctive. For example, the non-causative verb tàl 'be dry' has its causative form by lengthening the vowel /a/ as tààl 'make dry'. Similarly, the contrast between bùl 'roast(ing)' and bùùl 'drum(dance)' is used to distinguish lexical meaning by lengthening /u/. An unlimited extension of a long vowel can express grammatical meaning. For example, while bɛ́ɛ́r means *good/beautiful*, bɛ̌...r means *remarkably good/extremely/most beautiful (*see also Reh,1996, Reh, 1999&Okello,2014*).* Therefore, in the present study, vowel length is the same as vowel extension (see also Davenport, 2005 and Roach, 2000).

3.2 Tone

Anywaa is a register tone language, whose tone can express emotional meaning and emotional intensity (see also Gusshenhoven, 2004, Fromkin, Hyams and Rodman, 2007:348; Okello, 2014). In Anywaa, tone has both grammatical and lexical functions. Lexically, there is a contrast between mɔ̀r 'another' and mɔ́r 'warm', which metaphorically means *a better condition which gives slight happiness.* In Anywaa, grammatical tone expresses tense, aspect and voice (see Yip, 2002 and Fox, 2000). Grammatical tone which expresses tense and aspect is clear from the tonal variation on the prefix **{ʊ-}** assigned to the verbal root. The use of tone to mark tense and aspect in Anywaa is illustrated in examples (1a-c) below.

(1a)	ɲīlààl	ò	-tʃʌ̀mò	kī	tʃɛ́r	-è
	child	PERF	eat	with	hand of	3SG
	'The child has eaten with his/her hand.'					

In (1a), the low tone on the verb on òtʃʌ̀mò ' has eaten ' marks perfective aspect whose evidences come from pieces of porridge and flesh in the hands of the child, who has eaten with his/her hand. Thus, the low tone on {ò-} marks perfective aspect.

(b)	ɲīlààl	ō	-tʃʌ̄mō	kī	-tʃɛ́r	-è
	child	FUT	eat	with	hand of	3sG
	'The child will eat with his/her hand.'					

In (b), the mid tone on the verb ōtʃʌ̄mō 'will eat' marks future tense as all the spoons have been taken by the adults and have started eating before the child. So, the child is going to eat with his/her hand.

(c)	ɲīlààl	ó	-tʃʌ́mó	kī	tʃɛ́r	-ɛ
	child	HAB	eat	with	hand of	3SG

'A child eats with his/her hand.'

The high tone on the verb ótʃʌ́mó 'eats' marks habitual aspect. The aspect therefore implies that it is the habit of a child to eat with his/her hand. The examples of grammatical tones given in examples (1a-c), do not illustrate tonal emotion based on voice. Below in (2a&b), are examples of emotional tones used to express separation of lovers.

(2a)	gɛ̀n	-ò	-pʌ̀ʌ̀	-ɔ̀
	3PL	PERF	separate	COMPLT

'They have been separated.'

(b)	gɛ̀n	-ò	-pʌ́ʌ́	-ɔ̀
	3PL	PERF	separate	COMPLT

'They separated.'

In (2a), the low tone on the verbal stem -pʌ̀ʌ̀-'separate' implies that the lovers/the couple separated due to the pressure from other people like their parents, but in (2b), high tone of the verbal stem -pʌ́ʌ́- 'separate' implies that the lovers or the couple separated by themselves due to their disagreement. Hence, while the low tone of the verb in (2a) has passive voice, that in (2b) has middle voice.

3.3 Previous Studies

This section is devoted to critical review of the related previous studies conducted on emotion and metaphor by identifying the findings and gaps which the present study has attempted to fill. In order to show how much Conceptual Metaphor Theory is being updated and applied in different languages, I revised the studies chronologically. For example, Lakoff's book *Women Fire and Dangerous Things: What categories Reveal about the Mind* (1987) generally deals with the relation between cognition, knowledge, experience, metaphor and language. Based on experientialism, he argues that embodiment links cognition and experience non-arbitrarily. The findings of this work indicate that physical reality constraints language use and conception (P.154). Although Lakoff (1987) is not mainly devoted to emotion metaphors, he clearly follows CMT and discusses metaphor, metonymy and emotion concepts like ANGER IS FIRE (He was breathing fire).

Kövecses (1995) surveyed Language and Emotion Concepts by using English data. In doing so, he surveyed emotion words like anger, fright, sadness and others. The major findings of this study indicate that descriptive emotion terms can express particular emotion. To illustrate, in the sentence *I love you,* the descriptive emotion word *love* is used both to describe and express the

emotion of love. The study also indicates that basic emotions are common in all languages due to embodiment. However, Kövecses (1995) does not clearly follow Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

Derib (2010) entitled *LOVE IS OUR ENEMY: Opponent Metaphors of Love in Amharic* is an analysis of the conceptualization of love as enemy in Amharic by using conceptual metaphor theory mainly based on Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Based on the findings of linguistic metaphors, Derib found out that love in Amharic can be conceptualized using three major metaphors: opponent metaphor, dangerous animal metaphor and fire metaphor. The study also found out that all languages may not categorize a concept in a similar way. Yet, the study did not capture the metaphorical conceptualization of many emotions in Amharic as it was confined to love and it did not show detailed mappings and explication of **Invariance Principle**.

Esenova (2011) is a Ph.D dissertation which was done on metaphors of three emotions of English: anger, fear and sadness. Esenova clearly and thoroughly followed conceptual metaphor theory but he also linked his analysis with other related sciences like neuro-science. In doing so, she described different types of metaphors of the three emotions of English in detail by including the choice and scope of source domains and discussion of detailed mappings. The results of this study reveal that English uses various degrees of emotion intensity based on different source domains like snake, supernatural force, fluid in a container, etc. However, Esenova (2011) does not discuss mapping constraints, degree of metaphoricity and embodiment thoroughly.

Ansah (2011) is a Ph. D dissertation done on Metaphor and Bilingual Cognition: The case of Akan[10] and English in Ghana. As the title suggests, this study applied the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), which is a part of Cognitive Linguistics Approach. The study focused only on analyzing the metaphorical and metonymic expressions commonly used among Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana to talk about different aspects of ANGER and FEAR when the bilinguals speak in English. The results of the study show that Akan-English bilinguals are likely to have access to high degree of conventionalized metaphorical expressions of anger and fear in both Akan and English. This implies that bilingualism and cognition do not violate the use of metaphorical language. In fact, this finding was confirmed by Martinez (2003) cited in Ansah

[10]According to Ansah (2011: 121) Akan is a tonal language belonging to Kwa group of languages of Proto-Tano , Volta-Congo languages; although the language is spoken by the Akan in Ghana, it is also spoken in Coted d' Ivore. In Ghana, Akan has three dialects: Fanti/Fante, Twi and Bono (See also, Dolphyne, 1988).

(2011:53) that both monolinguals and bilinguals have similar activation of metaphorical language.

Abbasvandi (2013) describes the analysis of anger metaphor in English and Persian. Using conceptual metaphor theory, the investigator discovered that despite the fact that many emotion metaphors are universal, there are many emotion expression differences between English and Persian. To illustrate, the English emotion *He was red faced* is in Persian *He was red with anger*. The reasson for conceptualizing anger as RED in the face and the whole body in the two languages had to be explicated though.

Liu and and Zhao (2013) conducted a comparative study of emotion metaphors between English and Chinese. The major objective of this study was to find out the similarities and differences of emotion metaphors of Chinese and English. Accordingly, the findings indicated that Chinese and English share many emotion metaphors. For instance, the conceptual metaphor **HAPPINESS IS UP** can be illustrated in English as **I'm feeling up** and the Chinese equivalent for this is **Ta de yi yang yang** 'I'm feeling up'. Nevertheless, there are differences between the two languages while expressing emotions. Example, in English happiness is being off the ground but in Chinese it is the flower in the heart. The major challenge of this study was that it did not state the reasons for variation and universality of emotion metaphors between English and Chinese in detail.

Also Kövecses (2014) conducted a study on emotion, which is entitled as *Conceptualizing Emotions: A Revised Cognitive Linguistic Perspective*. This study has three major findings: (a) emotion concepts are largely metaphorical and metonymic in nature, (b) conceptual metaphors and metonymies are highly connected and (c) many of our emotion concepts have bodily basis, i.e they are embodied. Yet, Kövecses (2014) does not provide strong reason for the relation between metaphor and metonymy.

Anudo and Kodak (2017) treated the conceptual analysis of metaphor in selected Dholuo [11]popular musics based on romantic love songs. By applying conceptual metaphor theory, the findings of the study demonstrated that Dholuo conceptualizes love in different ways like MADNESS, FIGHTING, JOURNEY, BUSINESS, UNITY, DEATH, NARRATIVE and

[11]Based on Greenberg (1996: 85) cited in Anudo and Kodak (2017:168), Dholuo belongs to the Western Nilotic sub-branch of the Nilotic branch, which in turn belongs to Eastern Sudanic.

TORTURE. The study clearly discusses linguistic and conceptual metaphors, but the poetic devices and mappings are not discussed explicitly.

Grigorjana and Matytciana (2018) analyzed the conceptualization of envy by comparing Russian, Slovak and English based on conceptual metaphor theory. The findings revealed that envy metaphors in Slavic languages (Russian, Slovak) and the non-slavic language, English, have common and different conceptions. A clear evidence is that, in all the three languages, envy is conceptualized as BLACK and PALE. While envy is WHITE in Russian, in English it is GREEN and in Slovak envy is GRAY. This paper therefore, indicates universality and culture specificity of jealousy metaphors. However, despite these strong findings, Grigorjana and Matytciana (2018) do not explain the cultural beliefs of the natives for conceptualizing jealousy based on these colors, reasons for similarity and differences and conceptual metaphors in detail. Kövecses' (2020) review of Conceptual Metaphor Theory as Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory (ECMT) deals with metaphor to exist in four levels: image schema, domain, frame and mental space. Yet, since this theory levels metaphor, it can be used as a model of conceptual metaphor theory in general.

In sum, all the above previous studies on emotion and metaphor applied Conceptual Metaphor Theory directly or indirectly in different times to describe the languages investigated and they all used English as the medium of their description. Some studies focus on culture specific metaphors but some deal with both universal and culture specific metaphors. The studies are all related in that their findings all deal with conception of complex concepts like cognition, emotion and metaphors, which this study also attempts by analyzing emotion concepts in Anywaa. However, these studies did not deal with Anywaa at all. Hence, it is worth conducting study on the metaphorical conceptualization of emotion in Anywaa in light of conceptual metaphor theory. Regarding the grammar of Anywaa in particular, there were studies conducted. For example, Lusted (1976), which was the most detailed study on Anywaa prior to publication of Reh (1996), treated the grammar of Anywaa in terms of phonology, morphology and syntax.

Reh (1996) which is the most comprehensive description of Anywaa, describes the language panchronically. The study covers phonology, morphology, syntax and discourse. In Reh (1996: 275) body parts like ɲìm 'face', làk 'teeth' and tièr 'leg of' are analyzed as the localizer prepositions before, beside, and under but the mappings between body parts and prepositions are

not explained metaphorically. Broadly, this study does not capture the metaphorical conceptualization of emotion in Anywaa though the examples here show conceptualization of space. This gaps further gave the researcher an opportunity to carry out the present study in detail.

3.4 Theoretical Framework

The present study was based on the theoretical framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). This framework was first proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in their book entitled *Metaphors We Live By*. According to Evans and Green (2006:286), Conceptual Metaphor Theory was proposed due to the wrong premise in the traditional approach that metaphor is the styslistic use of language by talented people like singers. Based on Lakoff (1980:3-7, Kövecses (2010:x) and Evans and Green (2006:286-87), in conceptual metaphor theory, metaphor is argued to be used based on the following aspects:

- Metaphor is mainly a property of concepts but not words and its major function is understanding but not the decoration or beauty of language.
- Metaphor is mainly used by ordinary people rather than talented people and therefore a matter of thought and reason; it is not mainly based on similarity but it is based on conceptual mapping and experience.
- Novel metaphors can emerge from conventional mappings or metaphors.
- Our concepts structure our perception, interaction with the external world and our connection with other people.
- Since everyday activities of people are metaphorical, our conceptual system is metaphorical but we are not very conscious of our conceptual system. Because communication is used in thinking and acting, language provides adequate evidences for the nature of our conceptual system (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999:11).

Perception and getting around the world as mentioned by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Kövecses (2010) imply that the existence of our conceptual system is evidenced by preconceptual system consisting of BODY, ENVIRONMENT, CONTAINER, PATH, GOAL, GROUND and the way we manipulate objects leading to interrelatedness of concepts. But why aren't we conscious of our conceptual system? One answer is that metaphorical use is unconscious because it is automated as the neurons, sensory and the motor areas of the brain are involved unconsciously and automatically. This makes our mappings fast and our metaphorical use immediate (Seiz,2005 and Jandaush, 2012).

In his book *The Interpretation of Dreams*, Freud (1962) defines the word **unconscious** as the thoughts that were repressed, but could be brought to consciousness. However, in cognitive linguistics unconscious does not mean repressed but having no conscious access and control over what we can see in grammatical and phonological rules over which we have no control. For instance, one may think in terms of **TIME IS SPACE** and uses some of its linguistic metaphors but there is no way to have conscious control over unconscious metaphors in the conceptual system. Similarly, we may discuss principles of grammar or phonology consciously, without being able to control all the rules of grammar and phonology in every sentence spoken (Lakoff, 1992:9).

The claim that metaphor is not mainly based on similarity and is a matter of thought and understanding is supported by Lakoff and Johnson (1999:116) that metaphor is not a matter of words, because if it had been a matter of words, each linguistic expression could have been a different metaphor without anything in common. Example the utterances, *Our relation is dead-end street* and *Our relation is at cross roads* have common conceptual metaphor **LOVE IS JOURNEY**. Hence, metaphorical language is the reflection of conceptual metaphor. Also metaphor is not a deviation from normal language. For instance, the expression, *We are at cross roads* is an ordinary language. Metaphor also does not express similarity because there is no preexsiting similarity between for example **love** and **journey** (Gibbs, 2005:90**)**.

According to Ibanez and Hernandez (2011: 162), as a new theory, conceptual metaphor theory was first developed by Lakoff and Johnson in 1980 in their very book *The Metaphor we Live By.* But later the theory was further developed by Lakoff (1986, 1987,2011), Lakoff and Turner (1989), Lakoff and Johnson (1999), Gibbs (1994), Gibbs, Bogdanovich, Syke and Barr (1997) and Kövecses (1990,2000,2002). The development of Conceptual Metaphor Theory by these scholars/researchers led to the modification of the name of the theory as *Contemporary Metaphor Theory* although the claim or the tenet is similar.

3.5 Metaphor and Emotion

3.5.1 Metaphor and its History

This section deals with the historical development of metaphor to see the position of cognitive/conceptual theory of metaphor. Lakoff and Johnson (1999:382-383) put that historically, the concept of metaphor goes back to era of Aristotle in which it was treated as a

rhetoric, ornamental or styslistic device used by specific people like poets and singers who are talented to use language in an unusual or mind-free way. This traditional view limits metaphor to be used only in the language of rhetoric, literature or art as it is dangerous to clear thinking (Goatly,1997:1, Lakoff and Johnson, 1999:119&123). However, there are still challenges in defining metaphor and distinguishing it from for example, metonymy. The difficulty of defining metaphor arises from the complex relation between language and thought (Dalalu, 2010 and Steen (2011).

According to Aristotle (1982) metaphor originates from the Greek word *metapherin* 'transfer, carry over'. The word was composed of two Greek morphemes:**meta** 'after, with, across' and **pherō** 'to bear, carry'. Here metaphor is understood to be the transfer of attributes from one entity to another (see also Esenova, 2011:9). Therefore, an example like *Ojulu is a lion* can support this etymological definition as the lion's aggressiveness and courage has been transferred to Ojulu. The etymological definition is broadly provided by Aristotle (1982:1447b) cited in Imre (2010: 71) as: Metaphor is the application of a strange (alien, allotros) term either transfered from the genus and applied to species or from the species to the genus, or from the species to species or else by analogy. According to Esenova (2011:10) the definition provided by Aristotle (1982) can be elaborated as follows :

- "From genus to species as in 'There lie my ship', where lying at anchor is the species of the generic gerund lying.
- From species to genus as Verly ten thousand noble deeds hath Odysseus wrought. Where ten thousand is the species of the genus (large) number.

In sum, Aristotle's definition of metaphor, which is simply a linguistic extension of meaning, is based on his substition theory, which is based on resemblance or similarity as he sees metaphor to be an ellipitical simile as in the Anywaa example **ōmɔ̀d tʃáálá ḓáágɔ́** 'Omod is like a female' reduced as **ōmɔ̀d (á) ḓáágɔ́** 'Omod is a female'. Thus, to Aristotle, metaphor is a simplified simile (See Esenova,2011). According to Lakoff (1992:2), the traditional approach to metaphor, which views metaphor to be used only in language, has the following wrong assumptions:

- Any conventional language is literal and non is metaphorical.
- Every subject matter can be understood literally without using metaphor.
- Only literal language can be judged to be true or false.
- All definitions given in the lexicon of the language are literal, but not metaphorical.

- The concepts we use in the grammar of a language are all literal but non are metaphorical.

The traditional approach to metaphor is based on Literal Theory of Meaning, which claims that all the concepts expressed by words, phrases and sentences are semantically autonomous. This theory claims that meanings of all concepts are understood by referring to an objective mind-free reality, i.e direct reality in the external world. This is an objectivist's claim. However, the grounding hypothesis argues that concepts are not semantically autonomous but they are grounded in our bodily and social experience resulting in metaphorical concepts in our minds. If the autonomy claim of meaning is true, a conceptual metaphor like LIFE IS JOURNEY and its linguistic metaphors will be false (Lakoff and Turner, 1989: 116&119).

In his **The Speech Act Theory** (1993), Searl mainly focuses on speaker's utterance meaning or the speaker's intention. Yet, this view was criticized by cognitive view of metaphor (see, Lakoff, 1993 and Esenova, 2011) that pragmatics alone is not adequate for metaphorical understanding. Example, the sentence *Sally is a block of ice*, is based on experience of the domain of temperature. Therefore, the experience of cold temperature leads us to the interpretation that *Sally is unaffectionate* because she is cold.

Another approach to metaphor was Black (1962)'s approach called **The Interaction Theory of Metaphor**, which claims metaphor to take place at sentence level but not merely at word level. The metaphorical word in the sentence is called focus and the literal word is called frame. In the sentence *The chairman ploughed through the discussion*, the **focus** is ploughed and the rest parts of the sentence are **frame**. In addition, metaphor has two subjects: primary and subsidiary (secondary) subject. In the sentence *Man is a wolf*, the primary subject is man and the secondary one is wolf.

The central tenet of Max's theory is that metaphor is a system of beliefs rather than isolated words. Here, the inclusion of conventional beliefs is important giving highlights to cognitive view of metaphor as metaphors are not based on factual knowlegde but ideas held to be true (Vespoor, 1993:9). However, how the source and target domains interact is not clearly elaborated in the interaction approach and the relation between linguistic and conceptual levels of metaphor are not elborated. Linguistic metaphor is tied to concepts (See Lakoff and Johnson, 2003). The discussion of Aristotelian, Maxian and Searlian approaches to metaphor is vital in that they

show us how cognitive metaphor has become predominant because the previous approaches do not discuss cognitive function of metaphor in detail.

3.5.2 Conceptual Metaphor

According to Lakoff (1992:3), in conceptual metaphor theory, the traditional assumptions have now been disproved, because metaphor is a part of our ordinary system of thought and language and our everyday conceptual system including abstract concepts like causation and purpose is metaphorical. Evidences come from generalizations of polysemy, inference pattern, and novel metaphorical language. Polysemy generalization is the generalization over related senses of linguistic expressions like dead-end street, cross roads, stuck, spinning wheel and not going anywhere. Inference patterns refers to inference generalization over different conceptual domains. Briefly, the existence of word mappings and inference pattern provides evidence for the existence of mappings. Lakoff (1992:5) states that words for journey can be used for life based on progress inference; novel metaphorical language is the extension of metaphorically common language as new and imaginative language (Lakoff, 1992:5).

In conceptual metaphor theory, metaphor is defined as understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another. The two domains that take part in metaphor understanding have technical names: the conceptual domain used as a source of experience and understanding is termed as **source domain (SD)** and the conceptual domain understood based on source domain is called **target domain (TD**). A conceptual domain is any coherent organization of human experience. Example, we understand argument in terms of war; we also understand theory in terms of building (Kövecses, 2010:4).

Kövecses (2020:5) explains the difference between source and target domains as "A source domain is more/directly accessible, less complex or concrete but target domain is very complex or abstract". This makes people use source domain to understand the target domain betterly (See also Gibbs,2005: 90-94). In brief, Lakoff and Johnson (2003:9) sum up the concept of metaphor as "The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another." This implies that we understand different ideas in terms of different things and experiences. To make this definition clearer, the following examples in (3a)-(7b) were taken from Lakoff and Johnson (1980:5) and Evans and Green (2006:305&6) to illustrate different target domains based on differents source domains and experiences.

(**3a) PHYSICAL FORCE EXPERIENCE:** (b) I was magnetically drawn to her.

(4a) HUNGER EXPERIENCE: (b) We are hungry for a victory.

(5a) A MACHINE EXPERIENCE

(b) I think my computer hates me**:** it keeps deleting my data.

(6a) MAGIC EXPERIENCE: (b) She is bewitching.

(7a) RED COLOUR EXPERIENCE: (b) He was red with anger.

Based on examples (3a-7b), it can be inferred that different experiences have been used to understand different concepts. In (3b), love has been understood based on the experience of magnetic force. In (4b), desire of being a winner has been understood based on the experience of hunger, but in (5b), the computer operation has been understood based on human attributes of hating another person. In example (6b), love has been conceptualized based on bewitching and in (7b), anger has been conceptualized based on the experience of red colour like blood to imply high intensity of anger with red eyes of angry look.

3.5.3 Conceptual Metaphor as a Set of Mappings

Kövecses (2010:7) states that in cognitive view, metaphor is represented as conceptual domain A (target domain) is conceptual domain B (source domain). The correspondence between source domain and target domain is called **mapping**. Based on Kövecses (2010:10), the following linguistic metaphors in (8a)-(8d) underlie the conceptual metaphor *SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE PLANTS*:

(8a) Our company is growing.
(b) His business blossomed.
(c) He works for the local branch of the bank.
(d) The organization was rooted in the church.

Based on linguistic metaphors in (8a)-(8d), the following mappings in table 1 can be provided.

Target Domain: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION	**Mappings**	**Source Domain: PLANT**
the entire organization	←	the whole plant
parts of an organization	←	parts of a plant
organizational development	←	plant growth
removing parts of organization	←	reducing a plant
origin of organization	←	plant root
best stage of success	←	flowering
beneficial consequences of an organization	←	fruits/crops

Table 1: Illustrating Mappings with SOCIAL ORGANIZATION as A PLANT (Kövecses, 2010)

In table 1, it can be seen that each element of plant is mapped onto that of organization. In addition to the above mentioned correspondence elements, other elements like the drying of plant or falling down of plant which can be mapped to the demolishing of the organization can also be considered. The words root, branch, blossom and grow evoke the metaphorical extension of plant (part) to an organization, which is more complicated to understand than a plant (See also Kövecses, 2010:9).

3.6 Working Mechanisms of Metaphor

The definition of metaphor alone cannot provide adequate knowledge for metaphorical comprehension. The claim by Lakoff and Johnson (2003:44) that metaphor is the result of mapping across different domains forms the center for the working mechanisms of metaphor. According to Yu, (2013:1471), metaphor works based on the following mechanisms (sections 3.6.1-3.8).

3.6.1 Unidirectionality and Asymmetricity

Metaphorical mapping is unidirectional and asymmetrical, that is from more concrete to more abstract one. Kövecses (2010) and Saeed (2003) mention that unidirectionality or assymmetricity refers to the fact that the mapping of metaphor is used by establishing points of similarity from source to target but not the other way round. Hence, one direction. Examples of unidirectionality and asymmetricity can be provided in English whose examples were taken from Yu (2013). The conceptual metaphor given for illustration is **INTERNET IS A HIGHWAY**, whose mappings are given in table 2.

SOURCE DOMAIN: HIGHWAY	**TARGET DOMAIN: INTERNET**
Highway	Transmission pathways
Space	cyberspace
Vehicles	Computers, telephones, etc
Goods tranported	Information
Fuel	Electricity
Drivers	Internet users
Destinations	Information supply sites
Journey	Downloading or uploading information
Marketplace	Commercal information sites
Impediments to motion (roadblocks, etc)	Technological difficulties

Table 2: Illustrating Unidirectionality and Assymetricity based on Yu (2013: 1472)

From the metaphor **INTERNET IS HIGHWAY** in table 2, it can be clearly seen that the mapping is from the concrete concept **HIGHWAY** to abstract one **INTERNET**. So, HIGHWAY IS INTERNET cannot be used for mappings. Yet, Saeed (2000) argues that this is not the necessary feature of metaphor; though the mapping is from source to target, both the source and target domains can be equally concrete or abstract as in the Anywaa **tɔ́ɔ́r á ʈɔ́ɔ́** 'Absence is death' in which both the source ʈɔ̀ɔ̀ 'death' and the target tɔ́ɔ́r 'absence' are both abstract, but this helps us to understand ABSENCE in terms of DEATH. One may ask why metaphorical mapping is not bi-directional. A good answer is that the conceptul source is based on our bodily experience and it is more accessible than the target domain, which is abstract or more complex (see Lakoff and Johnson, 2003).

3.6.2 Partial Mapping of Metaphor

Metaphorical mapping is partial, not total. To be be more precise here, Kövecses (2010) puts that when there is mapping between A and B, the mappings based on A IS B is partial because only some parts of the source B are extended to the target A and only some aspects of the target are brought into focus. When only some aspects of the target are brought into focus this is called **highlighting**, which is accompanied by **hiding** in which some aspects of the concept are not used in metaphorization. Accordingly, the followings are examples in (9a-d) taken from Kövecses (2010:91).

(9a) THE MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT
(b) Her ego is very fragile.
(c) You have to handle him with care since his wife is dead.
(d) She is easily crushed.

As it can be seen from the examples (9a)-(9d) above, what is highlighted for the target **MIND** is the softeness of the mind or lack of strength. Therefore, other issues like mental broadness and thinking are not given into focus. Hence, hiding. Another aspect of metaphorical mapping is metaphorical **utilization** in which speakers use limited or some aspects of the source domain (Kövesces, 2010). For detailed understanding of metaphorical utilization, the following examples in (10)-(13) have been taken from Kövesces (2010:93). See also Lakoff and Johnson (1980).

(10)You have got the framework of the argument.
(11) If you don't support your argument with solid fact, the whole thing will collapse.
(12) You should try to butress your argument with more facts.
(13) With the groundwork you have got, you can build your argument.

Accordingly, the above metaphors in (10)-(13) represent the conceptual metaphor **ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING**. The source domain here is BUILDING, which is evoked by the words like solid, framework, butress, strong, support, construct and build utilized to express strength. Yet, there are aspects of building not used in these metaphors. Example rooms, corridors, offices, roofs, and locations of buildings like street, near river, etc, have not been used because they do not contribute to the intended meaning as they have no correspondence to the ARGUMENT, the target domain.

3.6.3 The Grounding of Metaphor

Metaphorical mapping is not random and arbitrary, but grounded in the body and everyday experience in the physical and cultural world. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:19) generally stress that in reality, we feel and understand that no metaphor can ever be understood or even adequately represented without its experiential basis. For example, **MORE IS UP** has a different kind of experiential basis than **RATIONAL IS UP**, because the former metaphor shows amount in terms of direction but the latter shows rational way of thinking to be successful in a community or society without container. Though the concept of UP is the same in both of the metaphors, the experience on which these UP metaphors are based are very different. It is not that there are many ups; rather, verticality enters our experience in many different ways giving rise to many different metaphors (Callis and Zimmermann,2002:12) .

What Lakoff and Johnson (1980) state is broadly supported by Antunanno-Ibaretxe (2013:316) that meaning, which is grounded in experience, conceptualization and social context, which consists of social and cultural background plays a giant role in cognitive metaphor. This must be the reason for which Lakoff and Johnson (1980:5) link meaning and conceptual metaphors as "Conceptual metaphors are meaning mechanisms." This implies that mappings and experience result in meaning formation. However, understanding the meaning of conceptual metaphors requires wider cultural and environmental understanding. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:57) mention that direct physical experience is not simply a matter of having a body of certain sort; rather, every experience happens within wider background of cultural interpretation and background.

What Lakoff and Johnson (1980) state above imply that experience is a part of culture and culture exists in experience, which presupposes and implies different understandings. In line with

this, Antunanno-Ibarettexe (2013:318&320) elaborates culture in relation to metaphor as a system of collective beliefs, customs, traditions, values and norms shared by members of the community who can sometimes equate culture with language. Cultural models play a giant role to community members to understand the world and their behaviours in it.

3.7 Image-schema and Metaphor

Image-schema is very important for understanding metaphor. Image schemas are defined by Johnson (1987) cited in Velasco (2011:48) as a preconceptual abstract knowledge structures formed based on sensorimotor experience. Esenova (2011:18) puts that in metaphor, image schemas are mental and provide structured understanding of various experiences like manipulating objects and are available for metaphorical use in source domain to provide understanding of abstract concepts like emotion. To understand the cognitive meanings of image and schema, Grady (1997) and Soloshenko (2016) put that schema is the organization of experience in mind and image can relate to MERGING, SPILITING, PATH, NEAR-FAR,UP-DOWN, IN-OUT, VISION, TATSE, FEELING, SMELLING and HEARING which are image schematic structures used for perception. Image schema mainly contains two things: its relation with **perceptual system** and **embodied experience** (See Vukovic, 2016:12). Evans and Green (2006:179) state that the word *schema* means specific but not detailed. This implies that image schema is a specific concept like IN unlike A CAT.

The fact that image schema plays a giant role for understanding metaphor is supported by Lakoff (1987), Lakoff and Johnson (1999) and Kövecses (2010) who emphasize that image-schemas are at the centre of many metaphorical constructions (See also Veslasco, 2010). In broader sense, the grounding of metaphor is briefly put by Kövecses (2010:79) that cognitive linguistics view holds that conceptual metaphor is based on variety of human experience like non-objective similarity, cultural roots and others providing motivation for the choice of source domains like path, container and body parts, but the major ways in which conceptual metaphors are grounded in experience are either perceptual, biological or cultural. Such a grounding of metaphor is called experiential basis or motivation of metaphor. Metaphors can be grounded in correlations of experience but the two concepts are not similar. For example, if the event of adding more fluid to container is accompanied by the level of rising in the container, we can say that adding fluid to container and rising of the level are not similar to each other but they correlate each other.

However, Lakoff and Johnson (1980:154-155) hold their position that the only kind of similarity relevant to metaphor is experential but not object similarity. The general view is that conceptual metaphors are grounded in correlations with our experience. These experiential correlations are of two types: experiential co-occurrence and experiential similarity. An example of experiential co-occurence is **MORE IS UP** metaphor. Here, there are two types of co-occurrence experience: adding more substance and seeing the level of rising substance. An example of experiential similarity is LIFE IS GAMBLING, in which one experiences life as he gambles. The metaphor is grounded in similarity experience in that there is losing and winning. This use of grounding of metaphor and the image-schema of winning and losing is supported by Vukovic (2016) as "image-schema has evolutionary significance for our daily tasks, because it represents the basis for organizing knowledge and reasoning about the world."

3.7.1 Invariance Principle

The use of image schema in metaphor is supported by the principle called **Invariance Principle** which states that metaphorical mappings are consistent, that is, the image-schema structure of source domain (SD) is mapped onto target domain (TD) in a way consistent with the structure and experience of target domain (Lakoff, 1993: 215).

Invariance principle implies that the mapping from source cannot violate the image schematic structure of the target. For example, if one says *He is a sneaky snake*, people of the western culture are more likely to extend the 'psychological' characteristics of the snake to the person with the former being very sly and evil in spiteful way rather than describing the person based on the way the snake moves, hisses or releases its venom. This is because in christian culture, snake is known for being evil. Although a snake has no pysche, it has become an archetypal characteristics of devil, which is cheating and the extension of this archetype leading to personality traits which we currently recognize in human being nearly in all cultures (Vukovic, 2016: 11).

Briefly, Invariance Principle means the image schema characterizing the source domain is mapped onto target domain. Put precisely and coherently, the source domain interiors will be mapped on to the target domain interiors and the source domain exteriors will be mapped onto the target domain exteriors. However, there will be no case in which source domain interior is mapped onto target domain exterior or the source domain exterior is mapped on to the target

domain interior (Lakoff,1993, See also Esenova, 2011). This gives conclusion that Invariance Principle is based on metaphorical coherence. Therefore, any mapping that is not coherent is blocked. This is illustrated by Kövecses (2010:130-132) in the following two examples in (14a)-(14c).

(14a) She gave him a headache.
(b) She gave him a kiss.
(c) She gave him a book.

Both (14a) and (14b) are based on the conceptual metaphor CAUSATION IS TRANSFER. In (14c) the giving of book takes place from the giver to the reciever. This sentence is not metaphorical but serves as a basis for metaphorical mappings and experience in (14a) and (14b). In (14a) the giver is she and the receiver is he who has headache and in (14b) the receiver is he who has a kiss. However, the reciever in (14a) can still have headache unlike that in (14b) because headache is a **state** and kiss is an **even**t; states last longer than events. Therefore, if the target experience is state, we can infer that there is an entailment of the source that what was given is still with the reciever, but if the target is temporary event, the entailment will be that the receiver no longer possesses what he received. Hence, we talk about chronic headache but not about chronic kiss (Kövecses, 2010).

3.8 Systematicity

Metaphorical mapping is systematic across different conceptual domains. According to Saeed (2000), systematicity here refers to the way that metaphor does not set only one point of comparison: the features of source and target are combined resulting in the extension of metaphor with several points of comparison or the metaphor possesses its own internal logic. To elucidate this concept, the following example was taken from Vukovic (2016:10) as *Being sick, he was afraid that death would come for the harvest.* This metaphor means DEATH IS A (GRIM) REAPER. The metaphor evokes the experience with the physical world; when a plant dies, it losses its vigor and roops as it were being reaped. Furthermore, when a man reaps a plant, he knows that it is matured enough and that its developmental period has ended. Similarly, when a man grows up, he reaches the end of the cycle of physical, mental, intellectual and spiritual growth leading to death. Therefore, this is the period in which we are harvested and stored as we do to crops. In addition, in the metaphor LIFE IS JOURNEY, the systematicity illustrates the pervading of our ordinary talking. Birth is usually described as arrival and death is viewed as

departure. Generally, in LIFE IS JOURNEY, we extend different stages of journey to different stages of life (Saeed 2003:348).

3.9 Types of Metaphors

Based on various criteria, there are different types of conceptual metaphors. In broader sense, Ibanez and Hernandez (2011) put that there is no fixed classification of metaphors and it can therefore be argued that the classifications of metaphors has complex taxonomies which remain as one area where *Conceptual Metaphor Theory* still needs further research. For example, based on the degree of conventionality, Kövecses (2010:33-34) divides conceptual metaphors as conventional and unconventional metaphors. Accordingly, conventional metaphor is the one which is well established and commonly used in the community based on frequent image of the source domain while unconventional metaphor is contrary to this: it is not conventionalized by the speakers of the language or natives of the culture but modified by the user who creates new meaning and imagination based on everyday thinking (Lakoff and Turner, 1989:xi-1). Based on Lakoff and Johnson (2003:15), the followings are examples of conventional metaphors in (15a-c).

(15a) Get up.
(b) I'm up already.
(c) He fell asleep.

Examples (15a-c) are based on the conceptual metaphors CONSCIOUS IS UP;UNCONSCIOUS IS DOWN. The physical basis of examples (15a-c) is that humans and other animals sleep by lying down and stand up when awaken. To elucidate the concept of unconventional metaphor, the following poem in (16a-f) was taken from Shakespeare's, *As you like it*, 2.7 cited in Lakoff and Johnson (1989:22) and Yin (2013:1123):

(16a) All the world's stage,
(b) And all the men and women merely players.
(c) They have their exits and their entrances;
(d) And one man in his life plays many parts.
(e) His acts being seven ages.
(f) At first the infant : See also Bloom (2004:132)

Based on the above poem in (16), we can form the conceptual metaphor **LIFE IS PLAY**, in which **PLAY** is the source and **LIFE** is target. It is known that a play consists of many elements like players, costume, stage, audience, directors, roles, exits and entrances of players. In narrow sense, life held by an individual is conceptualized as **PLAY**. The elements or events of

life domain such as the involved person, birth, death, activities and others are conceptualized based on play, as the actors' beginning and ending of the play. To be more precise here, the play corresponds to life, the actor (actoress), to a person leading life and his/her performance is mapped onto life quality. In addition, the beginning of play corresponds to birth of a person and the climax of play is the satisfying stage of life but the falling of curtain corresponds to death. Entering and exiting can also correspond to birth and death. In one stage, an actor can have many roles which correspond to different responsibilities by a person leading life. Husband and wife may lead happy life with good satisfaction. At this time, **COMEDY** is mapped onto such positive life but if they face more challenges, failures, or frustrations, tragedy is mapped onto their tragic life. As a literary bent, Shakespeare is known as a playwright and this poem is based on his literary conceptualization of life. This implies that the metaphor type he used is not entrenched in Anglo culture. The poem therfore illustrates unconventional (poetic) metaphor (ibid). However, Lakoff and Turner (1989:20) illustrate that a linguistic metaphor like *It's curtains for him* is good example for conventional metaphor of LIFE IS PLAY in everyday English.

3.10 Structural, Ontological and Orientational Metaphors

Based on cognitive function, Lakoff and Johnson (1980:15&25) and Kövecses (2010:37) classify metaphors into three types: structural, ontological and orientational metaphors. Accordingly, in structural metaphor, the source domain provides rich knoweldge structure for the target domain. Briefly, in such a metaphor, one concept is structured and understood in terms of the other through mapping. Therefore, target A is understood in terms of source B. Based on Lakoff (1993:223&226) examples of structural metaphors have been provided in (17a)- (18c).

(17a) PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS JOURNEY
(b) He is without direction in life.
(c) I'm where I want to be in life.
(18a) ACHIEVING PURPOSE IS GETTING FOOD TO EAT
(b) All the good jobs have been gobbled up.
(c) He is hungry for success.

As examples (17) and (18) imply, structural metaphors evoke the formation of more mappings. For example, in (17), a traveler is mapped onto a person leading life and obstacles to journey are mapped onto life impediments. In (18), a person needing success is mapped onto hungry person needing food to eat.

Ontological metaphor on the other hand provides less cognitive structuring; it gives new ontological status to abstract object by making it very concrete. Ontology is a branch of philosophy dealing with existence. Generally, based on our experience, we understand abstract things in terms of tangible ones. Objects, containers and substances are the basis of our experiences used mainly at generic level due to the limited knowledge we have about them (Miller,1984:282-283). The following examples of ontological metaphors in (19a)-(22b) with different purposes were taken from Lakoff and Johnson (1980:26 &27) :

(19) Referring
(a) Inflation is lowering our standard of living.
(b) That was a beautiful catch.
(20) Quantifying
(a) We will take a lot of patience to finish this book.
(b) There is so much hatered in the world.
(21) Identifying Aspects
(a) The ugly side of his personality comes out under pressure.
(b) The brutality of war dehumanizes us all.
(22) Identifying Causes
(a) The pressure of his responsibilities caused his breakdown.
(b) Our influence in the world declined because of our lack of moral fiber.

Ontological metaphors have different sub-categories. One subcategory is entity and substance metaphor. According to Lakoff and Johnson (2003:23), spatial orientations like up-down, front-back, onn-off, center-pheriphery, and near-far provide an extraordinary rich background for concepts in orientation terms. One can do only so much with orientation. Our experience of physical objects and substances provides additional basis for understanding abstract concept beyond mere orientation. Understanding our experience in terms of objects and substances allows us to pick out parts of our experience and analyze them as discrete entities or substances of uniform kind. Once we can identify our experience as entities or substances, we can refer to them, categrorize, and group, quantify them and overall reason about them. Sandstrom (2006) makes distinction between entity and substance metaphor although the two concepts appear alike. Accordingly, in an entity metaphor, abstraction is represented as a machine or brittle, but in substance metaphor, abstract thing like love, event, or activity is conceptaulized as material. See the examples below in (23)-(26) for clarification of entity and substance metaphors.

(23) There is a lot of running in the game. (Kövecses, 2010:39)
(24) Inflation has reached 80% in Zimbabwe (Adapted from Derib,2007:2)
(25) I have litte time to complete the proposal. (My own example)
(26) Her ego is fragile (Sandstrom, 2006:10).

Generally, examples (23)-(25) illustrate substance metaphor and example (26) instantiates entity metaphor, because in (23)-(25) concrete amount of an object like *a lot of water* is clearly used for an abstract concept like running but the word fragile in (26) implies understanding mind like brittle material such as glass.

Another type ontological metaphor is container metaphor in which events, actions, states and and activities are metaphorically conceptualized as containers . When you get into water and tub for example, both the tub and water are viwed as containers of different kinds. Water is a container substance, and tub is a container object. We also conceptualize our visual field as a container with things inside it. The metaphor is natural one that emerges from the fact that when you look at some territory like land, floor or space, your field of vision defines a boundary, which is the part you can clearly see and our field of vision correlates with the metaphorical concept **VISUAL FIELDS ARE CONTAINERS** (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980:30). For better understanding of container metaphors, the following examples in (27)-(32) were taken from Lakoff and Johnson (1980:30-32).

(27) The ship is coming into view.
(28) He is out of sight.
(29) Are you in race on Saturday?
(30) I put a lot of energy into washing windows.
(31) He is in love.
(32) He is coming out of coma.

Metaphorical expressions like those in (27)-(32) above have experimental and experiential bases that they exist for different functions. They are ontological metaphors based on the image schema of container based on INTO, OUT, ON and IN. An increasingly large body of experimental evidence in psychology attests to these and other cross-domain associations undiscovered by cognitive linguists, and to their influence on perception and reasoning why conceptual metaphor scholars claim that expressions like **to fall in/out of love** are not mere accidents in language, but manifestations of conventional conceptual associations activated in thought. This activation happens in various ways. First, novel or colourful metaphorical expressions often reflect the same associations as standard expressions (**e.g.exile oneself from love**), because novel metaphors are modified from the conventional one based on experience and culture. Second, patterns in polysemy and semantic evolution can be successfully explained through conceptual patterns. Third, large metaphorical systems seem to govern our discourse in

politics, advertising, religion and science works and images. Finally, gestures, behaviours and the images we create for everday use also show these conceptual patterns (Soriano, 2015:207).

Personfication metaphor is also a subcategory of ontological metaphor. In personification, non-human entities are given human attributes so that they are understood as/like humans (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003:28). Accordingly, the followings are examples of personfication metaphors in (33)-(38).

(33) His theory explained to me the behaviour of chickens raised in factory.
(34) Life has cheated me.
(35) Inflation is eating up all our profits.
(36) His reason tells him that he cannot drink fine French wine.
(37) Inflation has robbed me of my savings.
(38) Right now, our biggest enemy is inflation.

All the example given in (33-38) exemplify human attributes although the entities associated with these attributes are non-human. In (33) the theory gives an explanation like an expert so that readers or participants will gain knowledge. In (34) life cheats the person as if it were a wise human being. This implies confusion in life. In (35) inflation is eating like human being to imply the finishing of all the profits of the speakers due inflation. In (36) reason is telling/advising the person that he should not drink French wine. Example (37) implies that like a robber, inflation robes the speaker taking his/her savings used to show the financial problem faced by the speaker. In (38) compared to other enemies making life difficult, inflation is the the worst enemy of the speaker and other counterparts. Here, inflation is conceptualized as an enemy person waging war and claiming the lives of many people and destroying properties.

Orientational metaphor does not structure one concept in terms of another but oragnizes the whole system of of concepts with respect to another. Most of orientational metaphors have to do with spatial orientations like **up-down**, **front-back**, **on-off, deep-shallow**, etc (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003). The following examples of orientational metaphors in (39a&b) were taken from Esenova (2011:16) and Lakoff and Johnson (2003:15-17).

(39a) He had to keep the prices up.
(b) Prices have been going down steadily.

3.10.1 Conceptual and Linguistic Metaphors

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that if anything is central to cognitive science, it is the nature of human conceptual system, which contains both the complex and rich metaphorical and non-

metaphorical concepts. Non-metaphorical concepts emerge directly from our experience and are defined in their own terms (literally). Examples, here include down, out, in-out, near-far, entity, substance, container and person (e.g The ball went up). Metaphorical concepts are those structured in terms of other concepts. An example here is *He is without direction in life*, in which LIFE is understood in terms of JOURNEY by mapping good direction onto good life.

According to Lakoff (1986a) unlike literal (non-metaphorical) language, metaphorical language is indirect and understood in terms of something else, but distinction between metaphorical and non-metaphorical language is very difficult. For example, *He left us* can be literal language/meaning if he moves away from us, but it can be metaphorical to mean *He died* as we understand death in terms of GOING AWAY. Similarly, the following Anywaa expressions in (40a&b) illustrate the relation between metaphorical language, literal language and context.

(40a)	tʃwíŋ	-à	tár	dɔ́tʃ	kɪr̀ɛ̀ɛ
	liver of	1SG	white	DEG	really
Lit.	'My liver is really very white.'				
	'I'm really very happy.'				

Example (40a) is very metaphorical regardless of context because it implies that the speaker is clearly very happy as the Anywaa understand happiness in terms of tár 'white colour' attached to human liver.

(b)	ābíí	-n	-à	tár	dɔ́tʃ	kìr̀ɛ̀ɛ̀
	clothe	GEN	1SG	white	DEG	really
Lit.	'My clothe is really very white.'					
	'My clothe is really very clean.'					

Example (40b) can be literal if the clothe can be directly seen to have white colour but the expression can be metaphorical in another context as the expression can imply that the clothe is clean, because the Anywaa understand CLEAN in terms of WHITE COLOUR. So tár 'white' is the synonym of tɔ́ŋ 'clean'. In Anywaa, when a dirty clothe with any colour type or any other object is washed and becomes clean, it is said ātʌ̀rrò 'It has become white'. Furthermore, any unclean object has the metaphorical colour tʃɔ́l 'black'. Therefore, language is usually metaphorical (Lakoff, 1986b and Lakoff, 1993).

The verb *conceptualiz*e means to form an idea about what something is like or how it should work. Conceptualization means any part of mental experience/understanding consisting of novel and established conceptions; not just intellectual notions but sensory, motor, and emotive experiences. It also includes understanding physical, linguistic, social or cultural contexts and

conceptions that develop and unfold through processing time. Hence, *concepts* are static but *conceptualization* is not (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, Macmillan Dictionary, 2007 and Kövecses, 2010, Langacker, 2008).

According to Kövecses (2010:4) lingusitic metaphors consist of words or other experessions that are the realizations or more concrete form of conceptual metaphor, which is a part of thinking, experience and concept. Thus, linguistic metaphors are usually uttered. Based on the convention among cognitive linguists, small capital letters are used to represent conceptual metaphors, but formal writing and small letters are used to represent linguistic metaphors (Adams, 2017, Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Kövecses, 2010). Thus, the claim by cognitive linguists like Evans and Green (2006:314) that metaphor is at the heart of human thinking and experience can be emphasized by capital letters. To illustrate linguistic and conceptual metaphors, the following examples of linguistic and conceptual metaphors in (41a)-(43c) were taken from Lakoff and Johnson (1980:196-197).

(41a) MORE IS UP
(b) I have control over here.
(c) I am on top of the situation.
(42a) GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN
(b) Things are looking up.
(c)The quality of life is high these days.
(43a) IDEAS ARE ENTITIES;WORDS ARE CONTAINERS
(b) It is difficult to put my ideas into words.

Examples (41a)-(43b) imply that the division of metaphor into linguistic and conceptual metaphors is based on the relation between language, conceptual system and sensorimotor experiences. According to Bhatia (2015:20), when linguistic or conceptual metaphor is used in a particular context between an addresseer and addressee, it is called *discoursal metaphor*.

3.10.2 Primary and Complex Metaphors

Primary and complex metaphor are conceptual metaphors with big positions in the conceptual metaphor theory. Lakoff and Johnson (1999) and Holesten and Pfeifer (2002) found out that in children's minds, primary concepts like emotion and heat are very linked to each other like one concept. Children therefore, feel emotion and sensorimotor exerience at the same time without differentiating the two. For example, affection is mostly correlated with sensory experience of warmth of being held. But after some time, children separate domains with still persisting

associatons leading the child to speak of conceptual metaphors like *warm smile*, *big problem* and *close friend* (see Evans and Green, 2006:306-7).

According to Grady (1997) and Lakoff and Johnson (1999), each primary metaphor is simple and atomic part of molecular structure of complex metaphor. Complex metaphors are therefore formed through conventional blending, which is the joining together of small pieces of concepts (metaphors) into larger wholes (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999, Narayanan, 1997a and 1997b, and Grady, 1997). These conceptual blends can be conventional and entirely original (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002). Regarding the experiential basis of primary metaphors, Holestein and pfeifer (2002:4), Grady (1997:101) and Kövecses (2014:19) put as primary metaphors are directly related to primary scences and are therefore highly embodied, directly depend on our direct interaction with our environment, the shapes of our body and locally defined experience. The following examples of primary metaphors in (44)-(46) were taken from (Grady,1997 cited in Lakoff and Johnson (1999:54):

(44a) AFFECTION IS WARMTH
(b) Subjective Judgement: affection
(c) Sensorimotor domain: temperature
(d) Example:They greeted me warmly.
(e) Primary experience: feeling warm while being held affectionately.

Literally, subjective means indeterminate/the product of opinion but in the sense of emotion metaphor, the concept refers to real but internal experience of a particular person (see Grady, 1997:29).

(45a) **IMPORTANT IS BIG**
(b) Subjective judgement: Importance
(c) Sensorimotor domain: size
(d) Example: Tomorrow is a big day.
(d) Primary experience: As a child, finding that big things e.g parents are important can exert major forces on you and dominate your visual experience.

(46a) INTIMACY IS CLOSENESS
(b) Primary experience: Intimacy
(c) Sensorimotor domain: being physically close
(d) Example: We have been close friends for years but we're beginning to drift apart.
(e) Primary Experience: Being physically close with the people you are intimate with.

All the examples provided above in (44)-(46) clearly illustrate primary metaphors. One can infer that subjective judgement is nearly the same as target domain and sensorimotor domain is the same as source domain. Thus, in the conceptual metaphor **IMPORTANT IS BIG**, the source domain is **BIG**, being concrete and the target domain is **IMPORTANT**. To clarify complex

metaphors, the following example in (47) was taken from Lakoff and Turner (1989:3) and Pfeifer and Holenstein (2002:5).

(47a) PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY
(b) A person living life is a traveler (e.g I don't know which path to take.)
(c) Life purposes (goals) are destinations

Metaphorical mappings in (47a-c) allow us to reason and talk about life in terms of travelling and these mappings make the concept of LIFE, easier to understand. A journey needs itinerary and for life to be purposeful, it should be planned carefully. So, there are obstacles which should be tackled and a person should know his or her life standard. The above complex metaphor in (47a) is compounded out of **LIFE IS JOURNEY** and **LIFE IS PURPOSEFUL** (Vukovic, 2016).

3.11 Universality and Culture Specificity of Metaphor

3.11.1 Universality of Metaphors

All people share common metaphors. For example, based on Kövecses (2010:197-198), there are metaphors which are found in all languages. For example, the English conceptual metaphor **HAPPY IS UP**, also exists in Chinese as **Ta xing conconde** 'His spirits are rising and rising' and in Hungarian as **Majd elszáll a boldogsagtól** 'He/She is on cloud nine.' However, a difficult question here is how is it possible for these different languages with different cultures to share similar conceptual metaphors? Kövecses (2009:11) provides answers as follows: first, the universality has happened accidentally. Second, one language borrowed metaphor from the other and third there is some universal motivation for the metaphors to exist in these diverse cultures.

By looking not at linguistic metaphors but at conceptual metaphors in different languages, we can find that they share common metaphors but the reason for the occurrence of universal metaphors is a difficult question to answer and to study. One major cause of universal metaphors is that bodily experience led to the occurrence of (near-)universal metaphors (Kövecses,2009). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that English has the metaphor HAPPY IS UP, because we tend to be physically up, moving around, be active, jump up and down, smile, etc. These are universal experiences associated with joy (Kövecses,2010:200).

Furthermore, conceptual metonymies contain universal bodily experience linked with certain domains like the emotion concepts happiness, anger, pride, etc. The metonymies correspond to different physiological, behavioural, and expressive reactions and these reactions supply the

people with bodily basis of emotion domains. So, metonymies give as the embodied nature of concepts which may be overlapping or universal (Kövecses,1999).

In addition, Heine, Hunemeyer, and Claudi, (1991), Heine and Kuteva (2002) and Heine (1995) reveal that other large scale metaphorical processes provide universal metaphors. For example spatial relations are mostly conceptualized as human body parts like head with meaning of up and the feet with the meaning of down. These conceptual metaphors and processes underlied by these body parts are common properties of the brain/minds of modern people. They stand for global metaphoric, potentialities, principles of cognitive fluid brain (See Kövecses, 2006).

3.11.2 Cultural Variation of Metaphors

Soriano (2003), Lv and Zhan (2012: 354) and Kövecses (2010:215) state that besides universality of metaphor, metaphors vary interculturally (cross culturally) and intraculturally (within similar culture). Kövecses (2010:208) illustrates cross cultural variation between English and Chinese in which the source domain of happiness like UP, LIGHT and FLUID IN CONTAINER result in the conceptual metaphors formation shared by the two languages. However, there are some differences. For example, a metaphor which Chinese uses HAPPINESS IS A FLOWER IN THE HEART, which is not used in English. Liu and Zhao (2013:158 &160) exemplify that linguistic metaphors for happiness such as *I'm six feet off the ground* show that HAPPINESS IS OFF THE GROUND as used in English. However, in Chinese this metaphor is not used.

An example of intracultural variation of metaphors is given by McMullen and Conway (2001). They show that depressed people share many sadness metaphors like DEPRESSION IS DARKNESS and DEPRESSION IS DESCENT/DOWN. However, non-depressed people, have the conceptual metaphor DEPRESSION IS A CAPTOR, which is unique to them. In addition, at individual level one can perceive love as an action of pushing a wagon uphill, which is a linguistic metaphor based on **LOVE IS JOURNEY**. Thus, metaphorical variations operate both within a group in community or society and at individual level (Kövecses,2010:210).

Cross cultural variation of metaphor is also used with general and specific concept. Lv and Zhang (2012: 356) provide an example that English uses WHOLE PLANT as source domain as in *Love grows in her, Their love flowered* but Chinese uses specific plants like twin lotus flower on one stalk in order to represent love although plant is common in both cultures. Such varied

conceptualizations are derived from LOVE IS PLANT. The cause of cultural variation of metaphors are physical environment, thinking models, religious beliefs, class differences, gender, regional dimension and style dimension (Kövesces,2010 & Lv and Zhang, 2012).

In general, cultural variation and universality of metaphors imply that there are common source domains like plant, land, food and human body and common target domains like emotion and thought conceptualized in different ways. For example, *betterly cooked idea* imply the use of food and ingredients as source domain of good thought. (Fabijanac, 2013, Kövecses, 2010, Grady, 1997, Yu, 2013).

3.12 Scope of Metaphor

Esenova (2011:36) defines scope of metaphor as *The range of target domains to which a given source domain is applied.* To illustrate the scope of metaphor, the following examples in (48a)-(50b) were taken from Kövecses (2010:136) and Lakoff and Johnson (1980:46).

(**48a) THEORIES AND ARGUMENTS ARE BUILDINGS**
(b)Your argument is shaky.
(c) The theory needs support.
(49a) RELATIONSHIPS ARE BUILDINGS:(b) Since then, the two have built a solid relation.
(50a) CAREERS ARE BUILDINGS:(b) His career was in ruins.

From the above data in (48)-(50), we can conclude that the source domain of building has been mapped onto the targets of argument, theory, relationship and career. All the target domains in (48a)-(50a) are complex systems dealing with stability and strength of complex system as its specific features, which are the main meaning focus, themes to talk about. A source domain therefore has specific meaning focus or foci conventionalized by speech community. Here, central knowledge is understood in central mapping, from which other submappings are derived. For example, the central mapping in COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS, can have two submappings. The first submapping is CONSTRUCTION IS A BUILDING and the second submapping is ABSTRACT STRUCTURE IS A PHYSICAL STRUCTURE/STABILITY IS STRENGTH (Kövesces, 2010: 139-140). To sum up, what we infer from metaphor scope is that a single source domain can be applied to numerous targets leading us to the production of different linguistic metaphors.

3.13 How Metaphor Gives Meaning to Form

Conceptual metaphor gives meaning to form in various ways for different purposes. This is clearly elaborated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980:126) and Casasanto (2009:128) as :

> When we speak words in linear order, i.e by saying one word before the other, there is meaning change. As speech is linked with time, people also talk about time based on space as in the linguistic metaphors *long vacation* and *short engagement* more than talking about space in terms of time. Therefore, it is common among people to conceptualize language in terms of space. Furthermore, during speech and writing, we know which words are near or far from each other and which ones should take the first position and the last position. Hence, in the conceptualization of linguistic form in terms of space, some space metaphors can function directly in the form of sentence or utterance and this can provide direct relation between form and content based on metaphors in our cognitive system.

What Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Casasanto (2009) indirectly express is that space and language can contribute to metaphorical conceptualization of different concepts. In fact, various linguistic elements like noun, verb and adjective have contents like meanings, morphemes or phonemes. Analogically, Lakoff and Johnson (1980:127) state that in a real life, when we see a small container, we expect the amount inside it to be small and when we see a big container, we expect the amount inside it to be big. When this analogy is applied to conduit or container metaphor, we expect **MORE OF FORM IS MORE OF CONTENT**, which has commonality across world languages or cultures. Metaphorical language uses different techniques to elaborate the relation between content and form. Regarding English for example, Lakoff and Johnson (2003:93) give examples of **MORE OF FORM IS MORE OF CONTENT** in the form of iteration by using different linguistic classes as follows in (51)-(53):

(51) He ran ran and ran.
In (51) iteration of the verb *ran* expresses more run than *He ran*, because three ran is more than one ran.
(52) He is very very very tall.
In (52) the repetition of degree adverb *very* three times indicates that the person spoken about has higher degree of tall than saying *He is tall*.
(53) He is bi-i-i-ig.

In (53), the iteration or extension of the vowel /i/ in big implies that the person spoken about is bigger than when you simply say He is big. The relation between distance and strength is that the closer the words, the stronger their effect on conceptualization. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980:128), the conceptual metaphor of the relation between meaning and form, which

is based on distance is **CLOSENESS IS STRENGTH OF EFFECT**, which is illustrated in (54a&b).

(54a) I found that the chair was comfortable.
(b) I found the chair comfortable.

Accordingly, as we can see above, the sentence in (54a) is open to the interpretation that by asking people, the speaker found out the comfortability of the chair. This is due to great distance between the speaker **I** to the forms chair and comfortable. Hence, indirect experience. However, in sentence (54b), we can infer that the speaker himself/herself sat on the chair and therefore found out the comfortability by direct experience. Looking at the distance between the words, we can see that in (54b) the speaker I and the chair and the complement comfortable are very close to each other. Therefore, the effect of syntax, i.e the arrangement of words, is to express the directness of experience and closeness indicating the strength of that effect (see Lakoff and Johnson, 2003). Generally, from the point of view of cognitive linguistics, meaning can be equated with conceptualization, which is a dynamic process in which linguistic units serve as sources of conceptual processes by evoking background knowledge (Evans and Green, 2006:162).

3.14. Relation between Conceptual Metaphor and other Tropes

This section of the study is devoted to the relation and distinction between metaphor and simile, metonymy and idiom in order to see the relation and difference between conceptual metaphor and these tropes/figures, which were understood as non-metaphors in the traditional approach. Further, the discussion also serves to reveal how these tropes are applied in the analysis of this study. Relation and distinction between metaphor and other tropes is is filled with debate. For example, Steen (2002b:21) argues that figures such as simile, allegory or analogy (to name the most obvious ones) are understood as metaphor as well. It is therefore worth discussing the relation and difference between conceptual metaphor and these figures to find out where differences and similarities lie.

3.14.1 Metaphor and Simile

The difference between simile and metaphor is not clear. Liu and Ma (2008:263) mention that metaphor is synonymous with simile because metaphor can be easily derived from simile by ellipsis as can be understood in (55a&b) .

(55a) George is a rock.
(b) George is like a rock.

In the examples above (55a&b), example (55a) is the reduced form (55b), which is simile metaphor. Cognitively, we therefore gain understanding about George's strength in terms of rock. Even without removing words such as like and as, there is no difference between metaphor and simile. Therefore, metaphor like **ARGUMENT IS WAR** is nearly the same as **ARGUMENT IS LIKE WAR**. This is supported by Aragi, Bahramy, and Kazemi (2013:39) that similes such *as as easy as* pie are metaphors.

3.14.2 Metaphor and Idiom

Many attempts have been made to distinguish between metaphor and idiom. Some researchers like Nunberg et al, (1994), Horn (2003) and Moon (1998) made some attempts to analyze and understand the over all composition of idiom. For example, Nunberg et al (1994) put that idioms typically involve metaphors like *take the bull by the horns* and metonymies like *lend a hand* (see Cserép, 2008). Allerton (1984) on the other hand makes a boundary between idiom and metaphor as "Unlike metaphor like *a long shot,* a true idiom has the meaning not related to literal meaning". True idiom here is taken by Moon (1998:19) as transparent idiom like *behind some one's back.* Horn (2003) argues that metaphor is a transparent idiom. However, Cserép (2008) concludes that the distinction between metaphor and idiom made by different authorities has thin line.

Kövecses (2002) argues that idioms encompass almost all linguistic and cognitive devices like metaphors (spill the beans), metonymies (throw up one's hand), similes (e.g like a stone). Sayings (proverbs) like *A bird in the hand* is *worth two in the bush* and phrasal verbs used with up as in *The christmas is coming up*, grammatical idioms (e.g let alone) and others illustrate mix of idioms with proverbs, which are metaphors too based on conceptual metaphor theory. Hence, we can conclude that idiom has wider scope (Kövecses,2002:210). Cognitive view of linguistics also shares the same view with traditional view that meaning of idiom is unpredictable, but cognitive view suggests that metaphor, metonymy and conventional knowledge are the three mechanisims making the meaning of idiom motivated. In addition, pyschological experiments have revealed that many idioms have pyschological reality and are based on cognitive devices (Kövecses, 2002:211).

Generally, it can be seen that idioms are based on metaphor. Accordingly, an example is *spit the fire* in which the domain of fire help to understand the target anger. We can therefore sum up that idioms are not independent but contain other cognitive mechanisims or they are contained by other cognitive mechanisms like conceptual metaphors. So, what Kövecses (2010:233) puts that single words like burn, ignite and kindle are not idioms is convincing.

3.14.3 Metaphor and Metonymy

The word metonymy originated from two Greek morphemes meta 'change' and onoma 'name' repectively. This concept is therefore currently defined as the standing of part of something for the whole item, or when something closely associated with an item stands for the item itself. In other words, partial association or reference corresponds to the item itself. In cognitive linguistics, distinction between metaphor and metonymy is debatable. However, in traditional rhetoric, the two concepts were treated to be different concepts (figures). In modern linguistics, metonymy is considered to be a subtype of metaphor (Song,2011:68-69). To illustrate metonymy, the following data in (56a)-(57b) were taken from Kövecses (2010:172).

(56a) Producer for the product

(b) I 'm reading shakespeare.

In (56b) **Shakespeare** is used to refer to the book written by him. Therefore, the author/writer has stood for his book.

(57a) Part for whole (synecdoche)

(b) We need some good heads on the project.

In (57b) heads refer to people. Evans and Green (2006:318) mention that the relation between metonymy, metaphor and emotion can be found in the metonymy in which *heart* metonymically stands for *kindness* or *love*.

The difference between metonymy and metaphor is that metaphor involves mapping across various cognitive models but metonymy is a mapping within one model (domain). One category within a model is taken as standing for another category within similar cognitive model. The main function of metonymic expression is to activate one cognitive category by referring to another category within the same model and by doing that to highlight the first category or the sub-model to which it belongs within a limited discourse (Ding, 2012:2384 &2385 and Lakoff, 1987:78-80). The two concepts which appear to be very important in the distinction made by

Ding (2012) and Lakoff (1987) are mapping and highlighting. To make the concepts of mapping and highlighting clearer in line with metaphor and metonymy, the following examples in (58a&b) were taken from Kövecses (2010:174):

(58a) We need a new glove to play third base.
(b) The boxer is like a cream puff.

The datum in (58a) illustrates metonymy because glove means a person who uses it. The glove has been highlighted to stand for its user. Hence, the instrument stands for the person (user); however, the example in (58b) conveys conceptual metaphor as there are two different domains: the **CREAM PUFF** and the **BOXER**. Therefore, the source domain is the *cream puff* and the target is the *boxer*. The softness of the cream puff is mapped onto the boxer's weakness. The two examples provided in (58a&b) take us to the two terms which make metaphor and metonymy separate despite their being mainly cognitive. The terms according Song (2011:71) and Evans and Green (2006:311) are **contiguity** and **similarity**. Contiguity, which is the feature of metonymy, means close or direct relationship between source and target like the whole of something and a part of it. Generally speaking, unlike similarity, contigiuty involves some kind of contact between container and contents, a place and dwellers, etc and it involves physical/spatial and abstract associations like time or cause. Hence, conceptual proximity. Metaphor on the other hand is based on unnatural (similarity) link between one thing from the source domain and the other from target domain.

Despite the cases where difference between metonymy and metaphor exists, there are strong claims that metaphor and metonymy are inseparable (Evans and Green,2006:311-313. Ibanez (2000), after high devotion of research found out that metonymy is almost always in conceptual interaction to metaphor. This must be the reason for which Goosens (2002) coined the term **metaphtonymy**, an interaction between metaphor and metonymy process and motivation. This high interaction between metaphor and metonymy is further elaborated by Lakoff (1987:383) and Barcelona (2003) that the interaction between metaphor and metonymy is motivated by bodily experiences although the language of metonymy is not well researched based on CMT (Esenova, 2011:20).

3.15 Emotion

According to De Rivera (1977:11) and Goleman (1996:17), the fact that all emotions are impulse to act is found in the very etymological Latin root verb *motere*' to move' plus the prefix{-e} to connote 'move away'. The fact that emotion leads to action can be very clear by watching animals and children. Oatley and Jenkins (1996:96) and Weiten (2001:G-3) define emotion as " Emotion is a subjective conscious or unconscious experience (the mental state) and evaluation of an event accompanied by bodily (the physiological component) and by behavoural aspects consisting of overt expressions."

The definition of emotion provided by Oatley and Jenkins (1996) and Weitein (2001) comprises three key points: mental/internal state, physiological and behavioural characteristics as responses by an experiencer. Here, emotion is understood to be internal phenomena like blood affecting bodily experience and behavour. Emotion is also undersood here to be subjective to imply that an emotion varies from an experiencer to an experiencer despite shared type. By overt expressions Oatly and Jenkins (1996) and Weiten (2001) imply that utterances are used as linguistic reactions caused by emotion. Emotion is cognitive and conscious because we know and we are aware of the situation. Emotion is conscious response because it is directed at people or things (e.g being angry at someone). Yet, emotions is unconscious experience because we are not conscious of the internal processes in our bodies when we experience an emotion. Thus, emotion and language, which is metaphorical are parts of human cognition (see also Selway, 2003:52).

Generally, Harmone-Jones, Robins and Watkins (2013:136) sum up that there is no agreement on defining the term emotion and this led to many misunderstandings. Almost all emotion theorists have reached the consensus that emotions are episodes (i.e phenomena with beginning and end) not an enduring state) and this is the first criterion separating emotion from personality traits and moods, which last longer duration. The second criterion on which an agreement has been reached is that emotions have many components of which cognitive, motivational, somatic, motor and subjective components are usually mentioned. Cognitive component of emotion consists of appraisal process, whose function is to evaluate the implication of stimuli for wellbieng. Changes in memory, interpretation and attention are other cognitive components of emotion (Gibbs, 2005:12).

Motivational component consists of action tendencies (e.g to increase contact) and other forms of readiness like passivity. Somatic component on the other hand, includes physiological activity being both central (in the brain) and peripheral (outside brain). Motivational and somatic components function in preparing and supporting behaviour. The motor component consists of facial and vocal expressions and gross behaviour such as fleeing, fighting, repairing and has the function to execute behaviour. Finally, subjective experience has to do with experience or feelings, which are endowed with monitoring function and other functions related to consciousness (Harmone-Jones, Robins and Watkins,2013).

The third criterion for emotion is that emotions occur when stimuli are appraised as goal, relevant, goal congruent/incogruent/positive/negative(Frijda,1986,Frijda,2007and Scherer,2005). The fourth criterion proposed by Scherer (2001,2009) is that emotion have high degree of integration. Thamm (2008:26) puts it that many theorists agree that compound emotions are formed based on more elementary ones. Furthermore, Ekman, (1982), Plutnick, (1962), Turner, (2002) mention that facial expressions reveal that emotions do mix; primary emotions have mixed states. This is because small number of pure emotions can be combined into compound or complex emotions. Lastly, the fifth criterion is that emotions are directed towards others beyond themselves, that they have an object (e.g being angry at someone or being afraid of something). This criterion further elaborates the distinction between emotion and pain, that is not about something (Solomon, 1984 and Harmon-Jones, Robins and Watkins, 2013;136-137).

3.15.1 Types of Emotion

Speakers of a given language may understand that some emotion words are more basic than others. More basic emotion (words) in English include anger, sadness, fear, joy and love. Less basic ones include annoyance, wrath, rage and indignation for anger and terror (Ding,2012: 1385). Annoyance is a slight anger. Indignation is a mix of anger and surprise caused by something unreasonable or unfair. Rage is a violent anger which is difficult to control; wrath on the other hand is an extreme anger (Hornby, 2010).

Basicness means two things: first, these words occupy the middle level in the vertical hierarchy of concepts (Rosch,1975). In this case, anger is more basic than annoyance as it occupies the middle level or it lies between the superordinate level and subordinate level. Second, basicness means an emotion word exists in the horizontal level and this horizontal level coincides with

basic level of vertical organization in which an emotion is judged to be a better category than another. For example, anger is more basic than pride or hope in the sense that they are on the same horizontal level (see also, Ding, 2012). See figures 3 and 4 below for vertical and horizontal view of basic emotion.

Superordinate Level	Emotion
Middle (Basic) Level:	anger
Suberordinate level:	annoyance

Figure 3 : Identifying Basic Emotion in Vertical Hierarchy (Kövecses, 2002: 3)

Emotion

Basic Level: hope, pride, anger, sadness, lust and surprise

Annyoynace

Figure 4: Identifying Basic and Non-basic Emotions based on Horizontal Level (Kövecses, 2000: 4)

Another category of emotion mentioned by Kendall (2014:192) is the blended emotions as primary (joy + acceptance = friendliness) ranging to more distant combination called secondary (sadness + anger = Sullenness) and tertiary mixtures (anticipation + fear = anxiety)

The organization of emotion terms have been exhaustively studied in the past decade. For example, Smith and Tkel–Sbal (1995) investigated the possibility that emotion terms are prototypically organized in the Micronesian languages of Plau. Smith (1995) attempted to do the same for Turkish. Cross cultural study along these lines is just beginning. Using a methodology borrowed from Fehr and Russel (1984), Frijda et al (1995) arrrived at five general/possibly universal categories of emotion in 11 languages. These basic emotions are happiness, sadness, anger, fear and love. According to John-Liard and Oately (1989), certain emotion terms are basic and unanalyzable in the sense that they cannot be decomposed into attribute or even more basic emotions. This implies that basic emotion categories like JOY or ANGER will normally be used as point of reference to describe non-basic ones like FURY or RAGE. Consequently, a better way of identifying a basic emotion is to look at the emotion vocabulary of a language and to try to describe its emotion words in terms of attributes. This way filters out unanlyzable basic emotions (Ding, 2012 and Ungerer and Schimid, 2006). The general characteristics of basic emotions according to Ungerer and Schimid (1999:13) cited in Sandstrom (2006:12) are the followings:

- They are unanalyzable.
- They have simple linguistic forms.

- They are the first names of emotions a child learns.
- They are most easily accessed.
- They are easily generated by receptors like eye, nose and tongue.

Emotions are also classified as either negative or positive. According to Ungerer and Schimid (1999:137-138), negative emotions include sadness, anger, disgust and fear and positive emotions include joy/happiness and desire/love. This classification coincides with Ekman (2003:208)'s classification where negative emotion correponds to non-enjoyable and positive emotion correponds to enjoyable emotion. Accordingly, enjoyable emotions bring pleasure and non-enjoyable ones cause problems to ourselves and others. The stimuli of these types of emotions are clear. For example, good taste/smell and beautiful object bring happiness but explosion of guns brings sadness/fear.

Number of (basic) emotions is argumentative among scholars. For example, Sandstrom (2006:13) fixes the number of basic emotions into six as sadness, anger/fury, disgust/hate, fear, joy/happiness and desire/love but does not provide reason for classifying these emotions as basic. Other researchers give their classifications by providing different reasons. Ekman, Friese and Ellsworth (1982) provide anger, disgust, fear, joy and sadness as fundamental emotions and their reason for the basicness of these emotions is that the emotions have universal facial expressions. Contrary to this, is the classification by Mowrer (1960) that only pain and pleasure are the basic emotions because they are unlearned emotional states. In contrast, within the same classification, a single emotion type can be classifed based on a parameter unique to it. For instance, surprise is a dual-nature emotion as it triggers both negative and positive response (Soloshenko, 2016).

3.15.2 Metaphorical Conceptualizations of Emotion in Non-Nilotic Languages

This section revises the conception of emotion in non-Nilotic languages in order to see the conception of emotion widely. In doing so, much literature has been taken from English, whose emotions have been well described based on Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

3.15.2.1 Sadness

Definition: Sadness is an emotional attitude characterized by unpleasant feeling tone and expressing itself in sighing, weeping, as well as passivity and diminished tone of voluntary muscles. Sadness is also characterized by feeling of disadvantage, loss and helplessness. Sad

people are less energetic, quiet, and withdrawn. Thus, sadness is a temporary lowering mood also called feeling blue (Ding, 2012:2395). The definition provided by Ding (2012) here shows that sadness is a general word consisting of other feelings. Broadly speaking, sad people can be said to accept or submit that certain loss happened to them. Hence, feelings like dismay, sighing, or grief convinces others to help the sad person.

Physological effects like crying and tears (e.g She cried with tears), and dropping of posture, which can be uttered as *My heart sank or I feel low*, clarify that someone is sad. Like all other metonymies, the metonymies on sadness point out those basic properties directly related to it to represent the stand-for relationship and this phenomenon is believed to happen to other emotions too (Barcelona,1986). According to Goleman (1996), sad helps to adjust to loss like death of a close relation; it brings a drop of energy and soothing of tear regulated by amygdala.

3.15.3 Metaphorical Conceptualization of Sadness

Like other emotions, sadness has different metaphorical conceptualizations. One source domain of sadness is CONTAINER, which the examples from Esenova (2011), Marshal and Moradi (2013) and Luo (2016) illustrate below in (59a&b).

(59a) Yesterday my *heart* was full of sadness.
(b) Evelyn's *voice* was so filled with despair that Kate felt rage again.

In the English example in (59a), sadness is a substance in heart, but in (59b), sadness is a substance in voice/throat. Both examples (59a&b), mean the experiencers were very sad.

3.15.3.1 Sadness as Burden

The conceptualization of sadness as burden is common in many languages. Mashak and Moradi (2013:111) posit that sadness as burden is common in both Persian and English as it is conceptualized as a heavy burden imposed on sad person. Accordingly, the English metaphor *He staggered under sadness* illustrates the metaphor in which sadness is a heavy burden taking human balance and makes him unable to walk to or move in a balanced way. In Persian, it is expressed as *zire ba qæm kæmæres xæm ʃode* (Lit. He has become bent under sadness, Mashak and Moradi, 2013).

3.16 Anger and its Conceptualization

Ding (2012) defines anger as an emotional stage ranging from irritation to intense rage. Its physical effects include increase in heart rate, blood pressure and levels of adrenaline and noradrenaline. The external expression of anger can be found in facial expression, body language, physiological responses, and at times in public acts of aggression. Anger is a behavioural pattern designed to warn aggressors to stop their threatening behaviour. In humans, anger often arises when another person is perceived to violate expected norms linked with social survival (:2386). The central point about Ding's (2012) definition of anger is the level of anger; it can be understood that anger has small, medial and larger scale leading to different physiological and linguistic responses. Regarding anger as a violated norm by human being as mentioned by Ding (2012), Wierzbicka (1999:35) provides the related and clear cognitive English secnario of ANGER as follows in (60a-c):

(60a) This person did something bad.
(b) I don't want this person to do things like this.
(c) I want to do something to this person because of this.

As Wierzbicka's (1999) scenario in (60a)-(60c) shows the thing not wanted by the person was done to him/her and due to this he/she wants to something bad to the offender too: this is revenge. Such utterances can be heard when asking the revenger for doing a bad thing to a person. A good example here is pinching or insulting a person's mother. Anger is caused by both human beings and natural disasters like fire and flood. Anger may be triggered immediately or slowly. According to Novaco (2000) cited in Ding (2012), the release of glucose stored in the liver and muscles as glycogen can make the activation of anger faster. In folk theory, we can see that as anger increases, its physiological effects increases. Physiological effects are increased body heat, increased internal pressure like blood pressure and muscular pressure, agitation and inferences interfering with perception. The physiological effect therefore changes the normal functioning of our body and appearance. The general metonymic principle is: **THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION**. Below are the physiological effects and the expressions accompanying anger based on Lakoff (1987:382-383) as BODY HEAT as follows in (61a-b):

(61a) Dont get under the collary.
(b) Billy is a hothead.

3.16.1 ANGER as EXPLOSION

When a liquid or gas is heated, its volume increases. If it is within an enclosed space, the increase in the volume increases the pressure resulting in explosion. Having this experience in mind, anger is conceptualized in such a way when it is intense. Therefore, HIGH INTENSITY OF ANGER MAKES A PERSON EXPLODE (Matsuk, 1995 and and Barcelona and Soriano, 2004). According to Alsahrif (2007), the followings are the linguistic metaphors in (62a-b) expressing anger with the source domain of explosion.

(62a) When I told him, he just exploded.
(b) He blew a gasket.

In (62b), anger is based on the source of pistol while in (62a) anger has the source domain of general explosive object.

3.16.2 ANGER with the Source Domain of INSANITY

It is universal fact among people that high emotion can affect our rational thinking or mind negatively resulting in different behaviours or acts and lose of control. In fact, when people are insane, as part of abnormal behaviour, they may foam (Lakoff and Kövecses, 1983:12). To illustrate the metaphorical conceptualization of anger with the source domain of INSANITY, the following linguistic metaphors in (63a&b) were taken from Ding (2012) and Alsharif (2007) and Kövecses (1986) to illustrate ANGER IS INSANITY.

(63a) He was foaming at the mouth.
(b) I just touched him and he went crazy.

3.16.3 Anger with Bad Smell and Bad Taste Source Domains

In our daily life, we smell and taste different things with favourable and bad smell/odour and taste. When we smell and taste good things, we become happy, but when we smell or taste bad things, we become angry. Unpleasant emotion can therefore be conceptualized in terms of bad smell and taste. This folk conception is scientifically strengthened by Russel (1990) that the formation of emotion is typically based on two aspects: how exciting or calming an emotional stimulus is (arousal) and how pleasant it is (valence). Furthermore, the effect of arousal on neural connectivity can differ depending on the emotional valence of information. For negative information, connections to regions like the middle occipetal gyrus bring an increase in the strength when information is more arousing. For positive things, the strength of maygdalar

affrents decreases as the arousal of pictures increases. Negative information is more remembered and felt with sensory details than positive one (Russel, 1980, Addis and Kensigner, 2010).

The same brain regions (amygdale and orbito frontal are used while processing both emotions and odour stimuli). During the transition from milk to solids, accepting new food is shaped by an inborn choices for sweet and salty and dislike of sour and bitter. This implies that people have natural dislike of bitter and sour tastes (Lewis, Haviland-Jones & Barrey, 2008:237 and Schroeder and Gordon, 2008:83). The relation between folk and scientific explanation about the conceptualization of anger as BAD TASTE and SMELL is therefore undoubful as scientific evidences support cultural views. Consider the linguistic metaphors in (64a&b) for ANGER IS BAD TAST/BAD SMELL (Esenova, 2011:64-65).

(64a) This is a stenche like a burned pepper.
(b) I have seen their cruelty, smell their putrid anger.

In some languages, specific type of plant can be used as a source domain of anger. In Ansah's (2011:124) analysis of anger metaphors of Akan, Ne-bo fu-e [His chest became weedy] means, *He is angry*, in which anger has the source domain of WEED.

3.17 Fear

Like guilt, the emotion of fear has a great deal of philosophical and psychological background. Aristotle talks about three things present in the soul referring to passions, capacities and characteristics where passion encompasses fear alongside with desire, anger and joy. For instance, he regards fear in respect to confidence and courage as the anticipation of a bad thing (Rakic,2014). In his philosophical writing *Trembling* and *Fear* (1986), Philosopher Kiergaard, addresses fear in relation to free will, conflict and sin (Soloshenko, 2016) and Barret and Collins 2011).

Fear is an emotional response to threats and danger. It is the emotion experienced and used as a basic survival mechanism in response to a negative stimulus such as pain or threat of pain. Similar to the emotion category of ANGER, there are many conventional expressions of fear like *Fear follows you, face the fear*, etc (Ding,2012). The definition provided by Ding (2012) mainly focuses on fear as a survival mechanism. Therefore, people and other creatures are afraid to protect their lives. Ekman (2003) explicates that degree of fear may differ based on whether

the threat is immediate or recurring. This variation of fear degree brings different expressions and physiologies of fear.

3.17.1 Physiological Effects of Fear

When experienced, fear passes through different levels of emotion. Fear is an instinctive reaction caused by rising adrenaline levels rather than an intentionally made decision. The facial expressions of fear are widening of one's eyes, anticipating what happens, dilating of pupil to take more light, rising of upper lips, drawing together of brows and stretching of lips horizontally. The physiological effects of fear are drop in body temperature, blood leaves face, sweating, dryness of mouth and increase in pulse rate, inability to move and flight (Ding, 2012:2389).

Metonymically, PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF FEAR EMOTION STAND FOR FEAR. So, emotion of fear is interfaced with metonymy as the following expressions display. For example, drop in body temperature (I was chilled to the bone) and sweating (He was sweating with fear) are physiological effects of fear, which communicate fear to others due to absence of spoken language. Thus, PHYSIOLOGY EXPRESSES EMOTION (Ding,2012:2390-2391) and (Mashak and Pazhak, 2012).

3.17.2 Metaphorical Conceptualization of Fear

Fear is described in detail by Kövecses (1990). Fear is conceptualized based on many source domains in all the languages/cultures of the world. Accordingly, one source domain is container/containee. For example, *We went into a state of fear* and *Ralph read fear in his eyes* illustrate that fear is a container/containee. In English, fear is also conceptualized as a child in the container as illustrated by Esenova (2011:77) below in (65).

(65) Pregnant with fear.

In (65), the source domain of fear is pregnance and foetus.

In some languages, fear is understood/ conceptualized by using voice or grammaticalization. Consider the following Amharic example in (66) from Takkele (2010:118).

(66)	ʃint	ʃint	al	-ə	-w
	urine	urine	say	3SG:MASC	DEF
Lit.	'It said to him urine urine.'				
	'He urinated due to fear.'				

In (66) the person who is afraid urinated due to the force of fear and the cause of fear like war is clear to the speaker. In a causative form, it can be said /asʃənaw/ **[aʃʃənaw]** 'It caused him to be afraid' (Lit. It made him urinate).

3.17.3 Metaphor of FEAR with DANGEROUS ANIMAL Source Domain

Different Animals give diffrent source domains of fear. Such a conceptualization gives **FEAR IS A DANGEROUS/WILD/CAPTIVE ANIMAL**. This is mainly based on the folk belief that emotions are dangerous forces. Yet fear as dangerous animal is more commonly used than fear is wild/captive animal (Esenova, 2011:86). To make the source domains clearer, the followings are examples in (67a-b) taken from Esenova (2011) and Rakic (2014).

(67a) She had fierce fear of storms.
(b) I saw fear slither across his heart.

In example (67a) fear is generally understood as a dangerous animal but in (67b), fear is conceptualized as snake as the word slither implies. So, we have the conceptual metaphors **FEAR IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL** and **FEAR IS A SNAKE**. Other conceptualizations of fear are provided by Kövecses (2000:23-24) cited in Rakic (2014:74-75) as follows in (68a&b)-(70b):

(68a) FEAR IS AN ILLNESS
(b) Fear of victory haunts many sports people, but on Saturday Chirstie was immune.
(69a) FEAR IS INSANITY
(b) The men on the quivering, battred boat were mad with terror.
(70a) FEAR IS A NATURAL FORCE: (b) Calm gauger of the swelling tide of mortal agony and fear.

Fear is also conceptualized as **MOTION**. In fact, Lakoff (2006:206) argues that states can be conceptualized as locations, bounded regions in space. Based on this conception, we conclude that **EMOTION (STATE) IS BOUNDED SPACE**. People have different ways of categorizing things in their various cultures (languages) but the fact still remains that people always categorize things, because it helps them understand new experiences on the basis of earlier experiences (Lakoff,1987:397). Sandstrom (2006:27) on the other hand, explains that we use motion verbs because our emotional state is expressed through our body and we construct metonymies and there after metaphors based on the basic experience of motion. Motion verbs like dive, roll and fly are usually used in constructing emotions. Based on Sandstrom (2006), it is

appropriate at this stage to establish categories that are applicable in metonymic schema **MOTION STANDS FOR EMOTION** and metaphorical schema **EMOTION IS MOTION**.

The points mentioned by Sandstorm (2006) and Lakoff(1987) are also supported by Rakic (2014:68) that emotion (fear) can be conceptualized as location, direction, source or trajector as examples (71)-(75) imply from Rakic (2014:68-70).

(71) But that leads to a crippling paranoia, a truly deblitating fear which is the greatest threat of all.

In (71), the preposition **TO** is syntactically used to mark the destination towards an emotional state. The experiencers in (71) therefore have felt the paranoia as it moved to them (Rull 2001: 354).

(72) He threw me into a total panic.

(73) Though winded, the impact seemed to startle him into a state of panic.

In examples (72) and (73) the preposition **INTO** marks direction towards emotion, which is also understood as GOAL and CONTAINER as to express being in state of emotion (fear).

(74a) Sofia's knees were shaking with fright, from heat and from old woman's bad tempered shouting.

In (74a) fright emotion is conceptualized as source of emotion motion, which is the cause of shaking.

(b) Parsons finally shook himself out of panic.

In (74b) the panic was first used as location then left by the experiencer to imply that he controlled the panic.

(75) A familar sense of irritation crept up on him; he didn't like being beholden.

In (75), fear irritation is conceptualized as a trajector moving on the experiencer by his own ability. The verb *creep* can express both motion and manner.

Although emotions share roles and physiologies to act, they also play different roles revealed by different biological signatures. Distinct emotional acts are mostly seen between anger and fear. With anger, blood flows to hands, making easier to grasp a weapon or strike at a foe; heart rate increases, and a rush of a hormone such as adrenaline generates a pulse of energy strong enough for vigorous actions. With fear, blood goes to large skeletal muscles, such as in the legs making it easier to run away and making the face pale as blood is moved away from it (creating the

feeling that the blood " runs cold"). With fear, we evaluate the stimulus for what response to make (Goleman,1996:18 and Rakic, 2014).

3.18 Happiness

Happiness is one of the primary objectives in the positive psychology movement (Lucas and Sheldon,2014:xvi). This is because happiness is important for positive relation and life. Furthermore, Veennhoven (2014:167) expresses achieving happiness as a major goal in current society; individuals or people try to shape their lives in such a way that they can enjoy themselves. This view was once at the heart of $19th_c$ **Utopian** movement-achieving perfect happiness and is still an ideological basis of the 21^{st}_c welfare states (Veennhoven, 2014). Happiness is generally a part of our life and philosophy. For example, the Greek moral philosophy called Epicurism, focused on devotion to pleasure and enjoying life rather than unhappiness (Veenhoven, 2014:167, and Bentham 1789).

As we can infer, Veenhoven (2014) focuses on happiness as a source of improving life quality. However, whether the change of life necessarily results in happiness is mysterious, because improving basic needs without improving health may not bring happiness (Brickman & Campbell, 1971, Venhoveen, 2014:168). Happiness can be maintained because it is homeostasis and it is comparable to body temperature (see Cimmins,1995). In this vein, Liebermen (1970:74) wrote " ... at some point in life even the age of 18, an individual needs certain level of satisfaction. This means all people need happiness. Some sociologists see an individual's happiness as a reflection of his/her positive out look (Lykken,1999).

3.18.1 Lexical Definition of Happiness

Hornby (1989) defines the adjective happy as'' a feeling of expressing joy, willingness, fortune, satisfaction and luck. Csillag (2016:93) defines happines as *a state of wellbeing characterized by relatively agreeable emotion ranging from mere contentment to deep and intense joy*. It is a pleasurable or enjoyable experience." The definition here combines happiness with wellbeing and positive feelings like satisfaction (see also Duffy and Atwater, 2005:192). So, a person who is ill is unhappy and a happy person is a willful person to do things like helping others. According to Ding (2012:239), very great happiness is called **joy**. The definitions provided by both Hornby (1989) and Csillag (2016) imply that the word happy is not isolated from other

feellings and happiness is usually understood to be the most important emotion for human life and health.

Kövecses (1991) exemplifies the existence of conventionalized expressions which are metonymically linked with happiness. As is the case with anger, these metonymic expressions are based on some behavioural reactions caused by happiness like jumping, dancing, smiling and bright eyes. In English, the metonymic expression can be provided as *He jumped for joy*.

3.18.2 Metaphorical Conceptualization of Happiness

Happiness can be conceptualized with different source domains like light, container, food and others. Kövecses (1991) provides that one of the major metaphorical concept is the understanding of happiness in terms of **LIGHT**, whose linguistic metaphors can be provided as follows in (76a-b) based on Ding (2012:2392).

(76a) When she heard the news, she lit up.
(b) Nothing to worry about, she brightened up.

In general sense, emotion can be conceptualized as a substance in a container. Happiness therefore can be conceptualized as a substance in a container but the containers can be of various types (Kövecses,1995, Lakoff and Johnson, 1980 and Ding, 2012). Accordingly, the following examples in (77a-b) were given for conceptualizing happiness as A FLUID IN A CONTAINER.

(77a). Our heart is full of joy.
b. The sight filled them with joy.

Metaphor of happiness can be associated with attaining the emotional state based on the QUEST model in which experiencing happiness is understood based on looking for and obtaining a concrete object like food or clothe (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999:179&196). Examples can be provided in data (78a-b) based on Stefanowitch (2004).

(78a) TRYING TO ACHIEVE EMOTION IS SEARCHING FOR EMOTION:
(b) Happiness: look for happiness, reach happiness, quest for happiness, find happiness.

3.19 Love

Ding (2012:2393) sees love as a combination of many emotions and experiences related to the sense of strong affection. The word love can refer to a sense of strong affection for attachment. It can also refer to different feelings, states and attitudes, ranging from pleasure (e.g, I loved the meal) to strong interpersonal attraction (I love my girlfriend). This diversity of meanings,

combined with the complexity of feelings involved, makes love usually difficult to define even if it is compared with the other types of emotional states. As an abstract concept, love usually refers to a deep, inaffable feeling of tenderly caring for another person(Atwater and Duffy, 2005:320-321).

The definition of love provided by Ding (2012) and Atwater and Duffy (2005) has three key points: first love is a combination of affection, happiness, attitude and feeling. Second, love exists between persons. Third, love between male and female human beings is the strongest although other creatures may love each other. Other researchers view love differently. For example Freud (1922) regards love as as an emotion of striving for an ego ideal and Reik (1944) viewed love as a search for salvation. Since it is a combination of different emotional states, love has different physiological effects giving clues to people to understand and distinguish love. Ding (2012) provides the physiological effects of love like physical closeness as *I want to be with you all the time* and body heat such as *I feel hot when I see her*.

3.19.1 The Triangle of Love

The triangular theory of love states that love can be understood in terms of three major components, which form triangular vertices. These three components are intimacy (top vetex), passion (left-hand vertex) and and decision or commitment (right vertex). These components are assigned arbitrarily. **Intimacy** refers to the feeling of closeness, connectedness or bondedness in loving relationships, sharing communication and support. It is therefore connected to the feeling of warmth in the the beginning of love process. The **passion** component refers to the drives that lead to romance, physical attraction, sexual relation and unity in love relation. The **decision** or **commitment** component refers to in short term, the decision that one loves someone else and in long term, it is the commitment to maintain love. This part includes the cognitive elements like determination involved in decision making of long term-commitment for maintaining love forever (Stenberg, 1986). See figure 5 below for the triangle of love and its components.

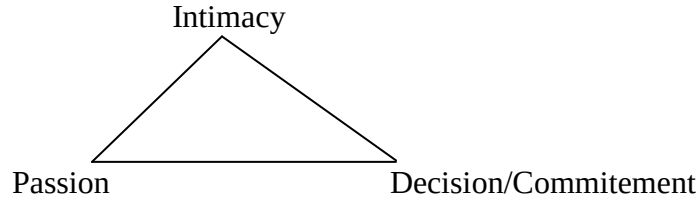


Figure 5: The Triangle of Love, Stenberg (1986: 119-120)

Figure 5, which is based on Stenberg (1986), emphasizes love among human beings. The three components of love have different properties. For example, the emotional and other invlovement of intimacy component and the cognitive component of decision/commitment seem to be relatively stable in close relationships (Stenberg, 1986 and Gajek,1984).

Love may occur in different forms. For example, infatuation happens at first sight without intimacy or commitment. But romantic love, which is a strong attachment to opposite sex, is a combination of intimacy and passion (Tenove,1979; Hatefield and Waster, 1981; Atwater and Duffy, 2005:321). Lee (1977), Duk (1983) and Lasswell and Lobenz (1980), argue that love may be caused by things like benefit or personality. For example, agape is an altruistic love type in which a lover loves his/her lover due the personality without expecting benefit. This leads us to the conclusion that love has many subcategories with many subsource domains (see also Stenberg and Gajek, 1944).

3.19.2 Metaphorical Conceptualization of Love

Based on Kövecses (1986), Lakoff and Johnson (1980:44) and Mashak and Pazhakh (2012: 205), love can be conceptualized based on various source domains as follows in (79a-82b):

(79a**) LOVE IS A NUTRENT**: (b) I'm starved for love.
(80a**) LOVE IS BOND**: (b) There is close tie between them.
(81a) **LOVE IS UNITY**: (b) We are one.
(c) We are inseparable.
(82a) **LOVE IS FIRE:** (b) I am burning with love.

3.20 Jealousy/Envy

Although other languages like French, Russian and Ukrainian perceive the translation equivalents of English envy and jealousy as separate emotions belonging to different families, English tends to conflate the two emotion concepts. Despite the philosophical consensus that envy and jealousy are distinct, it is nevertheless linguistically acceptable to use both jealousy and envy as referring to identical or similar situations (Ogarkova,2007:99-100). To make the linguistic or conceptual similarity between envy and jealousy clearer, Ogarkova (2007:100) provides examples (101a&b) followed by definitions.

(83a) Perhaps, he is jealous of the players who were offered huge sums of money for touring.
(b) I'm almost never envious of actors, never directors but I am envious occasionally of writers.

In example (83a), the cause of the man's jealousy is/was the high amount of money given to players. This implies that he wished/needed the money but was not given to him as the result of not being a player. In example (83b), the speaker's envy is expressed for writers but not actors and directors. An actor/actress is a person performing in a film or play. A director is a person in charge of making film or programme, or getting a play ready for performance. A writer on the other hand, writes books. (Macmillan Dictionary, 2007). Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Students, 2007:493 & 808) defines envy and jealousy as follows:

Envy: the feeling that you wish you had something that someone has (e.g Envy people who are always confident).

Jealousy: a feeling of unhappiness and anger because someone has something or someone you want (e.g Other girls are jealous of her good looks.)

While analyzing and interpreting the definitions of **envy** and **jealousy**, one can see that there are shared elements in the definitions directly or indirectly. To begin with, in both of the definitions provided, feeling is directly common. Furthermore, in both envy and jealousy, the need of something possessed by another person is implied. Although the word wish is not explicitly mentioned in jealousy, as the jealous person has no right to take someone else's property, he wishes to have and wish can be accompanied by **ANGER** or **UPSET**. Thus, both words have mutual co-occurrences except in certain contexts.

Jealousy/ envy can be conceptualized based on different experiences. For example, according to Ogarkova (2007), the English expressions like *symptoms of jealousy* and *murderous jealousy* underlie **JEALOUSY/ENVY IS DISEASE** and **JEALOUSY IS AN OPPONENT/KILLER** respectively (Lakoff, Eperson and Schwartz 1999: 146 and Soriano, 2015:209).

3.21 Metaphorical Conceptualization of Emotion in Nilotic Languages

This section discusses the conception of Emotion in Nilotic languages which are very closely related to Anywaa. Nilotic languages are spoken in an area ranging from central Tanzania north-ward across Kenya, Uganda, DR Cogngo, South Sudan and Ethiopia. These languages belong to Nilo-Saharan phyllum, which is one of the major language phylla in Africa. Nilotic is basically divided into three main branches: Western, Eastern and Southern (Dimmendaal, 2015:153). Description of emotional languages of Nilotic languages based on *Conceptual Metaphor Theory*

is very little. Although Dimmendaal (2015) made a better attempt to analyze the Emotional languages of Nilotic and Bantu languages, he does not explicitly apply *Conceptual Metaphor Theory* in his analysis and description.

In presenting the expression of happiness in Lango, a Nilotic language spoken in Uganda, Noonan (1992) explains that this language expresses emotion and personal characteristics by attributing an emotion or behaviour to stomach/belly and liver (Dimmendaal, 2015). In the following examples of happiness expressions in (84a&b) in Lango, the data were taken from Noonan (1992:189-190) cited in Dimmendaal (2015:154):

(84a)	yì	-ɛ́	yòm
	belly	3SG	3SG:soft:HAB
Lit.	'His/Her belly is soft.'		
	'(S)he is happy.'		
(b)	cwíŋ	-é	yòm
	liver	3SG	3SG:soft:HAB
Lit.	'His/Her liver is soft.'		
	'(S)he is happy.'		

As we can infer from examples (83a&b), in Lango, the seats of emotions and personal traits are stomach and liver. Thus, examples (84a&b) underlie HAPPINESS IS SOFT (LIVER/STOMACH). In Dinka-Nuer branch of Western Nilotic, on the other hand, the seat of emotions and personal traits is heart. Dinka is a Western Nilotic language spoken in South Sudan and Nuer is a Western Nilotic spoken in Ethiopia and South Sudan (see Reh, 1996 & Okello, 2014). Below, in (85&b) are examples used to express happiness and anger in Nuer and Dinka:

Nuer

(85a)	á	lótʃ	-k	-ùn	tɛ̀t̪	rɛ̀j	kùa̲r	nī[12]	jétʃù
	JUSS	hearts	GEN:PL	2PL	fall	in	chief	REL	Jesus
	nìtʃìaŋ								
	always								
Lit.	'Let your hearts always fall down with Jesus, the chief.'								
	'Let you always be happy with chief Jesus.'								
	The Bible Society in South Sudan (1999:191)								

In example (85a), as the Nuer datum implies, in Nuer, the center of emotion, feeling or cognition is lɔ̀àtʃ 'heart'. Therefore, in Nuer, *happiness* is rendered by the compound word tɛ̀t̪ lɔ́àtʃ, which literally means *falling down of heart*. Therefore, example (85a) takes us to the

[12] In Nuer, the relativizer nı 'who' introduces or marks a non-defining relative clause. The example in (85b) therefore has non-defining relative clause nī jétʃù 'who is Jesus', because the head Jesus has already been specified by kùa̲r 'chief'. However, Nuer uses the relativizer mī 'who,which/that' to mark defining realtive clause. Example, in gàtdɛ́ mī tʃìɛ́ líw 'His/Her son who died', mī 'who' specifies the dead son from those who are alive.

conclusion that among the Nuer, HAPPINESS IS DOWN, because people fall down with laughter, which is felt with heart.

Dinka

(b)	kɔ̀tʃ	à	-áràtʃ	pùòt̪	ápɛ́ì
	people	LV	bad	hearts	very
Lit.	'The people's hearts are very bad.'				
	'The people are very angry.'				

Nebel (1948:130)

In (85b), the Dinka example has used BADNESS OF HEART to express anger as a negative emotion. This implies that among the Dinka, pùòù'heart' is a seat of emotions, feelings and cognition. Thus, both Dinka and Nuer use heart as a center of emotions.

According to Omondi (1997), in Dholuo, which is a Western Nilotic Luo spoken in Kenya and closely related to Anywaa, Acholi, Alur, padhola and Shilluk, FEAR can be conceptualized as a STRONG FORCE or a DANGEROUS ANIMAL as follows in (86):

(86)	Luoro	o	-mak	-a
	fear	PERF	catch	1SG
	'Fear has caught/overwhelmed me.'			

Omondi (1997:108)

The Dholuo example in (85) implies that the speaker has become very afraid. The word mak 'catch', evokes the strong force of being caught and overcome.

3.22. Force-dyamic Theory of Emotion.

The relation between emotion metaphors and force can be betterly captured by using force dynamic theory. According to Kövecses (2000:8), the relation betwen folk theory and force dynamic theory is seen in Talmy (1988:53), who proposed the theory by stating that description of events and their interaction based on force involves the following parts: agonist, antagonist, resultant of the force interaction (action, rest and balance of strength), which consists of the stronger entity and the weaker entity and the intrinisic force, which is either towards rest or towards action. An agonist is an entity with an intrinsic force tendency toward in action (to stay at rest). This is the experiencer of emotion. An antagonist on the other hand is an entity with an intrinsic force and attempts to overcome the agonist by exerting force on it. This is emotion, which in force dynamic theory is defined as an opposition between two entities exerting force: **agonist** and **antagonist**. Therefore, the metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FORCES has its source domain the FORCE SCHEMA (Kovecses, 2004:62).

Dynamicity means changing. Force is an input of energy with an origin at which energy is applied in certain direction with certain magnitude. Thus, force dynamics refers to an interaction of entitites based on exerting force (Talmy,1988:49-50). In cognitive approach to emotion study, Kövecses (2004: 85) points out that emotions are forces mediated through concepts. This implies that emotion influences language and cognition. Accordingly, an example like *I was overcome by emotion* illustrates this view of emotion in which the target of fear or anger is understood in terms of force in which an opponent struggles with it and finally defeated (see also Talmy, 1988:62). Lakoff (1990) puts that **FORCES ARE CAUSES**. So, we have two processes: (1) Cause leads to emotion and (2) emotion leads to response. Opponent (1) is the rational self and opponent (2) is the emotion. The general schema in force-dynamic theory is as follows in figure 6:

(1) cause of emotion→(2) emotion→(3) attempt at control→(4) loss of control→(5) response

Figure 6: Force-dynamic theory Schema based on Kövecses (2000:340)

As figure 6 implies, there are two main opponents in EMOTION IS FORCE: the emotion and the rational self (experiencer) (Lakoff, 2006:213). In this study, Force Dynamic Theory is used as a model under Conceptual Metaphor Theory in order to capture EMOTION IS FORCE both theoretically and culturally.

3.23. Relatonion between Metaphor, Language, Emotion and Cognition

Conceptual metaphor theory is based on the observation that much of what we say in our daily life is figurative and concepts like **EMOTIONS** are expressed by using language to express one's feeling, uncontrolability of emotion or degree of emotion (e.g His anger outbrust and shocked the people around him). Conceptual metaphor (theory) can also reveal aspect of emotion important for the speakers of language but ignored by emotion theorists (Soriano, 2015:206-210). Conceptual system is the way in which the brain organizes knowledge about the world. The brain therefore supports all the cognitive or construal operations in the process of conceptualizing the world (Coulson, 2008).

From what Soriano (2015) provides we can infer that language can largely contribute to the study of metaphorical conceptualization of emotion as people express their emotions through language. So, the existence of human being himself is vital for the existence of emotion and language. Soloshenko (2016: 30) adds that when talking about emotion and language, we make

reference to words denoting emotion like anger or the process of experiencing emotion. Also emphatic description of how our body reacts like *I feel happiness in my veins.* We also use interjections like Wow!, Oh! And Ah! to express negative and positive emotions. Interjections are compact but explosive reactions to unexpected overwhelming or surprising information and response to it. Ye, Fu and Xiaolan (2009) found out that at both functional and neurological levels, the interdependence between metaphor, emotion, language and cognition can be understood from emotion regulation, which is defined as the process by which we control emotions we have, when we have them, and how we experience and express them. Emotional significance of stimuli has a great impact on perception, mental and physical health.

Kövecses (2000) in comparing language with metonymy or metaphor, states that language is dominated by metaphorical and metonymic expressions and most expressions belong to various conceptual metaphors and metonymies expressing emotion. Example, the linguistic metaphor *He carries his anger* helps to design the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS BURDEN. What Kövecses (2000) implies here is that when analyzing an emotion expression, linguistic metaphor can be heard; yet behind what we hear is the conceptual metaphor and metonymy telling us that emotion and language are related metaphorically or metonymically. This is broadened by Esenova (2011:38) that cognitive linguistics research findings have systematically indicated that the concepts people use for reasoning and talking about emotions are metaphorically structured and understood. Therefore, emotions in language are not only a collection of literal words aimed at categorizing and referring to preexisting emotional reality but support our thinking (Kövecses, 2004: xii, Shekonen, 2016:31).

Understanding the relation between metaphor (metonymy), language and emotion is not adequate for understanding metaphorical conceptualization of emotion. An interesting question to be raised here is *What backs up or what constitutes language, metaphor and emotion?* According to Majid (2012:438), emotion cannot be singled out from cognizing and this conflation between emotion and cognition or internal states is of a great deal in lexicon and spoken language, because language is used with the activation of all parts of the brain mainly both right and left hemispheres (See Barnes and Pinel, 2018: 428). LeDoux (1996) and Whalen et al (2004) on the other hand, state that brain structures linked to emotion are usually subcortical, like amygdala, ventral striatum and hypothalamus. These structures are more often evolutionarily conserved. They are also believed to operate fast and in an automatic way, such

that certain trigger features; for example, the white of the eyes in fearful expression are relatively unfiltered and always evoke response important to survive. Therefore, language, metaphor and emotion are part of human cognition, which is defined as the transformation, reduction, elaboration, storing and use of sensory in put. This implies that cognition include memory, understanding and problem solving (Evans and Green, 2006, Lakoff, 1991 Schachter and Singer, 1962 and Neiser, 1967:4).

Chapter Four: Metaphorical Conceptualization of Emotion and Anger in Anywaa

Among the Anywaa, emotion is basically understood to be FEELING OF PAIN like the pain of knife, fishing spear, thorn, bullet etc. Thus, Anywaa speakers use the word **dʒɔ̀ɔ̀r** 'feel pain' and **dʒúódo** 'feel(ing) (with the five senses)'. While the former word does not delete the patient or cause, the latter word deletes the emotion stimulus or experiencer as illustrated in the expressions in (87a-d) below.

(87a)	ārìɛ̀d	ádʒááɲ	ā	-dʒɔ́ɔ́r	-ɛ́
	Aried	insult	PST	feel pain	3sG
Lit.	'Aried felt the insult pain.'				
	'Aried became angry due to insult.'				

In (87a), the insult is felt causing anger like the pain of spear or knife, which causes irritation. Thus, both insult and pain make a person irritated.

(b)	jì	dʒùòdò	tʃʊ̀ʊ̀t̪
	2SG	feel pain	always
Lit.	'You are always feeling pain.'		
	'You always have a bad feeling.'		

Example (87b) refers to bad feeling like anger caused by bad treatment always caused to the addressee, who is always leading a bad life.

(c)	gìr	tʃʊ̀ɔ̀r	-è	ɛ́ɛ́	dʒʊ̀ɔ̀rɔ̀
	thing of	husband of	3SG	PERF	feel
Lit.	'She has felt her husband's issue (pain). '				
	'She felt her husband's issue.'				

In example (87c), the word dʒʊ̀ɔ̀r 'feel pain' expresses the general concept of emotion. The metaphor can mean the wife's longing for her husband, feeling happy with her husband for the things he did to her or the wife can be feeling bad for the bad thing that happened to her husband or the bad thing done to her by him.

(d)	gír	-ì	lɛ́t̪	tʃwíɲ	-à
	thing of	2SG	painful	liver of	1SG
Lit.	'Your thing is painful in my liver.'				
	'Your issue has worried me.'				

The example in (87d) implies the experiencing of many emotions by the addresser. Although the word lɛ́t̪ literally means painful, the metaphorical meaning of the sentence in (87d) can mean the addresser has felt the offense (anger) seriously due to bad word or insult used by the addressee to him/her, but the expression can also mean the addresser is expressing his/her strong love and worry about the addressee. The example also means the addressee, who was a very close relative of the addresser, has passed away and the addresser is talking about the importance of the deceased person to him/her by looking at the grave or photo of the deceased person. In such a context, sadness and fear mix because the addresser, who is alive, has remained without a close

relative or friend. Example (87d) can imply the addresser's memory of the good thing done to him/her by the addressee, who may be still alive. So, (87d) underlies EMOTION IS PAIN (IN LIVER/BODY).

The fact that Anywaa has no general word for the concept of emotion is not particular to the language. Russel (1991) lists a number of ethnographic records which show that many languages have a word for emotion while some like Samoan, Akan and Amharic have no linguistic labels (words) for emotion (Ansah, 2011, Dzoko and Okazaki, 2006; Gerber, 1975, 2006).

4.1 Metaphorical Conceptualization of Anger in Anywaa

In this section, sadness and anger are not analyzed and interpreted as distinct emotion categories. This is because Anywaa has no distinct words of sadness and anger unlike languages like Amharic, which uses **hazen** for *sadness* and **nɨddət** for *anger (*see also Kövecses, 1986 and Takele, 2010). In Anywaa, the word for anger is **gòòt-ɔ̀**, which is formed out of the verb stem gòòt-'be angry' and the NOM **{-ɔ**}. The morpheme **{-ɔ}** changes its function to an infinite complement when the past tense{-a} or the perfective and habitual aspects **{ò-}** and **{ó-}** are attached to the verbal stem **-gòòt-**. Another word for gòòtɔ 'anger' is gùòn. In Anywaa, sadness is understood as a category of anger. The Anywaa word gòòtɔ 'anger' is usually understood based on the mouth physiology by closing the mouth. Thus, ANGER IS THE CLOSING OF MOUTH. So, among the Anywaa, sadness is the highest degree of anger which has no solution.

So far, researches on the structure of emotion concepts tried to confirm whether or not emotion concepts have common conceptual boundaries across languages or cultures. The findings indicated that such boundaries are unclear and therefore differ from language to language or from culture to culture. For example, while anger and sadness are two clearly separate emotion categories in English, they are combined as one emotion category in Buganda, Ilongot and Ifaluk languages (Ansah, 2011). Furthermore, very often, some emotion words in one language do not have their translation equivalents in other languages. For instance, schadenfreud and angst are two well known German concepts, which are not translatable in English. When used in English, angst undergoes semantic narrowing from existential anxiety in German to worry. These findings take us to two major conclusion: first different languages recognize different emotions and the second conclusion is that various languages categorize emotion concepts differently (Ansah, 2011,Russel,1991). The following examples in (88a-d) are anger/sadness expressions in Anywaa.

(88a) dʒòòbì ā -kúún
Jobi PST be partly angry and doubtful
'Jobi partly became angry and doubtful.'

The difference between kúún and gòòtɔ̀ is that the former has lower degree than the latter and the cause of the former is not clear to others unlike that of gòòtɔ̀ in which mouth is clearly closed. Thus, when the reason of anger is clear and it is clearly expressed, it turns into gòòtɔ̀ '(clear) anger'. But gòòtɔ̀ is commoner than kòòn. The anger word kúún is mixed with doubt and fear of expressing the disatisfaction, which is sometimes identified by deep silence. For example, when a husband is not happy with marriage with his wife and doubts that the girl was not conceived by him, the child born in such a situation is named ōkúún/ākúún. However, the husband is afraid that if he expresses his anger, he will be beaten by the girl's male relatives. So, unlike **gòòtɔ̀** 'anger', **kúún** has no physiology but may have disapproval sound locally called tʃwíígɔ́ 'jeering'. Therefore, the word kìin 'mourn, be very sad' and kúún 'silent anger' are subtypes of the basic emotion anger.

(b) ōmɔ̀d ò -gòòtɔ̀ èè
Omod PERF be angry EVI
'Omod is angry.'

In (88b), the low tone on **èè** marks evidentiality. The speaker has adequate evidences that Omod is angry based on background knowledge, eye colour, mouth shape, cause of anger and other evidences. The speaker in (103) is therefore advising the person who offended him or who want to talk to him in order not to touch or talk to him as he may be slapped, insulted or hit by Omod due to his intense anger. The use of the perfective aspect {ò-} is evidential in that there are evidences showing that Omod's anger relates to the current situation like insulting, keeping quiet, etc.

(c) tʃààm ò -gòòtɔ̀ ěɛ
Cham PERF be angry DUB:INTRO
'Is Cham angry?'

In (88c) the rising tone on **ěɛ** implies that the speaker is not very sure whether Cham is angry or not, because Cham's mouth is not clearly closed. He or she is asking the people nearby to tell him clearly. This in turn implies that the speaker knows the behaviour of Cham that when he is angry, he attacks people. Hence, the speaker is confirming not to be attacked by the aggressive Cham. Therefore, **ěɛ** is an interrogative morpheme used to confirm evidence unlike èè, an evidentiality morpheme based on clear observation or investigation.

(d) dʒɔ̀ túúŋ gòòtʃ gè pòòt nō ò -gòòt
people of lineage of Gooc 3PL still CON PERF be angry
-ɔ̀ kīpér ōtʃʊ̀ɔ̀k
IFT for king's bead
'The Gooc lineage is still angry for the insigna bead.'

The so called **ōtʃòɔ̀k** in Anywaa is very important bead for becoming a king as it was worn by the Anywaa king ancestor Okiro or Ochuudho himself. This was the string of bead left under the sleeping skin by ōtʃùùɖò, the ancestor of Anywaa king, who returned to the river after conceiving kɔ̀ɔ̀rì, the daughter of chief tʃùʌ̀ʌ̀j.

The word tʃòɔ̀k means cheating or lie. This string of bead consists of 38 black cylinderical beads with greeny-blue segments at one end. Anywaa nobility has two main noble lineages namely túúŋ gòòtʃ kī túúŋ ɲóódòòlà 'the Goc lineage and the Nyoodoola lineage'. These two lineages were in revival for ōtʃòɔ̀k bead and in a battle called the battle of Akeemagilo, the Nyoodola lineage took the bead. So far, the bead was with the Goc lineage but later taken by the Nyoodola lineage as the result of the battle of Akeemagilo.

Today, the bead is still with the Nyoodola lineage in Otalo, where the strongest Anywaa king Wenykut resides. However, the Goch lineage is still angry, because of the string of bead. One of causes of the conflict which happened between the people of Otalo belonging to Nyoodola lineage and those of Tiernaam belonging to Goc lineage in 2014[13] was the reclaim for this emblem so that the kingdom would return to the Goc lineage. Due to this, the war broke out between the two sides claiming the lives of around six people from both sides but the bead was not given back though. In there political behaviour túúŋ gòòtʃ 'Goc lineage' did believe in diplomacy but that of ɲóódóólá did believe in forced actions. Until today, unless a person wears the ōtʃtòɔ̀k, he will not be called as ɲéjjá 'king'. That is why for someone who was crowned, the Anywaa ask wò rɔ̀ɔ̀ŋá ŋá kō ōtʃòɔ̀k 'Who crowned him with ōtʃòɔ̀k embelem?'(Evans-Pritchard,1940:51 and Tasew,2010:2010:31).

4.2 ANGER as PHYSIOLOGY

Among the Anywaa, whenever anger is experienced, an angry person undergoes different physiological effects related to the whole body or particular parts of the whole body. Angry person may get annoyed easily or feel like he/she needs to move around. It is a normal emotion. But when an angry person is under a lot of stress and strong feeling, he/she tends to show up, loudly and angrily speaks, shakes and wants to attack an offender. These physiologies make an

[13]Further confirmation was made with Abala Omod in october 11, 2019.

angry person agitated. Put briefly, agitation is an inability to reduce an emotion. It is caused by irrational forces in the mind (Sorabji, 2002). Consider the examples below in (89a-e):

(89a)	dèèr	-è	ā	-tìmò	nī	gìrrì	kī	gòòtɔ̀
	body of	3SG	PST	become	CON	trembling	with	anger
Lit.	'His/Her body has become trembling with anger.'							
	'He/She is trembling with anger.'							

In (104a) the implied meaning is that the whole body of the angry person is shaking with the voice gírgír.... and he or she is about to fight. In the context where the anger is clear, the anger expression in (104a) can be uttered without the prepositional phrase kī gòòtɔ̀ 'with anger'. In (104a) the whole body of the person who is trembling with anger produces the trembling voice gìrrgìrr. In Anywaa, the understanding of trembling in terms of DANCING can be seen in (89b) as:

(b)	dèèr	-è	míél	kī	gòòtɔ̀
	body of	3SG	dance	with	anger
Lit.	'His/Her body is dancing with anger.'				
	'He/She is trembling with anger.'				

If the anger context is clear and the trembling person is near the people, the anger in (89b) can be uttered without kī gòòtɔ̀ 'with anger'. Due to the word míél 'tremble', it can be inferred that the anger in (89b) leads to rushing to attacking an offender. According to Duffy and Atwater (2005:193), such an anger is called venting anger/catharsis.

(c)	ɖé	-è	kwáŋŋì	kī	gòòtɔ̀
	mouth of	3SG	shaking	with	anger
Lit.	'His mouth is shaking wit anger.'				
	'He/She is agitated with anger.'				

What is implied in (89c) is that the angry person is about to insult and hit the offender. Physiologically, such a person is in difficulty of speaking needing no response from the offender.

(d)	tʃɛ̀ŋŋ	-è	ā	-tìmò	nī	gìrrì/kwáŋŋí	kī	gòòtɔ̀
	hands of	3SG	PST	become	CON	shaking	with	anger
Lit.	'His hands were shaking and produced the voice girr....'							
	'His /Her hands were shaking with anger.'							

Example (89d) implies that the angry person was about to slap/ hit the offender if he does not stop responding. Sometimes such an offended person looks for a big stick locally called (ā)ʈɔ̀rà (PL. (ā)ʈɔ̀rɛ̀) to hit the offender with. That is why an offender sometimes says **jì ɖóóŋà ɖòòŋò wʌ̀nɛ̀** 'I'm about to slap you.' The voice gírr produces less anger than with the consonant extension as gírr... or with reduplication and consonant extension gírrgírr....., producing higher anger than with the voice gírr....

(e)	ká	ɖí	-ì	ò	-mùl	wɔ̀k?
	DUB	mouth of	2SG	PERF	crawl	out
Lit.	'Why is your mouth closed and protruded out?'					
	'Why are you angry?'					

Example (89e) implies anger based on the physiology of closed mouth with protruded lips with out expressing the anger. The speaker in (89e) clearly sees that the addressee is angry due to his/her very closed mouth and angry look, but the speaker does not know the addressee's reason for being angry, because the angry addressee has not told the speaker the reason or the cause of his/her anger. The addresser's doubt in (89e) has been marked by the dubitative ká, which has taken the high tone. As examples (89a-e) imply, foaming can also be caused by anger in which an angry person speaks or insults for a long time. Foaming is mostly seen with females. Physiologies are very frequent in intense anger (See also Forceville,2005: 10-11).

4.3 ANGER with the Source Domain of ABORTION

Among the Anywaa anger can be conceptualized as an abortion which the Anywaa call bùòŋ wɔ́k, which literally means coming out of liquid flour during high boiling. This liquid flour is still not mixed with dry flour to make it solid as in order to prepare porridge. The relation between over boiling of flour and abortion is that it is not the right time of mixing the liquid flour with dry flour and it is not the actual time for giving birth although abortion happens. According to Heth and Carlson (2010:362), events, substances likes drugs, alcohols, toxins or smoking and cocanine and agents can cause birth defects which lead to abortion. These substances, agents and events are collectively termed as teratogens, which in Greek meant *malformation*. The following linguistic expressions in (90a&b) have been provided to exemplify ANGER as an ABORTION in detail.

(90a)	ɖɛ́	-ɛ̀	lààr	-á	ɲɔ́ɔ́l
	mouth of	3SG	do quickly	FOC	give birth
Lit.	'His/Her mouth quickly gives birth.'				
	'He/She is a hot-tempered person speaking bad things quickly.'				

Although example (90a) does not clarify the idiom ɲɔ́ɔ́l ɖɔ̀k 'mouth's 'giving birth', it is clear to a native that what is born by mouth is something bad implies a bad thing spoken as an aborted baby is dead and therefore unimportant person for the parents nor is it important for an Anywaa village or community. In (90a) the phrase kī gíí mō rɛ̀jjɔ̀ ' to bad things' can be natively or indirectly understood in. Thus, AN EXPRESSION OF ANGER (BAD THING) IS THE MOUTH'S GIVING BIRTH TO BAD LIVING MATTER. ANGER IS A BABY IN UTERUS; LIVER IS UTERUS.

(b)	gòòn	ōtʃálá	ā	-búóŋ	wɔ̀k
	anger of	Ochala	PST	abort	out
Lit.	'Ochala's anger aborted.'				
	'Ochala has expressed his anger after long time of silence.'				

Based on (90b), it can be concluded that Ochala expressed his anger after being asked several times or after another stimulus intensified the anger. Among the Anywaa, women abort due to factors like firing or wrestling. In Anywaa, the word ābúǿŋ wɔ̀k can also be used for the overflowing of boiling fluid which come out of the boiling container. Thus, ābùòŋ wɔ̀k 'come out of the boiling container' has similar meaning to ādʒʌ́m wɔ́k 'come out of the container due to over boiling'. This leads us to an argument that example (90b) is linguistic metaphor underlying ANGER IS A BOILING FLUID.

The Anywaa believe that **ANGER IS PERSONALITY/TRAIT** and more often seen with first-born children like ōmɔ̀d[14], āmɔ̀d, ārìèd and ōrìèd. Simliarly ōmʌ̀ʌ̀n, who is also called ālʌ́mmó or ōpùòdɔ̀káá is perceived to get angry sooner. These people, who have anger as their traits are called āgúóní[15],āgúnì/ŋát gùòn 'person of anger'. Firstborn children are aggressive because they are cared for more than other children as they are the firstborn children: many things are done for them by parents. The second and third born children being ōdʒùlù and ādʒùlù, ōbʌ̀ŋ and ābʌ̀ŋ are patient or polite and very intelligent as they are left to do jobs for themselves earlier.

The case of **ōmʌ̀ʌ̀n** is very clear because among the Anywaa females are believed to become angry faster than males. The name ōmʌ̀ʌ̀n is composed of the prefix {ō} with literal meaning of *male of* and mʌ̀ʌ̀n 'females' in English with the suppletive singular form dáɻágɔ́ 'female'. The reason for which he is called ōmʌ̀ʌ̀n is that he is the only male born after females and most of his decisions are dominated by females. Hence, ōmʌ̀ʌ̀n means a male dominated by females. Such males mostly listen to their mothers rather than fathers and lover of marrying more wives and

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[14]The root **mɔ̀d** means *smothe*r, *strangle* or *chea*t in English, because the baby may be smothered or strangled as youth life is still fresh and enjoyable and the girl does not want to give birth as she is still attending different ceremonies with diffrent boyfriends and should not become an old woman sooner. The word also means cheating because the actual father of the baby may not be clearly known as there may be more boys asking the girl for marriage. In fact, Anywaa mothers say that the actual father of a child is clearly known by a mother. In case of ārìèt or ōrìèt, the name is composed of {ā}/ō and the root rìèt 'operate/give surgery'. This is because it is the first time for the girl to give birth and it is difficult to give birth. So, rééd, 'operation' is given by using small knives, blade or awl. So, when a girl is pregnant, villagers expect her to be operated in the future and to strangle the baby. Thus abortion is more frequent. She may also cheat a boy who was not the conceiver to be the husband. Generally, the gender marking of Anywaa with {ō} 'male of 'a and {ā} 'female of' developed from grammaticalization process in which future tense is grammaticalized as (w)ō as gender marker for male. In fact, wó means son of in English. But {ā} can be claimed to be derived from ɲáá'daughter, female of' which can be simplified as {ā} in ɲáátʃùʌ̀j 'female belonging to tʃwʌ̀ʌ̀ò clan with the similfied form as ātʃúʌ́j. The mid tone of the feminine marker ā is extended from the masculine mid tone on ō, whose basic meaning comes from future event. Peronal names like ō-ʇɔ̀w serve as robust evidences as the baby boy is expected to die in the future as all the sibilings before it died. The Anywaa word ʇɔ̀w means die in English

[15] The reason why {ā-} is attached to gùòn 'anger' is to clarify that getting angry immediately is an attribute of females as can bee seen the linguistic metaphor lààrà gòòtɔ̀ kéé ɖáágɔ̀ 'He often get angry sooner like a female'.

having more girlfriends. The female born after males is called āwìilì/ākììtʃ: contrary to ōmʌ̀ʌ̀n, she is very patient and hard worker as she is the only female preparing porridge, cooking food and going to fetch water and collect fire woods. She therefore does not get angry frequently. The name ākììtʃ is related to kììtʃ 'sift' as she sifts the flour after it has been pounded by the males, who are bigger. She is also called ātʃʊ̀ɔ̀w, which literally means *female of males*.

4.4 ANGER with the Source Domain of BLINDEDNESS and DEAFNESS

One of the most important body organs among the Anywaa is the eye which they locally call wàŋ and pluralized as ɲèŋ. Diseases like lèn̪ɲèŋ, ɲèŋ mō ōlwát 'sore eyes', tʃèèrò 'cataract' and ōgóódí 'eyelashes sticking into an eyeball and squinting '(wàŋè rèè bʌ́ʌ́ló/rèè tʃèènò) bring blindness. Sore eyes are cured by putting lemon leaves on it and tobacco containing water of water pipe. In case of eyelashes sticking into eyeball, durra sticks are used by flagellation. To cure cataract, patient is helped by left handed people by making his/her left hand hot by friction and puts it in the eye of patient so that tʃèèro 'cataract' is burned. Among the Anywaa, it is believed that deafness can be caused by over beating and evil eye spirit putting soil in eye. Also not cleaning the ear of a child can make a child deaf. That is why the Anywaa say íṯì kér gwìèṯ mérù 'Hasn't your mother cleaned your ear when you were born? which is used when a person does not listen to people or is told to stop something but does not stop it (See also Perner, 1994). The data from (91a-92c) provide linguistic metaphors of ANGER IS BLINDEDNESS/ DEAFNESS.

(91a) wó gʊ̀ʊ̀t -è kéél gɔ̀ɔ̀tʃ -á máátʃ bá
HAB be angry 3SG even fire FOC gun NEG
wíɲŋ -è
hear 3SG
'When he/she is angry, he doesn't hear even if a gun is fired.'

The Anywaa also believe that people do not feel pain due to anger.

(b) ɲīlààl ā -mèŋ gʊ̀ʊ̀tɔ
child PST deafen anger
'The child has been deafened by the anger.'

It can be inferred that the child in (91b) is not listening to others.

(c) ít -ì ā -n̪díŋ gʊ̀ʊ̀tɔ
ear of 2SG PST make ear unable to hear anger
'You have lost your hearing ability due to anger.'

Angry people may intentionally avoid listening to others when the anger is intense. In Anywaa, an aggressive person who seems to be deaf and usually keeps silent is called mííŋɔ̀ 'a silent but aggressive person like a deaf'.

(92a) ābʌŋ ò -tʃɔɔr gʊʊtɔ
Abang PERF make blind anger
Lit. 'Abang has been blinded by anger.'
'Abang can't see well due to anger.'

Due to anger blindness, people can be unable see well and therefore sit somewhere like near a king where they are not suppossed to sit. Because KNOWING IS SEEING, some angry people usually speak of not seeing (knowing) anything when they are angry. This is illustrated below in (92b):

(b) wʊ́ gʊʊ̀t -à bʌŋ gìn néén -ì dʒír -á
HAB be angry 1SG no thing visible PASS to 1SG
'When I am angry, nothing is visible to me.'

The metaphor in (92b) is the result of impeded vision making an angry person unable to recognize people even relatives who want to avert him/her during quarrel. Among the Anywaa, the major source of blindness comes from disturbance in the head.

(c) ɲɛ́ŋŋ -à ā -nīdʒìim
eyes of 1SG PST turn dark
Lit. 'My eyes became dark.'
'I'm angry and I have difficulty to see.'

The speaker in (92c) is very angry and wants to fight. So, he does not recognize things or people who want to avert him/her. Such a person may hit the opponent.

Generally, the Anywaa's understanding of ANGER based on the source domain of BLINDNESS/DEAFNESS can be scientifically proved to cause lack of counsciousness. Anger can cause blindsight, which is an abnormal kind of vision without consciousnes; when we are very angry, we ignore hearing many things even if our name may be mentioned many times (Matlin,2005:73&93). Table 3 has been provided to show mappings for **ANGER IS BLINDEDNESS/DEAFNESS**.

TARGET: ANGER	**SOURCE: BLINDNESS/DEAFNESS**
angry person	blind person
angry person	deaf person
cause of anger	cause of blindness/deafness
controlling anger	healing blindness/deafness
problems created by an angry person	problems created by blind/deaf

Table 3: Anger As Blindness/ Deafness

4.5 ANGER with the Source domain of DEATH

An increase in the intensity of anger and difficulty of controlling anger leads to death. Scientifically, diseases like hypertension, diabets, cancer, heart attack and impaired immune system can be caused by stress, which in turn can be caused by emotions like anger/sadness.

Generally, the way we respond to emotion/stress can cause death and this is mostly common among people with behaviour pattern A, who are competitive, impatient, fast speakers and rapid movers (Carlson,2010:530). Similarly, among the Anywaa, when an angry person has prolonged silence, they ask the question ŋàtɔ̀gɔ̀ tŭu? 'Is this man/woman sick'. Therefore, the folk view among the Anywaa that anger can kill people is also conifrmed by scientific theory. The followings are some of the linguistic metaphors of anger as **DEATH** in (93)-(96).

(93)	gɔ̀ɔ̀tɔ̀	tʃɔ̀ɔ̀t̪	kʌ̀nnɔ̀	kī	t̪ɔ̀ɔ̀
	anger	always	bring	OBL	death
Lit.	'Always being angry brings death.'				
	'Prolonged anger results in death.'				

In (93), it is implied that it is sometimes but not always that people should become angry, because prolonged anger results in stress or death.

(94)	ōtʃán	ā	-t̪ɔ́w	kī	gɔ̀ɔ̀tɔ̀
	Ochan	PST	die	of	anger
Lit	'Ochan died of anger.'				
	'Ochan became very angry.'				

The metaphor in (94) is also uttered with compounding as gɔ̀ɔ̀n t̪ɔ̀ɔ̀ ' anger of death', i.e an anger causing death. The example in (94) may further imply that Ochan is almost always very angry due to unsolved problem.

(95)	ārìèd	dèèr	-ɛ	ɛ̆ɛ	nʌ̀ʌ̀	-ɔ̀	kī	gɔ̀ɔ̀tɔ̀
	Aried	body of	3SG	PERF	kill	COM	with	anger
	ní	tʃɔ̀ɔ̀r	-ɛ	bà	dùù	-ī	kī	nààm
	COMPL	husband of	3SG	NEG	return:VEN	FUT	ABL	river
Lit.	'Ariet has killed herself with anger that her husband will not come back from the river.'							
	'Ariet has become sad/angry that her husband would not return from the gold mining place.'							

The experinece of the metaphor in (95), emphasizes intense anger based on suicide by using an object like gun or rope, which can be used for committing suicide.

(96)	jìin	-ā	t̪ɔ̀w	kī	gɔ̀ɔ̀tɔ̀
	2SG	PST	die	with	anger
Lit.	'You (have) died of anger.'				
	'You are (usually) very angry.'				

The example in (96) implies that the addressee is now very angry or is usually angry although the literal translation makes the angry person dead. So, it follows that INTENSE/FREQUENT EMOTION (ANGER) IS DEATH.

Generally, the Anywaa believe that a big/intense anger becomes death due to stress and refusal to eating. The above linguistic metaphors in (93)-(96) therefore are used to realize the underlying metaphor ANGER IS DEATH. This in turn takes us to the classification of anger into gɔ̀ɔ̀n kɔ́ɔ́w 'life/small anger 'and gɔ̀ɔ̀n t̪ɔ̀ɔ̀ 'death anger'. This classification is further supported by

Ekman (2003) as anger can vary in strength, ranging from annoyance to rage, and in type such as sullen anger, resentful anger, indignant anger and cold anger to mention a few.

4.6 ANGER with the Source Domain of INTOXICATION

Although in urban areas like Gambella town, Abwobo town, Itang, Pinyuudo and Dima towns, factory drinks like Bedele beer, Harrar, Bati and others are drunk, the Anywaa in countrysides prepare traditional beers and drink them with their belief that kɔ́ɔ́ŋ dʒùr ráátʃ 'a foreigner's drink is bad' as it came from an unknown place and prepared by an unknown person. The general name of drink that is cultural to the Anywaa is kɔ́ɔ́ŋ áŋwáá 'Anywaa drink', which consists of filtered beers like ābʌ́ʌ́rà, ātʃɔ̀ttá, ādd̪ɛ̀ŋŋà 'filtered beer' and ādìtʃúlá 'unfiltered beer'. The irrationality experienced in anger based on intoxication is based on drinking bitter beer, which cause intoxication. According to Kövecses (2004:74), a milder form of irrationality can be found in the metaphor EMOTION IS RAPTURE, which can be illustrated in *drunk with emotion or intoxicated with passion.* The understanding of milder anger as rapture conicides with Anywaa's conception as INTOXICATION IS A SMALLER INSANITY. See the examples (97a)-(97c) for the detail of anger with the source of intoxication.

(97a)	jì	gáámm	-á	-lùùp	kɛ́ɛ́	jìin	ɔ̀	-mɛ̀ɛ̀r
	2SG	receieve	FOC	speeches	like	2SG	PERF	be drunken
Lit.	'You are recieving speeches as if you were drunken.'							
	'You are responding angrily while people are not speaking to you.'							

Example (97a) implies that the addressee has an intention to quarrel and angry with many people. So, when someone speaks, he responds negatively even if the speaker is not speaking to him. In the context of (97a), the word gàm means to respond or interrupt someone who is not speaking to the addresse, but in literal sense it refers to receiving an object in the air such as a ball.

(b)	jì	pá	ɔ̀mɛ́ɛ́r	wʌ́n
	2SG	NEG	drunken	DUB
Lit.	'It seems you are drunken.'			
	'You are angry with minor thing.'			

In (97b) the speaker believes that what upsets the addressee was minor and should not lead to anger. An intoxicated person gets angry with minor things and this is why this experience is used to denote the anger (97b). That is why the speaker has used the dubitative mood wʌ̀n because what has upset the addressee is seen by the speaker as minor and the speaker has become uncertain whether the addressee is not drunk.

(c)	dèèr	-à	ā	-tìmò	nī	ɲóóbò	bʌ̀r	-è
	body of	1SG	PST	LV	CON	prepare beer	whole	3SG
Lit.	'My whole body is preparing beer.'							
	'I'm totally irritated.'							

The anger expressed in (97c) implies that the experiencer is very angry and irritated and is about to go to fight. Such an anger is usually caused by a bad point a person does not want to be raised. When intoxicated person insults a person, he goes back and asks an apology that the mistake was caused by intoxication. Similarly, when an angry person insults others due to intensity of anger, he or she goes back the next day and asks apology by convincing the offended person that the mistake was triggered by high intensity of anger. Such a person can be excused. But if the insult has high intensity and the insulted person was a big person, a bull or more amount of money is paid for the excuse. The mapping for ANGER IS DRINK has been provided below in table 4.

TARGET: ANGER	**SOURCE: DRINK**
angry person	drunk person
expereincing anger	drinking, intoxication
conflicts caused by anger	conflicts caused by drink
sleeping due to anger	sleeping due to being drunk
offender	the person who prepares drink
voice of angry person	voice of intoxicated person
anger intensity	intensity of intoxication

Table 4: Mappings for ANGER as DRINK

Based on table 4, it can be inferred that the general source domain of drink to be mapped on to anger is a bitter drink which the Anywaa call **kɔ́ɔ́ŋɔ̀ mō kɛ́ɛ́tʃ** although there are cases where an Anywaa drink can be sour as the result of the laziness of the woman or wrong process of mixing malt flour with leaven. Because drinking is also seen as personality, ŋát mèèrɔ̀/ŋát kɔ́ɔ́ŋɔ̀' drunkard' is also mapped onto āgùònì 'a person of anger', which implies that anger is personality or behaviour.

ANGER IS BITTER

In Anywaa, anger can be conceptualized as BITTER TASTE, whose experience comes from bitter plants like, ādìmèttì 'pepper' báábááj, tʃìkɛ̀ɛ̀à and calabash fluids. In Anywaa, anger is expressed in terms of bitter taste by attaching the bitter taste to the mouth, liver, stomach and throat. With the experience of BITTER TASTE, the Anywaa sometimes call gɔ̀ɔ̀tɔ 'anger' as

kèèŋ (tʃwiŋ) ' bitter feeling(of liver, stomach)'. Thus, ANGER MAKES MOUTH, LIVER, STOMACH OR THROAT BITTER;ANGER IS BITTERNESS OF LIVER/STOMACH. Based on the experience of unpleasantness of bitter taste, the linguistic metaphors in (98a-101c) convey such a metaphorical conceptualization of anger in Anywaa.

(98a)	tʃwíŋ	-è	ā	kééŋ̀ŋó	kī	gìn	ā	-tʃáán
	liver of	3SG	PST	become bitter	with	thing	REL	tell
	dèèr	-è						
	body of	3SG						
Lit.	'His/Her liver became bitter due to what was said to his/her body.'							
	'He/She became very angry.'							

The implied meaning in (98a) is that first someone said something offending than based on the interpretation, the offended person became angry. Such offense may be direct or indirect and may include past bad secret which are exposed now. Hence, FEELING IS TASTING. Metaphors understood in terms of colour, taste, smell and touch like those in (113a) can be termed as perceptual/sensory metaphors, because they are mainly based on the experience of perception and sense . In Anywaa, anger is expressed in terms of BITTER TASTE by attaching the taste to the mouth, liver, stomach and throat.

The equating of conceptual metaphor with cognitive metaphors by Kövecses (2009) and Tsirkunova (2013) can be applied to the present study as they both deal with understanding concepts metaphorically. However, a closer look at the difference between conceptual and cognitive metaphor takes us to the conclusion that cognitve metaphor is broader than conceptual metaphor, because concept is a subcategory of knowledge and expereince resulting from cognition, the basic cognitive element of thinking and reasoning based on experience (Tsirkunova, 2013:450. In the present study therefore, the investigator does argue that conceptual metaphor, image metaphor, perceptual metaphor, orientational and ontological metaphors are subcategories of cogntive metaphor.

(98b)	jíʈ	-gè	kɛ́ɛ́tʃ	dɔ̀tʃ
	stomachs of	3PL	bitter	DEG
Lit.	'Their stomachs are very bitter.'			
	'They are very angry.'			

The example in (98b) means the people are (very) angry now, but they are not hot-tempered.

(98c)	tʃwíŋ	-è	kɛ́ɛ́tʃ
	liver of	3SG	bitter
Lit.	'His/Her liver is bitter.'		
	'He/She gets angry very quickly/ He/She is a hot-tempered person.'		

Example (98c) is usually used to refer to a hot-tempered person. This is because liver is a center of personality and emotion among the Anywaa. In example (98b) therefore, BITTER TASTE in

the stomach is used only for anger (for a short time). Based on example (98c) we can infer that AN AGREESSIVE PERSON IS BITEER-LIVERED. In fact, in Anywaa, hot-temperedness is called kɛ́ɛ́tʃ tʃwíɲ 'bittterness of liver'. Understanding a hot-tempered person based on bitter liver he/she supports what Kövecses (2004:71) mentions that metaphor usually describes certain kind of a person (an emotional one). Therefore, the expressive and physiological anger response of a hot-tempered persons is dominated by his/her behavioural response. In (98c) therefore, ANGER has been understood as BEHAVIOUR.

(98d)	tʃwíɲ	-ì	ā	-kèèŋɲò	dɔ̀tʃ
	liver of	2SG	PST	become bitter	DEG
Lit.	'Your liver has become very bitter.'				
	'You have become very angry.'				

The anger in (98d) implies temporary anger due to the use of kèèŋɲò 'become bitter'. Therefore, in Anywaa, temporary anger can be compounded as kèèŋ tʃwìɲ 'bitterness of liver for a short time'. So, the anger can be caused by immediate stimulus like joking, seeing a bad treatment or seeing a deafeted relative during fight. The word kɛ́ɛ́tʃ 'bitter' refers to a nature of something to have a bitter taste but kèèŋɲò 'become bitter' refers to changing of taste from non-bitter to bitter one temporarily. For example, if calabash fluid is put in water, the water becomes bitter but its natural taste is not bitter. However, bitterness is the nature of calabash fluid. Thus, jìà atimo nà pì kɛ̀ɛ̀nò 'My stomach has become calabash fliud' refers to a temporary bitter anger understood in terms of CALABASH FLUID. Thus, it follows that TEMPORARY IS BECOMING; PERMANENT IS BEING.

(99a)	d̪ɛ́	-ɛ̀	ā	-kééŋɲò	.
	mouth of	3SG	PST	become bitter	
Lit.	'His/Her mouth has become bitter.'				
	'He/She has become angry in the middle of joke.'				

In (99a) ANGER IS A BITTER TASTE IN THE MOUTH. The stages of anger development in (99a) can be provided as follows: (a) the people were joking with insult; (b) then in the middle, a counterpart said something to or about the person but this person evaluates the insult as strong (offensive) but not a joke insult although the insulting person thought it was part of joke. So, he got angry and started insulting the other(s); (c) finally, the response insult leads to fighting. Therefore, the first emotion stage in (99a) was happiness, which turned into anger latter.

With the help of body part roles for interpretation and sending message, the anger process in (99a) can have the following cognitive processes: first the brain has interpreted the word as offense, then the liver accepted the interpretaion and determined to send the response word to the mouth and eyes, which could responded and uttered the insult with angry looking to the

opponent and finally fight takes place. This stages of emotion and language transformation leads to the concluison that like emotion, metaphorical language and its understanding has stages due to cognition and appraisal.

(100)	ā	-tʃʊ̀ʊ̀ŋ	-à	ā	-tìmò	nà	ātʃʌ̀m	ɲīwìir
	DVM	gather	SG		become	CON	salt of	Nyiwiir
Lit.	'The meeting has become the salt of Nyiwiir village.'							
	'The meeting has become heated.'							

The degree of anger in (100) is very high as there is intense anger cause by debates, insults and disagreements. The salt of Nyiwiir village was the salt put in the stew of males while they were cooking fish in the fireplace. In this place , there was a big problem of salt as it was a countryside without access to (dehydrated) salt. While the stew was ready with the remaining of the salt to be put in it, everybody did not like to bring salt thinking that if he brings a big salt, no salt will remain for the next time's use at his home. Therefore, going home without telling the others, each person brings small amount of salt and puts it in the stew with pretention of stirring the stew. All the members of the fireplace doing the same thing, when the stew was tatsted, it was too salty and could not be eaten at all. When one asked his counterpart, he would say that he put a small amount of salt in the stew. This led to fear of eating the very salty stew. An anger conceptualized in terms of such salt is therefore an extremely high anger leading to fighting.

(101a)	gìr	ŋòòmò	ā	-kɛ̀ɛ̀tʃ	-gɛ̀	dɔ̀tʃ
	thing of	land	PST	feel bitter	3PL	DEG
Lit.	'The felt the issue of their land very bitterly.'					
	'They became very angry for their land.'					

In (101a) the people referred as gɛ̀ 'they' are struggling to get back their land, which was taken politically. So, they are very upset by the political discrimination. Sometimes kɛ̀ɛ̀tʃ 'feel bitter' means to feel angry or irritated due to insult or unpleasant thing. Therefore, THE IRRITTAION IN THE BODY/LIVER IS THE BITTER TASTE IN THE MOUTH.

(b)	ɲīlààl	tʃwààg	-è	dʌ́n
	child	throat	3SG	slightly bitter
Lit.	'The child's throat is slightly bitter.'			
	'The chid is a bit angry.'			

In (101b) the word dʌ́n 'slightly bitter' is used to imply anger as a bitter taste in throat implying the anger in which this angry child is irritated and speaking with a bad voice, which may be accompanied with insult or difficulty of speech. Hence, SLIGHT ANGER IS A SLIGHTLY BITTER TASTE; DIFFICULTY OF SPEECH CAUSED BY BITTER TASTE IS DIFFICULTY OF SPEECH CAUSED BY ANGER.

(c)	jí	ɲáán	-è	kɛ́ɛ́m
	stomach of	girl	that	slightly bitter
Lit.	'That girl's stomach is slightly bitter.'			
	'She is slightly angry.'			

As the word kɛ́ɛ́m'slightly bitter' implies, example (101c) used to express low degree of anger experienced by the girl, who may be angry without speaking but acts badly. But this taste is not used with liver as it has low intensity. So, we expect kɛ́ɛ́tʃ 'bitter taste' to be in liver for strong anger. In (101b) anger is a bitter taste in the throat causing itching resulting in anger speech.

ANGER IS BITTER TASTE OR SMELL OF TOBACCO

The tobacco smoke is considered as stinky in English, but tobacco taste and smell in Anywaa is perceived as kɛ̀ɛ̀tʃ 'bitter'. The use of tobacco taste and the steam (smoke) of tobacco connected to human head implies bitter anger bringing madness in the human head. Consider the example below in (102).

(102)	ōmʌ̀ʌ̀n	wì	-è	ā	-tìmò	ni	mènnì
	Oman	head of	3SG	PST	become	CON	disturbed by tobacco
Lit.	'His head has become disturbed by bitter smell and taste of tobacco.'						
	'Oman is mentally disturbed by the anger.'						

The anger metaphor in (102) is based on the steam or smell of tobacco which goes into nose bringing sneezing and mental disturbance. Therefore, while bitter fluids are used with liver and stomach to express anger, tobacco taste and tobacco smoke is used with head to express anger and madness, because smoke brings impeded perception and mental disturbance.

ANGER IS STINK FAECES

Because human faeces has bad smell, it can be used as a source domain of anger, which is unpleasant. Therefore, OFFENDING A PERSON IS SHITING. Consider the examples in (103a&b).

(103a)	ɖ̱áágɔ́	ā	-píél	kì	ʧìɛ̀ɖ̱ò	mō	kɛ́ɛ́tʃ
	woman	PST	shit	OBL	stool	REL	bitter
Lit.	'The woman shat a bitter human stool/faeces.'						
	The woman has bitterly offended me very seriously.'						

In (103a), ANGER IS A HUMAN FAECES WITH BITTER TASTE/SMELL. Angry people usually spit to show their dislike of the person with whom they are angry. Among the Anywaa, shiting near someone's home means shitting on that person or bewitching the person.

(b)	jì	-à	ʧìɛ̀ɖ̱ò
	stomach of	1SG	faeces
Lit.	'My stomach is faeces.'		
	'I am very angry.'		

Example (103b) has the general source domain of BAD THING like bitter thing or an object with bad smell. These source domains make human liver/stomach bad causing bad feeling. Therefore, with the source of bitter taste, mappings can be done as follows: the bitter taste corresponds to anger and the person who is tasting the bitter taste corresponds to the angry

person. Unplesantness of bitter taste in the mouth/tongue is mapped onto unpleasantness of anger to liver, stomach/head. THE INTENSITY OF ANGER IS THE DEGREE OF BITTERNESS.

4.7 ANGER IS IMPURE/DIRTY

The use of stool, dirty water, dirty object and sperm also leads as to the formation of subconceptual metaphor **ANGER IS DIRTY/IMPURE**. The conceptualization of anger as DIRTY/IMPURE OBJECT implies that anger is complex unpleasant emotion as the linguistic metaphors in (104a)-(106) exemplify.

(104a)	tʃwíɲ	-à	ā	-tʃúúl	-ì
	liver of	1SG	PST	blacken	2SG
Lit.	'You have blackened /made my liver dirty.'				
	'You have made me angry.'				

The experience of making the person in (104a) angry is based on the experience of making a clean object dirty.

(b)	tʃwíɲ	-gɛ̀	rɔ̀k	-gɛ̀	ā	-dùùp	-gɛ̀
	livers of	PL	bodies of	3PL	PST	impurify	3PL
Lit.	'Their livers have become impurified.'						
	'They are sad/dissatisfied.'						

The experience of the anger in (104b) comes from impure water which is made dirty by more people or cattle crossing the river during dry season or dirty soil in dirty water, burned ashes and soil brought by tributaries in the main river during summer season. But the anger in (119a) has the general source of dirty object.

(c)	tʃwíɲ	-à	jì	-ì	kwʌ̀ʌ̀l	-ɔ̀	dɔ̀tʃ
	liver of	1SG	PERF	2SG	rotten	COMPL	DEG
Lit.	'You have rottened my liver intensely.'						
	'You have been making me (very) angry.'						

By using rotten thing as source domain, datum (104c) implies that the offender has offended the experiencer several times and the offending includes the time of the speaker's irritation. Before a dead matter becomes rotten, it can be approached or it is good but cannot be approached if it is rotten due to pungent odour, which makes people irritated. Similarly, before anger reaches its highest level, an experiencer can control himself or herself. However, with the use of rotten human liver as source domain, the metaphor in (104c) implies the highest level of anger in which the offended person cannot control himself or herself. Rotten[16] things are dangerous and no

[16] The metaphor gìià nʌ̀k ɔ̀kwʌ̀k (jì) tʃwíɲ̀a ārɔ̀ɔ̀ì wɔ̀k 'You have brought out the rotten things in my liver,' the implied meaning is that the speaker has been angry or sad for a long time but does not want to express her anger but has done it forcefully. In June 2020, such metaphor was heard being uttered by the researcher's neighbouring woman whose husband passed away two months ago. As she was mourning, speaking loudly or quarreling with others was not expected from her, but her smaller daughter highly upset her and angrily spoke loudly by

longer important; similarly, anger conceptualized in terms of ROTTEN LIVER implies that the angry person has no proper perceptual function, leading to the metaphor tʃwíɲà ārààŋŋì 'You have made me very angry', which literally means *You have destroyed/spoiled my liver*. Thus, anger is rʌ̀ɲ tʃwìɲ 'badness of liver/stomach'. The metaphor in (157) can have the following metaphors: OFFENDING A PERSON IS SPOILING OR MAKING HIS/HER A LIVER ROTTEN; A PERSON WHO IS ANGRY IS A PERSON WHOSE LIVER IS SPOILED; ANGER IS A ROOTEN/SPOILED LIVER. DEGREE OF ANGER IS DEGREE OF ROTTENING/SPOILAGE OF LIVER.

(105a)	wì	-à	dá	tʃĭɛ́t̪
	head of	1SG	exist	faeces
Lit.	'Inside my head, there are faeces.'			
	'I am aggressive/hot-tempered.'			

Because dirty things like faeces are unpleasant to human head, liver, nose and eye, ANGER BRINGING AGGRESSIVENESS IS FAECES IN HUMAN HEAD. Because anger is unpleasant and it is based on unplesant source, one can also say,wìà răatʃ 'My head is bad',wìà dá tùùt 'There is pus in my head', wìà tìɛ̀w 'My head is sperm' used to imply the aggressive behaviour of the speaker who abnormally rushes to attack and insult immediately when getting angry.

(b)	tʃwíɲ	-à	tìɛ̀w
	liver of	1SG	sperm
Lit.	'My liver is sperm.'		
	'I am aggressive, I am very angry, I am hot-tempered.'		

The metaphor in (105b) expresses an immedite intense anger without insanity but aggressiveness or being angry quickl. As the linguitic metaphor implies, the source domain is SPERM, which is unpleasant to human liver, eye and ear despite the fact that it is important for reproduction.

(c)	jì	-à	ā	-ɲɔ̀ɔ̀r	-ɛ̀	nábʌ̀rɛ̀
	stomach of	1SG	PST	spoil	3SG	totally
Lit.	'He/She totally made my stomach very dirty.'					
	'He/She has totally made me very angry.'					

In (105c), the image schema of dirty leftover/mud is mapped onto anger. This experience of dirty food is seen when half of the porridge eaten at night is put in place where there are mice excreting on food and fluid mixed with dust falling inside uncovered food.

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remembering her husband's death. Therefore, by rotten things, the woman meant hidden anger or sadness for a long time. Thus, offenders force angry people to bring out their hidden anger out of their stomachs or livers. The phrasal verb ròò wɔ̀k 'move out with hand' has the literal meaning of putting hand in the mouth by approaching the uvula so that the person vomits. In line with the metaphor here the person who did that was the daughter, who upset the mother, and the vomiting of the mother is mapped onto expression of anger and ŋòɔ̀k 'vomitus' is mapped onto anger .

(106) tʃwíɲ ābʌ̀ŋ bà tɔ́ŋ
liver of Abang NEG clean
Lit. 'Abang's liver is not clean'
'Abang is not happy.'

The anger expression in (106) is generally based on things like faeces, rotten food, mud and dirty water, which are not clean. Although sperm cells are important for reproduction, they are given negative value in Anywaa because they are not important when they are outside the body and have bad smell. The degree of anger here is very high due to the use of the word kɛ̀ɛ̀rɛ̀ 'only' implying that every part of the liver is covered by sperm. Such speakers have nothing making them happy. Hence, ANGER IS DIRTY OR IMPURE.

The conceptualization of anger in terms of black colour (dirt) and vomiting[17] leads to the interaction between anger and disgust. As the Anywaa are intensively black, they mostly do not hate black colour of human skin as it is the colour of human being and given by God. Mud houses, pots and gourds are decorated with black soil/colour and others.

However, black colour like that of darkness, underground darkness and the black colour of cooking pots are hated because black is associated with unclean/dirty. So, UNCLEAN CLOTHE IS BLACK. When it is very dark at night while there is an overcast, such a darkness is called **mùùn̪ ōdíí**[18] 'darkness of hyenas 'because this time the hyenas come to eat goats/sheep or people. Also ghosts/gods and godesses move and make people faint and beat them to cause deadly diseases. Such black colours are mapped onto anger. Below are the linguistic metaphors in (107a&b) used to express anger based on the source of mix of black, dirt, bad and anger and hatred.

(107a) tʃwíɲ -á ā -tʃúlló kī ɲààn -ɛ̀tʃɛ̂
liver of 1SG PST become black with she DIS
Lit. 'My liver became/has become black with she over there.'
'I became angry with that girl and I have hated her.'

Example (107a) implies that deep anger develops into hatred. Based on datum (107a), the idiom tʃwíɲá tʃɔ́l means 'My liver is black' metaphorically means the speaker has lost his appetite but

[17]Badness or impurity of anger can also be found in expressed like tʃwìɲá/jıá ārʌ́ɲɲó 'My liver/stomach became destroyed, spoiled/bad', tʃwíɲá/jìà páá kárɛ́ My liver/stomach is not in its position, not as usual, 'tʃwíɲá ādák 'My liver migrated, became different'.These literal meanings express anger with the change of moods. Hence, ANGER/SADNESS IS PHYSICAL DESTRUCTION.

[18]The noun ōdíék 'hyena' is activity related noun. The root dìèk has the English equivalent goats or sheep(PL). The prefix {ō-} has the meaning *eater of* as hyenas come at night and attacks and eats up goats and sheep by dragging them to the bush. Therefore, ōdíék literally means eater of goat/sheep. The word dìɛ̀l is a generic term refrerring to both sheep and goat. While the Anywaa word for goat is ātɛ̀ɛ̀á that for sheep is rɔ́ɔ́mmɔ́. Similarly, ōgwààl is a generic term for toad or frog. The Anywaa word for toad is **dítùd** and that for frog is **āmɛ́ɛ́rɔ̀.**

in some scenarios it implies loss of appetite due to anger or being angry. So, tʃɔ́l tʃwíɲ 'blackness of liver' can refer to loss of appetite, hatred or being angry. In fact, the Anywaa do not eat in dark place. Instead, if the house is very dark while it is about to rain, grass torch is lighted or the fire of the fireplace is used as light. To what degree the colour is black, red or green is can be mapped onto anger intensity as tʃwíɲì ò̱dìi̱ 'Your liver is partly black' implying that the addressee is slightly angry. In the mind of an Anywaa, bad things which should not be raised for they trigger anger and fight or murder are conceptualized as BLACK THINGS LIKE NIGHT.

(b)	ɲím	-è	tʃɔ́l
	face of	3sG	black
Lit.	'His/Her face is black.'		
	'He/She hates people.'		

The person in (107b) usualy becomes angry when he/she meets the person he/she dislikes. The blackness of face can be associated with the appearance of wrinkles when a person frowns .Blackness of face as anger is also found in metaphor like ɲímè ātʃìègè 'He closed his face' to mean he has become angry. Thus, closed house or dense forest serves as an experiential basis of such a metaphor leading to another subconceptual metaphor ANGER IS A CLOSED CONTAINER, because a face produces wrinkles and no speech during anger.

BEING ANGRY IS NAUSEATING/VOMITING

When we hear or see what we dislike, we become not pleased. Similarly, when we see bad thing like faeces, we may nauseate or voimit. Consider the following examples in (108a&b).

(108a)	tʃwíɲ	-à	lʌ̀mò	kī	lúúm	-ì
	liver of	1SG	nauseate	with	point of	2SG
Lit.	'My liver nauseates with your point.'					
	'I am angry with your point/I hate it.'					

As we spit when we are about to vomit, we also spit when we see the person we are angry with. Example (108a) implies that the addressee has raised a bad idea or has done a bad thing, which has made the speaker angry.

(b)	jì	nèèn	-à	káámár	tʃìè̱do[19]	mō	ò	-pɪɛl	ŋʌ̀ʌ̀	kìir
	2SG	see	1SG	like	stool	REL	PERF	shit	behind	village
Lit.	'I see you like a stool/faeces which is shat in bush behind the village.'									
	' I am usually angry with you/ I hate you very much.'									

In metaphor (108b), disgust is higher than anger. Sometimes as spittle is used with bad things like stool, it also used with an offender as as ă....k ṯwɔ̌ɔ 'Ugh! 'You are mess', to imply intense

[19] The metaphor à nèètè kààmàr múr ɲààrè'He sees me like his daughter's vagina' implies that the person spoken about hates the speaker since one cannot be happy with seeing his relative's vagina. The metaphor gòòtɔ̀/wèèr ākàmè nī tár dʒààk 'He/She intentionally became angry and quarreled with the manner of white colour' implies that the reason for the angry person's anger is not clear to the speaker.

anger with a person or hatred. These metaphors take us to the conceptual metaphor ANGER/DISGUST IS SPOILED/PUTRID. The example in (108a) implies HIGH INTENSITY OF ANGER/HATRED IS VOMITING.

4.8 ANGER as COLOUR

Color is important to explain physical, cognitive, socio-cultural and and linguistic-cultural phenomena. Two competing accounts explain evolution of colours. One view was led by Kay and McDaniel (1978:617), who contend that the semantics of colour terms in all languages is the result of a common neurophysiological processes in which differences in wave lengths of light reaching the eye are changed into various responses in the visual nervous systems. This view is therefore neurophysiological defining colour as a light phenomenon caused by how our eyes detect different qualities of projected or reflected light. Wierzbicka (1990) on the other hand, argues that colour concepts are understood based on universal identifiable human experiences based on different things like day, night, fire, the sun, vegetation, sky, ground, water and clouds (see also Xing, n.d:1). Wierzbicka's (1990) claim of colour concepts is based on cognitive perspective.

Anywaa has six basic colour terms namely tár 'white', tʃɔ̋l 'black', kwáár 'red' líw 'blue', ābʌ̀gà 'yellow' and márr 'green'. However, white, black and red are more basic than others as they are distinct and serve as semantic primes for extended meanings suchs as light, clear, (un)clean, confusion, dirty and negative and positive emotions by using metaphor, metonymy and polysemy. Among the Anywaa, black and white are mostly easily distinguished and extended to other linguistc and cultural uses. In Anywaa, while expressing anger in terms of colours, the negative aspects of black, red and green colours are attached to liver, stomach and eye.

Anger can be conceptualized in terms of red and green colours. More often anger is conceptualized in terms of red colour which is locally called **kwáár**. This colour is the most powerful and most destructive as it is metaphorically the colour of fire, sun, danger, gun, bullet and blood. Redness of an eye caused by drinking or cry results in blindness. To the Anywaa, green colour on the other hand is more often favourable as it is the sign of productive cultivation, peace, health and food. It is more often found in beads and plants during the rainy season. The green bead called **āpùònò** is tied to limb to heal the wound. However, the colour of kɛ́ɛ́n̪n̪ɔ́, 'bile'

tùùt 'pus[20]', ʇúúɲí ' nose mucus' and the colour of an evil-eyed, which are extended from green colours of plant leaves and beads, are unpleasant colours, because they are unpleasant, of bad smell and make people nausete and vomit. These colours are therefore used as source of ANGER MIXED WITH (HATRED) being an pleasant to human eye and head (See Perner, 2003: 142147). Below are the linguistic metaphors for realizing ANGER as RED, BLACK/ GREEN colours associated with unpleasantness of anger.

4.8.1 ANGER IS RED

Based on the general experience of RED COLOUR and frames like blood, fire and red eyes, anger can be conceptualized as follows in (109a-e):

(109a)	ɲɛ̀ŋŋ	-è	ā	-mʌ́ʇ̱tó	ná	rɛ̀mɔ̀
	eyes of	3SG	PST	drink	CON	blood
Lit.	'His/Her eyes have become blood.'					
	'He/She is red with anger.'					

The angry person in (109a) is very angry and about to attack the opponent. The eyes are therefore red with anger. If an Object has red colour like blood, it is extremely red and brings fear. Similarly, eyes that are blood are very red due to angry looking at the opponent.

(b)	dʒààl	ɲɛ̀ŋŋ	-è	mààtʃ
	old man	eyes of	3SG	fire
Lit.	The old man's eyes are fire.			
	'The old man is angrily looking with his red eyes.'			

The anger metaphor in (109b) means angry old man is now looking at the opponent with his red eyes. Although fire may include glows covered with ash, in (109b) the fire frame used as a source domain is RED GLOWS or FLAME.

(c)	tʃwíɲ	-à	rɛ̀mɔ̀
	liver of	1SG	blood
Lit.	'My liver is blood.'		
	'I am very angry/aggressive, I immediately get angry and rush to fighting.'		

'The metaphor in example (109c) implies anger that is behaviour. This implies BECOMING ANGRY IS THE TURNING OF LIVER INTO BLOOD.

(d)	tʃwíɲ	-à	pɔ̀ɔ̀t	kwáár
	liver of	1SG	still	red
Lit.	'My liver is still red.'			
	'I am still very angry.'			

Example (109d) implies that the speaker still wants to rush to fighting. The metaphor tʃwíɲà kwáár dɔ́tʃ kìrɛ́ɛ́ 'My liver is really very red' to imply *I'm very angry,* is clearly metaphorical as it is entrenched among the Anywaa due to the association of red with anger in the liver being the

[20]An insulting expression like **rèmmì márr**'Your blood/menstruation is green' or **āmʌ́ʌ́nì ōkwʌ̀k**'Your menstruation is rotten' is associated with pus, which is a rotten fluid giving bad smell. Such insults intensely upset a girl or a woman as it implies that she does not clean herself during menstruation.

center of feeling among the Anywaa. Such a metaphor is therefore context free metaphor but the expression ābììnà kwáár dɔ́tʃ kìrɛ̀è 'My clothe is really very red' can literally mean the speaker's clothe has red colour as the clothe can directly be seen, but the expression can contextually mean the red, white, blue or any other clothe type of the speaker has more amount of blood on it. Thus, such a metaphor is context dependent. The angry person in (109d) looks for the offender to attack him/her even among many people.

In (109d), the high tone in kwáár 'red' marks redness but not causation; the causative form takes low tone as kwààr 'make red', whose metaphorical meaning can be found in kwààr tʃwìɲ 'making a person's liver red 'to mean *causing someone/oneself to be angry*. Hence, OFFENDING A PERSON IS MAKING HIS/HER LIVER RED; DEGREE OF ANGER IS DEGREE OF REDNESS.

Among the Anywaa the literal colour of liver, i.e the one we see with our naked eye is ḏíḭ̱ 'reddish-brown', whose causative form takes low tone as ḏìḭ̱ 'make reddish-brown'. In fact, the Anywaa usually do not talk about this literal colour. However, due to the kind of feeling, emotion, event, change of situation and human character, one's liver metaphorically becomes red, green, white or mixed colours. Liver is the most valued organ among the Anywaa, but anus, which is the extended part of (large) intestine, is the least valued because it does not help in perception and it is always dirty.

(e)	wì	-ā	ā	-nī	-kwăar	bʌ́ʌ́t	ōdʒúlù
	head of	1SG	red	INCOH	red	on	Ojulu
Lit.	'My head became red on Ojulu.'						
	'I became angry and attacked Ojulu.'						

The metaphor in (109e) implies that the speaker became madly angry and attacked Ojulu, who is his opponent. The incohative nī implies the change from low stage of anger to higher stage of anger where anger becomes madness and leads to attacking an opponent due to mental disturbance caused by anger. The anger understood in terms of red colour in head implies aggressivenes, hot-temperedness mixed with madness. A person who is madly aggressive is called wìɛ̀ rɛ́mɔ́ 'His/Her head is blood'. During quarrel, such a person may pick up a spear or gun to attack an opponent with it. Hence, MADNESS IS RED COLOUR. In Anywaa, RED COLOUR is the highest/worst stage where bad thing like killing or war happens. In Anywaa, such a stage is called kàŋà kwáár 'The red stage/place'.

In (109d) the high tone here in kwáár 'red' marks redness but not causation; the causative form takes low tone as kwààr 'make red', whose metaphorical meaning is causing someone to be angry as in kwààr tʃwìɲ 'to redden one's liver' to mean *to be angry/to make someone angry*. Hence, OFFENDING A PERSON IS MAKING HIS/HER LIVER RED. Therefore, with the change of eye colour due to anger, an experiencer enters into an unpleasant state. The use of rising tone and vowel extension in wàŋɛ̀ kwă...r ' His/Her eye very red with intense anger', the adjective optionally takes dɔ́tʃ 'very' with high tone, because the rising of voice and emotion intensity is increasing without limit. Hence, rising tone and vowel extension can express degree without degree adverb or an intensifier because it conflates degree marker and emotion degree. High/rising tone also implies the physiology that the angry person is about to attack the speaker. Thus, wàŋɛ̀ kwă...r 'His/Her eye is very red' also serves as a warning to another person who has not understood that the angry person is ready for an attack if one talks to him/her.

4.8.2 ANGER IS GREEN

Unpleasant green things like rotten plant, pus and nose mucus can be attached to liver and eyes to express anger as follows in (110a)- (110c):

(110a)	tʃwíɲ	-à	ā	-mʌ́rró
	liver of	1SG	PST	become green
Lit.	'My liver has become green.'			
	'I have become very angry.'			

The anger in (110a) is accompanied by hating or disgust caused boredom but it is temporary anger or hatred. So, the stem mʌrr- 'become green' implies a change which has happened in a short time. However, márr 'green' is a usual colour whose metaphorical extension goes to anger and hatred in terms of liver implying long lasting or everlasting anger and hatred with someone.

(b)	ŋʌ̀ʌ̀	-à	nī	tʃwíɲ	-ì	márr	kī	wà
	know	1sG	that	liver of	2SG	green	with	1PL:EXCL
Lit.	'I know that your liver is green with us.'							
	'I know that you hate us.'							

The addressee in (110b) is person who hates the speakers. HENCE, BEING ANGRY WITH A PERSON/HATING A PERSON IS HAVING A BAD LIVER FOR THE PERSON. As (125b) implies, the Anywaa interpret hatred as a complex emotion formed from anger and disgust. When we meet an opponent or a bad thing, we spit/frown. We also ignore an object or a person we dislike when we meet him/her. Thus, in Anywaa, the expression in (110b) is compounded as márr tʃwìɲ 'greenness of liver', which has similar meaning to mʌ́n 'hatred', which is derived from mʌ̀nò 'preventing one's face and other things from an opponent'.

(c)	ɲáán	-í	ɲèŋŋ	-è	ā	-tìmò	nī	márr	bʌʌt	-à
	she	PROX	eyes of	3SG	PST	become	CON	green	on	1SG

Lit. 'The eyes of the girl near me have become green on me.'
'The girl near me is ver angry with me and looking angrily at me with her green eyes.'

The speaker boy or girl in datum (110c) is telling the others that the girl is an evil-eyed and because she is very angry with him or her, she may attack him/her by throwing me into the mouth of a crocodile, river or fire. Such an evil-eyed girl may love the boy but rejected by him due to her impurity or being evil-eyed. Whenever an evil-eye is angry with a clean person, he or she says: 'If anything bad happens to me, you will be responsible for it.' Here, GREEN/BLUE EYES METONYMICALLY STANDS FOR AN EVIL-EYED'S ANGER. If a person's eyes are extremely blue and terrifying, i.e extremely of green colour, it is said with vowel extension in márr 'green' as ɲèŋŋè márr... 'His/Her eyes are gre...n'. Such a person may be an evil-eyed.

According to the Anywaa's belief, supernatural beings have green eyes whose equivalent is blue eyes in English. When a baby is born, the testicles or vagina is checked for purity (not being an evil-eyed). This is done by very old women. If a male baby has one testicle, he is an evil-eyed and if the the sides of the vulva are unbalanced, she is an evil-eyed, whose eyes are green. Such babies are immediately put in a canoe and drowned in a deep part of a river or they are to be strangled. Evil-eyed people do not bathe together with other people. When an evil-eyed is angry, the eyes become greener leading to bewitching.

4.8.3 ANGER IS BLACK

Black colours like black steam, charcoal, black mud and dirty things like cooking pot can be metaphorically attached to liver, stomach or eyes to express anger or hatred as follows:

(111a)	ʧwíɲ	-à	ā	-tìmò	nī	ʧɔ́l	kī	ɡíí
	liver of	1SG	PST	become	CON	black	with	things
	ʧǎr	-ù	jɔ́ɔ́					
	tell:FQ	2PL	yonder:PL					

Lit. 'My liver has become black with what you are saying.'
'I have become angry with what you are talking about.'

The angry person in (111a) is quiet but the addressees are saying bad things he/she does not like. The morpheme jɔ́ɔ́ 'yonder: PL' literally refers to more things far from an addresser but near addressee. Therefore, metaphor (111a) implies that many bad things are being spoken by the addressees but the addresser, who is upset, does not like the things being spoken. Due to the unpleasantness of what is being said, the speaker in (111a) may spit or insult a person who speaks a bad thing. When a liver becomes black, that is a temporary anger, but if someone's liver is usually black with something or someone, that is dislike or hatred for that person.

(b)	á	ɲím	-i	kâa	ā	-nīdúk
	why	face of	2SG	DUB	PST	become black
Lit.	'Why has your face turned black?'					
	'Why are you frowning?'					

The word nīdúk 'become black' is based on seeing black things like black steam, thick cloud, darkness at night and fog. Hence, A FROWNED FACE IS BLACK; A HAPPY FACE IS WHITE (CLEAN). The mix between happiness and anger at the same time can be understood in terms of the mix of black and white colours, which metaphorically mean bad and pleasant or clean as follows in (112a&b):

(112a)	jì	-ì	ākwátʃítkwátʃí
	stomach of	2SG	leopard colour
Lit.	'Your stomach is the colour of leopard.'		
	'You have mixed happiness and anger.'		

The addressee example (112a) has an indirect attitude for the speaker. Since the colour of leopard usually consists of black and white colour, it can be inferred that the addressee in (112a) mixes happiness, love, hatred and anger in different intervals of time. Hence, the addressee is an introvert person. Further, sometimes the addressee pretends to love the speaker but indirectly dislikes the speaker. The word ákwátʃíkwátʃí 'the colour of leopard' is related to kwàtʃ 'leopard'. The colour is sometimes called ākítíkítí 'mix of black, white and reddis-brown'. The word kìt, which is the plural of kìdò 'colour', literally means *different colours*.

(b)	tʃwíɲ	-ì	rɛ̀	-ɛ̀	ɛ́ɛ́	kìɖò
	liver of	2SG	body of	3SG	PERF	be mainly black
Lit.	'Your liver's body is mainly black.'					
	'You are angry but sometimes happy.'					

As example (112b) implies, the main colour here is black, which implies anger, being the dominant colour. Yet, the example also implies that there other colours like white, which implies happiness. Example (112b) therefore implies that the addressee is clearly angry but sometimes slightly feels happy. Generally, examples (112a&b) underlie A MIX OF EMOTIONS IS A MIX OF COLOURS.

The use of an pleasant source domains, like SIGHT, SMELL and TASTE are based on human experience of taste, smell, seeing and feeling, which create negative evaluation of anger. According to Esenova (2011:14), these metaphors are mainly categorized as SMELL and TASTE metaphors. However, Barcelona (1986) argues that they can be put under the umbrella of PERCEPTUAL metaphors. Therefore, the unpleasant taste or smell corresponds to anger and the person perceiving this is the angry person. Unpleasantnes of the unpleasant objects corresponds to unpleasantness of anger to the head or liver of the angry person. Generally, in Anywaa, of all the colours used as a source domain of anger, red colour implies highest intensity

of anger. Black colour has higher degree of anger next to red colour, but anger understood in terms of green colour is usually believed to have a low intensity of anger. This is becaues red is dangerous as it metaphorically refers to blood, death or gun. Black is usualy associated with dirty things, but green is usually associated with plant growth. Thus, RED ANGER > BLACK ANGER >GREEN ANGER. The use of different colors in Anywaa proves that colour is usually used as a source domain of anger more than any other other emotion.

4.9 ANGER with the Source Domain of HEAT and FIRE

Heat can be a good sour domain of anger. Furthermore, increased internal pressure can be used to conceptualize anger. Heat can include sun's heat and boiling fluid. The experience of conceptualizing anger as heat can include heat in the whole body or in particular body part. Hot objects may come out of their containers when the volume rises but cold objects remain secure (Forceville, 2005:4-5).

The HEAT metaphor is said to be the most common type of metaphorical conceptualization of anger. While studying anger, we can understand that most of the metaphorical expressions used based on different sources to describe or talk about anger go under this metaphorical mapping of ANGER IS HEAT. In broader sense, Lakoff and Kövecses (1987:197) emphasize that the cultural model of physiology, especially the part emphasizing HEAT, forms the basis of the most generic level conceptual metaphor: ANGER IS HEAT (See also Alsharif, 2007:80)."

Kövecses (1987) cited in Yu (1995) and Alsharif (2007) divide this general metaphor into two subversions with the claim that ANGER IS HEAT is the main conceptual metaphor with two versions: first anger is conceptualized as being applied to solid by using fire. Hence, the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS FIRE. Yet, fire is ambiguous as it changes different physical characteristics of solid materials by burning or melting metallic elements. In the second conceptualization, heat is applied to liquid. So, we have the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEAT OF FLUID IN A CONTAINER. Consider examples (113)-(117) to understand such a conception of anger in Anywaa.

(113a)	dèèr	-è	ā	-tìmò	(nī)	dàŋŋì
	body of	3SG	PST	become	CON	very painful

'He /She became hot and irritated.'

As it can be inferred from (113a), the word dáŋŋí here is originally used with an extreme heat of the sun heating, boiled water, piercing object or recent burning by fire like a glowing charcoal.

The example in (113a) can optionally take the prepositional phrase kī lùùmmà 'with what I have said'. Sometimes dèèrɛ̀ ālèè̱ṉṉò 'His/Her body has become hot' is used to express higher anger irritation than dèèrɛ̀ āmújjó' His/Her body became warm' implying slight anger felt by that person. This is because hot object is dangerous unlike warm object. When an angry person is still angry and seems to have determined to keep being angry for a long time, it is said as in (113b) as:

(b)	tʃwíŋ	-à	bá	kwój	-ī
	liver of	1SG	NEG	become cold	FUT
Lit.	'My liver will not be cold.'				
	'I will not stop the anger/quarrel.'				

The anger (113b) leads to hatred or fight. Heat in liver expresses only anger. Anywaa, the word kwɔ̀r means *to cool* whose progressive form is kwódó means *keep on cooling* and the word kwòjò means become cold without emphasizing the human activity done to stop the hot object. Hence, it has middle voice. More often, in such a process, the emphasized factor is hot object is thought to become cold by itself. The idiomatic metaphor, kɔ̀ɔ̀r lùùbò/tʃwìŋ 'to cool a problem/quarrel/liver' means' to stop people from quarrelling. Examples (113b) entails, WHEN A HOT OBJECT BECOMES COLD, THE SITUATION BECOMES CALM; similarly, when anger is controlled, the situation will be good. Hence, CONTROLLING ANGER IS COOLING A LIVER/FIRE. .

(114)	tʃwíŋ	ōtʃálà	pòòt	líé̱ṯ
	liver of	Ochala	still	hot
Lit.	'Ochala's liver is still hot.'			
	'Ochala is still very angry and wants to go back to fight again.'			

Example (114) implies that HOTNESS OF A BODY PART STANDS FOR INTENSE ANGER AND WANTING TO FIGHT.

(115a)	tʃì	-ì	pòòt	tòàk
	wife of	2SG	still	boil
Lit.	'You wife is still boiling.'			
	'Your wife is still angrily speaking.'			

In example (115a) the whole person is boiling and the experience mainly comes from boiling object in a pot so that the voice gùʌ̀kgùʌ̀k is heard due to high boiling point. Example (115b) implies that the wife is still angrily speaking by raising names of some people like the speaker in (115a) directly or in directly. Particular body parts like vagina which reflect the anger based on sex/gender can boil as in ŋwɛ̀ŋɛ̀ tòàk 'His anus is boiling' which shows the anger of a male who is angrily speaking. Similraly, āmʌ̀ʌ̀nɛ̀ tòàk' 'Her menstruation is boiling' implies the anger

intensity of a female who is now speaking very angrily. These metaphor insults are used during quarrel.

The metaphor tòàk kī pìŋ 'He/She is boiling down' means the angry person is speaking with low voice without clearly mentioning names. This experience comes from the liquid which boils slowly before the boiling intensity increases and boils with louder voice. Hence, AN ANGRILY SPEAKING PERSON IS A BOILING FLUID. The Blood of human body also boils with anger as illustrated in (115b) below:

(b)	rɛ̀m	dèèr	-ɛ̀	tòàk	kīpɛ́r	-à
	blood of	body of	3SG	boiling	for	1SG
Lit.	'The blood of his/her body is boiling for me.'					
	'He/She is agiatated for me.'					

Example (115b) implies that the person whose blood is boiling is angrily speaking to the speaker. Such an angry person may be sweating as his/her body temperature is hot. AS THE BODY RASHES WITH HOT FLUID, HUMAN LIVER RASHES WITH ANGER AS A HOT FLUID. This has been illustrated in (116) below:

(116)	tʃwíŋ	-à	ā	-lòòt
	liver of	1SG	PST	rash
Lit.	'My liver has rashed.'			
	'I am usually offended and bored with the quarrel.'			

The linguistic metaphor in (116) is based on the experience of rashing of skin with hot fluid.so the metaphor can take the phrase kī gʊ̀ʊ̀tɔ̀ 'with anger'. Example(116) implies that the speaker is being bothered and is usually angrily speaking to the offender. Anger can be understood in terms of SUN'S HEAT. This can be found in the metaphor in (117) as follows:

(117)	ātʃálá	ā	ríɛ́ŋ	bʌ̀ʌ̀t	-à
	Achala	PST	shine	on	1SG
Lit.	'Achala shone on me.'				
	'Achala spoke to me very angrily.				

Example (117) implies that Achala noisly and angrily spoke to the addresser. In (117), the verb ríɛ́ŋ 'shine' evokes the HOT SUNSHINE. Thus, AN EXPRESSION OF ANGER IS THE SHINING OF HOT SUN; ANGER IS HOT SUN. Generally, linguistic metaphors like those in (113)-(117) are physical realizations of the conceptual metaphor **ANGER IS HEAT/HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER**, whose mappings can be given as follows in table 5.

TARGET: ANGER	**SOURCE: HEAT/HOT FLUID**
angry person	container with heat/fluid
anger force on angry person	fluid/heat pressure
cause of anger	cause of heat/fluid pressure
controlling the anger inside liver	keeping the fluid inside the container
anger expression by angry person	voice produced by boiling liquid
social dysfunctionality of the angry person.	physical dyfunctionality of the container
anger intensity	rising level of fluid/steam
lack of agitation	calmness of fluid
lack of anger	coolness of fluid
expressing anger	coming out of boiling fluid

Table 5: ANGER as HEAT/HOT FLUID adapted from Kovecses (2000: 155)

In addition to the use of heat or hot fluid as source domain of anger, FIRE which produces steam, charcoal, storm and flame with voice can be used as source domain of anger with higher intensity. In this metaphorization of anger, the metaphorical idea is that the setting or intensification of fire shows anger development and our comparison between fire and anger is that fire develops and brings heat, a problem or interference with perception and so does anger. For detail of linguistic metaphors of ANGER IS FIRE in Anywaa, examples (118)-(120b) have been provided.

(118a)	tʃwiŋ	-à	dá	máátʃ	mō	líél
	liver of	1SG	exist	fire	REL	burning
Lit.	'Inside my liver, there exits burning fire.'					
	'I am very angry.'					

In (118a) **ANGER IS FLAME** implying an intense anger. Therefore, the anger in (118a) causes sweating. Although màátʃ 'fire' usually takes low tone, the use of high tone here implies higher degree of fire to be mapped onto higher degree of anger.

(b)	ɲààn	-è	jì	-è	mă...tʃ
	girl	3SG	stomach of	3SG	fire
Lit.	'That girl's stomach is fi...re.'				
	'She over there is very angry.'				

The speaker in (118b) may has an evidence and experience of the girl's being angry. The vowel extension in màátʃ 'fire' as mă...tʃ implies big fire mapped onto intense anger.

(c)	kɛ̀r	-ì	rʌ́nní	dʒàák
	NEG	2SG	voice of burning fire with flame	simply
Lit.	'Do not simply speak with loud voice of burning fire.'			
	'Do not simply angrily speak loudly without listening to the others.'			

The anger metaphor in (118c) has the experience of the voice of fire burning long dry grass with high flame and explosion. Such a burning fire is intense and has the loud voice **rʌ́drʌ́d**..., which is the explosion of grass or another object. As it is difficult to quench the fire in (118c), it is too difficult to avert the angrily speaking person in (118c). Therefore, the angry person in (118c)

speaks loudly and angrily and does not listen to other people. When there is intense burning, it is difficult to hear what others are saying.

(d)	gʊ́ʊ́n	ʊ̄tʃálá	mààtʃ
	anger of	Ochala	fire
Lit.	'Ochala's anger is fire.'		
	'Ochala is very aggressive.'		

As it can be inferred from example (118d), the implied meaning is that, when Ochala is angry, it is difficult for him to stop his anger because the anger is very intense; an angry person who is difficult to avert is also called mààtʃ 'fire'. Also when he fights, it is dificult to avert him. Hence, INTENSE ANGER IS FIRE.

(119a)	tʃwíŋ	-à	mààtʃ	kī	jì
	liver of	1SG	fire	with	2SG
Lit.	'My liver is fire with you.'				
	'I am very angry with you.'				

Example (119a) underlies,WHEN PEOPLE ARE ANGRY, THEIR LIVERS ARE FIRE. The use of fire as source domain of anger in Anywaa combines both anger degree and attitude of the speaker experiencer towards the addressee. Vespoor (1993) explains that emotional attitudes vary based on our feeling.

(b)	tʃwíŋ	-è	éé	ʌ̀bò	dɔ̀tʃ
	liver of	3SG	PERF	lit fire	DEG
Lit.	'He/She has highly lit his/her liver.'				
	'He/She has become very angry'.				

In (119b) the focus is on the experiencer of anger understood based on FLAME although he or she must have been offended by something or somebody else. Literally, the verb ʌ̀p means the intense burning of fire with an increase in flame. So, the word ʌ̀p 'lit fire 'evokes FLAME. This metaphorically implies DUE TO ANGER, HUMAN LIVER/STOMACH BECOMES FIRE. Example (119b) therefore implies high intensity of anger understood in terms of flame. Thus, AN INCREASE IN ANGER INTENSITY IS THE RISING OF FLAME; THE PAIN/IRRITATION BROUGHT BY ANGER IS THE PAIN CAUSED BY FIRE:

(120a)	dèèr	-è	ā	-tìmò	nī	dáŋŋí
	body of	3SG	PST	become	CON	painful due to fire burn
Lit.	'His/Her body has become painful with fire burn.'					
	'He/She has become very irriatated.'					

Here, ANGER IS FIRE BURNING THE BODY OF THE ANGRY PERSON whose experience comes from burning objects wih fire. Thus, IRRITATION IS A PAIN CAUSED BY FIRE. This in turn implies that OFFENSE IS FIRE. The anger in (120a) is caused by serious insult or raising bad issue. The fire pain dáŋŋí makes a person very irritated and difficult to sit down. Similarly, the anger in (120a) makes an angry person very iritated and difficult to avert. The anger in

(120a) is contextual as the expression can mean the addressee's body has become hot with being irritated although the anger in (120a) may also cause sweating.

When angry person expresses his or her anger or dissatisfaction to an offender in an intense way, the experience in which a person burns dry things is used to express such an anger. This experience is illustrated in (120b) below.

(b)	lùùbò	ā	wààŋ	-è	dèèr	-à
	issue	PST	burn	3SG	body of	1SG
Lit.	'He/She burned my body with anger speech.'					
	'He/She very angrily and badly spoke to me.'					

Example (120b) implies an anger in which the addressee offender is being insulted, told many things emotionally and finally warned not to repeat the mistake. As there is sweating due to anger heat, there is also sweating due to fire heat.

THE RED EYES OF ANGRY PERSON ARE GLOWS OR FIRE:

Angry looking, which makes eyes red, can be understood based on red glows. This has been illustrated in example (121):

(121)	ɲɛ̀ŋ	ōdʒùlù	ā	-tìmò	nī	tʃùk	bʌ̀ʌ̀t	-à
	eyes of	Ojulu	PST	become	CON	glows	on	1SG
LiT.	'Ojulu's eyes have become glows on me.'							
	'Ojulu is angrily looking at me.'							

Based on example (121), it can be inferred that Ojulu is very angrily looking at the speaker; his eyes are red like red glow and the speaker is therefore afraid of his angry look. Fire is red and dangerous; similarly, an angry person looking with red eyes may attack a person.

DECLINE OF ANGER IS DECLINE OF STEAMING OF FIRE:

Anger declines and can be understood based on the reduction of fire steam and voice of fire. Consider examples (122a-c).

(122a)	jì	tʃààm	pòòt	dúúŋ
	stomach of	Cham	still	steaming
Lit.	'Cham's stomach is still steaming.'			
	'Cham is still angry.'			

An experience based entailment in example (122a) is that prior to steaming, there was burning which resulted in the production of glowing charcoals, which in Anywaa are called tʃùk (SG. tʃùgò), which are in kéénnó 'hearth'. With the anger of Cham in (122a), it can be inferred that Cham was ver angry and this stage has the source of FLAME. Therefore, the experiential stage comes from burning with flame, steaming and finally extinguishing the fire with the remaining of ash. The verb dúúŋ 'steam' is a non-causative verb, which implies focus on the anger rather than an offender. With low tone, this verb has the causative form dùùŋ 'cause to steam', meaning to offend. The example in (122a) also implies that OFFENDING A PERSON IS BURNING

HIS/HER STOMACH. For example, wààŋ ɛ̀tʃ 'to burn a person's stomach' implies to make a person angry. Here, wààŋ 'to burn' has low tone but with high tone on wááŋ 'burning,' wááŋ ɛ̀tʃ 'stomach's burning' implies one's being angry.

(b)	jì	-ɛ̀	tìm	-ò	nī	kákáká...k
	stomach of	3SG	become	PROG	CON	kakaka...k
Lit.	'His/her stomach is (still) producing the voice kakaka...k.'					
	'He/She is (still) a bit angry.'					

The anger expression in (122b) is used to imply that the offended is still a bit angry. The voice kákákák based on the image schema of the voice of glowing of charcoals caused by small blowing air. Thus, there is no high flame but the glowing charcoals are red. So, the angry person may be speaking but not very loudly and not agitated. From the stage of burning, fire goes to glowing, then to steaming and finally to extinguishing. The anger in (122b) cannot be used with liver as it is not open like stomach, which takes the image-shema of hearth. The image schema of inner part of hearth is therefore mapped on the inner part of stomach and vice versa. In fact, the Anywaa can say kéénnò pòòt dùùŋ 'The hearth is still steaming' to imply that the fire still exists in the hearth.

Since fire and its steam bring perception problem, the mental disturbance brought by anger is understood in terms of disturbance caused by fire steam. Hence, ANGER IS STEAM MAKING HUMAN HEAD DISTURBED as it is illustrated in (122c):

(c)	wì	-ì	ā	nīdúk
	head of	2SG	PST	produce steam
Lit.	'Your head has produced a steam.'			
	'You have become madly angry.'			

Example (122c) implies that the angry person became irritated and agitated or attacked a person due to this abnormal anger. When there is steam, people do not see well. Similarly, anger understood in terms of steam is accompanied by unconsciousness. Hence, dʒìrò 'fire steam' is the source domain of the anger metaphor in (122c). The image schema of inner part of hearth is therefore mapped on the inner part of stomach and vice versa. When there is prolonged sad condition, anger as fire is used as bad condition/location or a very hot object to be swallowed. In such a sad life, people are killed, tortured or frightened as examples (123a-b) reveal.

(123a)	wà	lɔ́ɔ́ŋŋ	-á	tʃuk[21]
	1PL:EXCL	swallow	FOC	glows
Lit.	'We are swallowing glows.'			
	'We are leading a sad life.'			

[21] In Anywaa, heat of the sun can be used as a source domain of anger. For example, ārìɛ̀d āríɛ́ŋ 'Aried has shone' implies that she is angry and angrily speaking. This anger expression is based on hot sunshine, which is the source of angrily speaking person.

(b) gɛ̀ béèd -ò jì mààtʃ
3PL live PROG stomach of fire
Lit. 'They are living in fire.'
'The are leading very sad life.'

In example (123a), anger, which is based on the source domain of fire, is a bad food/object to be swallowed but in (123b), ANGER IS A BAD HABITAT. Generally, the above linguistic metaphors in (118-122b) are physical realizations of **ANGER IS FIRE**[22]. Below are the mappings in table 6 for this conceptual metaphor.

TARGET: ANGER	**SOURCE: FIRE**
angry person	burning thing/person
anger intensity	fire intensity
capacity of angry person to function normally	capacity of burning thing to serve its normal functioning
anger process/development	process of burning
voice for anger expression	voice of fire/heat/
controlling anger	extinguishing fire
mental damage to angry person	physical damage to burning thing
a person whose anger is at the limit	an object at the point of being consumed by fire
Offending a person(burn the stomach)	burning an object

Table 6: Mappings with ANGER IS FIRE based on Kövecses (1986)

In Anywaa culture, fire, which is a strong destructive object is understood like A STRONG ANIMATE OBJECT LIKE A LION. This is due to the force of fire in chasing away people, burning people and other objects and its moving from one place to another by causing danger. Therefore, due to the force of fire and its effect, it is given the qualities of a living matter that can be killed. This underlies, EXTINGUISHING FIRE IS ATTEMPTING TO KILL A STRONG LIVING THING. The following examples in (124a&b) are worth mentioning to help understand fire as a forceful living matter to be killed.

(124a) nʌ̀k mààtʃ
kill fire
Lit. 'Kill the fire.'
'Stop/extinguish the fire/Switch off the light.'

In example (124a), the fire may be burning or there may be glows but the people want to stop it. So bìp mààtʃ 'extingushing fire' has similar meaning to the imperative in (124a). As it is

[22]Verbs can tell the source domain of heat or fire; for example, in tʃwíɲá **ālóót̪** 'My liver rashed', the experience comes from very boiled and hot water spilled on liver as expressed by the verb lòòt̪ 'rash'. Hence boiled water is the source domain of anger but in ɲákɔ́ɔ́ lɛ̀ɛ̀ɲ jì ɔ̀tɔ̀ 'The girl is melting in the house' the source domain is fire with subdomain of very glowing charcolas as implied by the verb lɛɛɲ' melt'. Hence, dwɔ̀ɔ̀' gum' is mapped on the girl and melting is being angry. The voice produced by melting corresponds to anger expression by the girl in which she shouts at and insults an offender. When the degree of anger with boiled water is high, it is said tʃwíɲá ānìlɔ̀ɔ̀k 'My liver intensely rashed with boiled water and fell down'. Hence, the verb nìlɔ̀ɔ̀k/nìbúṯ conflates intense rashing, falling down and wound literally but it metaphorically lexicalizes hoplesseness, anger, irritation and surprise.

difficult to kill a lion, crocodile or a snake due its danger, it is also difficult to stop or extinguish fire for it burns people. When water is put in fire, it stops and disappears by producing the voice tʃŭutʃ, which the Anywaa equate with the voice of a dying strong living object like a lion. The use of plant leaves and big poles used to stop fire makes fire an object to be killed.

(b)	mààtʃ	ā	-t̪ɔ̀w
	fire	PST	die
Lit.	'The fire (has) died.'		
	'The fire disappeared.'		

In the context of (124b), there are only cold charcoals or there is only ash in the hearth. Therefore, WHEN THE FIRE TOTALLY TURNS INTO COLD ASH, IT IS DEAD. Living things die and turn into soil, so does fire and its ash (charcoals).

As table 9 implies, anger goes through a process. Prototypically anger development has five stages: offending event, anger, an attempt to control, loss of control and retribution. Thus, in Anywaa, anger as fire which is not extinguished is mapped onto failure to control an anger. Here, an angry person has an impeded perception and refuses to listen to advice. Such an angry person may kill an offender and the killer suffers from kùòr 'blood pay' due to killing or spearing his enemy (see Forceville, 2005).

The mappings in the table 9 can be based on ontological mappings. Epistemic correspondences provide adequate knowledge of fire experience to be mapped onto anger. For example, we know that things can burn at low intensity for a long time and then burst into flame. Similarly, people can be angry at low intensity and then suddenly become extremely angry. Fires are dangerous to people nearby; angry people are also dangerous to people nearby and that is why those who are near angry people keep quiet and move away when angry people speak agitation (Kövecses, 1986:20).

4.10 ANGER with the Source Domain of INSANITY AND CURSE

Lakoff and Johnson (1999:565&566) postulate that our conceptual system contains knowledge and belief of spiritual matters. In the process of meaning formation, an embodied sprituality plays a key role (See also ,Chomsky, 1968). To the Anywaa, the head of human being is the part which is mostly exposed to the sphere of spirituality. Spiritual matters usually exist in the space above the earth (sky). Spiritual mattter exists as an air. The head of human being is therefore the body part frequently threatened by evil matters coming from the sphere of spirituality. Thus, the spiritual dimension of human being is centered in the head. That is why usually at night or

evening, the Anywaa do not allow lifting up a young child or baby, because in the air, there are spirits and birds that can bring madness, spiritual diseases and abnormal growth to a child. Furthermore, the belief that human head is exposed to madness and spiritual matters conicides with Anywaa's belief that very tall people have mental disorders as their heads are high up in the air, which contain spirits bringing madness.

When an Anywaa goes mad or unconscious, the witch doctor finds out that **tímmɛ́ ὸkʌ̀lὸ** 'The shadow of the head has been stolen by sorcerer and that the person is unable to see himsefl/herself, which results in losing control over the mind'. Among the Anywaa, it is believed that a person who has become mad is said to be no longer a true human being. This implies the Anywaa's belief that consciousness, reasoning and reflection are in the mind. It is said that the time in which spiritual matters move is night and that is why Anywaa mothers prevent their children from walking at night in order not to meet these spirits and not to become mad(See Perner, 2003:79 and Fox,2002:199). Consider the following linguistic metaphors in (125a-e) to clarify ANGER IS INSANITY in Anywaa.

(125a)	dʒùù	ā	-nīʒʌ́l	wì	-ɛ̀
	gods	PST	rise	head of	3SG
Lit.	'The gods have risen in his/her head.'				
	'He/She has become abnormally very angry.'				

Anger like that in (125a) is seen as trait like that of a mad person. The source domain is gods bringing madness. When madness spirits come, such an aggressive mad person insults both the offender and others. If various gods exist in human head, the madness becomes intense as the gods have different strong spirits. Such an insanely angry person may pick up a thing like knife, spear or gun to attack the opponent or averter. Like an insane person, such an angry person foams with anger and insulting. This angry person may react abnormally by looking for a knife, spear or gun. Because such an anger is mixed with aggressiveness, the angry person may attack an offender or any other person by using a knife, spear of a gun. Like a strong insane person, an angry person like this strengthens his/her body so that it becomes difficult for the people to avert such an angry person who wants to fight.

(b)	gʊ́ʊ́n	bɔ́ɔ́l
	anger of	madness
Lit.	'madness anger.'	
	'Anger causing insanity.'	

The metaphor in (125b) implies that, when such a person becomes angry, it is difficult for him/her to control the anger due to anger insanity. In Anywaa, the concept of insanity takes high tone as bɔ́ɔ́l 'insanity', which is metaphorically extended to aggressiveness, intense anger or hot-

temperednesss, but the concept of INSANE is used with low tone as bɔ̀ɔ̀l 'insane', which is metaphorically extended to an aggressive or hot-tempered person.

(c)	wì	-à	mʌ́ʌ́r	bʌ̀ʌ̀t	-ì	káwáánɛ̀
	head of	1SG	thunder	on	2SG	soon
Lit.	'My head will thunder on you soon.'					
	'I will be insanly angry and attack you soon.'					

The anger metaphor in (125c) is based on mʌ́ʌ́r 'thunder', which based on the thunder of rain bringng irrationality and discomfort.

(d)	wì	-ɛ̀	ā	-nīdʒíím
	head of	3SG	PST	become dark
Lit.	'His/Her head has become dark.'			
	'He/She has become insanely angry.'			

The source domain of anger metaphor in (125d) is 'tʃɔ́l wìtʃ (HL) ' blackness of head', a god which the Anywaa imported from Nuer and expresses its anger by burning houses and byres with thunder. Like that of Anywaa, the Nuer word for the god has HL tone pattern as tʃɔ̋l wìtʃ 'blackness of head'. The spirit of god comes from a dead relative who has not been buried so that the spirit enters the head of the unburied dead person's relative. This god makes a person unable to see well and irrational or silent (Evans Pritchard, 1956).

(e)	ɲīlààl	dèèr	-ɛ̀	dá	ātʃíéní
	child	body of	3SG	exist	curse
Lit.	'There exist curse in the child's body.'				
	The child is angry and simply beating and insulting me like a cursed/mad person.'				

Among the Anywaa, curse is the negative wish expressed to God so that the offender will suffer from the misdeed. Curse comes after the death of the curser. Cursers tell truth by avoiding drink not to lie. If a cursers wants to attack an offender within a short time, after his/her stomach burts as many bad things are hidden in the stomach. The Anywaa do not curse children as they know that they are not conscious of what they say and do. Thus, the child in example (125e) is abnormally angry like a cursed person and beating the speaking adult, who believes that he/she has not offended the angry child.

The general conceptual metaphor based on insanity or sadness caused by evil spirits and curse can be provided as **ANGER IS INSANITY/CURSE, ANGER IS SUPERNATURAL**. Mad people burn houses, break down pots and spear or knife people. This beaviour can be mapped on to that of an angry person. Similarly, if the god or curse is not healed well, the sick person will die and this is to be mapped onto death of an angry person. See the table 7 for the detail of mappings for ANGER IS MADNESS/CURSE.

TARGET: ANGER	SOURCE: MADNESS/CURSE/GOD
angry person	insane/cursed person
cause of anger	cause of curse/madness
Controlling anger	healing madness/curse
calmer	witch doctor/healer
improper functioning of an angry person	death of sick person
anger	supernatural being
emotional distress caused by anger	mental distress caused by supernatural being
anger being in control over the self	being controled by supernatural being
activies or things used to control anger	charms

Table 7: ANGER as CURSE/MADNES/SUPER NATURAL BEING based on Esenova (2011)

In sum, the mapping and linguistic metaphors of anger as insanity, curse and supernatural beings have correlation with folk view. The folk view maintains that there is an overlap between the folk theories of insanity and those of anger. Accordingly, insane people are agitated-they go wild, start raving, flail their arms, foam, tear out their hairs, slam doors etc. This physological effect stands for insanity. The overlap between folk theories of anger and effects of insanity provides basis for forming anger metaphors. So, AN INSANE BEHVAIOUR IS AN ANGRY BEHAVIOR (Kövecses,1986).

Because a person who is insanely angry exhibits abnormal behaviour like that of an insane person, there is a problem with his/her way of responding to emotion. Response to emotion is determined by emotional behaviours like motivational states. The quality of our response is based on by the level of emotional intelligence, an ability to monitor one's own and others' feelings and emotions to distinguish among them and to use this information to guide one's thinking and actions. Insanely angry people therefore have poor level of emotional intelligence (Frijda,1988).

In the insanity metaphor, emotion is unspecified intense psychological force resulting in insanity. In the source domain of the metaphor, a normal person becomes mad due to the strong psychological force. Therefore, it is better to restate the conceptual metaphor EMOTION IS INSANITY as THE EFFECT OF AN INTENSE EMOTIONAL STATE IS INSANITY (Kövecses,2004:74-75). The Anywaa's understanding of madness as the entrance of spiritual matters inside a person's head implies their belief that the spiritual power inside human head makes a person insane as the spiritual power weakens and disturbs the mind.

4.11 ANGER as SHARP OBJECT

Sharp objects like thorns, knives[23], spears, spines and bones of fishes are found in places where the Anywaa live. These sharp objects may endanger people in different situations like while going to forest to collect fire woods, sitting on dusty floor and walking in rivers. Sometimes while eating the stew of fishes, a fish bone may stuck in throat of a person leading to irritation and pain in throat. These dangerous effects of sharp objects as source domain can be mapped on to the target domain of anger. Below in (126)-(132) are linguistic metaphors of Anywaa reflecting ANGER IS SHARP.

(126)	lúúmm	-ì	kʊ̀ʊ̀ɖ̲ɔ̀	jì	-à
	issue of	2SG	thorn	stomach of	1SG
Lit.	'Your issue has become a thorn in my stomach/liver.'				
	'I am very angry due to your offense.'				

Such anger is caused by a strong insult like ŋwɛ̀ɲ wʌ̀rù 'Your father's anus' or exposing somebody's secret that makes the person look bad.

(127)	ji	tʃóób	-ì	tʃwíɲ	ɲáán	-í	tʃʊ̀ʊ̀ɖ̲	kīpɛ́r	ŋɔ̀?
	2SG	pierce	2SG	liver of	girl	this	always	for	what
Lit.	'Why are you always piercing this girl's liver?'								
	'Why are you always making this girl angry?'								

Example (127) implies FREQUENCY OF PIERCING IS FREQUENCY OF OFFFENSE.

(128)	dèèr	-i	dáŋŋí
	mouth of	1SG	painful
Lit.	'You body is painful.'		
	'You are angry due to the point raised about you.'		

The word dáŋŋí 'painful' in (128) is based on the pain of thorn, spear or fish spine extended to irritation and anger caused by raising a bad point.

(129)	tʃwíɲ	-à	pʊ̀ʊ̀t	tʃóóbò
	liver of	1SG	still	piercing
Lit.	'My liver is still piercing.'			
	'I am still angry.'			

Example (129) underlies FEELING OF ANGER IS FEELING OF PAIN OF A SHARP OBJECT.

(130)	dèèr	ādʒùlù	ā	-tímò	nī	kʌ́ʌ́ò
	body of	Ajulu	PST	become	CON	biting
Lit.	'Ajulu's body is biting.'					
	'Ajulu is very angry and disturbed.'					

[23] Because sharp objects can cut thing like ropes, cutting is extended to stopping something.So, the metaphor ɲīlààl āŋɔ̀l 'The child was cut' implies that the child has been *waned*.This is because awaned child stops suckling milk and frequent relation with its mother will stop as a new baby may be born.So, STOPPING IS CUTTING.

The experience of the anger metaphor in (130) is based on BITING WITH TEETH. This is because, the word kʌ́ʌ̀ò 'biting' evokes teeth and this experience is extended to anger and irritation.

(131) tʃwíɲ -à tʃʊ̀ɔ̀p -ì
liver of 1SG pierce 2SG
Lit. 'You have pierced my liver.'
'You have intensified my anger.'

The metaphor in (131) implies that the speaker was a bit angry before, but the addressee intensified his/her anger leading to quarrel. Thus, the speaker in (131) will speaking in a loud angry voice. When we pierce an object, the objects inside come out. Similarly, in Anywaa to pierce one's liver means to intensify his/her anger so that he/she becomes angrily speaking and expresses many things hidden in his/her liver. The verb tʃʊ̀ɔ̀p 'pierce' evokes knife, fishing spear, spear and thorn, which are the source domains of anger bringing immediate irritation.

(132) áán -ā -ŋáál -ì
1SG PST slaughter 2SG
Lit. 'You have slaughtered me.'
'You have made me very angry.'

The source domain of the anger in (132) is knife or spear. The fact that an evil-eyed puts bones and other sharp objects as an anger inside human body leads as to the general conclusion that anger is spiritual force like that of a evil-eyed, which takes and puts the life in dangerous place like fire, river, crocodile mouth and thorny bush. Consider the following data in (133a-c).

(133a) wɛ̀ŋŋ -è pírrí kī gʊ̀ʊ̀tɔ̀
bird of 3SG produce voice a bird's flight with anger
Lit. 'His/Her bird is about to fly away due to anger.'
'He/She is palpitating with anger.'

The angry person in (133a) was breathing with difficulty as the spiritual heart was about to be taken by anger so that he/she would die.

(b) wɛ̀ŋ ɲīlààl ā -métʃ gʊ̀ʊ̀tɔ̀
heart of child PST suppress anger
Lit. 'The child's heart was suppressed by anger.'
'The child fainted with anger.'

Spiritual power is a silent killer which stops heartbeat without being sick for a long time. Thus, the spiritual heart called ādùùnnò flies to God silently without being visible to human eye when a person dies.

(c) àdúnn -ì dī wíír gʊ̀ʊ̀tɔ̀
spiritual heart 2SG AUX turn anger
Lit. 'Your spiritual heart will be attacked by anger.'
'You will die with anger.'

Experientially, wìir ādúúnnò 'attacking spiritual heart by turning it', is an attack done by an evil-eyed by putting sharp things like bones inside heart so that a person dies with heart pain. This

evil-eyed's experience is extended to anger. Spiritual heart is more important than the physical one as the spiritual heart is the one to be taken by God and exists in the form of spiritual air.

As the above examples in (133a)-(133c) illustrate, we can conclude that among the Anywaa LIFE IS HEART AND SOUL IS IN HEART. The Anywaa word for heart is wɛ̀ɲɔ̀ (PL. wɛ̀ɲ), which literally means bird. A bird and heart are related in terms of life and movemnt. Birds move from one place to another by conveying messages and protecting themselves from dangers. Similarly, when an Anywaa dies, the spiritual heart called ādùùnnò/dʒwìèj 'life' flies to God. After a man dies, God comes in the form of an air by putting the villagers into deep sleep at night and takes the heart in the form of spiritual hear called ādùùnnò (dʒwìèj) 'life' and reshapes it into ghosts[24] like snake, crocodile, bird, lion, etc, but we are not sure were our heart goes (See also Perner, 1994).

When an evil-eyed is offended, his angry looking at the offender affects the heart and throws it into river, mouth of crocodile, etc. These spirits have different names like wɛ̀ɲ ɲààŋ, 'crocodile's spirit' and wɛ̀ɲ ʈùòl 'snake's spirit'. These spirits, which tell that a person faces the danger of being burned/killed by fire or will be eaten up by a crocodile, make a victim angry and doubtful. To avoid a bad spirit, a witch doctor takes out the spirit, which the Anywaa call wɛ̀ɲɔ̀ 'bird' and sacrifices it with spear. Scientifically, it is proved that the proper flow of blood is within the heart. The right ventricle pumps blood to the lung and the left ventricle pumps oxygenated blood to the entire body. Yet, diseases like circulatory shock, which bring fear and sadness, can lead to death if the reason is not clearly understood (Fox, 2002).

4.12 ANGER IS FORCE

Anger is also conceptualized as physical or natural force. Physical force includes pushing or pulling and natural force includes wind or water erosion. Examples (134a)-(137) have been provided for clarification and detail.

(134a)	ā	-tʃʹóór	gòòtɔ̀	báŋ	lɛ̀ɲ
	PST	push way	anger	to	fight
Lit.	'Anger pushed him/her away to fight.'				
	'She/He became angry and went to fight.'				

In example (134a) anger has physical force like human being. When a relative is defeated in fight, a relative supports him/her in fighting after this supporter has been pushed by others.

[24] The Anywaa word for ghost is tìppò (PL. tiìp), which literally means *shadow*.

(b)	tʃwíɲ	-è	ā	-gút	-ì
	liver of	3SG	PST	touch	2SG
Lit.	'You have touched my liver.'				
	'You have made me angry/very angry.'				

In (134b), the implied meaning is that the addresser was angry before but the addressee intensified his/her anger by saying worse thing. Thus, in (134b) anger has physical human force used to touching people and other objects. In Anywaa, if someone touches the liver of another, he offends him with higher anger degree than before and the person will be very sad or angry.

The understanding of anger as a DESTRUCTIVE FORCE can be seen in rááɲ tʃwíɲè 'Destroy his/her liver' to mean make him/her angry. Anger that destroys liver also destroys important things like secret and plan. Destructive forces like fire, which destroys like maize, money and other objects in house or farm, serve as a source of experience for such a metaphor.

(135)	tʃwíɲ	āláál	rɛ́	-è	a	-ɔ̀ɔ̀r	-è
	liver of	Alaal	body of	3SG	PST	erode	3SG
Lit.	'Alaal's liver was/has been eroded(by anger).'						
	'Alaal has become very angry.'						

The force in (135) is EROSION FORCE. The word **ɔ̀ɔ̀r** 'erode' is used with water erosion, which erodes soil. So, the prepositional phrase kī gòòtɔ̀ 'with anger' is optionally used as the word ɔ̀ɔr 'erode' has been used with liver to express anger. Thus, (135) has the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS WATER EROSION. The idiom gòòl tʃwíɲ 'to erode one's liver' can be used to mean *to offend a person*. Literally, the word gòòl means to take out mud so that the soil is eroded and produces deep hole.

(136)	dʒàmmí	mō	ā	-bɛ́jjɔ́	nánʌk	jà	-à	kán	jì
	things	REL	be	good:PL	REL	PERF	1SG	hide	in
	tʃwíɲ	-à	ā	-rààɲ	gòòtɔ̀				
	liver of	1SG	PST	destroy	anger				
Lit.	'The important things I have hidden in my liver have been destroyed by anger.'								
	'Anger has made me forget the good things .'								

In example (136) anger understood based natural force/physical in the form of wind/flood and fire resulting in the eroding of important things planned by the experiencer and kept in the liver. Strong wind breaks trees, maizes and take away clothes. This experience serves as basis for anger source domain. An intense anger makes an experiencer forget his/her good idea for future plan. Drink can also be used as force pushing anger out of liver as follows in (137):

(137)	gìn	-ā	ɛ́n	tʃwíɲ	ōdʒùlù	ā	-kʌ̀l	kɔ̀ɔ̀ŋɔ̀	wɔ̀k
	thing	PST:REL	be:LOC	liver of	Ojulu	PST	take	drink	out
Lit.	'That thing which was in Ojulu's liver has been brought out by drink.'								
	'Ojulu expressed his anger secret due to his being drunk.'								

Example (137) implies that Ojulu has kept is anger for a long time without expressing it while he was sober, but expressed it after becoming drunk leading to Ojulu's fighting with the offender. So, anger which was a secret inside the liver was taken out by the force of drink and the anger forced Ojulu to speak. The word gìn 'thing' refers to anger understood as an object in a container. The word kɔ̀ɔ̀ŋɔ̀ 'drink', which has given confidence to Ojulu, METONYMICALLY STANDS FOR BECOMING DRUNK. This leads to analyzing product-effect metonymy type[25]. Thus, the metaphor CAUSES ARE EFFECTS has equative metaphor, because drink is equated with becoming drunk[26]. The word gìnà 'that thing' implies known anger. Thus, gin 'thing' here has similar meaning to gʊ̀ʊ̀tɔ̀ 'anger'. Although becoming drunk is an effect caused by drink, expressing anger can also be the effect caused by becoming drunk. Thus, metonymy is basic and more accessible than metaphor.

Based on the physical force experience, which changes things to bad positions, the Anywaa believe that a liver changes from pleasant state to anger state/bad mood and the change can be analyzed as anger force changing liver to another unpleasant position, because anger is evaluated as a bad emotion, which has a strong force. This can be illustrated as follows in (138a-d):

(138a)	tʃwíɲ	-à	páá	kàr	-è
	liver of	1SG	not	place of	3SG
Lit.	'My liver is not in its proper position.'				
	'I am feeling bad.'				

Example (138a) implies PROPER (NORMAL) IS RIGHT POSITION; IMPROPER(ABNORMAL) IS WRONG POSITION. In Anywaa kàrɛ̀ 'its right place' also means *true* and páɻ́ákárɛ̀ 'not its proper place' means false. So, TRUE IS RIGHT PLACE; FALSE IS WRONG PLACE.

[25] In Anywaa, honorific/polite expressions are graded. For example, dɛ̀ɛ̀rɛ̀ dá kɔ̀ɔ̀ŋɔ̀ 'There is drink in his/her body' has lower degree of euphemism/politeness than dɛ̀ɛ̀rɛ̀ dá tʃàm 'There is food in his/body', but ɔ̀mɛ̀ɛ̀r 'He/She is drunk is offensive'. So, metonymy can be used for honorific language use.

[26] In Anywaa, contextually kɔ̀ɔ̀ŋŋì ráátʃ 'Your drink is bad' can have similar metonymic meaning to mɛ̀ɛ̀jì ráátʃ 'Your becoming drunk is bad' to imply bad behaviour brought by the addressee's becoming drunk. Because emotion control can be learned, experiencers can control themselves as illustrated in dɛ̀ɛ̀rà ādʒʊ̀ʊ̀à kɛ̀ɛ̀rà 'I controlled my emotion my self', which literally means *I averted my body myself*. This metaphor has similar meaning to tʃwíɲà ādʒʊ̀ʊ̀à 'I *(have) averted my liver'/*tʃwíɲà ātʃìbà pìɲ' *I have put down my liver'* (See also Atwater and Duffy (2005).

(b) tʃwíɲ -ì ā -wììtɔ̀ nì rǎatʃ
liver 2SG PST change CON bad
Lit. 'Your liver has changed badly.'
'You have become angry.'
(c) tʃwíɲ -à ā -tʃì káɲ mō rǎatʃ
liver of 1SG PST go place REL bad
'My liver has gone to a bad place.'
'I have become angry.'
(d) tʃwíɲ -è màn -ā rǎatʃ ā -òò
liver of 3SG REL:DEFINE PST bad PST come
Lit. 'His/Her bad liver has come.'
'He/She has become angry.'

Example (138d) is based on the coming of a bad thing. Hence, THE COMING OF ANGER IS THE COMING OF A BAD LIVER; ANGER IS A BAD LIVER. Such anger metaphors used with changed livers are mostly discoursal, pragmatic or contextual if not clued by the word rǎatʃ 'bad'. The anger can also lead to an attack or quarrel. All the examples in (138a-d) imply that the experiencers were overcome by anger as the livers were severly affected. The change of liver or the movement of liver is based on the experience of unconscious movements of people and other objects affected by strong force. Below is table 8 providing mappings for ANGER IS FORCE.

TARGET: ANGER	**SOURCE: FORCE**
angry person	a person affected by force
attempt to control anger	struggling with the force
failure to control anger	being overcome by force
degree of anger	degree of force
cause of anger (force)	cause of physical force

Table 8: ANGER as FORCE

4.13 ANGER as SWELLING

In Anywaa, anger can be understood in terms of sweeling like TB gland, abscess and indigestion. Swellings can be caused by wound which is not healed. So, ātwɔ̀dà 'wound in liver' can be used as a source domain of anger which has been in liver for a long time. Swellings are more often caused by reacting to inner infections. Swelling in the armpit is called ākátágɔ̀ŋ and that of the groin is called āwàànà mààtʃ, which is healed by putting heated stone on the swollen groin (Perner,1994:233). Such anger is mostly expressed based on minor cause. The examples of such metaphors of SWELLING have been provided from (139)-(142).

(139) déŋ ɲīlààl ò -kùòt (kī gòòtɔ̀)
jaw of child PERF swell with anger
Lit. 'The child's jaws are swollen(with anger).'
The child is angry but does not express its dissatisfaction.

In example (139), the child's jaws are swollen due to closing his/her mouth. The example in (139) implies that in clear context, the prepositional phrase kī gʊ̀ʊ̀tɔ̀ 'with anger' cannot be uttered as the anger context is clear to the people in the context.

(140)	tʃwíɲ	-è̀	ʊ̀	-kúót
	jaw of	3SG	PERF	swell
Lit.	'His/Her liver is swollen.'			
	'He/She is angry.'			

As the perfective {ʊ̀} implies, the anger in (141) must have started a long time ago and it is still being experienced.

(141)	gìn	-ɛ́tʃɛ́	nī	tʃwíɲ	ʊ̄mɔ̀d	ʊ̀	-kóút	kī
	thing	that	REL:-DEFINE	liver of	Omod	PERF	swell	with
	gɔ̀	ɪ̀tʃɛ́	ŋʌ́j	-ì				
	it	there	know	2SG				
Lit.	'Do you know the thing with which Omod's liver/stomach is swollen?'							
	'Do you know that Omod is angry (with you?)'							

The metaphor in (141) can imply that the addresser knows that Omod is angry with the adresser but the addressee has not understood Omod's being angry (with him/her). We can prevent a swollen object from bursting by holding it firmly. This experience is can be a source for the anger màrɛ̀ ɛ́ɛ́ măa jìɛ̀ 'He/She has firmly held his/her anger in his/her stomach', which implies that the person is angry but does not express the anger. Such an anger is interfaced with an indirect hatred.

(142)	jì	-ì	dá	gwɛ́j
	stomach of	2SG	exist	indigestion
Lit.	'There is indigestion in your stomach.'			
	'You are angry.'			

Indigestion is caused by over eating of varities of food items like porridge and fish, maize and bean and porridge and milk at the same time. It is accompanied by belching and farting. The anger in example (142) stays for a long time without being controlled, because indigestion takes some days to stop. So, based on example (142), indigestion is mapped onto anger and the cause of indigestion is mapped onto cause of anger. Therefore, AN ANGRY PERSON IS A PERSON WHO IS SUFFERING FROM INDIGESTION. The anger in (142) takes fewer days to stop, because indigestion takes fewer days to stop. But anger which may not be stopped is called gʊ̀ʊ̀j, which is literally the chronic swelling of a person's stomach. When someone is very angry and about to fight, his/her whole body or chest swells. Below are two examples in (143a&b) to illustrate this conception of anger in Anywaa:

(143a)	ʊ̄dʒʊ̀lʊ̀	ā	-kʊ̀ʊ̀t	bʌʌ́t	-à
	Ojulu	PST	swell	on	1SG
Lit.	'Ojulu has swollen on me.'				
	'Ojulu is very angry with me and about to hit me.'				

Example (143a) implies that Ojulu has strengtened his body so that he will beat the speaker or he will fight with the speaker.

(b)	kòòr	-è	éé	kúúd̪ɔ̀
	chest of	3SG	PERF	blow
Lit.	'He has blown his chest.'			
	'He is very angry and about to fight.'			

The implied meaning in (143b) is that the speaker is talking about a person who has become angry and strengthened his body, standing and about to hit the speaker. Such a speaker may keep quiet not to be beaten by the angry person as he has no enough capacity of defense. More often, angry males who are fat, swell and blow their chests and ribs with anger for fight.

Keeping the experience of swelling in the mind, anger can also be conceptualized as explosion, which is the result of high swelling. In fact, the experience of explosion extended to anger is based on things like egg, burned pumpkin, rifle, calabash, pots with water and ōdʌ̀rò 'mortar like thunder', which cause danger and anger. These objects have air which expands and makes an object burst. In fact, when people cry, they are also expressing their anger. Similarly, a very swollen body part with more pus can explode as pus can be full in a swollen body part. An anger with EXPLOSION experience is very intense making an experiencer unable to control it. Below in (144)-(148) are some metaphorical expressions illustrating ANGER IS EXPLOSION in Anywaa.

(144)	tʃwíɲ	-ì	pòòt	nō	òkúót?
	liver of	2SG	still	CON	swollen
Lit.	'Is your liver still swollen and about to burst?'				
	'Are you still angry?'				

The metaphor in example (144) is very contextualized. In a decontextualized metaphor use, the prepositional phrase kī gòòtɔ̀? 'with anger?' can be used after òkúót 'swollen'. The example in (144) implies, *Your liver will burst with anger if you do not stop the anger*.

(145)	ā	dòò	múótʃ
	1SG	PROSP:PST	explode
Lit.	'I was about to explode.'		
	'I was very angry.'		

Although the Anywaa language data in (145) does not contain **gòòtɔ̀** 'anger', native speakers do know from their experience that things like eggs explode due to fire heat but people explode due to anger. That is why the datum in (145) does not contain the prepositional phrase kì gòòtɔ 'with anger', because native speakers do understand it as it is optionally used. This implies that while conceptualizing, people think about speaking (See also Sinha, 1999). In example (145), the verb múótʃ 'explode' has not taken the past tense prefix {ā-},because the propective aspect dòò, which carries the past tense suffix {ā-}, has come before the verb múótʃ 'explode'.

(146a)	jì	-à	dʊ̀ʊ̀	tʃʊ̀ʊ̀t	n	-ā	-gʊ̀ʊ̀t	-à
	stomach of	1SG	PROSP	burst	when	PST	be angry	1SG
Lit.	'My stomach was about to burst when I became angry.'							
	'I was very angry.'							

Anger metaphor in (146a) implies the Anywaa's belief in the importance of expressing anger for health and social co-existence. An anger that bursts a liver and that which bursts a stomach may be thought to have similar intensity as illutrated in (146b) below.

(b)	tʃwíɲ	-à	ā	-tʃʊ̀ʊ̀t	kì	gʊ̀ʊ̀tɔ̀
	liver of	1SG	PST	burst	with	anger
Lit.	'My liver has bursted with anger.'					
	'I'm very angry.'					

In a contextulaized metaphor, in uttering metaphor in (161b) the prepositional phrase kī gʊ̀ʊ̀tɔ̀ 'with anger' cannot be uttered. The controlling or decrease of anger is understood in terms of SHRINKING OF LIVER as in (161c) as:

(c)	tʃwíɲ	à	ā	-nīdʒʊ̀ʊ̀k
	liver of	shrink	PST	shrink
Lit.	'My liver has shrunk.'			
	'My anger has decreased/stopped.'			

The experience of controlling the anger in (146c) comes from the shrinking of the objects like stomach, balloon or swollen body part with pus. WHEN ANGER STOPS, LIVER SHRINKS. The Anywaa believe that anger kept in stomach or liver kills people. Further, according to Atwater and Duffy (2005:189), scientific findings prove that keeping anger in results in hypertension, heart disease, depression and suicide.

(147)	jì	-ɛ̀	ʊ̀	-kʊ́ɔ́n
	stomach of	3SG	PERF	fail
Lit.	'His/Her stomach has failed to explode.'			
	He/She is angry/ dissatsfied but does not express the dissatisfaction.			

The metaphor in (147) is based on the experience of a gun, which has failed to explode. The verb kʊ́ɔ́n 'fail to explode' is basically used for a gun that has failed to explode. Therefore, here, ANGER IS GUN ; EXPRESSING ANGER IS THE EXPLOSION OF GUN. A PERSON WHO DOES NOT EXPRESS HIS/HER ANGER IS A GUN THAT HAS FAILED TO EXPLODE; AN ANGER WORD IS A BULLET.

(148)	jì	dʒààl	ā	-tʃʊ́ʊ́t	nī	túj	kìpɛ̀r	kàt	ʈɛ̀ɛ̀j
	stomach of	old man	PST	burst	CON	tuy	for	stew of	porcupine
Lit.	'The old man's stomach bursted with the voice tuy for the stew of porcupine.'								
	'The old man became very angry for the porcupine stew.'								

The ange metaphor in (148) is understod as metaphorical because it makes us recognize different conceptual domain likes guns. Also the mix between jealousy and anger has been clued by the porcupine stew, of which the old man was angry and jealous. The anger implies that the old man wanted to eat the stew of porcupine, but he was not allowed to eat the stew. Therefore,

between the explosion voice túj and kìpɛ̀r 'for' the prespositional phrase kī gɔ̀ɔ̀tɔ̀ 'with anger' can be optionally used. The voice túj expresses higher degree of anger than with low tone as tùj as it has lower voice. So, the voice túj/tuj̀ has higher emotion degree than the anger expresion without explosion voice. Furthermore, the voice túj is used to express lower degree of emotion than with vowel extension as tŭ...j, which results in rising tone.

In general, Kövecses (1986) mentions that ANGER as EXPLOSION, which produces specific sources to conceptualize anger, has the following conceptual logics in cognitive metaphors (1-2) and linguistic metaphors (149a-d):

(1) WHEN ANGER BECOMES INTENSE, A PERSON EXPLODES (see 149a):

(149a)	jììn	-ā	-tʃóót
	2SG	PST	explode
Lit.	'You exploded(with anger).'		
	'You have become very angry.'		

The metaphor in (149a) optionally has taken the prepositional phrase kī gɔ̀ɔ̀tɔ 'with anger' due to context.

(2)WHEN A PERSON EXPLODES, PARTS OF HIM/HER GO UP (see 149b&c):

(b)	ŋɛ̀ɛ̀t	-ɛ̀	ā	-kùɔ̀t	máál		
	ribs of	3SG	PST	swell	sky		
Lit.	'His ribs swole and went up in the sky [with anger].'						
	'He/She has become very angry and about to fight.'						
(c)	tʃwíɲ	-à	ā	-ò	máál	dɔ́tʃ	ná	-à
	liver of	1SG	PST	come	sky	DEG	and	1SG
	máŋŋ	-á	gɔ̀	nɛ́ɛ́	ɖóóŋ	-à		
	want	FOC	him	PURP	slap	1SG		
Lit.	'My liver went very high up in the sky and I was about to slap him.'							
	'I became very angry and I was about to slap him.'							

The example in (149c) implies, WHEN ANGER STOPS, THE SWOLLEN LIVER GOES DOWN. WHEN A PERSON EXPLODES, WHAT WAS INSIDE HIM COMES OUT(see 149d):

(d)	gìn	-ā	-ɛ́n	tʃwíɲ	-ì	ā	-ò	wɔ́k
	thing	REL:PST	be:LOC	liver of	2SG	PST	come	out
	nɔ̀							
	then							
Lit.	'The thing which was in your liver came out then.'							
	'You have expressed your anger.'							

The morpheme nɔ̀ implies that the addressee expressed his/her anger after a very long time.

Metaphors of ANGER IS EXPLOSION imply that people go from stable stage to anger stage. Further, in Anywaa when anger intensity is high, liver goes up and the angry person speaks with high tone and intonation; similarly when an anger intensity declines, a liver goes down and the angry person speaks with low tone and intonation and stops anger by stopping the speech. The

controlling of anger understood in terms of SWOLLEN LIVER takes low tone for passive voice and high tone for active voice as follows in (150a&b):

(150a)	tʃwíŋ	-à	à	-dɔ̀ɔ̀k	pìŋ
	liver of	1SG	PST	return:PASS	down
Lit.	'My liver was pressed down.'				
	'I was averted.'				

In (150a), the low tone on dɔ̀ɔ̀k 'be retuned' is used to express the passive voice in which the experiencer was averted by someone he/she doesn't mention his or her name. So, the focus of the experiencer in (150a) is the controlling of anger but not the person who averted him or her.

(b)	tʃwíŋ	-à	á	-dɔ́ɔ́k	pìŋ
	liver of	1SG	PST	return:ACT	down
Lit.	'He/She pressed down my liver.'				
	'He/She advised me to control my anger.'				

In (150b), the high tone on ádɔ́ɔ́k 'returned, pressed' expresses the active voice in which the experiencer focuses on the person who averted him/her as he/she was about to create a problem. In Anywaa, it is the anger that swells liver or stomach in the context of ANGER IS SWOLLEN LIVER/STOMACH.

The metaphorical conceptualization of anger as an explosion is not congruent with the actual situation. Thus, metaphorically, a very angry person is a person whose stomach is said to explode but speaking literally, his/her stomach does not actually explode. In Conceptual Metaphor Theory, such an emotion conceptualization is supported with the help of a model called **Idealized Cognitive Model (ICM**) as follows:

> Idealized Cognitive Model is a basic way by which human beings structure their knowledge. It is a folk theory or cultural model that people use to organize their knowledge based on various experiences. ICMs make something meaningful although they do not correspond to real situations directly but relate many concepts that are inferentially related to one another in one conceptual structure that is experientially and generally meaningful (Xiaohong 2008:22). An ICM as a cognitive structure, is idealized for understanding and reasoning and it is used to represent reality from a certain view in terms of proposition, frame like POT, metaphoric or metonymic mappings, image schema or spatial concepts (Ibanz, 1997:281, Qin,2018).

Therefore, cognitive model, as a basic means of acquiring knowledge, is the psychological token of human being's cognitive experience which is formed under specific cultural background. In line with Anywaa anger metaphor, the bursting of stomach as a conceptualzation of expressing anger among the Anywaa can be experientially related to the experience where dangerous things like bottles, weapons and swollen body parts explode with their parts bringing injuries and death, which in turn lead to anger or sadness (See also Ruiz, 2006: 170).

The relation between emotion voice like that in (196) links image schema and the five senses directly or indirectly. According to Evans and Greens (2006:179), the image part of 'image schema' refers not just to visual perception but to all types of sensory-perceptual including visual, auditory, haptic (touch) and vestibular (balance/movement), all of which create what psychologists call images in the mind. The 'schema' part of the term is meant to distinguish image schemas from rich visual image. What an image schema describes is not a mental picture but a specified pattern that recurs in such images and that gives them their meaning or relation or processing structure.

4.14 ANGER as UNDESIRED FOOD AND BAD SMELL

Dirty foods are not desired. Also when one invites others to share stollen food, the invited person refuses because it is guilt and the responsbility will be of both. Furthermore, theft results in being cursed especially if the person whose food like fish and others are old people living alone without a daughter or son helping that person. The Anywaa have their traditional perfumes like that of honey, flowers from lakes and máár wʌdò 'oil of shea' and máár ōlìılló 'caste plant oil', which they apply. But there is a belief that stollen perfume cannot be used as it causes leprosy. In addition, smell like that of bedbug and slug is not liked as it has a bad smell implying that anger is unpleasant to human mind. Bad smell and taste are used to evaluate the negative aspects of anger. Broadly, one can infer that emotion can be understood in terms of bad taste and smell. ANGER IS BAD implies unpleasantness of anger based on bad smells, which are hated (Esenova, 2011). See the expressions below in (151a)-(154) for the detail of ANGER IS BAD.

(151a)	ɖɔ́k	dʒɛ̀j	kɛ̀r	ŋámm	-ì	dʒààk
	mouths of	people	NEG	Open:FQ	2SG	simply
Lit.	'Do not simply open the people's mouths.'					
	'Do not offend others who have not offended you.'					

In (151a) the implied meaning is that the speakers are refusing that have not made a mistake to the addresser but the addressee is angrily speaking to them. The experience of example (151a) is based on forcing a child to eat or to drink a bitter fluid of a plant root for healing disease. In this situation, a child closes his/her mouth as the fluid is bitter. Therefore, the speakers in (151a) do not want to speak with the angry person, whom they have not offended.

(b)	jì	-a	kɔ́t
	stomach of	1SG	musky
Lit.	'My stomach is musky.'		
	'I am very angry.'		

In (151b) the unpleasantness of anger is understood based on the source of MUSKY, which is a very bad smell bringing irritation and evokes bad objects with musky smell. This smell is not used with liver to express anger because liver is clean unless spoiled by external thing. But stomach has bad things like faeces and intestines. Yet, the concept of BAD like in, rʌ̀ʌ̀tʃ tʃwìɲ 'badness of liver' to mean *anger* is also used with stomach as rʌ̀ʌ̀tʃ ètʃ 'badnesss of stomach' to mean *being angry*.

(152)	gʊ̀ʊ̀tɔ̀	már	-ì	kɛ́r	tííj	-ì	ná	ŋwɛ̀ɛ̀
	anger	of	2SG	NEG	make	2SG	CON	monitor lizrad of
	àtʃɔ̀ɔ̀k							
	Achok							

Lit. 'Do not make your anger Achok's monitor lizard stew.'
'Do not extend your anger to others who are the offenders.'

The example in (152) leads one to an inference that among the Anywaa, monitor lizard is edible. In this example, a native speaker remembers the tale of Achok[27] in which he is the tricker in the tale. In this tale, Achok goes to another village and finds people cooking monitor lizard at night for the chief's next day meal. When the people slept at night, Achok got up, brought out the cooked monitor lizard and ate it. After finishing eating, he collected the bones and laid them at the people's mouths and hands and smeared their mouths with the oil. When the people got up in the morning, the bones were found in the hands and the mouths of the cooks while he stole away himself at night. When the people reported this to the chief, he concluded that the monitor lizard was eaten by those with oil in their mouths and the bones in their hands themselves and they were severly beaten and forced to leave the village.

Based on the expression in (152), one can infer that those whose mouths were smeared with monitor lizard oil and whom the bones were put in their hands had no intention to eat the chief's food. Put another way, the anger of being beaten which should have been experienced by Achok was diverted to them and this must be the reason for which (152) is also utter as ḏɔ́k dʒɛ́j kɛ̀r ŋɛ̀ɛ̀lì, which literally means *Don't smear the mouth of the people who did not eat the monitor lizard* but metaphorically refers to "Do not extend your anger to others who are not involved in your issue".

[27]The tale was narrated by Akuoma Okugn and was validated with peter Obang. The Anywaa word tʃʊ̀ɔ̀k/tʃɔ̀ɔ̀k means to cheat/trick in English. That is why the Anywaa also call Achok as ātʃɔ̀ɔ̀k wō dóóŋŋá dʒʊ̀ɔ̀k 'Achok the cheater of every creature except God'.

(153) jí -ì bá mɛ́t dítʃʌ́ŋ -í
stomach of 2SG NEG tasty day this
Lit. 'Your stomach is not tasty this day.'
'You are angry today.'

In (153), ANGER IS A BAD FOOD to imply that both anger and bad food are bad.

(154) ōmɛ́ɛ́l pìŋ ā -kɛ́ɛ́l -è bʌ́r -è
Omel earth PST spread civet scent 3SG whole:3SG 3SG
Lit. 'Omel has spread the civet scent over the whole earth.'
'Omel has extended his anger/quarrel to all villagers.'

Nearly, in every part of Anywaaland, dʒwìèl 'civet cat' exists despite the fact that their number is small. As it can be inferred from the example, the word **kɛ̀ɛ̀l**[28] means to spread the smell and scent of ōkɛ̀ɛ̀lá 'civet'. When people go to forest to cut trees for different purposes or go hunting in grasslands, they touch civet scent released on plant or grass by a civet. Later, if another person touches the body of that person, the smell spreads to this person. As a result of the contact among people in the same place, the smell of civet spreads to more people and the place smells civet which is not liked by the people. Table 9 shows the mapping for anger with the source domain of **CIVET**.

TARGET: ANGER	**SOURCE: CIVET**
angry person	civet cat
body of the person who touched the civet	anus of civet
spreading the anger	spreading civet
chasing away the angry person	chasing away the civet cat
controlling the anger	washing away the civet
difficulty of controlling the anger	difficulty of avoiding civet

Table 9: Mappings for ANGER as CIVET

4.15 ANGER as MENSTRUATION

In Anywaa, menstruation is called āmʌ̀ʌ̀n, formed out of the morpheme {ā-} 'thing of' and mʌ̀ʌ̀n 'females'. It is also called dùʌ̀ʌ̀j, which literally means moon. The very offensive term is rèmɔ̀, which literally means blood. The period in which a female is menstruating is called nír pììn pìŋ (Lit. days of sitting down). The compound words píín pìŋ 'sitting down and gìr mʌ̀ʌ̀n 'females thing' are the euphemistic forms of āmʌ̀ʌ̀n 'menstruation'(see Fox, 2002:665) for detail.

A girl or woman who is menstruating[29] has headache, brightened face and pain at the lower part of the belly. Thus, a menstruating female is irritated as an angry female is irritated too. Duration

[28]In Anywaa, the smell of civet is called **tík**. However, the meat of civet cat is edible among the Anywaa by avoiding the part containing civet.
[29]This based on an interview with Beedojak Abala.

of menstruation is not fixed. Some females, menstruation takes 3-7 days and in others it may take two days. Although girls more in urban areas usually tell their boyfriends that they are menstruating, a woman in countryside ties a red bead in her ankle meaning to the husband that she is menstruating.

Like anger, menstruation affects a girl's mood. A girl becomes irritated, and gets angry for unclear reason. Also when they have their periods, girls get angry easily (Meher, Smile and Sommer, 2019). The following expressions in (155a)-(155e), which are offensive as they are used during quarrel and insult among girls, are worth providing as they underlie A FEMALE'S ANGER IS MENUSTRUATION(MENUSTRUATING).

(155a)	lúúbò	ā	-tʃáán	-ì	nà	rɛ̀mm	-ì
	speech	PST	tell	2SG	CON	blood of	2SG
Lit.	'You spoke by bleeding (menstruating).'						
	'You spoke angrily.'						

In example(155a), the anger of the girl who spoke angrily has been understood as her blood, which is synonymous to āmʌ̀ʌ̀n 'menstruation'.

(b)	ɲààn	-è	ā	-lɛ̀ɛ̀ɲ
	girl	that	PST	melt
Lit.	'That girl is melting.'			
	'That girl is very angry/angrily speaking.'			

In example (155b), the source domain is also menstruation. In Anywaa, the discharge of period blood takes the source domain of MELTING, which evokes menstruating, which is metaphorically extended to expressing anger with speech and insult. SINCE MELTING HAS HOT TEMPERATURE, THE ANGRY GIRL IN (155b) IS VERY IRRITATED. Hence, A FEMALE'S EXPRESSION OF ANGER IS HER MENSTRUATING.

(c)	dúʌ́ʌ́	-ì	kɛ̀r	kúódò	kī	-à
	moon of	2SG	NEG	flow	with	1SG
Lit.	'Your moon should not be flowing with me.'					
	'Do not be angry with me.'					

The anger in (155c) is higher, because the source domain of MOON, which metonymically stands for MENSTRUATION, is flowing. So, THE EXPRESSION OF A FEMALE'S ANGER IS THE FLOWING DOWN OF HER MENSTRUATION.

(d)	āmʌ́ʌ́n	-è	pòòt	tìmò	nī	dɛ́k	dɛ́k
	menstruation of	3SG	still	beome	CON	dek	dek
Lit.	'Her menstruation is still dropping with the slow voice as dek dek.'						
	'She is still angrily speaking and insulting with some interruptions for no reason.'						

In (155d) menstruation implies anger and the 3SG is a female who sometimes stops anger speech and insult and sometimes starts speaking and insulting. The voice dɛ́k dɛ́k, which is extended to slow and interrupted female's anger speech, comes from the droplets of rain or (period) blood

which falls down one after the other. In (155d), the space between the voices dɛ́k and dɛ́k implies interruptions between anger expressions which is based on interruptions between droplets of period blood.

(e) kɛ́r -ì márr -ì
NEG 2SG be green 2SG
Lit. 'Do not be green with your green menstruation.'
'Do not simply angrily speak noisly without listening to others.'

The angry female in (155e) speaks angrily without listening to the person responding. The word márr 'green' is a metaphorical meaning of green menstruation which in turn implies rotten menstruation, whose unpleasantnes causes high disturbance. In Anywaa, something which has become rotten for a long time has the colour of márr 'green'. That is why the Anywaa understand the colour of pus as GREEN. The Anywaa also think that the mucus which has stayed in the nose for a long time as GREEN COLOUR. Thus, green menstruation is rotten menstruation, which is the source domain of bad anger or irritation. The Anywaa believe that speaking noisly without listening to others is one of the typical characteristics of women. Examples (155a-e) take us to the mappings between menstruation and anger as follows in table 10.

TARGET: ANGER	**SOURCE: MENSTRUATION**
angry female	menstruating female
anger duration	duration of menstruation
irritation caused by anger	irritation caused by menstruation
sitting down due to anger	sitting down due to menstruation
expressing anger	bleeding
stopping of anger	menopause
voice of angry woman	voice of menstruation

Table 10: ANGER as MENSTRUATION

4.16 Orientational Metaphor of ANGER/SADNESS [30]

When a close relative like son, daughter, brother or sister dies, for the first time when sad news is heard from a distant place, the relative of the corpse jumps up for a very short time and falls down crying on the ground for a long time. Furthermore, when the relative is near the dead person, more often females lie on the dead man in the house as a symbolic action showing that she wishes that they had better die together. If a woman comes from a far village while the dead person has already been buried, she beats her belly and falls on the grave. The beating of the

[30]Although the Anywaa in urban areas wear black uniforms and shave their heads when a relative dies, this in not the case in countrysides. To the Anywaa in rural areas, wearing black uniform is not an Anywaa culture of sadness but of highlanders and therefore wearing black uniform is doubling death by calling it as the Anywaa are black. Instead, the Anywaa in country sides shave their heads and wear dirty clothes as signs of mouning.

belly means the woman has given birth for nothing for a person is born to grow up and help the village and community. Thus, death of a young girl or boy saddens the parents and the other members of the villagers very much. Among the Anywaa, the falling down of body parts is caused and dominated by the falling down of a liver, which is physiologically caused by palpitation and shock.

Another very clear indicator of sadness among the Anywaa is kìimò 'to sit unhappily with the head down on the hands crossed over knees' and the word kìin 'mourn'. This physiology happens when an important person or object is lost. However, in the mind of an Anywaa, sadness is an anger which has developed to be unamenable due to loss or lack of solution. Thus, **SADNESS/ANGER IS DOWN**. Izard (1991:196) puts that sadness and anger highly do interact. For example, an intense pain of inoculation has both sadness and anger responses. Sadness can also be an innate activator of anger.

Sadness/anger caused by death makes the village[31] quiet. When a guest comes from the village and stays for more days while most people are quiet without beating drum for dance, he guess that the village must have lost a person. While females cry during death, for a person who died of disease, males fire guns with their bragging that had the person been killed by human being or an animal, they would have killed him/it too. The Anywaa word for sadness is pʌ́n̪ ʧwìɲ 'falling down of a liver'. Furthermore, Reh (1999)'s interpretation of pʌ́n̪ ʧwìɲ 'falling down of a liver' as depression is also true of the present study because sadness is accompanied by depression.

After burial procession some young boys and girls may take food but old people, especially close relatives stay for more time without food except water. Furthermore, at night they lit fire in the hearth and sleep near the fire. The purpose of litting fire is to avoid cold and bad death spirit. Thus, any ominious sign of another death in the form an insect or bird will be known by its coming near fire and chased away by fire or shot with a gun. In middle of night or 4-5 pm of the night, close relatives like maternal aunt and mothers cry mostly by honorifying the dead person. The reason for crying at this time is that memory is initaited by people going to work. For

[31]Even if all the villagers are emotionally weak, the king is expected to remain strong as he is the ruler of the village. Thus, the Anywaa protect the king from negative emotions. One way is preventing him from going to war. Another way of protecting the health and emotion of a king is food. Because females are doubted that they may poison the king's food resulting in his death as he has more wives, the king's porridge is cooked by a male cook called ɲíkéénɔ̀. In fact, females are perceived to be dirty among the Anywaa and therefore should not cook the king's food.

example, fathers and sons go farming very early in the morning and come by carrying fishes caught with nets. Similarly, mother and daughters come out for pounding maize for lunch or dinner at about 4-5 pm. Remembering all the activies done by the dead person, relatives or parents cry with the meaning that had he or she been a live, I would have been helped with pounding or farming or bringing fishes and prey meat.

In fact, to Anywaa females, mourning/cry is the sign of sadness; a woman who does not cry is not sad and therefore happy with the death of that person. If a woman losses her husband, she stays in house for long time and when she comes out, she does not meet other people as to avoid the disease called tʃǎlá 'humpback disease'. This must be the reason for which a baby who is born while the father is dead and the mother is in state of protecting herself with others not to spread this disease is called ātʃálá (FEM) and ōtʃálá (MASC). It is after a month that a widower mixes with the other people. The following expressions illustrate SADNESS IS DOWN.

(156)	kàŋ	-ā	-dɔ́ɔ́	ɲɛ́jjá	ādóóŋò	nààm,	áŋwáá	-ɛ̀
	when	PST	return:ITV	king	Adongo	river	Anywaa	PL
	mō	ʈò̀ò̀ʈ	tʃwíŋ	-gɛ̀	ā	-pʌ̀ɖò	dɔ́tʃ	
	REL	many	livers of	3PL	PST	fall	DEG	

Lit. 'When king Adongo returned to the river, the livers of many Anywaaks fell down intensely.'
'When king Adongo passed away, many Anywaaks became very sad.'

In (156), {-ā} marks past tense and completive aspect although it can refer to emotion felt and completed now. Thus, in Anywaa, the concept of sadness is understood as pʌ́ʈ tʃwìŋ 'falling down of a liver'. As it can be understood from (156), when an ordinary person dies, it is said āʈɔ̀w 'died' but when a king dies, the honorific language ɲɛ́jjá ādɔ̀ɔ̀ nààm 'The king returned away to the river' is used because the ancestor of Anywaa king, who was ōtʃúúɖò, originated from the river. Therefore, AN ANYWAA KING'S DEATH IS HIS GOING BACK TO THE RIVER. Because metaphor identifies people, a linguistic metaphor of court identifies a commoner from a king.

As it can be inferred and elaborated from example (156), King Adongo was crowned in 2001 after the death of his father Agada. He was loved by the Anywaa for his tribal love of Anywaa and unity and strength of the Anywaa. King Adongo also was loved by the Anywaa for helping the elders in Otalo (Adongo) by supplying them with foods and clothes. His death in 2011 led to the Anywaa's fear that there would not be another king like him to unite the Anywaa across the world. In general a king's death is followed by deep silence in a village with the fear that nobody can rule the village.

(157a)	à	bá	lɔ́ŋ	kī	mán	tʃùŋŋ	-à	ɲím
	1SG	NEG	be able	to	to	stand	1SG	face of
	dʒɛ́j	kár	kàŋ					
	people	place	here					

Lit. 'This place, I can't stand in front of the people.'
'This time, I'm still very sad.'

The exampe in (157a) implies that the speaker is mourning because his/her relative died recently. Thus, speaking loudly, singing, dancing, drinking alcohol and standing in front of the public is difficult for her as per the culture. Thus, the speakers's liver is still down and the person is still down.

(b)	kóór	-à	ā	-pʌ̀ɑ̀ò	nī	lìk	n	-ā
	chest of	1SG	PST	fall	CON	lik	when	PST
	wíŋŋ	-à	t̪ɔ̀w	ōtʃán				

Lit. 'When I heard Ochan's death, my heart felled down as lik.'
'I became very sad when I heard Ochan's death.'

The metaphorical falling down of chest here is felt with and caused by strong palpitations with the voice lik, which pushes down human chest and makes a person confused and sits down. The metaphor of sadness in (157b) can be mixed with fear as the speaker is usually assisted by Ochan. Usualy people put their hands on a pounding heart to control their sadness or fear caused by palpitations. When a sad person is still mourning or sad or very sick, it is said è pòòt ɛ́ná pìŋ 'He/She is still down'. When a group of people such as family is still mourning, it is said gè pòòt ɛ́ná pìŋ 'They are still down'.

Among the Anywaa when a relative dies, the person is usually buried in homestead without levelling a grave, i.e buried in a grave mound, but after a year, the grave is levelled and this is locally called ɲàk kʌ̀ʌ̀ 'grave levelling'. Before levelling a grave, a beer called **gìirɛ̀jjɔ̀**, kɔ́ɔ́ŋ răaj 'misery beer, beer of sin' is prepared. After levelling the grave at night, in the morning, the grave is plastered with clay. Soon after an hour, some beer is sprinkled on the grave and the assembling people drink misery beer silently with heavy thought if the person who died was young but if dead person was old, the people remember the dead person with spirits and start singing war songs accompanied by heavy firing.

Generally, the levelling of the grave and the preparation of misery beer is done to make the family of the dead[32] person return to normal life by removing death force and spirits. Thus, the

[32]The word kʌ̀ʌ̀ (PL. kʌ̀ʌ̀k) 'grave' is impolite word whose euphemistic form is bùòrò. However, a king's grave is called dùòl. Old people are buried outside the homestead. This is usually common for chiefs and kings. Very important people people may also be buried in houses. Condolence is obligation among the Anywaa and it is said lìimmò kì t̪ɔ̀ɔ̀ 'visiting death'. When arriving the home where the person died, a male visitor fires a gun by standing

grave mound stands for high grief and the levelled grave stands for the decline in grief implying that HIGH IS UP; LOW IS DOWN (See also Perner, 2011).

(158)	n	ā	-dʒʊ̀ʊ̀t	kʌ́ʌ́	-n	tʃʊ̀ɔ̀r	-è
	when	PST	see	grave	GEN	husband of	3SG
	dèèr	-è	ā	-pút	gɔ̀ɔ̀	bʌ̀ʌ̀t	gɔ̀
	body of	3SG	PST	do immediately	drop oneself	on	it

'When she saw her husband's grave, she immediately dropped herself on it.'

From the sadness metaphor in (158) one can infer that the woman was away when her husband died and was buried. So, she immediately became sad and fell on the grave when she saw her husband's grave.

(159a)	dīʈʃʊ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀	bʌ̀ʌ̀t	-è	ʊ̀	-pʌ̀d̲ò
	male	shoulders of	3SG	PERF	fall
Lit.	'The male's shouldiers have fallen down.'				
	'The male is sad.'				

In (159a) it can be inferred from the pefective {ʊ̀-} that the husband is still very sad as he has no solution for the problem. Such a sadness is caused by death of wife or lack of relative to help him during hardship. Someone whose liver or chest is down means it is difficult to calm or encourage such a sad person, who is also afraid and hopless.

The falling down of chest is also caused by palpitation in which a heart beat increases telling that the sick relative in the far village died or there was a war in the village where your relative lives and he/she was shot dead. Heartbeat can also tell unannounced accident or backbiting. This strong heart beating happens before sad news and puts the person in doubt, sadness, fear and guess. The heartbeat produces the voice lík whose continuous beating is líklíklík. When the heartbeating becomes fast, its voice is said pírrì (pírrpírr), a voice which is similar to that of a flying bird as pĭrr.... However, the falling down of a chest can imply sadness caused death news or bad event as illustrated in below:

(b)	kòòr	-à	-ā	pʌ̀d̲ò
	chest of	1SG	PST	fall
Lit.	'My chest has fallen.'			
	'I'm shocked/sad.'			

Example (159b) may refer to sadness or shock caused by death news or sad event. Thus, HEART IS AN OMEN BIRD. This emotion is preceded by palpitation and shock and finally sadness. Sadness which demoralizes a person can be understood based on dropping an object,

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near the grave, but a female visitor announces her arrival by loudly and bitterly crying from out the village; as soon as the females' family of the dead person hears the cry of the visiting woman, they reply their lamentation piercingly. After sometime after the visitor stops the cry, the cause of death is explained . see Perner (2011) for detail of burial procession of Anywaa.

which is extended to dropping a person's body (part) due to sadness. Consider examples (160a-c) for detail. The Anywaa's use of pʌ́n̪ kʌw 'falling of chest' to mean *anger/sadness mixed with palpitations* and other compounds like kèèŋ tʃwìŋ 'bitterness of liver' and rʌ̀ŋ ètʃ 'spoilage of stomach' to refer to the concept of anger supports Barret (2011)'s point that anger has no single concept. This is due to the effects of anger and badness of anger as felt by the Anywaa and other people.

(160a)	tʃɛ̂ŋ	-wà	ā	-nī	lwáj
	hands of	1PL:EXCL	PST	INCOH	drop
Lit.	'Our hands dropped.'				
	'We are sad.'				

The example in (160a), implies that as soon as the speakers became sad, they dropped what they were carrying. In such anger, when hearing sad news, the object being carried with shoulder, head or hands is thrown away and the saddened person falls down leading to faint. Generally, example (160a) implies that the speakers have been down for a long time and skipped work and helping others due to sadness.

(b)	dèèr	-à	ɔ́jj	-á	pìŋ
	body of	1SG	spill	FOC	down
Lit.	'My body will be spilling down.'				
	'I will be sad with such thing(s).'				

Example (160b) implies that the speaker (has) lost his/her interest of doing something due to hearing or seeing a sad thing.

(c)	dèèr	-à	ā	-kɔ̀ŋŋ	-ì	pìŋ
	body of	1SG	PST	spill	2SG	down
Lit.	'You have spilled down my body.'					
	'You have saddened me.'					

In experiencing the sadness in (160c), the offender or stimulus makes the sad or angry person loss an interest in doing something as what is said is not expected by the experiencer of sadness. Because such sadness is caused by hearing bad news, an experiencer sits down sadly. In such a situation, if the offended person has started eating, he or she immediately throws away the spoon to stop eating. Similarly, work is stopped with such an offense of telling bad news or saying something bad to someone.

4.16.1 SADNESS IS HEAVY

When entering home in which there is a dead person, a person stoops and puts his hands back sadly and fearfully. This inturn takes us to the conceptual metaphor **SADNESS/ANGER IS HEAVY/BURDEN**, which is mainly motivated by difficulty of lifting heavy object and discomfort felt during lifting, which is motivated by the correlation between heavy object and

sadness. When there is death caused by war, the Anywaa say pìŋ péék 'The earth is heavy' or dʒàmɔ̀ péék 'The atmosphere is heavy ', which also expresses sad condition in which rumours of war deaths are being spread leading to mix of fear and sadness. Such sadness metaphor is also said as pìŋ pɔ̀ɔ̀t rààtʃ 'The earth is still bad 'used to express sadness when a king/chief or any other important person is in critical condition of a disease or when he has died and the sadness is still high. Consider examples (161a&b).

(161a)	tʃwíŋ	-ì	péék
	liver of	2SG	heavy
Lit.	'Your liver is heavy.'		
	'Your are sad.'		

In Anywaa, a person whose liver is heavy is *a very sad person* who is saddened by many things or very bad situation. Experientially, when there are many things/ a big stone in a container , it will be difficult to carry the container or the object(s) in it and this brings discomfort to the carrier.

(b)	gín	nī	bʌ̀ʌ̀t	-à	èn	a	ba	tʃʌ́ʌ́ɖí
	thing	REL:-DEFINE	on	1SG	here	1SG	NEG	walk
	kī	gɔ̀						
	with	it						
Lit.	'I cannot walk with what is on me.'							
	'I'm very sad, I'm down.'							

The sadness metaphor in (161b) is based on the source domain of VERY HEAVY LOAD which is difficult to carry and makes a person fall down. In Anywaa, a person whose relative has died is said bʌ̀ʌ̀tɛ dá ʈɔ̀ɔ̀ 'There is death/mourning on him/her'. The sad person in (176a) can be inferred to avoid speaking due to intense sadness conceptualized as HEAVY LIVER.

Other body parts like 'tʃùl' 'penis' and dʒɔ̀ɔ̀m/tʃwɛ̀ttà 'clitoris' drop due to sadness and this dropping is called nīnɔ́r 'become passive and fall down', which results in the loss of sexual desire. During sadness caused by death of a close relative, sexual intercourse is avoided. Hence, **SADNESS IS IMPOTENCY**. Generally, the conceptual metaphor SAD IS DOWN takes us to metaphorical entailment and identifying the image schema of sadness seating as CENTRE-PERIPHERY because if the liver, which is the centre of emotions is down, the peripheral organs like shoulders and others fall down resulting in depression, discomfort, grief or passivity of a sad person. Anger intensity, doubt, sadness and dissatisfaction can be understood in terms of hard object as follows in (162a&b):

(162a)	gɔ̀ɔ̀tɔ̀	mán	tɛ̀ɛ̀k
	anger	this	hard
Lit.	'This anger is hard.'		
	'This anger is intense.'		

Example (162a) is very ontological due to the near demonstrative mán 'this' and tɛ́ɛ́k 'hard'. The relation between high intensity of the anger in (162a) and hard object is motivated by the correlation between hardness of the object during manipulation and discomfort we feel during anger and difficulty of stopping anger. Hence, DIFFICULTY/HIGH IS HARD;INTENSITY IS PHYSICAL STRENGTH (GRADY, 1997).[33]

When someone has small anger/sadness accompanied by doubt and disatisfaction without expressing it, this is uttered in (162b) as follows:

(b)	jì	-ɛ̀	ò	-nìgòòk
	stomach of	3SG	PERF	voice of stones
Lit.	'There are small stones contacting each other and producing voices in his stomach. '			
	'He is doubtful, sad and dissatisfied.'			

When small stones are gathered and contact each other, they produce the voice gòòk gòòk due to narrow space among them. Similarly, a person who is dissatisfied becomes morose and sometimes jeers.

4.17 ANGER as CONTAINER AND CONTAINEE

In Anywaa, different containers which mostly consist of body parts can be used to hide anger or sadness. The experience comes from cultural containers like pot and gourd. Body parts like liver, stomach, throat and eye can be used as containers of anger or sadness. (See also The Presbyterian Church in the Sudan, 1996:3). Examples (163)-(170) illustrate anger as a container and content.

(163)	gòòtɔ̀	ā	-dʒòòd	-ā	wàŋ	-ì
	anger	PST	see	PST	eye	2SG
Lit.	'I have seen the anger in your eye.'					
	'I have understood that you are angry.'					

In (163), anger is understood as a visible object in the angry person's eye. This is because the way we look and the red colour of our eyes tell that we are angry. The experience of the metaphor in (1630 is based on a substance that can be seen inside an object like house, pot or gourd. Thus, KNOWING IS SEEING; KNOWLEDGE IS VISION.

(164)	tʃwíŋ	-ì	ɛ́n	-á	jì	kìmmò
	liver of	2SG	be:LOC	FOC	in	sadness
Lit.	'Your liver is in sadness'					
	'You are sadness.'					

[33] If a christian Anywaa says: gìià pɛ́ɛ́k ná kʌ́ʌ́ra, àànà kɔ́ŋ dʒìitʃù kī gè 'Jesus helped me with the heavy objects I was carrying, he/she means *God helped him/here by avoiding worry, sadness, fear or poverty*. What is source domain in one metaphor can be target domain in another metaphor. For example, the Anywaa metaphor tɔ̀ŋ à mɛ̀ɛ̀ŋ 'War is dance' has the conceptual metaphor WAR IS DANCE, which is metonymically understood in terms of tɔ̀ŋ 'spear'. But the metaphor, gɛ̀nà bòòtì kī pìèm 'They have been defeated with the argument' has the conceptual metaphor AN ARGUMENT IS FIGHTING/WAR. Therefore, a more basic/frequent concept serves as a source domain.

In (164) liver, which metonymically stands for the whole human being, is in sadness. This metaphor is therefore the same as jì kímmò 'You are sad'. If the liver is in sadness, the sad person is in sadness too.

(165a)	màn-	-ɔ́gɔ́	ā	-tìmò	ná	ākɔ́r	dèèr	-ì
	PROX	DIS	PST	become	CON	clothe eating wirm	body of	2SG
Lit.	'The thing has become a clothe eating worm inside your body.'							
	'You are angry without responding.'							

In example (165a) anger is understood as ākɔ́r 'a worm that eats a grament'. The metaphor implies that the angry person does not speak with others, avoids eating and does not respond even if asked about the cause of the anger. In fact, this worm eats a clothe silently and it is usually not clearly seen and distinguished. The demonstrative mánɔ́gɔ̀ literally refers to something near an addressee. Therefore, in (165a) the angry person is the addressee, whose body contains anger as ākɔ̀r, 'a clothe eating worm'.

(b)	kìmmò	kī	tʃʊ̀ʊ̀jɔ̀	ɛ́n	-á	pʊ̀	dìtʃùùnì
	sadness	and	cry of pain	be:LOC	FOC	Home of	instigator
Lit.	'Sadness and sadness pain cry are in the instigator's home. '						
	'In a sinner' home there is sadness and pain cry.'						

(The Presbyterian Church of the Sudan, 1996:52)

In example (165b) by dìtʃùùnì 'instigator', the addresser refers to satan, whose home contains sin, sadness, cry or pain. This in turn implies that the addresser is warning and advising people to believe in Jesus and be good christians so that they will lead happy life. So, God's home contains happiness. Based on this metaphor, the substances are pain cry and sadness and the container is the home. This leads to the conclusion that CONTAINERS ARE BOUNDED REGIONS USED TO STAY INSIDE. Things because sadness contains pain, pain also affects a sad person. Our knowledge about containers tells us, among other things, that they have boundaries that make it difficult to escape, and that once it is inside a container, an entity is subject to conditions prevailing in the container and may be affected by them. If a person is introuble, he or she is affected by it, and there may be impediments for him or her to solve the problematic situation (i.e to come out of the situation). These implications are to some extent part of metaphor logic (Ibanez, 1997:162).

(166)	gìn	mō	ɛ́n	-á	já	ādīgwʌ́ŋ	ŋʌ́j	-ì
	thing	REL	be:LOC	FOC	in	waist bone	know	2SG
Lit.	'Do you know something which is in waist bone?'							
	'Do you know hidden anger?'							

Example (166) implies that anger is a hidden object in the waist bone. In Anywaa, something hidden inside a waist bone cannot be raised again, because it is very bad and may cause fighting or killing each other. Hence, ANGER WHICH IS HIDDEN IS DOWN.

Anger hidden in the stomach is difficult for other people to know, because ètʃ à kút 'stomach is a very deep part of river ' implying that something like anger inside human stomach is difficult to know since it has many things like river. The use of stomach correlated with deep part of a river is based on correlating the depth of river with stomach. A river also contains water, rock a and mud under which things can be hidden. Stomach also has water, faeces and intestines in which the Anywaa metaphorically hide things like anger and murder secrets in them. Thus, similarity of shapes and contents between objects and body parts results in the formation of an embodied meaning.

(167a)	tʃwíɲ	-à	ā	-kíʈ̪	-ì	kī	máátʃ
	liver of	1SG	PST	put	2SG	OBL	fire
Lit.	'You have put fire inside my liver.'						
	'You have made me angry.'						

In (167a) offending the person has been understood in terms of putting a fire inside heart or any other object. Hence, ANGER IS FIRE IN LIVER. While showing the mappings, fire is mapped onto anger and the hearth is mapped onto liver/stomach. Putting fire inside hearth corresponds to offending a person,i.e putting anger inside the liver/stomach.

(b)	gìn	-ā	ráátʃ	tʃwíɲ	-à	ā	-kʌ́l	-à	wɔ̀k
	thing	REL	bad	liver of	1SG	PST	take	1SG	out
Lit.	'The bad thing which is inside my liver, I have taken it out.'								
	'I have stopped my anger.'								

Example (167b) underlies ANGER IS A BAD SUBSTANCE IN LIVER (CONTAINER). While example (167a) implies OFFENDING IS PUTTING ANGER INSIDE LIVER, example (167b) implies CONTROLLING ANGER IS TAKING IT OUT OF LIVER. If something with a bad smell is put in a container or house, it makes the container bad and irritates people; similarly, an offense irritates people. However, if something with a bad smell is taken out of a container or house, people become pleased with the good air. Therefore, in (167b) gìn '(bad)thing', implies anger.

(168a)	tʃwíɲ	-ì	dá	tùùt
	liver of	2SG	exist	pus
Lit.	'Inside your liver, there exists pus.'			
	'You are angry.'			

In (168a) ANGER IS PUS IN LIVER. The experience is based on pus in swollen part of human body. Hence, STOPPING ANGER IS REMOVING PUS.

(b)	tʃwààg-	-è	dʌ́n	kī	gʊ̀ʊ̀tɔ̀
	throat of	3SG	less bitter	with	anger
Lit.	'His/Her throat is slightly bitter with anger.'				
	'He/She is a bit angry.'				

In example (168b) bitter anger is contained by throat implying the difficult of speaking by an angry person.

(169)	gɛ̀	ɛ́n	-á	jì	pʌ́n̪	tʃwìɲ
	3PL	be:LOC	FOC	in	falling of	liver
Lit.	'The are in the falling down of liver.'					
	'The are in sadness/They are mourning.'					

In (169), sadness contains sad people. Anger containers can expand and be filled with anger as the following example in (170a) illustrates.

(170a)	tʃwíɲ	-è	ʊ̀	-pʌ̀ŋ	kɛ́ɛ́r	-è
	liver of	3SG	PERF	be full	only	3SG
Lit.	'His/Her liver is already full(of anger).'					
	'His/Her heart is already filled with angry.'					

Example (170a) implies that the person spoken about has become angry without an offense as he/she is already angry before. So, someone intensified the anger. Hence, MAKING A PERSON VERY ANGRY IS FILLING A CONTAINER (LIVER) WITH SUBSTANCE.

UNDERSTANDING ANGER

Because we understand things based on seeing, when it is clear that someone is angry, a clear anger can be understood as an object which can be seen in the angry person's liver. Consider example (170b&c).

(b)	gín	tʃwíɲ	-ì	énɔ́	nèènɔ̀	dʒìr	-à
	thing	liver of	2SG	there	visible	to	1SG
Lit.	'The thing inside your liver is visible to me.'						
	'I know that you are angry.'						

The example in (170b) illustrates ontological metaphor as it is based on an object visible to human eye. The speaker clearly know that the addressee is angry. Hence, KNOWING/UNDERSTANING IS SEEING; UNDERSTOOD ANGER IS VISIBLE OBJECT INSIDE LIVER/CONTAINER.

(c)	gín	-étʃè	nì	kwáár	tʃwíɲ	-à	ìtʃè	ŋʌ́j	-ì
	thing	DIS	REL:-DEFINE	red	liver of	1SG	there	know	2SG
Lit.	'Do you know the red thing which is there inside my liver?'								
	'Do you know that I'm very angry with you?'								

In (170c), INTENSE ANGER IS A RED OBJECT LIKE RED COBRA, RED SPEAR IN FIRE, RED BULLETS, FIRE, BLOOD AND RED WOUND IN LIVER.

ANGER IS PLANT

Based on plant growth and its parts, anger can have the source domain of PLANT. Plants grow and become strong with their strong roots in the soil;anger also increases. Agriculture is a basic

human experience. In different parts of the world, we grow different crops becoming plants to provide food, clothing and shelter although they are grown mainly for food. However, not all plants are edible. A general conclusion to be drawn from plant source domain of metaphor is that **ANGER IS A GROWING PLANT** (Ansah, 2011). Consider the following examples in (171)-(175).

(171)	wì	ɲīlààl	mán	ò	-píɪ̰t	dòtʃ
	head of	child	this	PERF	grow	DEG
Lit.	'This child's head as grown very much.'					
	'This child is very aggressive'					

In (171) the aggressiveness of the child who becomes angry by insulting older people without reason comes from high love from its parents who do not punish the child even if it makes such mistakes. Such a child can be angry without clear reason or offense. A plant which is not prunned grows very much.

(172)	gʊ̀ʊ̀tɔ̀	man	tìɛ̀r	-ɛ̀	bá	dʒʊ̀ʊ̀t
	anger	root of	3SG	3SG	NEG	see
Lit.	'The main root of this anger cannot be seen.'					
	'The cause of this anger is not clear.'					

Metaphor (172) implies anger without cause/reason, i.e the the person near the speaker is angry but his cause of anger is not clear to the speaker. The word tìɛ̀rɛ̀ 'its main bigger root in the soil' has been used as a source domain of the root cause of the anger. Therefore, IDENTIFYING THE CAUSING OF ANGER IS SEEING PLANT ROOT. It is usualy difficult to see the main root of a bigger plant as the root is deeper down under the ground.

In (172) the word tìɛ̀r 'root of' is is extended from human leg, which is nowadays unconsciously lost in metaphorical use of anger. The grammaticalization path of anger understood in terms of main root of a plant in the ground is as follows: **human leg** > **main root of a plant in the ground** > **unclear cause of anger/unexpressed anger**. According to stern (2008:2), such a metaphor whose clear source dies remaining as remnant is called dead metaphor. Whenever one wants to to cut and totally destroy a plant, the main root in the ground is dug out after cutting the stem but it is difficult to see and remove the main root of a plant; similarly, anger cannot be controlled without knowing the source of offense or reason as it is difficult to help the angry person.

Metaphor whose meaning varies from context to context depending up on thinking and acting of people is called live metaphor. For such a metaphor, a good example in Anywaa can be tʃwíɲì kwáár 'Your liver is red' which can refer to the addressee's high interest, jealousy, intense anger,

eagerness, strong appetite and intense love depending up on different contexts (see also Grady,1997).

(173)	lwɛ̀ɛ̀t	gɔ̀ɔ̀tɔ̀	pɔ̀ɔ̀t	nút	tʃwíɲ	-ì
	roots of	anger	still	present	liver of	2SG
Lit.	'The roots of the anger are still in your liver.'					
	'You are still angry.'					

In (173) addressee is still partly angry as the small roots of a plant under the ground imply. In Anywaa, plant root is called lwɛ̀ɛ̀t dʒàà̱t̪ 'plant toes' and its plural has high tone as lwɛ́ɛ́t dʒàà̱t̪ 'toes of a plant'. The low anger in (173) is not clearly expressed. When a tree is cut, roots remain in the soil and may produce another tree. Similarly, an anger may reduce but still exists. When a stimulus is raised again, the offended person will get very angry again. The anger intensity in (173) is therefore low but it is difficult for the experiencer to stop the anger. In a very literal sense, lwɛ̀ɛ̀t (lwɛ́ɛ́dɔ̀) means *human toe* and it is pluralized as lwɛ́ɛ́t (lwɛ́ɛ́dì) 'human toes', which is extended to plant root(s). Therefore, the grammaticalization path of source domain development to anger in (173) can be schematized as **human toes > plant roots > low intensity of anger which is not clearly expressed**. In (173), our rich knowledge of plant roots has been mapped onto small aspects of anger, which are still felt. Therefore, example (173) illustrates structural metaphor.

(174)	lwɛ̀ɛ̀t	gɔ̀ɔ̀tɔ	ā	kéét	pìɲ	jí	tʃwíɲ	-ì
	toes of	anger	PST	go deeper	down	stomach of	liver of	2SG
	kùnétʃɛ́							
	there							
Lit.	'The toes/roots of the anger have gone deeper down inside there in your liver(2SG).'							
	'It is difficult for you to control your anger.'							

Based on (174) liver is equated with fertile soil inside which plant roots go deeper so that it is difficult for a person to feel a plant. Similarly, when an anger intensity is high, it is difficult to control it because the anger is intense in liver. Metaphors like those in (173) and (174), in which human toes are extended to plant roots can be terms as analogical metaphors due to our sensation, perception or sensorimotor experience of plant and its roots. Plant roots look and function like human toes. Hence, human memory and cognition is both metaphorical and analogical.

(175)	gín	bà	gɔ̀ɔ̀r	-à
	this thing	NEG	prune	1SG
Lit.	'I will not prune this thing.'			
	'I will express my anger and the problem.'			

In metaphor (175), gín 'this thing' litearlly refers to a plant near the speaker, but in metaphorical context, it refers to the speaker's anger. Hence, CONTROLLING/HIDING ANGER IS

PRUNNING A PLANT. The above metaphors in (171)-)(175) have their underlying cognitive metaphor **ANGER IS PLANT**, whose mappings are provided in table 11.

TARGET: ANGER	**SOURCE: PLANT**
stagesof anger development	stages of growth and fruition
causes of anger	parts of plant from which others grow
liver of angry person	soil
anger intensity	height of plant
controlling anger	cutting plant[34]

Table 11: ANGER as PLANT adapted from Esenova (2011)

In addition to the mappings in table 11, the following stages of plant growth can be mapped onto different stages of anger development: seed, germination, root, blooming, fruition and withering. The seed image characterizes the initial stage of plant growth. This stage marks the existence of anger. Germination of a plant and plant taking roots are also correlated with initial stages of plant growth which are in turn mapped on early stage of anger development. We know that there are big and small plants. The size of plant corresponds to anger intensity. Factors like rain, wind and water which fasten the plant growth can be mapped onto offenders. Fruition stage makes a plant very concrete and useful. This is mapped on to tangible results of anger like spearing, insulting or killing. This is the climax of anger. Finally, a plant may be cut or it may wither; this withering stage corresponds to anger cessation (See Esenova,2011:67-68) for detail.

The understanding of anger in terms of PLANT as a perfect source domain for conceptualizing this emotion is motivated by human's experience of growing plants. A plant source domain of anger implies many changes taking place during anger. Among the Anywaa in particular, a small seed of saussage tree can be sown and develops into strong big tall plant. That is why the Anywaa speak of a deep-rooted anger in liver whose experience comes from a strong plant whose roots are deep rooted in soil. Such a plant is not feeled by wind. Like a plant, an emotion comes into existence in particular time and then develops and fades away. An anger that develops as mild annoyance may turn into dramatic fury. These changes are usually accompanied by bodily changes. The fact that a plant withers and dies by drying is compared to an anger whose intensity is zero (See Esenova, 2011).

[34]When lɛ̀j 'axe' (PL. lɪge) is used to people, it refers to an insult as in ná ŋɔ́t ménní éná put gʊ̀ʊ̀tɔ̀ 'When her mother, was cut, (s)he immediately got angry.' This metaphor means (s)he immediately became agitated when her mother was insulted. Thus, cutting corrresponds to insulting and the cutter corresponds to the one who insulted the other.

The high correlation between soil and angry person has both material and religious cultural basis. The Anywaa believe that they are black because they were created from clay by God. Clay is suitable for strong big tall plants. In Genesis 1-2, it is mentioned that God created Adam from the dust of earth. In the *Parable of the Sower*, while the sower was sowing, some seeds fell near the road and were eaten by birds, while the others fell under the rock and sprouted soon due to lack of more soil. The other seeds fell in thorns resulting in poor growth. The other seeds which fell in fertile soil grew well and produced more grains. The seeds stand for kind of christians. In the cultural model of Anywaa, the four soil types stand for four kinds of human livers, which in turn stand for the four human characters (The Bible in Anyuak, 2013).

4.18 Animalistic Behaviour of Anger

In both South Sudan and Ethiopia, Anywaaland is rich in varieties of both domestic and wild animals. In Ethiopia, there exists very great ecological variation among the Anywaa. Accordingly, the eastern part of Anywaaland like Gok is covered by dense forest inhabited by beasts like lion, leopard, wolf, and mokeys where as the western part of the land is a true savanah grassland dwelled by cobes, tiang, giraffe, antelope, elephant, and reptiles like snakes, python and monitor lizard which are preyed by beasts like lion and leopard. Thus, in this area trees are scarce and therefore frequently flooded. In addition, rivers like Openo and Gilo have ferrocious crocodiles attacking people during the entry of rainy season (Tasew, 2010:3). With the help of experience and knowledge of these creatures, whose emotional behaviours can be mapped onto human anger behaviour, we can talk about anger and angry people in terms of angry/aggressive animals as follows in (176a-e).

(176a)	ŋút	tʃĩbíí	ā	-nīpéék
	neck of	Chibii	PST	expand hood
Lit.	'Chibii's hood has expanded.'			
	'Chibbii is angry like a snake.'			

The anger behaviour in (176a) has the source of SNAKE, mostly of ōlwíérɔ̀ ' BLACK COBRA' which expands its hood when it is angry and about to attack an enemy or defend its territory by releasing venom to prevent intrusion. When a black cobra is angry and ready for an attack, it expands its neck resulting in hood. In Anywaa, this expansion of snake's neck skin is called nīpéék. So, the anger of Chibii is followed by closing his mouth and keep silent for long time and ready to attack an offender.

Furthermore, an angry person can be hissing like a snake. In Anywaa, this is called kúḏò 'hisssing'. In such a situation, an angry person is deeply breathing and ready for fighting by making himself/herself away from others and strengthen his/her body with the strenthened hands out. Like a snake which is ready for an attack, such a person breathes as wŭ.., wŭ. . . ..

(b)	ōmɔ́d	ʧwííɲ	nī	ʧwí...ʧ	káámár	ɲààŋ
	Omod	simmer	CON	chwi...ch	like	crocodile

'Omod is breathing with anger like a crocodile as chwi...ch.'

When an (angry) crocodile breathes, it produces the voice ʧwĭ...ʧ, which frightens its enemy or when it is about to catch its prey. The word ɲààŋ 'crocodile' is a very good clue that Omod is breathing deeply with anger. In a very specific context, the crocodile can be dropped as the word ʧwííɲ 'simmer' gives clue to us that Omod's anger breathing is like that of a crocodile.

(c)	ābíl	tʌ́ʌ́rɲím	-è	ā	lééŋ	-è
	hut of	face	3SG	PST	throw:VENT	3SG

'He has thrown his face hut to his front.'
'He has closed his face with anger.'

In (191c) Anywaa the word ābílá has its literal English equivalent *hut,* and this is extended to mane of lion. So, the human anger in (176c) is based on a lion's. More often, people with lion ghost have black hair, are intensively black, form deep wrinkles when they are angry and show a lion's behaviour. Among the Anywaa, it is believed that when a person with a lion ghost is very angry, he/she may turn into a lion. That is why such a person is very feared when he/she becomes very angry. In (191c), the ventive verb lééŋ 'throw toward' implies that the person spoken about was angry with the speaker, who might have been the offender and this offender was in front of the angry person, who was metaphorically depicted as a lion. In Anywaa, a person with a lion ghost is also called ŋùù 'lion'.

The Anywaa's belief that when people are very angry, they turn into their ghosts like crocodiles, lions, crestedcrane, leopard and others can be evidenced. One instant case experienced by the researcher in his village āɲʌ̀ʌ̀lì in 1990's was the situation in which an Anywaa girl named Ajulu was insulted by her mother Abala and became very angry. Soon after very few minutes, she ran under tree and put her head inside a hollow to turn into lion[35], her ghost. Knowing that she has the ghost of lion, the people near by ran to her and brought her back as they knew that she was about to turn into lion.

[35]Among the Anywaa, people obtain their ghosts from fathers side:if a father's ghost is a lion the son or the daughter will also have the ghost of the lion. The Anywaa word for ghost is tìppò,which literally means *shadow*. People have the behaviour of their ghosts. For example, an Anywaa with the ghost of green polite snake is also polite as the snake is polite but someone with lion ghost is aggressive and has long face and long black hair.

(d) ōmɔ́d ò -míír
Omod PERF be silent with anger
'Omod is silent with anger like a bull.'

In (176d) the angry persone exhibits the behaviour of angry bull. The verb míír 'be silent with anger' basically comes from an angry silent bull, which attacks a person with its horns if touched. In similar way, example (176d) implies that since Omod is very angry and silent, he will attack a person who talks to him or a person who touches him.

(e) kèr -ì kwɛ̌ɛŋŋí káɲ
NEG 2SG produce angry hen voice here
'Do not be angrily produce a noise of an angry hen.'

Example (176e) implies that the angry person is a female and noisly speaking like an aggressive hen which is loudly crying with anger. The voice kwɛ̌ɛkkwɛ̌ɛk is usually produced by an angry and aggressive hen which is incubating her eggs, or which has recently hatched her eggs and now living with her chicks in her hut or moving together with the chicks for searching food. The voice is produced when a hen is scratching and chasing away an intruder who may want to eat up or take away the chicks. When a kite takes a chick, a hen flies up to a kite by angrily crying loudly as **kwɛ̌ɛkkwɛ̌ɛk** but returns down sooner as it does not fly well. Therefore, in (176e), AN ANGRY FEMALE ANYWAA IS AN ANGRY HEN. Generally, examples(176a-e) capture the conceptual generalization ANGER BEHAVIOUR IS AN AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR.

4.19 ANGER as MOTION EVENT

Anger/sadness can be conceptualized as motion event in which anger/sadness is used as figure, ground or location or region. Events can be defined as activities and the term motion events refers to those events involving physical translocation/change of a place (Cappelle and Declerck, 2005: 3). Broadly, Talmy (1985:61) states that the components of motion events can be basically categorized into six semantic components: (i) **FIGURE**, the moving entity, (ii) **GROUND**, the entity a figure moves in relation to, (iii) **PATH**, the course followed during movement or locomotion, (iv) **MOTION**, (v) **MANNER**, way of moving and (vi) **CAUSE**, an originator of motion. Therefore, motion and its component result in motion event (s). To make the concept of motion (event) clearer, the following examples were taken from Talmy (1985) cited in Ibbarretxe (2004:4). See also Okello (2014: 23).

(177a) The pencil rolled off the table.

F	M	P	G
	+		
	MANN		

In example (177a), the pencil is the figure and the verb rolled conflates MOTION and MANNER. The word off is the path and table is the ground. Another example is provided by Talmy (2007) who put the terms manner and cause under the umbrella of **CO-EVENT** as:

(b) The Napkin blew off the table.

F	M	P	G
	+		
	M		
	+		
	C		

As the example in (177b) shows, the figure is the napkin and the verb blew conflates motion, manner and cause. The word off is path and table is the ground. In Anywaa, the conceptualization of emotion as MOTION is distinct from non-emotional motion. As it can be seen from non-emotional motion, itive and ventive motion verbs can show the direction in relation to the speaker or addressee as in kwʌŋŋì 'swim toward' vs kwáŋì 'swim away', in which the former swimming is towards the speaker and the latter swimmer swims away from the addresser. In fact, with the non-motional verb gòòtɔ̀ 'be angry' related itive and ventive forms can be formed as follows in (178a&b):

(178a)	jì	gòònn	-ì	kī	kăa?
	2SG	come to be angry	2SG	ABL	where
	'From where are you coming to be angry(here)?'				

In (178a) the addressee moved towards the addresser and expresses his/her anger near him or her. Hence, gòònn- is ventive emotional motion verb.

(b)	jì	gòòtt	-ì	kăa?
	2SG	go to be angry	2SG	where
	'Where are you going to be angry?'			

In (178b) the addressee is moving away from the addresser to express his/her anger in another place far from the speaker. In both (178a&b), anger is understood as purposeful motion to be done in certain place. The general conflation pattern of verbs in (178a&b) is **M + EMOT + DIR**. This conflation pattern proves Okello's (2014) typology of Anywaa as a verb-framing language. The conflation pattern also proves Reh (1996) classification of Anywaa as a highly

fusional language. The difference between the ventive verb gòònn 'come to be angry' and the itive verb gòòtt 'go away to be angry' is that the former contains the nasal **nn** and the latter contains the non-nasal **tt**. In non-emotional motion, both tense or time and speed can remain the same despite directional variation. Below, examples (179a&b) do prove this hypothes.

(179a) ʊtʃʌ̀ʌ̀n ā -mɔ̀ɔ̀l
Ochan PST go away very early in the morning
'Ochan has gone away very early in the morning.'

In (179a) the mover moved away very early in the morning from the speaker. Hence, they do not share the same place . This is clearly understood from the verb stem mɔ̀ɔ̀l 'go away very early in the morning'.

(b) ʊ̄tʃʌ̀ʌ̀n ā -móólò
Ochan PST come very early in the morning
'Ochan came very early in the morning.'

In example (179b), it can be inferred that the mover came to the place where the speaker was. The prepositional phrase ká āmóóllá 'very early in the morning' is optionally used for both of the verbs. Hence, the conflation pattern for both of the verbs is **M + DIR + T + DEG**. Yet both of the examples tell that both of the movements took place in the morning. However, emotion metaphor expressed in terms of ventive and itive verbs signifies time variation, speed and degree of emotion. Consider the examples in (180a-c) and (181a&b).

(180a) gòʊtɔ ā -ríŋ tʃwíɲ -ì dɔ̀tʃ
anger PST run:VENT liver of 2SG faster
Lit. 'The anger has run into you liver faster.'
'You have felt the anger and offense faster.'

The speaker in (180a) knows that the addressee still experiences anger and the degree of anger is high in the actual time of speaking as the ventive verb rìŋ 'run toward' suggests. Thus, the addressee, who is near the addresser, may be still very agitated.

(b) gìnmɔ̀r ā -láár pʌ́ʌ́r tʃwíɲ -à
something PST do quickly jump liver of 1SG
Lit. 'Something quickly jumped into my liver.'
'I became angry.'

In (180b) gìnmɔ̀r 'something (bad) implies anger whose being quickly experienced has been understood in terms of a fast jumping entity like a person or an animal jumping into a certaing location. Example (180b) mainly means the speaker was very angry in the past due to the use of the itive pʌ́ʌ́r 'jump away', whose ventive counterpart is pʌ́ɲ 'jump toward'.

(c) gòòtɔ̀ màn -à -ɛ̀n tʃwíɲ -ɛ̀
anger REL:DEFINE be be:LOC liver of 3SG
ā -ò wɔ̀k
PST come out
Lit. 'The anger which is inside his/her liver has come out.'
'He/She has expressed his/her anger.'

As (180c) implies, if something comes out of its closed container, we see it; similarly, when anger is expressed, we hear the speech and understand the cause of anger and the solution. Metaphor (180c) implies that that SPEECH IS MOTION;IDEA IS INSIDE LIVER, HEAD/STOMACH; EXPRESSING ANGER IS THE COMING OF ANGER (OBJECT) OUT OF LIVER/STOMACH. So, in example (180c), ANGER IS A FIGURE, A MOVING ENTITY COMING OUT OF LIVER.

(181a)	gʊ̀ʊ̀tɔ̀	ā	-mʊ̀ʊ̀l	tʃwíɲ	-à
	anger	PST	come very early in the morning	liver of	1SG
Lit.	'Anger came into my liver very early in the morning.'				
	'I became angry in the morning.'				

The speaker in (181a) still experiences the figure anger and it is still very early morning as the ventive verb mʊ̀ʊ̀l 'come very early in the morning' is ventive and anger is still inside the liver. Thus, the prepositional phrase kā ámʊ́ʊ́llá 'in the morning' is optionally used, because the concept of the morning is encoded by the ventive verb mʊ̀ʊ̀l 'come very early in the morning', which is related to āmʊ́ʊ́llá 'morning'. Hence, ventive emotion verb and the degree of anger is still high. Such a speaker may ask the offender in the morning so that the fight takes place or the problem is solved.

(b)	gʊ̀ʊ̀tɔ̀	ā	-mʊ́ʊ́l	tʃwíɲ	-à
	anger	PST	go very early in the morning	liver of	1SG
Lit.	'Anger entered my liver very early in the morning.'				
	'I have become angry very early in the morning.'				

In (181b) itive verb mɔ̀ɔ̀l 'go away very early in the morning' implies that it is not morning or not very early morning and the anger is no longer being experienced but the speaker is simply telling the story of the anger he/experienced in the past morning. In examples, (180a-c)-(181a&b) underlie ANGER IS AN OUTER MOVING ENTITY RUNNING INTO LIVER.

Motion events of emotion in Anywaa involves (a)telicity and (non)-boundedness. In case of boundedness, an event come to an end and contrary to this is non-boundedness. Telicity on the other hand means an event is conceptualized having an inherent or intended end point. Therefore, in telicity there is tendency towards goal where as in atelicity the action is not completed and the intended goal is not reached. Example, In *Jules swam across the channel,* it is clear that the end of the boundary is crossed. This sentence illustrates bounded motion as the action was completed and telic motion as the ground/goal was reached but *in Elsa walked along the beach*, the boundary is not crossed and the action is not clarified to come to an end. So the motion is atelic and nonbounded (Cappelle and Declerck, 2005:6-7).

Regarding the conceptualization of emotion as MOTION EVENT in Anywaa, verbs can express (un)bounded and (a)telicity. For example, in the expression ōtʃʌŋ āgòòtɔ̀ jààwʌ́ʌ́rè 'Ochang was angry', the verb gòòtɔ̀ 'was angry' expresses anger for short time in the past. Hence, the verb expresses telic and bounded emotion but in ābálá gùnò 'Abala gets angry' the verb gùnò expresses anger as part of Abala's personality. So, it difficult to know the time limit of Abala's anger. Hence, the verb expresses atelic and unbounded anger.

The very explicit markers of telicity and atelicity, which implicitly mark boundedness and unbounded (e) motion in Anywaa are bàŋ 'to' and bʌ̀ʌ̀t 'toward'. The goal marker báŋ is used when the experiencer or mover as an intention to do the action and the ground is reached. Such and action is clearly planned but with bʌ̀ʌ̀t 'toward', the experiencer or the mover/agent has no intention but meets the goal accidentally or may not meet the goal. In non-emotion motion, such cases are very clear and given in (182a&b):

(182a)	kwàtʃ	ā	-rɛ̀ŋ	báŋ	ròònná'
	leopard	PST	run:ITV	to	antelope
	'The leopard ran to the antelope.'				

Example (182a) implies that the leopard is hungry and therefore intentionally ran to the antelope to catch and eat it. Hence, it reaches the antelope, kills and eats it up as it is hungry. So, the motion is telic and bounded as the telic word báŋ 'to' suggests .

(b)	kwàtʃ	ā	-rɛ̀ŋ	bʌ̀ʌ̀t	ròònná
	leopard	PST	run:ITV	toward	antelope
	'The leopard ran toward an antelope'				

Example (182b) implies that the leopard was chased away by a group of hunters and met the antelope accidentally. So, the leopard may not reach the antelope and may not kill it as it had no intention to eat it up. The leopard therefore diverts its direction because it is still being followed. Hence, atelic and non-bounded motion or non-intentional motion the atelic word bʌ̀ʌ̀t 'toward' implies (see Okello 2014 for detail).

In emotional motion experience, anger motion in Anywaa can use words báŋ (PL. bàŋ) 'to', to express intention and bʌ̀ʌ̀t (PL.bʌ̀ʌ̀t) 'toward' to show unconsciousness in motion and emotion. The following two examples in (183a&b) are worth mentioning.

(183a)	ārìɛ̀d	ā	àà	-báŋ	gòòtɔ̀
	Aried	PST	go	to	anger
	'Aried went/has gone to anger.'				

In (183a), the speaker knows that Aried knew that there is sadness in family she was going. So, she does not panic if a person cries in the homes she reaches as she will share the sadness intentionally. The example can also mean Aried is intentionally going to quarrel. Hence, telic

and bounded sadness/anger motion. Although example (183a) makes anger ground for ontological use, it can also mean ārìɛ̀d āáá báŋ nììnɛ̀ 'Aried has gone to sleep'. This metaphor is based on mouth physiology that occurs while a person is asleep. In fact, we go to sleep intentionally.

(b)	ārìɛ̀d	ā	-mɔ̀ɔ̀l		bʌ̀ʌ̀t	gʊ̀ʊ̀tɔ̀
	Aried	PST	go early in the morning		toward	anger
Lit.	'Aried went toward anger very early in the morning.'					
	'Aried became angry very early in the morning.'					

In (183b) the speaker knows that there will be/there is anger or sadness in the family Aried is going but Aried does not know this. After reaching the family, Aried will accidentally face problems like those in which couples quarrel and insult each other and the husband beats the wife. Coming across this, Aried goes back to her village as she did not expect such a situation. So, the movement made by Ariet is atelic and non-bounded. Furthermore, in (183a), the speaker knows that there was a person who offended Aried in the morning and she became angry without her intention. In (183a), as the ground marker báŋ 'to' implies, anger is felt like a ground that can be reached or touched because the anger in (183a) is intentional, but in (183b), as the atelic word bʌ̀ʌ̀t 'toward' implies, anger has been conceptualized as a ground that cannot be reached/cannot be touched because Aried had no intention to be angry.

Gradual development of anger can be expressed using serialization which is defined by Aikhenvald (2006) as a sequence of verbs serving as a single verb without any explicit marker of coordination, subordination or syntactic dependency of any other kind. Serial verbs describe what is understood as single event. The construction is monoclausal having one tense, aspect and polarity value. Based on the definition provided by Aikhenvald (2006), Anywaa examples can be provided as follows in (184a&b).

(184a)	ŋùù	ā	-rìŋŋò	pìì	-ɛ̀	pʌ̀rr	-ɛ̀	tʃǎm
	lion	PST	run:VENT	reach	3SG	jump	3SG	eat
	rɔ́ɔ́	-ɛ̀	jì	lòààgà				
	calf	PL	in	byre				
	'The lion ran, reached jumped, ate the calves in the byre.'							
	'The lion ran into the byre and ate the calves.'							

Example (184a) is non-emotional motion telling us that the lion slowly went into the byre and ate up the calves. The speaker, who might have hidden himself, was looking at the lion. In (184a) the verbs òò 'come' and rìŋ 'run to ' have the past tense marker {ā-} but the verbs pʌr 'jump toward', pìì 'reach' and tʃàm 'eat' have deleted the past tense marker for simplicity or to avoid redundancy. In the conceptualization of emotion with the source domain of MOTION EVENT,

the gradual development or declining of anger is expressed with serial verb construction by doubling the original motion òò 'come' or ààj 'go'.

(b)	gʊ̀ʊ̀tɔ̀	ā	-òò	ā	-òò	ā	-pìì	ʧwíɲ	-à
	anger	PST	come	PST	come	PST	reach	liver of	1SG
Lit.	'Anger came came reached my liver.'								
	'I gradually became angry.'								

Example (184b) is an anger motion metaphor. The anger experiencer in (184b) is narrating the process of experiencing the anger by implying the way he or she was offended and felt the offense although the experiencer was attempting to control the anger. The ventive motion verbs like come, run and reach or enter clarify that the speaker experienced the anger. Serialization is very important to express the gradual development or decline of emotion, based on gradual moving away or coming of concrete objects.

4.20 Summary of Anger Metaphors

In this section, the metaphors of anger have been analyzed based on different source domains like IMPURE SUBSTANCE, BLINDNESS, INSANITY, FORCE, EXPLOSION, SUBSTANCE, CONTAINER, BAD TASTE and FIRE. In Anywaa, the words for anger are gʊ̀ʊ̀tɔ̀ 'anger', kèèŋ ʧwìŋ 'bitterness of liver' or rʌ̀ŋ ʧwíɲ/èʧ 'badness/spoilage of liver/stomach'. The use of BITTER TASTE and SPOILAGE as a lexical item for expressing anger in Anywaa is based on unpleasant things like dirty water or rotten objects, which are unpleasant to human mind, heart and liver. Thus, in Anywaa, anger is clearly evaluated as the most negative emotion. A linguistic expression like ʧwíɲà mààtʃ kī jì 'My liver is fire with you' implies *I'm very angry with you*, which is based on the source domain of FIRE. A linguistic metaphor like ʧwíɲà ātʃùllò 'My liver has become black or dirty' underlies ANGER IS BLACK/DIRTY but ʧwíɲ ɲīlààl ātʃʊ̀ɔ̀pì 'You speared the child's liver' implies that the addressee made the child angry. Hence, ANGER IS SHARP. In Anywaa, there is no clear distinction between anger and sadness although pʌ́ɲ̱ ʧwìŋ 'falling down of liver' usually expresses sadness, which is an anger bringing hopelessness.

Chapter Five

5.1 Metaphorical Conceptualization of Fear in Anywaa

In Anywaa, fear can be conceived as both internal and external emotion. Internal fear here is to be understood to already exist in the body prior to meeting a danger. The Anywaa word for fear is lùʌ̀r, whose predominant source domain is RUNNING AWAY. The word lùʌ̀ʌ̀r[36]'coward', pronounced with low tone and long diphthong, usually expresses fear as a personal trait or anxiety threat already existing in the body of the person. On the other hand, the word lúʌ́ʌ́r 'fearful, always afraid', with high tone, usually expresses phobia as it is illustrated below in (185a&b):

(185a)	lúʌ́ʌ́r	kī	bʌ́ʌ́t	dʒáa̰t̪
	afraid	of	on	tree
Lit.	'He is always afraid of climbing a tree.'			
	'He is acrophobic.'			
(b)	lúʌ́ʌ́r	kī	mʌ́ʌ́n	
	afraid	of	females	
Lit.	'He is always afraid of females.'			
	'He is gynophobic/fears females.'			

The use of high tone also implies fear of going where there is a clearly known danger. The word lùʌ̀r 'fear' in Anywaa is conceptualized as experience, gender based and genetic. Usually, females are believed to be more fearful and fear usually can be inherited from parents. Thus, the semantic primitives of fear comprise bad, do, happen and know. Fear therefore is a combination of concern and worry and it can be conditioned, gender specific, based on experience being real or imaginary (Wierzbicka, 1972:59-63). The word lŭʌ..r ' very fearful' implies high degree of fear clarified to someone who does not know the degree of the fearful person's fear.

Among the Anywaa whether a person is fearful can be tested during childhood. When children are about to fight, an adult spits between them and says lààw kwárá jɔ́ɔ́ 'Here is my ancestor's saliva and the child who first steps on the saliva will be the first child to hit the opponent and therefore courageous. Furthermore, when children play games with their wives, they practice courage in which a boy comes and beats the wife of another boy and if the boy does not fight for

[36]The agentive nominalizer {dī-}, dīlùʌ̀ʌ̀r (PL. dīlùʌ̀ʌ̀jè) expresses higher degree of fear than lùʌ̀ʌ̀r (PL. lùʌ̀ʌ̀jè.). In fact, the prefix dī is literally used to show an activitiy in which body parts are involved in an activity as in dī-pòò-j teacher, d̄ı-ʧʌ̀m-ì 'eater', etc. Thus, dīlùʌ̀ʌ̀r, whose higher intensity takes high tone as dílúʌ́ʌ́r, has higher degree than lùʌ̀ʌ̀r fearful because {dī-} is an agentive nominalizer implying that feeling fear has become an activity of the fearful person who does not evaluate the stimulus.

his wife, he is interpreted to be fearful. For such a fearful person, the following song in (186), which was elicited by the investigator, is sung:

(186a)	lúʌ́ʌ́r	ǒo	lúʌ́ʌ́r			
	coward	oh	coward			
	'Oh, fearful person'					
(b)	tʃĩ	-è	dī	púódò	bùùt	-è
	wife of	3SG	AUX	beat	near	3SG
	'His wife is being beaten and taken while he is present.'					
(c)	màŋŋ	-ò	tòŋ	jà	āgòòlà	
	need	FOC	spear	in	porch	
	'He is looking for a spear in the porch but he does not fight with his hands.'					

The children's song in (186) implies that fearful people are not confident and usually do not fight. When fearful people are about to fight with their hands, they look for spears, guns or a big stick to hit their opponents avoid being defeated. In the mind of an adult Anywaa, a man should die for his wife or village even if he has no weapon.

5.1.1 FEAR as PHYSIOLOGY

In Anywaa, the metaphorical conceptualization of fear as physiology ranges from head to toes. This metaphorical conceptualization is further supported by Ledoux (1996) that fear as bodily experience begins in the brain. The amygdala[37], hippocampus and the prefrontal cortex can be regarded as a key to and source of fear experience. In Anywaa in particular, the tickling of head, which brings fear expressed as wìà ānīlààw/ānīdʒwʌ̀ʌ̀j 'My head tickled' is used when walking in a forest or standing in a river. In the forest, beasts like lions or leopards and bewitching birds like an owl can observe a man walking in a forest while it is not seen by him. In the river, a crocodile[38] may move through under water towards a man standing in a river. Such situations provoke tickling of head.

Human eye communicates intention and attitudes but it is the bewitching organ causing fear and sadness. For example, a fish seen by public will have a bad taste when eating it. The Anywaa do not have good relationship with an eye despite its visual function as it exposes secrets or see the genitals of both relative and another person. That is why there is a proverb wàŋ páá wát 'An

[37]The idiom wiè ògwààr ōlwìi̱i̱ì 'His/Her head was scratched by falcon before' expresses fear which is not new but experienced before. Such a person will not go to the stimulus place again. Example someone who was chased away by a crocodile in a harbour.

[38]The Anywaa proverbs nààm jiè bʌŋ ādītʃágì'There are no dry leaves in a river' is used to mean in a river do not go to a deep place as the coming of crocodile is not communicated by water as there are no dry leaves in a river. While sneaking a person in a forest, a beast may step on dry leaf or dry tree which produces loud sound leading to running away of the person being sneaked. For the case of forest, a man is advised not to enter into very dense forest as a lion or a leopard may be there.

eye is not a relative'. During fear the physiology of human eye changes. For detail, see the linguistic idiomatic metaphors of fear based on eye physiology in table 12.

Idiom	**Literal meaning**	**Free Translation**
wàŋè ākwʌ́ttó	His/Her eye stole something.	She/He was afraid of the public's silence and angry looking at him/her.
wàŋè éɛ́ bɔ̀ɔ̀dɔ̀	He/has narrowed his/her eye.	He/She is looking with fear/jealousy.
wàŋè ābàŋ	Parts of his/her eye has been removed by fear stimulus.	He/She has become totally afraid.
wàŋè ɔ̀kwààŋ	Hs/her eye has been rashed	He/She became very afraid of danger or injury due to experience.
wàŋè ānīrààk	His/Her eye was torn by fear.	She was afraid of the action taken on him/her.
wàŋè ānītʃʊ́ʊ́l/ādʒʊ̀ʊ̀ɛ̀	His/Her eye collected itself.	She/He was afraid of the public's angry looking and stigma on him/her.
ɲɛ̀ŋŋɛ̀ ātìmò nī mɔ̀t̪	His/Her eye became not smooth.	She/He was afraid due to crime like adultery or theft she committed and confirmed publicly.
wàŋè àtìmò nī tʃɔ̀l	His eye became black.	She is afraid to see the others' faces.
ɲɛ̀ŋŋɛ̀ āmúl wɔ́k	His/Her eye crawled out, became bulgy and confused.	He was surprised by the near fear stimulus like gun, spear or beast.
wàŋè ātìmò nī wììt	His/Her eye became thin.	She reduced his/her eye due to fear.
wàŋè ātìmò nī pát̪	His/Her eye became different.	She/He has isolated her/himself due to the public's avoiding speaking with him.
ɲɛ̀ŋŋɛ̀ ŋɔ́n̪n̪í/gɔ́rrí	His/Her eyes are moving fast with fear	He is looking with intense fear.
wáŋè láw	His/Her eye is tonic	He/She is sad/shy/afraid.

Table 12: FEAR as EYE PHYSIOLOGY

Literal language helps us organize our knowledge. From table 15 above, a cognitive linguist infers that the distinction between metaphorical and literal language is unclear. This is further supported by Gibbs (1994) as his critique to CMT as cognitive linguists do not clearly differentiate between literal and metaphorical primarily because the concept *literal* has many related meanings, but they do clearly distinguish between metaphorical and non-metaphorical language and thought.

From the perspective of interpreting emotion meanings, Kövecses (1995) states that the meaning of emotion can be understood based on different semantic views of which two of them namely the **Lable View** and and **Implicational View** are worth mentioning in the present study. The

Lable view of emotion meaning argues that the meaning of an emotion term is simply an association between a lable like the words like anger and fear, plus some real emotional phenomena like physiological processes like widening an eye or trembling of hand and behaviours like being a fearful person. Implicational view on the other hand, postulates that the meaning of an emotion is what it entails, implies or suggests to those who understand it. Hence, connotative meaning of emotion, which is based on context, experience and convention, is the central point in understanding an emotion concept. Connotative meaning of an emotion varies from culture to culture (See also Shweder,1991).

From what Kövecses (1995) mentions, it can be interpreted that the Lable view of emotion focuses on physiology of emotion as a source of emotion meaning but Implicational view focuses on interpreting the meaning of emotion based on culture, experience, context and convention.

In reference to expression of fear in Anywaa in table 12, the idiomatic metaphor wàŋɛ̀ láw 'His/Her eye is tonic,' is both literal and metaphorical because taking words one by one cannot clearly distinguish metaphor and literal meaning and tonic has similar meaning to BAD. In fact, an eye cannot be tasted to have salty or tonic taste although this may have literal interpretation. However, going back to socio-cultural experience of putting an amount of salt in stew or food and eating clarifies metaphoricity of salt related to fear pertaining to an eye. If the amount in the stew is not adequate or does not make the food delicious, it is said to be láw 'tonic' or bʌ́t̪ 'tasteless' as it is not strong. Such food is not eaten but abandoned because it doe not satisfy hunger although it does not bring big danger even if eaten.

In Anywaa, a person whose eye is tonic is a person who is nervous, shy or afraid due to the loss of his/her faithful counterpart who helps him/her in case of urgency. A person whose eye is tonic is also afraid to see and join others do to the mistake he has made. On the other hand, when the amount of salt in stew is excessive, it is said to be kɛ́ɛ́tʃ 'bitter like pepper'. Such food is not eaten as it results in swelling of face and liver pains. Similarly, people with bitter liver, who are heroes and courageous, are dangerous and not easy to attack or frighten. Hence, FEARFUL IS TONIC; HERO/COURAGEOUS IS BITTER.

The interaction between fear and sadness or anger as table 12 suggests leads us to the interpretation that emotions transform themselves from one form to another. Oatley's (2004)

study provides evidences for the transformation of one kind of emotion into another. She claims that among many other things, anger may result from fear.

Similarly, the idiom wàŋɛ̀ ābàŋ 'some parts of his/her eye have been removed by fear stimulus' implies that the person has totally become afraid and will not go back to the place where the event happened as he/she does not want to see the stimulus again. It is difficult to clearly relate the experiential basis of this metaphor, but bàŋ literally means the removal of a child's incisors by themselves. The word bàŋ is also is the middle voice form of bààŋ 'frighten', whose expeience comes from removing all the leaves of a durra cane so that it will be eaten. Idioms are therefore conventional metaphors. Lakoff (1993:211) puts that in traditional approach, idiom are arbitrary but in cognitive linguistics, they are experientially motivated metaphors in cognitive system.

The Anywaa have beliefs about the body organs of a person . For example, a person with bulgy eyes is believed to be fearful as he stares at a person/dangerous animal and immediately runs away with panic while a person with small eyes is aggressive, who faces his/her opponent. A one eyed person is believed to be more aggressive. People with red eyes are believed to be murderers and courageous. Their eyes are believed to be reddened by the bloods of the people they murder. A person with white eyes is interpreted to be fearful and that with black eyes is a thief or fearful. People with long legs are fearful and fast runners capable of escaping danger easily. In adddition to the above metaphorical idioms in table 12, an eye is also said to be torn like a clothe due to fear. Below, in data (187a-c), is a poem sang during the coming of Derg to power in 1974/1975.

(187a)	ītɪ̀ɔ̀pɪa	tì-	-kìdʌ́m
	Ethiopia	FEM	be first
Lit.	'Let Ethiopia be first.'		
	'Ethiopia should be prioritized.'		
(b)	ātʃĩgíd	ā	-dʒɔ̀ɔ̀mmɔ̀
	Asegid	PST	flee
Lit.	'Asegid has fled.'		
	'Asegid has fled away.'		
(c)	wáŋ	dʒɛ̌...tʃ	
	eye	tear	
Lit.	'The eye is intensely torn.'		
	'He was totally afraid of Derg and ran away.'		

The poetic metaphor in (187a-c) expresses the fact that the Haile Selassie's regime which troubled the Anywaa a lot was over thrown by Derg regime. Asigid was a governor of Mugi and used to go to the Anywaa to tax them by taking their maizes and cattle for taxes. Poor Anywaaks were always running away as some were beaten for not paying the taxes. When Derg took the

power, Asigid fled. The Anywaa understood that all other governors of Haile Selassie would run away due to fear of Derg regime. Hence, the authorities of the king would live fearfully and those who were suppressed would live happily and peacefully. Thus, the Derg regime was expected to move forward and give prirority to Ethiopia.

The idiom wàŋ dʒɛ̌ɛtʃ[39]'An eye is torn' means total fear accompanied by running away and not coming back to the original place in which the incident happened. In similar way, when a clothe is torn up, it is not similar to the previous new one and if the tearing is expressed as ādʒɛ̌...tʃ[40] 'It was tor...n', it is meant total tearing. Hence, total fear. Thus, fear expressed with ādʒéétʃ 'was torn is lower than ādʒéɛ...tʃ 'was torn', because the source is based on totally tearing up an object.

In general, the conceptualization of fear in terms of eye, which is physical organ, provides mental access to human being and physical activities related to knowledge and confidence. In table (12), an eye is therefore, a metonym of human being as the eye becomes thin, different, collected and thief. So the underlying metaphor is A MENTAL STATE OF HUMAN BEING (FEARFUL, SHAMEFUL) IS A PHYSICAL STATE OF HUMAN EYE PHYSIOLOGY. The underlying principle is that people who are afraid/ashamed are unable to face others well. Therefore, they stoop[41], look down and separate themselves from others and are alone. A person who is confident on other hand is called wàŋɛ̀ téék 'His/Her eye is hard'. The idiom wàŋɛ̀ kwél 'His/Her eye is liquid' usually expresses confindence or cunningness. In fact, liquid and open things are used to stand for wisdom and knowledge as liquids flow and reach somewhere and an open space is seen. So, wàŋɛ̀ kwél/wàŋɛ̀ òdʒʌ̀ppò 'someone whose eye is liquid/open' refers to a

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[39] When someone is offended/attacked by a more powerful person/stimulus, he or she reacts to/ attacks the less poweful object/person. In Anywaa, this is called mɔ́ḍ̈ì/dìidɛ̀.

[40]The verb ādʒɛ̀ɛ̀tʃ 'It was torn' (with low tone) expresses passive voice but ādʒéétʃ 'torn' expresses middle voice in which the cause of tearing is not clear or emphasis on tearing but not the agent of tearing. However, with breathy vowels, the active vocie is expressesed by the verb dʒɛ̀ɛ̀o 'to tear'. The idiom ādʒɛ̀ɛ̀ ḍ̈éé literally means *He/She torn it in his/her mouth*, but it metaphorically means the person spoken about was very surprised and terrified by the current event unlike the others he used to do. The experience comes from a vulture which used to cut and scrape meat from skins for obtaining food, but one day, it was surprised by one skin it widely torn until its beak reached the ground. Therefore, àànà tʌ̀gò dáŋ pèènè tʃɔ̀ɔn bʌ̀ŋ pìèn mō ōdʒéé ḍ̈áá káámár wát píéní *'I started scraping off meat from skin long ago but there was no skin which torn in my mouth like this one* metaphorically means *I started commiting crimes and escaping but I have been caught and very terrified in this one and will not repeat the crime again*. So, the vulture is the criminal and scraping of the meat is comitting crime. The meat is mapped onto the crime and the skin corrreponds to an offended person.

[41]Among the Anywaa, when a thief is caught, drum is beaten and all the villagers gather in dance place by singing and mocking while the thief is in the middle. In doing so, the thief's head is scratched and knocked by singing as kùùw ǎa lwéétè ògɔ̀n ' Oh, He is a thief, whose finger is not straight'. Also stollen things like maizes are put on his head while he is standing in the center of the public and forced to carry the load. After this time the thief is isolated for a long time. Some thieves leave their villages due to mocking.

person who is civilized and not afraid to go somewhere, knowledgeable and do things with confidence among people. People who are afraid close their eyes and do not see things (see Q.M.A, 2015:91).

Furthermore widening of the mouth expresses fear and surprise. For such fear, the experiencer is also said to be confused where to run or what to do because the fear stimulus is met accidentally. In Anywaa, confusion caused by fear is called āpìttò.

While narrow(ing) eyes expreses fear with silence, bulgying eyes express emotion with an interjection like buǎʌj, búʌ́ʌjbúʌ́ʌj, bòǎa... which is used with widely opened mouth to express high degree of surprise caused by big stimulus or high intensity of problem or danger. When a female Anywaa is surprised and very afraid, she utters the interjection ājáŋkòòn ǎa..., ājáŋ ǎa... 'Oh... my mother!' When a person dies in an expected way or when a mistake like breaking a pot is made, the interjection wǔ...,whose lower degree is wû... is uttered to show surprise for unamenable thing, but the interjection áj áj, whose higher degree is ájáj, with amalgamation, is uttered to express surprise to be reported to a big person to take an action on the person who has made a mistake. According to Fox (2000:186) a special pitch feature used to express meanings like surprise, sarcasm, etc is called *emotional tone*.

Difficulty of walking, paralysis, or high trembling are also the physiologies of fear. In Anywaa, the general word for high trembling caused by fear is called ādīgóógì. Consider the following examples in (188a-c).

(188a)	tìɛt	-è	kòònò			kī	bʌʌ̀t	ŋɔ̀ɔ̀m
	legs of	3SG	not step on ground strongly			with	on	ground
Lit.	'His/Her legs do not step on the ground strongly.'							
	'He/She is very afraid to walk normally in front of public.'							

(b)	n	-à	-dʒòòt	-gɛ	ŋùù	dèèt	-gɛ̀	ā
	when	PST	see	3PL	lion	bodies of	3PL	PST
	-put	tìmò	nī	kwáŋŋí				
	do soon	become	CON	trembling				
Lit.	'As soon as they saw the lion, their bodies immediately started trembling.'							
	'When they saw the lion, they immediately started trembling.'							

Example (188b) implies that both fear /emotion and physiology can happen simultaneously. But if a person trembles after a lion has gone away, it takes us to the interpretation that emotion precedes physiology.

(c)	dèèr	-è	ā	-tìmò	mìɛ̀l	n	-à	báá	-ì
	body of	3SG	PST	become	dance	when	PST	miss	PASS
	kī	máátʃ							
	with	gun							
Lit.	'His/Her body became dancing when he/she was missed with the gun.'								
	'He/She became trembling (with fear) when he/she was missed with the gun.'								

The fear in (188c) is followed by trembling of other body parts like legs, hands and lips and difficulty of speaking. Example (188c) therefore, implies TREMBLING WITH FEAR IS DANCING.

5.2 FEAR IS SHRINKING OF BODY

During fear, as the body size reduces and a person remains passive, the genitals also remain passive with the decrease in their length and erection. This consists of both male and female genitals. Examples (189)-(190c) illustrate FEAR as PASSIVITY OF GENITALS/SHRINKING OF BODY.

(189)	tʃùt	-gɛ̀[42]	ā	-dʒòòŋ	kī	wà	òò	dɔ̀ɔ	-gɛ̀
	penises of	3PL	PST	go inside	with	1PL:EXCL	and	return:ITV	3PL
	lɔ́ɔ́gá								
	river side								

Lit. 'Their penises shrank with us and they returned away to the other side of the river.'
'They were very afraid of us and they crossed the river again.'

The metaphor in (189) implies that there were a team of males who crossed the river to attack the speaker's village, but having known that the villagers have more guns and are ready for the war, they became afraid and crossed the river to go back so that they will not have casualities. Testicles and the whole human also shrink due to fear. This conception has been illustrated in (190a&b).

(190a)	mʌ́tt	-ɛ̀	dʒʊ́ʊ́ŋ	kī	à
	testicles of	3SG	shrink:HAB	with	1SG

Lit. 'His testicles shrink with me.'
'He is afraid of me.'

The shrinking of testicles is intensified by the shrinking of scrotum. The experiencer of fear in (190a) can be inferred to be a male as suggested by the testicles. This takes us to the formation of the conceptual metaphor A MALE'S FEAR IS THE SHRINKING OF HIS SCROTUM AND TESTICLES.

(b)	gɛ̀n	-à	-dʒòòŋ
	3PL	PST	shrunk

Lit. 'The shrank/have shrunk.'
'They have become afraid.'

The shrinking of the whole body of an experiencer of fear comes from source domain of shrinking of an object like leaf, ballon or skin which becomes small with shrinking, which may also be caused by strong cold. People who are afraid also collect themselves and become smaller

[42] Part-whole metonymy can identify a male from female based on sexual organs and attributes. So, mùr' vagina' stands for a female and tʃùl' penis' stands for a male/hero. To the Anywaa, while vagina is depicted as fearful, weak and gullible, penis is depicted as strong, cunning, courageous (hero), sharp and aggressive.

and shorter, because they do not strengthen their bodies to react. A person who is afraid also sits with fear. This fear physiology is usually very clear with those surrounded by soldiers. Therefore, based on (190b) we can formulate FEAR IS SHRINKING OF WHOLE BODY.

(c)	tʃwɛ́nn	-é	ā	-dɔ́ɔ́	jì	kɔ̀p
	clitoris of	3SG	PST	return:ITV	stomach of	sheath
Lit.	'Her clitoris went into the stomach of sheath.'					
	'She became/has become afraid.'					

Example (190c) implies the conceptual metaphor: BODY PARTS ARE KNIVES;BODY/SKIN IS A SHEATH; A FEMALE'S FEAR IS THE GOING OF CLITORIS IN INSIDE VAGINA. In example (190c) therefore, sheath implies vagina as the experiencer is a female whose being afraid is clued by the inward clitoris. The general conceptualization of fear in which reproductive organs remain passive and go inside the skin implies that FEAR IS IMPOTENCY, FEAR IS INWARD/DOWANWARD; AGGRESSION IS ERECT/OUTWARD (OF PENIS/CLITORIS). However, the whole body can paralyze as fear physiology reaches every part of human body. Hence, FEAR IS PARALYSIS. During war or gun firing, some people are very shocked and may fart, urinate and even defecate. When a man is afraid to lead and go to war front, he may make an excuse as *I am going toilet*, *I am going to urinate* or *I am sick* to avoid going to war.

During palpiations with fear, the voice pírpír, which is made by heartpound is interpreted as a high degree of fear. Further, lung causes deep breathing and a person who is fearful is believed to have bigger lung causing deep breathing while experiencing fear. Thus, ōbʌ̀ɛ̀ pʌ́l 'His/Her lung is big' refers to a very fearful person breathing deeply and crying with louder voice.

Due to the internal pressure in the body of an experiencer of the fear, defecation occurs and this leads to the conceptualization of fear as **DEFECATION** acompanied by **URINATION** and farting (See Fox, 2002:577). In Anywaa, an instant case in which intestines are softened by fear bringing defecation can found in the following expressions in (191a&b):

(191a)	ōwʌ̀ŋ	màn	-à	dɔ́ɔ́ŋ	tʃìir	dʒɛ́j	-ā
	weapon	REL	be	big	intestines of	people	PST
	-ɖʌ̀ŋ	-è					
	soften	3SG					
Lit.	'The bigger weapon softened the intestines of the people.'						
	'The bigger weapon made the people defecate with fear.'						

Fear in (191a) brings accidental diarrhea as the intestines are softened. This in turn impiles that very fearful person defecates with fliud diarrhea faeces on his own body as it is difficult to

remove the clothe. When the whole body including liver is softened by fear, it becomes difficult to control fear. So, an experiencer of fear paralyzes, trembles, faints or dies.

(b)	lùλλr	mō	bóɔ́k	kī	tʃìè̱t̪	è	kéér	-é
	fearful	REL	panic	with	faeces of	3SG	only	3SG
Lit.	'A fearful person who panics with his own fart.'							
	'A very fearful person.'							

5.2.1 FEAR IS A STRONG COLD

Cold is also a very good source domain of fear. Among the Anywaa, one experience of cold to be used as source domain of fear is staying in water for a long time. After coming out of water, the body starts trembling. Physiologically, fear can be understood in terms of COLD caused by rain or cold season.

Esenova (2011:23) puts that understanding fear in terms of cold is a type of physiological metaphor, whose source domains are represented by uncontrollable, immediate physiological reactions and physiological states lasting for short time; the source domain is also specific to a given emotion and usually visible or perceptible to an observer. In FEAR IS (VERY) COLD metaphor, FEAR is conceptualized as COLD, because the reaction of the body to cold is similar to the reaction of the body to fear (e.g shaking, trembling, temporary paralysis, pallor, etc).

Therefore, the stimuli of fear metaphor based on COLD are immediate sad news, meeting a dangerous object like a big snake, hearing heavy firing, seeing soldiers and seeing a dead person. This implies INTENSITY OF FEAR IS DEGREE OF COLD. Consider examples (192a-d).

(192a)	déér	-è	-dʒíttò	ká	ādīdʒóój	már	lúár
	body of	3SG	find	OBL	big cold	of	fear
Lit.	'His/Her body has got big fear cold.'						
	'He/She was trembling and very afraid.'						

The metaphorical expression in (192a) has the general source of kóó 'cold', but the higher degree of fear has been conceptualized in terms of ādīdʒóój 'strong cold' which makes a person collect himself/herself by putting his/her hands on his/her shoulders and go to sleep. The word dʒòòj means *to colllect oneself or to become thin*. So, the existence of cold in a person's body can be literal if there is no fear stimulus in the context like staying in a river, but it can be contextually metaphorical if there is fear stimulus like soldiers, seeing a dead person or a lion. Therefore, at mental space level, the two contexts clarifying the meaning of this metaphor are *physical environment* and *bodily context*. Such fear understood in terms of COLD is clear only to the people near the person who has become afraid.

(b)	tìmò	nī	kɛ́tkɛ́t...	kī	(kóó	-j)	lúʌ́r
	become	CON	tremble	with	cold	GEN	fear
Lit.	'He/She is trembling with fear cold as ketket...'						
	'He was very afraid.'						

The voice **kɛ́tkɛ́t** has its verb stem **kɛ́nn-**' to be trembling with cold'. So, kɛ́nní kī lùʌ̀r 'He/She is trembling with fear' clearly underlies FEAR IS COLD. Also upper and lower teeth meet during trembling and produce the voice gággág....During strong (fear) cold, the experiencer bends and puts his/her hands on his/her shoulders to heat himself/herself. If a lion runs to a man, his heart pounds and runs away by experiencing subjective fear. Therefore, the lion is the stimulus and heart pounding and running are responses or physiologies and the the fear is the emotion.

Example (192b) clearly supports what Kövecses (2019:46) mentions that the body and its bodily response and the appropriateness of response is very related to the concept of EMOTION, because emotion is usually displayed through bodily response and behaviour.

(c)	dīʈʃʊ́ɔ́ɔ́	kàà	ā	-ŋíŋŋó
	male	DUB	PST	become cold
Lit.	'Why has the male become cold?'			
	'Why has the man become afraid?'			

In (192c) the adverb **kàà** is used to express doubt or lack of evidence or reason. Thus, the speakers in (192c) are woman who did not expect the man to become afraid and silent. The fear expression in (192c) can be preceded by the interjection búój, which is used to express extreme surprise caused by big stimulus, because among the Anywaa, it is not expected from males to cry and to be afraid.

(d)	lùʌ̀r	a	-timo	nī	kóó	-j	ādʒùlà
	fear	PST	become	CON	cold	GEN	Ajula
	kī	ʈʃʊ́ɔ́r	-è				
	and	husband of	3SG				
Lit.	'Fear has become the cold of Ajula and her husband.'						
	'The fear has become very intense.'						

As it can be deduced from (192d), there is intense fear accompanied by trembling and cold experienced by the person near the speaker. The mythical cold which killed Ajula and her husband has its lexical name āŋàlàkìir. These two couples were killed by the cold as they were sleeping outside the house. The so called kóój ʊ̄ʈʃóómmó 'cold of snail ' is mild morning cold. Another intense cold making the Anywaa stay around fire for a very long time is ʈʃùrù, which is an extended name of ʈʃùùrù[43] 'a cat fish with very big head'. This cat fish has bigger head but

[43]The cold is named after ʈʃùùrù fish when it returns from lakes to rivers like Gilo and Baro and makes movement to grasp for an air on water. In Anywaa, this movement and grasping is called dwááŋ. This fish grasps for an air during āriia 'spring'. The so called kóój ʊ̄ʈʃóómmò'snail cold' on the other hand comes when snails produce offspirings and slugs moving in the grasses.

small body and it is one of the totems of shilluk ancestor and god ɲīkááŋɔ̀. The cold makes many people warm their bodies with fire in the morning. It can be deduced that the star constellation of tʃwìèò or tʃùùrù represents the genetic relation between the Anywaa and the Shilluk. In fact, it is believed among the Anywaa that the ancestor of Shilluk is ɲīkááŋá and that of āŋwáá is gìilɔ̀ and the two people were brothers (See Perner,1994: 268 for detail).

5.2.2 FEAR with the source domain of SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER.

Body parts like the whole body, stomach and liver serve as containers of fear. Fear can fill the container, may not exist in the container or can be half in the container to express fear intensity. In actual life, a container can be empty or may have small amount at its bottom. When the container is full, it has very high amount content. The following examples in (193)-(198b) are therefore worth mentioning.

(193)	lùʌ̀r	ò	-ŋìɛ̀ɔ̀	(jì)	tɔ́ŋ	wàŋ	-ì
	fear	PERF	recognize	(in)	egg of	eye of	2SG
Lit.	'Fear has been recognized in the pupil (of your eye).'						
	'It has been understood that you have become afraid.'						

In (193), fear is a substance in the container eye pupil based on the experiencer's fearful look. In fact, the Anywaa word tɔ̀ŋ wàŋ 'egg of eye' has its English equivalent eyeball but gúú wàŋ 'dog of eye' in English means pupil (of eye). However, in Anywaa there is no clear distinction between the lens and pupil (of an eye).

(194)	wì	-à	ā	-tìmò	nī	líír
	head of	1SG	PST	become	CON	blunt
Lit.	'My head became blunt and painful like teeth.'					
	'I became ashamed.'					

In (194) fear is a substance in head as a container due to thingking and predicting the coming of fear stimulus. The substance in the head is called ādʒùk ká ākɛ́m 'shame', which the Anywaa believe to exist in human head.

(195a)	ṯʌ́ʌ́ŋ	lúʌ́r	pòòt	dáǵɔ	tʃwíɲ	-ì
	half of	fear	still	exist	liver of	2SG
Lit.	'There still exists half of fear inside your liver.'					
	'Your still a bit afraid.'					

The datum in (195a), implies low degree of fear understood in terms of half of fear in liver which is based on half of substance like mango, flour or meat in a container. Example (195a) implies that the addressee is near the addresser and the addressee is still not very active due to fear.

(b)	ōkàdɔ̀	tʃwíɲ	-è	pʌ́ŋ	kī	lúár
	Okado	liver of	3SG	full	with	fear
Lit.	'Okado's liver/stomach is full of fear.'					
	'Okado is very afraid/very fearful.'					

The metaphor in (195b) can imply very high fear as a trait or becoming very afraid in specific time due to specific event. Such a person usually panics when he/she walks alone in places like forest or when firing a gun by himself. When a liver is full of fear, i.e when a person is very afraid, a person's head and liver will have big prediction that death is near. Fear in liver can reach body parts and that is why the Anywaa think of fearful people as those whose bodies are full of fear. Fear reaches a person's legs and hands. This is known by physiology or trembling of hands and legs making the experiencer passive or sweating. Since fear exists in human liver, the Anywaa believe that the word tʃɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ̀ 'TERRIFY' can also be understood as PUTTING FEAR INSIDE A PERSON'S LIVER. Consider the example below in (196):

(196)	tʃwiɲ	ɲīlààl	kɛ́r	kíṯ	-ì	kī	lùʌ̀r
	liver of	child	NEG	put	2SG	OBL	fear
Lit.	'Do not put fear inside the child's liver.'						
	'Do not terrify the child.'						

Example (196) implies the Anywaa's conception that TERRIFYING A PERSON IS PUTTING FEAR INSIDE HIS/HER LIVER based on putting an object in a container. In Anywaa, the heart flies like a bird due to panic. One can also argue that fear physiology of heart is understood based on A PANICKED AND FLYING BIRD as can be seen in the metaphor wɛ̀ŋŋɛ̀ pírrí kī bóók 'His/Her heart is producing the flight voice pirr... due to panic'. When an Anywaa panics, the palpitations and deep breathing produce the voice pírpír. Similarly, when a bird panics and flies quikly, its wings produce the voice pírr...

(197)	tʃʌ́ʌ́nɔ̀	mō	jì	-è	dá	lúʌ́r
	speech	REL	stomcah of	3SG	exist	fear
Lit.	'A speech whose stomach contains fear.'					
	'A speech which contains fear.'					

The metaphor in (197) can also be uttered as tʃʌ́ʌ́n lúʌ́r 'fear speech' or tʃʌ́ʌ́n bóók 'He/She is speaking with fear/panic'. Physiologically, a person who is afraid trembles, breathes deeply or palpitates and this makes him/her speak with slur or stammer. Hence, A LINGUISTIC EXPRESSION IS A CONTIANER OF FEAR/EMOTION. The voice and the way we look at people and our body strength are evidences for the presence of fear in our speech. The existence of fear in whole human body and chest can be expressed as follows in (198a&b).

(198a)	dèèr	-è	béédɔ̀	ná	lúʌ́r	kɛ́ɛ́r	-ɛ́
	body of	3SG	live	CON	fear	only	3SG
Lit.	'His/Her body is totally filled with fear.'						
	'He/She is very fearful.'						

The metaphor in (198a) is based on the full amount of substance in a container extended to the trembling of whole body with fear. Hence, VERY HIGH INTENSITY OF EMOTION IS (BIG) AMOUNT OF SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER.

(b) kòòr -è dá ɲìmʌ̀rkòòǹ̪ì
chest of 3SG exist chest thunder
Lit. 'There is fear thunder in his chest.'
'He usually palpitates with fear.'

Example (198b) refers to a fearful person who usually palpitates when seeing danger or when quarreling. The Anywaa verb mʌ̀rò means the verb *thunders* in English and kòòǹ̪ì means *chests* in English. Thus, ɲīmʌ́rkóóǹ̪ì, literally means an object which thunders in the chest so that it causes fear. In Anywaa, palpitations produces the voice lík or dím, which is intrepreted as thunder due to voice similarrity between thunder and palpitations. Therefore, based on (213b), FEAR IS A SUBSTANCE IN CHEST.

Fear can ontologically be understood as a RESIDENT, RESIDENCE/HABITAT OR LOCATION and can build house in body parts like liver and stomach. Such fear takes longer time without being controlled or becomes a trait due to terrifyng situation which lasts longer. Consider the data below in (199a-c).

(199a) gɛ̀ ɛ́n -á jì lúʌ́r mō téɛ́k
3PL be:LOC FOC stomach of fear REL hard
Lit. 'They are in the stomach of hard fear.'
'They are in an intense fear.'

Example (199a) us takes to the cognitive metaphor FEAR IS A CONTAINER OF AN EXPERIENCER. Such a fear is caused by rumours that a village is about to be attacked by enemy. In such a situation, the villagers may not have adequate weapons and bullets or the village may be very small. The word téɛ́k 'hard' evokes HIGH DEGREE OF FEAR OR EMOTION IS HARD/FORCE, which implies that the experiencers are overcome by the fear. The phrase kìǹ̪ jì lùʌ̀r ' to put a person inside fear' means *to terrify a person*. Hence, TERRIFYING A PERSON IS PUTTING A PERSON INSIDE FEAR/DANGEROUS (OBJECT).

(b) lùʌ̀r ā -géét tʃwíɲ -é
fear PST build liver of 3SG
Lit. 'Fear has built a house inside his/her liver.'
'It is difficult for him/her to control his/her fear.'

People or animals build habitats to live in and it is difficult to come out of a habitat since it is a living place.

(c) lùʌ̀r béɛ́d -ó tʃwíɲ -ì
fear live PROG liver of 2SG
Lit. 'Fear lives in your liver.'
'You are very fearful.'

In example, (199c) fear is understood as a resident living in liver, which is understood as a habitat. Where a creature lives is where it usually stays. Objects also have their permanent

locations. Thus, FEAR IS A LIVING ENTITY IN LIVER AS ITS RESIDENCE/HABITAT. This kind of fear is usually accompanied by prediction that a danger may come in an unknown time.

4.2.3 LIVER'S TEXTURE and TASTE as a Source Domain of FEAR and COURAGE

In the present study, by texture, I refer to the degree to which a liver is soft or hard to be used as a source domain of fear and courage in Anywaa. As their folk view, the Anywaa believe that there is an imaginary element called tʃɛ̀r, which is located in a liver. This element has bitter taste. People with this element in their livers are brave fighters and even alone can go to attack a village. Hence, tʃɛ̀r is (an element of) courage/heroism. With high tone the word tʃɛ́r literally means smell or taste of urine. That is why the Anywaa speak of brave person or hero based on BITTER LIVER as follows in (200a&b):

(200a)	tʃwíŋ	-è	dá	tʃɛ̀r
	liver of	3SG	exit	bitter element of courage
Lit.	'There is bitter element of courage/heroism in his liver.'			
	'He is an hero/courageous.'			
(b)	tʃwíŋ	-è	kɛ́ɛ́tʃ	
	liver of	3SG	bitter	
Lit.	'His/her liver is bitter.'			
	'He/She is brave/courageous.'			

In the conception of the Anywaa, what makes a liver bitter leading to being courageous is the bitter object containing courage. Hence, COURAGE IS BITTER BUT FEAR IS NOT BITTER; BRAVE PEOPLE ARE BITTER LIVERED. The Anywaa believe that the bitter element of courage in liver usually exists in the livers of males. That is why most courageous people are males. In fact, this element is also called kèèŋ ' bitter element bringing bitter feeling and courage in a liver'. Therefore, courage is also called in Anywaa kɛ́ɛ́tʃ tʃwìŋ 'bitterness of liver', because courageous people get angry quickly and respond for themselves or to support others.

The verb kèèŋŋò means *to become bitter*. The use of tonic eye and tastelessness imply that fearful people are not bitter. This must be the reason for which the Anywaa metaphorically call an aggressive and courageous person bà bʌ́t̪, kɛ́ɛ́tʃ (ādīmèttì) 'A person who is not tasteless, but bitter (pepper) person'. When we eat big pepper or bitter thing, we abandon it for survival. Similarly, courageous and aggressive people usually defeat and chase away their opponents.

In contrast, absence of tʃɛ̀r element in the liver makes a peron LIVERLESS AND FEARFUL. Thus, in Anywaa the idiom bʌ̀ŋ tʃwìŋ 'liverless person' is a very fearful person. Socio-culturally,

females are perceived to be soft livered and liverless and males are livered. That is why for fearful or gullible man, it is said in Anywaa in (201a):

(201a)	tʃwíɲ	-i	tʃwíɲ	ɖáágɔ̀
	liver of	2SG	liver of	female
Lit.	'Your liver is a female's liver.'			
	'You are fearful/gullible.'			

That is why a fearful male is called ɖáágɔ̀'female'. Therefore, among the Anywaa COURAGE/HEROISM IS A PRESENCE OF A LIVER IN HUMAN BODY AND FEAFULNESS IS HAVING NO LIVER. When people quarrel, the person who thinks that he/she is courageous/hero calls the opponent for fight as follows in (201b):

(201b)	nɛ̀ɛ̀	tʃwíɲ	-ì	dágɔ̀	nì	-ì	tɛ́ɛ́k	dɔ̂..tʃ
	if	liver of	2SG	exist	if	2SG	hard	DEG
	òò	-ì	ɛ́nnɔ̀	ɛ́nnɔ̀				
	come	2SG	now	now				
Lit.	'If you really have a liver and if you are really hard, come now now. '							
	'If you really have a heart and courageous, come now now!'							

Example (201b) implies that having a liver is similar to being courageous. The speaker in (201b) is calling for fight as he thinks that he is courageous. In such a context, if the addressee does not go to fight and is still sitting down or simply standing, he/she is judged to be *fearful or liverless*. In Anywaa, such an imperative of checking one's courage is called *bɔ̀r*.

The Anywaa's use of liver as source domain of COURAGE with the absence of liver as a source of FEAR supports Velasco's (2001-2:52) point that QUALITIES ARE POSSESSIONS. Therefore, in reference to Anywaa, LIVER METONYMICALLY STANDS[44] FOR COURAGE, with the target-in-source metonymy type, because this piece of knowledge is experientially grounded in a number of sensations which we experience in liver when we are determined to face a danger and afraid or lack courage. Regarding the metaphor of understanding courage in terms of having a liver, courage is conceived of as physical entity with its associated properties (e.g it can be possessed). This is an abstract concept, which is difficult to deal with and therefore it is understood as physical quantity. Accordingly, the property of displaying courage or being courageous is understood as the state in which the person is an owner of object. Therefore, an

[44]This implies that metonymy is subsidiary to metaphor and image schematic structure as it is found in the same cognitive domain or domain internal and follows the requirements imposed by metaphor. Also metonymy develops within either source or target. Further, the relation between source and target of metonymy mappings depends on logic of image-schema at work. An image schema is subordinated to metaphor because it is either source or target. Such a point can be further strengthened by an Anywaa example wìà ārwʌ̀ŋò'I have lost my head' to refer to total forgeting, which is a loss of idea in the head. So the concrete object head metonymically stands for idea, which is located in the head. But absence of information or idea to be remembered is an absence of head and presence of information is the existence of head. When someone speaks illogically, it is said jì tʃʌ̀nò kɛ́ɛ́ wìì òŋùl wɔ́k 'You are speaking as if your head were cut off' (See Velasco, 2001-2).

owner is mapped onto courageous person and possessing is displaying. Possession (liver) corresponds to courage and not possessing liver is mapped onto fear. The instantization of metonymy of liver for courage makes use of container image schema, which has interior, exterior and boundray. Liver is in the body and courage is in the liver. Therefore, courage and fear are in the body. According to Lakoff (1989), if a container **A** is in container **B** and **X** is in **A**, then **X** is in **B**.

Furthermore, with the Anywaa's belief that brave people are hard livered and fearful people are soft livered mostly consisting of females, we can make an analogy that soft things can be destroyed easily and fearful people can be defeated easily. The experience of the use of hard liver for courage and soft liver for fear come from hard objects like stone, bone, fire and metal and soft things like mud,cotton and porridge. Therefore, idioms like tʃwíɲè dʒóóm 'His/Her liver is soft' or jìè bóóŋŋì 'His Her stomach is soft', tʃwíɲè ʈʌ́ʌ́ŋ 'His/her liver is soft and fearful or painics quickly' means a person who cries soon when blamed, insulted or when facing a danger but not beaten or hit. Such people also have more tears and cry immediately when they see a dead counterpart during war or when blamed. For such a person, the laziness is understood in terms of liver as tʃwíɲè dʒʌ́ʌ́k 'His/Her liver is lazy/weak'. When a liver becomes soft, it results in the production of tear in the human eye. Thus, softening of liver expands to the body and makes the person coward and weak.

When a liver becomes tasteless, it makes a person gullible as in tʃwíɲè bʌ́ʈ káámár ɖáágɔ̀ 'His liver is tasteless like a female". Hence, FEMALES[45] ARE SOFT-LIVERED; MALES ARE HARD LIVERED[46]. These cognitive metaphors further take us to generic level metaphor FEARFUL PEOPLE ARE SOFT LIVERED, FEARLESS PEOPLE ARE HARD LIVERED. The hardness of liver makes a person strong or hero and that is why the Anywaa use the word téék 'hardness/strength of a person 'to imply heroism or cleverness as in gè téék 'They are hard, heroes (clever)'. In Anywaa, a hero is called ōtèèɔ̀[47] (PL.ōtèè) which mainly means *a male of*

[45]Males who are named Oman or who spend more times with females are also said to be soft livered(fearful) as they usually cry and throw away guns during war. Females believe that males who usually stay with them will have small butt as they take some flesh of his butt, but this is an indirect advise to a boy not to stay with females, specially near hearth..

[46] The part-whole relation metonymy has source-in-target metonymy but déérà ābɔ̀ɔ̀k 'My whole body panicked' has target-in-source metonymy. The increase in size of lung metonymically stands for degree fearfulness. So ōbʌ̀è pʌ́l 'His lung' is big metaphorically means *He is a very fearful person who cries loudly*.

[47] For such a person, people also say tʃwíɲè mààtʃ 'His liver is fire' to imply the man's bravity

hardness. Thus, the source of the whole body's and body parts' strength is the liver. Based on force dynamic theory, a hard-livered person is an agonist (a person) who usually overcomes the fear but a soft-livered person is an agonist (a person) who is usually overcome by fear, the antagonist.

The Anywaa females themselves believe that they are fearful, but their male counterparts are fearless. The females express their being fearful in (202) as follows:

(202)	tʃʊ̀ɔ̀w	tʃwíɲ	-gɛ̀	téɛ́k,	bá	mʌ̀ʌ̀n	tʃwíɲ	-gɛ̀
	males	livers of	3PL	hard	but	females	livers of	3PL
	dʒóóm							
	soft							
Lit.	'Males' livers are hard, but females' livers are soft.'							
	'Males are fearless, but females are fearful.'							

Among the Anywaa, crying and running away from danger is usually believed to be the attribute of females, who are fearful. Therefore, based on example (202), it follows that FEARLESSNESS IS téɛ́k tʃwiɲ 'HARDNESS OF LIVER'; FEARFULNESS IS dʒóóm tʃwiɲ 'SOFTNESS OF LIVER'. DEGREE OF COURAGE IS DEGREE OF HARDNESS OF LIVER AND DEGREE OF FEAR IS DEGREE OF SOFTNESS OF LIVER. In Anywaa dītʃʊ̀ɔ̀ 'man/male' is metaphorically extended to *courageous* and ḏáágɔ̀' female' is extended to *lazy* and *fearful person*. In Anywaa, a courageous person is also believed to be a true human being unlike a fearful person. Table 13 provides detailed idiomatic metaphors of Anywaa for expressing fear and courage based on the source domain of LIVER's TEXTURE.

Anywaa Idiom	**Literal Translation**	**Free Translation**
tʃwíɲɛ̀ dʒóóm dɔ̀tʃ	His/Her liver is very soft.	He/She is very fearful
tʃwíɲɛ̀ bóóŋŋì	His/Her liver is soft when touched.	He/She is fearful
tʃwíɲɛ ṯʌ́ʌ́ŋ	His liver quickly paincs.	He/She quickly panics
ṯʌ̀ʌ̀ŋ tʃwìɲ	To terrify a liver.	To terrify a person
ṯʌ́ʌ́ŋ tʃwiɲ	Fearfulness of a liver.	fearfulness
tʃwíɲɛ̀ téɛ́k	His/Her liver is hard.	He/She is courageous
téɛ́k tʃwìɲ	Hardness of liver	courage
bʌ̀ŋ tʃwìɲ	He/She has no liver.	He/She is fearful
ādʒɪ̀ttɔ̀ kī tʃwìɲ	He has got a liver.	He has become brave.
bʌ́ŋ tʃwíɲ	Non-existence of liver	Fearfulness
pʌ́ṉ tʃwìɲ	A liver's falling down	Becoming afraid/sad
tʃwíɲ ḏáágɔ̀	A female's liver	A liver causing fear
tʃwíɲ wʌ̀nnì	His father's liver	His inherited fear/courage from his father

Table 13: LIVER as a Source Domain of FEAR and COURAGE in Anywaa

Furthermore, among the Anywaa, while a courageous male is respected and metaphorically regarded to have a penis, a fearful male is disrespected and regarded as unimportant person like a female as:

(203a)	bʌŋ	tʃùl	ɲím	-ì,	bá	nùt	-á	mùr
	no	penis	front of	2SG	but	present	FOC	vagina
Lit.	'In the front part of your udder, there is no penis, but vagina.'							
	'You are very fearful like a female.'							

The adddressee in example (203a) is a fearful male, who is metaphorcally depicted to have no penis but vagina. This implies that in the folk theory and metaphor of the Anywaa, MALENESS IS LIVER. Thus, A FEARFUL MALE IS A FEMALE. Similarly, A FEARLESS FEMALE IS A MALE and metaphorically has a penis as it is illustrated in (203b).

(b)	ɲààn	-ì	dìtʃʊ̀ɔ̀
	girl	this	male
Lit.	'This girl is a male.'		
	'This girl is very courageous like a male.'		

Generally, examples (203a&b) imply the Anywaa's metaphorical belief that FEAR MAKES A PERSON A FEMALE AND COURAGE MAKES A PERSON A MALE. In Anywaa, a very courageous person/hero is also called dèèr ḏàànɔ̀ dɔ̀tʃ kīrɛ̌ɛ 'a very real human being'. In general, of all the body parts, the liver is the center of perception and emotions or feelings among the Anywaa. Any emotion coming from liver is higher and truer. Furthermore, human qualities like sympathy, assistance, heroism and faith are also located in the liver. Liver also interacts with other organs for assisting cognition and true human life and health. Thus, liver sees, cries, thinks, walks, talks, receives, sits down, stands up, becomes mad, seeks, desire and hates. As people experience fear, body parts like liver, stomach and blood metonymically stand for a person who is exeriencing fear. Consider the examples (204a-d):

(204a)	tʃwíɲ	-è	ā	-bʊ̀ɔ̀k
	liver of	3SG	PST	panic
Lit	'His/Her liver has panicked.'			
	'He/She has panicked.'			

As human behaviour, tʃẃɨɲè bʊ̀ɔ̀'a person whose liver painics (quikly)' is a fearful person who painics with minor stimulus.

(b)	tʃwíɲ	-à	ā	-lúʌ́jjó
	liver of	1SG	PST	be afriad
Lit.	'My liver has become afraid.'			
	'I'm afraid.'			

(c)	rèm	dèèr	-à	ʊ̀	-bʊ́ɔ́k
	blood of	body of	1SG	PERF	panic
Lit.	'The blood of my body has panicked.'				
	'I'm panicked/anxious.'				

(d)	tʃwíɲ	-ì	dʒʌ́ʌ́k
	liver of	2SG	lazy
Lit.	'Your liver is weak.'		
	'You are lazy/fearful.'		

In Anywaa, a person whose liver is lazy is a person who usualy panics, runs away or cries with easy things. Such emotions have part-whole or source-in-target metonymies resulting in

metonymic metaphors. When averting, calming, mourning or encouraging a person not to be sad or afraid, idioms related to liver, chest and body are used as table 14 illustrates below.

Idiom	**Literal Translation**	**Free Translation**
mák tʃwíɲì	Hold your liver firmly.	Do not be sad/afraid.
mètʃ tʃẃiɲì	Supress your liver.	Don't be afraid/Don't cry.
tʃĩp tʃwíɲì pìɲ	Put down your liver.	Cool down.
màk dèèrì	Hold your body firmly.	Be strong.
kɛ́r kóórì/tʃwíɲì pʌ́g̱ò	Let your chest/liver not fall (down).	Don't be sad/afraid.
tʃɔ̃m tʃwíɲì	Fix your liver.	Be strong.

Table 14:Controlling fear/sadness with body and its parts in Anywaa

Table 14 implies that controlling emotion by strengthening body, liver and chest helps to stop palpitations, crying, falling down, and stopping tears from falling down or floating. According to Talmy (1988:79), this resistance to emotion force is called blockage. Thus, AMONG THE ANYWAA, AN AGONIST WHO HAS CONTROLLED FEAR/SADNESS IS THE ONE WHO HAS HELD HIS/HER LIVER FIRMLY. A fearful person usually trembles and his body becomes weak while he is about to fight and this makes him/her defeated. Table 14 implies that sadness can be a subcategory of fear. This in turn strengthens the point made by Barcelona (1986), Ekman (2003 and Luo (20160 that sadness can be explained by investigating basic emotions.

4.2.4 FEAR with Source Domain of DEATH

Even though fear is clearly known to be not necessarily disease, it causes diseases and leads to death. Thus, to survive, running away, hiding oneself or controlling fear is important. So, fear is good for survival, but it is bad since it leads to losing rank from chief or king and it makes village taken by the enemy while fearful villagers are runing away. Running away can result in fainting. Thus, a coward person is very hated among the Anywaa as he does not protect the village, is incapable of fighting an enemy or does not bring leopard skin and other important things for the community. Below are some linguistic metaphors in (205)-(209) used to realize **FEAR** as **DEATH** in Anywaa.

(205)	lùʌ̀r	t̪ɔ̀w	kī	kúór	-é	āríɛ́w
	fearful	die	in	places of	3SG	two
Lit.	'A coward dies in two places.'					
	'A coward dies twice.'					

The metaphor in (205) can be compounded as lúʌ́j t̪ɔ̀ɔ̀ 'death fear' implying high degree of fear leading to death. The example in (205) is a proverb with the meaning that before you interpret a stimulus well, do not simply run away for you may be ambused in the other side or may meet

another danger causing death. For example, there are cases where people think that they should run away to a safer place but die there while they could have survived in their previous place. For example, merely running away from a beast in a forest and jumping into river may result in being eaten up by a crocodile. Running itself can cause death. Hence, appraisal (evaluating) a stimulus is important for survival and controlling emotion (See also Peikoff, 1993).

(206)	wʌ́ʌ́d	-ì	nʌ́g	-á	lùʌrr	-í	már	-è
	son of	2SG	kill	FOC	fear	DEF	of	3SG
Lit.	'Your son was killed by his fear.'							
	'Your son was very afraid and became very passive.'							

The metaphor in (206), which underlies FEAR IS A KILLER, is a response to a father or mother who complains that his/her son was killed by a person, but the speaker knows that he died due to fear by running away or being shot. During war, people who run are easily shot although they are not targeted. So, running away without evaluating the events results in death or fainting.

(207)	ādʒùlù	lùʌ̀j	-è	ʈ̪ɔ̀ɔ̀
	Ajulu	fear of	3SG	death
Lit.	'Ajulu's fear is death.'			
	'Ajulu is very fearful.'			

In Anywaa, a fearful person who becomes passive due to fear faint without controlling himself or herself is understood to have already died. During war, such a person is given to one person or young person to kill him or her and not killed with more bullets as he or she is found sitting or lying down without running away. Also a spear but not a gun may be used to kill such a fearful enemy. Such a fearful person is also called **ɔ̀níɖ̪ɔ́ʊ́ʈ̪** 'extremely soft and rotten'. The literal meaning of this word is that the meat or fish is extremely soft due to over boiling or becoming rotten. Such meat or fish can separate itself from bone easily. So, fear understood in terms of tɔ̀bɔ̀ 'becoming very soft due to boiling/being rotten' has lower degree than the one based on **ɖ̪ɔ̀ɔ̀ɖ̪ɔ̀** 'becoming very soft due to being boiled/becoming rotten for a longer time'.

(208)	ōdíék	bʌŋ	pìèn	-è	páátʃ
	hyena	no	skin of	3SG	home
Lit.	'There is no skin of hyena at home.'				
	'Fear is important for survival.'				

Example (208) is a proverb which is an advice to aggressive people. It means it is important to be fearful to survive. In Anywaaland, aggressive and brave animals like leopard, which run to hunters, are killed and their skins are brought home and used for different purposes. However, because hyena usuallly runs away from danger like people carrying weapons, it survives. So, fearfulness is patience and wisdom and therefore helps a person to survive. Aggressive people who rush to fighting or war die young. Lineages who are strong warriors are usually cursed resulting in the death of the whole lineage.

(209) ḏáágɔ̀ ā -nʌ́k āṯúrr -ì
woman PST kill running fatigue DEF
Lit. 'The woman was killed by run fatigue.'
'The woman died due to run fatigue.'

The word āṯúr means running *fatigue caused by fear by running for a long time without taking a rest*. In fact, there are fearful people who die due to running fatigue and shocking. Diseases like malaria can be used as a source of fear. In Anywaa, the word ādìrígí can literally mean malaria but it can be metaphorically extended to mean *fear* and *passivity*. The Anywaa word ādìrígí is derived from the voice rígíríg, which is the voice of shivering or trembling with malaria, which is further extended to trembling with fear. So, figurative language violates selectional restriction but leaves room for interpretaion (Brinton, 2000).

Another conceptualization linked to fear as **DEATH** is fear as an **OPPONENT**. The experience comes from wrestling, war or stick fighting in which some people are defeated and others run away by falling down and fainting. Examples (210)-(213) have been given below to illustrate FEAR IS AN OPPONENT in Anywaa.

(210) tʃɛ̃r -è ā -tʃĩb -è̀
hand of 3SG PST give 3SG
Lit. 'He/She gave his/her hand.'
'He/She surrendered.'

Although being afraid can be understood in terms of giving hand, giving a liver means loving someone, accepting an idea or exposing a secret.

(211) tʃwíŋ -à bá pʌ̀ḏ -í kī jì
liver of 1SG NEG fall HAB with 2SG
'My liver/chest does not fall down with you.'
'I'm not afraid of you.'

In example (211), the agonist (the person) is strong as his liver has not fallen down, but when a person is overcome by the force of fear (antagonist), his/her liver falls down. Hence, BEING OVERCOME BY FEAR IS THE FALLING DOWN OF A LIVER; THE HARDER THE LIVER, THE STRONGER THE PERSON IS. People or objects which are defeated are destroyed by falling down. The Anywaa's belief that people fall down with fear (sadness) is due to the falling of liver or palpitations.

(212a) wó wìŋ dóót mʌ̀tʃ, tʃwíŋ -è bá máá -è̀
HAB hear sounds of guns liver of 3SG NEG hold 3SG
Lit. 'When he/she hear the voices of guns, he/she does not hold his/her liver.'
'During firing, he/she is unable to control his/her fear.'

Example in (212a) implies that jìè bá mààè̀ 'He/She does not hold his/her stomach' to refer to controlling fear (sadness) has no linguistic metaphor acceptance among the Anywaa speakers because heroism is in the LIVER. However, holding a body strongly is used as a source domain of controlling fear as illustrated in (212b):

(b) dèèr -ì bá màg -ì nábʌ̀rɛ̀
body of 2SG NEG hold 2SG totally
Lit. 'You totally do not hold your body firmly.'
'You totally do not control your fear.'

Example (212b) is metaphorically acceptable among native speakers of Anywaa. This is due to fear physiology in which a person who is very afraid doe not stand or falls down. So, màk tʃwìŋ 'holding liver strongly' and màk dèèl 'making one's body strong to control fear and sadness' imply that the Anywaa conceive liver and body as strong enough to control fear and other emotions unlike stomach. Yet, the major source of power for controlling any emotion is liver. So, based on (212b), we can generate, BEING AFRAID IS THE WEAKENING OF THE BODY.

(213) dʒààl ā -gɔ́ɔ́ lùʌ̀rr -ì pìŋ
old man PST make fall fear DEF down
'The fear made the old man fall down.'

Example (213) implies that fear was stronger than the old man. Thus, Fear feeled him down due to high panic. Those who control their fear are those who hide it and defeat fear as in ŋèètɛ̀ āmìɛ̀ 'He/She supressed his/her ribs' or tʃwíŋɛ̀ āmááɛ̀ 'He/She held his/her liver(firmly)'. Such linguistic metaphors have their underlying metaphor CONTROLLED FEAR IS A HIDDEN OBJECT or CONROLLING FEAR IS SUPPRESSING A LIVER/BREATHING. Generally, in (210), (212) and (213) fear being the antagonist is stronger and has overcome the agonists but in (211) the speaker, who is the agonist, is stronger than fear.

4.2.5 Animalistic Behaviour of Fear

Based on beahviour animals are divided into fearful and aggressive/brave animals. Fearful Animals like ōdíék 'hyena' and ōwááw 'hadada ibis' metonymically stand for fearful person and aggressive animals like leopard, lion, crocodile and buffalo metonymically stand for aggressive and brave people. Yet there are cases where a brave animal can become afraid based on appraisal of the situation and stimulus. Such characteristics of animals are mapped onto people to talk about fear emotion of people in Anywaa. Consider examples (214)-(217) for detail.

(214) lúʌ́j -é lúʌ́j ōdíék
fear of 3SG fear of hyena
'His/Her fear is the hyena's fear.'
'He/SHe is very fearful.'

Like a hyena, a fearful person panics quickly and cries. In Anywaa, a very fearful person is called ōdíék 'hyena', which is very fearful.

(215) tʃʊ̀ɔ̀r -à bá bʊ̀ɔ̀k kī bóóŋ ōwááw
husband of PST NEG panic with panic of hadada ibis
'My husband does not panic with the panic of hadada ibis.'

When a hyena is chased away by being missed by shooting it runs away by crying. Similarly, hadada ibis also flies away by fearfully crying as **wááwááwăak**. People with such behaviour also

run away by crying as ààn ʈɔ́w mɔ̀n dʒááj 'Guys, I am really dying' during difficult situations like war or when they are frightened. However, a courageous person is hard, which is téék 'hard' in Anywaa. A fearful person is also called ōwááw 'hadada ibis' (pl.ōwààè 'hadada ibises'). Therefore, FEARFUL PEOPLE ARE HADADA IBISES; THE VILLAGE OF FEARFUL PEOPLE IS THE HABITAT OF HADADA IBISES.

(216)	n	-á	ó	ʈábáŋŋé,	dʒíb	-é	ā	-láár	dòɔ̀k
	when	PST	come	soldiers	tail of	3SG	PST	do quickly	return
	dòɔ̀k	jì	-è						
	return	in	3SG						

Lit. 'When the sodiers came, he quickly returned his tail inward.'
'When the soldiers came, he quickly became afraid.'

Metaphor (216) is uttered for a male who was aggressive and was beating civilian people in a village, but when the soldiers came, he quickly stopped acting aggressively and surrendered. That is why metaphor (216) is also uttered as ānīdʒɔ̀tʃ 'He/She has reduced'. The experience of example (216) is based on a dog's averting the gaze and reduction in body size. In metaphor (216), the experience comes from a dog which is new to certain village and it is circled by many dogs who are barking and are about to bite it. The strange dog therefore moves its tail inward and runs away as it can't fight with the other dogs. Similarly, with person's fear, coccyx, which is called in Anywaa as dʒìp 'tail' is said to come out when a person is aggressive but moves inward when a person is afraid.

(217)	ābúŋŋó	pʌ́l	jì	-è	kō	ōrʌ́ʌ́d	-ì
	bush	big	stomach of	3SG	with	viper	PL

Lit. 'The bush is big with many vipers.'
'The village is big with more fearful men.'

Socio-culturally, fearful people are called **ōrʌ́ʌ́dì** 'vipers' (SG. ōrʌ́ʌ́d). These snakes are in fact not only fearful but also non-venomous and their species are very more despite their fearfulness. When it is out of the bush, such a snake runs away quickly as soon as it sees a person. Contrary to these, ōlwíérɔ̀ ' (black) cobra', which is an aggressive and venomous snake, has the meatphorical meaning of aggressive and brave person, who attacks and defeats people due to his strength unlike ōrʌ́ʌ́d, 'viper, the fearful snake', which METONYMICALLY STANDS FOR FEARFUL PERSON. The Anywaa believe that people whose ghosts are vipers are very fearful, because they are vipers and those whose ghosts are cobras are couageous , because they are cobras.

Example (217) has GENERIC LEVEL METAPHOR, because ALL VIPERS and their fear attributes are mapped onto ALL FEARFUL PEOPLE and their fear attributes. Hence, generic level schemas of vipers. However, because the Anywaa believe that in one village one viper can

be a ghost of many people in different villages, the specific viper can be used as a source domain of all fearful Anywaa, like viper, their ghost. Hence, GENERIC IS SPECIFIC. Lakoff and Turner (1989:162) put this as GENERIC IS SPECIFIC maps a single specific schema onto generic schema contained by a large number of entities. Kövecses (2010) explicates that generic level metaphors are found at general level of metaphor use, but specific level metaphors are found at specific level of metaphor. Therefore, conceptual metaphors like GENERIC IS SPECIFC and EVENTS ARE ACTIONS are examples of generic level metaphor but a conceptual metaphor like IDEAS ARE FOODS (e.g She has digested the information) is an example of specific level metaphor, because food is specific (Chmurová, 2016).

Ontological categories like, entity, state, event, action, aspects of being like attributes, behaviour and ability are typical examples of generic level schema to be used for specific level schemas (Lakoff and Turner, 1989:80-81).

A black cobra's venom is very strong and this venom therefore quickly kills people bitten by this snake. This aggressive snake also spits its venom at a person's eyes leading to blindness unless the venom is quickly removed by a witch doctor. But the use of venom as a source of strong desire, bitter liver, or courage to hurt somebody can be extended to a bitter liver of a hero. Thus, among the Anywaa MALES ARE COBRAS; FEMALES ARE VIPERS. Anywaa villages are of different sizes. Some are very small with few but hero or brave inhabitants while others are big but with many fearful men. Table 15 below shows mappings for HUMAN FEAR IS A VIPER'S FEAR.

TARGET: FEARFUL PERSON	**SOURCE: FEARFUL SNAKE(VIPER)**
villagers	vipers
village	bush
size of village	size of bush
people native to village	snakes native ot the bush
number of hamlets	number of of sub-bushes
villagers' fear	snakes' fear
running away of the people from the bush	running away of snakes from the bush
man's hiding himself in the village	snake's hiding itself in the bush
burning of the village	burning of the bush
(bitter) liver, heroism, maleness/courage	venom
fearfulness, lack of liver, being a female	lack of venom

Table 15: FEAR as VIPER BEHAVIOUR

Table 15 implies that big bush corresponds to big village and vice versa. Another animal source metaphor of fear which has mythical explanation is the fear of fat people understood in terms of

gùùr 'Nile perch', which is the biggest fish in Baro river and it weighs 150 kilo grams. Consider the idiom in (218a) for metaphorical detail and elaboration.

(218a) pʌ́l ká pʌ́l gùùr
big with big of Nile perch
'Simply a big person like Nile perch but fearful/weak.'

The idiomatic metaphor in (218a) is mythical. In early times, the crocodile did fear Nile perch for its being bigger and also thinking that this fish had teeth. So, whenever they met, the crocodile would run away. One day when the Nile perch and the crocodile met, the Nile perch[48] said to the crocodile,"Come on, why do you fear me while I am teethless? See my mouth." Then the Nile perch widely opened its mouth to the crocodile and the crocodile knew that it had no teeth. Since that time, the crocodile started chasing away and attacking the Nile perch and the and that is why it is still afraid of the crocodile and eaten by it today. Today, when a Nile perch, which is the biggest fish in Baro or Giilo river and weighs 150kg, sees a crocodile, it quickly runs away.

Bringing the mythical situation of (218a) to the real life of Anywaa, there are people who are fat[49] but weak and cowardly although for the first time they may be feared for their fatness or height. During war, such people can be seen crying and running away and are also seen to be defeated by slim people during boxing, stick fight, and wrestling. This is the reason for which the Anywaa understand COURAGE as LIVER as follows in (218b):

(b) tɛ́ɛ́k á tʃwìn
strength be liver
'Courage is liver but not body size.'

Thus, gùùrì 'People who are simply Nile perches' are those who are fat but weak and fearful due their having no liver or having soft livers. Below in table 16 is the metaphorical mapping based on idiom in (218a).

TARGET: FEARFUL PERSO	**SOURCE: NILE PERCH** [50]
fat person's fear	Nile perch's fear
size of coward person	size of Nile perch
slim person's bravery	crocodile's bravery
strong slim person	crocodile
defeating fat person	eating Nile perch
absence of liver/bravery	absence of teeth
coward person's exposing his weakness	Nile perch's exposing its secret mouth

Table 16: FEAR with the source Domain of NILE PERCH'S BEHAVIOUR

[48]The myth was narrated by Peter John who works in Anywaa unit in Educational Bureau of Gambella Reason.

[49] Although an idiom cannot be logically or grammatically explained, it has social, economic and political background and is well entrenched in daily use. Similarly, proverb, which is well known statement giving practical advise about life has similar background, but longer than idiom (Das, 2016: 1, Macmillan English Dictionary For Advanced Learners, 2007:1194).

[50] In Anywaa, a very big stimulus that makes a person very terrified and not to repeat the mistake is called ʊ̄pɔ̀ɔ̀lwàŋpʌ̀k/ùɖɔ́ɔ́gɔ̀.

4.2.6 FEAR as (BAD) COLOUR, TASTE and SMELL

The belief and negative evaluation among the Anywaa that fear is bad or dangerous is extended to bad colour, smell and taste. When people are angry with fearful people, they spit for them as áák ʇwɔ́ɔ́ 'Ugh'. One can therefore conclude that, FEAR BRINGS BAD PERCEPTION. This is because humans have the ability to detect smell, colour and taste and such perceptions function only at subconscious mind of human being (See also Esenova, 2011 and Zhou and Chen, 2009). Esenova (2011:10) states that what people smell, taste and see evoke negative or positive feelings in them. Below in (219a-e) examples are the linguistic examples for fear as bad smell, taste or colour.

(219a)	lùʌ̀r	màn	-ā	dèèr	-è	kɔ́t
	fearful	REL	be	body of	3SG	musky
Lit.	'A fearful person whose body is musky (like vagina).'					
	'An extremely fearful person.'					

In (219a) the fearful person's body is thought to be musky based on bad smell of fear in his/her body, which is based on musky object or body. If we touch musky thing, our body will be musky; similarly, a fearful person's body is understood to be musky with fear , because fear is in body, which trembles badly with fear. Example (219a) is less metaphorical. To express high degree of one's fear, one can also say in (219b) as:

(b)	lúʌ́r	màn	-à	kɔ́t	kírɛ̌ɛ
	fear	REL:DEFINE	be	musky	really
Lit.	'Fear which is musky (like vagina).'				
	'An extremely bad fear.'				

The fear in (219b) is very bad as the fearful person cannot control himself/herself. Such a fearful person is also valueless described as páá ɖááɳɔ̀ 'not a human being', bʌŋ gìn kɔ́ɲè 'He/She will not help the villagers with anything'. Example (219b) has higher degree of metaphoricity than example (219a) because, the body of a (fearful) person may have musky smell but we cannot smell fear to be musky as it is abstract although it has been given an ontological status through bad smell (of vagina) in (219b).

(c)	lùʌ̀r	mō	tár	kīrɛ̌ɛ
	fearful	REL	white	really
Lit.	'A fearful person who is really white.'			
	'A very fearful person.'			

White colour is light and makes things visible and clear. In Anywaa, the colour of light is tárr 'white'. A white coward is clear to villagers as he is shocked by his own shadow, when firing a gun by himself and running away with minor things. Because the fear in (219c) is understood based on white colour, it implies that it is very clear to villagers that the fearful in (219c) person

does not control his/her fear. Such a fearful person is hated due to his/her high degree of fear. In fact, it is believed among the Anywaa that a fearful/sad person is ashy. So, fear which is high and difficult to control is lúʌ́r mō tárr 'a white fear'.

(d)	wì	-à	ā	-nīdʒíím
	head of	1SG	PST	turn dark
Lit.	'My head turned dark.'			
	'I became afraid and unconscious.'			

The speaker in (219d) is afraid and confused of the source of the panic. This person is walking in a dense forest and has been seen by lion, leopard, an owl or a spiritual matter, which he can't see. The turning of his head into black colour implies that spiritual matter entered his head and caused dificulty of thinking and seeing due to impeded perception. Such a person may be shocked and may fall down with palpitations. Based on example (219d) therefore, there are two cognitive metaphors: FEAR IS BLACK and FEAR IS SPIRITUAL MATTER.

(e)	lùʌ̀r	mō	tʃìè̱t̪	gùòk
	fearful	REL	faeces of	dog
Lit.	'A coward who is the faeces of dog.'			
	'An extremely fearful person who is not important.'			

As example (219e) implies, in metaphorical context tʃìè̱t̪ gùòk 'dog's faeces' refers to a very fearful person. As we have a disgust and spittle for something with bad smell, so do we have a disgust for a very fearful person. When a very fearful person like the one in (219e) is near us, we indirectly dismiss him with the interjection ăak t̪ŏʊɔ̀ 'ugh̀!' or we directly chase him away as dààk ríì bùùtwà 'Go away from us!' So, the interjection ăak (tŏʊɔ̀) 'ugh!' expresses the emotion category of disgust in terms of spittle. Feaces of dogs have bad smells unlike cow dungs, which are not used as sources of fear as they do not have very bad smell and do not force people to move away. Badness of fear with high degree of fear can be used with vowel extension, degree adverb, tone and the word kɛ̀ɛ̀rɛ̀ 'only' based on unpleasant source domain like the smell of faeces. Consider examples (220a&b).

(220a)	lùʌ̀r	mō	ră...tʃ	dŏ...tʃ
	fearful	REL	very bad	DEG
Lit.	'A very ba...d fearful person.'			
	'An extremely fearful person.'			

Sometimes very fearful children who are usually defeated during fight are not allowed to eat food as they are hated and considered unimportant (for the future).

(b)	tʃìè̱d̪ò	kɛ̀ɛ...rɛ̀
	faeces	only
Lit.	'A fearful person who is totally faeces.'	
	'A very fearful person.'	

The source domain of fear in (220b) is mainly human faeces. Feaces of dogs have bad smells unlike cow dungs, which are not used as sources of fear as they do not have bad smells. Among

the Anywaa, unlike human faeces or a dog's faeces, cow dungs are used for making fire, plastering, and bricks. Furthermore, ōdɔ́k 'feaces of chicken with very bad smell' is metahorically extended to extreme fear and a very fearful person.

As implied by (220a&b), when we touch a bad thing like human faeces, our bodies will have bad smell and other people will not come near us. We are disturbed by the smell and the faeces we see; similarly, when we are very afraid, we will have unpleasant feeling, we become disturbed and other people may not approach us.

Blood on the ground or that which is bleeding is unpleasant and it is therefore used as a source of fear. The use of BLOOD as a source domain of BAD/INTENSE FEAR expresses dislike of fear or fearful person in the form of an insult. Consider examples (221a&b).

(221a)	lùʌ̀r	má	rɛ̀mɔ̀
	fear	REL	blood
Lit.	'Fear which is blood.'		
	A very bad fear.'		
(b)	lùʌ̀ʌ̀r	má	rɛ̀mɔ̀
	fearful	REL	blood
Lit.	'A Fearful person who is blood.'		
	'A very bad fearful person.'		

Example (221a) is more metaphorical than (221b), because in (221a) the abstract concept FEAR is conceptualized as BLOOD, which is concrete. Blood is used as a source of bad fear due to high intensity of fear. Among the Anywaa, red blood on the ground is very unpleasant to human eye, head and liver because it brings madness, vomiting, fainting and the rising of gods in human body. Other things like sperm, which are unpleasant to smell and sight can be used as source of fear. Below is an example in (222).

(222)	lùʌ̀r	mà	tìɛ̀w	kɛ̀ɛ̀r	-ɛ̀
	fear	REL	sperm	only	3SG
Lit.	'Fear which is totally sperm.'				
	'An extremely fearful person.'				

Example (222) is very metaphorical because it makes the abstract concept FEAR to be SPERM but tìɛ̀w kɛ́ɛ́rɛ̀ 'totally sperm', which refers to a very fearful person who is easily defeated or who does not help people during war or fight is less metaphorical because a fearful person is concrete object. Such a person is also insulted but keeps silent as he fears fight. Based on the source of ROTTEN OBJECT, ākùʌ̀ʌ̀là 'A fearful person who is rotten' can be used to conceptualize the valuelessness of a fearful person to a community in terms of bad things, because rotten things like dogs' faeces and released sperm are not important nor are they enoyable to human head, nose and eye.

Soft rotten things are also mapped onto fear and a fearful person; so òtɔ̀p ' extremely soft and rotten person' can mean very fearful person who is weaken by fear. However, higher intensity of fear can be conceptualized based on softness of body caused by being rotten for a long time as ɔ̀níɖ̪ʊ́ʊ́ʈ̪ 'an extremely soft and rotten person' to mean an extremely fearful person. These metaphors imply that the fearful person is unable to control the fear and unable to help others during danger.

FEAR/FEARFUL PERSON IS CIVET SMELL

Since civet has a bad smell and stays in the body for a long time as it is difficult to remove, it is also used as a source of intense fear in Anywaa as illustrated in (223a&b):

(223a)	lùʌ̀r	mō	ʈ̪ár	-è	tík
	fearful	REL	butt of	3SG	civet
Lit.	'A coward whose butt is civet scent.'				
	'A very fearful person.'				

Example (223a) implies that intense fear is understood based on CIVET, which is in the civet's butt/anus. In Anywaa, this smell of civet is metaphorically extended to very fearful person or intense fear. The presence of civet in datum (223a) implies the conceptualization of the very fearful experiencer as CIVET CAT, whose anus has civet. The fear metaphor in (223a) has lower degee of metaphoricity, because the body of a person may have a bad smell like that of civet but a person may or may not be necessarily fearful.

(b)	lùʌ̀r	mán	-à	tík
	fear	REL:DEFINE	be	civet
Lit.	'Fear which is civet smell.'			
	'A very bad fear.'			

In (223b) FEAR IS CIVET, which implies high intensity of fear. The example in (223b) has higher degree of metaphoricity, because civet is highly imposed on the abstract concept FEAR to mark high intensity of fear and its unplesantness but we know that fear has no smell. Whenever a person is about to bathe and smells ʧʌ́w 'the smell of a crocodile, which is very fishy', that persons interprets that the crocodile is coming to take him/her and eat him/her up. Such a bathing person runs out naked and palpitates.

The use of bad smell and bad taste to talk about badness of fear easily supports what Kövecses (2017) proposes that prior to the formation of image schema and mappings, abstractions (abstract concepts and reasoning) are simply what they are, because we do not have direct physical and perceptual access to them. Hence, their meanings are usually not clear. The major proposal of CMT therefore is that abstract concepts become meaningful by linking them with physical

concepts through conceptual metaphors (metaphorical mappings). Hence, preconceptual structures like image schema and embodiment are fundamental to the development of cognitive system of human being and formation of concepts in human mind. This in turn takes us to the conclusion that metaphors are meaningful or true, because image schemas, perception and embodiment are meaningful and true. Hence, metaphor can be acquired and learned without talent. In general, fear coneptualized as bad smell or taste is a strong fear overcoming a person who is afraid.

The conceptual metaphor of fear formed based on the source domains of taste or smell is selective basing its choice on experience. The reason why bitter taste is not used for fear is because it is associated with aggressiveness and bravery. Fear stimuli can also be seen, smelled or tasted leading to death or escaping of a person by running away, because of the unpleasant perception. Below are the examples in (224a-d) to elucidate fear and bad stimuli based on perception/sensory-motor experience.

(224a)	(wɛ̀ɲ)	t̪ɔ̀ɔ̀	ā	-ŋúʌ́ʌ́ó	dʒír	-é́	(nī	ráátʃ)
	(bird)	of death	PST	smell	to	3SG	CON	bad
Lit.	'He/She smelled the (bad omen bird/spirit) of death with a bad smell.'							
	'He/She show something dangerous and ran away.'							

The implied meaning in (224a) is that the person heard that there will be a problem somewhere and therefore skipped going there or stole away after seeing the dangerous thing. In such a context also someone picks up a spear or gun so that the person needed to be attacked runs away to survive.

In example (224a) nī ráátʃ 'badly' is optionally used here as the smell of death danger can be inferred or understood to be bad. When a person is in a forest or deep river, palpitation or tickling of heads makes a person run out of a river or forest. Such people usually escape from a danger invisible to them. But when it is death time, a person acts uncanny, becomes ashy and has low heartbeating. When such a persons dies, it is said wɛ̀ɲɲɛ̀ ɔ̀t̪ɔ̀w 'His/Her omen bird/heart has died'. In fact, when an omen bird, which makes a heart being the center of life dies, a man dies too but what matters is the frequency of the coming and cry of the bird.

(b)	gìn	ráátʃ	dʒɔ̀ɔ̀d	-ɛ̀
	thing	bad	see	3SG
Lit.	'He saw the danger.'			
	'He he was afraid.'			

This implies that the person described in (224b) ran away after seeing gun in another person's hand or after the coming of the soldiers to him/her. When we smell the fishy smell in a river or

under water, we run away, because it is the smell of a crocodile. Thus, ABSTRACT CONCEPTS LIKE DANGER AND DEATH CAN BE SEEN AND SMELLED LEADING TO RUNNING AWAY.

(c)	ɲī	-máátʃ	ā	-ŋwʌ́ʌ́	-ɛ̀[51]	(nī	pútʃ)
	child of	gun	PST	smell	3SG	CON	putrid
Lit.	'He/She smelled the child of gun (as putrid).'						
	'He/She ran away as he saw the gun in his hand.'						

Instruments like gun and spear are percieved to smell badly as they kill people. Even when there is no gun, bullet is feared because it is known as a main killer. Therefore, its smell is unpleasant to human nose, liver and head. In (224c), the phrase nī pùtʃ 'as putrid' has been optionally uttered as the bullet has bad smell and kills people.

(d)	dòònáá	jììn	-ò	-oò,	gìn	mō	léŋ	dì
	if	2SG	PERF	come	thing	REL	roasted fatty meat	would
	-ì	bélɔ̀						
	2SG	taste						
Lit.	'If you had come where I was, you would have tasted roasted fatty meat/fish.'							
	'If you had not been afraid of coming where I would have attacked you.'							

The metaphorical expression in (224d) is a paradoxical metaphor implying that the addressee would have been attacked if he had gone where the addresser was, because the addresser was ready to attack the addressee. So, the addresser perceives the attack or danger to the addressee to have a good taste because it is good for him but not for the addressee. Although smell shows fear without wound or an injury faced, tasting can mean death or injury, but swallowing a dangerous object means being killed as illustrated below in (225a-c):

(225a)	tɔ̀ŋ	ā	-bél	-é
	spear	PST	taste	3SG
Lit.	'He/She/It tasted the spear.'			
	'I killed/speared him with my spear'.			

(b)	ɲī	máátʃ	ā	-lɔ́ɔ́ŋ	-è
	child of	gun	PST	swallow	3SG
Lit.	'He swallowed the child of gun/bullet.'				
	'He was shot dead.'				

When someone is angry and about to kill the offender with a gun it is said as:

(c)	máátʃ	kwáár	jò	ōwʌ̀ŋ
	bullet	red	in	gun
Lit.	'The bullet is red in the gun.'			
	'The angry person is about to shoot the offender/enemy.'			

[51]Odourless person or animal is a clearly known fearful animal/person. Thus, jì bà ŋwʌ̀ʌ̀jì dʒírá Literally means, I cannot smell you but its connotative meaning is I know that you are fearful and if we quarrel, I will easily defeat you. Ontologically, the Anywaa also understand fear as heavy or light as in mánétʃɛ̌ páá lúʌ́r mō dʒóót 'That is not a light fear' to refr to an intense fear. Very high fear results in lack of decison as in tʃwíɲà bʌ̀ŋ gín ŋɔ̀lɛ̀ 'My liver has nothing to decide due to fear.'

In such a situation, the angry person puts the bullet in the gun and is about to pull the trigger for killing. This in turn brings fear to the offender/enemy and other people near the angry person. Hence, DANGER IS RED MAKING PEOPLE RUN AWAY.

The use of colour and taste or vision as source domain of fear implies negative evaluation of stimulus, degree of fear, experience or knowledge of people based on perception. Because a fearful person is bad/valuless, he can be despised with the interjection wûutʃ 'Tut-tut!'.

In Anywaa something with good smell is said (ŋwʌ̀ʌ̀ì nī) mɛ́t 'It has delicious smell' and that with bad smell is said is said ŋwʌ̀ʌ̀ì nī ráátʃ 'It has a bad smell'. As people go or run away from bad smell or taste, fearful people are also not allowed to sit near people, especially when they are defeated or when they run away.

When the name of a fearful person is mentioned even if he may not be present among the people, the people spit with an interjection as ăak t̪ŏʊɔ̀ 'ugh!' to imply that they do not want the name of the fearful and valueless person to be mentioned. This interjection implies BAD/DISGUST IS SPITTING; GOOD IS SWALLOWING THE SALIVA. As we remove an object away from us, we also chase way a fearful person as dáák ríì kàŋ 'Remove your body/yourself away from us!' The voice t̪ŏʊɔ̀ is a voice produced when spitting due to a near object with very bad smell. The disgut interjection ăak 'ugh!' has the meaning *I/We don't want this bad object to be near me/us*. The stories of very fearful person are more often not liked to be told as they have bad things like urinating. The mappings for fear as bad vision, taste or smell is as follows in table 17 below.

TARGET: FEAR	**SOURCE: BAD SMELL, TASTE/VISION**
fear	bad smell, taste/clour
experiencer of fear	perceiver
unpleaseantness of fear to mind/liver	unpleasntness of smell,taste//colour to senses
avoiding fear	moving away from bad taste/smell/colour

Table 17: Mappings for fear as BAD TASTE/SMELL/COLOUR adpted From Esenova 2011: 65)

Because fear is very abstract, its intensity and unpleasantness, which overcomes a person, can be expressed with naked body or full human body, which can be extended to other full or real objects. Consider examples (226a-c).

(226a)	lúʌ́r	màn	à	nʌ́k	dèèr	-è	kírɛ̆ɛ
	fear	REL	AUX	be	body of	3SG	really
Lit.	'Fear which is the real body.'						
	'Very high degree of fear.'						
(b)	lùʌ̀ʌ̀r	màn	-à	nʌ́k	dèèr	-è	
	fearful	REL	AUX	be	body of	3SG	
Lit.	'A fearful person who is the body.'						
	'A very fearful person.'						

Examples (226a&b) underlies INTENSITY OF FEAR/EMOTION IS HUMAN BODY. The compound noun dèèr lùʌr 'fear body' implies intense fear.

(c)	ŋʌ̀ʌ̀	-ì	kɛ̀r	lɔ́g	-ì
	back of	2SG	NEG	turn	2SG
Lit.	'Don't turn your back.'				
	'Don't be afraid.'				

The linguistic metaphor in (226c) underlies FEAR IS BACK; COURAGE IS FRONT, because courageous people usually do not run away but bravely fight by facing the enemy. However, a fearful person runs away by giving his back to the enemy so that he is easily defeated or killed with gun or spear.

4.2.7 FEAR with the Source Domain of FORCE

Fear can be conceptualized in terms of different force types like spiritual, physical or natural force. For example, in jìina kɔ́ɔ́l lùʌrrì 'You were blown away by fear', the experiencer of fear moved/ran away from the addresser and the clear source domain is WIND, which is a natural force evoked by kɔ̀ɔ̀l 'blow away'. Below are the linguistic examples in (227)-(231) used to realize FEAR IS A FORCE CAUSING UNCONSCIOUS MOVEMENT AND FEELING.

(227a)	lùʌr	ā	-mʌgò	tʃwíɲ	-è
	fear	PST	attracted to	liver of	3SG
Lit.	'Fear became adhesive in his/her liver.'				
	'It is difficult for him/her to control the fear.'				

One can also say lúʌ́r ākèèt dèèrɛ"Fear has deeply gone into/ expanded in his/her body'. Such metaphors imply difficulty of controlling fear, which lasts longer. Fear which is not controlled is also understood as GUM IN THE WHOLE BODY/LIVER as follows in (227b):

(b)	lúʌ́r	ā	tìmò	nà	dɔ̀ɔ̀	tʃwíɲ	-ì
	fear	PST	become	CON	gum	liver of	2SG
Lit.	'Fear has become gum in your liver/body.'						
	'Fear has become permanent in your liver/body.'						

The type of force in (227b) is therefore AN ADHESIVE FORCE implying difficulty of controling fear.

(228)	ɲìlààl	ààn	-ā	gɔ́n	-é	kī	lwɛ̀ɛ̀t	lùʌr
	child	1SG	PST	grip	3SG	with	fingers of	fear
	'The child has gripped me with fear hands/fingers.'							

The implied meaning in (228) is that the child is very afraid and has gripped the speaker to protect him. The type of force is physical as gɔ̀n 'grip' is used with strong hands and fingers.

(229)	ɲàkɔ̀ɔ̀	ā	-lɛ̀ɛ̀ŋ	lùʌrr	-ì	g̱ī	ɲááŋ
	girl	PST	throw:ITV	fear	DEF	mouth of	crocodile
	'The fear threw away the girl to the mouth of a crocodile.'						

In (229) the itive verb lɛ̀ɛ̀ŋ 'throw away' implies that the experiencer of fear being the girl ran away from the addresser and this implies that she ran into river but was eaten up by a crocodile.

The addresser is therefore not in the river. The type of force in (229) is physical or spiritual force of an evil-eyed or a magician.

(230)	ààn	- à	-ʧóór	lùʌrr	-ì
	1SG	PST	push:VENT	fear	DEF
Lit.	'Fear pushed me toward.'				
	'I have come/run where your are without my intention but due to fear.'				

The speaker in (230) is person who was afraid and ran to the addressee and fell down near him or her. Hence, the high tone in tʃóór 'push toward' marks ventive pushing as physical force of fear. Also one can say àànà mák āpìttò 'I was caught by fear and confusion' in which a person is confused and does not run away. This is caused by difficulty of knowing the stimulus or where to run.

(231)	ààn	-ā	-tʃòòr	lùʌrr	-ì
	1SG	PST	push:ITV	fear	DEF
	'The fear pushed me away.'				

In (231) the person who was afraid ran away from the addressee as a result of not having good place or person for protection. The low tone in tʃòòr 'push away' therefore marks itive pushing or force, which is physical. Fear as FORCE can be seen in terms of force dynamics in which fear is ANT (Antagonist) and the person who is afraid is AGO (Agonist). A very clear example in which fear is a strong ANTAGONIST and the person who is afraid is a weak AGONIST can be seen in dʒààl ābòòt/ādʒùùl lùʌrrì 'The old man has been overcome/ has been made dirty by fear'. In such a high fear state, a person falls down and may be rolling in mud by being inactive.

4.2.8 FEAR with Source Domain of PLANT

Anywaaland is very rich in both weak and strong plants. Some plants like ōlààm 'fig', tʃwáá 'tamarind', ḏégɔ́ 'kapok' and ōrɔ́gɔ́ 'tree (SP)' have strong roots reaching down and these in turn make these plants stronger and live for many years. In contrast, small plants like 'water mimosa', and creepers have weak roots and stems. **THE STRONGER THE PLANT, THE STRONGER THE FEAR IS** and vice versa. An example of fear as plant can be seen in íṯé ālààk[52] 'His/Her ears bloomed like leaves due to fear' implying a mix of fear and confusion. Consider examples (232a&b) for such a metaphorical conceptualization of fear in Anywaa.

(232a)	lùʌr	ā	-nìgììt	tʃwíɲ	-ì
	fear	PST	form big more branches	liver of	2SG
Lit.	'Fear has strongly stood and formed more branches and roots in your liver.'				
	'Fear has grown in your heart.'				

[52]However, the blooming or growing of head is an anger mixed with aggressiveness and boasting that the angry person is superior to or stronger than any other person. It is said as wìè āláák 'His head has bloomed.'

In (232a) the source domain can mainly be A PALM TREE as its branches, stem and roots are strong, tall and more but other plants can be a source domain of fear here. Evidence comes from the Anywaa verb nígíít 'grow strongly with more branches and fruits' and this verb usually collocates with túóó/túuóá 'palm 'tree'.

(b)	lúʌ́r	lwɛ̀ɛ̀t	-ɛ̀	ā	-kéét	tìɛ̀r	tʃwíɲ	-ì	pì̀ɲ
	fear	toes of	3SG	PST	go down	leg of	liver of	2SG	down

Lit. 'The toes/roots of the fear have gone deeper down in your liver.'
'You have become very afraid and it is difficult for you to control your fear.'

The linguistc metaphor in (232b) mainly implies the use of palm tree as source domain. Literary evidence comes from the riddle ōgwáɲŋáŋɔ́ tìɛ̀rɛ̀ ɔ̀píí jà ākúóɲ dʒɔ̀ɔ̀k[53] 'What is that whose leg has reached the God's sand?' The answer here is túóó(á) 'palm tree'. In fact, ākóúɲ dʒɔ̀ɔ̀k 'God's sand' is not visible to human eye but it implies the deeper part of underground in which the roots of a palm tree reach. Another evidence comes from the real life situation in which when the palm tree is cut, its stump stays in the ground without destruction unless it is dug out. In fact, there are other strong tall trees whose roots go down deeper. The two linguistic metaphors have the central conceptual metaphor **FEAR IS A PLANT** with sub-conceptual metaphor **FEAR IS A PALM TREE**. Below are the mapping for such a metaphorical conceptualization in table 18.

TARGET: FEAR	**Source: (PALM) TREE**
liver of a person	soil
fear development	growth of palm tree
signs of fear	branches
results of fear	fruits
inner most part of liver	God's sand
controlling the fear	cutting the palm tree
intensity of fear	strength of palm tree
long duration of fear	life expectancy of palm tree
high intensity of fear	going down of the roots in the sand
total control of fear	digging out the stump

Table 18: Illustrating Mappings for FEAR as A PALM TREE

Although stomach can be used for the development of fear or other emotions, fear which is stronger is in liver unlike stomach. Also the experience of erosion is very frequently used with

[53]God's sand is the sand which is found deeper down the core of the earth. The lingustic metaphor lúʌ́r mánɔ́ nō ɔ̀tùj tʃwíɲì énɔ́ jí nʌ́ʌ́é nʌ̀ʌ̀ɔ̀ 'The fear which has sprouted in your liver/stomach will kill you' has the general plant source domain and lúʌ́r ātùj wī pògì 'Fear sprouted in their original homeland' implies fear which is genetic extending to offspings/generations. That is why the Anywaa speak of lúʌ́j wʌ̀nnì' his father's fear, lúʌ́j kwari his grandfather/ancestor's fear', etc' to mean a young person's fear inherited from parents or older relatives. In fact, lùʌ̀r ādɔ̀ɔ̀ŋŋɔ̀ 'Fear has grown' has general plant source domain of fear. Altough the verb nīgíít 'grow by producing more brances with big more leaves' is usually used for a palm tree, it can also be used for any plant with more branches with big leaves.

stomach as we drink water. Hence, a plant in stomach can soon be eroded. The shape of liver is also analogous to fertile soil or land form, which is smooth and soft like liver.

Different items of clothes or garments serve as source domains of intense fear. Experientially, both males and females wear clothes and so do they both feel fear. Different items of clothing are shared by both males and females but there are also clothes only worn by males or females. Such an experience is mapped on the target domain of fear specifying males' and females' fear and its intensity. Consider examples (233a-c)-(234b) for deatil.

(233a)	lúʌ́r	ā	-rɔ́m	ʈ̱ár	-í
	fear	PST	be fit	butt of	2SG
Lit.	'Fear has fitted your butt.'				
	'You are very coward.'				

In example (233a), the addressee experiencer can be a male or female due to the use of unspecified garment implied by rɔ́m 'be fit' and ʈ̱ár 'butt of'.

(b)	lúʌ́r	ā	-rɔ́m	ʈ̱ár	-ì	káámár	ʈ̱ínúúrà
	fear	PST	be fit	butt of	2SG	like	skirt
Lit.	'Fear fitted your butt like a skirt.'						
	'Your are very fearful.'						

In example (233b), the addressee experiencer is female due to the use of ʈ̱ínúúrà 'skirt' as a source domain of fear. However, the use of a clothe or garment covering the whole body, implies that the addressee experiencer of fear can be a male or a female. Such clothes may consist of sweater or a coat as illustrated below in (233c).

(c)	lúʌ́r	ā	-rɔ̀m	dèèr	-ì	kírɛ̌ɛ
	fear	PST	be fit	body of	2SG	really
Lit.	'Fear really became fit to your body.'					
	'You are really very fearful.'					

In (233c) FEAR IS A GARMENT TO BE WORN IN THE WHOLE BODY OF A MALE OR FEAMLE as the word dèèrì 'your body' implies. Hence, it is an intense fear. Because high degree of fear is not liked among the Anywaa, a very fearful person can be insulted with an anus or vagina as follows in (234a&b):

(234a)	lùʌ̀r	ā	-rɔ̀m	ŋwɛ́ɲ	-ì	kírɛ́ɛ́
	fear	PST	be fit	anus of	2sG	really
Lit.	'Fear has really become fit to your anus.'					
	'You are really very fearful.'					

The fearful addressee who is being insulted in (234a) is a male due to the use of clothe fitted to the anus, which the Anywaa use to insult males .

(b)	lùʌ̀r	ā	-rɔ̀m	múr	-ì	dɔ̀ɔ̀tʃ
	fear	PST	be fit	vagina of	2SG	DEG
Lit.	'Fear has fitted your vagina.'					
	'You are very fearful.'					

In (234b), the fearful addressee is a female, who is very fearful. Evidence here comes from the use of mùr 'vagnia'. In (234b), the degree word dɔ̀ɔ̀tʃ 'very', which has two vowels, expresses

higher degree of fear than the basic degree word dɔ̀tʃ 'very', because two vowels are more and bigger/louder than one vowel. The frames or specifc source domains for fear examples (234a&b) can be underpants or underwears which directly touch the body parts. Among the Anywaa, a female is usually insulted with her vagina or clitoris, which is specific to a female. In examples (233) and (234), the word rɔ̀m(ɔ) 'be fit' evokes a clothe fitting the body, but the word rɔ̀tʃ ' to wear' is metaphorically hidden in such metaphors, because fear is not intentionally needed like we wear clothes intentionally. Generally, the linguistic metaphors in (233a-c)-(234b) are insults used to blame a very fearful person who panics with minor stimulus or when an experiencer of fear stays for longer time without controlling fear. In the conception of the Anywaa, fear, which leads to trembling of the whole body, comes from the liver.

4.2.9 FEAR with the Source Domain of INSANITY AND CURSE

Among the Anywaa, insanity can be used as source domain of fear. Madness brought by gods/goddesses can be applied to the source domain of fear. Fear which is understood to be madness or insanity consists of gods which enter the human mind. Madnesss can also be caused by heavy firing, shock and running fatigue. Kövecses (2004:71-2) convincingly elaborates that since the force of fear/emotion disturbs the mind and weakens the body, the person who was strong/rational before becomes irrational/weak and acts based on an emotion. Below are the examples of linguistic metaphors which are manifestations of FEAR IS INSANITY/CURSE in Anywaa.

(235)	dʒáál	ā	-rɛ́ŋ	pààp	kī	déér	-è	mán
	old man	PST	run:ITV	forest	with	body of	3SG	REL:DEFINE
	-á	tárr	-n	-ā	-wìɲ	dóót	mʌ́tʃ	
	white	white	when	PST	hear	voices of	guns	

'The old man ran away into forest totally naked when he heard the heavy firing.'

The old man in (235) might have been in a river and has removed his clothes for bathing but ran away naked during the accident as he lost his rationality. The idiom déérè mànà tárr 'his white body' metaphorically means the person who experienced the fear was totally naked, because without a clothe, a person's body becomes ashy. Mad people remove clothes and run naked. In addition, old Anywaa men sleep naked. If a village is attacked at night, it is difficult to put on clothes. So, a person may run to another village naked without remembering putting on a clothe. When people are in rivers for bathing, they come out and run away naked if the reason for firing is not clear. Soon after firing is stopped, spectators laugh and doubt the mental health of such an afraid person, because an insane person usually does not wear clothes.

(236) ó- -wíɲ dóót mʌ́tʃ, pùt -á bɔ̀ɔ̀l -ɔ̀
HAB hear voices of guns do immediately FOC insane NOM
Lit. 'When s/he hears firing, he/she immediately becomes insane.'
'When he/she hears firing, he becomes very afraid.'

The fear illustrated in (236) can be accompanied by getting grip on another person, trembling, crying, babbling and foaming.

(237a) lùʌ̀r màr wà ātʃán ā -tímó nā dʒúú bááŋŋí
fear of son of Achan PST become CON god silence
'The Achan's son's fear has become madness blocking speech.'

The god called *dʒùù báŋŋí* refers to mixed gods which bring madness by blocking speech of a person and require different unclear charms. So, such madness is not clearly undrstood and therefore troubles a sick person very much. The Anywaa word bááŋ means *indirect/not straight* in English. Such gods originate from Dinka and Nuer. More often such madness requires many varieties of charms, which are difficult to find and buy. In similar way, when people panic with such fear, they stop speech and abnormally stare at people for longer time, but other people are confused of how to help the experiencer control such a fear. In Anywaa, the process in which a god's spirit makes a person tremble and dance unconsciously is called mʌ́ʌ́ò, which is also mapped onto fear causing confusion and trembling. This trembling and dancing leads to falling down and fainting.

(238a) wì -è ā -dʒìttò kī dʒùùk lùʌ̀r
head of 3SG PST get OBL gods of fear
Lit. 'His/Her head got gods of fear.'
'She was maddened by fear (gods).'

Example (238a) is decontextualized due to the use of dʒúúk lúʌ́r 'fear gods' to mean fear madness caused gods entering the body and mind. In (238a) the fear of the experiencer can be inferred to have been intense and complicated as the gods are more than one and require many charms and bring many negative effects and acts. Such a person may run without listening to others and even run with underwear. When called, such a person does not hear and recognize the counterparts. Examples (238a) implies that many madness gods have entered the person's head and have caused fear and madness. When many gods order mother in dream to give their name to the child, the child is named **dʒùù(bèèt)**, which literally means *(all) gods.*

(b) wì -è ā -dʒíttó kī dʒùù
head of 3SG PST obtain OBL gods
Lit. 'Gods have entered his/her head.'
'He/She has become mad with fear.'

The metaphor in (238b) is very contextual, i.e it is at mental space level. In this context, the person who is afraid can be seen trembling and moving without fixed direction. He/she also speaks unrelated things and shouts in an abnormal way. However, in another context, the person

in (238b), can be seen to have become mad without any situation related to fear. Therefore, the implied gods bringing madness in (238b) are dʒúúk lúʌ́r 'fear gods'. Hence, TO BE AFRAID IS TO BE INSANE. In Anywaa, the cognitive metaphor FEAR IS CURSE has been linguistically illustrated below in (239a&b).

(239a)	dʒɔ́	tùùŋ	-ɔ̀gɔ̀	rɛ̀	-gī	dá	lúʌ́j	ātʃĭéní
	people of	lineage	DEM	body of	3PL	exist	fear of	curse
Lit.	'In the body of this lineage, there exists curse fear.'							
	'The lineage has been cursed to be very fearful.'							

In (239a), fear has been understood like an epidemic transmitting from one person to another and affects the whole lineage. Hence, FEAR IS A MOVING SPIRITUAL FORCE.

(b)	már	ōbʌ́ŋ	páá	lúʌ́r	kɛ́ɛ́r	-ɛ́	béét	káá	ātʃĭéní
	of	Obang	not	fear	only	3SG	seem	like	curse
	'Obang's fear is not only fear but also seems to be curse.'								

Among the Anywaa, people who are hero and snipers killing more people during war can be cursed to be coward. So, their livers, which were hard, turn soft. Such very fearful people are characterized by high trembling, crying and throwing away guns, running away from an enemy, farting and urination with fear. That is why such people are conceived to have lùʌ̀j ātʃìènì ' curse fear', i.e intense fear caused by being cursed. On the other hand, a fearful adult man can be blessed to be fearless. Therefore, blessing changes soft liver which metonymically stands for fear to hard liver, which metonymically stands for courage; in contrast, curse changes hard liver to soft liver.

4.2.10 FEAR with the Source Domain of SUPERNATURAL BEING

The metaphorical conceptualization of fear as supernatural being is found nearly in all cultures across the world. According to De oliveira-Souza (2018), fear of god/godess, ghost, spirits and witches developed attitudes in people fearing supernatural forces, which disturb their lives with some becoming patients. The use of supernatural being as source domain of fear can be found in English examples like, *The head master was a real ogre, a mythical creature feeding on its human victims* and *The bugaboo kept the workholic running*. Bugaboo is an imaginary monster used to frighten children (Esenova, 2011: 82).

Kövecses (1990:76) has strongly proven that in our conceptual system there is the general source domain of SUPERNATURAL BEING, because in many cultures we have supernatural belief about power beyond nature like god, angels, ghosts, giants and witches (see Esenova, 2011:53). Furthermore, Evans-Pritchard (1976:13) states that among the Azande, fear of witch craft or magic is very common; when a man says *He cannot live in certain place because of witchcraft*,

he means he has been warned against this spot by the oracles. In Anywaaland in particular, ghosts, spirits and supernatural forces in mountainous areas, rivers and forests, frequently frighten people and make them sick. According to Esenova (2011:82-83), recent study shows and confirms that the SUPERNATURAL BEING source domain applies not only to fear but also to object or source of fear. This leads to the conceptual metaphor AN OBJECT/SOURCE OF FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING. Below are the linguistic metaphors of **FEAR IS SUPERNATURAL BEING** in (240)-(243).

(240)	dèèr	-è	ā	-dʒíttó	kī	dʒóɔ́	nùʌ̀r	mō	dóɔ́ŋ
	body of	3SG	PST	get	OBL	god of	Nuer	REL	big
	dɔ̀tʃ								
	DEG								
Lit.	'His body as got very big Nuer god.'								
	'He is suffering from very big fear.'								

Nuer gods like Deng make people insane, tremble and speak in place of the god by telling the name like àànà dɛ́ɛ́ŋ 'I am deng' by requiring the charms like a black bull. This happens after the person bubbles as **ŭu...m**. That is why the Anywaa say dʒɔ̀ɔ̀k tʃʌ̀ʌ̀nò kì dèèl 'A god speaks in side human body'. The person illustrated in (240) is trembling, fearfully speaking and insanely crying requiring a safe place for survival. A broad explanation for example (255) is that the metaphorical focus is Nuer god, but the metaphorical idea is that *He/She was very afraid*. The relation between Nuer god and fear is that both make an experiencer insanely tremble. Intensity of spirit implies degree of fear. METONYMICALLY, NUER GOD STANDS FOR FEAR SINCE BOTH BRING TREMBLING OR ABNORMAL FUNCTIONING OF HUMAN BODY. This metonymy takes us to the conceptual metaphors FEAR IS A NUER GOD IN THE BODY& TREMBLING WITH FEAR IS TREMBLING WITH NUER GOD. The source god in (240) has high degree of trembling. The addressing of god or supernatural being in terms of song, speech or charming implies that an Anywaa understands religion as the relation between human being and spiritual being.

Although supernatural being seems an abstract concept to be used as a source of emotion like anger or fear, the physiology or trembling of a person experiencing the god is concrete. For example, during the charming song, a person experiencing the spirits of Nuer god trembles and unconsciously sings and dances. The person may also finally speak, cry and climb the house top and fall down due to the spirits. As the result of one person's connection with the Nuer god, other people who have the spirits of this god in their bodies will experience the same thing like trembling and dance while the song is being sung. Such supernatural physiology is mostly felt by

women. In similar way, if someone is afraid of something and runs away, other people can run away or be angry if they are told the danger to be caused by the stimulus or if they have prior knowledge of the danger.

The emotion of lùʌ̀r 'fear' exist both in liver and body, but dʒʊ̀ɔ nùʌ̀ʌ̀r 'Nuer god', which metonymically stands for fear, exists only in the body, because it causes trembling, running, madness and fainting. In concrete experience, supernatural beings have physical manifestations like snakes and charms like beads but emotions have no charms although there are objects like food, firing gun to an enemy, or advice used to control an emotion. .

(241a)	lúʌ́r	ā	-tìmò	nī	dʒʊ̀ɔ̀k	dèèr	-ì
	fear	PST	become	CON	god	body of	2SG
Lit.	'Fear has become god/supernatural being in your body.'						
	'You are very fearful.'						

Example (241a) takes the general source of SUPERNATURAL BEING as a source of fear. The fear described in (241a) is intense and may become chronic.

(b)	ʊ̄wʌ́ʌ́r	ā	-tìmò	kɛ̌ɛ	ŋát	wʌ́ʌ́llì
	Owar	PST	become	like	man of	fetiches
	'Owar has become afraid like a fetches man.'					

People who have fetiches are afraid of two major things: snakes and guns. These people are afraid of snakes because they think that some snakes can have stronger spirits than theirs and if bitten, they will soon die. People with fetiches are also afraid of guns because firing chases away fetiches and they can be therefore shot and die easily. But when such people are moving without carrying their fetiches, they become more fearful.

(242)	dʒʊ̀ɔ̀k	ā	-ò	bʌ̀ʌ̀t	-à	jàwìtìnì
	god	PST	come	on	1SG	last night
	'Last night, while in sleep, the god came toward me, fear mixed with supernatural being came to me in the form of god while I was asleep.'					

When the charms of gods like gʌ́rí, ātúk, gʊ̀ʊ̀gɔ̀ and others are not prepared and respected or when a branch of god's tree is broken and used for cooking, they go to a person at night and beat, strangle or warn them in sleep in a form of dream. Such people cry with loud voices or try to run out of the house but not conscious of their cry. When asked in the morning, such person may respond that he was beaten by small snakes, monitor lizards or invisible creature but some know the gods. Another person may respond that he/she was not crying at all. Such a person becomes tired and goes into deep sleep at day time.

(243)	wì	-à	ā	-nīkwáár	n	-ā	dʒʊ̀ʊ̀d	-à
	head of	1SG	PST	become red	when	PST	see	1SG
	ɖàànɔ̀	n	-ò	-ŋáál	-ɔ̀			
	person	while	PERF	slaughter	COMPLT			
Lit.	'My head became red when I saw the person while he/she was slaughtered.'							
	'I became afraid when a I saw a slaughtered person.'							

In (243), fear is coneptualized with a complex metaphor. One metaphor is FEAR IS BLOOD/RED COLOUR IN THE HEAD, which implies mental disturbance in the form of splashing in the head. The other metaphor is FEAR IS SUPERNATURAL BEING. When a person who has the spirits of local god sees blood, he/she sings, trembles with fear and faints due to the rising of the spirits of god for the blood. Local gods among the Anywaa require bull, goat, sheep or a chicken to be slaughtered so that sickness and trembling in the body of a person stops when the god drinks the blood.

Although Anywaa gods require blood, the animal charms to be sacrificed must be similar to the god's colour. For example, gʊ̀ʊ̀gɔ̀, which manifests itself as white snake, requires a white goat to be sacrificed and lùààl, which manifests itself as a red snake, requires a red goat to be sacrificed. The Nuer-origin god called tʃɔ́lwìtʃ 'blackness of head' requires a black bull. This god kills a person by creating a shadow in the person's head. It also thunders a person (Perner, 1994:154-161).

In Anywaa, fear understood in terms of supernatural beings has the following mappings: the supernatural being is mapped onto fear and trembling with god is mapped onto trembling with fear. The charms made to supernatural being are the activities done to control fear. The fear objects which are supernatural beings among the Anywaa are mainly discussed below in (a&b).

(a)**ākwáátà ɲīpʊ́pɔ́lɔ́:** This was a woman native to **ʊ̄pɔ́lɔ́** village; her ghost was a crocodile. After her death therefore ākwàátà turned into a spiritual crocodile. Put precisely, ākwáátà is a demigodess-being partly godlike crocodlie and partly godlike woman. She is depicted as very short and intensively black with very short hands. Her teeth are very long and very sharp. Akwaata's hair is also very black and kinky. She feeds on children's flesh. When children are swimming in Baro river, she goes to them and says to one of them, rúṯ dìŋʌ̀ʌà 'Clean my back!' While her back is being cleaned, she puts the hands of a child in her armpits and dives with the child to eat it under water. Though ākwááta spends most of her life under water, to warm herself with the sun, she comes out and sits on a withered tree in the river and sings the following song in (244a&b):

(244a)	áán	-ā	ākwáátá	ɲī		-pʊ̀pɔ̀lɔ̀	ě...
	1SG	be	Akwaata	daughter of		Popolo	oh...
	'Oh! I'm Akwaata, the native of Popolo.'						
(b)	tìip	ěe....	tǐ...p				
	ghots	oh	ghosts				
	'Ghosts, oh ghosts!'						

Though Akwaata is depicted as a spiritual crocodile, she is used to frighten children not to go to deeper part of a river as they cannot swim well. Yet, whenever her story is told at night, it brings nightmare to people. A realistic case happened in (1992) to the researcher's late friend namely Omod Amirka. Soon after the story of ākwáátá was told at night, the people went to bed. While in sleep, he mixed ākwáátá's song with loud cry of terror dream. According to Cavendish (1975) fear of being eaten up is an old element of folk terror. The presence of such man-eating creature in folktales in which sizes, teeth or claws are represented with imagery may be reflection of our deep rooted fear of man eating creatures in the world, the fear of being devoured by savage beasts. Thus, as ākwáátà is depicted as crocodile eating people under water, she inspires fear among the Anywaa. See also Esenova (2011:83). In general, although there are more crocodiles in Opolo village, they are the ghosts of natives of ǒpɔ̀lɔ̀ village and the crocodiles usually are friendly to the natives of the village.

(b) **Leopard-like river creature:** In Anywaa, this creature is called **lím**. Living under water, this creature has electric power and glittering body. The strongest spiritual river leopard which has claimed the lives of many people is found in ītʌ̀ʌ̀ŋ district in ōpéénò region. Whenever people bathe in a deeper part of Baro river, it comes and takes a person by first electrifying a person. Instead of eating flesh, the creature sucks only blood. That is why a person taken by this creature is found rotten with bleeding in the nose. Yet, more often a person taken by this creature may not be found. The spiritual animal can also change its shape and form to a very long spiritual snake or human being. It is said that it lives in dry place under water where there are cars and electric light. The evil spiritual river leopard can sometimes return people without attacking them but such people become deaf or mad if they expose the creature's world and secret. Usually, this creature takes and attacks people who bathe during the day time and most are new comers who bathe by swiming to a deep part of the harbour as they do not know the existence of this creature. Therefore, in ītʌ̀ʌ̀ŋ district, bathing is accompanied with big fear.

In addition to spritual river leopard, there are spiritual matters capsizing Anywaa canoes in Openo or Baro river. This happens when a man is rowing a canoe in a deep part of the river, where the spiritual matters under the water live. One case clearly known happened to an Anywaa man called **dìtɔ̀ɔ̀,** the best known Anywaa diver by the time. The incident happened in 1990's. The accident was that there was a man who was rowing his boat but passed in the deep river part inhabited by these spiritual matters. Soon the canoe capsized and was taken by them.

When dītɔ̀ɔ̀ dived to bring out the canoe, he saw around three people with white hair and dark skins . They were sitting under saussage tree. Then, they asked dītɔ̀ɔ̀ what he wanted there. As he told them the problem, soon they showed him the canoe and warned dìtɔ̀ɔ̀ to tell any of the other Anywaaks not to go there again. Then dītɔ̀ɔ̀ tied a rope to the canoe and swam out and gave the rope to the people on the bank so that the canoe was pulled out.

In Ìgììlɔ̀, which is found in eastern part of Gambella town along Baro river, there are spiritual matters and ghosts beating people and making them get lost and even taking them. For example, A man called Nyoogula went fishing. His hook was siezed by a piece of wood and his hand was was taken: Nyoogula[54] was drawn into river and disappeared. He was asked what he wanted and explained that he was there for fishing. Then, he was given fishes. When he returned after some days, the relatives had already shaved their heads believing that he had already died. But he returned alive. Now adays, the very big fungi bodied crocodiles in Igiilo are said to be the native people of Ìgììlɔ̀ who died but turned into crocodiles. Hence, they are spiritual crocodiles. Whenever they are angry, such crocodiles take and eat up people but nothing is found about this people they take and eat (Perner,1994:163&164).

Although supernatural beings are mostly feared for death, they are also feared for taking males' sexual organs. In Igiilo and areas with dense forest in Lul region, there are female supernatural beings which talk to a male to have sex with him when a man is walking a lone in distant mountainous or forest area. The sex organ of man who accepts sexual intercourse with such female supernatural being may be taken and replaced with a female's sex organ. After a long time of man's cry and roaming in many different areas, his genital will be returned. Such a man stays abnormal with deformed thinking, appetite, speech and social relation for some days.

4.2.11 FEAR with the Source Domain of MOTION EVENT

Fear can be conceptualized as figure, ground and manner which are parts of motion event. With the conceptualizatoion of fear as a MOTION EVENT, the degree of fear, and its relevance to

[54]Although people fear gods and animals, they do not fear their ghosts. For example, a person whose ghost is lion does not fear it and he is not eaten up by this animal. Similarly, a person whose ghost is a crocodile cannot be eaten by a crocodile and he does not eat the meat of crocodile. If he eats it unknowingly, the person vomits. But the rest of the people can eat crocodile meat as it is edible among the Anywaa. Kings' graves are feared because when they die, kings turn into spiritual beings like snakes which may chase away or bite people who pass near by his grave. During hunting, if the a king's grave is encircled by hunters, either an accidental spearing happens or a long lasting heavy rain comes to stop the hunting. When visiting king's grave, one should kneel down and move to the grave. After a long time, graves of kings turn into spiritual mounds, which should not be touched or approached.

current situation can be understood. The linguistic metaphors in (245)-(250) have been given for detail of FEAR IS MOTION in Anywaa.

(245) ōmɔ̀d tʃʌ̀ʌ̀g̱ -í nī lúʌ́ʌ́r
Omod walk HAB CON fearful
'Omod walks fearfully.'

In example (245), (nī) lúʌ́ʌ́r'fearfully' is used as manner of the verb **tʃʌ̀ʌ̀g̱í** 'walks'.

(246a) lúʌ́r ā -rìŋ tʃwíɲ -á kī wʌ́ʌ́r
fear PST run:VENT liver of 1SG at night
Lit. 'Fear ran toward into my liver at night.'
'I became very afraid at night.'

In (246a) the ventive verb ríŋ 'run toward' implies that the speaker is still afraid and it is still night. Such fear is caused by something told that the beast or soldiers are coming to the village at night. In fact there are gods which after the people dance at night and go to bed, they also dance with similar drum and songs of Anywaa. Such a situation puts villagers into deep fear thinking that after dance, the gods will enter houses and beat them or kill them. Thus, the speaker in (246a) is calling for help indirectly to sleep with other friends.

(246b) lúʌ́r ā -réŋ tʃwíɲ -à[55] kī wʌ́ʌ́r
fear PST run:ITV liver of 1SG at night
Lit. 'At night, fear ran (away) into my liver.'
'A became very afraid at night.'

In (246b) the itive verb réŋ 'run away' implies that fear has gone away from the body of the speaker and it is no longer night. Thus, the degree of fear is very little and the speaker is simply narrating the incident to the others who were not in the place where fear was felt that night. Fear also can follow an experiencer wherever, he or she goes. The following are examples in (247a&b) for evidences.

(247a) lúʌ́r ā -íg̱ kɔ̀ɔ̀r ōdʒáá
fear PST climb:VENT after Ojaa
Lit. 'Fear climbed to Ojaa.'
' Ojaa was still very afraid even when he climbed and reached the tree.'

The example in (247a) implies that Ojaa and the speaker were chased away by a lion and climbed the tree. Both sharing a tree, the speaker is near Ojaa, who is still trembling with fear unlike the speaker, who has already controlled his fear after reaching the top of the tree.

[55] In most cases, an expression like ōbʌ̀ʌ̀là gʌ́t rééo āŋààp máál 'Obaala hanged up the price of fish' can be easily judged to be metaphorical because price/amount has been understood in terms of upward direction based on MORE IS UP. This impies that the speaker asked Obaala about the price of fish but Obaala told the very high price which the buyer could not afford. When a buyer wants a lower prices, one says dwɔ́k gʌ́tɛ̀ pìŋ 'Return down the price'. The expression ōbʌ̀ʌ̀là rèèò āŋààp máál 'Obaala hanged up the fish in the sky ' can mostly be judged to non-metaphorical but it is sometimes metaphorical as it can imply that Obaala prevented the fish from the speaker by hanging it up and going away without response to the speaker after he has been begged.

(b) lúʌ́r ā -ɛ́t̪ kɔ̀ɔ̀r ōdʒáá
fear PST climb:ITV after Ojaa
Lit. 'Fear climbed away to Ojaa.'
'Ojaa was still afraid while he was on the tree.'

Example (247b) implies that both Ojaa and the speaker do not share the same tree. Hence, they were scattered by a lion or leopard. So, the speaker being on another tree had already controlled his fear but simply looking at Ojaa, who was still trembling with fear on a tree far from the speaker. The speaker may also not be on a tree but can be far away from Ojaa, who is on the tree. In (247a&b), fear has been conceptualized as A MOVING DANGEROUS LIVING THING WHICH CLIMBS. When people experience fear or panic due to rumours, people enter fear as LOCATION (See the Bible in Anyuak, 2013). Consider the following example in (248a):

(248a) dʒɔ́w ā -àà -á jɪ lùʌ̀r mō ráátʃ dɔ̀tʃ
people:DEF PST go FOC stomach of fear REL bad DEG
Lit. 'We/The people entered very bad fear.'
'We/The people became very afraid or panicked intensely.'

In (248), fear state the people are experiencing has been understood as A BOUNDED REGION TO BE ENTERED. The fear in example (248a) can be caused by rumours that the village is going to be attacked or more enemies are coming (again). Whenever the degree of fear declines gradually, doubling the degree adverb and extending the vowel can express intensity and speed of fear. This can be confirmed in the metaphor expressions in (249a&b).

(249a) lúʌ́r ā -àà̀j tʃwíŋ -á mèè̀t̪ mèè̀t̪
fear PST go liver of 1SG slowly slowly
Lit. 'Fear has gone away from my liver slowly slowly.'
'I have controlled my fear slowly.'

The low tone on mèè̀t̪ 'slow' in (249a) is based on the slow movement of an object. In (264a), the degree of controlling fear is lower, because the manner adverb mèè̀t̪ 'slowly' has been doubled with pause.

(b) lúʌ́r ā -àà̀j dèèr -á mê...t̪
fear PST go away body of 1SG slowl...y
Lit. 'Fear went away from my body slowl...y.'
'I controlled the fear gradually.'

In (249b) the falling tone (ˆ) on mê...t̪ 'slowl...y' is based on the experience of moving entity which moves very slowly by picking up the legs slowly. So, the falling tone has been used in mê...t̪ 'slowl...y', because the manner adverb mèè̀t̪ 'slowly' expresses low degree of motion or speed. Thus, trembling with fear is stopped very slowly. In example (249b), the degree and speed of controlling the fear is lower than that in (249a), because the manner adverb in (249b) has vowel extension and falling tone.

(250) lúʌ́r ā -ríŋ tʃwíŋ -ì dǒ...tʃ
fear PST run:ITV liver of 2SG faste...r
Lit. 'Fear has run into your liver very faster.'
'You have become very afraid quickly.'

Example (250) implies that the addressee has experienced fear very quikly. The rapid increase in the coming of fear into the addressee's liver is here marked by the rising tone (˅) on dǰ...tʃ' very quickl...y, very fa...st' and the vowel extension. Hence, FEAR IS A MOVING ENTITY ENTERING HUMAN BODY. In (250), the rising tone has been used, because the manner adverb dɔ́tʃ 'quickly' expresses high speed, which is based on the experience of fast moving entity.

Morphophonologically, final consonant or final vowel deletion, shortening of a stem vowel and deletion of the completive {-ɔ} of root vowel of a motion verb can express going away and coming of emotion, i.e experiencing and controlling an emotion (fear). Consider the following examples in (251a&b)-(252a&b):

(251a)	lùʌ̀r	ā	-àà	tʃwíɲ	-à
	fear	PST	go	liver of	1SG
Lit.	'Fear went into my liver.'				
	'I'm afraid (now).'				

The fear metaphor in (251a) may imply that the speaker is now experiencing fear as fear is expressed to have entered the liver. In (251a), the final consonant [j] of ààj 'go away' has been deleted before liver, which is location so that the meaning of ààj 'GO AWAY' has changed to àà 'ENTER' to imply experiencing the fear .

(b)	lùʌ̀r	ā	-ààj	dèèr	-à
	fear	PST	go	body of	1SG
Lit.	'Fear went out of my body.'				
	'I am not afraid now.'				

Example (251b) has the verb ààj 'go', without deleting the final consonant [j] before body, the container of fear. The example implies that the speaker is no longer afraid and is no longer thinking of and predicting the coming of fear stimulus, because the itive verb ààj means *go (away*) and its ventive counterpart is òò 'come'. Thus, the speaker in (251b) is not trembling by the time of speaking. While ààj 'go away' optionally takes the source of motion like liver, body or river, àà 'enter' obligatorily takes location like liver, body or house to be entered by a figure.

(252a)	lùʌ̀r	ā	-rɛ̀ŋ	tʃwíɲ	-à
	fear	PST	run	liver of	1SG
Lit.	'Fear ran into my liver.'				
	'I became afraid quickly.'				

Example (252a) may mean the speaker is still a bit afraid although it usually means fear was felt in the past due to the use of the itive rɛ̀ŋ 'run away', which does not contain the infinite complement or the completive{-ɔ̀}. Therefore, in (252a), the itive verb rɛ̀ŋ 'run away' has obligatorily taken liver, the container or location to be entered, because this verb has not taken the completive {-ɔ̀}.

(252b)	lùʌr	ā	-rɛ̀ŋ	-ɔ̀	tʃwíɲ	-à
	fear	PST	run away	COMPLT	liver of	1SG
Lit.	'Fear ran away from my liver/body.'					
	'I am no longer afraid.'					

Example (252b) implies that the speaker is no longer experiencing fear. Yet the verbs rɛ̀ŋ 'run (away) a long time ago' and rɛ̀(ɛ̀)ŋɔ̀ 'run away' are derived from the itive verb rɛ̀(ɛ̀)ŋɔ̀' run away' whose ventive is rìŋŋɔ̀ 'run toward'. In (252b), the fact that fear is no longer inside the speaker's liver/body has been expressed by the infinite complement or completive {-ɔ̀} in the verb stem {rɛ̀ŋ-} 'run away'. When an itive verb like rɛ́ŋɔ̀ 'run away' or a ventive verb ríŋŋɔ̀ 'run to' has the completive {-ɔ̀}, the verb optionally requires source/ location like liver, body, stomach or house to be entered or to be left by an emotion or another concrete object. In (252b), the completive {-ɔ̀} in rɛ̀ŋɔ̀ 'run away' implies that fear may no longer come back. In non-emotional motion, the completive {-ɔ̀}tells us that an entity runs toward or away and completes running, but in itive (emotion) motion, this suffix tells that the entity which runs away completes running and it may not come back. Generally, examples (251a)-(252b) imply that at pragmatic level of metaphor, linguistic metaphors, cognition and experience are simplified by deleting optional domains/elements.

4.2.12 Summary of Fear Metaphors

In this section, it has been pointed out that fear is usually an emotion associated with survival. The Anywaa believe that being fearful is important for survival but higher degree of fear is evaluated as negative for it makes a coward hated by a community and loses a rank from king. So, among the Anywaa, a very fearful person is negatively viewed like a bad thing such as faeces, which is not important, because a fearful person does not help the community during danger. An Anywaa expression like tʃwíɲì dʒóóm dɔ́tʃ 'Your liver is very soft' implies the speaker's evaluation that the addressee is very fearful. Hence, FEAR IS SOFT; COURAGE IS HARD. Therefore, among the Anywaa, fearful people are believed to have soft livers. In Anywaa, controlling fear, which is mixed with sadness is used by strongly holding body or liver, which are strong enought to keep an experiencer from falling down, crying or fainting. In fact, a person who has panicked puts his/her hand where liver and heart are located. Although liver is the center of feeling among the Anywaa, SUPERNATURAL BEING as source of fear does not exist in human liver, but in the whole body as the spirits of gods shake people.

Chapter Six

6.1 Metaphorical Conceptualization of Happiness in Anywaa

In Anywaa, the fact that happiness is important for one's life is associated with food making the stomach or liver delicious. According to Goleman (1996), an increased activity in the brain in which negative feelings are stopped by an increased energy is the main biological behaviour of happy people. Eating delicious food also makes people happy and forget worry as it satisfies people while they are hungry. That is why happiness in Anywaa is called mɛ́t ètʃ/mɛ́t tʃwìɲ 'tastiness of stomach or liver'. Thus, in Anywaa, to say *Iam happy*, the following expressions in (253a&b), which are based on TASTY LIVER and TASTY STOMACH, which are based on TASTY FOOD, are used as follows in (253a&b):

(253a)	tʃwíɲ	-à	mɛ́t
	liver of	1SG	tasty
Lit.	'My liver is tasty.'		
	'I'm happy.'		
(b)	jí	-à	mɛ́t
	stomach of	1SG	tasty
Lit.	'My stomach is tasty.'		
	'I'm happy.'		

The use of TASTY FOOD attached to liver or stomach as source domain of happiness implies that the first central conceptual metaphor of happiness in the mind of an Anywaa is HAPPINESS IS DELICIOUS FOOD/NUTRIENT. This is the most frequent type of metaphor in Anywaa and it is usually understood and uttered in terms of mɛ́t ètʃ 'tastiness of stomach'. Therefore, under different happy circumstances, happiness is conceptualized in terms of different tasty or sweet food items used in Anywaa community.

The reason for which the Anywaa mostly link tasty food with stomach to talk about happiness is that, food enters human stomach. A bad food that is not well cooked brings diarrhea, indigestion, intestinal or stomach pain, which brings unpleasant feeling like sadness and disease. In contrast, tasty foods like well cooked fatty fish are tasty, easily avoid hunger and bad feeling and make people drink more water so that there will be no hunger for a long time. Hence, prolonged happiness and positive mood.

When a group of the Anywaa eat porridge with very delicious stew, they feel happy and converse by laughing loudly in a group as they remember happy times and pleasant events On the other hand, when eating food that is not delicious or during famine, the Anywaa feel uncomfortable and talk about bad past things and even stop drum dance. According to Matlin

(2005:142), the relation between pleasant mood and remembering pleasant material and vice versa is called *mood congruency.* Therefore, because the Anywaa mostly feel emotions with their livers, tasty food can be linked to liver to express positive or pleasant feeling of happiness although swallowed food does not enter human liver. The good taste of food felt with tongue evokes positive feeling in liver.

The use of delicious food as source domain of happiness in Anywaa, implies that happiness is the most wanted emotion for life as it always brings pleasant feeling. Therefore, language which is used to express happy feeling, is uttered by using different delicious foods in Anywaa community. Hence, DEGREE OF HAPPINESS IS DEGREE OF TASTINESS OF FOOD. The following examples in (253)-(257) exemplify the linguistic metaphors of the conceptual metaphor HAPPINESS IS TASTY FOOD in detail.

(253)	dʒààl	-ò	-dʒìttò	kī	gìn	mō	tʃwɛ́j	kàŋ
	old man	PERF	obtain	OBL	thing	REL	fatty	here
Lit.	'The old man has got fatty meat/fish (to eat) here.'							
	'The old man has become happy here.'							

In example (253), tʃwɛj ' fatty meat/fish' METONYMICALLY STANDS FOR HAPPINESS, because fatty meat/fish immediately pleases a person who eats it. Hence, the metaphor FEELING IS DRINKING/EATING; OBTAINING HAPPINESS IS OBTAINING FATTY FOOD. This semantic loss of concept of oil/fatty fish/meat, which is replaced with happiness is called semantic bleaching/desemanticization. In fact, there is semantic extension of eating in the context of happiness. Grammaticalization, which is both synchronic and diachronic, is change of lexical word into a more functional element. So, new meaning may develop from one category (Heine, 2003) cited in Biniam, 2010).

(254)	jììn	-à-	-tʃλλnnò	gín	mō	mɛ́t/ ŋwɛ̀ɛ̀t̲	dɔ̀tʃ	
	2SG	PST	say	thing	REL	sweet/delicious	DEG	
Lit.	'You said something which is very delicious/sweet.'							
	'You said a very happy thing.'							
(255)	tʃwíŋ	-à	ŋwéɛ́t̲	dìtʃʌ́ŋ	-ì			
	liver of	1SG	sweet	day	this			
Lit.	'My liver is sweet this day.'							
	'I'm happy today.'							
(256)	wíŋŋ	-ù	lúúmm	ɲɛ̀jjà	nɛ́ɛ́	tʃwíŋ	-è	mínn	-é
	listen	2PL	word of	king	PURP	liver of	3SG	be tasty	3SG
Lit.	'Listen to the voice of the king so that his liver becomes tasty.'								
	'(You) (PL) listen to the king so that he will be happy.'								

Example (256) presupposes that the addressees were making noise before and that is why the are advised to listen to the king, who was not happy with the noise.

(257)	jì	-è	ā	-mìnnò	n	-ā	-wìɲ	dɔ̀ɔ̀r
	stomach of	3SG	PST	become tasty	when	PST	hear	voice of
	wʌ́ʌ́d	-è						
	son of	3SG						

Lit. 'Her stomach became delicious when she heard the voice of her son.'
'She became happy when she heard the voice of her son.'

The example in (257) implies that before the child had been found, the mother was sad and worried. Example (257) implies the conceptual metaphor HAPPINESS IS A TASTY LIVER but example (257) has the cognitive metaphor HAPPINESS IS A DELICIOUS STOMACH, because sweet/delicous food brings pleasant feeling which is felt with liver and stomach being the very centers of feeling in Anywaa. But truly speaking, based on the experience of eating tasty food, all examples in (253)-(257) underlie HAPPINESS IS TASTY FOOD, which is evoked by the word mɛ́t 'tasty' or ŋwɛ́ɛ́ t̪ 'sweet'. Thus, METAPHORICALLY, HUMAN LIVER AND STOMACH ARE DELICIOUS FOODS WHICH ARE EATEN FOR HAPPINESS. However, because delicious food items are in stomach, in Anywaa happiness is mostly conceptualized in terms of delicious food in stomach.

6.1.1 The Metaphysics of Causing HAPPINESS based on TASTY FOOD and Evoking Principle

Metaphysics studies the highest level of causal principle for reason of the existence of things and why they are true/real (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999:374). In Anywaa, making a person happy can be understood through the use of linguistic metaphors based on making food tasty extended to linguistic expressions like making liver or stomach tasty. An interesting question to a cognitive linguist is Why do the Anywaa understand MAKING A PERSON HAPPY AS MAKING A LIVER OR STOMACH TASTY? There are many culinary elements that contribute to making fish stew tasty. These are cleaning the fish, removing the unnecessary parts of the fish, cutting the fish into pieces and cooking it well by using enough water, fire, time and salt so that the stew becomes tasty. Therefore, metaphorically, the processes of making foods tasty is transferred to making other people or ourselves happy. Hence, CAUSE OF HAPPINESS IS CAUSE OF FOOD TO BE TASTY. Consider the examples in (258a-e) below.

(258a)	jì	-è	ò	-tíítʃ	tʃʊ́ɔ́r	-è	nī	mɛ́t
	stomach	3SG	PERF	make	husband of	3SG	CON	tasty

Lit. 'Her husband has made her stomach tasty.'
'Her husband has made her happy.'

Example (158a) implies that the husband has made the wife happy by making her life good. The experiential basis of this metaphor comes from cooking tasty food for another person.

(b)	ɲīlààl	tʃwíɲ	-è	éé	tìì̀ò	nī	mét
	child	liver of	3SG	PERF	make	CON	tasty
Lit.	'The child has made its liver tasty by itself.'						
	'The child has made itself happy.'						

The example in (258b) implies that the cause of the child's happiness is the child itself, who is doing good things and playing alone. The experience of the child's happiness in (258b) is based on cooking tasty food for oneself. Example (258) implies that the word kéérè 'by himslef/herself' can be optionally used. Examples (258a&b), which evoke tasty food like fish stew in our mind, tell us that mét 'tasty' can be metaphorically extended to pleasant thing like situation or game.

(c)	jì	-à	kér	-ì	tìì̀ò	nī	mét
	stomach of	1SG	NEG	2SG	make	CON	tasty
Lit.	'You have not made my stomach tasty.'						
	'You have not pleased me.'						

The happiness in example (258c) is based on the experience of cooking a bad food for a person. Women who prepare non-tasty or very soft porridge are usually not liked by the Anywaa, because they intensify hunger, which brings anger and passivity. Hence, MAKING A PERSON HAPPY IS MAKING TASTY FOOD FOR HIM/HER. Thus, HAPPINESS IS LIKE A SALT PUT IN STEW TO MAKE IT TASTY; To SADDEN A PERSON IS TO COOK A BAD FOOD FOR HIM/HER;CAUSES OF HAPPINESS ARE TASTY FOODS. WHEN WE EAT TASTY FOOD, OUR LIVERS/STOAMCHS ARE TASTY(WE ARE PLEASED).

(d)	dʒàà̀l	tʃwíɲ	ò̀búórè	éé	wìì̀r	-ɔ̀
	old man	livers of	children	PERF	smear	COMPLT
Lit.	'The old man has smeared the children's livers.'					
	'The old has pleased the children.'					

The example in (258d) implies that the old man has pleased the children by giving them fatty foods like honey or fatty fishes or by telling them good things. When we eat fatty food, our lips beome fatty like a smeared body and we become pleased when we lick our lips. The word wìì̀r 'smear', evokes màà̀w 'oil, fat/butter', which is its complement. Therefore, the Anywaa data in (258d) has optionally taken the prepositional phrase (kī) màà̀w 'with oil'. Among the Anywaa, the fats of hippopotamus, buffalo, giraffe and shea tree can be used for eating and smearing body to be soft and give good smell. Sometimes, after eating, young children smear their hands with bichir fat, which is very tasty. Since, the word wìì̀r 'smear' evokes edible fats like giraffe fat while we are interpreting the meaning and source domain of the example in (258d), we can conclude that metaphorical conception and interpretation operate based on what I will call here an *Evoking Principle.*

(e)	tʃàm	ā	-tìì̀	-ì	nī	mét
	food	PST	make	2SG	CON	tasty
Lit.	'You have made the food tasty.'					
	'You have flavoured the food.'					

The example in (258e) is very literal implying that the addressee is a female who has cooked tasty food. Thus, the speaker has thanked her as he/she is very satisfied and pleased by the tasty food. The stem tìì (tʃ) 'make' is a good clue that MAKING A PERSON HAPPY IS MAKING TASTY FOOD FOR HIM/HER. Hence, among the Anywaa, CAUSATION IS MAKING. Since example (258e) is literal, it serves as an experiential basis for examples (258a-d), which are metaphorical. In Anywaa, understanding happiness based on specific tasty food items, which are attributed to stomach, has been illustrated with the linguistic metaphors in (259)-(262).

(259)	jì	-è	mɔ̀ɔ̀ŋɔ̀	kīpɛ̀r	ǒo	-ɲ	tʃʊ̀ɔ̀r	-è
	stomach of	3SG	flour	for	coming	GEN	husband of	3SG
Lit.	'Her stomach is flour due to the coming of her husband.'							
	'She is happy for her husband's coming.'							

In (259) happiness is conceptualized as edible WHITE FLOUR. A very clear source domain for happiness metaphor in (259) is a cooked flour mixed with fish stew. Such a flour is very tasty.

(260a)	jì	-à	máaw
	stomach of	1SG	oil of
Lit.	'My stomach is honey/bee/oil.'		
	'I'm very happy.'		

In (260a) HAPPINES IS OIL, which generally evokes edible oil (fat) of fish, monitor lizard, antelope etc.

(b)	jì	-ì	tèèmà
	stomach of	1SG	solid honey
Lit.	'Your stomach is solid honey.'		
	'You are very happy.'		

The metaphor in (260b) implies intense happiness, because it is based on solid honey which is not mixed with water. Hence, INTENSE HAPPINESS IS A SOLID HONEY.

(c)	jì	-à	kìtʃ
	stomach of	1SG	bee
Lit.	'My stomach is bee.'		
	'I'm happy.'		

In essence, example (260c) implies that there is semantic extension from kìtʃ 'bee' to máár kìtʃ/mààw 'honey, bee oil' used to talk about extreme happiness. The reason for which a bee is used as source of happiness is that it is the producer of honey. Therefore, the metonymic pattern in (260c), in which bee stands for honey has the PRODUCER-PRODUCT metonymy type, which expresses higher degree of happiness lasting longer time than the one with the source of honey. For an increase in an appetite of eating honey or any other food, an Anywaa sometimes eats beewax and the bee larvae together. The grammaticalization path in (260c) is *bee* > *honey* > *intense happiness.* Because there is loss of semantic content from honey to happiness, this mechanism of grammaticalization is called semantic bleaching/desemanticization (See Matisoff, 1991).

(261a) ɲákɔ́ɔ́ jì -è tʃúkʌ́r
girl stomach of 3SG sugar
Lit. 'The/A girl's stomach is sugar.'
'The/A girl is quite happy.'

In (261a), HAPPINESS IS SUGAR

(b) jì -à ʈééŋ ʈúkěer
stomach of 1SG cane of sugar
Lit. 'My stomach is a cane of sugar.'
'I'm very happy.'

In example (261b), HAPPINESS IS SUGAR CANE, but the metaphor jìà ʈèèŋŋɔ̀ 'My stomach is cane includes DURRA CANE as a source of happines. The use of cane as a source happiness is limited to stomach but not liver, because stomach has the image of wider container like a house in which a cane is put or leaned against before eating it. Thus, tʃwíɲà ʈééŋ ʈúkěer 'My liver is sugarcane' is not allowed to talk about happiness as a liver is not a very enclosed container.

(262) jì -è máár ōdwéélá[ɔ́ɒ]
stomach of 3SG fat/oil of bichir
Lit. 'His/Her stomach is the fat/oil of bichir.'
'He/She is very happy.'

The fat of bichir is very yellow and delicious. So, when seeing it before eating, one feels happy. When a bichir fat is mixed with its flesh and salt and eaten alone without porridge, an eater eats happily and becomes satisfied for along time due to drinking a lot of water from time to time. The use of words like mɛ́t 'tasty' and food items like fish fat to understand and talk about happiness in Anywaa supports what Lakoff and Turner (1989:xi) mention that metaphor is an integration of our ordinary thought and language. Based on the use of the source domain of TASTY FOOD to understand HAPPINESS in Anywaa, the mappings in table 19 can be produced.

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
satisfaction with happiness	satisfaction with food
liver/stomach	tongue
happy person	eater of tasty food
experiencing happiness	obtaining tasty food

Table 19: Mappings with HAPPINESS IS TASTY FOOD in Anywaa

[56]The expression ɔ̀ɔ̀nà àà ɔ̀t dʒʊ̀ɔ̀k nɛ́ɛ́ mɛ́t ɛ́tʃ màr dʒʊ̀ɔ̀k ɲwáàɔ̀ 'Let's go to church to eat happiness of God together' provides evidence that happiness is food because the verb ɲwààk 'share' is basically used for eating delicious food together. If father and mother lead a happy life, a male or female child born in such a situation is named mɛ́tɛ́tʃ 'happiness.'In fact, ɲwààk mɛ́t ɛ̀tʃ 'eating happiness together' means sharing it by inviting others to a special day locally called tʃʌ́ŋ mɛ̀tʃ ɛ̀tʃ 'happiness day' or telling a happy thing to others so that they laugh. As people do not like offending other, they are also usually afraid of giving bad food to people except during famine. Hence, SHARING HAPPINESS IS EATING DELICIOUS FOOD TOGETHER.

As the mappings in table 19 imply, in Anywaa foods which are not tasty are not used as source domains of happiness. The use of tasty foods as source of happiness in Anywaa is clued by the words mɛ́t 'tasty', mìnnò 'become tasty' and tasty food items like honey. For example, rììdɔ 'leaven' is eaten during famine among the Anywaa, but it is not used as a source of happiness by saying jìà rììdɔ̀ 'My stomach is leaven' to refer to happiness, because it is not tasty. Leaven is mainly used for preparintg beer. It is very sour and makes an eater irritated. Further, leaven has black colour, which is the colour of being dirty and spoiled. This food is not pleasant to Anywaa's eye and liver. Tatsy food like fresh stew mixed with white flour look nice due to the white colour, which makes the stew clean. Foods without salt and hard foods like boiled maize are also not used as sources of happiness in Anywaa.

INTENSE HAPPINESs can be conceptualized EDIBLE OIL which moves and flows like a liquid in the in a container/on the ground to imply high happiness and satisfaction. Examples (263a)-(263b) have been given for clarification.

(263a)	jì	-à	múúl	-á	mààw	-ì
	stomach	1SG	flow	FOC	oil	DEF
Lit.	'The Oil is flowing in my stomach.'					
	'I'm very happy.'					

In (263a) happines emotion degree is lower as there is no voice of flowing oil, which is the source of happiness. The use of edible oil/fat and other concrete objects as sources of happiness or other emotions imply that prior to our interaction with an object or environment, an object/matter exists independently outside our mind. In fact, oil which flows has more amount.

The sound/voice tɔ́mtɔ́m 'the continuous flowing of oil and floating fat in fish/meat soup' can be used while expressing happiness even if the name of oil is not mentioned, because the voice tɔ́mtɔ́m is already known to be produced by floating fat. Consider example (263b) for clarification.

(b)	jì	-í	nī	tɔ́mtɔ́m
	stomach of	2SG	CON	totom
Lit.	'Oil is floating in your stomach by producing the voice tomtom.'			
	'You are very happy.'			

As it can be inferred from (263b), the voice tɔ́mtɔ́m experientially evokes the voice of floating fat or flowing oil in a container. The fat/oil usually consists of fat or oil of gùùr 'Nile perch', wɛ̀ɛ̀rì 'wolfherring' and other kinds of fishes and animals like giraffe. Literally, the word tɔ́mtɔ́m is a voice produced by a lot of oil when it moves in a container or when it is poured into another container. Thus, the extension of this voice into stomach metaphorically expresses intense happiness lasting longer. Because it has the voice tɔ́mtɔ́m, example (263b) has higher intensity

of happiness than example (263a), which has no voice of flowing oil. Below is table 20 for the mappings of the subconceptual metaphor **HAPPINESS IS A FLOWING OIL/FAT**.

TARGET: HAPPINESS	**SOURCE: OIL/FAT**
happiness	oil
happy person	eater of oil
expression of happiness	flowing of oil
degree of happiness	degree of flowing
voice of happy person	voice of flowing oil
low happiness intensity	decline in flowing

Table 20: HAPPINESS as FLOATING OIL

Based on table 20, it can be inferred that based on HAPPINESS IS TASTY, inedible oils and animals are therefore not used as source domains of happiness. Thus, python[57] or its oil and snake and its oil/fat are not used as source domains of happiness, because a reptile like snake is dangerous and not edible due to its venom and spiritual matters in its body.

Metaphor of happiness with the source domain of oil has strong mapping constraints. For example, stomach but not liver is used for flowing of oil, because stomach is deep like river and contains water unlike liver, which has FLAT and CLOSED image schema. According to Yang (2015:85), conceptual metaphor has the power of options because image schemas are general. So, only possible aspects of source domains are used during metaphorization. Furthermore, as examples (279a&b) suggest, in metaphorical use, people do not simply transfer entities and structure from source to target, but they use the way they evaluate the entities in the source domains based on their sensorimotor experiences. Therefore, the expression tʃwíɲà mùùlà mààwì 'Oil is flowing in my liver' to mean *I'm happy*, is not acceptable in Anywaa, because a liver is not open like a canal and the water we drink goes into stomach but not liver.

Generally, edible and delicious foods are desired and so is happiness. So, below while example (264a) expresses ANGER based on source domain of BAD FOOD, (264b) is its literal equivalent evoking evaluation and source domain.

(264a)	jì	-à	bá	mɛ́t
	stomach of	1SG	NEG	tasty
Lit.	'My stomach/liver is not tasty.'			
	'I am not happy.'			

The anger expression in (264a), is sometimes expressed as jìà ráátʃ 'my stomach/liver is bad', i.e *I'm angry*.

(b)	tʃàm	mɔ̄	bá	mɛ́t
	food	REL	NEG	tasty
Lit.	'Food which is not tasty.'			
	'A bad food.			

While example (264a) is clearly metaphorical, example (264b) can be usually interpreted to be literal and serves as the experiential basis of the anger metaphor in (264a). Hence, HAPPINESS IS GOOD LIVER/STOMACH/FOOD; ANGER IS BAD LIVER/STOMACH/FOOD. Reversing the word order changes grammatical meaning of happiness. Consider the examples below in (265)-(268).

(265)	mɛ́t	ɛ̀tʃ
	tastiness of	stomach
Lit.	'tastiness of stomach.'	
	'happiness.'	

Example (265) refers to the general concept of HAPPINESS in Anywaa.

(266)	ɛ̀tʃ	mɛ́t
	stomach	tasty
Lit.	'The stomach/liver is tasty.'	
	'There is happiness.'	

Example (266) implies the existence of happiness possessed by the people or person being happy but whose name is not needed to be mentioned. This has been done by fronting ɛ̀tʃ 'stomach'.

(267a)	jì	-à	mɛ́t
	stomach of	1SG	tasty
Lit.	'My stomach is tasty.'		
	'I'm happy.'		
(b)	mɛ́t	jì	-à
	tastiness of	1SG	1SG
Lit.	'Tastiness of my stomach.'		
	'My happiness/pleasure.'		

In (267a), the speaker is telling the other people that he/she is happy, but in 267(b), the speaker is emphasizing his/her happiness by fronting mɛ́t 'tasty'. By using the focus marker{á-}, one can talk about his or her degree of happiness, interest or gratitude. In doing so, the order is reversed as mɛ́t- jì- 'tastiness of stomach of', then the focus marker {-á} is attached to mɛ́t 'tasty'. The example in (268) has been provided for clarification.

(268)	mɛ́t	-á	jì	-à
	tasty	FOC	stomach of	1SG
Lit.	'It is (only) my stomach that is tasty.'			
	'It is only I who is happy/happier/interested.'			

Example (268) implies that only the speaker is happy or happier or interested. The example can also mean the speaker loves something or is willing to do something without being forced. Therefore, in Anywaa, HAPPINESS, LOVE, INTEREST and WILL interact based on the source

domain of TASTY FOOD. With the help the source domain of TASTY FOOD for expressing happiness, the path of meaning formation process in human mind and language can be schematized as **sensory/motor experience** > **conceptualization** > **target domain (expressing meaning)**.

HAPPINESS IS AN OVERFLOWING FLUID

HAPPINESS is conceptualized among the Anywaa as OVERFLOWING RIVER (LIQUID). This is extreme happiness as over flowing rivers are large and have more water flowing out to villages and fields. The following linguistic examples in (269a&b) illustrate such happiness.

(269a)	jì	-à	ā	-nímáttá	(káámár)	(nààm)
	stomach of	1SG	PST	overflow	like	river
Lit.	'My stomach was overflowing like river.'					
	'I was very happy.'					

In (269a) happiness is based on the image schema of rainy season and the overflowing of large rivers like Gilo, Openo, Akobo and Oboth, which displace the Anywaa and make them look for dry land to settle in. Thus, happiness experienced in terms of rivers is higher happiness than those of flowing oils, based on the image schema of flowing river. Example (269a) has optionally used káámàr 'like' and nààm 'river', because the verb nímáttá 'overflow' is mostly used for overflowing of a river or water although it has been extended to extreme happiness.

(b)	jì	-ì	ā	-nímáttá	káámár	t̪át̪á
	stomach of	2SG	PST	overflow	like	Thatha
Lit.	'Your stomach is overflowing with happiness like lake Thatha.'					
	'You are extremely happy.'					

In (269b), the degree of happiness is very high due to the experience and the fact that lake Thatha is the largest lake in Gambella Region and it is found in Anywaa Zone. Hence, EXTREME HAPPINESS IS AN OVERFLOWING (OF) WATER BODY.

HAPPINESS IS RELIEF

Happiness can be conceptualized as RELIEF/ REST. This relief is felt by liver or stomach, but the actual experience comes from people's taking rest and avoiding worry. The examples in (270a-c) illustrate HAPPINESS IS RELIEF/REST in Anywaa.

(270a)	jì	-à	ā	-nīdʒùòm
	stomach of	1SG	PST	take a rest
Lit.	'My stomach has taken a rest.'			
	'I have become happy.'			

The experience of happiness in (270a) comes from a person' sitting down or sleeping. Liver or stomach also sits down or sleeps when something bringing worry is solved. People who are worried or agitated stand for fight, but sit down later when they control their emotions.

(b)	tʃwíɲ	-è	éé	tʃîp	pìɲ	dʒààk
	liver of	3SG	PERF	put	down	simply
Lit.	'He/She has simply put down his/her liver.'					
	'He/She is slightly happy (without any worry.'					

In Anywaa, tʃîp tʃwìɲ pìɲ 'putting down a liver 'usually refers to patience. Hence, LIVER RETURNS TO ITS APPROPRIATE PLACE WHEN A PERON IS HAPPY BUT CHANGES ITS PLACE DURING FEAR OR ANGER. This imples *HAPPINESS IS PROPER POSITION; ANGER IS IMPROPER POSITION.* The understanding of negative emotion in terms of improper place can be seen in tʃwíɲà páá kàrè 'My liver is not in its proper position', which implies the speaker's bad mood/unclear anger.

(c)	āmɔ̀ɔ̀t̪	tʃwíɲ	-è	ā	-nīkùòtʃ	n	-ā	-dʒʊ̀ʊ̀t
	Amooth	liver of	3SG	PST	relieve	when	PST	find
	wʌ̀ʌ̀d	-è						
	son of	3SG						
Lit	'Amooth's liver relieved when she found her son.'							
	'Amooth became happy when she found her son.'							

Examlple (270c) pressupposes that Amooth's son got lost but was later found and she became happy. Generally, the Anywaa's conception of happiness as RELIEF is based on their belief that when there is worry, both human liver, stomach and mind also are worried and become restless as the whole body of a person is busy. The word nīkùòtʃ literally means *relief due to fresh air*. Therefore, A HAPPY PERSON IS A PERSON WHO IS TAKING A REST.

6.2 HAPPINESS as INTERJECTION

Interjections help realize that someone is happy due to what happens or what he or she finds as an important thing changing life. Scherer (1994:70) defines an interjection as an expression of emotion in the form of voice and face (physiology). In fact, in reference to Anywaa, interjections are usually voices although words like răatʃ bad! can be used as an interjection. Meanings of interjections are usually clear from the context and near/immediate stimulus and convention. According to Wierzbicka (1999:276), an interjection expressing cognitive feeling is called an *emotive interjection*. Thus, IMMEDIATE AND STRONG COGNITIVE FEELINGS ARE INTERJECTIONS. Because interjections usually express strong feeling caused by near object, context/ recent news, it usually has high tone or rising tone/intonation in Anywaa (see also Goddard, 2014:53). Some of happiness interjections used in Anywaa have been given in the expressions in (271a-c) .

(271a)	tíŋgít!	áán	-á	-kwʌ́ŋŋó	(kī)	gíér
	wow	1SG	PST	get	OBL	turtle
	'Wow! I have got a turtle. '					
	Adapted from Abala (1996:42)					

In (271a) happiness is caused by satisfaction for the fact that gìɛ̀r 'turtle' is big and can be eaten by more people and its meat is very delicious. A person who found the turtle was therefore an adult who knows the very good taste of turtle. In fact, it is more often in very rare cases that an adult male Anywaa finds and kills turtle for food. The happiness interjection **tíŋgí**t is more often uttered by Anywaaa children when they find and pick up important things like beads, very ripe mango, coin and a dead fresh fish in ponds. This interjection a lone can express high degree of happiness accompanied by dance, jumping and shouting. In (271a), the Anywaa word tìŋ means *to lift.*

When used with low tone as tìŋgìt, the interjection implies low degree of happiness caused by less important thing found. This function of an interjection takes as to the conclusion that an interjection is equivalent to an emotion category like happiness, anger, surpise/fear and disgust and emotion degree. Because the interjection in (271) can drop the rest parts of happiness expression, it can be concluded that meanings of interjections are equivalent to meanings of long expressions of emotion metaphors. Interjections are therefore the conventionally reduced forms of longer emotion (metaphor) expressions related to knowledge, experience and convention. Schimidit (2005) explains that metaphorical expression can be reduced.

(b) ájwă..! dʒááj ā -óó
oh associate boys PST come
'Oh!Our male associates have come.'

In (271b) the interjection ájwă is used to express happiness caused by the coming of associates for supporting friends during group fighting or to assist them in doing difficult task like lifting a house roof. So, the interjection ájwăa... alone expresses great happiness causing relief and satisfaction. Therefore, in very clear context, the speaker can omit the sentence dʒááj āòò 'The guys have come'. Thus, it can be concluded that an interjection identifies age, gender, context, activity, addresser and addressee.

(c) ájáŋ ā -òò jáá, á... à
mother PST come INTER INTER
'Oh! Mother has come, oh....'

In example (271c) the interjection jáá and á..á express happiness experienced by a child whose mother comes from a farm or river and carries mangoes or fishes. Contextually, jáá alone can be used by an adult to express happiness and satisfaction. Another interjection which combines love and happiness is dʒɔ́r..., which is used to express happiness by young boys when dance with drum is intense or when girls pass by. Thus, the interjection dʒɔ́r... is used as a romantic expression for choosing a girl (wife) for love and happiness with her appearance and dressing

style of a girl. Although dʒɔ́r literally means *to sprinkle*, in dance context, it means to touch the forehead of a girl with the tail of giraffe or ox tail with the meaning of choosing or asking a girl for dance (love). Generally, metaphors of happiness in (271a)-(271c) evoke the conceptual metaphor HAPPINESS (EMOTION) EXPERIENCED SUDDENLY IS AN INTERJECTION; SUDDEN EMOTION IS AN INTERJECTION.

Ekman (2003) claims as "Words are one way of analyzing our emotion, but we cannot simplify an emotion into single words." However, this claim is contrary to happiness interjections of Anywaa. For example, if a child says tíŋgít 'wow!' by jumping up, while a mother, father or any other adult is in the house, it is clear to the old person that the child is happy as a result of obtaining bead, coin or any other important thing on the ground. Thus, in Anywaa, tíŋgít 'wow' alone can mean I'm *happy because I have got a good thing/I have heard good news.*

6.3 Degrees of Happiness

In Anywaa, degrees of happiness can be graded using different linguistic techniques like the use of degree adverb like dɔ̀tʃ 'very', focus marker {á} and vowel extension. For example, the use of the degree and affirmation adverb kírɛ́ɛ́ 'really' and its vowel extension can express different intensities of happiness as illustrated below.

(272)	jí	-á	mɛ́t	kírɛ̀ɛ̀
	stomach of	1SG	tasty	really
Lit.	'My stomach is really delicious.'			
	'I'm really happy.'			
(b)	jí	-à	mɛ́t	kírɛ̌...
	stomach of	1SG	tasty	reall...y
Lit.	'My stomach is really delicious.'			
	'I'm real...y happy.'			

In example (272b), the degree of happiness is higher than the one in example (272a), because kírɛ̌ɛ...'reall...y' has vowel extension and rising tone in (272b). The use of dɔ̀tʃ 'very' can also express degree of happiness. Consider the examples in (273a-c).

(273a)	jí	-á	ā	-mínnó	dɔ́tʃ
	stomach of	1SG	PST	become tasty	DEG
Lit.	'My stomach has become very tasty.'				
	'I'm very happy/ I was very happy.'				

In (273a) happiness has higher degree than when you simply say jìà āmínnó 'I'm happy or I was happy'. By repeating the degree adverb, higher degree of emotion (happiness) can be expressed as follows in (273b):

(b)	jí	-à	ā	-mínnó	dɔ́tʃ	dɔ́tʃ	dɔ́tʃ
	stomach of	1SG	PST	become tasty	very	very	very
Lit.	'My stomach has become very very very tasty.'						
	'I have become very very very happy.'						

Example (273a), has only one dɔ́tʃ 'very', but in (273b), there are three dɔ́tʃ' 'very'. This must be the reason for which example (373a) has lower degree of happiness than example (373b). Hence MORE OF FORM IS MORE OF CONTENT. When degree adverb is used with amalgamation, happiness (emotion) degree will be higher than without using amalgamation due to lack of interruptions while uttering the degree adverbs in sequence. Consider the following example in (273c).

(c)	jɪ̰t̪	-gɛ̀	mɛ́t	dɔ̀tʃdɔ̀tʃdɔ̀tʃ
	stomachs of	3PL	tasty	veryveryvery
Lit.	'Their stomachs/livers are veryveryvery tasty.'			
	'They are veryveryvery happy.'			

In (273c), the word dɔ̀tʃ 'very' has been repeated three times and combined as dɔ̀tʃdɔ̀tʃdɔ̀tʃ 'veryveryvery' due to the fast speech by the very happy person. Therefore, example (273c) has higher intensity of happiness than example (273b), whose degree adverbs are not combined. The combination of three dɔ̀tʃ 'very' in example (273c) takes us to the conceptual metaphor MORE OF CONTENT (HIGHER DEGREE) IS A COMBINATION OF FORM. Experientially, objects which are piled up look bigger. The overall comparison of plain vowels and breathy ones reveals that plain vowels express higher intensity of happiness than breathy ones. Therefore, dɔ̀tʃ 'very' has higher degree of emotion than dɔ̰̤tʃ 'very' but in some situations the variation between breathy and plain vowels for marking emotion intensity depends on the speaker. The use of vowel extension and rising tone on dɔ̀tʃ 'very' expresses the highest degree of happiness as illustrated below in (274a&b).

(274a)	jì	-à	ā	-mìnnò	dɔ̌...tʃ
	stomach of	1sG	PST	become	ver...y
Lit.	'My stomach has become ver...y tasty.'				
	'I have become ver...y happy.'				

The happiness in (274a) mainly expresses immediate happiness due to the word mìnnò 'become tasty'. However, in the absence of degree word, like dɔ́tʃ 'very', the vowel in mɛ́t 'tasty/mìnnò 'become tasty' can be extended to express higher degree of happiness. Consider example (274b).

(b)	jì	-ì	ā	-mìnnò...
	stomach of	2SG	PST	become tasty
Lit.	'Your stomach has become tast...y.'			
	'You have become happ...y'			

Example (274b) has higher degree of metaphor than an expression which simply usse āmìnnò 'became tasty', whose vowel [ò] is not extended. Because variation between breathy and plain vowels distinguish emotion intensity, it can be claimed that phonemes are meaningful because a plain vowel makes happiness degree higher than the degree word used with breathy vowel.

Below, in (275) and (276) are happiness expressions used with the breathy vowel [o] in dòtʃ 'very', which has lower degree than dɔ̀tʃ 'very', having the plain vowel [ɔ].

(275a)	jì	-è̤	ā	-mínnó	dótʃ
	stomach of	3SG	PST	become tasty	DEG
Lit.	'His/Her stomach has become very tasty.'				
	'He/She has become very happy.'				

The happiness expression in (275a) has higher degree than if used without the adverbial degree dòtʃ 'very'. If the degree adverb dótʃ very is repeated as dótʃ 'very' dótʃ 'very', the happiness (emotion), will be higher than the one which uses only with one dótʃ/dɔ́tʃ 'very', because two or more is more than one.

(b)	jì	-é̤	ò̤	-mìnnò	dǒ...tʃ
	stomach of	3SG	PERF	become tasty	ver...y
Lit.	'His/Her stomach has become ver...y tasty.'				
	'He/She has become ver...y happy.'				

The metaphor expressed in (275b) has higher degree of happiness than that in (275a), because the degree adeverb dótʃ has vowel extension and rising tone in (275b). Using rising and falling tones, the highest degree of happiness can be expressed by using the approximant **/r/** and vowel extension. This has been illustrated in (276a&b).

(276a)	jì	-ì	ò̤	-mìnnò	dòrô...tʃ
	stomach of	2SG	PERF	become tasty	DEG
Lit.	'Your stomach has beome very tasty.'				
	'You have become very happy.'				

In (276a), happiness intensity is higher than using the degree word dô..tʃ 'very' or dòtʃ 'very' due to the use of the approximant [r] .

(b)	jì	-i	ò̤	-mìnnò	dórǒ...tʃ
	stomach of	2sG	PERF	become tasty	DEG
Lit.	'Your stomach has extremely become delicious.'				
	'You are extremely happy.'				

In example (276b) the degree of happiness is higher than the one in (276a) due to the use of rising tone and the extended plain vowel [ɔ], which is easier to produce than the breathy vowel [o]. Generally, the use of vowel extension in degree adverb or any other word to mark highest emotion degree is based on the experience of seeing unlimited number of concrete objects in the external world. Although in most cases phonemes are not meaningful by themselves, the use of breathy vowel phonemes, plain vowel phonemes and vowel extension to mark emotion degree takes us to the conclusion that in the mind/cerebellum of an Anywaa, phonemes are sometimes stored as meaningful units based on usage and experience. Thus, to a cognitive linguist, the basic unit of a language is *semantic unit*. According to Barnes and Pinel (2015:122), meaning in the head is called *enkephalins*. This claim is further supported as:

> Linguistic units like phonemes and morphemes do not exist as separate units in the mind, but only as continuous phonological shapes which are linked with semantics (meaning) and grammar. Thus, phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics are interfaced (Välimaa-Blum, 2009).

By using răatʃ 'bad' as an adverb of expressing extreme happiness, the degree of happiness be expressed as follows in (277a&b):

(277a)	mɛ́t	jì	-à	ráátʃ
	taste of	stomach of	1SG	bad
Lit.	'The tastiness of my stomach is bad.'			
	'I'm extremely happy.'			

In example (277a) mɛ́t 'tasty' has been fronted before jìà 'my stomach' to emphasize that the experiencer is the first person singular. But the adjective ráátʃ 'bad' has clearly marked the higher degree of happiness.

(b)	jì	-à	mɛ́t	-ɛ̀	ră...ʧ
	stomach	1SG	tasty	3SG	very bad
Lit.	'My stomsch, its tastiness is exremely bad.'				
	'I'm extremely happy.'				

In example (277b), the the 3SG ɛ̀, has been attached to mɛ́t 'tasty' to express the tastiness of the speaker's stomach, which implies his/her happiness. The example in (277b) has higher degree of happiness than that in (277a), because ráátʃ 'bad', which expresses degree of happiness has vowel extension and rising tone. In such an emotional metaphor construction, dɔ̀tʃ 'very' is not used after mɛ́t 'delicious', because its position has already been taken by răatʃ 'extremely bad', to a larger extent. Examples, (277a&b) underlies INTENSE IS BAD.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (2003) expressing higher degree of meaning with sound extension or repetition of a word evokes the cognitive metaphor MORE OF FORM IS MORE OF CONTENT. However, in this paper, the logical cognitive metaphor should be MORE OF CONTENT IS MORE OF FORM, because we understand more meaning and intensity based on sound extension or repetition of form, which is concrete and the source domain of meaning and intensity. We also expect more objects when the container has wide inner part. The rising tone also contributes to expressing extreme happiness as the pitch increases the happiness and voice.

Among the Anywaa, high and rising tones are accompanied by laughter, dance or jumping during happiness. Hence, INTENSE EMOTION IS HIGH TONE. In general, happiness understood in terms of delicious food has the generic level metaphor PLEASANT/ENJOYABLE EMOTION IS DELICIOUS FOOD because both the source and target domains are pleasant and enjoyable. The use of tasty food with the whole body or other body parts rather than stomach and liver expresses different meanings. Consider the following examples in (278a-c).

(278a) tʃɛ̀r -è mɛ́t
hand of 3SG tasty
Lit. 'Her hand is tasty.'
'The beer/food she prepares is very tasty.'

Metaphor (278a) implies a woman who cooks tasty foods or prepares good beer so that people are satisfied. Here, HAND METONYMICALLY STANDS FOR TASTY FOOD, because foods are prepared with hands.

(b) ḍ̲í -ì ā -mìnnò
mouth of 2SG PST become tasty
Lit. 'Your mouth has become tasty.'
'The food you are eating is very tasty and it is difficult for you to stop eating.'

Example (278b) implies that the addressee may sometimes stop eating, but starts eating again as it is difficult to stop eating due to tastiness of the food.

(c) dèèr -à ā -mìnnò
body of 1SG PST become tasty
Lit. 'My body as become delicious.'
'I have felt the orgasm.'

Based on example (278c) ORGASM IS TASTY FOOD. The metaphors in (278a-c) can take degree words like dɔ̀tʃ 'very' to express higher degree.

6.4 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, cold and warm temperature which are metaphorically attributed to liver, body or stomach express 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 (see also Kövecses, 2010). Although cold temperature is mostly not used for metaphorical conceptualization of happiness in Anywaa, it can be used when eating a little breakfast or leftover.

In general, the use of temperature as a source of happiness is emphasized by Kövecses (2010:21) as "HEAT and COLD are very 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/ATTITUDES to people or things". The following examples in (279)-(282) are the linguistic metaphors used with WARM TEMPERATURE as source domain of SLIGHT HAPPINESS in Anywaa.

(279a) tʃwíŋ -à ā -mújjó
liver of 1SG PST become warm
Lit. 'My liver has become warm.'
'I am rather happy.'

Metaphor with the source domain of warm temperature in liver and stomach expresses only slight happiness. In (279a) due to mújjó 'become warm', the happiness experienced by the speaker is very temporary because the stimulus is very immediate or contextual.

(b)	tʃwìɲ	-ì	mɔ́r
	liver of	2SG	warm
Lit.	'Your liver is warm.'		
	'You are slightly happy.'		

The happiness here may last longer due to the use of mɔ́r 'warm'.

(280)	dèèr	-ì	ā	-mùjjò
	body of	2SG	PST	become warm
Lit.	'Your body has become warm.'			
	'You are slightly happy and active.'			

The use of slight happiness based on warm temperature in (280) is very contextual. The metaphor can also express becoming active, feeling and enjoying the warmth of the sun or fire. It can also express slight anger mostly caused by debate. In Anywaa, because warm temperature of the sun or fire is pleasant to body, it is felt is like tasty food as mɛ́t, but the hot temperature of the sun or fire makes people angry by burning them and therefore understood as lɛ́t̪ 'painful'. Thus, the conceptual metaphor SLIGHT HAPPINESS IS WARM TEMPERATURE IN BODY, LIVERSTOMACH is clearly motivated by the experience of warming onself with warm temperature.

(281)	n	-à	pʌ́ɲ	kwʌ́ʌ́ró	wɔ́k,
	when	PST	jump:VENT	chief	out
	ɲīkááŋá	mààtʃ	ā	-gɔ̀ɔ̀	-è
	Nyikaanga	gun	PST	fire	3SG
	nī	múj	dèèr	-è	
	and	become warm	body of	3SG	
Lit.	'When the chief ran out of the palace, Nyikanga fired the gun and his body became warm.'				
	'When the chief ran out of the palace, Nyikaanga immediately fired the gun and became happy.'				

The happiness experienced by Nyikaanga in (281) has a clear source of happiness, which is firing. Coronation of the new Anywaa chief is also a good cause of happiness experienced by Nyikaanga in (281). When a chief is coronated, he runs out of the palace with a team of queens and runs to space encircled by other people who are dancing and singing for a chief to brag. Then, he dances in the space with his villagers. When the dance becomes intense, picking up his spear, the chief chases away the people near him as to show his heroism for future adminstration and overcoming both internal and external challenges. The chief can also fire a gun to imply his heroism.

Seeing the ceremony as (281) implies, Nyikaanga therefore fired his gun and felt happy by dancing, jumping and shouting. This implies that warm temerature in body has higher degree of happiness than cold temperature in the body, because a person whose body is warm shouts with a

bull name, dances, fires a gun and jumps up with happiness, but a happy person whose stomach/liver is warm sits down and converses happily but does not usually move or jump.

(282)	dʒààl	pìŋ	ā	-mòòr	-è	dɔ́tʃ
	old man	earth	PST	warm	3SG	DEG
Lit.	'The old man (has) warmed the earth very well.'					
	'The old man (has) made the people very happy.'					

In (282), the implied meaning is that the old man told an interesting story or did a happy thing. In Anywaa, the word pìŋ 'earth' can be extended to condition or atmosphere. The Anywaa believe that the air on earth is good for survival but that in the sky is terrifying and inhospitable, because it is filled with spiritual matters bringing madness and impeded pereception. Thus, to the Anywaa, the best place to live is the earth surface since it has water, rivers, plants, soil for cultivation and fishes. Example (282) underlies MAKING A PERSON HAPPY IS WARMING THE ATMOSPHERE/HIS/HER LIVER; INTENSITY OF HAPPINESS IS DEGREE OF WARMTH. As language is a reflection of experience and thinking, the Anywaa word mɔ́r 'warm' or mòòr 'make warm' evokes warm temperature of the sun, boiled water or fire, which warms our body and pleases us.

The above linguistic metaphors in (279a)-(282) are physical realizations of **SLIGHT HAPPINESS IS WARM**, which implies that the atmosphere is good for the happy person. Contrary to sadness, the Anywaa see warm temperature as good atmosphere for happiness as it pleases people. Thus, to express happiness with the situation, which is experienced on earth, an Anywaa says pìŋ bɛ́ɛ́r/mɔ́r 'The earth is good/warm',dʒámɔ́ bɛ́ɛ́r 'The air is good',dʒàmɔ̀ mɛ́t 'The air is delicious' or dʒàmɔ̀ dʒóót 'The air is light/not heavy'. Therefore, FEELING WARM TEMPERATURE IS FEELING SLIGHT HAPPINESS.

The understanding of happiness in terms of warm temperature in body, liver or stomach among the Anywaa takes us to the conclusion that there is high correlation between metaphor, emotion category and temperature type (in human body). When we are slightly happy, our liver/stomach is warm, because a slightly happy person may dance slowly but his/her body can be felt to be warm but not hot.

When we are very angry, our liver/stomach is hot/fire and our body is felt as hot with sweating, but when we are afraid, we are very sad and our body is very cold leading to trembling, faint or death, which is understood in terms of a very cold tempearture. Hence, a cognitive linguist can use thermometer to understand emotion metaphors based on language. It can be concluded that

anger, fear and happiness have different source domains of TEMPERATURES. In sections 4.9 and 5.2.1, we have seen that FEAR IS VERY COLD TEMPERATURE and that ANGER IS VERY HOT TEMPERATURE(FIRE). People tremble with fear cold and are irritated by very hot temperature although they are pleased by warm temperature. Hence, DIFFERENT CLASSES OF EMOTIONS ARE DIFFERENT TEMPEATURES. This in turn implies that COLD, WARM and HOT are frames of the source domain TEMPERATURE.

6.5 HAPPINESS as HEALTH

In other situations, happiness in Anywaa can be conceptualized as dʒóót dèèl 'health', which literally means *lightness of a body*, i.e a state in which human body is not heavy implying that happiness is a good feeling resulting in doing good things actively. When we are healthy and happy, our body is light, because we jump up, walk easily, dance or run. While the Anywaa word dʒóót is light in English, the Anywaa word dèèl is body in English. In Anywaa , the word dʒóót dèèl 'lightness of body' can mean health or being active. In the process of conceptualizing happiness in Anywaa, first a person becomes health, then he or she becomes active. Finally, being active leads to being happy. Therefore, by looking at the physiology of a person, anger, happiness and health can be understood.

The Anywaa's conceptualization of HAPPINESS as HEALTH is supported by Archibal et al, (2005:212) that words can be associated with physical and psychological states common in our physical experience. Unhappiness and ill health can 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** in (283a-d).

(283a)	ɲīlǎál	déér	-è	ā	-dʒóónnó	n
	child	body of	3SG	PST	become light	when
	-á	dʒʊ̀ʊ̀t	ménn[58]	-í		
	PST	see	mother of: 3SG	3SG		
Lit.	'The child's body became light when it saw its mother.'					
	'The child became happy and active when it saw its mother.'					

[58]This implies that the 3SG **í** is optionally used with wʌ̀nn 'father of' and mɛ̀nn 'mother of'. In Anywaa, the basic modified form of mother is mìì-' mother of' and that of father is ẁʌʌ̀- 'father of'. The forms mɛ̀r- 'mother of ' and wʌ̀r' father of' are used with 2SG and 1SG . Hence, mɛ̀rà'my mother', mɛ̀rù'your mother', wʌ̀rà 'my father' wʌ̀rù 'your father (2SG)'.

In (283a) it can be inferred that the mother went to a distant place and came back after certain time. So, the child is now active, happy and playing with other children although the child was sad before. Example (283a) clearly underliess HAPPY IS LIGHT.

(b)	ādʒáák	tʃʌ́ʌ́d	-í	nī	lɛ́ɛ́ŋŋ	-á	bʌ́ʌ́t	-ɛ́
	Ajaak	walk	HAB	CON	throw:ITV	FOC	shoulders of	3SG
Lit.	'Ajaak walks by throwing his shoulders/hands.'							
	'Ajaak is walking happily and actively.'							

In (283b) the shoulders are easily moved (up) due to health, which makes the body light and easy to move. The example in (283b) also implies that a happy person also jumps up or walks fast with light legs due to health. Firing gun also can give happiness in the form HEALTH, which is LIGHT as can be illustrated as follows in (283c):

(c)	káɲ	-ā	gɔ́ɔ́tʃ	máátʃ	dèèr	-è	ā	-pút
	when	PST	fire	gun	body of	3SG	PST	do immediately
	nīkɛ́r							
	scatter							
Lit.	'When he fired the gun, his body immediately scattered.'							
	'When he fired the gun, he immediately became happy and active.'							

The literal meaning of nìkɛ́r 'scatter' in (283c) is that the body separated into light pieces and ran away in different directions. This is because in such a happy situation, the happy person runs or moves around, shouts and jumps up with a gun after firing it. Thus, in such a situation, bad spirits go away from the body and the person walks easily and happily. The word nī̱tìk is used to express happiness combined with being active, health and having warmth in the whole body. So, dèèrè ānì̱tìk 'His/Her body has become active' implies happiness combined with acting actively and moving around which the Anywaa call wùùjjò. When we are happy, we walk fast, because our legs are light, but when we are sad or sick, our legs are heavy and we may walk with stick, sleep or fall down. Consider the example in (283d).

(d)	ōmɔ̀d	tìɛ̀t	-è	ā	-dʒóónnò
	Omod	legs of	3SG	PST	become light
Lit.	'Omod's legs have become light.'				
	' Omot has started walking happily by picking up his legs easily.'				

In (283d), the happy person is moving fast by picking his/her legs up easily. The ease of picking up legs is caused by health and happiness. So, the happy person walks by moving his/her legs easily. Example (283d) presuposses that Omod was not happy and was walking slowly before the happy thing stimulated him. Therefore, SINCE HAPPINESS IS LIGHT, THE BODY OF A HEALTHY/HAPPPY PERSON IS LIGHT; THE BODY OF A SAD/SICK PERSON IS HEAVY.

In Anywaa, greeting and health are understood based on the source domain of HEALTH, which is clearly based on LIGHT OBJECT/LIGHT BODY OF A PERSON. In Anywaa, greeting a person or asking his/her wellbeing is expressed as follows in (284a-c).

(284a) déér -ì dʒóót?
body of 2SG light
Lit. 'Is your body light?'
'Are you fine/well/healthy?'

The expression in (284a) is usually used for greeting, but in another concept, it can be used as a question to understand the health status of the addressee if the addresee looks passive.

(b) déér -ì dʒóót nɔ́?
body of 2SG light EMPH
Lit. 'Is your body light then?'
'Nice to meet you again.'

The expression in (284b) clearly refers to greeting a person who is met after a very long time of separation or a famous person whose name is heard but met for the first time. The long time of separation has been expressed by the emphatic morpheme nɔ́.

(c) dèèr -ì dʒóót
body of 2SG light
Lit. 'Your body is light.'
'You are healthy.'

The expression in (284c) clearly expresses that the addressee is healthy. This language can be usually used by the speaker who sees the addresee walking actively. The expression in example (284c) can also be uttered by a physician who has checked the healthy status and confirmed that the addressee has no health problem. Example (284c) can also mean the addresee is active or happy.

(d) déér -ì bá dʒóót
body of 2SG NEG light
Lit. 'Your body is not light.'
'You are not healthy.'

Example (284d) is based on the medical result indicating that the addressee has health problem. Further, the speaker in (284d) can be an ordinary Anywaa who sees the addressee as passive. Sick people usually sleep for many hours. Examples (284a-d) therefore underlie GREETING/HEALTH IS LIGHT; DISEASES (A SICK PERSON) IS HEAVY. Examples (284a-d) imply that the Anywaa's conception of health as dʒóót dèèl 'lightness of the body' is based on the experience in which first, the concept of dʒóót 'light (object)' is experienced and understood, then it is linked to dèèl 'the body', which is affected by diseases or problems making us inactive.

6.6 HAPPINESS with the Source Domain of WHITE COLOUR/CLEALINESS

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. Purity is also associated with white colour contrary to being devil-eyed.

Among the Anywaa, white is the colour which evokes most of its spiritual and health quality: it is pure, clean and perfect of a liver: there is nothing bad in it and therefore pleasant to liver, eye, stomach or head. That is why white colour evokes pleasure in the liver of Anywaa. Therefore, when a white object becomes dirty, it is easily understood to have become dirty. The Anywaa make use of the white colour's purity to make other things pure and to expel evil at all levels and in all conditions of existence. White is the colour of spirituality, beauty and peace. That is why it is not usually spoiled by the spirit of dʒʊ̀ɔ̀k 'God' and other evil spirits unlike head. That is why the ashes are so white as they are cleaned by fire which destroys and annihilates anything (including death), leaving light, which is a pure matter (Perner, 1994:172-173).

What Perner (1994) elaborates helps understand conceptual metaphor of Anywaa by using white colour assocaited with white or clean things bringing happiness. For example, an expression like ābíllà ādʒwííà 'I have swept my hut' is not metaphorical to certain extent although it can metaphorically mean the guests can inter the room now but tʌ́ʌ́rŋìmà ādʒwıíà 'I have swept my face' is very metaphorical as it implies pleasure and good relation gained after avoiding anger having its experiential basis of sweeping rooms, homesteads or houses. The implied instrument of sweeping here is dʒwìètʃ 'broom'. Below, in (285)-(287b) are linguistic metaphors of HAPPINESS IS WHITE/CLEAN.

(285)	tʃwíŋ	-à	tár	kī	dʒɛ̀j
	liver of	1SG	white	with	people
Lit.	'My liver/stomach is white with people.'				
	'I am happy with people/I love them.'				

The metaphor in (285) combines love and happiness based on WHITE COLOUR or CLEAN OBJECT. Example (285) and its related counter parts have the conceptual metaphor HAPPINESS IS WHITE LIVER/STOMACH.

(286)	ŋīlààl	jì	-è	ʊ̀tíít	kīpɛ́r	ābíí
	child	stomach of	3SG	white flour	for	clothe
	mán	-ā	-ŋɛ́ɛ́w	wʌ́nn	-í	
	REL:DEFINE	PST	buy	father of:3SG	3SG	
Lit.	'The child's stomach is a white flour because of the clothe which its father bought for it.'					
	'The child is cheering for the clothe which its father bought for it.'					

One could argue that the use of white flour as source domain of happiness in (286) implies the conceptualization of hapiness as food; however, unless mixed with milk, butter or fish stew, white flour cannot be eaten and therefore cannot be used as an experience for happiness as food. Actually ōtììt, 'white flour' is prepared out of white maizes, which are pounded in the mortar with the help of pestle. When the flour is sifted and dried in the sun at homestead, it looks whiter and makes husband and other relatives become pleased that the wife who prepared the flour is very clean and very clever. Such a wife prepares very clean beer and porridge.

The very experience for the use of white flour as the source domain of happiness comes from the Anywaa's perception that white flour is cleaner and free from danger, dirt and bad spirits than mɔ́g ōlwáálɛ̀ 'red flour', which is prepared of out ōlwáálɛ̀ 'red maizes'. So, in Anywaa, flour prepared out of red maize is not used as source of happiness as jía mɔ́g ōlwáálɛ̀ 'My stomach is red flour', because red is a colour of blood and destruction. Yet, red flour is edible. Therefore, the metaphor ɲīlààl jìɛ̀ mɔ̀ɔ̀ŋɔ̀ 'The child's stomach is flour' to imply the child's happiness, has the domain mɔ̀ɔ̀ŋɔ̀ 'flour' but its indirect frame is ōtíít 'white flour', which a happy person uses as a source domain/frame to express happiness.

The use of WHITE FLOUR over RED FLOUR for metaphorical understanding of happiness as a clean object takes us to the conclusion that our attitudes, evaluations, effect of an object and function of an object constraint metaphorical mappings, meanings and patterns of inferences. (See Johnson, 1987:113). Hence, positive emotion takes positive source and vice versa.

(287a)	jì	-à	wàárɔ̀
	stomach of	1SG	cotton
Lit.	'My stomach is cotton.'		
	'I'm (very) happy		

Although in (287a) the source domain of happiness wáárɔ̀ 'cotton' is broad, the cotton type used as a cultural source domain of happiness in Anywaa is the white cotton which is also called wááj āŋwáá 'Anywaa cotton'. The cotton is produced by the cotton plant which is also called wáárɔ̀ 'cotton' in Anywaa. This is a small short cotton plant, whose cotton is very white and is prepared as thread to sew torn clothes and broken gourds. The white cotton of the big tall thorny cotton plant in Anywaaland can also be used as a source of WHITE HAPPINESS. This tree, which the Anywaa carve as a canoe, has fruits which produce very white cotton when they dry. When the fruits of this plant mature and dry, the cotton in them dry and become very white. This white cotton makes people very happy when they see and touch it as it is very soft. In addition,

children also throw this piece of cotton in air making them very happy when a piece of cotton floats in the sky by going high up. Therefore, because frame is obvious in the conceptual system of an Anywaa, the generic word/ source domain wáárɔ̀ 'cotton' can be used to talk about happiness by implying the white cotton (the frame) which is the one common in Anywaaland as implied in (287a) unlike the red and black cottons imported from the Arabs and highlanders.

(b)	jì	-à	āwáágà
	stomach of	1SG	white bead
Lit.	'My stomach is white bead.'		
	'I'm very happy.'		

In (287b), happiness is understood in terms of āwààgà 'WHITE BEAD', which a girl gives to her fiance to imply faithfulness for romantic love followed by happiness with a boy's behaviour. In addition to its use as a source domain of happiness, āwààgà 'white bead' is used to remove sins from liver, curing diseases, purifying human body, protecting human body and head from sickness (madness), and blocking bewitching by an evil-eyed. An evil-eyed person is usually afraid of a child wearing this white bead because of its shining light, which is the power God's purity and protection power.

According to Perner (1994:154&155), āwáágà 'white bead', is used by the Anywaa for protecting oneself from spirits of god gòògɔ̀, which manifests itself as a white snake needing a this white bead and white goat to be scarificed as its charms. This implies that the Anywaa interpret white colour as the colour of supernatural being as it protects human head and from bad spirits bringing madness and disease.

Moon's, stars and lamp light associated with the happiness brought by the power of God can be used as happiness of a strong christian Anywaa. In Anywaa, light of sun, moon or fire is also tár 'white', which is extended from white. Hence, BRIGHT IS WHITE. Consider the following examples in (288a&b) to illustrate HAPPINES IS BRIGHT/LIGHT.

(288a)	dʒòɔ̀k	bɛ̀ɛ̀	tàr[59]	nī	bʌ́ŋ	káɲ	mō	tʃɔ̃l	jí
	God	be	white	and	no	place	REL	black	in
	tʃwìɲ								
	liver								
Lit.	'God is light/white colour with out any part of the liver being dark.'								
	'A christian should be happy and patient with others.'								

What is implied in (288a) is that a true christian should lead a happy life with people as brightness removes sin. So, a true christian should be well-mannered, protect himself/herself

[59] Anywaa has no separate word for *light*. Although dʌ́ʌ́r is used to mean light as in dʌ́ʌ́r tʃʌ̀ŋ' sun's light'. More often, it is the white colour that is used as light in Anywaa as can be found in ābʌ̀j kɛ̀r dʒìttɔ̀ kī táj tʃʌ̀ŋ 'The maize plants have not obtained the white colour of the sun' used to imply the improper growth of maize due to lack of sun's light.

from sinful activities and lead happy life with others. Thus, christians perceive anger as sin. So, a sinner's liver is full of sins, which are black. A true christian should therefore avoid theft, lie, adultery but should keep the ten commandaments. Generally, as it has been illustrated in (288a), the use of white colour as a source domain of happiness metaphorically implies that THE LIVER/STOMACH OF A HAPPY PERSON BECOMES WHITE AND CHANGES TO WHITE OBJECT WHEN EXPERIENCING HAPPINESS (see The Bible in Anyuak, 2013).

The conceptualization of happiness as clean object implies that HAPPINESS IS DISCRETE OR LESS COMPLEX EMOTION. According to Grady (1997), the relation between brightness and happiness is based on the correlation between bright light and safety, warmth, etc. When an Anywaa pastor says:

(b)	wór	tàj	-ù	wèèg	-ù	rìɛŋ	ɲím	dʒɛ̀j
	HAB	brightness of	2PL	give	2PL	shine	faces of	people
Lit.	'Your(PL) light must shine in front of the public.'							
	'You should express the words of God with happiness.'							

In (288b), the pastor implies that addressee christian Anywaaks should express their happiness in front of people and tell the words of God clearly (See also the Bible in Anyuak 2013:6). Hence, GOD'S LIGHT IS INSIDE A CHRISTIAN'S LIVER; A HAPPY PERSON IS A SHINING OBJECT. Below are the mappings for happiness with the source domain of LIGHT, WHITE, PURE SUBSTANCE in table 21 below.

TARGET: HAPPINESS	**SOURCE: LIGHT**
degree of happiness	intensity of light
expressing happiness	shining
source of happiness	source of light
stopping of happiness	disappearance of light
quest for happiness	searching a lit place
happy person	a person in light

Table 21: HAPPINESS as LIGHT

Although to an Anywaa who is not evil-eyed **HAPPINESS IS LIGHT**, to an evil-eyed[60] man **HAPPINESS IS DARKNESS**. This is because during the daytime devil-eyed people are exhausted and asleep but active at night as they catch and chew snakes and lizards to dip their bloods in homesteads and on sleeping people to kill them. At night, an evil-eyed person also dances in homestead to put a sleeping family into deep sleep so that he/she bewitches freely. Their dance is accompanied by happy whistling, which is not done by ordinary people at night.

[60]In Anywaa, a very aggressive evil-eyed who frequently bewitches fast is called kwírí.

At night, such people also dig graves to take the soul or heart of a dead person so that the man will not have new life/ghost. So, DEVIL-EYED PEOLPLE ARE HAPPY NOCTURNAL ANIMALS.

The question of relating cleanliness and light to happiness may be interpreted by a psychologist or philosopher in depth. Part of the high quality made by the Anywaaks is an a special love for neatness, which leads to happiness caused by looking at the stimulus like clean clothe, gourd, house and human body. The Anywaa's favourable attitude towards neatnes is deep rooted in their attitude towards good life of purity. If one checks the homestead and home, inside and outside, he sees that gourds, pots, decoration materials, animals skins for sleeping and grass for building houses are clean implying the quest for happiness and health through cleanliness. Among the Anywaa, to protect people from diseases, bad spirits and sadness, materials and clothes can be washed with ash, water and foams of heglig fruits. When a person dies, because he/she is useless and goes inside unplastered soil, it is said that ḏàànɔ̀ ārʌ̀ŋŋɔ̀ 'The person has become bad (unclean)'. Hence, LIFE IS CLEAN;DEATH IS DIRTY (Perner, 2003:). By using the source domain of GOOD/CLEAN THING ATTACHED TO LIVER, happiness can be expressed in Anywaa as follows in (289a-c):

(289a)	tʃwiŋ	-gɛ̀	ā	-tìmɔ̀	nī	tɔ́ŋ	ká	ābɔ̀ɔ̀jà
	livers of	3PL	PST	become	CON	clean	in	afternoon
Lit.	'In the afternoon, their livers became clean.'							
	'In the afternoon, they became happy.'							

Example (289a) implies that the people spoken about were angry in the morning but became they happy in the afternoon. Further, example (289a) underlies HAPPINES IS A CLEAN (LIVER), which makes our face clean to imply happiness and love with people.

(b)	tʃwíŋ	-à	bɛ́ɛ́r
	liver of	1SG	good
Lit.	'My liver is good.'		
	'I'm happy.'		

Example (289b) underlies HAPPINESS IS GOOD LIVER, which is a general cognitive metaphor for HAPPINESS IS CLEAN (LIVER).

(c)	tʃwíŋ	-ì	ré	-ɛ	ɛ́ɛ́	dʒwíɛ́ɔ̀
	liver of	2SG	body of	3SG	PERF	sweep
Lit.	'Your liver has swept its body(itself).'					
	'You have become happy.'					

Example (289c) implies that the addressee has stopped anger mainly by himself/herself and became happy. The experience of this metaphor comes from sweeping one's home or surrounding, which pleases people, because a swept place is pleasant to see due to its being clean

or plastered. The use of the liver's own body to mean SELF implies REFLEXIVE IS ONE'S OWN BODY; RECIPROCAL IS EACH OTHER'S BODIES. Generally, examples (289a-c) imply the Anywaa's evaluation of happiness as a positive emotion.

6.7 HAPPINESS as PLANT LEAF

In Anywaa, happiness conceptualized in terms of PLANT LEAF makes this emotion more ontological. In Anywaa, plant leaf called bɔ́ɔ́gɔ́ (PL. bɔ̀ɔ̀gɛ̀). During spring season, trees shade their leaves but bloom after a month. During rainy season, the entire Anywaaland turns green and grasses, trees, plants, herbs and shrubs give favourable impression and happiness making girls and boys spend their leisure times in meadows before heavy rains and overflowing of rivers. Basically, 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 bɔ́ɔ́gɔ̀ āgɔ̀ɔ̀tʃ 'The leaf was beaten' means *the bodies of the villagers were beaten with leaves so that hey will live happily, actviely and healthily as the leaf will eradicate epidemic.* Yet, very selected plant leaves are more often used as source domains of happiness. Consider the linguistic metaphors in (290a-e).

(290a)	ōtʃálá	jì	-è	éé	gòòŋŋò	bɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ̀
	Ochala	stomach of	3SG	PERF	beat:BEN	leaf
Lit.	'Ochala has beaten his stomach with leaf.'					
	'Ochala has become happy.'					

Since people whose bodies are beaten with leaf act happily, this metaphor implies that Ochala is acting happily.

(b)	jì	-è	éé	góóŋŋó	kíɪ̱́l
	stomach of	3SG	PERF	beat:BEN	leaf:AMHA
Lit.	'She has beaten his or her stomach with leaf.'				
	'She has become happy.'				

The metaphor in (290b) has codeswitching: it can be inferred to be uttered by a native speaker who can speak Amharic. The loan word kíɪ̱́l 'leaf' is taken from the Amharic word k'it'əl 'leaf'. Because the phonemic inventory of Anywaa has no ejective /k'/ and the mid central vowel /ə/, these phonemes have been changed to voiceless velar /k/ and the front mid plain vowel /ɛ/ respectively.

According to Matras (2009:101), codeswitching is the term which usually refers to the alternation of languages within conversation. Some authors use code mixing to refer to language mixing within phrase or utterance reserving codeswitching for alternation of languages in-between utterances or phrases (inter-sentential switching). Code mixing is a general term for

various types of language mixing . In different situations, native speakers coin new metaphors to think, reason and express new insight with and without codeswitching. According to Hanks (2006:1), such new and unconventional metaphors are called *dynamic metaphors*.

(c)	dìtʃʌ̀ŋ	-ì	ɖàànɔ̀	jì	-è	bɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ̀	bʌ̀r	-è
	day	this	person	stomach of	3SG	leaf	whole:3SG	3SG
Lit.	'This day, everbody's stomach is totally leaf.'							
	'Today, everybody is totally happy.'							

Example (290c) implies that everybody in the area or village is happy.

(d)	kɛ̂ɛ	dèèr	-ì	rɛ̀	-è	ɛ̌ɛ	kwàɖɔ̀	dɔ̀tʃ?
	DUB	body of	2SG	body of	3SG	PERF	fan	DEG
Lit.	'Why has your body fanned itself intensely like this?'							
	'Why are you very happy and very active like this?'							

Example (290d) implies that addressee is very happy and healthy doing things with speed but the source of the addressee's happiness is not clear to the addresser. Among the Anywaa, villagers' bodies are fanned with leaf so that they stay healthy and happy. The luck of evidence in metaphor (290d) has been marked by the falling tone on the word kɛ̂ɛ. Hence, DUBITATIVE IS FALLING TONE; EVIDENTIAL IS RISING TONE. Example (290d) underlies BEING HAPPY IS FANNING ONESELF WITH PLANT LEAF.

(e)	jì	-è	ɔ̀	-pèèɖɔ̀
	stomach of	3SG	PERF	stretch out
Lit.	'His/Her stomach has stretched out itself (like a leaf).'			
	'He/She has become happy.'			

Example (290e) is based on seeing a very green leaf which stretches out with bloom and sways. Such a a leaf is very beautiful in the morning. So, A DRY LEAF, which folds itself is not used as a source of happiness here, because it does not sway as it is not active. When we are happy, our pleasant feeling can be known by our acts and expressions. Hence, HAPPINESS IS OUTWARD; SADNESS IS COLLECTED.

What can be inferred from (290d) is that experience of beating the whole body of a person with leaf implies higher degree of happiness. More often males'shoulders are beaten with leaves for bless and happiness, but there are conditions under which the whole body ranging form head up to feet of a person is beaten with leaves so that every part of the body will be active. Hence, dèèrɛ̀ bʌ̀rɛ̀ rɛ́ɛ́ kwàɖɔ̀ 'His/Her whole body has beaten itself with a leaf' implies higher degree of happiness and being very active. INTENSITY OF HAPPINESS IS DEGREE OF FANNING /BEATING THE BODY WITH LEAF

Furthermore, sometimes boiled water of a leaf used for blessing is drunk by a lineage or villagers. This must be the reason for which the Anywaa use leaf with stomach and outer body to express happiness without using liver although it is the center of emotion.

The examples provided in (290a-e) have used the general source domain of PLANT LEAF to conceptualize happiness. But in its concrete use, the two most important leaves used as source of happiness are ōpʌ̀t leaf and durra leaf. The leaf of plant called ōpʌ̀t is used by old people by beating the young to be happy when they are sad or angry. The bark of this plant is also mixed with water and boiled. Then, when its water is hot, it is drunk. It is requested by a dead woman or man as blessing for lineage or village to stay health, happy and lucky. Also before going to the war front, the land chief makes convictions and beats the bodies of armed villagers with these leaves so that there will be no casualities during war. So, a villager goes to war actively and happily as there will be no death. More often people whose bodies are beaten with leaves dance during war and may kill many enemies.

Furthermore, the land chief gives the male villagers some leaves of this plant and put them inside trousers or shorts and pockets and tie them together with the clothe to avoid war injury. The leaf can also be used to protect onself from evil-eyed spirit and fetiches used by foreigners like Nuer and Dinka who attack people with fetiches; thus, these leaves are put in pockets and the ceilings. This also helps to avoid fear leading to defeating an enemy, which is in turn happiness.

The durra leaf has two major functions: one functon is that it makes a sad or angry person happy when beaten with it. This is because durra is food and the crop is the first crop to be grown in Anywaaland. The second function is to avoid being shot by an enemy during war. In doing so, the man or the woman to whom objects are bequated locally called lwííḏɔ prays and convicts the land without tasting things like water, drink and smoke in order not to mix saliva being bless and external things; in doing so, first durra leaves are put in a gourd with water inside. Then, the villagers are beaten with them. The type of durra leaf or tree leaf used for convictions varies from region to region, village to village and lineage to lineage due to ancestral belief. For example, in Adongo region, the ɲīgáá lineage uses **ōtɛ́ɛ́ɔ́** durra leaves used for gaining happiness and blessing. When a native of the land is about to beat the body of the people with

leaf, he/she spits on the leaf and swears as mòòì lááw pòwà 'This is the saliva of my village' so that no problem happens to people.

6.8 HAPPINESS with the Source Domain of LAUGHTER and CRY

Clean human teeth is one of the major sources of happiness. While hiding one's teeth implies disgust, laughing expresses happiness or favourable relation with people. In early times, the Anywaa could remove their lower inscisors with the belief that the shape of mouth will be good showing human beauty which is not possessed by animals. But if the those teeth are not removed, the lower lip becomes longer and protrudes like mouth of fish, monitor lizard or crocodile. With the coming of the Derg regime, this practice was stopped. More often people with gapped teeth make others happy and laugh when they laugh. Laughter, which is done individually or in a group, is accompanied by cry, stomach pain and urination or farting. It can be used metonymically in an example like tʃwíɲá ŋɛ́ɛ́t̪ɔ́ kī lúúmmí[61] 'My liver is laughing at what you have said (your anger)' implying laughing and ignoring what the addressee has raised or the addressee's anger. Metaphor with a laughing liver has similar meaning to à ŋèètɔ̀ kī lúúmmì dʒáák 'I'm simply laughing at your issue' implying that the addressee is angry but the addresser is considering his/her anger as a joke. Thus, PEOPLE LAUGH AND JOKE BECAUSE THEIR LIVERS LAUGH AND JOKE. Examples (291)-(296) have been provided to illustrate such a metaphorical conceptualization of HAPPINESS.

(291)	dʒáájwʌ́ʌ́t		āmʌ́ʌ́ré	kī	ɲíí	ɲìì	āmʌ́ʌ́ré	dʒɔ́
	boys	sons of	Amharas	and	girls	daughters of	Amharas	people:DEF
	ŋɛ́ɛ́t̪t̪ɔ́	tièr	dʒàà̰t̪					
	laugh	leg of	tree					

Lit. 'Boys, the sons of Amharas and ladies, the daughters of Amharas are laughting under the leg of a tree.'
'The boys and girls are laughing under the tree.'

The speaker in (291) is familiar with the boys and girls who are laughing under the tree. Definite evidence comes from the definite marker dʒɔ́, 'the people', which is more definitely used as dʒɔ́w. These are the groups of boys and girls who are peers. When laughing in a group, boys laugh as á...ăa...ŏo and girls laugh as ĕe...ééj... wû...j.

[61]This metonymic metaphor can also mean *I have lost my appetite* as in tʃwíɲà ŋèèt̪ɔ̀ kī máár kìtʃ 'My liver is laughing with honey' having the metaphorical meaning *I have lost my appetite due to eating honey/I have lost my appetite of eating honey*. In actual situation, there are people who laugh while people are eating showing that they are not very hungry as they have eaten certain food before the main meal.

Although the Anywaa word for marriageable girl is ɲàkɔ̀ɔ̀ and that for boy is wɔ̀p[62] 'good-looking', in a very advanced manner, they are referred to as ɲà àmʌ̀ʌ̀ra 'daughter of Amhara 'and wà āmʌ́ʌ́rá' son of Amhara'. Two reasons can account for explanation here: one is that an Amhara girl has long and smooth hair reflecting beauty accompanied dressing in good manner and the skin of an Amhara boy and girl is smooth and bright; the second reason is the historical political supermacy of the Amhara: there were Amhara leaders in Gambella during Haile Selassie's regime. This led to the Anywaa's conclusion that the Amhara were the best Ethiopians.

(292)	ŋɛ̀ɛ̀t	-í	ká	tʃwíɲ	-ɛ̀	bʌ̀r	-ɛ̀	káámár	d̰áágɔ̀
	laugh	HAB	with	liver of	3SG	whole:3SG	3SG	like	female
	'He is laughing with his whole liver like a female.'								
	'He is totally laughing very loudly like a female.'								

The Anywaa believe that because their livers are lazy and tasteless, females are cheated easily and laugh at simple things with total feeling. Scientifically, it is proved that hormones, which are chemicals produced by ductless glands, play different roles for our physiological functions. The brain coordinates hormones production, so levels of many hormones change during emotion. Hormones influence the brain leading to its influence on cognition, emotion and behaviour. Oesterogen hormon, which is produced by ovaries, therefore, is responsible for the expressions of many female characteristics (Harmon-Jones, Robinson and Watkins, 2013:69).

In addition to expressing quick panic with cry as a trait, the metaphor tʃwíɲɛ̀ dʒóóm dɔ́tʃ 'His/Her liver is very soft' implies a person who easily laughs at minor things and it is difficult for him/her to suppress the liver to control laughter. Among the Anywaa this trait is typical of females. The compound metaphorical word tʃwíɲɛ̀ dʒòòm 'a soft-livered person' also implies a person who easily vomits when he/she suffers from jaundice or when seeing a very dirty thing with very bad smell.

(293)	āmɔ̀d	ā-	ŋɛ́ɛ́t̪t̪ɔ	nī	kákkáka...k
	Amod	PST	laugh	CON	kakak...k
	'Amod laughed as kakak...k'				

The vocie kákákă...k used here in (293) expresses higher degree of metaphor happiness than when it is simply uttered as āmɔ̀t āŋɛ́ɛ́t̪t̪ɔ́ 'Amot laughed', but the use of voice with vowel extension as ká...kkă...k expresses higher degree than kákkákak. This is because vowels are louder than consonants. Also voices like kó...tkó..t or kíkkıkkík accompany laughter. The lowest degree of happiness expressed with low degree of laughter is ābúɲ 'smile'.

[62]The literal meaning of wɔ̀p is good as in ābíí mán wɔ̀p 'This clothe is good .'

(294) tʃìdìér ā -ŋìèl ŋèèʈɔ̀
old woman PST faint laughter
'The/An old woman fainted due to laughter.'

(295) ɲīlɑ́ɑ́l ā -ʈɔ̀w kī ŋéétɔ́ n -ā ādʒɔ̀ɔ̀t kààgà
child PST die with laughter when PST see Kaaga
nī póót- -á ōdwʌ̀ʌ̀rà
CON beat:FQ FOC cat fish (SP)
'The child died with laughter when he saw Kaaga beating the big dead cat fish.'
Abala (1996: 53-54)

The metaphor in (295) is based on true story. Kaaga was a very cunning Anywaa in Ajwaara village. One day, the villagers including Kaaga went fishing. When they reached the river, they entered the water and started fishing. Many people caught fishes but Kaaga did not. When he saw a very big fish called ōdwʌ̀ʌ̀ra hanging on a rope tied to a tree branch very close to water, Kaaga approached and caught it with his hook and pulled the head of fish into water and dived with it. When he got up from under water, he hit its head with the handle of the hook. As he knew that Kaaga was stealing the fish, the boy kept laughing; to deceive the other fishers in the river, Kaaga said to the boy ɲīlɑ́ɑ́l bɔ̀ɔ̀l, ŋéétá gír gɔ̀ɔ̀tʃ wì ōdúʌ́ʌ́rá? 'The child, you are crazy; are you laughing at my hitting the head of the cat fish?' (See also Perner, 2003:191) for detail.

(296) pì ɲéŋŋ -è dī dʒwìèrɔ̀ kī ŋéétɔ́
water of eyes of 3SG AUX remove water with laughter
Lit. 'His/Her eyes got more tears due to laughing .'
'She was crying with big laughter.'

The metaphor in (296) implies laugh with tear and falling down. Happiness as cry can be found in shouting out the name of what one killed in certain incident. During fishing, if an Anywaa man spears a big fish moving strongly, he feels happy and cries out as ŋwɛ̀ɛ̀tʃ kéélà kā wárágóój 'I speared the monitor lizard with fishing spear' which is also used for bragging when a man is about to do something bad to someone. The implied meaning here is that *I am killing the fish like that monitor lizard*. Such a cry/shout, which is locally called móójjó is followed by dancing near the fishing spear. A man can give himself a title for shouting. This is in Anywaa called bɔ̀ɔ̀tʃ.

6.8.1 Shouting with Bull names to Express Happiness

A very happy Anywaa man may shout by bragging in the names of his bull title given by a king or chief to him. The criteria for giving the bull titles are being a brave figher and helping villagers during famine. In doing so, people are selected by the king/chief and the court officials. As a ceremony, they will be told that they are going to be given bull titles based on their contributions. After the bull titles have been given, the owners of the bull titles sit down together

with bull name specialists to beautify and strengthen the colours and shouting with bull names. It takes a month for a man to practice shouting out his bull title.

Once a man is given a bull name (title), he shouts and runs to his own place to express his happiness for the title. Bull names are very important for socio-cultural recognition and dignity among the Anywaa. Those who are not given bull names are isolated and do not participate in special events like eating special food like slaughtered bull for celebration, war dance, drinking beer and firing guns while expressing heroism. Bull names are also important for one's relatives respect. For example, a brother's wife can shout with her husband's brother bull title. Therefore, without a bull title, an Anywaa man is like a child or a female.

Most of the bull names have animal names like kwàtʃ 'leopard', rìì 'giraffe', ràj 'hippopotamus', etc as the colours are similar. So, cattle colours are metaphorically derived from wild animals' colours based on seeing their colours when people are in the forest. This in turn implies that the Anywaa were practising gathering of fruits, fishing and hunting before cattle domestication. Thus, a source domain of metaphor is either more basic or concrete.

Therefore, if a bull has lion colour, it is called ŋùù 'lion', but it is shouted out by a man by shouting with the bravery attribute of lion as it is a brave animal killing many animals. So, when happy in ceremony or war victory over an enemy, a man cries/shouts with happiness and brags as ááná máátʃ 'I am fire', áánà ŋùù 'I'm a lion'. As the bravery of the lion is extended to bull, an electric fish color and bravery can also be extended to a bull and and the owner of a bull title by shouting as (ááná) ŋúúr ɲááŋ!'(I am) the lion of a crocodile' because the crocodile eats all others fishes except an electric fish, which is feared by a crocodile and other creatures for its electrification. In fact, a bull which has a colour similar to that of an electric fish is also called ādìŋŋà 'electric fish'.

If a man shouts out as dʌ́ʌ́r máátʃ 'the blaze of fire', his bull title is inferred to be ràj, which literally means hippopotamus. This is because hippopotamus dislikes fire and when it sees the blaze of fire in sand, it qucikly runs to and destroys it. In fact, hippopotamus is rather red. In the type of dance called kòòrò, a male and female dance in pair by jumping high up and a male shouts with his bull name to express his extreme happiness.

If a man shouts as ālɛ́ɛ́wmááj ' fishing spy', the bull given to him is ādʒáák 'a bull with black, white and red colours', whose name is extended from ādʒààk 'white stork'. This is because before

the other birds, this bird surveys or checks whether a river, lake or stream is ready for wading. If it sees that it is possible to fish, it kills a fish and goes back with a fish so that it will be followed by other birds the next day. If the bull title given to a man is ōtʃààr "white bull', the title is shouted out as ōtʃwèèr mààjì 'It is ashy due to fishing'; the implied animal, whose colour is extended to white bull here, is ābóóŋò 'pelican', which actually stays in a river or lake for fishing for a long time up to night. Thus, ANYWAA MEN ARE BEASTS/ANIMALS, CATTLE/BIRDS WITH DIFFERENT COLOURS AND VOICES. During drum dance, males decorate themselves with colors reflecting their bull colours. They use ash, red soil, flour, and black soil to decorate themselves.

Generally, the use of cry or shout as a source domain of happiness implies that the joy/happiness experienced by a man is immediate as the cause of happiness like a dance partner girl or an intense dance can be seen or experienced at the time of shouting with a bull name. Such happiness is at lower level of metaphor context which Kövecses (2020) calls *mental space* (see also Kövecses, 2017).

6.9 HAPPINESS as SUBSTANCE and CONTAINER

Happiness can be used as substance or container. In doing so, both metonymic and non-metonymic metaphors are used for expressing container metaphors. The image schema of containers and important things kept in those containers serve as experiential bases here. Compared to primary source concepts like sweetness or brightnes, which has image contents, happiness is primary target concept lacking image content because it is simply a response to stimulus and the world. So, one way of talking about happiness easily is to use the source of substance and container. Primary source concepts like movements, shape, weight and container are based on direct perception, which lead to the image as mental representaion of an experience unlike happiness (Grady,1997: 26). Below are examples for happiness as substance or container illustrated in (297)-(300).

(297)	wá	én	-á	jí	mɛ́t	ɛ́tʃ	mō	dóɔ́ŋ
	1PL:EXCL	be:LOC	FOC	stomach of	tastiness of	stomach	REL	big
Lit.	'We are in the stomach of happiness which is big.'							
	'We are very happy;we are leading a happy life.'							

In (297), higher degree of happiness has been conceptualized as a big container in which happy people people are inside it. This means INTENSITY IS SIZE. Example (297) has higher degree of metaphoricity, because there is no directly shared feature between container, and happiness,

which is based on tasty FOOD/TASTY STOMACH. Further, in real life, people cannot stay in happiness or tastiness of stomach. The conceptualization of happiness as a container in (297) is based on imposing mapping through image schema of IN/ENCLOSED onto HAPPINESS STATE. The word dʊ́ɔ́ŋ 'big' is used to specify that the happiness experienced is HIGH based on a big container. Hence, HIGH IS HARD/BIG; LOW IS SOFT/SMALL. Example (297) implies that the speakers have experienced happiness for long time and are still happy.

(298a)	wà	bèèd	-ò	jì	tár
	1PL:EXCL	live	PROG	in	brighteness
Lit.	'We are living in brightness.'				
	'We are leading happy life.'				

In (298a), happiness has the source of LIGHT/BRIGHNESS, which is the container of the happy people. The metaphor in (298a) is less metaphorical because in a real life situation, we go in brightness and stay inside it to see things well with pleasure but we cannot stay inside happiness literally. So, HAPPINESS IS HABITAT/STATE/LOCATION; A HAPPY STATE IS A LIT LOCATION. DELICIOUS FOOD can also be metonymically used as a state of happiness for a long time, i.e leading a pleasant life as illustrated in (314b) below:

(298b)	gɛ́	ɛ́n	-á	jì	mààw
	3PL	be:LOC	FOC	in	oil
Lit.	'They are in edible oil/fat.'				
	'They are leading very pleasant life.'				

In a pleasant life like that in (298b), there is enough food and there are no frequent quarrels. Oil evokes fish oil, honey or shea tree oil. These metonymic metaphors like that in (298b) with tasty food source domain are less metaphorical than being in HAPPINESS as it is illustrated in (298b) and (298a) above. Sometimes, people may actually put their hands in oil but not in happiness. We also see things like a piece of meat or bone in oil. Those who lead happy usually eat oily foods like honey, giraffe and fish. The reason why tasty food metonymically stands for happiness is that the sensual pleasure of taste leads to emotional pleasure, i.e happiness. This makes metonymic metaphors like (298b) less metaphorical than conceptual/structural metaphor like that in (297), in which high intensity of emotion is understood in terms of HARD OBJECT/BIG SIZE OF AN OBJECT. The use of happiness as a container takes us to the cognitive metaphor A HAPPY STATE IS DELICIOUS FOOD/LOCATION INSIDE WHICH PEOPLE LIVE. Being in happiness and living in happinesss have different meanings of duration as living implies permanent favourable life while being in happiness may imply experiencing happiness for a short duration.

Both source and target domains may be concrete, but if they are closely related or if they exist in similar semantic field, the degree of metaphoricity is low; furthermore, when the target domain and the metaphor is formed by analogical transfer or concretizing metaphor, the degree of metphoricity becomes higher. The Anywaa metaphor like that in (298b) in which oil metonymically stands for happiness can be called as approximative metaphor, because both oil and happiness are in the semantic field of PLEASANT/POSITIVE MOOD. In addition to eating, mearing body with butter, brings happiness, because it smoothens the body (Goatly, 1997:39)

(299a)	ɖááɱ́	mō	ŋát	dʒòɔ̀k	tʃwíɲ	-é	pʌ́ŋ	kī	mɛ́t
	person	REL	someone	God	liver of	3SG	be full	of	tastiness
	étʃ								
	stomach								
Lit.	'A true christian's liver is full of happiness.'								
	'A true christian is always happy.'								

In (299a) happiness is a full substance in human liver. Filling the liver with happiness implies high degree of experiencing happiness, which is based on an experience like a full flour in a gourd. When there is frequent quarrel/bad life in certain home, it is said:

(b)	pò	-gɛ̀	bʌ̀ŋ	mɛ́t	ètʃ
	home of	3PL	no	tastiness of	stomach
Lit.	'There is no happiness in their home.'				
	'They are leading sad life.'				

The absence of happiness in implies the presence of sadness as a substance in the home, which is the container. Thus, there is no happines in the livers of the people in (299b) but sadness. The experiential basis of metaphor (299b) comes from empty space or container like pot. When a family is frequently happy, their home is said to be pò mɛ́t ètʃ 'Home of happiness', whose experience comes from good things at home. Hence, ABSENCE OF HAPPINESS IN LIVER IS ABSENCE OF A SUBSTANCE IN A CONATINER LIKE A POT.

(300)	jììn	-ā	-dʒíttò	mɛ́t	ètʃ	káɲ
	2SG	PST	obtain	tastiness of	stomach	here
Lit.	'You have obtained tastiness of stomach here.'					
	'You are happy/leading a happy life here.'					

The example in (300) is contextual and implies that both the addressee and addresser are in the same place where the addressee is happy although the addressee was not leading a happy life in the previous place. The experience of the metaphor in (300) comes from obtaining a good thing like tasty food in a place like home, house, beach, etc. This implies that LIKE A GOOD OBJECT, HAPPINESS CAN BE SEARCHED. Hence, EXPERIENCING HAPPINESS IS OBTAINING AN OBJECT. Based on example (298b), METONYMICALLY, THE

CONTAINER FAT/OIL STANDS FOR HAPPINESS STATE. Below is table 22 to show mappings for this metonymic metaphor of happiness[63] based on FAT/OIL.

Metaphor	
TARGET: HAPPINESS	**SOURCE: FAT/OIL** **↓** **METONYMY** **TARGET: HAPPINESS**
happiness	fat/oil
number of happy people	number of dwellers
intensity of happiness	amount of fat/oil
experiencing	living
experiencer of happiness	dwellers
stopping of happiness	drying of fat/oil

Table 22: Interaction between Metaphor and Metonymy of happiness as FAT/OIL

The general metaphor HAPPINESS IS MOTION EVENT provides evidences that in Anywaa, happiness can be understood as ground, manner, figure and path. When we go somewhere with a pleasant thing, we walk happier and faster. Examples (301)-(305) are linguistic metaphors providing the evidences for understanding HAPPINESS in terms of MOTION EVENT.

(301)	wá	tʃʌ́ɑ̰	-á	jí	mɛ́t	ètʃ
	1PL:EXCL	walk	FOC	stomach of	tastiness of	stomach
Lit.	'We are walking in the stomach of happiness.'					
	'We are walking with happiness.'					

Example (301) implies that there is a good thing where the speakers are going or there was a good thing were they were and the people are now walking happily. In (301), HAPPY STATE IS A GOOD PATH or BOUNDED REGION, which is based on tasty food. Culturally the image schema of sand, meadow, river, yard, home, animal skin or road in general serves as an experience for such a metaphor.

(302)	ààn	-à	-rɛ́ɛ́ŋɔ́	kì	mɛ́t	ɛ́tʃ
	1SG	PST	run:ITV	with	tastiness of	stomach
Lit.	'I ran away with happiness.'					
	'I ran away happily.'					

In (302) happiness is used as a MANNER of running away. Running by laughing or smiling can be a good clue here for happiness as a MANNER of running.

[63]The expression jìà pʌ́ŋ kī tʃúkʌ́r, which literally means *My stomach is full of sugar* has the metaphor of happiness as sugar substance being in the stomach of the speaker as container. The same holds true for honey, butter, fat or oil.

(303a).	mɛ́t	ɛ́tʃ	ā	-móól	tʃwíɲ	-a
	tastiness of	stomach	PST	come very early in the morning	liver of	1SG
Lit.	'Happiness has come to my liver very early this morning.'					
	'I have become happy this morning.'					

In (303a) the motion verb mo̱o̱l 'come early in the morning' is ventive. It implies that it is morning now and the speaker is still happy. Thus, the degree of happiness is still high.

(b)	mɛ́t	ɛ́tʃ	ā	-mɔ́ɔ́l	tʃwíɲ	-á
	tastiness of	stomach	PST	go early in the morning	liver of	1SG
Lit.	'Happiness came into my liver very early in the morning'					
	'I became happy very early in the morning.'					

In (303b), HAPPINESS IS A FIGURE, WHICH ENTERED THE LIVER. In this example, the itive verb mɔ̀ɔ̀l 'come away very early in the morning' implies that the experiencer is not talking in the morning and the intensity of happiness is lower or he/she is no longer happy. Thus, ventive verb implies present tense or perfective aspect but itive verb implies past tense or completive aspect of experienced happiness. Telicity and atelicity can be expressed with ground words báŋ 'to' and bʌ̀ʌ̀t 'toward' with the former being telic unlike the latter. Consider the following metaphor in examples in (304a&b).

(304a)	gɛ̀	tʃɔ̀ɔ	-á	báŋ	mɛ́t	ɛ́tʃ
	3PL	go	FOC	to	tastiness of	stomach
Lit.	'They are going to the tastiness of stomach.'					
	'They are going to happiness.'					

Example (304a) implies that the movers are going to ceremony intentionally and will wilfully participate in the happy event as they were informed about or invited to the ceremony. So, they are conscious of their motion and destination. The telic word báŋ 'to' implies consciousness or will of the travellers to participate in the happy event. This in turn implies that in (304a), HAPPINESS IS A GROUND TO BE REACHED.

(b)	gɛ̀	tʃɔ̀ɔ	-á	bʌ̀ʌ̀t	mɛ́t	ɛ̀tʃ
	3PL	go	FOC	toward	tastiness	stomach
Lit.	'They are going towards the tastiness of stomach.'					
	'They are going towards happiness'					

Example (304b) implies that the travellers may not know the happy event and they may not directly participate in the ceremony as they were not informed about or invited to the ceremony but the may be simply looking at the others who are drinking and dancing. So, in (304b), HAPPINESS IS UNREACHABLE GROUND. The atelic word bʌ̀ʌ̀t 'toward' implies the travellers are unconscious of the ceremony as they may not celebrate the event due to some reasons. Hence, CONSCIOUS IS TELIC; UNCONSCIOUS IS ATELIC. In Anywaa, when a ground is singular, telic motion takes báŋ 'to', which has high tone and when a ground is plural, this word takes low tone as bàŋ 'to'. Consider examples (305c&d) for clarification.

(305c) ɲīlààl ā mɔ́l báŋ bʌ̀ʌ̀là
child PST crawl:ITV to banana
Lit. 'The child crawled away to the banana.'
(305d) gɛ̀ òò -á bàŋ mʌ̀ʌ̀n
3PL come FOC to women
'They are coming to the women.'

In (305c) baŋ has taken high tone as báŋ 'to', because banana, which is the ground of the motion, is singular, but in (305d) bàŋ 'to' has taken low tone, because the ground women is plural. Therefore, in (304a) báŋ 'to' has been used, because HAPPINESS, which is a ground, is singular. Generally, in Anywaa, an emotion is always understood as singular.

6.10. HAPPINESS with the Source Domain of ANIMALISM

Human being is regarded as the only rational living thing. This rationality implies the human behaviours and actions differ from those of other creatures. Sometimes we like to describe unusual action as animalistic in order to express our opinion about the status of the described person (Alsharif,2007:63-64). Animals on the other hand, are considered to be irresponsible creatures due to their irrationality. Animalistic behaviour of happiness implies the pleasure gained by human being when experiencing a happy life or state in a manner similar to that of an animal. For this reason, Kövecses (1991) gives the cognitive metaphor **A HAPPY PERSON IS AN ANIMAL LIVING WELL** on the basis of which the following linguistic metaphors of Anywaa in (306a-e) can be constructed.

(306a) ōdʒùlù ŋɔ̀ɔ̀t -í ka ŋɔ̀ɔ̀n ādʒɔ́ɔ̀m
Ojulu walk proudly HAB with pride of baboon
'Ojulu walks/ is walking with baboon's pride.'

In (306a) Ojulu has the happy behaviour of baboon. In such a happy walking, Ojulu walks with some steps and turns around like a walking baboon.

(b) ōbúóré ā -tímó nī dʒʌ́ʌ́r -ò
children PST become CON soar PROG
'The children are soaring with happiness (like birds).'

The word **dʒʌ̀ʌ̀rò** 'soar' here is basically used for the flight of happy group of birds over a lake or river after eating fishes in a lake/ water body. Such a behaviour is seen with fishing/wading birds like pelican, crested crane, ibis, marbou stork and stork flying in a group over a lake or river after eating fishes in the lake or river. Therefore, example (306b) has optionally dropped the prepositional phrase káámár wɛ̀ŋ 'like birds'. So, the children are happy and are moving here and there in a group due to ceremony like wedding and may want to see ḓáágɔ̀ṯííṉ 'the bride'. They do this after eating but some may skip eating and rush to see the groom as she is being brought out to dance space.

(c)	gɛ̀	bíéd	-ó	dí	kál
	3PL	purr	PROG	middle of	yard
	'They are purring in the homestead.'				

The word bìèdò 'purring' is extended from the behaviour of a happy cow or bull purring in the meadow in the afternoon after eating very green grass and satisfied. Sometimes, such cattle are about to fight in an amusing way and others run away by making noise. The word bíédó 'move here and there with happiness like a cow/bull' is also used for happy calves which move and run here and there after they become satisfied and happy due to suckling the cows' milk. Thus, HAPPY PEOPLE ARE HAPPY CATTLE. In such a context, the happy people are very busy and wander. Some may jump up and joke with others.

(d)	dʒɛ̀j	tìmó	nī	dúr...	bʌ̀ʌ̀t	kɔ́ɔ́ŋ	gwáŋ̀ŋɔ́
	people	become	CON	voice of flies	over	beer of	queen
Lit.	'The people have become a group of flies over the queen's beer.'						
	'A crowd is making happiness noise near the queen's beer.'						

The word dúr... in (306d) can be inferred by a native that it is a vocie produced by happy flies when they are eating meat or rotten fish by moving here and there. Such a pleasant situation makes flies produce larvae. In (306d) the implied meaning is that the happy people are very busy and drinking by producing a group noise. In such a situation, some people may fight. Therefore, A HAPPY NOISE MADE BY A GROUP OF HAPPY PEOPLE IS A NOISE MADE BY A GROUP OF HAPPY FLIES. Queens are usually very good at preparing Anywaa beer[64] as they are taught not to prepare a bad beer for a king.

(e)	d̪áán̪ɔ̀	ā	-kʊ́ʊ́pɔ́	bʌ̀r	-ɛ̀ :	Poul (2005: 86)
	person	PST	cry like a lung fish	whole:3SG	3SG	
Lit.	'The whole person cried like a lungfish.'					
	'Everybody cried with happiness like lungfish.'					

In (306e) the voice **kʊ́ʊ́pkʊ́ʊ́p** can be inferred to be produced by a lungfish when it is happy in its hole after it has eaten different worms and smaller fishes and very satisfied. Similarly, a happy person who has eaten delicious food breathes and belches happily. Hence, a voice produced by an animal or a word describing an animal can stand for the animal's happiness or behaviour, which is metaphorically extended to human emotion or behaviour. The conceptualization of happiness as animal's behaviour keeps the invariance principle by mapping external features of animals like breathing, crying, moving and belching to external features of humanbeings like shouting. Thus, A HAPPY ANYWAA IS A HAPPY LUNGFISH/FISH.

[64]In order not to be lazy at preparing beer, queens are taught while they are married.

In sum, the use of animal behaviour as a source for emotion metaphor in Anywaa confirms what Grady (1997) classifies as *socio-cultural metaphor or resemblance metaphor*. This is because metaphor understood in terms of animal, plants or object behaviour require socio-cultural interpretation by similarity of feature shared. For example, understanding human bravery in terms of lion's bravery does not require correlation but shared bravery. A lion is a carnivore attacking preys; similarly, people hunt with sharp tools and weapons to kill edible animals. So, the target and source domains of resemblance metaphor are not cognitively correlated as in MORE IS UP is correlated by amount and elevation based on image-schema.

6.11 Orientational Metaphor of Happiness

According to Lakoff and Johnson, (1980), Kövecses, (1986), and Chen (2010), cognitive linguists maintain that metaphors expressing happiness in an orientational way usually relate to spatial orientation; THE ERECT POSTURE OF BODY is used to express orientational metaphor of happiness which forms HAPPY IS UP in our conceptual system. Among the Anywaa in particular, the distance between the earth and the sky is used as borderline for grading orienational metaphor degree. So, mɛ́t ɛ́tʃ mɔ̄ ɛ́ná pìŋ 'Happiness on earth is very low' to mean *low happiness* has the lowest degree. And the happiness meatphor mɛ́t ɛ́tʃ mɔ̄ ɛ́ná dièr 'Happiness between earth and sky', which means *MIDDLE LEVEL OF HAPPINESS IS (AN OBJECT) BETWEEN THE EARTH AND THE SKY*. Among the Anywaa, orienational metaphors usually, makes a happy person run, shout with a bull name, dance and fire a gun.

The highest degree of orientational metahor is mɛ́t ɛ́tʃ mɔ̄ ɛ́ná máál 'Happiness that is up in sky'. Such folk view of the Anywaa is physically supported by Lakoff and Johnson (1980:462) as "Drooping posture is usually associated with sadness and depression but erect posture like jumping up goes with positive emotion state like joy. When we are seriously sick, we lie down and we are not conscious. Also a dead person is physically down."Among the Anywaa children, orienational metaphor is used in the game in which one child says to other children as:

(307)	ŋát	-ō	tíɛ́t	-ɛ̀	gút	ōgwáállí[bb]	-í
	person	REL:FUT	legs of	3SG	touch	frog	DEF
	ɲíkwáár	tʃíʤɔ́ɔ́k					
	granchild of	evil-eyed					

'A person whose legs are touched by a frog is the grandchild of an evil-eyed.'

Thie expression in (307) is true, because frogs are dirty and exist on earth, which is too regarded as dirty and causes sadness. In such a situation, children start climbing trees or sitting on long stump. Those who do not climb or do not find high things to sit on remain very angry and crying thinking that they will be evil-eyed when they grow up while the others are happy thinking that they are pure (Luo) children. In fact, dirty things like decayed bodies, faeces and nose mucus are on the ground. To such children, HAPPINESS IS BEING OFF THE GROUND because space and other cultural forces and modes are acquired during childhood and reflected in the language. So being off the ground is the symbol of pride and self-satisfaction (See Chen, 2010). Therefore, an example like ɲīlààl āpʌ̀ʌ̀r máál 'The child jumped up in the sky' can contextually express high intensity of happiness experienced by the child even if there is no prepositional phrase kī mɛ́t ètʃ 'with happiness'. The following linguistic metaphors in (308)-(312) are used to realize orientational metaphor in Anywaa in detail .

(308a)	mɛ́t	ètʃ	mán	jí	-ɛ	ɛ́n	-á	máál[bb]
	tastiness of	stomach	this	stomach of	3SG	be:LOC	FOC	sky
Lit.	'The stomach of this tastiness of			the stomach is in		the sky.'		
	'This happiness is extreme/up.'							

Ontologically, example (308a) implies that the happiness can be pointed out like a concrete object using demonstrative adjectives accompanied index finger as mɛ́t ètʃ mán ' This pleasure' is also uttered as in (308b) as:

(b)	mɛ́t	jì	-í
	tastiness of	stomach of	this
Lit.	'tastiness of this stomach'		
	'This happiness'		

Both (308a&b) imply that the experiencer of happiness is the speaker or the happy person is near the speaker. Although mán 'this' has similar meaning to its reduced form {-í} 'this', example

[65]ò̀gwàà̀l 'frog' has cold dangerous white fluid like the urine of an evil-eyed; its blood is also used by an evil-eyed for bewitching. On November 18, 2018, the president Gambella Region, Galuak Tut, who belongs to Nuer tribe, was removed from his presidency and replaced with Omod Ojulu, who belongs to Anywaa tribe. As the Anywaa were upset by the former adminstration due to maltreatment, they became very delighted and started crying, jumping up, laughing, singing and running to other villages, forests, water bodies and dancing the whole night. Such happiness brought an abnormal behaviour among young Anywaaks as most of them did drink alcohols and became too drunk.

[66] The Anywaa's thinking that the best life is on earth can be mainly for advantages they gain from water bodies, plants, animals and soil. But since things on earth are clearly visible to human eye and the people sit and sleep on earth, the people also believe the earth to be the best place for rest, learning and recreation. Drum dance, which is very important for both personal and social life, takes place on earth. The English word world is (bʌ̀ʌ̀t) pìŋ' earth (surface) ' in Anywaa.

(308a) has more ontological happiness than example (308b), because mán 'this', which easily evokes near object to an addresser has been reduced to {-í} 'this', which does not easily evoke near object because it has been attached to jì 'stomach of'. Hence, when a word is grammaticalized, it makes it difficult to evoke the image schema of NEAR.

In (308a) higher degree of happiness has been understood in terms of stomach which is up in the sky. This implies HIGH INTENSITY OF HAPPINESS IS IN THE SKY; LOW INTENSITY OF HAPPINESS IS ON EARTH. The increase in size comes from expanded stomach which is in turn used for high emotion. Thus, orientational metaphor implies high intensity of happiness.

Similarly, the relation between ontological and orientational metaphor can be realized in, mét ètʃ mánètʃèènì > mét ètʃ mánètʃɛ̀ > mèt ètʃ mánè > mèt jìè 'that happiness' implying that the speaker is talking about past happiness or happiness experienced by a person or people far away from him. Grammatically, in doing so, the lexical demonstrative adjective mánètʃèènì 'that' is grammaticalized or reduced resulting in the suffx {-è} 'that'. According to Heine and Kuteva (2007) this process of grammaticalization is called phonetic/phonological erosion.

Another example of grammaticalization in ontological metaphor of happiness can be found in mét ètʃ mànā ráátʃ 'Happiness which is /was bad', in which the underlying past tense marker {-ā} joins the relativizer màn 'which, that'. But when the relativizer màn is deleted, the past tense marker {-ā} runs to mét ètʃ' happiness' and changes its auxiliary function to relativizer as in mét jìà rǎatʃ 'Happiness which is bad' to imply extreme happiness. According to Heine (2003), this process in which one morpheme runs to a near sound to change its function and category is called decategorization (See also Biniam,2010).

(309a)	ōgùùlà	tʃwíŋ	-è	éɛ́	ŋááp	máál	bʌ̀ʌ̀t	dʒàà̱t	dìtʃʌ̀ŋí
	Oguula	liver of	3SG	PERF	hung	sky	on	tree	today
Lit.	'Oguula has hanged his liver up on the tree today this day.'								
	'Ogula is very happy today.'								

During dancing with drum, with their spears, males climb up and dance on trees showing that they are happier than the dancing female partners on earth but if another man goes to take his female dance partner, he goes down and chases him away. Based on Gunter (2002:413), happiness with the source of liver which is hung up can be interpreted to have higher degree of metaphoricity and intensity because it is grounded in metonymy and makes us visualize an up

ward putting of the liver and upward motion up to great height on the tree by relating tying or putting and upward moving of the liver with happiness and its intensity.

In (309a) one could argue that the liver has metonymically stood for happiness and its being put up has the metaphorical meaning of high intensity of happiness experienced by the owner of the liver. In Anywaa, degree of increase in happiness can be understood in the going up of liver in (309b) as follows:

(b)	tʃwíŋ	-à	tʃʌ̀k	ò	máál	dɔ́tʃ	kīpér	mɛ̀ɛ̀ŋ
	1SG	1SG	do again	come	sky	DEG	for	dance
Lit.	'My liver has gone up again very well for the dance. '							
	'I have become more interested in the dance.'							

Metaphor (309b) implies that the speaker has become very happy with the dance due to its becoming more intense than before. So, the speaker who is outside the dance to take a rest, has jumped into the dance higher than he/she has danced before and started dancing with higher degree of happiness than before.

(310)	kêɛ	jììn	-ā	-pʌ̀ʌ̀r	máál	nī	jì	-ì	mɛ́t?
	DUB	2SG	PST	jump up	with	oil/fat	stomach of	2SG	tasty
Lit.	'Why have you jumped up with your tasty stomach?'								
	'Why have you jumped up with happiness?'								

In (310) the dubitative kêɛ implies that the addressee is very happy and jumped up higher, but the addresser does not know the reason for the addressee's extreme happiness.

(311)	ōmɔ̀d	kàŋ	-á	-wìŋ	gɔ́	ní	tʃɔ̀k	-ì	ò
	Omod	when	PST	hear	it	COMP	sibling	3SG	PERF
	-kwʌ̀ŋŋò	kī	lìɛ̀tʃ,	pòòlò	dɛ́	-è	gúdó		
	find	OBL	elephant	cloud	PROSP	3SG	touch		
	'When Omod heard that his brother found an elephant, he was about to touch the cloud with his head.'								

Example (311) implies that Omod became very happy and jumped up as he heard that his brother found an elephant. Here, two points must be explicated: the first thing is that the elephant found by Omod's brother was dead; second, the brother's jumping up is not necessarily triggered by the fact that the elephant's meat will be eaten but its tusk, which is important for marriage dowry and buying other things like a weapon and cultural beads. Because clouds are in the sky and the higher human body part is head, the metaphor in (311) has dropped the prepositional phrase kī wìɛ̀' with his head'.

(312)	mɛ́t	ɛ́tʃ	már	tʃáám	ā	-rɛ́ŋ	máál
	tastiness of	stomach	of	Cham	PST	run:ITV	sky
Lit.	'Cham's stomach tastiness has run up in sky/cloud.'						
	'Cham has become very happy.'						

Example (312) underlies HIGH EMOTION INTENSITY IS UP (IN THE SKY); LOW EMOTION INTENSITY IS DOWN ON EARTH. The use of máál 'sky' contributes to

understanding higher increase in degree of happiness experienced by Cham. Among the Anywaa, when something goes high up in the sky and disappears, it is said ārèŋ jì pòòlò 'It has run into the stomach of a cloud' to mean *an object has disappeared inside the cloud*. An object in human stomach is invisible to human eye. Generally, the experiential bases of happiness metaphors in (308)-(312) are piled objects, rising level of liquid, rising steam(fire) and a bird/plane flying high up.

When they are in a church, christian Anywaaks feel very happy with the preaching that they will join the kingdom of God. Their happiness is accompanied by cry, jumping and fainting due to the spirits of God. The poetic metaphor hymn in (313a-d) illustrates such a happiness situation.

(313a)	jì-	-à	a	-réém	ǒo	kī	tìiè	mɔ́	
	stomach of	1SG	PST	not to reach	oh	of	activities	of	
	-í	wúúó	jăa						
	2SG	father	INTER						
	'Oh, FATHER, I am very happily surprised by your miraculous activities.'								
(b)	jì	-à	ā	-réém	ná	-á	pʌʌ́r	-ɔ́	măal
	stomach of	1SG	PST	not to reach	and	1SG	jump	FOC	sky
	'I am extremely happy, surprised and I jump up.'								
(c)	ná	-á	kóók	kí	ílílt̰ăa[67]..				
	and	1SG	yell	with	ululation				
	'And I cry with ululation.'								
(d)	ná	-á	kóó	nì	ăan	-á	lóójă		
	and	1SG	say	CON	1SG	PST	happy		
	'And I say halleluya.'								

In the song in (313a-d) both the singer and the other prayers are surprised and happy with the miraculous works of God in helping them during different situations. So, when singing this song, people jump high up and cry/yell as ááná lòòja' halleluya', pʊ́ʊtʃ én dʒí dʒʊ́ʊk 'Thanks to 'God' , ādʒíém én dʒí dʒʊ́ʊk 'Glory to God'. In other words, the singer here means à pʌʌrà mààl kī mét étʃ már dʒʊ̀ʊ̀k 'I jump up with happiness of God'. The happiness also implies that other people also are shivered by the rising spirit of God and faint. Ululation, in which prayers cry as líllíl... is very frequent in such a pleasant hymn. Hence, the orientational metaphor HAPPINESS IS UP. Christians therefore, jump up with the wish of reaching the heaven where the kingdom of God exists. According to The Bible Society of Ethiopia (2017:222-223), God's kingdom is not for food and drinking alcohol, but for good life, happiness, peace, and love through God's spirit, the

[67]The Song was sung and composed by the owner of the song Philiph Ocang on June 16,2022, but the song was for the first time sung in 2001. The song data wered based on an online interview with Phillip Ochang on June, 16,2022. Philliph was very happy in this song , because God protected him from bad habits like drinking and smoking, which he stopped in 2002 when he became a christian. Philliph also suffered from many difficult diseases but later recovered. Currently, Philliph lives in Australia.The Anywaa sentence ááná lòòjà 'I am happy' is derived from the English word Halleluya, in which the syllable **ha**l is changed to Anywaa pronoun áání 'I', changed to the link verb à 'be' and luya changed to lóójá ' happy and produce loud voice'.

special spirit. The conceptual metaphor HAPPY IS UP expresses highest degree of happiness which the Anywaa call kàŋŋɔ̀(kááŋ) '(over)joy', whose linguistic metaphors can be given as follows in (314a&b):

(314a) ãŋwáá ā -kááŋ
Anywaa PST be overjoyed
'The Anywaa are overjoyed.'

In such a sitaution of joy, many Anywaa are cheering, singing, jumping, dancing, running and some may fire guns.

(b) nɔ̀ -ō -dúú dʒìtʃɔ̀ pìŋ, wà
when FUT return:VENT Jesus earth 1PL:EXCL
jåa máál nī wà káŋŋɔ̀
go sky CON 1PL:EXCL feel joy
1PL:EXCL sky
'When Jesus returns down on earth, we will go to sky with over joy.'

In example (314b) máál 'sky' metonymically stands fo heaven, which the Anywaa call bùj dʒʊ̀ɔ̀k 'God's palace'. In example (314b), the speakers are chrsitians who is truly worshiping God. So, when Jesus returns to his people, they will go to the heaven where the eternal life, without pain exists. So, christians who will be going to heaven will go there with overjoy. Generally kàŋŋɔ̀/kááŋ '(over)joy' is accompanied by being active, shouting, jumping, dancing, firing, running around and singing. The Anywaa's understanding of kàŋŋɔ̀ 'joy' as a category of happiness takes us to the following schematization of emotion levels in figure 7:

SUPERORDINATE LEVEL:dʒúódò 'FEELING (EMOTION)'
BASIC LEVEL:mɛ́t ètʃ 'HAPPINESS'
SUBORDINATE LEVEL: kàŋŋɔ̀ 'JOY'

Figure 7: Schematization of Emotion in Anywaa

As we can see from the Anywaa's schematization of emotion in figure (7), the word mɛ́t ètʃ 'happiness', which literally means *tastiness of stomach*, is easily understood as a basic emotion due to tasty food, which is its source domain making this word more frequent in the Anywaa's daily life thinking and conversation about happiness. However, kááŋ 'an overjoy', which is the subcategory of happiness, cannot be easily linked with its source domain. This implies that concept, word and experience are related to each other. Hence, a basic emotion(basic concept) is very frequent in daily conversation and it is metaphorically easily related to its source domain, perception and image.

THE DECLINE OF HAPPINESS

In sum, examples like those in (308)-(312) underile high intensity of happiness as HAPPY IS UP. In Anywaa, the decline of happiness is understood based an object on the ground or an

object which is going down. So, the decline in level of fluid in a container or the going down of steam is a good source domain for understanding the decline of happiness as follows in (315a-c):

(315a)	mɛ́t	ɛtʃ	már	-ì	ā	-dɔ̀ɔ̀	pìŋ
	tastiness of	stomach	of	2SG	PST	return:ITV	earth
Lit.	'The tastiness of your stomach has returned down on earth/ground.'						
	'Your happiness has decreased.'						

The speaker in (315a) knows that the addressee was very happy before, i.e the happiness was up in the sky but now it has declined.

(b)	ŋīllààl	tʃwíŋ	-è	ā	-dɔ̀ɔ̀	pìŋ
	child	liver of	3SG	PST	return:ITV	earth
Lit.	'The child's liver has returned down on earth.'					
	'The child's happiness has decreased.'					

(c)	tʃwíŋ	-è	ɛ́ɛ́	tʃĭp	pìŋ
	liver of	3SG	PERF	put	earth
Lit.	'He/She has put down his/her liver.'				
	'He/She is slightly happy and patient.'				

Based on examples (315b) & (315c), it can be inferred that LIVER metonymically stands for HAPPINESS. Example (315c) is based on the experience of putting down an object appropriately, but example (315b) is based on the experience of going down of steam, fire or level of liquid/flour in a container.

In Anywaa, controlling emotion is understood in term of of putting down a liver. So, tʃĭp tʃwíŋì pìŋ 'put down your liver' can mean *Do not be angry/afraid/jealous*. The happy person in (315c) usually sits down without speaking bad things. Thus, THE FORCE OF HIGH DEGREE OF HAPPINESS RAISES A LIVER LEADING TO THE JUMPING UP OF A HAPPY PERSON BUT LIVER GOES DOWN WHEN HAPINESS DECLINES AND THE HAPPY PERSON SITS DOWN. The metaphor, páá tʃwíŋà 'not my liver' means *I'm not interested in it/I'm not happy with it*. Such metaphors of happiness are based on the cognitive metaphors HAPPINESS IS HUMAN LIVER; HIGH DEGREE OF HAPPINESS IS A LIVER WHICH IS UP IN THE SKY;LOW DEGREE OF HAPPINESS IS A LIVER WHICH IS DOWN. The contiguity/conceptual proximity between liver and happiness is that happiness is strongly felt with liver and it is inside it. Furthermore, when an Anywaa is happy, his/her liver is clean like happiness. In general, orientational metaphors of happiness in Anywaa take us to the following conceptual metaphors in (a)-(c):

(a)WHEN HAPPINESS IS INTENSE, AN EXPERIENCER'S LIVER IS UP (IN THE SKY)

(b)WHEN HAPPINESS IS MILD, AN EXPERIENCER'S LIVER IS BETWEEN THE EARTH AND THE SKY

(c)WHEN HAPPINESS DEGREE IS LOW, THE LIVER IS ON THE GROUND

6.12 HAPPINESS as INSANITY

In Anywaa, high intensity of happiness can be conceptualized as **INSANITY**. This is based on the abnormal degree of a happy person's voice, his/her happiness movement and the stimulus. People who laugh alone without their reason being clear to the others are regarded as insane although they may have reason for laughing. The linguistic metaphors in (316a-d) have been provided to understand HAPPINESS IS INSANITY in detail.

(316a)	mɛ́t		ɛ́tʃ	már	-í	bă	tímó	ní
	tastiness of		stomach	of	2SG	INTERO	become	CON
	bɔ́ɔlɔ́	tín?						
	insanity	tín?						

Lit. 'Don't you think the tastiness of your stomach will turn into insanity later?'
'Don't you think your happiness will turn into insanity later?'

The mix of happiness and madness in the body and head in (316a) is based on abnormal acting of the experiencer.

(b)	ŋɛ́ɛ́n̪	-í	kɛ́ɛ́	bɔ̀ɔ̀l
	laugh	HAB	like	insane

Lit. 'He laughs like an insane.'
'He/She is an overzealous.'

Such a laugh can be compounded as ŋɛ̀ɛ̀n̪ bɔ̀ɔ̀l ' an insane's laugh' or with high tone on both words ŋɛ́ɛ́n̪ bɔ́ɔ́l 'madness laugh'. When a person laughs due to something that is not considered by others as laughable, it is said ŋɛ́ɛ́n̪ tòòt 'lie laugh', which does not come from a liver but from mouth and teeth. Like a mad person, a very happy person laughs very loudly in an unnatural way even with a minor thing. Such a person is called tʃwíɲè dʒóóm 'a soft-livered person', i.e *an easily amused person*.

(c)	ōbuóré	ā	-bɔ́ɔ́l	kī	mɛ́t	ɛ́tʃ
	children	PST	become mad	with	tastiness of	stomach

Lit. 'The children became/have become mad with the tastniess of stomach.'
'The children became/have become mad with happiness.'

The linguistic metaphor in (316c) is uttered based on children's wandering, laughing, rolling in mud/grass, crying, running or wrestling in a grass or mud due to their intense happiness.

(d)	kɛ̀r	-ì	ŋɛ́ɛ́t̪ɔ́	kī	tʃwíɲ	-ì	bʌ̀r	-è	káámár
	NEG	2SG	laugh	with	liver of	2SG	whole:3SG	3SG	like
	d̪áágɔ́								

Lit. 'Do not laugh from your whole liver like a female.'
'Do not loudly laugh with your whole heart like a female.'

The conceptualization of intense happiness based on a female's laughter, is due to the Anywaa's cultural belief that FEMALES ARE INSANE LAUGHING LOUDLY; MALES ARE WISE PEOPLE WHO LAUGH WISELY. So, the addressee in (316d) is a male who has loudly laughed like a female.

In Anywaa, happiness can be conceptualized as FORCE taking people to different places and bringing various moods. Examples (317)-(319) illustrate HAPPINESS IS FORCE in Anywaa.

(317)	tʃwíŋ	-é	ā	-dííŋ	mét	étʃ	-í
	liver of	3SG	PST	electrify	tastiness of	stomach	DEF
Lit.	'His/Her liver was electrified by the tastiness of stomach.'						
	'He/She ignored the bad things due to the hapiness.'						

The force type in (317) is ELECTRIC FORCE, which has caused the happy person not to listen to what was spoken well. In such a happy situation, the happy also does not see and notice the bad things.

(318)	mɛ́t	étʃ	áán	-á	-lɛ́ɛ́ŋ	náám
	tastiness of	stomach	1SG	PST	throw:ITV	river
Lit.	'Happiness threw me away into river.'					
	'I jumped into river with happiness.'					

The force type in (318) is PHYSICAL/SPIRITUAL causing intense running into river and dancing there. The happiness in (318) is strong and understood as mɛ́t ètʃ mō tɛ́ɛ́k 'a strong/ an intense happiness'.

(319)	gwɛ̀l	mɔ̀	-ɛ̀	kʌ̀l	-á	mɛ́t	ɛ́tʃ	-ì	már
	money	of	3SG	take	FOC	tastiness of	stomach	DEF	of
	kɔ́ɔ́ŋɔ́	wɔk							
	beer	out							
Lit.	'His money is taken out from his pocket by beer happiness.'								
	'He gives money to others when he is drunk.'								

The person referred to here (319) is very mean and does not give money to a person when he is sober. So, the drink force makes him take out the money from his pocket or house. Yet, the force of happiness has the experience of physical human force due to the word kʌ̀l wɔ̀k' take out', which implies taking out money out of one's pocket forcefully. Example (319) is also uttered as gwɛ̀tɛ̀ kʌ̀lá kɔ̀ɔ̀ŋɔ̀ wɔ̀k 'His money is taken out from his pocket and given to another person by drink'. In such, a metaphor DRINK METONYMICALLY STANDS FOR HAPPINESS AND BECOMING DRUNK. In fact, in Anywaa, happiness caused by becoming drunk is metonymically understood in terms of being drunk. Hence, HAPPINESS IS BEING DRUNK. Among the Anywaa drunkenness is bad only if it leads to quarrel, adultery, insult or killing, but it is important as source of happiness and joy because beer and drunkenness are used to remove sorrow, fear and shame. Drunkenness is also good as it is accopmpanied by singing, dancing and firing, resulting in the chasing away of bad spirits in the body.

6.13 Summary of Happiness Metaphors

In this section, metaphors of happiness have been analyzed. In Anywaa, happiness is usually evaluated as a positive and distinct emotion. In fact, most of the source domains of happiness like WHITE COLOUR, TASTY FOOD, PLANT LEAF, HEALTH and SPATIAL ORIENTATION ARE are used by focusing on the positive aspects of happiness implying the Anywaa's evaluation of happiness as the most important emotion for human health, life, and consciousness. Happiness is usually understood by the Anywaa as mét étʃ 'tastiness of stomach, but sometimes mét tʃwìŋ 'tastiness of liver'. This is because, like happiness, tasty food is pleasant due to good smell and taste causing satisfaction. Although, INSANITY and INTOXICATION are used as source domains in Anywaa, the degrees of these source domains used for happiness are not very negative. Thus, laughing loudly can be considered as INSANITY. Hence, PLEASANTNESS OF HAPPINESS IS PLEASANTNESS OF INSANITY/INTOXICATION. The Anywaa's frequent understanding of happiness as mét étʃ 'tastiness of stomach' is due to the fact that tasty food enters stomach, has good smell and taste causing pleasure which is caused by satisfaction, which is directly felt with stomach. In Anywaa, degree adverbs, repetition of degree adverbs, amalgamation, sound extension, and tone are used to express happiness degree.

Chapter Seven

7.1 Metaphorical Conceptualization of Love in Anywaa

According to Kövecses (1986), one of the very typical cognitive models of anger, pride, and love is that they seem to be essentially composed of a number of entities or predicates. The number of entities for love includes *the self*, *the beloved* and *love* itself. In reference to Anywaa, love is called mèèr, the beloved (lover) is ōmèèr, lùòbò 'lover' and the self is àànì (à) 'I'. So, in Anywaa to denote one's lover, ōmèèr márà/ōmèèjà 'My lover' is used and to talk about another person's lover, ōmèèr márɛ̀/ōmèèjɛ̀ 'His/Her lover' is used. Furthermore, more often in Anywaa, there is an overlapping use between the concepts of **LIKING** and **ROMANTIC LOVE**. The liking is called **màŋŋɔ̀** 'want, search' in Anywaa and the romantic love is called **mèèr**. Yet, there are situations where distinctions are apparent. In a situation where different varieties of food items are provided requiring a person to choose among them, màŋŋɔ̀ 'like, want' is used instead of mèèr 'love' as illustrated below in (320a&b).

(320a)	à	máŋŋ	-á	ābʌ̀j	mō	ò̩ɲɔ̀ɔ̀	kī	ŋòòrì
	1SG	like	FOC	maizes	REL	boiled	with	beans

'I need/like maize boiled with (Anywaa) beans.'

Example (320a) implies that right now there are varieties of foods to be provided to people but the speaker has chosen maize boiled with beans. In Anywaa, the literal meaning of màŋŋɔ̀ 'like, want' is *search*. Hence, LIKING SOMETHING IS SEARCHING IT.

(b)	à	méér	kī	rèèò	kī	kùòn
	1SG	love	OBL	fish	and	porridge

'I love porridge and fish.'

Example (320b) implies that the favourite food of the speaker is porridge and fish, i.e porridge eaten with (fish) stew. This meaning has been expressed by the high tone in méér 'to love very much'. In Anywaa, mèèr 'love' usually refers to romantic love.

The conceptual core of **ROMANTIC LOVE** is constituted by AFFECTION, INTEREST, INTIMACY and LONGING. These are the concepts that are inherent in love. Put another way, these are the concepts closely related to love. Romantic love is therefore an intense affectionate concern for another person. In such a love relation, what is presupposed is LIKING, SEXUAL DESIRE, LONGING, INTIMACY, ADIMIRATION, etc. The Concept of LIKING which is

present in LOVE has broader focus than the concept of LOVING as merely indicating physical appearance[68](Kövecses,1986:70&79),

Separation between love and its components is arguable among scholars. For example, Peeks (1978) argues that love and its components and infatuation can be separated, but Brehm (1985) rejects this point with the argument that romantic love cannot be separated from the general concept of LOVE. The two basic concepts for love relation to happen can be understood from Newton-Simth (1973) as follows in (321)-(322b).

A knows B

(321)	à	jí	-ì	ŋʌ́ʌ́ò	kǎa?
	1SG	PERF	2SG	know	where?
	'Where/When have you known me?'				

Among the Anywaa, a question like that in (321) is raised by a girl when a boy expresses his love for her for the first time. In such love context, the girl may insult a boy, because she does not like him or she wants to evaluate the degree to which a boy love her.

A cares (is concerned about) B

(322a)	à	màŋŋ	-á	jì
	1SG	want	FOC	2SG
Lit.	I am searching you.			
	'I like, want you (SG).'			

Example (322a) can be uttered by a boy starting romantic love with a girl. So, LOVING IS SEARCHING.

(b)	tʃwíɲ	-á	lʌ̀ʌ̀ŋŋ	-á	ɲààn	-è	kéér	-é	
	liver of	FOC	be very concerned about	FOC	she	that	only	3SG	
Lit.	'My liver is very concerned only about that girl.'								
	'I am very concerned about that girl only.'								

7.1.1 INTENSITY OF LOVE

INTENSITY is an abstract concept that has evolved from more concrete and conceptually simpler objects like DEPTH, QUANTITY, EFFECT, CLOSENESS, etc. We can understand INTENSITY as a scale which represents the amount of substance, the degree of depth, the degree of an effect, the degree of closeness, etc. Thus, INTENSITY seems to be a concept characterized by indicating lower and higher degrees. Yet, compared to other emotions, love is an emotion whose intensity, at least in the prototypical cases, is always very high (Kövecses, 1986:82).

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[68]In Anywaa, the predicate for the English infinitve *to love* or *love* is used with high tone as méér as oppossed to the noun mèèr 'love' which has low tone. When parents lead good love relation or life, the noun mèèr 'love', ōmèèr 'lover' or āmèèr are used as personal names.

The conceptual relation between INTENSITY and DEPTH is easy to see; for example, when we say of a person *he is deeply wrapped up in his thoughts*, what we usually mean is that the person is thinking intensely. Similarly, when we speak of deeply felt emotions, one of the things we can mean by this is that one experiences one's emotions with intensity. The height scale of love corresponds to the height of the container as metaphor uses height scale measuring quantity or amount. It has two end points: the lower point (the threshold on the intensity scale) corresponds to the bottom and the upper end (the limit point of the intensity scale) corresponds to the top of the container. The two end points therefore define love intensity. When the amount of love is above the threshold (love swelling from the bottom), love comes into clear existence-that is the intensity is relatively low. When the amount of love reaches the limit (love fills the container), it indicates its high degree and when the amount of love goes beyond the limit(love overflows), it indicates the highest degree (Kövecses, 1986:84). In order to see the techniques of marking love intensity in Anywaa, it is worth providing the following examples in (323)-(327).

(323) mèèr mán pʌ́l
love this giant
'This love is giant.'

In (323) the word pʌ́l 'very big' can express the degree that love intensity is very high based on the source of VERY BIG AMOUNT IN A CONTAINER/PILED OBJECT. The word pʌ́l is concretely used for big objects like flour, porridge, mud and meat which can be put in a container. Thus, the extension of this experience makes the love very intense. By fronting the verb mèèr 'love' and attaching the suffix focus marker {á-} to it, love intensity can be judged to be higher. The attaching of the focus marker {-á} results in the gemination of r in the verb méér 'love', which is fronted to appear before à' I' in the basic sentence in (324a).

(324a) à méér (kī) jì
1SG love (OBL) 2SG
'I love you.'

Example (324a), whose order is Subject-Verb-Object being the basic word order in Anywaa, implies that the speaker loves the addressee, but the speaker's love degree is not higher than that of the addressee. Thus, the sentence can imply that the speaker loves the addressee as much as the addressee loves him/her. The use of cleft sentences to mark love intensity has been illustrated below in examples (324b).

(b) méérr -á à kī jì
love FOC 1SG OBL 2SG
Lit. 'Love I with you.'
'It is I who love you.'

In (324b) the basic word order is changed to Verb-Subject-Object. Based on the example in (324b) the speaker (conceptualizer 1) loves the addressee (conceptualizer 2) more than the addressee loves him /her. Before the fronting, the verb mèèr 'love' has low tone, but due to regressive assimilation spread by the focus marker {-á}, in the focus position, the low tone of verb mèèr 'love' has changed to high tone as méér.

The gemination of /rr/ in the focus verb méérrá, which has occurred before the focus marker {á} is used to imply that the addresser (subject), who has appeared after the fronted verb méérrá 'love more', has stronger love than the addressee. From the concrete experience of seeing and manipulating objects, two /rr/s are greater and stronger than /r/. The focus marker {-á} clarifies and points out the speaker subject {à}, who has appeared after the fronted verb méér with the focus marker as méérrá and whose love degree is stronger and higher than that of the addressee (patient). This takes us to the conclusion that sounds and morphemes have cognitive bases making them contribute to meanings, structures and transformational grammar. Furthermore, example (324b) can imply that the speaker loves the addressee more than other people do love the addressee.

(325)	ɲī	-mèèr	mō	ʈ̆...n̪
	DIM	love	REL	sma...l
Lit.	'A child of love which is extremely small.'			
	'A love with very low intensity.'			

In (325) two points are very strong evidences to conclude that the degree of love is very very low: the first evidence is the use of the diminutive case ɲī, whose literal meaning is “child of” in English. The second evidence is the use of vowel extension as ʈ̂...n̪ 'sma-a-a-l', to imply very low degree of love.

(326)	mèèr	mán	én	-á	máál
	love	this	be:LOC	FOC	sky
Lit.	'This love is in the sky.'				
	'This love is very high.'				

In (326) the degree of love is high because its end point is up based on the source of rising object like steam or piled objects. Whenever the degree of love is extremely low, it is said mèèr mō bʌŋŋò[69] 'Love which is null, zero'. This experience comes from the amount which is very little

[69]The performance word bʌŋŋò 'zero' is formed out of bʌŋ 'no' and gò 'it'. Its underlying form is therefore bʌŋgɔ̀ 'zero, no'. So, the surface form bʌŋgò 'zero' is the result of partial progressive assimilations. In doing so, first, the breathy vowel /ʌ/ imposes its breathiness on /ɔ/ and changes it to the breathy counterpart [o].The next assimilation happens between the velar consonants g and ŋ. As it can be seen in bʌŋgò, the velar consonant ŋ totally changes g to ŋ resulting in the word bʌŋŋò 'no, zero'. Hence, total progressive assimilation. In very fast speech, bʌŋŋò' zero' is uttered as bʌŋò 'zero'

and it is down in the inner part of a container like gourd or pot. Hence, an object which is down on earth can serve as a source domain of low intensity of love. Hence, HIGH DEGREE (OF EMOTION) IS HEAVY, LOW DEGREE (OF EMOTION) IS LIGHT.

(327)	mèèr	mán	-ɔ̀gɔ̀	páá	màn	-à	nʌ́k	ò	-màŋŋɔ̀
	love	DEM	that	NEG	REL	PST	be	PERF	want
Lit.	This love is not the one which is needed.'								
	'This love is beyond the limit.'								

The love in (327) implies that it is beyond the limit as abnormal practices are exhibited. In some cases of expressing love degree, vowel extensions in degree adverbs and rising tone are used. Below are the examples in (328a&b)-(329b) for elucidation.

(328a)	à	mèèr	ká	ātʃálá	dɔ̀tʃ	nō	ò	-káḏɔ̀
	1SG	love	OBL	Achala	DEG	CON	PERF	cross river:ITV
	'I love Achala very much.'							

In (328a) there is high degree of love due to the use of dɔ̀tʃ 'very' with low tone and káḏɔ̀ 'cross a river'. Example (328a) implies that the speaker loves Achala more than the other people. But the word káḏɔ̀ 'cross a river' implies that the love degree in (328a) is beyond the limit. This is due to the metaphorical entailment that when we go to a river to fetch water, we enter the river, fetch water and go back home, but if we cross a river without purpose, we are going beyond the limit.

(b)	è	mèèr[70]	kī	tʃì	-è	dǒ...tʃ
	He	love	OBL	wife of	3SG	DEG
	'He loves his wife very much.'					

In (328b) the degree of love is higher than with breathy vowel as dɔ̀tʃ 'very' or without vowel extension due to the use of vowel extension and the rising tone. This takes us to the conceptual metaphor GRADUAL INCREASE IN LOVE (EMOTION) INTENSITY IS RISING TONE; GRADUAL DECREASE IN LOVE (EMOTION) INTENSITY IS FALLING TONE. The use of tone to mark the person who is loved more is illustrated below in (329a&b).

(329a)	měer	kí	tʃààm
	love	OBL	Cham
	' It is Cham that he/she loves more than he/she loves any other person.'		

In example (329a) the subject **3SG** has been deleted due to rising tone on měer 'to love', which marks higher degree of love and the use of high tone on the oblique kí clarifies that it is Cham that is loved more than any body else, because Cham has come after the oblique. The risng tone on the verb měer 'love' makes the deleted subject è '3SG' understood.

(b)	mèèr	kī	tʃààm
	love	OBL	Cham
	'He/She loves Cham.'		

[70]The variation between high and low tones on the verb mèèr 'love' express high and low degree of love. So, mèèr kī àànì 'He/she loves me' has lower degree than méér kī àànì 'He/she loves me.'

In example (329b), there is a person who loves Cham but his love degree does not imply that it is higher with Cham than with the other person due to low tone in the verb mèèr 'love'. Briefly, the example implies that he/she loves Cham as he loves another person. Hence, degree of love is not compared here. In the expression in (329b), the *3SG* can be omitted but understood. Although Anywaa is a prodropping language, its prodropingness is usually clarified by discourse and pragmatics. Therefore, HIGH EMOTION IS RISING (HIGH) TONE; LOW EMOTION IS LOW TONE.

Based on data (329a&b), it can be claimed that tones experientially and cognitively have meanings by themselves because among the Anywaa, i.e in their conceptual system, loud voices or high tones are associated with danger, high emotion and high intensity/amount, but low tone are associated with low emotion or fear of responding to a courageous person during quarrel or small amount. Objects that are piled up can also serve as an experience of meaningfulness of tones by themselves. Therefore, the use of specific tone patterns like high tone, low mid, rising or falling to express emotion degree, aspect, number or voice is for specifying meaning by using tonal frames. This reality in Anywaa can be supported with Vandepitte (1989:265)'s position that tone contributes to pragmatic meaning, i.e a speaker's manipulation and knowledge regarding an addressee's background. Tones are meaningful by themselves as they can produce utterance entailing contextual effect; they therefore have cognitive function and their mobility is done for expressing pragmatic meaning.

In reference to Anywaa, therefore, lexical and grammatical contrasts of tone are stored in the head as meaningful linguistic units. Tones are therefore superimposed on segments to avoid ambiguity or to clarify meanings. Example, in the Anywaa words ȍbùtò 'has slept' and ȏbútó 'sleeps/sleepy', a native speaker of Anywaa knows that high tone means habitual aspect and low tone means perfective aspect. So, without tone, the aspectual meaning of ȏbuto is not clear as it may mean *sleeps/has slept*. Similarly, when an Anywaa means *not well cooked porridge*, he/she utters high tone on the word as nʌ́m and if he/she means *rivers*, the speakers uses low tone as nʌ̀m.

7.1.2 LOVE as PHYSIOLOGY

The object of love has different conceptualizations and attitudes. Our conventionalized use of language suggests that love is also characterized by its presence in our conceptual model. The

physiological effects of love include INCREASED BODY HEAT, BLUSHING, INCREASE IN HEART RATE, INTERFRENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION (See also Lakoff, 1986). Below are the examples of love as PHYSIOLOGY in Anywaa.

Increased Body Heat

Body heat can combine both happiness and love. Grady (1997:27) regarding the conceptualization of affection in terms of warmth states that the two are correlated by affection and body warmth produced with contact /proximity. However, regarding the socio-cultural practice among the Anywaa, during cold season, people warm themselves with fire heat and the warmth they feel brings happiness, loving and talking to each other. Consider examples (330a&b) to understand the relation between body heat and love.

(330a)	ó-	-dʒóót	ɲáán	-étʃɛ̀	dèèr	-è	pùt	
	HAB	see	girl	that	body of	3SG	happen immediately	
	-á	mùjjò						
	FOC	become warm						
Lit.	'Whenever he sees that girl, his body immediately becomes warm with love and happiness. '							
	'When he sees her, he becomes affectionate, happy and active.'							

(b)	tʃwíɲ	-ì	kèr	mòòr	-ì	kīpɛ̀r	-à	dʒààk	kīpɛ̀r
	liver of	2SG	NEG	warm	2SG	for	1SG	simply	because
	ààn	ò-	-lɔ̀	mìɛ̀k					
	1SG	PERF	COMPL	engage					
Lit.	'Don‘t simply warm your liver for me because I have already been engaged.'								
	'Do not ask me for love, because I have already been engaged.'								

Metaphorically, as (330b) implies that a male person warms his liver so that his body will be active for a girl he falls in love with. This implies a combination of mild happiness and love for a girl .

Increased Heart Rate

In Anywaa, increased heart rate as love physiology is accompanied by liver movement, trembling, dancing of body part like butt and voice production as the examples in (331a-c) illustrate below.

(331a)	ná	á	máŋŋ	-á	gɔ̀	nɛ̀ɛ̀	mèèr	tʃààn	-à
	while	1SG	PROSP	FOC	it	INF	love	tell	1SG
	dʒìr	-è,	kóór	-a	ā	-tìmò	nī	lík	
	to	3SG	chest of	FOC	PST	become	CON	lik	
Lit.	'While I was about to tell her my love, my chest pounded as lik.'								
	'While I was about to tell her my love, my heart palpitated as lik.'								

In (331a) the falling down of chest idiomatically means fear of telling the love to a girl for the first time. Since the falling of liver is associated with fear and sadness in Anywaa, this love is at initial stage and the speaker is talking to another person who may convince that girl. This is

based on the conceptual metaphor PALPITATIONS IS THE FALLING DOWN OF A CHEST; FEAR IS THE FALLING DOWN OF A CHEST, i.e PALPITATIONS.

(b)	dèèr	-è	míɛ́l	kīpɛ́r	ɲààn	-à	kwáár
	body of	3SG	dance	for	girl	REL	red
Lit.	'His body is dancing for the girl who is red.						
	He is very active with love for the Anywaa girl with bright skin.'						

The love physiology metaphor in (345b) implies becoming active for love process. When a lover like that in (331b) is ordered by the counterpart, he/she goes to bring something actively with speed.

(c)	ʈ̲ár	-é	tìmò	nì	pátpát	kīpɛ́r	ōtʃán
	butt of	3SG	become	CON	patpat	for	Ochan
Lit.	'Her butt trembles with the voice patpat for Ochan.'						
	'She loves Ochan very much.'						

Example (331c) implies that because the girl here loves Ochan very much, anything ordered by him will be done by here immediately. The highest stage in which it is difficult to control the love is understood based on THE INTERFRENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION, which includes confusion, difficulty of understanding or improper functioning of mind,eye and liver. Below are the Anywaa examples in (332a-c) to illustrate LOVE IS INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION.

(332a)	ó-	wʌ́ʌ́	-wá	kō	ōdʒùlù	tímò	kɛ́ɛ́	páá	ʈʃʊ̀ɔ̀r
	HAB	converse	1PL:EXCL	with	Ojulu	become	like	not	blind
Lit.	'When I converse with Ojulu, it seems that he is not a blind person.'								
	'Although Ojulu is blind, I still love him very much.'								

Example (332a) implies that the speaker is a female who is Ojulu's girlfriend/wife, who loves him very much although Ojulu is blind. This means the girl's intense love for Ojulu makes her ignore his blindness.

(b)	ʈʃwíɲ	-é	ʊ̀	-nʌ̀k	méérr	-ì
	liver of	3SG	PERF	kill	love	DEF
Lit.	'His/Her liver has been killed by the love.'					
	'The Love has made him/her passive/gullible.'					

As liver is the center of perception among the Anywaa, the improper functioning of the liver of the person in (332b) results in giving more valuable things to a lover than to the relative. Thus, love can take human liver. In Anywaa, ʈʃwíɲɛ̀ ʊ̀tɔ̀w 'a person whose liver is dead' is *a person* who has no good feeling, perception and emotional response. Such a person is gullible.

(c)	wì	-à	ā	-kʌ́l	meèrr̀	-ì
	head of	1SG	PST	take	love	DEF
Lit.	'My head was taken by the love.'					
	'The love confused me.'					

In (332c), confusion or improper perception caused by high degree of love for someone makes a person forget thinking about other people or things. So, in example (332c) head stands for thinking and attention. When we are really in love, we are unable to function normally. Inability

to function normally in love involves a lack of control over love. This conceptualization of love intensity brings about a serious conflict in our conception of love. Since maximal degree associated with 'real' love involves lack of control over love and since we are responsible for controlling our emotions, we have to make choice. We have to decide whether we want love (together with lack of control) or whether we want to control love (Kövecses, 1986:88).

7.1.3 LOVE IS HUMAN BODY (PARTS)

Widespread use of body metaphors probably results from the fact that human beings give due attention to their bodies. BODY is of larger importance for human experience of the world and objects (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999).

In many cultures, the heart plays an important part as conceived source of emotions and feelings and certainly describe as a key ethnopsychological term in these cultures. Because head contains reason and intellect and the heart is the LOCUS of feelings and emotions, they are linguistically in contradiction. These two organs are the constituents of character. An example like *Was just wondering, if you were in relationship that your heart was 100% into and LOVED the person without doubt , BUT your brain disagrees with u...*This example implies the use of heat as source domain. It further implies that the love of the person spoken about was strong but accompanied by some doubts from the loved. The heart is therefore the symbol of love metaphor in English (Swan, 2009). Similarly, Bas (2018) puts that in Turkish, ʧîdʒər 'liver-lung' is the (OBJECT OF) LOVE and it is used to communicate positive feelings. For example, ʧîdʒərim in this language means my liver-lung which metaphorically means my beloved and ʧîdʒər 'liver-lung' expresses the love of child.

Our bodies' interaction with the environment plays a significant role in our understanding of the world we live. Because bodies are not isolated from society, all bodies are situated in a context, that is, cultural environment. For this reason, cognition is embodied in cultural situations (Gibbs, 1999). The use of human body as source of emotion metaphors can be supported with what Kövecses (2015) posits as "The human body is one of the contexts from which metaphors come and makes speakers/conceptualizers speak metaphorically in different contexts". This idea is further strengthened by Lemmens (2015:93) that our everyday embodied experience, which includes sensory-motor experience, plays a key role for our understanding of our physical and cultural world. Thus, human knowledge is embodied.

In recent years, the role of human body and its internal and external parts as source domains has been deeply investigated for understanding abstract concepts like love or emotion via metaphorical or metonymic use. These studies have provided evidences for the view that although the human body has a universal source domain for metaphors in understanding abstract concepts, cultural or folk models provide cognitive and experiential clues through which specific body parts become marked and meaningful in understanding abstract concepts (Maalej and Yu, 2011 and Bas, 2018). The importance of imagination in making the world meaningful is emphasized by Johnson (1987) as *If there is no imagination, we cannot reason about any kind of knowledge, but because our imagination and reason are embodied,* **The Body is in the Mind**.

In Anywaa dèèl 'body' and its parts can be used as source domains of emotion metaphors. This means the linguistic metaphors are surface manifestations of LOVE IS HUMAN BODY (PARTS). This in turn implies that METONYMICALLY BODY (PART) STAND FOR LOVE. Such a claim is further strengthened by Swan (2009) as "it is common in natural languages to locate abstract feelings in inner human organs we cannot see feelings and metonymically use body part to metonymically stand for a person." In the following embodied metaphors of love in Anywaa, the body parts which are source domains were extracted from Perner (1990), Perner (2003), Reh (1996) and Reh (1999) with some adaptations.

7.1.3.1 LOVE IS WHOLE HUMAN BODY

The use of whole human body as source of love tells us higher degree of love, true love, lovers' knowledge about themselves and sexual contact. Below are examples (333a-d) for the detail of such a conceptualization of love in Anywaa.

(333a)	dèèr	-à	ā	-tʃìb	-à	dʒìr	-ì	bʌ̀r	-ɛ̀
	body of	1SG	PST	give	1SG	to	2SG	whole:3SG	3SG
Lit.	'I have given you my whole body.'								
	'I totally love you.'								

The love metaphor in (333a) is usually uttered by a female who loves her husband/boyfriend very much to imply love which includes sexual relation although the male counterpart may have lower degree of love for her. When the romantic love is actual, favourable to both lovers and it is truly expected by the lovers and the community, it is said in (347b) as:

(b)	dèèr	mèèr	màn	-à	nʌ̀k	kàrɛ̀
	body of	love	REL:DEFINE	AUX	be	real
Lit.	'The body of love which is real/true.'					
	'A true love.'					

Body can have deep rooted metaphorical thinking but the use of its specific parts (frames) can convey specific meanings leading to cultural variations. The use of body as a source of love is based on visible (body) part and contact between lovers.

(c)	dèèt	-ù	jì	-ò	-dʒòòdɔ	káá?
	bodies of	2PL	PERF	PERF	see	where
Lit.	'Where have you seen your bodies each other?'					
	'Where have you started your love relation/marriage?'					

Metaphor (333c) is true, because in love process, people face and contact each other based on kissing and sexual relation. Because the whole body is the same as a whole person like Ojulu, it can be concluded that METONYMIES ARE EQUATIVES. A compound word like tʃɛ̀r mèèr 'love hand' implies a hand touching a person with love smoothly. In (333c), the use of kǎa 'where' to metaphorically signify *when*, suggests the Anywaa's conception of time as SPACE/EARTH. Hence, SPECIFIC TIME IS SPECIFIC PART OF EARTH (see Derib, 2016).

(d)	dèèt	-wà	ŋʌ̀tʃ	-wà	kàɲ	mō	bʌ̀ʌ̀r
	bodies of	1PL:EXCL	know	1pL:EXCL	place	REL	far
Lit.	'We have known our bodies in distant place.'						
	'We have been lovers a long time ago.'						

Example (333d) includes starting sexual relation a long time ago. The literal translations here takes us to the metaphor TIME IS SPACE; LONG TIME IS A DISTANT PLACE. In sum, examples in (333a-d) underlie LOVE (EMOTION) IS HUMAN BODY.

7.1.4 LOVE IS EYE

Our eye is the center of sight and it is through an eye that we cognize and perceive objects clearly. Thus, an eye expands our knowledge and cognition as it serves as channel enabling us to keep the details in the brain for retention (Anudo, 2018). In reference to an Anywaa's cognition, an eye suggests but the liver determines. While wàŋ mō bɛ̀ɛ̀r 'good eye' expresses love, wàŋ mō rǎatʃ 'a bad eye' implies hatred. Among the Anywaa, an eye also contributes to consciousness. So a blind person is not conscious but a good (innocent) person because he or she does not see. Thus, an eye is a thief, because it sees things by allowing people to steal them. Blind people are innocent, because they do not steal as their eyes do not see. Sexual organs attract people, because they are seen with naked eyes. Below are metaphorical expressions (334)-(340) associated with an eye as source domain of love.

(334)	ɲààn	-è	ɲɛ̀ŋŋ	-è	t̪óót̪
	girl	DIS	eyes of	3SG	many
Lit.	'That girl has more than two eyes.'				
	'That girl usually changes her love partner.'				

The idiom in (334) is used only for a girl who changes her sexual partner often. In Anywaa, the idiom ɲɛ̀ŋŋɛ̀ ʈóóʈ 'a girl with more than two eyes' is a euphemism, whose offensive form is kʌ̀ʌ̀bì 'promiscuous girl '. While love which is based on eye and fast looking is compounded as mééj wàŋ 'an eye's love', an eye which contains love is compounded as wàŋ méér 'love's eye'. The former compound refers to infatuation, which may not last longer, but the latter may be a true love leading to commitment or living forever.

(335)	ārààtʃ	ā	-mak	wàŋ	-à
	Araach	PST	catch	eye of	1SG
Lit.	'Araach was caught by my eye.'				
	'A have been attracted by Araach.'				

Example (335) implies that first, the speaker romantically observes Araach for a long time and then falls in love with her despite the fact that there are more girls with whom Araach stays.

(336)	āgùùt	wàŋ	-ɛ	ā	-mʌ̀gò	pʌ̀ʌ̀ɲ
	Aguut	eye of	3SG	PST	be attached to something	town
Lit.	'Aguut's eye caught/held something in the town.'					
	'Aguut is loving the town.'					

Example (336) implies that Agut went to Gambella town or any other urban area and stayed there for longer time than expected. This is because something made her interested in living in the town. More often, in such a context the speaker means Agut is still in the town but the speaker is in the countryside, which is the original residence of Agut. Therefore, Agut may not come back to live in the countryside.

(337)	wàŋ	-è	ā	-lààr	kèèt	dèèr	ādʒúlú
	eye of	3SG	PST	do quickly	pierce	body of	Ajulu
	nī	kák					
	CON	kak					
Lit.	'His eye quickly pierced into he body of Ajulu as kak.'						
	'He quickly saw Ajulu and fell in love with her.'						

Example (337) implies that the boy, who has been represented by 'è3SG' quickly saw Ajulu and fell in love with her. This implies the Anywaa's belief that AN EYE IS THE CENTER OF CUNNINGNESS AND INFATUATION. The voice kák used in (337) implies high degree of romantically quickly seeing and choosing Ajulu. The experience of the voice kák comes from activities in which hard things like stone, rock or bone is accidentally speared with fishing spear and produces the voice kák. With this voice produced underwater, it is easy to recognize a rock or bone from a fish. Hence, INFATUATION IS FAST LOOKING AT A GIRL; TRUE LOVE IS WIDELY OPENED EYE.

(338)	wàŋ	-è	bɛ́ʈ	kī	mʌ̀ʌ̀n	mō	bʌ̀jjò
	eye of	3SG	sharp	with	females	REL	tall:PL
Lit.	'His eye is sharp with tall girls.'						
	'He loves tall girls and usually marries them.'						

The example in (338) implies that degree of sharpness corresponds to love intensity. So, when he sees a tall girl, he immediately falls in love with her and marries her. This takes us to the conceptual metaphor TO FALL IN LOVE WITH A GIRL IS TO SEE HER; A PERSON WHO IS LOVED MOST IS THE PERSON SEEN MOST.

(339)	wàŋ	-ì	kwáár	-è	ká	āpóól	-é	kīpér	ŋɔ́?
	eye of	2SG	red	3SG	with	old woman	PL	for	what
Lit.	'Why is your eye red with old women?'								
	'Why do you have romantic relation with old women? '								

In (339) REDNESS OF EYE STANDS FOR CLARITY AND SPEED OF LOVING AND STRONG AFFECTION FOR OLD WOMEN. HENCE, FAST IS RED. The implied meaning of example (339) is that the addressee is a young boy who usually marries and or has sex with old women, but the expectation of the addresser is that he should love and marry young girls. The interrogative sentence clued by kīpèr ŋɔ̀ 'for what?' provides an advise. Among the Anywaa, a woman's eye may be red for another woman's husband, i.e she may love another man but she has no right to tell him her love clearly/directly.

(340)	mèèr	ā	-tʃáá	-é	kī	à	nī	wàŋ	-è
	love	PST	start	3SG	with	1SG	CON	eye of	3SG
	wǐ...t								
	thin:EMPH								
Lit.	'He started love with me with very very thin eye of love.'								
	'He started love with me gradually.'								

Based on (340) one can infer that the eye of a boy for seeing the girl is first small and the degree of love is also understood in terms of very narrow eye, which is not widely opened with confidence. This is the initial stage of love started as a joke. While root vowel extension in the word wǐ...t 'extremely thin, narrow', marks gradual development of the process being very low, the rising tone marks the gradual increase in love intensity, which the speaker did not expect. This correlates with looking by gradually opening our eyes to a girl due to less confidence. But mèèr mō wàŋè dóɔ́ŋ 'Love whose eye[71] is big' metaphorically expresses love which is clear to lovers and villagers and has high intensity.

Examples (334)-(340) have highly embodied emotional reaction for love based on SIGHT. According to Gibbs (2005:1) embodiment in cognitive science refers to understanding the role of an agent (experiencer's) body in everyday situated cognition. For example, how do our bodies influence our thinking, speech and emotional reaction? The data in (334)-(340) give evidences

[71] Because in Anywaa tìɛ̀lɔ̀ 'human leg' can be extended to origin or develpoment, it can be used as a source domain for starting love as tíér mèèr ātʃááè kī à nī ɪ̰̌ɪ...n̰ 'He started the leg of love with me in a very small way' to mean he started the love with me gradually.

of adjusting eyes to the lovers and this is accompanied by thinking about a lover to marry or contact. Generally, based on Gibbs (2005)'s claim here, it can be argued that our activities, knowledge of our body parts, their shapes, functions and events precede language use and meaning construction as they are used to organize our knowledge, meaning and grammar.

Generally, the examples in (334)-(340), which are related to eye as love source domain, suggest that an eye is an off-shoot of the body which can be manipulated to suit the situation. In surveillance, we look at someone attentively for a certain time. In the period of time, our attention is similar to pushed something to another body, piercing it or holding it because when you focus on something, you actually take position as your eye concentrates (See also Al Jahdali, 2007 and Anudo,2018). Hence, AN EYE IS LIMB/SHARP METAL, whose levels of representation is provided in figure 8.

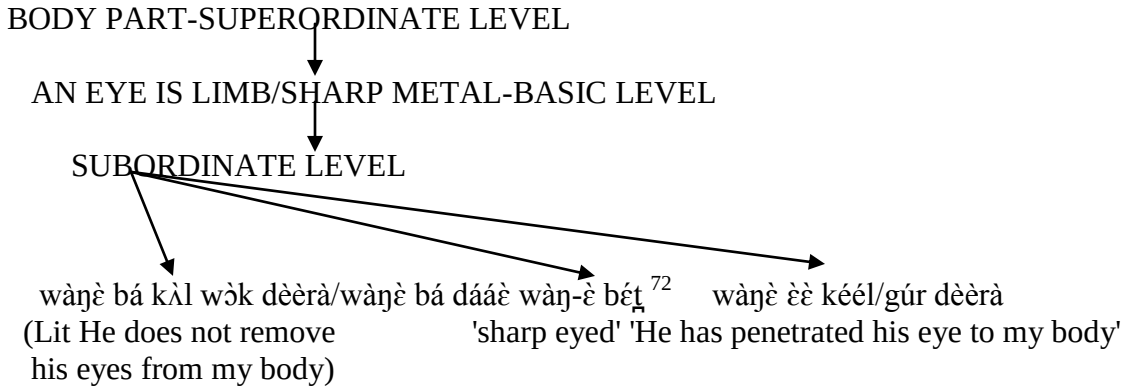


Figure 8: Representation of the Conceptual Metaphor EYE IS LIMB/SHARP LOVE /METAL based on Anudo (2018: 101)

The Anywaa's use of an EYE as a source domain of love is also seen in the concept ātòòr 'CONCEIT', which is clearly understood as tòòr wàŋ 'conceit an eye' in Anywaa. Thus, AN EYE IS THE MAJOR BODY PART ATTRACTED(QUICKLY) IN LOVE PROCESS. A person who is not married, especially a girl, can make a conceit for an unknown person so that one

[72]wàŋè ríɛ́k 'Someone whose eye is slightly big/whose eye is a little' means a cunning person who can easily convince a girl/a person and wàŋɛ ráátʃ' His eye is bad means one who is not good at choosing beautiful girl or well-mannered girl. The reason for which the Anywaa call cunningness as ríɛ́k wàŋ 'a littleness of eye' is because a cunning person quickly sees things by opening the eye well and evaluates them by thinking well within a short time so that it is easy for this person to deceive others. Among the Anywaa, males are believed to be cunning and females are not cunning. So, wàŋè t̪íín̪ 'a person whose eye is small' is *fool*. In the love process, females are therefore decieved by males as their eyes are small. Wàŋè bɛ́t̪ 'His eye is sharp' means one who can easily and soon recognize and choose a good girl/good thing. Because something can be recognized with eye, the Anywaa have the proverb wàŋ á ādʒòòà 'An eye is a witch doctor'. In fact, many things are known by seeing resulting in confirming and believing. Furthemore, in Anywaa a man who conceives a woman within a short time is called tʃúrè bɛ́t̪ 'His penis is sharp'.

person may be attracted for love or marriage. Generally, conceit is important for two main reasons: to marry and to attract the lover not to fall in love with another person. While making conceit males dress themselves with different clothes and birds feathers. Females on the other, hand dress themselves well with clothes like skirts and braid their hairs in different styles like kópáát̪í 'front parts of hair at the back' and beads like tíín ìt̪/gwét ìɖ̪ì 'ear-beads are used'(See Perner, 2003:142-153 for textual and pictorial details).

In Anywaa, while choosing a girl in romantic love process, body part is said TO BE FALLING ON A GIRL. This is based on the experience of external body parts which are directly involved in griping a girl to strengthen contact between lovers. Metaphorically, an eye falls on a girl to imply chooisng a girl for romantic love relationship. This is because we see girls and fall in love with them quickly as we see things quickly. Love choice as a falling down of body parts on a person loved is usually done by males, who are active participants in love process. Consider the following examples in (341a-c).

(341a)	wàŋ	-è	ā	-pʌ̀t̪	bʌ̀ʌ̀t	ɲáán	mō
	eye of	3SG	PST	fall	on	girl	REL
	bɛ̌...r						
	remarkably good						
Lit	'His eye fell on a remarkably good girl.'						
	'He chose (married) a very good/beautiful girl.'						

Example (341a) implies that in romantic love process, choice of a girlfriend begins with a boy's seeing a girl for her beauty, behaviour or activities.

(b)	tʃɛ̀r	-ì	ā	-pʌ̀t̪	bʌ̀ʌ̀t	ɖ̪áágɔ̀	mō	ráátʃ
	hand of	2SG	PST	fall	on	woman	REL	bad
Lit.	'Your hand fell on a bad woman.'							
	'You have chosen/married a bad woman.'							

While in a dark, a boy may catch another girl he does not want to talk to romantically. Also when we are in darkness, our hand may fell on a bad thing like a stool. The example in (341a) implies that the addressee is a man and he is now troubled by his aggressive wife or he chose and married a very ugly girl.

(c)	kɛ̀r	-ì	pʌ̀t̪	bʌ̀ʌ̀t	ɖ̪áágɔ̀	dʒààk
	NEG	2SG	fall	on	female	simply
Lit.	'Do not simply fall on a female.'					
	'Do not simply fall in love with a girl without evaluation.'					

In the current situation, metaphor (341c) is an advice is important not only for evaluating a girl for behaviour, but also for protecting oneself from HIV/AIDS. The use of the whole body, hand and eye to be falling on a female to refer to choice of a lover is based on the experience of falling, catching girls and looking at and choosing girls. The function of our body parts and the

activity we do with our body parts therefore make embodied metaphors meaningful. Thus, experience is embodied. Because liver is used to evaluate and determine love process, it is usually not used to fall on a female to imply starting romantic love as it does not rush to things, but an eye rushes as it causes infatuation based on quick looking at a girl.

The metonymic use of eye to imply love or infatuation and the falling down of hand to stand for choosing a girl by catching her clearly support Goatly (1997:57)'s point that metonymy provides strong basis up on which metaphor can be derived. In Anywaa, the metonymic use of eye to stand for love takes us to LOVE IS EYE based on looking and choosing a love partner. In Anywaa, AN EYE can also metonymically stand for SIGHT.

7.1.5 LOVE IS HEART OR BIRD

With the use of wɛ̀ŋɔ̀ 'heart', whose literal meaning is bird, love can be conceptualized in Anywaa as heart linked with an ominous birds, which are sent by God to represent a spirit or event. This is because, HEART is the center of LIFE, SOUL and SPIRIT among the Anywaa and its functioning for life and diseases is accompanied by the flight or voice of different omen birds and vibration of body parts like butt and palpitation. Furthermore, the heart is shaped like a bird.

The spirit of being convinced with love issue is more often seen to happen to girls[73]. Heart is therefore a moving spiritual matter whose spies are birds providing (love) information to it. The Anywaa therefore believe that it is the life spirit that beats in human heart making him/her alive. Among the Anywaa, the meanings and events signified by omens are usually interpreted by some old men as men go to war, fishing and hunting. Consider the following examples of linguistic metaphors for LOVE IS AN OMEN BIRD AFFECTING HEART in (342a-e) .

(342a)	dèèr	-è	bʌ̀ŋ	wɛ̀ŋ	ɖ̲áágɔ̀
	body of	3SG	no	bird of	female
Lit.	'He has no heart (omen bird) of female.'				
	'He has no love chance to marry a girl.'				

[73]The strongest evidence comes from the proverb ákɔ́ɔ́ ákòò, tʃʉ̀l dá wɛ̀ŋŋɛ̀ 'Akoo said that there is spirit/heart/ominous bird of penis', which means there is spirit(omen bird) of sexual intercourse between Akoo and certain man. In this proverb, the experienced girl Akoo was seen to have been convinced by a boy as she comes and goes back to the boy when she is called by him and told her sexual intercourse spirits and signs experience to other girls. Being seen as passive is also an evidence. Therefore, Akoo must have felt the sexual spirit and passivity before experiencing sexual intercourse. Such a saying is mostly used to advise and insult girls who joke with boy abnormally although it can be used as a warning for other people who offend others repeatedly while they are being told to stop it.

In example (342a), a girl's bird metonymically stands for the chance of marrying a girl. Omen birds which fly and cry in a village by bringing fear and sadness before the event are called wɛ̀ɲ mō rɛ́jjɔ̀ 'bad omen birds'. Their cry usually results in death of many people caused by war, epidemic or high flood. When an omen bird moves and cries implying someone's death, he/she may sometimes have strong heartbeat, but when death approaches, the person becomes very passive, ashy and discomforted and avoids speaking to others as he/she is about to leave them. That is why an unlucky boy or a girl whose marriage is usually ended soon or who is usually not accepted by others for romantic love is called dèèrɛ̀ ráátʃ, ākwɛ̀ɛ̀jì 'A boy/girl whose body is bad. This implies that gúmdèèl 'BEING LUCKY/GOODNESS OF ONE'S BODY' IS THE PRESENCE OF GOOD BIRD/SPIRIT IN ONE'S BODY. In Anywaa, ɖáágɔ̀ 'female' is extended to wife and dītʃʊ̀ɔ̀ 'male' is extended to husband.

When a man dies in war, villagers believe that the man's omen bird has already fallen down and died. This metaphor is also used for a girl who accepts love question within very short time. This metaphor is based on the belief that people whose birds have already died usually die at the start of war. A person who escapes many death attempts is said to "have no death bird in his her body".

The Anywaa's linguistic metaphor dʒwìèj (ɖááɲɔ̀) ɛ́ná tʃɛ̀r dʒʊ̀ɔ̀k 'The life of Human being is in the hand of God' reflects their thinking and belief that heart belongs to God but not to human being-God can at any time take spiritual human heart as he wants the person to be with him or due to the person's mistake. Thus, heartbeat is regulated by God.

(b)	ādʒáá	wɛ̀ŋŋ	-è	ā	-ɪ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀	rʊ̀	ōdʒóó
	Ajaa	bird of	3SG	PST	die	body of	Ojho

Lit. 'Ajaa's bird died on Ojho's body.'
'Only Ojho has become lucky to marry Ajaa.'

The implied meaning in (356b) is that Ajaa has been asked for love by many boys and she refused but lastly she accepted the love of Ojho and was married to him. In fact, example (342b) can also mean *Ajaa had a sexual relation with Ojho although she was not married to him*. Other boys whose love questions were rejected by Ajaa therefore became surprised of how she was married to Ojho. Such a girl is sometimes referred to as ātʃííl tʃʊ̀ɔ̀w 'men hater girl'. Example (342b) implies SUCCESS IS DEATH OF AN OMEN BIRD. When a girl is asked and convinced due to her love of a boy, she will have palpitations implying her accepting of the love. Further, a girl who has been convinced with romantic love discussion has a loss of appetite

caused by her liver's rejecting food for the love due to trust with romantic love partner. In contrast, a girl who has no palpitation dislikes a boy who has raised love question to her. She therefore, will not accept the love question.

(c)	wɛ̀ɲ	ɲàkɔ̀ɔ̀	pɔ̀ɔ̀t	tʃʌ́ʌ́d̲	-í	ká	bʌ̀ʌ̀t	tʃáám	-á
	bird of	girl	still	walk	HAB	DIR/P	on	left of	1SG
Lit.	'The the ominous bird of the girl is still moving in my left (hand) side.'								
	'My chance for the girl to accept my love has not come yet.'								

The linguistic metaphor in (342c) implies that the bird still has not started moving in the speaker boy's right side. Perner (1994) states as "The Anywaa have an interpretation that if the birds respond to your call (by fire) and arrive but immediately proceed, it means most of your people will be killed by the enemy. But if the birds arrive and stay with you for certain time until they proceed or return back, it means your people will be victorious". So, a bird symbolizing luck movies in the right side of a boy and may stay with him for a longer time.

The implied meaning in (342c) is that the boy has been asking the girl repeatedly but she has not still accepted the love. Yet he believes that asking her repeatedly makes the girl accept the love question. Ominous birds may come and go back but the event may not happen once. The Anywaa believe that LUCKY/STRONG IS RIGHT BUT UNLUCKY/WEAK IS LEFT. So, when you catch a girl or anything with left, it goes as the ominous love bird is still moving in the left hand direction. In fact, left hand is usually weak unlike right hand. So, BAD IS LEFT; GOOD IS RIGHT.

Example (342c) implies the Anywaa's belief and conception that IF A BIRD FLIES ON A BOY'S RIGHT SIDE, A GIRL WILL ACCEPT A BOY'S LOVE QUESTION AND IF A BIRD FLIES ON A BOY'S LEFT SIDE, A GIRL WILL REJECT A BOY'S LOVE QUESTION WITH AN INSULT, HITTING THE BOY, SPITTING IN THE BOY'S FACE OR WARNING HIM.

(d)	kóór	-à	bà	pʌ̀d̲ì	kī	lùùmm	-ì
	chest of	1SG	NEG	fall	with	issue of	2SG
Lit.	'My chest does not fall down with your issue'						
	'I'm not considering your love question.'						

In (342d) the addresser is a female who implies *I will not accept your love question, because I have no palpitations due to your love question*. Such a girl has despised the boy, who has talked to her for love. Thus, her bird remains on the boy's left and disappears quickly. Sometimes if a boy palpitates while it is his first time to talk to the girl for love issue, his palpitating means the girl will not accept the love issue. Hence, HEART IS AN OMEN ORGAN AFFECTED BY

OMEN BIRDS AND OMENOUS SIGNS. When an animal is missed by many people but killed by another person after a long time, its omen bird is said to be inside the killer's body. This is also applied to love process illustrated in (342e).

(e)	wɛ̀ŋ	ādʒùlù	ɛ́n	-á	déér	ōtʃálà
	bird of	Ajulu	be:LOC	FOC	body of	Ochala
Lit.	'Ajulu's bird is in Ochala's body.'					
	'Ochala is the lucky person to marry Ajulu.'					

Example (342e) implies that Ajulu accepted only Ochala's love question after rejecting other boys' love questions. Hence, CHANCE/LUCK IS OMEN BIRD/SPIRITUAL BIRD IN A BODY. The bird that is implied in example (342e) is the spirit of luck carried by the birds and makes the body part vibrate to imply sexual intercourse. This is because the Anywaa believe that spirit is in the air and God is the air. God releases spiritual message in the air. Then birds collect it in the air, because they are flying in the air. Finally, birds communicate the message to people and put spiritual things in human body for the happening of events.

The metaphor LOVE IS A BIRD can be found in the Anywaa's belief that when a cock crows at 8p.m, it means in the coming morning, there will be a new marriage discussion and conclusion in which a young boy marries a young girl.

The Anywaa believe that when a person dies, the heart leaves the body and moves to God in the form of spiritual air called ādùùnnò[74]/dʒwìèj[75] 'life', which is shaped into ghosts. This belief makes old people not afraid of death, because they believe that when they die, they are going to God and changing to their ghosts. This is because death is perceived among the Anywaa as TURNING INTO GHOST, THE GOING OF A SPIRITUAL HEART AS A SPIRITUAL PERSON TO GOD.

Although the Anywaa believe the center emotion/feeling to be in liver and life to be centered in heart, their linguistic metaphors like pʌ́n kʌ́w 'falling down of a chest which implies shock, love, fear and palpitation and pʌ́n̪ tʃwìŋ 'falling down of a liver', which implies an interaction of love, empathy and sadness imply their conception that life and emotion are separate but are always in high interaction. WHEN A LIVER FEELS SAD, A HEART FEELS SHOCKING and

[74] This implies that the spiritual heart is the only permanent organ but other body parts like physical heart, liver, head, eye and others are temporary. Spiritual matter is therefore permanent unlike material object.

[75] By using high tone as dʒwíéj the meaning changes to *breathe, breathing*. Among the Anywaa, air is perceived to be the matter of sky and it is invisible to human eye. When an air blows strongly and breaks trees, it is called ātùùnnà wind, but dʒàmɔ̀ 'air' is sometimes used in place of ātùùnnà 'wind'.

this interaction leads to an improper functioning of all body parts leading to a disease. A big bird like an owl may cry with augury implying a man's death. Small birds' cries are usually interpreted as war death omens. They mostly produce the voice similar to that of bleeding as ʈ̆i...ʈ, which is a bleeding voice when a person is shot .

The heart/spirit makes a girl passive after palpitations. Sometimes a girl may be shocked if she is told that a boy whom she does not expect to fall in love with her/whom she does not know his behaviour clearly has fallen in love with her. When a girl is convinced with love questions, she stoops and acts passively with out speaking or responding to a boy. This physiological metaphor experience can be supported with evidences from Swan (2009) as "from our own experience, we know that there are changes in physiological behaviours of heart and other body parts; these changes can be psychological too. We all know that our heart beats when we are afraid or when we are in love mostly in the initial stage. The physical heart responds to love and this is measured in **ECG** (Electrocardiogram) and **HRV** (Heart Rate Variability) Rhythms." Among the Anywaa, the passivity of females in love situations is also reflected in marriage language in which males marry but females are married, because in the first stage of love process, females do not raise questions like à méér kī jì 'I love you' and à máŋŋà mán ɲòɔ̀ma jì 'I want to marry you' to a male, but a male raises such love questions to a female. Consider the following examples in (343a-d).

(343a)	ōdʒáá	ā-	-ʧʃo̱o̱ttò̱					
	Ojha	PST	marry:ACT					
	'Ojha married...'							
(b)	ōdʒáá	ò	-ʧʃo̱o̱ttò̱	(kī)	ɖ̱áágɔ̀	mō	ʈ̱ííṉ	dótʃ
	Ojha	PERF	marry:ACT	(OBL)	female	REL	small	DEG
Lit.	'Ojha has married a very small female.'							
	'Ojha has married a very a young girl.'							
(c)	āʈʃálá	ā	-ʧʃɔ̀ɔ̀t	ōmɔ̀t	-ì			
	Achala	PST	marry:PASS	Omod	DEF			
	'Achala was married by the Omod.'							
(d)	āʈʃálá	ā	-ʧʃɔ́ɔ́t					
	Achala	PST	marry:PASS					
	'Achala was/has been married.'							

As the examples in (343a-d) indicate, in (343a), the patient ɖ̱áágɔ̀ 'female'/ɲákɔ̀ɔ̀ 'girl' has been deleted as it can be understood. This is to show that the focus is on marriage and the male than the female. In fact, the active verb ʧʃòòttò 'marry once', whose habitual form is ʧʃòòdò 'marries' and its passive form ʧʃɔ̀ɔ̀t ' be married'. Examples (343c&d) are collocative passive verbs with their obvious patient of marriageable female.

In example (343b), the patient girl has been used to show her age or state of being young. In example (343c), the passive voice mostly emphasizes Achala, who is the passive subject and the agent Omot who is known in the village/neighbour has been slightly expressed . In example (343d), the man who married Achala has not been mentioned as the focus is on Achala to emphasize that it took her longer time without being married. Such a sentence is strengthened by the morpheme **nɔ́** as in ātʃálá ātʃɔ́ɔ́t[76] nɔ́ 'Achala has been married then since longer time.' Based on the experience of masculine {ō} and faminine {ā}, we can form the conceptual metaphors{ō} MARRIES {ā}, {ā} IS MARRIED BY {ō}, which have the generic level metaphor MALES MARRY BUT FEMALES ARE MARRIED.

In Anywaa, the distinction between active and passive voices is contradicted by breathy versus plain vowel based on a speaker as follows in (344a&b):

(344a) ààn -ò -tʃòòdò
1SG PERF marry:ACT
'I have married'

Example (344a) is uttered by an Anywaa male like Ojulu who has married a girl. So, the phrase kī ḏáágɔ̀ 'a woman' is optionally used in such a love utterance. The active verb tʃòòdò 'marry' takes a male like the Ojulu here as an active subject (agent) who does the marriage but this verb drops the obvious patient(object) ḏáágɔ̀ female/ārìɛ̀d 'Aried'. So, in (344a) the speaker àànì 'I' is a male.

(b) ààn -ò -tʃɔ̀ɔ̀dɔ̀
1SG PERF marry:PASS
'I'm married.'

Example (344b) is uttered by an Anywaa female like Ajulu who has been married. The passive verb tʃɔ̀ɔ̀dɔ̀ 'be married', takes the female Ajulu as a passive participant to whom marriage is done although it is the subject. This implies that the speaker àànì 'I' is a female. Therefore, in examples (343a-d), it can be seen that while the breathy vowel òò is used with an active verb, which takes male as a doer of marriage or love activity to a female, the plain vowel ɔ̀ɔ̀ takes a passive verb which takes the female subject (patient) to whom marriage or love question is asked. The Anywaa understand sexual intercourse as an activity done by a male to a female so that she is conceived by her male counterpart. Therefore, ACTIVE IS BREATHY VOWELS, PASSIVE IS PLAIN VOWEL, ACTIVE IS MALE; PASSIVE IS FEMALE. ACTIVE VOICE

[76]The semantic restriction that females do not marry implies that a sentence like ārìɛ̀d ātʃɔ́ɔ́ttò (kī) dītʃʊ́ɔ̀ɔ̀) 'Ariet married (a man)' or ōmɔ̀t ātʃɔ́ɔ́t 'Omod was married' is not semantically and grammatically accepted as females do not ask males for marriage.

IS AVOICE FOR MALES' PARTICIPATION IN LOVE PROCESS; PASSIVE VOICE IS A VOICE FOR FEMALES' PARTCIPATION IN LOVE PROCESS. According to Laver (1980), while producing breathy vowels, there is a modification of normal voice with slight audible friction. Furthermore, Moges (1995:161) regarding Western Nilotic languages, states that breathy vowels in Western Nilotic langauges are produced with audible glottal friction caused by an increase in the air flow. In Anywaa, a breathy vowel is more difficult to utter due to breathing caused by much air flow.

Furthermore, the active participation of males in love process and passive participation of females in the Anywaa's conceptualization of love can be marked by high and low tones on the marriage verb tʃɔɔt 'marry/be married'. Consider examples (345a&b).

(345a) tʃɔ́ɔ́t -á kʌ́ʌ́pè
marry FOC harlots
'He marries harlots'

The high tone on verb tʃɔ́ɔ́t- 'marry' in (345a) marks active voice which takes the active male subject like ɲènè' that man' and the patient/object kʌ́ʌ́pè 'harlots', the females, who are passive in the process of marriage.

(b) tʃɔ̀ɔ̀t -à kùùw -è
marry FOC thief PL
'She is (usually) married by thieves'

In example (345b) the verb tʃɔ̀ɔ̀t 'be married' takes a subject like Aried, who has a passive participation and therefore patient, because the thieves who are the active males marry her as she divorces her husbands. Therefore, because the verb tʃɔ̀ɔ̀t- 'be married' has low tone, it has a passive voice unlike tʃɔ́ɔ́t, which is an active voice as it has high tone. In addition, the Anywaa believe that a male's voice is loud and a female's is low as they believe that low voice is the sign of passivity, fear or femaleness. Thus, ACTIVE IS HIGH TONE; PASSIVE IS LOW TONE. The constraint imposed by tone on male's active and female's passive participation in the love process among the Anywaa suggests that tone, syntax, meaning, emotion and cognition do interact.

Goldsmith (1976:20)'s point that tone is autosegemntal is also true of the present study for what he emphasizes that tones are usually independent from vocal and consonantal segments, but their meanings become precise when they are associated with segments and they are cognitively autosemantic based on experience and cultural convention. If an Anywaa utters low tone in tʃìì' Go (2SG)', the meaning is that the addresser is sending the addressee with low degree of order, but with high tone as tʃíí 'Go (2SG)!', the addresser is chasing away the addresser.

7.1.6 LOVE IS LIVER

We know from human anatomy that both liver and lungs have vital roles in the operation of body. While the liver helps to clean the blood from unwanted substances, lungs help oxygen from air we breathe enter the red blood cells. Based on the embodiment thesis, it is possible to claim that the anatomical characteristics of organs and their specific functions in the body can provide the conceptual basis for mental representation and understanding of organs. However, cross cultural studies have demonstrated that liver and lungs have different conceptualizations in different languages (Bas, 2018:4). Unlike lung, which is used for breathing, and heart, which is used for blood circulation, the physiological reponse of liver for love has no strong scientific ground but it is based on sociocultural imagination and the sensory-motor experience of the Anywaa (See also Aksan and Kantar, 2008:263-264; Swan, 2009:461-463). This implies that the Anywaa's conception of LIVER as a SEAT OF EMOTIONS/FEELINGS like PRIDE, LOVE,WARM FEELING, FEAR, INTEREST, OBJECT, PERSONALITY, MORALITY and SYMPATHY is based on strong folk epistemology of the community.

Generally, the Anywaa understand liver as the center of cognition, regulator of other body parts and coordinator of all the sensorimotor experiences. Thus, liver functions like eye, tongue, skin, leg, head, nose, mouth and whole human being. Therefore, among the Anywaa, since the determination of loving someone is in the LIVER, this organ can also be used as source domain of LOVE both metaphorically and metonymically. In doing so, it can be divided or changed as the result of affectionate feeling. For example, when a girl who first refused accepts love question later, it is said tʃwíɲè ālɔ̀ɔ̀ɛ 'She has turned her liver (away)'. So, WHEN THINKING ABOUT LOVE, AN ANYWAA'S CONCEPTUAL SYSTEM IS LIVERED. The following examples are worth providing for detail of LOVE IS LIVER.

(346a)	kéél	nìnʌ̀k	ààn	-à	tʃîdìɛ̀r,	ōmɔ̀d	tʃwíɲ	-è
	even	CON	1SG	be	old woman	Omod	liver of	3SG
	pòòt	pʌ̀l	kī	à	dɔ́tʃ	kīréé		
	still	very big	with	1SG	DEG	really		

Lit. 'Even though I am a very old woman, still Omod has really a very big liver for me.'
'Even though I am a very old woman, Omot still loves me very much.'

The implied meaning in (346a) is that the speaker is an old woman who is Omod's wife; yet despite her being old, Omod still loves his speaker wife very much. Among the Anywaa, when a wife becomes old, a man marries a younger wife because, an old wife becomes less attractive or incapable of doing home activities like preparing food. An advice of marrying a younger wife

can come from an old wife herself. However, example (346a) implies that Omod might not have married a younger wife due his intense love with this old wife. In fact, some Anywaa men stay together with one wife until death. Example (346a) has lower degree of metaphoricity, because liver, which metonymically stands for love, is concrete. The metaphor with high degree of imposing concrete source domain on love is found in the ontological metaphor in (334b) as follows:

(b)	mééj	ōmɔ̀t	pòɔ̀t	pʌ̀l	kìpɛ̀r	-à,	ba	ààn	-à
	love of	Omot	still	big	for	1SG	but	1SG	be
	tʃìdiɛ̀r								

'Omot still has a big love for me despite my being a very old woman.'

Example (346b) has higher degree of metaphoricity than (360a), because tʃwìɲ mō pʌ̀l 'big liver' to imply high love intensity has more concrete source domain and less degree of metaphoricity than mèɛ̀r mō dʊ́ɔŋ/pʌ̀l 'a big/large love' because we can directly see a big liver or a big object but a big love is ontologically formed by imposing more quantity on the abstract concept of love to talk about its intensity easily. This implies that there are ontological differences in which body parts clearly give (evoke) physically concrete domain. Hanks (2006:7), explains that when the primary subject (target) denotes an abstract entity, the metaphoricity is greater, because there are no directly shared features between the source and the target other than a postulated (and usually exaggerated) wide expanse, but if there are more features that are directly shared between the source and the target, the degree of metaphoricity is low.

Yet, among the Anywaa love with source domain of liver is believed to have the highest intensity due to an exaggerated and concrete source evoking clear knowledge, physiology and experience of love affairs in liver, the center of love and faith.

(c)	ʈʌ̀ʌ̀ŋ´´	tʃwíɲ	-ɛ̀	mán	-ā	-dʊ́ɔŋ	ɛ́n	-á	báŋ
	half of	liver of	3SG	REL	be	big	be:LOC	FOC	to
	tʃì	-ɛ̀	mán	-à	-ʈìɲ				
	wife of	3SG	REL	be	small				

Lit. Half of his bigger liver is with his younger wife.

'He loves her younger wife more than the older one.'

The experience of the LIVER metaphor in (346c) comes from dividing an important thing like food into halves and giving the bigger part to the person who is loved more. Among the, Anywaa age does not matter for a girl or woman to be a young wife. For example, if a man marries two wives with the first married wife being 22 years old and the second being 30 years old, the bigger or older wife is the one with 22 years as she is the first woman to join the man's

[77] Because half of liver is smaller than the whole liver, we can argue that some frames/domains are larger than others. This in turn implies that at frame level, degree of specifying meanings does vary.

home and give birth to children. With higher degree of metaphoricity, a part of love can be expressed in Anywaa as ʇ̪ʌ̀ʌŋ mèèr 'half of love'. Hence, ASPECTS/PART OF LOVE IS HALF OF LIVER.

(d)	tʃwíɲ	-è	bʌ̀r	-è	-ā	tʃìb	-è	dʒì
	liver of	3SG	whole:3SG	3SG	PST	give	3SG	to
	tʃì	-è						
	wife of	3SG						
Lit.	'He has given his whole liver to his wife.'							
	'He totally loves his wife.'							

The metaphor in (346d) implies that the man loves his wife beyond expected love degree. Anywaa males believe that when you love your wife/ a female too much, you will tell her more things including secrets about yourself and other secrets like war secrets, which should not be told to an enemity. It is also believed among the Anywaa that males keep secret in their livers forever, but females soon take out secrets out of their livers immediately because they will be cheated with love. The man in example (346d) is therefore sometimes hated by other men as he tells many things like secrets to his wife implying that he is gullible. Example (346d) underlies FULL LOVE IS WHOLE LIVER.

(e)	ātʃálá	tʃwíɲ	-è	éé	dààdɔ̀	dʒì	tʃʊ̀ɔw
	Achala	liver of	3SG	PERF	open widely	to	males
Lit.	'Achala has widely opened her liver to males.'						
	'Achala totally loves more boys!'						

The implied meaning in (346e) is that Achala usually easily accepts men's love questions to her. The example also implies that Achala usually flirts with many men. The idiom dààd tʃwìɲ 'to widely open a liver' implies to love something too much or to be very interested in something. *To widely open* a liver also implies being gullible. Thus, Achala is sex maniac, who does not evaluate men's behaviours.

Example (346e) is based on a location, container or a house which is widely opened and invites more people or more objects. Example (346e) implies LOVE IS OPEN (LIVER). So, dʒàp tʃwìɲ 'to open liver' is to love someone and dèèd tʃwìɲ 'to close one's liver' is to dislike or be angry with the person. Hence, the conceptual metaphor ANGER/HATRED IS CLOSED (LIVER).

(f)	tʃwíɲ	-è	én	-á	báŋ	ɲī	dʒɔ́	pó	-gì	
	liver of	3SG	be:LOC	FOC	to	daughter of	people of	village of	3PL	
	dɔ́tʃ									
	DEG									
Lit.	'His liver has mostly inclined to his native wife.'									
	'He loves his native wife more than the other.'									

The Anywaa word pò 'village/home of', which is the modified form páátʃ 'home/village/country', is ambiguous. Example (346f) can mean the man mostly loves his wife who is native to his native village or he mostly loves his wife who belongs to his tribe. The liver is therefore conceptualized as MOVABLE OBJECT and CHANGEABLE IN SIZE to refer to one's love attention.

CHANGING LOVER AND QUALITY OF LOVE

In Anywaa, the concepts of changing the lover and the degree or quality of love is understood based on CHANGING LIVER and SIZE/QUALITY OF LIVER. Consider examples (347a&b)

(347a)	tʃwíŋ	-è	wèll	-ɛ	wɛ̀ll	-ɔ̀
	liver of	3SG	change	3SG	change	IFT
Lit.	'He/She changes his/her liver.'					
	'He/She changes his/her lovers.'					

The meaning of changing liver in (347a) includes changing ideas about love process and changing love partner. Hence, A PERSON CAN HAVE TWO OR MORE LIVERS WHEN CHANGING LOVE PARTNER; AN INTEREST IS LIVER. When a lover's love intensity is not clear to the partner or when a boy asks a girl for for love in the first stage, the following question in (347b) is raised:

(b)	à	tʃwìŋ	mō	ɲíédì	nì	èn	dʒìr	-ì
	be	liver	REL	how big/much	REL	have	to	2SG
	kìpɛ̀r	-à?						
	for	1SG						
Lit.	'How much liver do you have for me?'							
	'How much love do you have for me?'							

In an intial stage of love, the question in (347b) is usually raised by a girl who has been asked by a boy for love. After evaluating a boy 's degree of love, she accepts love leading to marriage. Therefore, COMPLETE LOVE IS WHOLE LIVER, DISPLAYING LOVE IS SHOWING A LIVER; KNOWING DEGREE OF LOVE IS KNOWING LIVER. Understanding liver as an experience for understanding love has basic and concrete experience. With higher degree of metaphoricity, the metaphor in (347b) can be uttered as mèèr mō ɲíédì? 'how much love/what kind of love?' to understand the degree/quality of love with higher degree of metaphoricity. Because, the word ɲìèdì can mean what kind/how big? tʃwìŋ mō ɲíédì 'what kind of liver' implies the quality of love and interest. Therefore, linguistic metaphor in (361b) has the cognitive metaphor SPECIAL LOVE IS SPECIAL LIVER; THE QUALITY OF LOVE IS THE QUALITY OF LIVER. The general mappings for LOVE IS LIVER are provided below in table 23.

TARGET: LOVE	SOURCE: LIVER
love intensity	size of liver[78]
number of lovers/wives	number of livers
special love relation	special liver
changing lover/love idea	changing liver
protecting lover	protecting liver
having more lovers	dividing liver
sharing love with varied degrees to different people	parts of a liver
understanding love relation	seeing a liver
real love	real liver
experiencing love with doubt	cutting a liver into pieces
loving a person	opening a liver
love intenisty	degree of opening a liver
stoping love, hating a person	closing a liver
new love	new liver

Table 23: LOVE IS LIVER

In Anywaa, to be in doubt of love, marriage or any other concept is ŋɔ̀r tʃwíɲ 'cutting liver into pieces', which is mainly based on cutting objects into pieces. So, the concept of being not of full aggreement, belief or understanding is understood based on halves of liver. This conception supports Swan (2009:460)'s point that body is very important in conceptualizing mental qualities and emotions of people. The Anywaa's belief that a true love or strong love is in liver can be evidenced by the following song in (348a&b) by Okello Ojulu (Okello Kalli):

(348a)	tááŋá	kō	ōbʌ̀w	nī	jǎa
	pancreas	and	lung	CON	INTER
	'Oh, lung and pancreas.'				
(b)	kʌ́l	-á	tʃwìɲ		
	come from	FOC	liver		
	'Come from liver.'				

In the above song in (348a&b), Okello expresses his strong true romantic love to his girlfriend. His belief that lung and pancreas come from liver implies that a true and strong love comes from liver and the liver distributes love to other body parts although other body parts like lung, head, eye, teeth, pancreas,and the whole body contribute to experiencing and expressing love with physiology. Among the Anywaa, when a liver falls down for a girl, there is palpitation accompanied by sadness, worry and fear to tell romantic love to a girl for the first time. Lung is

[78]Front part of the body, specially ɲìm 'face' is used as a source domain of love as in ɲìmɛ̀ ātʃìbɛ̀ dʒì dītʃʊ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ mō tʃàn 'He gave her face to a man who is poor'and ɲìmɛ̀ āmʌ̀nɛ̀ kī à (Lit. He prevented his/her face from me) 'He disliked me', which includes absence of sexual intercourse between lovers. The reason for which hand is not used as love source is that it is used as a source of cleanliness, talent and artistic works (aesthetics). In fact talent is generally in the body as it is put in it by God. Hand is used to reveal talent.

used for breathing by assisting the heart with regulation of life. So, while expressing special love for the first time, lung makes deep breathing.

The poetic metaphor in (348a&b) is the novel (extended) type of the conventional metaphors of liver like those in (346a-f). Lakoff and Turner (1989:67) define extension as taking conventionalized metaphor and extending it. Therefore, Okello's poetic metaphor is mainly based on context. Kövecses (2009:2) and Kövecses (2010:53) claim that poets create poetic metaphors under two factors. One is the context of their metaphor and the other is the use of context to talk about something else.

In their folk theory, the Anywaa believe that pancreas makes bile released on food eaten so that the food is digested and the liver will regulate feeling and desire well. Therefore, in the song in (348a&b) Okello implies his special love to the girl and special love is conventionally expressed in Anywaa as follows in (349a&b):

(349a)	tʃwíŋ	-à	ɛ́n	-á	kùr	kɛ́ɛ́r	-è	kīpɛ́r	-ì
	liver of	1SG	FOC	FOC	place	only	3SG	for	2SG
Lit.	'My liver is in its different place for you.'								
	'I have special love for you.'								

In example (349a) SPECIAL LOVE IS SPECIAL LIVER. This example has lower degree of metaphoricity, because we can put an edible special liver of animal in a special place for special use.

(b)	mèèr	már	-à	kī	jì	ɛ́n	-á	kùr	kɛ́ɛ́r
	love	of	1SG	OBL	2SG	be:LOC	1SG	place	only
	-è								
	3SG								
Lit.	'My love for you is in its own different place.'								
	'I have a special love for you.'								

In example (349b), special love has been understood in terms of a special object which is put in a special place for special use. This metaphor has higher degree of metaphoricity than the one in (349a), because there is no direct relation between concrete of object put in special place and special love. Therefore, in example (349b) there is higher degree of imposing the activity of putting an object in a special place and expressing special love. In both (349a&b) special love has been understood in terms of a special object put in a different place for a special use or special person. Hence, SPECIAL LOVE IS A SPECIAL OBJECT (LIVER) PUT IN A DIFFERENT PLACE FOR SPECIAL USE. Hence, STRONGEST LOVE (EMOTION) COMES FROM LIVER; REAL LOVE IS REAL LIVER.

By using part-whole metonymy (meronymy), liver can stand for a person who feels love or falling in love with someone. The following examples in (350a&b) are worth mentioning.

(350a)	tʃwíɲ	-à	màŋɲ	-á	ābʌ́ŋ	kɛ́ɛ́r	-è
	liver of	1SG	want	1SG	Abang	only	3SG
Lit.	'My liver loves and wants only Abang.'						
	'I love only Abang.'						

Example (350a) implies that tʃwìɲ 'liver' stands for àànì (à) 'I', which can be inserted in the position of liver above in (350a). Hence, metonymy is referential and equative. As (350a) implies, liver can metonymically stand for a person and his or her interest. The compound word tʃwíɲ góór 'liver of education' means interest for education or learning. Therefore, HAVING AN INTEREST TO LEARN IS HAVING A LIVER TO LEARN.

(b)	tʃwíɲ	-gɛ̀	bá	dʒíèj
	livers of	3PL	NEG	accept
Lit.	'Their livers will not accept it.'			
	'They will not be interested/They will not accept it.'			

Example (350b) implies that livers has similar meaning to gɛ̀ 'they'. A person therefore accepts what his/her liver accepts. In examples, (350a&b), livers stands for the whole person. Castillo (n.d:7), explicates that this metonymy in which the source (liver) is a part of the target (whole person), is called *source-in-target metonymy*, but if the whole (source) person stands for liver (the target), this metonymy is called *target- in-source metonymy*.

7.2 Liver Versus Head

Among the Anywaa, information that is permanent message (part of one's life message) is kept in liver, the center of personality and desire whereas temporary information is kept in head, the center of intellect and forgetting. Consider the following metaphorical expressions in (351a-c) to understand the difference between LIVER and HEAD.

(351a)	pùòtʃ	ā	-tʃí	wì	-à
	lesson	PST	go	head of	1SG
Lit.	'The lesson went into my head.'				
	'I have understood the lesson.'				

In example (351a), lesson mainly refers to classroom lesson like that of mathematics. However, because the lesson is in the head and it is academic, it can be easily fogotten after certain time such as an exam time.

(b)	pùòtʃ	ā	-tʃí	tʃwíɲ	-à
	lesson	PST	go	liver of	1SG
Lit.	'The lesson went into my liver.'				
	'I have understood the lesson.'				

In example (351b), the lesson understood with liver is the one which makes a person faithful. The lesson in this example therefore mainly consists of biblical lesson which makes a person a

Christian. In Anywaa, a lesson understood with liver becomes a part of one's life and belief, because liver is a thinking and behaviour guiding organ. Similarly, if loves goes into the head of a girl, it means she has understood that the boy loves her or she has understood how love affects people's life, but if love goes into her liver, it means the girl has accepted the boy's love question and she now loves him very much due her faith for him.

The Anywaa's understanding of a lesson as a moving entity leads to the conceptual metaphor TEACHING IS SENDING; UNDERSTANDING IS RECEIVING. People are therefore truly educated when their livers and minds are changed. God spirit also, is kept in liver so that a person will be faithful. At the end of pray, an Anywaa pastor blesses people as:

(c)	dʒáp	-ù	tʃwíɲ	-ù	nɛ́ɛ́	dʒwíéj	dʒɔ̀ɔ̀k
	open	2PL	livers of	2PL	PURP	spirits of	God
	tʃì	jìʈ	-gɛ̀				
	go	stomachs of	3PL				

Lit. 'Open your livers so that God's spirit will go inside them.'
'Open your hearts to receive the God's spirit.'

Example (351c) is based on the belief that the people who are blessed with biblical metaphor in (351c) will go home with healthy as the spirit and the power of God, which protects them, is inside their livers. Furthermore, since deep cognition, interpretation and thinking is in liver, an idea is clearly interpreted and understood with liver than with head or stomach. Consider examples (352a-c).

(352a)	à	tʃʌ̀d	-ò	kī	tʃwíɲ	-à
	1SG	think	PROG	with	liver of	1SG

Lit. 'I'm thinking with my liver.'
'I'm deeply thinking over the issue.'

The speaker in example (352a) will clearly get the idea and solve the problem without confusion and doubt since there is no forgetting and confusion in liver. Therefore, what is missed by the head is clearly interpreted by the liver.

(b)	à	tʃʌ̀d	-ò	kī	jì	-à
	1SG	think	PROG	with	stomach of	1SG

Lit. 'I'm thinking with my stomach.'
'I'm thinking with doubt.'

The speaker in (352b) is thinking but he/she is doubtful. So, it takes longer time for this person to understand the idea and come to conclusion. Such a person may sing due to much confusion and doubt in his/her stomach. This speaker may not get the idea and solution to the problem.

(c)	à	tʃʌ̀d	-ò	kī	wì	-à
	1SG	think	PROG	with	head of	1SG

Lit. 'I'm thinking with my head.'
'I'm thinking with confusion.'

The speaker in (352c) is thinking deeply but may be very confused as confusion is in human head. So, this spearker may forget some clues which may help him/her to come to conclusion and solution. Therefore, love accepted with head or stomach will end sooner as it is not determined by liver. The Anywaa's belief that liver integrates cognitive structures like emotion, feeling, cognition, logical reasoning, motor activities, perception and imagination implies that the Cartesian dualism, which emphasizes the separation between emotion (body) and reason(mind), does not exist among the Anywaa. Thus, among the Anywaa liver, stomach, mind and sense organs function as one unit (see also Lakoff and Johnson, 1999:94). Hence, *an embodied monism.*

The Anywaa believe that as human being, one should live by breathing and should have a ghost for the continuity of his/her life. Feeling and determination are also natural and a man should behave appropriately in order to interact with other people and environment appropriately. A person should think and reason to know things and solve problems. In general, among the Anywaa, the three body parts which mostly play giant role for the existence and survival of any person are related to the body below in figure 9.

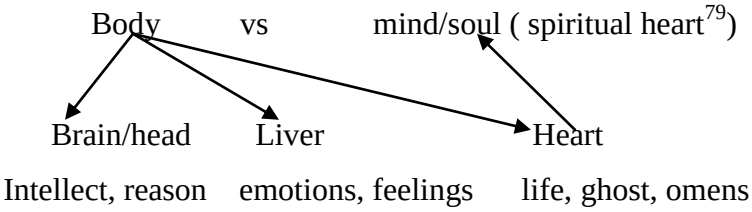


Figure 9: Anywaa body parts which are more important for life adapted from Swan (2009:4)

7.3 LOVE IS DRUM(DANCE)

As people construct thought and expression out of their activies and environments, it is undoubtful that dancing with a drum helps construct meaning/expression and thought. Among the Anywaa, dance contributes to seeing one's lover and marriage. Of all the dancing instruments of Anywaa, bùùl 'drum' is the most important one. Several reasons account for the importance. First, drum is the most powerful of all sound-producers, filling the air with strength, shaking the ground and reaching up to very far places. Second, drum chases away and warns an enemy

[79] If an evil-eyed throws the spritual heart into fire, the bewitched person totally dies and the spiritual heart will not go to God . Hence, such a person will have no ghost, due to total death. Christians' belief that sinners will be burnt by God coincides with the Anywaa's belief that God burns both the physical and spiritual heart so that a sinner will have no life after death.

because when it is beaten, due to its loudness, beasts run away from a village and human enemy will be afraid with the prediction that the villagers are more and have guns as they are boasting. Spiritual[80] matters are also chased away by the force of drum. The third reason for the importance of Anywaa drum is that it invites many more people within and from different villages. So, it is the best place to see and choose one's lover and talk to as it is difficult for some girls to come out of home as a result of a family's strict control. Thus, dancing implies bragging and enjoyable public life. In Anywaa, when a drum is beaten by announcing the dance and calling the public for dance, it is called bùùl ātùk. Without drum therefore, a village is quiet and sad implying famine or death in a village (Perner,1994:145).

In Anywaa, the Anywaa folk dance is called bùùr áŋwáá 'Anywaa drum' and (a folk) dance is called bùùl 'drum'. Thus, drum metonymically stands for a folk dance. This is because drum is the most important dance instrument among the Anywaa.

Among the Anywaa, there are two major drums for dancing: bùùl mànà dóɔ́ŋ 'the bigger drum[81]', which is beaten by an expert drummer called réémmò, réém bùùl(PL. rèèmme) and the smaller drum locally called (ŋà)anèèdò, which is beaten by a less specialized drummer to support the sound of the bigger drum. Both of the drums are beaten by using hands and sticks called tèègè (SG. téégɔ̀). The two drums are hung on a pole locally called ōkáárɔ̀, which has two branches. In doing so, ìn̪ bùul ' drum hanger' is put inside the branch. The so, called dīpìirɔ̀/tùùŋ 'trumpet' is used to support the sound of the drum. Other instruments like n̪óóm ōn̪ìèn̪ò 'Nilotic guitar' and ōpélɔ́ 'flute' are played when sitting lonely at daytime or when it is middle night as a result of a lover's longing or any other feeling. Therefore, trumpet, Nilotic guitar and flute are not used as source domains of love in Anywaa because they do not invite more people to dance in pairs.

Dancing with drum clearly shows gender difference. The use of drum dance as a ource domain of love in Anywaa proves that HUMAN ACTIVIES ARE METAPHORICAL: A male dances

[80]The Anywaa do not fear spiritual matters when they are dancing with their drum. They believe and say dʒòɔ̀k ŋàmmɔ̀ bʌ̀ʌ̀twà 'God is yawning above us', which implies that God is protecting the dancing people from the spirit coming from the sky. Hence, God is tired of protecting the people due to paying more attention to people. When a man gets lost in a forest, drum is beaten to help this person determine the direction of the village. Sometimes a trumpet is blown too.

[81]bùùl 'drum' is also used to mean *traditional dance*. So, by bùùr āŋwáá, which literally means *Anywaa drum*, a native speaker means traditional Anywaa dance. Currently, drum is also extended to dancing electronic mateials like tape. That is why in urban areas Anywaa boys and girls speak of ɔ́ɔ́nà jáá ɔ̀t bùùl 'Let's go to dance place', which literally means *Let's go to drum house* while the dancing material is tape.

with spear or gun to show his courage and to prevent his female dance partner from being taken by another man.

During drum dance, males decorate themselves with ash, charcoal and red soil to reflect bull colours and keep themselves active and healthy. In addition, males tie their dancing bells locally callled gàrɛ̀ (SG, gárɔ́) and have their spears in their hands. Females on the other hand decorate themselves with clothes decorated with beads like ābìì tíí/āt̪ágá 'loin cloth 'and diffrent beads like āwáágá 'white bead', tíín ìt̪ 'earring of beads', tììk ʧɛ̂ŋ 'bracelet beads', tíín ŋʌtʃ/ālìègò 'waist bead', ōdúmmì 'string of beads on forehead', and others. A girl who has not worn such beads will not have dancing partner and therefore does not enjoy dancing well. A girl or a boy who dances passively is locally called ātwáát/ābúúr 'a lazy dancer'.

Most importantly, the relation between love and drum is that during the fifth dance locally called **ōkààmmà**, girls choose their dance partners and move to distant place to praise each other. This process in which a girl chooses her dance partner is locally called gwɛ̀ɛ̀l[82] 'move and ask a boy for dance'. In doing so, a girl dances by moving towards a boy and when she approaches a boy, she steps on his food, implying love and dancing together. If the girl has already found a boyfriend before dancing, she dances with her boy friend's relative or pal. But if she has no boyfriend, the boy with whom she dances can whisper to her as à méér kī jìnì 'I love you'. Therefore, dancing with drum leads to love or marriage[83]. This must be the reason for which girls have the proverbial linguistic metaphor **dītʃʹóʹɔ dʒòòtà rì búúl** 'A good husband can be known during dancing with drum'. This metaphor emphasizes the role of drum for love and marriage. Below are the linguistic metaphors in (353a-e) for the detail of LOVE IS DRUM DANCE.

(353a)	bùùl	ā	wílóóló
	drum	be	genesis
Lit.	'The first drum dance is the best drum dance.'		
	'The first love/lover is the best.'		

Example (353a) implies love or marriage with your first (young) partner is the best as both of the partners discuss a lot and know each other clearly as village or villages and relatives or families are clearly known. Because drum beaters spend most of their times by beating drums

[82]If a girl is very happy with her dance partner, she gives him a string bead as a dance and love gift. While asking boys for pair dancing, girls are very selective.

[83] According to the chief of Okuuna viallge Phillip, such a marriage case happened between Kwot and his wife Akaal who danced together with okaama in Okuuna village.

during dances, most of them fail to marry and remain as bachelors. As people go to dance early, they also marry early. So, GOING TO DANCE LATE IS MARRYING LATE.

(b)	bùùl	à	tʃʊ̀ɔ̀r	
	drum	be	blind	
Lit.	'Drum is blind.'			
	'You may not marry someone you expected.'			

As it is said in (353b), when people dance, their dance may turn into an actual love, but what happens later in life or the overall behaviour of a lover may not be known as the behaviour of the chosen dancer may not be clearly known. Thus, a good partner may later turn out to be bad one. When the intensity of dance increases, people are not able to see well because a girl and a boy are dancing together. In real world experience, we see that drum is covered with skin and this implies blindness. In fact, in a real life situation, a girl with good behaviour may be married by a boy with bad behaviour and vice versa. With higher degree of metaphoricity, mèèr à tʃʊ́ɔ́r 'Love is blind' can have similar meaning to (353b), which has lower degree of metaphoricity.

(c)	bùùl	ā	-bàà	-ɛ̀
	drum	be	miss	3SG
Lit.	'She missed the drum.'			
	'She missed her better lover.'			

The metaphor in (353c) is usually utttered for a regret made by a woman/man who lives with wrong love partner. Example, (353c) can also be an advice by a man or a woman's relatives who are blaming the woman/the man indirectly for the bad love relationship they have not expected. For the first time, a girl may have a boyfriend who is known by a village or relative and believed to be a good future husband but soon after a partner is changed, the person who is not expected to be good may marry the good girl. Thus, the expected life may not be the case. In such a situation, a parent who has regretted or a relative who has regretted may name the child bùùlàbààɛ̀/bùùlāʃʊ̀ɔ̀r'He/She missed the drum/Drum is blind' or simply in short, bùùl 'drum[84].' Thus, A GOOD MARRIAGE/LOVE RELATION IS A GOOD DRUM DANCE.

(d)	bùùl	à	tìɛ̀t	míérì
	drum	be	legs of	villages
Lit.	'Drum is danced in different villages.'			
	'Even if you may fail to have a lover in your village,you can marry in another village.'			

[84]A man who does not marry is more often perceived as abnormal or not an actual human being as he does not have children. A man who does not marry is hopeless and passive dancer. Due to the relation between drum dance and marriage, the Anywaa had the following maxim: *No drum dance, no marriage*. He who has no wife does not eat good and full food nor does he drink good beer. Due this maxim, many young Anywaaks could not attend education in 1950sand 1960s. In fact, most of the schools were very far from the villages. High degree of conceit is seen during drum dance (See also Perner, 2011:237).

More often, an Anywaa marries within his village as the villagers are clearly known so that a boy or a girl will not have an evil-eyed, poor or thief boyfriend or a person whose relatives have enemity with one's, but if the person in another village is known to be a pure person, there is no problem with marriage. Villagers can also go to dance in another village when it is declared.

(e)	ààn	-à-	-ààj	bá	ādʒúlù	èn	-ɔ̀gɔ̀	kīpɛ̀r	bùùr
	1SG	PST	go away	but	Ajulu	be:LOC	here	for	drum of
	-è	ráátʃ							
	3SG	bad							

Lit. 'I am going away, but here is Ajulu because her drum is bad.'
' I have died but look after Ajulu as her marriage/love relation with her husband is bad.'

The metaphor in (353e) is a word of a dead mother told by lìŋì 'trustee' when the corpse is in the grave and is about to be buried. Discoursally, it can be analyzed that the dead mother is giving responsibility to the addressee who is either a son or a father of Ajulu to take care of her as her love relation with her husband is worse and the dead mother knew that she could not take the responsibility of herself unless assisted by another person if she divorces her husband.

EARLY LOVE RELATIONSHIP IS EARLY DRUM DANCE(PLACE)

In Anywaa, starting a new love relationship or early love relationship is understood in terms of ʈùɔ̀rɔ̀ 'public drum dance space', which is synonymous to dì bùùl 'center of drum (dance space)'. Unlike married people, unmarried boys and girls usually dance with drum both within and outside their villages. Hence, EARLY LOVE RELATION IS CENTER OF (DRUM) DANCE PLACE. Consider examples (354a-c).

(354a)	ābʌ̀ŋ	ā	-dɔ̀ɔ̀	ʈùɔ̀rɔ̀
	Abang	PST	return:ITV	public dancing place

Lit. 'Abang returned to public dancing place.'
'Abang divorced her husband and now not married.'

The implication in (354a) is that she has started new love relationship with another man or she is still in the process. Now any man can ask Abang because her first marriage has been ended. If the speaker in (354a) is Abang's husband, he must be telling the others that she has divorced him. By literal definition, in Anywaa, the word **ʈùɔ̀rɔ̀** is a vast public dancing place where a drum is beaten and dancers go to dance in. This word is extended to youth stage where a boy/girl is still marriageable. Example (354) underlies DIVORCING A SPOUSE IS RETURNING TO THE PUBLIC DRUM DANCE SPACE. When a boy/girl is still unmarried and can still attend drum dance, it is said in (354b) as:

(b)	pùɔ̀t	én	-á	ʈùɔ̀rɔ̀
	still	be:LOC	FOC	public drum dance place

Lit. 'He/She is still in the public drum dance place.'
'He/She is still unmarried boy or girl.'

Boys and girls implied in (354b) people are clearly called ɲììàkùùè 'girls'(SG.ɲákɔ̀ɔ̀) and wɔ̀pɛ̀ 'good looking boys'(SG.wɔ̀p). When people are dancing in the public dance place, a girl can dance with any body she likes; similarly, any boy as a chance to ask a girl for romantic love relationship. When a wife is badly treated by her husband during old age, she claims as à bɛ̀ɛ̀rrá ʈɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ̀ 'I was good/beautiful in public drum dance place', which means the husband disliked the wife as she grew old. Such a metaphor is also used as personal names like bɛ́ɛ́rrátɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ̀, bɛ́ɛ́rraíbùùl 'Good in drum place' or simply bɛ̀ɛ̀r 'good'used to express sadness or anger of a mother that she was loved when she was young or beautiful but hated by the husband when she became an old woman. Hence, A BAD LOVE RELATION/MARRIAGE IS A BAD DRUM DANCE.

(c)	dá	bùùl	mì	jí	-ɔ̀	mìɛ̀l	-ɔ̀	kī
	exist	drum	REL	PERF	1PL:INCL	dance	IFT	with
	jì	ʧɔ̀ɔ̀n?						
	2SG	before						
	then							

Lit. 'Did we dance with Anywaa drum before?'
'Do you think you were my young lover?.'

The metaphor in (354c) is uttered by who was married by someone she loved very much before but now married by an old person. The metaphor can also be uttered by a dead brother's wife living with the brother as her husband but because of bad treatment, she complains about maizes, fishes and other benefits given to her in wrong quality. In fact, in real ife situation, widowers are not treated like one's actual wife as there is no adequate time of playing together, serving her well etc. The phrase kwàʈ́ tár bùùl 'to beat the bottom of drum' metaphorically means to serve as a love intermediary. Thus, METONYMICALLY, DRUM DANCE STANDS FOR LOVE (MARRIAGE). For the details of the mappings for LOVE IS DRUM (DANCE), see table 24.

TARGET DOMAIN: LOVE	SOURCE DOMAIN: DRUM
lovers	dance partners
choice of love partner	choice of dance partner
love space	dance space
voice of lovers	sound of drum
separation of lovers	separation of dancers
smaller intermediary[85]	smaller drum beater
bigger intermediary	bigger drum beater
obstacles to love process	obstacles to dance process
going to lover	going to dance
love intensity	size of drum, intenisty of dance
first husband/wife/lover	first dance partner
stages in love	stages in drum dance
small children to be sent to a girl	drum sticks
protecting a girlfriend/wife.	protecting a dance partner fenale
praising a love partner	praising a dance partner
constraints on love process	constraints on dance process
quality of love relation	quality of drum dance
asking a girl for romantic love relationship	asking a girl for dancing with her

Table 24: Illustrating Mappings for Love as DRUM (DANCE)

As table 24 implies, the obstacles to dancing include lack of good expert to beat the drum well, problems with the voice of drum, rain and the punching of drum. Sometimes if a very strong man beats the drum for a long time with his elbow, it punches. Also if there is a drunk or crazy man who pierces the drum with a knife or spear while the people are dancing, the drum punches and this is locally called bùùl ātútʃ/ātʃóót 'The drum has punched, bursted' and it is followed by the sadness interjection bû...! when the punching is reported by the beater to the dancers. Furthermore, if there is a strong cold, the drum does not give a good sound as the skin shrinks. Thus, before dancing the drum is put in the sun or heated with fire so that it gives clear and loud sound.

Of all the obstacles to drum dance, the punching of drum makes dancers separate angrily and this is mapped onto the separation of lovers without their agreement as this may be caused by death of partner, parents' pressure and going to war front or gold mining areas. If a drum punches, it does not give sound, and this is mapped onto absence of talking and greeting between lovers due

[85]The word lùòbò'love intermediary' is derived from lòòbò 'to go, move together away', whose ventive counterpart is lòòmmò 'come, move together toward'. When an intermediary talks to a girls, he or she accompanies her to the boy until they reach him but left to the boy alone to talk to her about love issues after she meets him. So, lùòbò has also meaning of someone with whom a person goes or people who share similar road and trip. Similarly, lùòp means people who go together for similar purpose. Metaphorically, lùòbò is extended to mean one's lover like husband or wife, friend, a person who gives information and people sharing similar views. The plural form lùòp too has similar polysemies. Further, during wedding ceremony, the woman who usually accompanies and assists the bride is called lùòbò 'bridemaid'.

to conflict. So, changing of dance partner or drum is mapped onto changing lover. In fact, if a boy stands for a long time without dancing or if he dances passively without audibility of dancing bells, the girls runs to another boy and dances with him.

An intensity of drum dance can also be mapped onto love intensity. As the drum has loudest sound and strongest rhythm, its voice is supported with gárɔ̀ (PL.gàrɛ̀) 'dancing bells', which produce the voice lɛ́ŋlɛ́ŋ...,when the males are stamping the ground in accordance with the rhythm of the drum. So, no male stamps the ground with different voice of dancing bells. Usually, there are thirty little bells tied to leather string on left leg but due to political supremacy, only kings dance with bells on both legs. Therefore, during this time, a commoner who dances with bells on both of his legs implies his rebellion against the king and this results in strong punishment and warning to such a commoner. However, when a king is not dancing, a commoner can dance with bells tied to both his legs. When this is done collectively, the whole earth starts shaking and rattling as if the sound came from underground. If a boy has no dancing bells but dancing with a girl, he can borrow dancing bells from another boy, who is rejected by girls (See also Perner,2011:155).

In Anywaa, a man who has not married is called bòòt̪ 'bachelor'; similarly, a boy who has no dancing female partner is called bòòt̪, which literally means spinster. Thus, BECOMING A BACHELOR IS DANCING ALONE. Such a person has not been asked by a girl to dance with him due to lack of good decoration, dancing passively or being an evil-eyed. Males also dislike dancing with passive girls.

Among the Anywaa, in real love relation, a man calls his wife tʃĩá 'my wife' and a woman calls her husband tʃʊ̀ɔ̀rà 'my husband'. Similarly, in dance relation, a boy calls his female dance partner tʃĩá 'my wife' and a girl calls her male dance partner tʃʊ̀ɔ̀rà 'my husband'. Hence, choosing dance partner is mapped onto choosing love partner. So, A LOVER,WIFE/HUSAND IS THE DANCE PARTNER; MORE WIVES ARE MORE DANCE PARTNER GIRLS.

Relative girls and boys do not dance together. If this happens accidentally, they are soon forced to leave dance space. Similarly, because drum dance leads to romantic love and marriage, a boy should not dance with his relative as he should not marry his relative girl. If marriage between relatives happens accidentally, both the boy and the girl are beaten and warned to stop their relation. If the girl is pregnant, an invocation is made so that she aborts. Marrying relative results

in *incest*. If relatives marriage is not broken, children may die and may become insane or suffer from other disabilities even if they grow up. A dance partner is therefore mapped onto wife/wives/husband. This in turn implies that Anywaa marriage is exogamy: only those who have no blood relation are allowed to get married (see also Adullah, 2016).

In the type of dance called āwáwwá, which is used for warming up, girls rock down the drum by moving up and down while singing. This dance type consists of an initial part in which boys show themselves to girls by jumping up and shouting their ox-names, with many interludes used to celebrate a village and rulers. The Anywaa word wààw means *lull* in English. The highest degree of jumping up with intense happiness during dance is called lààm while the general word for jumping up[86] is pʌ̀ʌ̀r (máál). Jumping high up is used to attract a girl that a boy is a good dancer.

During drum dance, boys approach the girls with high speed and touch the gir's faces softly with ālɔ́dá/āwíttá, an ox's (giraffe's) tail tied on left elbow. This ox tail usually tells the ox-name of a male. In this stage, a boy flirts with one or more girls, because the first girl might not have responded to the dance request positively or because a boy likes dancing with more girls to show his dexterity in dance. This implies that because the marriage structure of the Anywaa is polygamy, a boy flirts with several girls at the same time to dance with them. When a girl agrees to dance with a boy, the two may well exchange some words, smile in a rather secret and friendly way. Therefore, the Anywaa interjection dʒɔ̌r...! implies that the boy has flirted, chosen and loved the girl for dance and romantic love. A male dancer can also hug his female counterpart during drum dance. Therefore, flirting with more girls (dʒɔ̀r in Anywaa) is mapped onto polygamy (polygyny), in which an Anywaa boy marries more girls/wives (see Perner, 2011:166-180).

While dancing together, a boy looks at the face of a girl, feels happy, and shouts with a bull name with the implied meaning that the girl is his and their dance space should not be intruded. During accidents like spearing during dance, the dancers run and scatter. So, dancing is stopped.

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[86]During the type of dance called **kòòrò**, a male and female dance together by jumping up together. However males usually jump up higher than females so that they look stronger, more conceited, superior and bigger than females. Therefore, BIG IS TALL; SMALL IS SHORT. In fact, usually a wife is expected to be younger than a husband, because females became older sooner than males as they give birth and suffer from birth diseases. But life is best when the couples are of the same age.

For a male Anywaa to approach a girl in love process, there are two love intermediaries locally called lùòp (SG lùòbò): the smaller intermediary and the bigger one. The two drum beaters correspond to intermediaries. The smaller intermediary is a young boy or girl going to call a fiancée for the fiancé but the bigger intermediary mostly consists of a woman who mostly goes to a girl in her residence and tells the behaviour of the boy in favourable manner. Such an intermediary reconciles the people when the couples or partners disagree. Usually, the bigger intermediary serves as a witness to convince the boy to accept the marriage if a boy attempts to reject marriage with the fiancée. If the bigger intermediary supports the fiancé to reject marriage, both will be beaten by the relatives of the fiancée. This is the reason for which a girl is asked for her bigger or major intermediary if she is conceived without clearly knowing the conceiver so that the boy who is going to be the husband will be clearly identified by the major intermediary.

The reason for which drum sticks are mapped onto small children is analogical. Drum sticks are not fixed. They also break easily while beating the drum and therefore changed with other sticks soon. Similarly, small children who are accidentally met by the boy can be sent to a girl friend and tell her as ”Someone is waiting for you at back of the yard.” A child may also tell the name of a person who sent it. In other days, a boy may send a different child as small children cannot be fixed to be love intermediaries.

7.4 LOVE as FISHING

Fishing is an important economic activity of the Anywaa. It helps the people gain good understanding of the world around them, especially water bodies. Fishes are plentiful in all water bodies like lake, river, canal and pond found in Anywaaland. Usually, in the dry season, fishing is easier and done by men, women and children. Species of fishes like bichir, Nileperch, cusk, cat fish, wolfherring, puffer and others are found in diffrent water bodies. Fishing may be impeded by different factors. Among these crocodiles, which kill and eat up many people, are the most common obstacles to fishing. Other cases include overflow of a river, snakes, thorns and other sharp objects. For crocodiles and other dangerous things in a river, wʌ̀ʌ̀ náámmì 'the spiritual father of a river' prays for a river and conjures the foreign crocodiles to return to their homes. In doing so, a white chicken is slaughtered and thrown into river or soon after the fishing starts, the first caught fish is cooked and the stew is thrown into river or lake to be eaten by god/God. So, the river remains safe (Perner, 1997:259-260).

Fishing with fishing spears can be done in a group or individually. In Anywaa, fishing with fishing spear individually is called dʒwɔ̀ʈ̪[87] and fishing with fishing spear in a group is called mààj. Usually there are different types of fishings based on the kind of instrument used and number of people involved. One type of fishing is called ādàwàarà in which one area is circled by people, who use fishing spears so that the fishes remain in the cricle. Other people move toward the other by chasing fishes.

Another type of fishing among the Anywaa is fishing with net called dʒʌ̀ʌ̀tʃ (kà (ādʒʌ̀ʌ̀p, which is done individually in which a single person throws a net into a water and pulls it out after sometime. It can also be done by a group of people moving with canoe and releasing down the net into water so that the caught fishes are put in the canoe. Because conceptual system is a mental representation of experience, different kinds of fishing and instruments can be used as bases of conceptualizing love in Anywaa (see, Kövecses,2015). Below are some of the metaphor expressions in (355a-d) to illustrate LOVE with the source domain of FISHING.

(355a)	màŋŋn	-à	mán	ŋʌ̀j	-ì	gɔ̀	nī	ɲààr	-ì
	must	FOC	to	know	2SG	it	that	daughter of	2SG
	màg	-á	dʒíp	méér					
	catch	FOC	tail of	love					

Lit. 'You must know that your daughter is catching the tail of love.'
'You must know that your daughter has no good love relation with her husband.'

In (355a) the speaker is reminding the parent of the girl that the girl is about to be divorced by the husband. Such a speaker lives where the couples live. Further, in (355a), dʒíp mèèr 'tail of love', which is extended from tail of fish, means bad love relationship, because the lovers are not taking good romantic love care of each other. Therefore, a person who catches the tail of fish is usually mapped onto the one who wants the love to end. When a fish is caught with its head, it does not move and it is therefore easily killed by breaking its neck, because the strength of fish is in the head, but a fish which is caught with its tail usually slips, because the tail is very smooth and less painful than head or eyes of the fish. Similarly, bringing the experience of head to the love in (355a) implies that bad treatment of a love partner results in separation.

(b)	ārìɛ̀d	mèèr	ā	-máá	-ɛ̀	kī	wì	-ɛ̀	kìrɛ̌ɛ
	Aried	love	PST	catch	3SG	with	head of	3SG	really

Lit. 'Aried has really caught love with its head.'
'Aried is really taking care of her love with her husband.'

In example (355b) a good relation love as there is reciprocal care between the couples. The fish which can be used as source domain of love in (355b) is cat fish whose tail is very smooth and

[87]The metaphorical meaning of this fishing is to have a sexual intercourse for a short time in a stolen way.

easily caught with its head/gills. Thus, HIGH/STRONG LOVE RELATION IS HEAD/GILLS OF FISH; LOW/WEAK LOVE RELATION IS A TAIL OF FISH; THE HIGHER THE LOVE INTENSITY, THE BIGGER THE HEAD OF A FISH. If a fish is caught/speared with its head, it can be easily killed, because its strength/life is in its head, but a fish caught/speared with its tail, may slip and it even disappears without being killed. Example (355a) has the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A FISH WHICH IS CAUGHT WITH ITS TAIL AND WILL NOT BE KILLED.

In the absence of a right person to give judgement, people can fight over a fish and the stronger person takes the fish. Similarly, when co-wives fight over a husband, a wife who is weaker at homework, physically (at work) and psychologically gives up and abandons the home. Boys also fight over a girl and based on a girl's evaluation, one of the boys will be her fiance.

(c)	ɲīlààl	ā	-kwʌŋŋò	kī	ɖààgɔ̀	mà	ākùʌʌlà
	child	PST	find	OBL	female	REL	rotten fish
Lit.	'The boy found a woman who is a rotten fish in a river/lake.'						
	'The boy married a divorced and misbehaved woman.'						

During fishing with fishing spears, a fish may be speared more than once but does not die immediately. After a day or two days such a fish dies; when people retun to fishing in the same lake/river, it will be found rotten and floating. If it is partly rotten, it will be eaten. Similarly, a woman may divorce one or more than one husbands but married by another man and lead better life. However, such wives may start having sexual intercourse with other men. Example (355c) therefore reflects the conceptual metaphor A WOMAN WHO HAS HAD SEXUAL RELATION WITH MANY MEN IS A ROTTEN FISH SPEARED BY MANY FISHERS.

(d)	mèèr	jí	-ì	mààɔ	kī	wáŋ	-ɛ̀
	love	PERF	2SG	catch	with	eye of	3SG
Lit.	'You have caught the love with its eye.'						
	'You are taking much care for your love(r).'						

Example (355d) implies that, the addressee has taken much care for his/her lover so that their love relation will be favourable. This implies that when there is a conflict between the lovers, they soon solve the problem. Further, such lovers usually stay together. In the love relation between the lovers in (355d), usually, a lover may provide fish, mangoes, bananas and other good things to the counterpart. The source domain for the love in (355d) is Nile perch, which is caught wih its eyes and easily killed, because its gills are sharp. Hence, TAKING CARE OF LOVE RELATION IS CATCHING AN APPROPRIATE PART OF A FISH TO KILL IT.

STOPPING OF LOVE

In Anywaa, separation of lovers can be understood based on a fish that slips in the hand of a fisher. Consider the following examples in (356a-c).

(356a)	mèèr	ò	-nīpòòtʃ	tʃɛ̀r	-à
	love	PERF	slip	hand of	1SG
Lit.	'Love has slipped out of my hand.'				
	'I have lost my lover; I have no good love relation with my lover.'				

The implied meaning in (356a) is that the speaker has no relation with lover. This is losing one's lover. This experience of love is also true of fish which has slipped as it cannot be caught again.

(b)	dáágɔ̀	ā	nīpòòtʃ	tʃɛ̀r	-à	nábʌ̀rɛ̀
	girl	PST	slip	hand of	1SG	totally
Lit.	'The girl has totally slipped in my hand.'					
	'The girl has totally rejected my love.'					

Example (356b) implies that the girl has rejected the speaker boy and has got another boyfriend. The word nàbʌ̀rɛ̀ 'totally' is a very good clue to total separation of the lovers based on total going away of a fish. The experience in example (356) is based on a fish which has slipped and caught by another person. Hence, A GIRL WHO HAS BEEN REMARRIED IS A FISH WHICH HAS SLIPPED IN ANOTHER PERSON'S HAND AND CAUGHT BY ANOTHER PERSON. As we look for another fish, we also look for another female when the first girl rejects love relationship or love process.

(c)	ātʃàlà	méér	bá	máá	-ɛ̀	kī	ŋááŋŋ	-ɛ̀
	Achala	love	NEG	catch	3SG	with	gill of	3SG
Lit.	'Achala does not catch love with its gill.'							
	'Achala is not caring more about their love relation.'							

Example (356c) is based on a fish which is not caught with its gills and easily goes away. So, the metaphor in (356c) implies Achala's having no much care for love with her partner as the fish implied in (356c) is not caught with its gills. A fish caught with its gill is easily killed. The prototypical fish which serves as source domain in (356c) is āgwìlà 'cat fish' whose body is very smooth but its gills are very open. So, when it is caught with its gill, this fish does not move well and therefore brought out and beaten with stick or its gill is cut and its neck is broken. Similarly, when a lover cares more, he/she attracts the partner so that the love relation with partner will be stable although quarrels may later make love relation worse.

Generally, the type of fishing implied by the above metaphors in (355) and (356) is fishing with hands which the Anywaa call **tùm**. In doing so, people enter very shallow and grassy lake with mud. When the head of fish is caught, hands are put in its gills. This makes a fish unable to move and easily killed as it immediately becomes passive, because the gill is painful and breathing is difficult

In a generic level metaphor sense, āgwììlá 'cat fish' is more often associated with human being as it is very smooth, black and mostly slips easily during fishing with hand. Similarly, a drowning person's body is also smooth like that of a cat fish and difficult to catch for saving the life of such a person. That is why the Anywaa believe that human being is a cat fish. If a persons dreams with a dead cat fish, someone will die. Understanding a dead person in terms of a cat fish provides a strong evidence for the existence of cognitive metaphor in the Anywaa's conceptual system supported by dream, colour similarity and feeling the body of a cat fish.

The judgement related to metaphor (369b) that the head of fish is associated with ownership is widely used for fishing with hand. In doing so, a fish is caught together with grass then the hands is put on head and gill so that it is easily killed. When two people catch one fish at the same time, the person who catches it with its head takes the fish as the strength of fish is in its head. This judgement was for the first time given by the Anywaa ancestor called ōtʃúúd̪ò or ò̀kìrò̀[88], who was the ancestor of Anywaa king. Below is the narrative of the judgement:

> Long ago, the first people lived a long rivers and fishing was therefore frequent. Whenever they catch fishes, fighting over fishes is frequent. There was person who lived in a river called āmááɛ̀[89]. While the children were fishing that day, he came out of the

[88]The reason why the mythical ancestor of Anywaa king is ò̀tʃúúd̪ò is clear because tʃúúd̪ò is withered tree in the river. This river man would sit on this tree when he would come out of the river. However, the name ò̀kírò is not clear. According to Perner (2011:245), the mythical river out which Anyuak kingship emerged is geographically difficult to estimate. The Anyuak call it āmààɛ̀ 'He captured it' and this seems to suggest that it was a big lake, perhaps Lake Rudolph, but the very name of ó̀kírò meaning, "son of kírò",could refer to the river Nile "kìir" the Shilluk term for Nile. However, Perner (2011)'s points are proved to be wrong of the present study. First, the name ò̀kíró has nothing to do with the relation between father and son, but it means the man of confusion, because when ò̀kírò was captured and brought home by the chief's team, he had no friendly relation with the other people except with kɔ̀ɔ̀rì, chief tʃwʌ̀ʌ̀j's daughter. So, when others gave him food, ò̀kírò would refuse, but when the chief's daughter gave him water, he drank it. So, the chief told her daughter to accompany him and sleep near him by supplying him with food and water, which this river man would accept. As a result of friendly relation between kɔ̀ɔ̀rì and ò̀kírò, they slept together and conceived the chief's daughter. But leaving the ōtʃò̀ɔ̀k ' spiritual insigna bead' under the sleeping skin, ò̀kírò stole away and went back to the river, his original home. So,{ò-} means here *man of* and the Anywaa word kìr means *to confuse* in English. The suffix {ò-} has the meaning of progressive/perfective as as the man was confusing the people of his clear clanship, his tribe, residence and the relation with the people. Furthermore, ò̀kíró's spiritual activities confused the people: he sometimes becomes a snake and sometimes a fire. These miraculous and spiritual activities confused the people. So, ò̀kíró means a male person who confuses people. With high tone ó-kìrò means son of kìrò. Therefore,{ó-} means son of. According to the Shilluk native speaker woman Haleuya Stephen, the Shilluk word for a large river is kíír and that for small river is náám, whose Anywaa equivalent has low tone as nààm 'river'.

[89] The literal meaning of āmááɛ́, is *He/She caught it*, but this is a river found in Otalo, Adongo, where the Anywaa king wɛ́ŋkùt currently resides in. It was in this river were the children were fishing and where the mythical ancestor of Anywaa kingship was caught and brought home by the chief's guards. The judgement that while fishing with hand, the person who catches the head takes the fish is also extended to fishing with fishing spears. If two people spear one fish at the same time, the man who spears the head or the area near the head takes the fish , but if both spear a fish in the same place, the person who spears first owns the fish.

river and sat on a dry tree in the middle of the river. One day, while the children were fighting over a fish. He went to them and said," Hold on." He said, "Who caught the head?" and "Who caught the tail?" "You, holding the head take your hands off." When that persson took his hands off, the fish slipped away. Soon after very short time, other two children started fighting over a fish as they caught it together and ōkírò said that the person holding the tail had to take off his hands and when he did this, the fish did not slip and was killed by the child holding the head. After that he said, "Starting from today, whenever two people catch one fish together, the person who cathes the head of a fish owns the fish" (See Reh, 1996: 198-499 for detail of origin of Anywaa nobility).

This rule is still in function in rural areas of Anywaa. Whenever two people catch the fish together, the one who catches the fish cries as jàà mààɔ̀ kī wíé, jàà mààɔ̀ kī wìè" I have caught it with its head; I have caught it with its head."And the other boys and girls run to those people and tell the person who has caught the tail of the fish to take off his/her hands and the fish his owned by the one who has caught the head. In connection with love, today when one person marries the wife of another person while he is away, the first husband is given right to take his wife back when he returns home unless the man is very poor and the marriage is rejected by the family of a woman. The judgement that the head of fish is important is also reflected in the following proverbial metaphor in (357):

(371)	ɲáwàt	bʌ́ʌ́t	ōbɛ́lá[90]	n	-á	tʃǐp	rèèo	kī
	friend of	on	Obela	REL	PST	give	fish	with
	wì	-è						
	head of	3sG						

'The friend of Obela, who gave the fish together with its head.'

The story of the proverb in (357) is based on the real story that there was a man who went to Obela village and was welcomed by a friend whose wife prepared porridge and fish and sleeping place with mosquito net for him. While the people are about to sleep, the husband told the wife to accompany the guest for a while but the guest started falling in love with the wife and this led his having sexual intercourse with the man's wife. Because of this, an old man in Obela village coined this proverb with the blaming that the husband was gullible. In fact, in generic sense, to give a fish with its head metatphorically means to give something with over love or will without thinking for oneself as the fish caught or speared with head does not go away implying whole fish. This is a true support but an overgenerosity. Based on the proverb metaphor in (357), the following mappings in table 25 can be given (See also Cham, 2002:19).

[90]Obela is a village which is 7 kms kilometers away from Abwobo town, which is 45 kilometers away from Gambella town. It is situated along Obela River.

TARGET: WOMAN	SOURCE: FISH
woman's liver/genital[91]	head of the fish
woman's butt	tail of the fish
giving the woman	giving fish
husband	owner of the fish
having the woman for sexual intercourse	eating the fish

Table 25: LOVE with the Source Domain of FISH

FEMALES ARE FISHES

There are other types of fishing like fishing with net, hook and fishing spear, which serve as sources of love metaphors. These metaphors have experiences of different fishing techniques in addition to fishing with hand. These fishing types therefore convey different meanings, attitudes and experiences about love process and love relation in Anywaa. The use of different instruments like fish nets, fishing spears and big hook are used as source domains of love expressions to convince girls. This makes the Anywaa represent females like fishes in their love process. Below, in (358a-e) are the linguistic realizations of FEMALES ARE FISHES.

(358a)	kɛ̀r	-ì	ròò	kī	mʌ̀ʌ̀r	míéfì
	NEG	2SG	spear with long fishing spear	OBL	women of	homes
Lit.	'Don't spear house wives with long fishing spear.'					
	'Don't marry women who are already married.'					

In (358a) the type of fishing used as experience is called mààj/rɔ̀ɔ̀k, which is carried out with fishing spears called bɛ̀è̱ì (PL.bé e̱̱t́é) in rivers. But the word rɔ̀ɔ̀k is used for fishing with a fishing spear with a very long shaft. In Anywaa, this fishing spear is called ādʒʌ̀ʌ̀e̱a. While fishing with this instrument, such a fishing has many dangers because man may spear snake or crocodile similarly marrying a married woman may result in paying more amount of dowry, difficulty of paying and even being killed by the husband of the woman. When a girl rejects a boy's love question, she is said to have escaped the fishing spear. This experience comes from a strong big fish which escapes a fishing spear

(b)	ōdʒùlù	lùùp	éɛ́	tòáŋɔ̀	dʒìr	-ì
	Ojulu	issues	PERF	tie fishing rope	for	2SG
Lit.	'Ojulu has already fixed the love hook to the fishing line for you.'					
	'Ojulu has already convinced the girl for you.'					

In (358b) the word tòááŋ literally means to tie fishing line to hook so that fishing is done. This experience is extended to the love process in which a love intermediary convinces a girl before the boy talks to the girl. Thus, FEMALES ARE FISHSES CAUGHT WITH HOOKS TIED TO FISHING LINE. In example (358b), the speaker is truly talking to the addressees boy so that the

[91] The reason for which vulva is equated with liver is that the Anywaa have the proverb: e̱áágɔ̀ tʃwìŋè ènáá múré 'A woman's liver or perception is inside her vulva' as females are easily deceived and convinced with love.

boy will not be afraid of talking to the girl. When a friend cannot prepare a fishing hook, he is helped by a person with good knowledge of fixing a hook. An intermediary helps a boy to convince a girl. Therefore, ASSISTING A PERSON IN LOVE PROCESS IS ASSISTING A FISHER DURING FISHING; LOVE (ISSUE) IS HOOK;A CLEVER LOVE INTERMEDIARY IS A PERSON WHO IS GOOD AT FIXING HOOK TO THE FISHING LINE.

(c)	gɔ̀ɔ̀lɔ̀	ā	-nīmùn	t̪ʌ̀ʌ̀ŋ	ārìɛ̀d
	big hook	PST	go deeper inside	temple of	Aried

Lit. 'The big hook went deep down inside Aried's temple and it is difficult to remove it.'
'Aried has totally been convinced by his lover.'

The experience of the love metaphor in (358c) comes from hooking a fish. It is done in a hip water of rivers. In doing so, people are standing inside the water, projecting themselves forward, striking into water with ākwʌ̀ʌ̀r gɔ́ɔ́lɔ́ 'a short stick mounted by a huge hook locally called gɔ̀ɔ̀lɔ̀'. Sometimes, a fisher aims directly at a fish but sometimes a fish is hooked by chance while a fisher is simply striking into water (Perner,1997:264).

(d)	d̪áágɔ̀	ā	-gɔ̀ɔ̀l	-à	dʒír	-è
	female	PST	catch with huge hook	1SG	for	3SG

Lit. 'I caught the girl with a huge hook for him.'
'I convinced the girl for him.'

Example (358d) underlies CONVINCING A GIRL IS CATCHING A FISH WITH A BIG HOOK.

(e)	ōmɔ̀d	gʌ́dɔ̀[92]	kī	mʌ̀ʌ̀n
	Omod	fish with net	OBL	females

Lit. 'Omod catches women with fishing net without differentiating them.'
'Omod does not select good and bad girlfriends/wives.'

The type of fishing implied by metaphor (358e) is the one done by two men moving in different sides of a river with sticks in their hands to which the horizontal rope is tied. It is done with fishnet or ālàmáátʃ 'hooks tied to threads'. In fact, sometimes one man can use a fish net to catch fishes. In addition, while fishing with fishing net, the net catches unnecessary things like rags, snakes, canes, frogs and others although the intention is to catch fishes. Therefore, the literal meaning of gʌ̀ʌ̀r is to catch fish and other things with net without selection. Bringing this

[92] The proverb dītʃʊ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ tʃààlà ɲwán ādʒʌ̀ʌ̀p 'A man is like a rag of a net' generally means males are stronger than females because even if a boy is younger or a man is very old, he still defeats a female during fight. Similarly, an old rag of net can still catch a fish as it catches spines resulting in the fish's struggling by webbing itself to the net leading to its death. Bringing this proverb to love context, the proverb means males are cunning and therefore can easily convince females in love process. The proverb can also mean that an ugly boy can convince a beautiful girl and marries her. Further, an old man can marry a very young and beautiful girl. Furthermore, in most cases, males succeed in raping females.Therefore, MALES ARE FISHING NETS USED TO CATCH FEMALES,FEMALES ARE FISHES OVERCOME BY MALES WHO ARE LIKE FISH NETS, FEMALES' BODY PARTS ARE FISHES SPINES. The word ādʒʌ̀ʌ̀p 'fishing net' is onomatopetic because it relates to the sound dʒʌ̀ʌ̀...p, a sound produced by fishing net when it rests on the surface of water while being thrown by a fisher.

experience to love metaphor, the word gλλr means to marry or fall in love with many women without being selective in terms of behaviour, beauty, age or purity.

By using fishnet as source of love, the following conceptual metaphors can be formed: LOVE IS FISH NET, ASKING A GIRL FOR ROMANTIC LOVE IS THROWING A FISH NET IN WATER, CONVINCING A GIRL IS CATCHING A FISH WITH FISH NET, A GIRL'S REACTION TO LOVE QUESTION IS A FISH'S REACTION TO FISHNET, MARRYING DIFFERENT WOMEN IS CATCHING DIFFERENT FISHES WHOSE BODIES ARE MIXED WITH MUD, LEAVES AND FUNGI. A GIRL WHO REJECTS LOVE QUESTION IS A FISH WHICH ESCAPES A FISH NET. Love metaphors of Anywaa based on different types of fishing imply that MEN ARE FISHERS; WOMEN ARE FISHES. The general mapping for LOVE IS FISHING WITH A FISHNET/HOOK in Anywaa has been provided in table 26.

TARGET DOMAIN: LOVE	**SOURCE DOMAIN: FISHING**
boy/male	fisher
girl/female	fish
speaking to a girl	throwing hooked fishing line into a river
words used to convince a girl	baits
techniques used to convince a girl	fishing instrument
convincing a girl with love	catching of fish
looking for love space	looking for fishing place
/girls' homes/villages	water bodies
a male's convincing a female with love	spearing a fish
love intermediary/go-between	fishing assistant
bringing home the girl/wedding	bringing fish home
marriage with bad girl	catching unnecessary creature/things
obstacles to love	obstacles to fishing
a girl's accepting love	a fish's swallowing of a bait
love intensity	size of fishing instrument
strength of love relation	strength of fishing instrument
Obstacles to love relation/process	obstacles to fishing

Table 26: Love with the Source Domain of FISHING

7.5. LOVE as HUNTING

Among the Anywaa, hunting is another area in which love can be conceptualized for it is an important economic activity of the people. Usually, in the absence of cereal crops, hunting assists the lives of the Anywaa to reduce famine. It is carried out only by males. Hunting is very important for survival as the animal meat is is used as food. In addition, skins are used for honouring a guest, bedding, sitting in, and preparing dɔ́ŋŋɔ́ 'pick-a-back'. Animals horns are used for sucking bloods of sick person. Horns are also used as trumpets. Ivories and skins are used as sources of income and marriage. Boys and young men enjoy hunting very much. However,

hunting is tiresome and has a lot of dangers: every year many Anywaaks lose their lives due to hunting accidents such as accidental spearing, accidental shooting of another hunter, being eaten by a crocodile or beast like lion and being bitten by a snake. Accidental spearings lead to killing among villagers unless solved quickly by a king or a chief (also Perner,1997:229).

Edible animals like antelopes, rats, cobes, giraffes, boars, buffalo, elephant, hippopotamus are usually hunted for foods and skins and therefore used as source domains of females in love process. A lion is not eaten, because it eats up people . Many Anywaa eat crocodiles, because it makes body strong and protects people from back pain. Yet, those whose ghosts are crocodiles do not eat crocodiles. When these people, smell a crocodile flesh, they vomit and if they eat a crocodile, they become sick or they die, because they have eaten their relative's flesh. Monkeys[93] are not eaten by the Anywaa. One reason is that they are close to human beings. Another reason is that monkeys are dirty, naughty and disgusting. For this reason, they are called túúŋ òdɛ́k, which literally means the family of impurity caused by their being naughty. Snakes are not eaten for poisons and spiritual matters in their bodies. Such animals are therefore not used as source domains of love except for expressing negative meaning like aggressiveness. The linguistic metaphors of Anywaa below in (359a)-(362) imply LOVE IS HUNTING.

(359a)	ōbálá	tʃɔ̀ɔ̀tt	-á	bòòrè
	Obala	maryy:FQ	FOC	giant elephants
Lit.	'Obala marries giant elephants.'			
	'Obala marries very fat woman.'			

In (359a), the frequentative verb stem {tʃɔ̀ɔ̀tt-} implies that marrying many fat girls is a habit of Obala which briefly means he is ploygenous. In fact, in its general sense, Anywaa community is polygamous, in which a man can marry more than one wives, which is in turn called polygeny. But the word bóóró literally means giant elephant whose young counterpart is āŋààrɔ̀. Metaphorically, huge elephant is understood as huge woman or girl and marrying is attacking. Because of the word tʃɔ̀ɔ̀t 'marry', example (359a) can be easily understood to be talking about love affair.

(b)	ōbálá	kààmm	-á	bòòrè
	Obala	attack:FQ	FOC	huge elephants
Lit.	'Obala attacks huge elephants.'			
	'Obala marries/falls in love with fat females'			

[93]The Anywaa word òdɛ́k means naughty, dirty and disgusting. The Anywaa have myth that along time ago, monkeys did live together with people at home but later migrated to forest to live there as they were very bothered by pounding malts. In Anywaa, this is usually briefly narrated as āʤùòmì āpʌ̀ʌ̀r pààp kípér wɪ̀ʈgè āwʌ́r lèè ʈɔ̀bì 'They monkeys migrated to forest for they were exhausted with pounding malts'. The closeness of monkeys to people makes the Anywaa fear eating monkeys especially their hands, way of feeding and care for their children .

The love metaphor in example (359b) is very context dependent, because unless the people are talking about love issue, the example can mean Obala usually shoots and kills huge elephants, because the word bóóré[94] 'huge elephants' and the frequentative kààmm 'attack/kill', which has the synonym of pòòt 'shoot' are usually used to talk about hunting although bòòrè 'huge elephants' has been extended to giant women metaphorically. The phrase mʌʌn mō bòòrè 'Females who are huge elephants' can be easily understood to metaphorically mean very fat women because of the word mʌʌn 'women'.

(360)	ōtʃàlà	ā	-tìmò	nī	rááŋ	már	mʌʌn
	Ochala	PST	become	CON	good sniper	of	females
Lit.	'Ochala became/has become a good sniper of females.'						
	'Ochala easily convinces and marries girls easily.'						

Literally, rààŋ is a person who is a good sniper: whenever he shoots an animal, he does not miss the target. Similarly, whenever such a person talks to a girl romantically, he easily convinces girl within short time.

(361)	ōpìɛ̀w	nɛ̀tt	-á	ātʃálá
	Opiew	aim a gun at	FOC	Achala
Lit.	'Opiew is aiming the gun at Achala.'			
	'Opiew is approaching Achala to convince her for love.'			

In (361), aiming the gun at prey implies that in an Idealized Cognitive Model of *HUNTING*, the prey has already been chosen as good animal for its skin and fatness. First, the hunter looks for animals like antelope, cobe or tiang then he selects one of them to shoot based on its fatness or skin quality. This is also seen during love process selecting a girl by using one's own criteria. When a hunters shoots a prey and kills it, it is said ālɔ̀ŋ 'finished, killed' but when a prey is missed, it is said ābɔ̀t̪ 'missed'. While the former word is extended to convincing a girl, the latter word is extended to a girl's refusal to love question. Example (361) therefore takes us to the metaphor APPROACHING A GIRL FOR LOVE IS SNEAKING A PREY and CONVINCING A GIRL WITH LOVE IS KILLING A PREY.

[94]The metaphor tʌʌŋ déɛ́ dɔ́ɔ́ jì dwáár, tɔ̀ŋà bá dàà ɲʌ́ʌ́ rɛ̀ɛ̀' If the tiang had returnedd to the hunting and burning grass, I would not have wasted my spear to its body' has two level metaphor. At generic level metaphor, it means regreting for something wrong which happened and cannot be regained. Put another way, the metaphor generally means: *It is no use crying over spilled milk*. But at specific level metaphor, it means: *If we had returned to youth stage, I would not have married you.* Such couples are leading bad life. So, tiang metaphorically refers to wife and the hunter is the husband. Throwing the spear to the tiang's body corresponds to asking a girl for love relation and killing the tiang is marrying the girl.

The Anywaa's representations of females as PREYS/FISHES in love process comes from the Anywaa's perception that MALES ARE THE TRUE AND WISE HUMAN BEINGS, because females are cheated and beaten in love process.

(362)	mʌʌ̀n	āríɛ̀w	ā	-púòd	-è
	women	two	PST	shoot	3SG
	kī	jì	-è	ātʃíél	
	with	in	3SG	one	

Lit. 'He shot two women at the same time.'
'He married two girls/women at the same time.'

Although rùòp can also mean combine or spear at the same time, the very direct word for the English word *shoo*t in Anywaa is pùòt. While hunting, a hunter may sometimes shoot two animals at the same time even if the intention was to kill one animal. This happens when animals are grazing in a group called pìɨ̱ 'a herd of animals'. In the same way, a man can marry two wives at the same time even if the intention was to marry one first. This is caused by asking many girls for love at the same time by lying that he has more sisters. Hence, FALLING IN LOVE WITH TWO GIRLS AT THE SAME TIME IS SHOOTING TWO ANIMALS SIMULTANEOUSLY. Although the word lííbò 'sneaking' is used for hunting, it can be extended to approaching a girl furtively. Boys may hide themselves among maizes or banana plants to approach their girl friends. By using hunting with guns as source domains of love, below is table (27) for the mappings.

TARGET:LOVE	**SOURCE:HUNTING/SHOOTING**
boy, male	hunter/shooter
girl, female	prey
village of girl	forest, bush
selecting a girl	selecting an animal
making onself ready to ask a girl	aiming the gun at
speaking to a girl	shooting an animal
boy/male's voice	sound of a gun/explosion
convincing the girl for love	killing a prey
wedding ceremony	bringing the animal home
love idea	bullet[95]
love chance	hunting chance
not convincing a girl	missing a prey

Table 27: LOVE as HUNTING WITH A GUN

Another practice or livelihood used as source domain of love which includes animals is cattle herding. Although the degree of cattle rearing among the Anywaa has declined to day, there are a

[95] Among the Anywaa, sperm cells are also conceptualized in terms of bullets. The linguistic metaphor ɲìì mʌ̀tʃɛ̀ rɛ̀jjɔ 'His bullets are bad' and ɲììmʌ̀tʃɛ̀ kòònò'His bullets (Lit.children of gun) do not explode' imply sexual weekness of a man who does not conceive his wife due to slow ejaculation. Based on such linguistic metaphors, we can form the cognitive metaphor SPERMS CELLS ARE BULLETS; PENIS IS A GUN.

few areas where cattle are herded for their meats, milk or income and titles to be given by kings. This is mostly is in Adongo, Joor and some parts of Openo. Cattle are not only very well cared for materially, as significant factor for economic life (and this is essentially in times of hunger when the grain is finished and when hunting and fishing do not help people or show no results). They are also cared for spiritual purpose. This is seen in the occasions in which gods like ābùk, dèèŋ and ɲīkááŋá, which are imported from tribes like Nuer, Dinka, Murle and shilluk are to be charmed (Perner, 1997:281). In the conceptualization of love in Anywaa, herding, byre and and pegs play a key role by giving clues to metaphorical conceptualization of love as CATTLE HERDING. Below are linguistic metaphors in (363a&b) for the use of cattle herding as source domain of love in Anywaa.

(363a)	tʃì	-è	pɔ̀j	-è	kààmàr	d̰ìèŋ
	wife	3SG	tickle	3SG	like	a cow
Lit.	'He tickles his wife like a cow.'					
	'He loves his wife very much like the way he loves his cow.'					

The implied meaning in (363a) is that the husband loves his wife very much. In doing so, whenever the wife asks something like bead, decorated clothe or any other advantage, they are soon given to her. So, if the wife is angry, her husband is tickles her in a very friendly and finally she laughs. This is also true of a cow; whenever it is about to become aggressive, a cow's head is tickled and it calms down. Sometimes, a bell is tied to its neck making a happy sound which makes both the cow/bull and the owner happy as he sees his bull walking with bragging and pride when it moves its head.

(b)	d̰áágɔ̀	ā	-gùr	mèèrr	-ì	pìŋ
	female	PST	hammer	love	DEF	down
Lit.	'The love hammered down the woman.'					
	'Love made the woman like where she lives with her husband.'					

The implied meaning in (363b) is that the woman likes the life she leads with here husband in the husband's village so that when she visits her her husband, she stays there for a very long time without going to another place. The specific experience of love in (363b) comes from a halter used for tying a cow to peg. In addition, example (363b) implies the lovers have recently met and the woman has avoided going somewhere and talking to others for a long time, because has been pleased by staying with her lover by spending more time in a house with him. The experience of love in (363b) comes from lòòtʃ 'peg', which is used to be pushed down/hammered down by using wooden hammer and then a cow is tied to it by using wúnò 'cow halter'. The Anywaa word gùr here literally means hammer down into soil although it can mean *to nail* in another context. Generally, the examples given in (363a-b) imply that in most

cases the Anywaa have the cognitive metaphors MALES ARE HERDERS AND FEMALES ARE CATTLE/COWS.

Among the Anywaa, whenvever a boy marries, the dowries are paid to the parents of the girl (wife). The fact that the early time cattle contributed a lot as dowry can be found in the semantic extension of HERDING to PAYING DOWRY. In a fact, in early times spears, bracelets and beads were used as dowry but the predominant dowry was cattle. Although today the dowry may consist of dìmúúj bead, elephant tusks, guns and cattle, they are mostly changed to Birr, which is the major dowry today in Ethiopia. The word kɔ̀ɔ̀l ' herd away' is therefore metaphorically extended to *paying dowry* ranging from cattle to other dowries, because among the anywaa, dowry is paid by going to the family of the married girl so that the dowry is paid to her father or her other relative(s). Consider the following sentences in (364a-d).

(364a)	ɖʌ̀k	āpàár	ā	-kɔ̀ɔ̀l	kɔ̀ɔ̀r	ārìɛ̀d
	cattle	ten	PST	herd:ITV	after	Aried
Lit.	'Ten cattle were herded away after Aried.'					
	'Ten cattle were paid as dowry to Aried's family.'					

(b)	bìrì	mā	kúmé	ābììtʃ	ā	-kɔ̀ɔ̀l	dʒì	tʃààm
	birr	REL	thousands	five	PST	herd:ITV	to	Cham
Lit.	'Five thousands Birr were herded away to Cham.'							
	'Five thousand Birr dowry was paid to Cham.'							

The implied meaning in (364b) is that Cham, to whom the dowry was paid, was the father of the married girl.

(c)	dīmùùj	-è	āŋwɛ̀ɛ̀n	dī	kɔ̀ɔ̀lɔ̀	kɔ̀ɔ̀r	ābʌ̀ŋ
	dimuuy bead	PL	four	AUX	herd:ITV	after	Abang
Lit.	'Four dimuuy beads will be herded away after Abang.'						
	'Four strings of dimuuy beads should be paid to Abang's relatives.'						

(d)	túk	lìèj	ādʌ̀k	ā	-kɔ̀ɔ̀l	jì	kʌ́ʌ́ŋ	ādʒàà
	horns of	elephants	three	PST	herd:ITV	in	marriage isssue	Ajhaa
Lit.	'Three horns of elephants were herded away to Ajaa's marriage issue.'							
	'Three tusks were paid to Ajaa's family.'							

The example (364d) implies the conceptual metaphor MARRIAGE (ISSUE) IS A LOCATION INTO WHICH DOWRIES ARE HEREDED INTO IT LIKE TAKING CATTLLE INTO BYRE. Examples (364a)-(364d) clearly underlie that DOWRIES ARE CATTLE. The researcher's claim that cattle must be the earliest or the first Anywaa dowry is probable but not very strong hypothesis, because beads also have long history of use among the Anywaa and other Eastern African tribes, but the reason for which their positions are today being taken by guns, beads and mostly money is not very clear. One reason is that the number of cattle declined among the Anywaa. Another very clear reason is the introduction of currency. This condition is very clearly seen in Gambella, Ethiopia, where marriage dowry was changed to Birr, the Ethiopia

currency, which started to be in use due to the Derg regime's forcing the Anywaa to use it during the coming of Derg to power.

The Anywaa also used beads like dìmùùj as dowry for symbolic use. Although they have decorative purpose, beads are more often linked with spirits and charmings. That is why beads with varied colours are used as necklaces for children and adults, but the only bead used as dowry today is dìmùùj, which was brought by Oling from the Turks, who brought it from Egypt. This bead has its type called **ōdɛ̀gɛ̀**, which came from river as it decorated the string of ōtʃùùḏò (ōkírú), a spiritual river person who introduced kingship to the Anywaa (Perner, 2001:243-245).

7.6 LOVE IS A COLLECTION OF WILD FRUITS

In addition to hunting and cattle herding, collecting fruits, which mainly consists of wild fruits, is also used as source domain of love. The type of vegetation called lùl 'forest' covers the eastern part of the country (east of a line drawn from Itang on the Openo to Nyikani- and Obela river, West Cienthoa and east of Caam on Gilo, Nyium on the Akobo and Ajwara on the Oboth. These vegetations consists of trees like nabaq, tamarind, ādìw 'tree(SP)', fig, heglig and others, whose fruits help the people during the famines in springs and dry seasons. The collecting of these fruits is used as source domain of love (See Perner, 1997: 105). Examples (365a-c) have been given to understand such a conception of love in Anywaa.

(365a)	ōgèèbò	mʌʌn	ā	-dʒwìɛ̀r	pìŋ	dʒààk
	Ogebo	women	PST	drop down excessively	down	simply
Lit.	'Ogebo simply excessively dropped down the women like fruits.'					
	'Ogebo is simply marrying too more women.'					

In (365a) the literal meaning of dʒwìɛ̀r pìŋ here means to drop down too many fruits while on tree. The motivation therefore comes from the experience that the person on the tree picks more fruits and drops them down to a friend under the tree to collect them but the fruits collected are more than enough. In similar way, in such a polygyny, Ogebo marries more women but he is incapable of paying dowries or does not take the wives home to live with them. The adverb dʒààk 'simply' implies lack of Ogebo's capacity. In such a marriage, the father or elder brother is bored of paying the doweries.

(b)	ōtʃàlà	mʌʌn	ā	-dìɛ̀m	píŋ
	Ochala	females	PST	beat more fruits to fall down	down
Lit.	'Ochala has beaten and dropped down excessive women like fruits.'				
	'Ochala (has) married too many women.'				

The literal meaning of the verb **dìɛ̀m** in (365b) is that the fruits are removed from trees by beating them with sticks and too many fruits fall under the tree. Similarly, if one marries several

women, he will have too many wives to live with. In such a marriage life, the wives are more and may consist of bad and well-mannered ones making the life too dfficult.

(c)	mʌ̀ʌ̀n	ā	-lɛ̀m	-ɛ̀
	female	PST	collect fruits	3SG
Lit.	'He collected the women gradually.'			
	'He paid the dowries by himself.'			

The man in example (365c) is a poor man who married more wives and used his own effort in different ways to pay the dowries, because he has no sister to use her marriage dowry. So, in different times the man might have gone to gold mining places lkie Dambala. Further, he might have been hunting or cultivating tobacco to sell it to obtain dowries. The word lɛ̀m literally means to collect wild fruits in different times. So, the experience of love metaphor in datum (365c) comes from the picking up or collection of fruits in different times and accumulating them for a long time consumption. In doing so, when a fruit is found, it is picked up and put in hand and then put in gourd. This implies that each fruit is picked up after the other. The fruits used as source domains of love and marriage process in (365c) mostly consist of nabaq fruits and heglig fruits. While marrying the women, one is married after the other and the dowries are paid in different times. Generally, examples (365a-c) imply that IN LOVE PROCESS, WOMEN ARE WILD FRUITS COLLECTED BY MEN.

In general, the use of body parts, fishing, hunting and gathering as source domains of love conception in Anywaa is based on the experience and evaluation that the way human beings behave in their environment is typically similar to that of animals. Lakoff and Turner (1989) postulate that human beings rank closer to animals in the Great Chain of Beings as *Human beings > Animals > Plants > Complex Objects > Natural Physical Things*. The Great Chain of Being is an unconscious cultural model about the way we perceive and understand objects based on our interaction with the world. It mainly explains the hierarchical organization of forms of being. We therefore think of human being as higher-order levels than animals and animals than plants. Properties like mental, aesthetic and moral are the most typical human attributes while instincts are highest attributes of animals (Anudo, 2018:11-12 and Lemghari, 2017:60).

Among the Anywaa, the representation of women as cattle, preys, fruits and fishes in love process is based on the socio-cultural practice of beating females, searching them in love process, forcing them to do things without their will and the belief that they are less intelligent like animals. Hence, human attitude is metaphorical. Mostly, home activities like cooking,

plastering and fetching water are done by women. Hence, metaphors implying males' attitude towards females are socio-cultural metaphors.

Furthermore, the use of specific kind of fishes, drum dance, and body parts leads us to the conclusion that detailed mappings usually occur at frame level. According to (Kövecses, 2017), frame is a specific concept within domain and gives specific information by evoking domain. Hence, frame is a particular part of domain used to specify meaning (See also Sullivan, 2017).

7.7 LOVE as UNITY

According to Kövecses (1986) and Kövecses (2004)"Among the different ways of understanding love, the model according to LOVE IS UNITY OF TWO COMPLEMENTARY PARTS is central." This claim implies unity of decisions, people and assistance between lovers and closeness. Among the Anywaa in particular, Othiiri (1995) mentions that love is important as it unifies people through dancing, walking, working and eating together. So, love combines all things. Therefore, being together is used as an experience to talk about love. This can be supported with Anywaa data in (366a-e).

(366a) āŋwáá ātʃĭɛ́l
Anywaa one
Lit. 'The Anywaa are one.'
'The Anywaa are very united.'

The metaphor in (366a) is usualy uttered by old Anywaaks to advise young Anywaaks to be united tribally so that divisions among the Anywaa is avoided. One of the advises given to unite the Openo and Lul Anywaaks for quarreling for the presidency of the president of Evangelical church of Eastern Gambella Synod[96] is very similar to that in (366a). The tension was very high as members of each side wanted the head to be selected from their side. But the president was selected from Lul side. So, to avoid fight, the church members were advised as dwàllù tʃwíŋŋù "'Add your livers", because they are one tribe, who should unite. As the result, the people returned to peace. When people who have enmity are reconciled and start loving each other, it is said gɛ̀nà dwàl[97] mèèrrì 'The have been unitied/added by love'.

[96]The advise was given by Reverend Akway Ochudho (kɛ́ɛ́tʃ ākwàrɔ̀) in 2017 at a.m. The unity metaphor of love goes from enjoying the behaviour of a partner to trust. So, a true love is a combination of joy and trust resulting in UNITY, which is a source of true love.

[97] Literally, the word dwàl means a*ddition* or *add*. When numbers are added, they become one. Therefore, MATHEMATICALOPERATIONS ARE METAPHORICAL; ADDITION IS MIXTURE/UNITY;SUBTRACTION AND DIVISION ARE SEPARATION/SHARING. MULTIPLICATION, which is locally called tìɛ̀l 'legs' IS

(b) tʃwíɲ -gè kī tʃʊ̀ɔ̀r -é ātʃĭél
livers of 3PL and husband of 3SG one
Lit. 'The couples have one liver.'
'The couples love very much, They are very strongly unified by love.'

When a husband dies, a wife cries as it is difficult for her to live alone. Example (3366b) implies that the attaching of suffix pronouns like gè 'they' to the stem tʃwíɲ 'liver of' has similar meaning to independent pronouns like jìnì '2SG', ùùnì '2PL' ènì '3SG, (w)àanı '1PL:EXCL', ɔ́ɔ́nì '1PL: INCL' and gènì '3PL'. This takes us to conclusion that in Anywaa, PRONOUNS ARE EMBODIED, BECAUSE LIVER IS A PERSON, WHO IS GRAMMATICALLY REPLACED BY A PRONOUN IN A LINGUISTIC CONSTRUCTION.

(c) mèèr már -wà bá pʌ́ʌ́ -ì
love of 1PL:EXCL NEG separate MV
Lit. "Our love cannot separate.'
'We are inseparable.'

A metaphor like that in (366c) can also imply that the people have determined not to separate and nobody enters between them except love.

(d) dìtʃʊ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ mán -tìmò -nī tʃók -à : Othiiri (1995: 12)
husband this become CON sibling of 1SG
Lit. 'This husband will be my brother.'
'My strong bond with this husband will be increasing from time to time.'

The example in (366d) implies that the speaking wife is leading a better life with her husband and she has become faithful to him very much, because he is helping her better than her genetic brother or sister. Thus, the word,{tʃók-}'sibling of' has contextually become *a very loved husband* implied as *brother*. The Anywaa believe that ɲúóm à túúŋ 'marriage is lineage, relation'; in Anywaa túúŋ 'lineage' literally means *branch of a tree*. When a clan is smaller, it has sublineage which is locally called d̪ì ɔ̀tɔ̀, which literally means mouth of house (door) as sublineage sits in front of hut door to discuss family matters in the morning. Marriage in which lovers are very unified develops good relation between the families of the wife and husband. Marriage kins like ɲīmííó 'sister-in-law' and ōmííó 'brother-in-law' have literal meanings of mother's daughter and mother's son. Furthermore, a wife's mother is called mìiò 'mother-in-law' which literally means mother and wife's father (father-in-law) is wúúò, with the literal meaning of father. A husband's mother and father are wàŋɔ̀ and kwàrɔ̀ with the literal meanings of grandmother and grandfather respectively. The word ɲàwàt 'friend' is extended to wife/husband.

(e) wʊ́ tɔ̀ɔr -ì búút -à, tʃwíɲ -à rʌ̀ɲɲò
HAB absent 2SG near 1SG liver of 1SG spoiled
Lit. 'Whenever you are not near me, my liver becomes destroyed, bad/spoiled.
' When you are away from me, I will be in a bad mood.'

JOURNEY. The Anywaa word kʌn wɔ̀k' taking out' is subtration in English and pʌ̀ʌ̀ŋŋò 'divding/sharing' is division in English.

Example (366e) implies that the speaker lover avoids speaking or conversation or eating well when the lover is away. In addition, if a boyfriend or girlfriend is not present during drum dance, he/she either dances passively or totally skips the dancing.

Generally as the data in (366a-e) imply, oneness, physical closeness and agreement underlie the central metaphor LOVE IS UNITY. But, why is UNITY metaphor of love central? Two major reasons account for the centrality unity metaphor of love. One is that the metaphor entails several metaphorical consequences which help us to understand most of our love experiences, the understanding of which could be difficult without the unity metaphor. The other reason is we see similarity of sorts between love experiences and the unity of two complementary parts being chemical or physical parts. This is because linguistic metaphor is common and natural to people of certain culture. Unity metaphor implies perfect harmony, an idyllic state. In biological version, two parts live in symbosis, in which each depends on the other. Metaphorical version has similar case, lovers are two halves and one depends on another for effective life and true love (Kövecses,1986:64-65).

7.7.1 LOVE IS BOND

Unity metaphor can be strong or weak. When unity of love is very strong, it turns into BOND, TIE or ATTACHMENT of two units experiencing true love. This leads to the formation of the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS BOND. In this metaphor, attachment or bond corresponds to love and the bound units corresponds to lovers. The degree of tie maps onto the love intensity (Kövecses,1986). In reference to Anywaa, tied objects with ropes, joining of bodies or body parts serve as experiences for LOVE IS BOND whose basic concept is màk dèèl ná ātʃìèl 'reciprocally holding bodies together as one object' as the following linguistic metaphors in (367a)-(370b) reveal in detail.

(367a)	wáán	-à	āpʌ́t[98]	tʃɔ́ɔjɔ̀
	1PL:EXCL	be	spoons of	thick fat/oil of giraffe stew
Lit.	'We are spoons with which thick fatty giraffe stew is eaten.'			
	'We are firmly held together by love.'			

[98]The mussel spoon which is found in beaches of rivers like Baro and Gilo is called āpáár ɲààŋ 'crocodile's spoon'. Such spoons are used for charming and children's games of cooking and eating foods . When a girlfriend/wife says to the mate: à bà gùtì kêe...t 'You will not touch my body again' she means they will not be lovers forever: this is total separation as the vowel in kee..t forever' implies. When lovers or people agree on something, it is said d̪ɔ̀kgɛ̀ āgʌ̀ʌ̀bò 'Their lips/mouths have attached themselves together. This leads to sharing one idea and one voice.

The spoons in (367a) literally refer to the spoons with which fatty stew giraffe is eaten. After finishing eating, mussel spoons are put in their basket locally called **ākòògà**. When eating at night, these spoons are not washed at night. Due to the amount of fat in the spoons, they usually stick together. Such spoons are difficult to separate and wash separately unless soaked in hot boiled water for a long time and washed after the thick fat is removed by using hot water. An attempt to separate the spoons forcefully results in the breaking of either of them.

Lovers who conceive themselves in terms of mussel spoons bound by fat giraffe stew are those who have determined to have strong bond without separation. Even if someone deceives either of the lovers to abandon the partner, he or she quarrels with the instigator rather than accepting the instigation. Such lovers love each other very much and speak of their love as true love. In fact, before they are separated and shaped or prepared for eating with them, mussel spoons exist in pair with the living matter inside them. This living matter is locally called ōŋàk 'slug'. It is this living matter that joins the two spoons like people joined by love. However, the two spoons are different in that one is suitable to be used by a left-handed person while the other is used by a right-handed person. That is why the two spoons are named as tʃààm 'left' and tʃwiìtʃ 'right'. Hence, ROMANTIC LOVERS WITH STRONG LOVE BOND BETWEEN THEM ARE A PAIR OF MUSSEL SPOONS CONNECTED BY GIRAFFE FAT. Hence, LOVE IS FATTY GIRAFFE STEW. Therefore, lovers in (367a) sometimes express their strong relation in (367b) as follows:

(b)	wà	bá	pʌʌ	-ì
	1PL:EXCL	NEG	separate	MV
Lit.	'We will not separate.'			
	'We are inseparabe.'			

In example (367b), the middle voice has taken the low tone on the verb pʌʌì 'separate' to imply that the lovers will not decide by themselves to separate. The experience of this metaphor is based on things like a piece of land which cracks itself. If the low tone carried by pʌʌì 'separate' is changed to high tone as pʌ́ʌ́í 'be separated', the sentence will have the passive voice *We will not be separated*, which implies that the speaking lovers will not be separated by any external body. But if the tone of the verb is changed to rising tone of the verb as pʌ̌ʌ̌ǐ to 'separate', the sentence will have an active voice expressed as follows in (367c):

(c)	wà	bá	pʌ̌ʌ	-ǐ
	1PL:EXCL	NEG	separate:ACT	2SG
	'You will not separate us.'			

Example (367c) the rising tone on the verb pǎʌǐ 'to separate' marks an active voice, which is prgagmatic or discoursal. The lovers in (367c) know that the addressee ǐ '2SG' has an intention to separate them and this addressee might have now said that he will separate the lovers but these lovers have refused by using the rising tone to emphasize that the addressee will not succeed in separating them.

According to the Bible in Anyuak (2013), females believe that they are ribs of males and that is why there is marriage relation between males and females (See New Living Translation Bible Study, 2008:25). Hence, ONE'S LOVER IS ONE'S BODY PART. Culturally, the Anywaa believe that a female is male'ss small rib, because females are believed to be the weaker counterpart of males to assist the males. In Anywaa, couples are sometimes called dèèl ātʃìɛ̀l 'one body' due to strong love bond and marriage. Thus, THE UNITY OF LOVE IS dwàl rɔ̀k 'UNITING BODIES'.

(368)	wí	-à	ŋɔ́l	-ɔ́	rɪ	-ì
	head of	1SG	cut	FOC	body of	2SG
Lit.	'I will be beheaded while I am tied to your body.'					
	'You will remain my only lover forever.'					

The love metaphor in (368) is more often uttered by girls when their marriage is discussed and asked the degree to which they love their husbands.

(369a)	tʃwíɲ	-gɛ́	ò	-gʌ́ʌ́bó	nī	táp
	livers of	3PL	PERF	attach	CON	tap
Lit.	'Their liver have attached themselves together as tap.'					
	'They have determined to be strongly bound by love.'					

The voice **táp** in (369a) strengthens the degree of bond of attachment between lovers to be higher than an expression without a voice. Experientially, the voice táp is heard when things are joined together with one fitting inside the other. It is difficult to separate lovers in (369a) as it is difficult to separate objects which have fitted together as the other is/ has fitted inside its counterpart. Example (369a) implies that among the Anywaa, liver is the locus of strong agreement.

(b)	mèèr	màr	-gɛ	ò	-gʌ́ʌ́bó	dɔ̀tʃ
	love	of	3PL	PERF	attach	DEG
Lit.	'Their love has attached itself together very much.'					
	'They love each other equally very well.'					

The metaphor in (369b) has higher degree of metaphoricity than that in (369a) as love is understood to attach itself together based on ATTACHMENT strongly imposed on love. This implies that the love metaphor in (369a) is metonymic while that in (369b) is clearly conceptual/structural metaphor. The attachment of livers of the lovers in (369a) leads to body attachment of lovers due to strong love agreement.

(370a)	ʈ́ʌ́ʌ́ʈ̲	-ù	jʊ̀	-ù	kùùbò
	butts of	2PL	PERF	2PL	join
Lit.	'You(2PL) have joined your butts.'				
	'You have a very strong love relation.'				

In example (370a) THE JOINING OF BUTTS as a source of STRONG LOVE RELATION comes from the experience of dogs which have joined their butts and are having sexual intercourse. This implies that speaker in (370a) is not happy with the relation between the addressees, because the speaker knows that the addressees have bad attitude for him/her.

(b)	rɛ̀	-gì	é	-gì	gɔ̀n	-ɔ̀	kī	ʈʃʊ̆ɔ́r	-ɛ
	bodies of	3PL	PERF	3PL	grip	COMPL	with	husband of	3SG
	'The couples have kept a tight grip of themselves.'								

Example (370b) implies that the couples have strong love relationship. Understanding love as BOND in (370b) can be understood from the verbs **gɔ̀n** 'grip' and **màk** 'hold (without strength)'. Therefore, STRONG MARRIAGE LOVE MAKES A HUSBAND AND A WIFE BECOME ONE PERSON, (LOVER) PEOPLE ARE BODIES. In Anywaa, a husband and wife are sometimes called dèèl ātʃìèl 'one body'.

LOVE IS ROPE

The experience of using rope as a source of love bond comes from tying firewood, tying bundle of sorghums or stretching a rope across a yard to dry clothes. Joining ropes can also be used as source of strong LOVE BOND based on strength of ROPE. Examples (371a)- (373) have been given for the detail of LOVE IS ROPE.

(371a)	mèèr	már	-gɛ̀	ā	-mɛ̀ʈ̲	-gɛ̀
	love	of	3PL	PST	tie strongly	3PL
Lit.	'They have tied their rope/love strongly.'					
	'They have intensified their love.'					

In (371a) the love metaphor has stronger bond because the verb mɛ̀ʈ̲ 'tie firmly' has stronger degree of strength than tùòtʃ 'tie (loosely)'. However, the verb ŋùòl 'to join and tie ropes strongly by forming a knot' implies love climax and determination to live together'. Hence, actions verbs can express emotion degree without degree adverbs. Example, (371a) implies that DECLINE IN LOVE INTENSITY IS THE LOOSENING OF A ROPE; HIGH INTENSITY OF LOVE IS A FIRMLY TIED ROPE.

(b)	tʃwíɲ	-gɛ̀	ā	-túótʃ	-gɛ́	kī	tʃʊ́ɔ́r	-ɛ̀	nī	tɛ́ɛ́k
	livers of	3PL	PST	tie	3PL	and	husband of	3SG	CON	strong
	dɔ̀tʃ									
	DEG									
Lit.	'She and her husband have tied their livers very strongly.'									
	'The two couples have been very strongly bound by love.'									

When love intensity declines or when lovers stop love relation for certain time and re-establish it, it is expressed based on the experience of joining ropes, which is called in Anywaa kùùp 'join ropes'. So, kùùp tɔ̀ɔ̀lì 'joining ropes' is extended to *(re)establishing love* as kùùp mèèr 'joining

love' to imply love agreement. The words kùùp 'join' and tɛ̀ɛ̀l 'stretch, pull away' are literally used for joining ropes or parts of a rope and stretching a rope, but they can be metaphorically extended to strengthening love relationship as sugggested by (371b).

(372)	rɛ̀	-ɡī	ɛ́	-ɡī	túó	ná	ātʃĭɛ́l
	bodies of	3PL	PERF	3PL	tie	CON	one
Lit.	'They have tied themselves as one person.'						
	'They are strongly bounded by love.'						

In example (372), the word túó 'tie' is a clue to understand that the specific source domain of LOVE IS BOND is ROPE, but the word ātʃĭɛ́l 'one' strengthens LOVE IS BOND IN WHICH THE ROPE ATTACHES DIFFERENT PEOPLE TOGETHER AS ONE PERSON, because the love relation implies that the people are very bounded by love, based on objects strongly tied together with strong rope. According to Kövecses (2004:119), the word unity or union comes from the Latin word unus which means *one*, but in LOVE IS (PHYSICAL) UNITY, what clearly makes unity one is LOVE IS BOND, which connects two (more) people as one person based on strong love and faith.

(373)	dʒɔ́	-ā	-túdò [99]	tíɛ̀t	píí	gìì	-gì	ā	-dʒɔ̀ɔ̀t
	people	PST	twist	legs of	water	things of	3PL	PST	see
Lit.	'The things of the people who tied/joined ropes under the legs of water were found.'								
	'The secret of the lovers who had sexual intercourse under water was known.'								

Sometimes due to strict control of a family, it is difficult to meet a girl. Yet in dry season, rivers like Baro and Gilo dry with some parts being shallow and sandy. While bathing and swimming in a river, a boy can swim to a girl friend so that they will have sexual intercourse under water. But bubbles and breathing near a partner can provide evidences for the sexual intercourse which took place under water. In (373) therefore gììgì 'their things' metaphorically refer to *the sexual activities under water* but literally refer to ropes joined. At generic level metaphor, this metaphor means *Something may be hidden as secret, but it will be known by the public later.* The word ātùùdà 'strong agreement' literally means twisting ropes into knot in away that is difficult to loosen or untie. The root {-tùùd-} 'to agree strongly' literally means to twist into knot.

The decline or stopping of love relation which is understood in terms of lɔ̀àk' LOOSENING OR pʌ̀t 'UNTYING OF ROPE' can be expressed by using high and low tones on the verb pʌ̀t 'untie' to imply middle and passive voices. Consider the following examples in (374a&b) :

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[99] Because love can be hidden it can also hide another thing. Example kwòŋ káánná méérrí 'Bad image is hidden by love'. This is because bad images and bad secrets related to theft, disability, evil-eyed and others are not exposed by lovers even if they may quarrel and insult each other but the degree of anger or conflict may make a lover expose a companion's bad image or secret. The idiom gɛ̀nà dɔ̀ɔ̀ gɔ́ɔ́t 'They went away into homestead again' has the implied meaning or presuposition that the lovers separated before but returned into love in hidden manner. In addition to ɔ̀tɔ̀ 'house', very important properties are kept and hidden in gɔ̀ɔ̀t ' homestead'.

(374a)	ʈ̪ɔ́ɔ́r	mèèr	màr	-gɛ̀	ā	-pʌ́t	(kɛ́ɛ́r	-ɛ̀)
	rope of	love	of	3PL	PST	untie by itself	only	3SG
Lit.	'Their love rope untied itself.'							
	'The lovers separated by themselves.'							

Example (374a) implies that the lovers separated but their cause of separation is not very clearly known. That is why kɛ́ɛ́rɛ̀ 'itself 'has been used optionally. This has been clarified by the high tone on pʌ́t 'untie'. That is why the cause has been explained to be the love rope itself. Hence, middle voice. By using low tone on the verb pʌ̀t 'untie' passive voice used to express stopping of love based on the source of ROPE whose agent is usually not mentioned but clear from the context can be illustrated in (374b) below:

(b)	mèèr	màr	-gɛ̀	ā	-pʌ̀t
	love	of	3PL	PST	untie
Lit.	'Their love was untied.'				
	'The lovers were separated.'				

In love metaphor (374b) the word pʌ̀t 'untie', evokes ROPE as a source domain of love. The lovers in (374b) were forced by another person/people to separate as the low tone in pʌ̀t 'be untied'. So, the name of the person causing separation of lovers in (374b) is not needed to be mentioned. Love with the source domain (frame) of ROPE, whose broader source domain is UNITY/BOND, can have the following mappings in table 28.

TARGET: LOVE	**SOURCE: ROPE**
establishing love relation	joining ropes
lovers	the people who join ropes
agreement between lovers	tying ropes
love intensity	degree of tying rope
intensifying love	strengthening/extending rope
decline in love intensity	loosening rope
stopping love relation	cutting rope[100]
the person who stops love relation	the person who cuts the rope(s)
determination to love forever	knot[101]

Table 28:Mappings for LOVE IS ROPE

Among the Anywaa, the two types of marriage with strong love unity are ɲùòm and tʃɔ̀ɔ̀t. In the former type of marriage, a boy tells the family of a girl that he loves the girl. So, the parents of

[100] The metaphor wàànà pʌʌ̀ò 'We separated, We divided ourselves' mainly implies that the lovers separated due to their disagreement or will but by deleting the final vowel of pʌʌ̀ò 'separate', passive voice, which obligatorily requires the causer/agent of separation after pʌʌ̀ 'separate', is formed ' as in wàànà pʌʌ̀ tʃáánnì 'We have been separated by poverty', which implies that the lovers separted not because of their disagreement but because the husband was very poor and could not pay the dowry to the family of the girl. This implies that the family did not hate the husband. But the love metaphor wàànà pʌʌ̀ ōmɔ̀tì 'We have been separated by the Omod' mainly implies that Omod stopped the marriage or love relation because he did not like the family of the husband or He did not want marriage relation with the husband of the speaker, who is his sister. Thus, the morpheme {ò-} has two functions: it serves as a *complement* and *middle voice* marker. When something like a piece of land/grave cracks, it can be pragmatically said without an explicit subject as āpʌʌ̀ò 'It has divided itself'.

[101] The knot implies the linguistic metaphors jìinà kī jàànì, kéél āŋùùnnè 'Only you and I, will be bound romantic lovers forever'.

the girls will tell and convince the girl. In fact, both the parents of the girl and those of the boy are interested in the marriage due to friendship, economic background, good personalities and others. Yet, the girl's opinion may matter. The word ɲùòm literally means marriage. In the latter type of marriage (tʃɔ̀ɔ̀t), a boys falls in love with a girl and wants to marry her. This means a boy talks to a girl more often on the behalf of a love intermediary or go-between.

When the girl is asked for a husband or conceiver as tʃɔ̀ɔ̀rì (à) ŋá 'Who is your husband?' she denounces the name of the fiancé. Then marriage discussion locally called kʌ̀ʌ̀ɲ is arranged. Then dowries are paid to the wife's relatives. The first dowry to be paid is called ōdʒìèj. The word dʒìèj means accept, but if a boy is tied for the uncertainty of his interest for marriage or due to his claim that the girl is not his wife, relatives pay dowry called ōpʌ́dí. The word pʌ̀t means untie or remove the ropes with which the boy has been tied. The marriage type called tʃɔ̀ɔ̀t is the commonest type of marriage among the Anywaa. The word tʃɔ̀ɔ̀ttò literally means *to marry by oneself*. Love with source domain of UNITY or BOND implies that UNITY/BOND IS ONE; SEPARATION IS MORE.

Generally, love with source domain of UNITY/BOND provides us with very clear mappings. While the unity maps onto love, the two physical parts correspond to two lovers. The physical joining of the parts, is mapped onto the lovers' union. The physical unity/bond corresponds to spiritual merger of the two souls. Finally, the physical fit between the parts corresponds to lovers' harmony (Abdullah, 2016:12).

7.8 LOVE IS A HIDDEN OBJECT

Love in the initial stage is a secret and therefore should not be easily known by others in a short time. In the initial stage of love, partners hide themselves in a dark place, house, grass, banana plants or under trees and they usually communicate on the behalf of love intermediary. Such lovers usually whisper when they converse where people are near. Sexual relations are also hidden. So, at night, for sexual relation, a girlfriend goes to a boyfriend when many people are asleep. Among the Anywaa, love is understood as a secret because a boy and a girl do not want their love to be known soon as each may be beaten by relatives or other boys may beat a boy who is coming from another village. Therefore, love which is inside liver without being expressed to a girl is hidden in a boy's liver. Consider examples (375a-d) for detail.

(375a)	ɖáágɔ̀	pòòt	nà	mùdà
	girl	still	CON	awl
Lit.	'The girl is still an awl.'			
	'She is still a girlfriend.'			

An awl is a sharp short metal used by women to repair a broken gourd by punching holes in both sides so that the broken part of gourd is joined with thread or rope. This metal has no handle and cannot be easily seen because it is very small and its tip is put inside a punched hole while its main body is covered by the woman's hand while repairing a gourd. If a boy or a girl is an awl, this implies that the two have romantic love relation at the initial stage but they have not married each other nor is their romantic relation known by others. In Anywaa, a boy or a girl who is still an awl is not a husband or a wife. Thus, the word mùdà 'an awal' alone can be metaphorically extended to mean a boyfriend or a girlfriend in a romantic love context. Hence, A GIRLFRIEND OR A BOYFRIEND IS AN AWL.

(b)	mééj	jì	mùùɖò
	love of	in	darkness
Lit.	'Darkness love.'		
	'Love which is still a secret.'		

As (375b) implies, lovers usually sit in a dark place so that they will not be recognized by relatives or other people. Some villagers may know the romantic love relation between a boy and a girl but they cannot talk about it publicly due to the fact that the two people have no formalized marriage. Example (375b) therefore underlies HIDDEN LOVE IS AN OBJECT IN A DARK PLACE.

(c)	tʃwíŋ	-ì	pòòt	kɛ̀r	-à	dʒòòd	-ɔ̀	dɔ̀...tʃ
	liver of	2SG	still	NEG	1SG	see	IFT	DEG
Lit.	'I have not very clearly seen your liver yet.'							
	'I have not clearly understood how much you love me.'							

In example (375c) LIVER metonymically stands for LOVE. Something which is not hidden is visible to human eye. Similarly, love which is not clear is not easily understood and difficult to evaluate as it is in liver but not displayed through contact and conversation. The metaphor in (375c) has lower degree of metaphoricity, because liver is visible and metonymically stands for love. So, A CLEAR LOVE RELATION IS CLEARLY VISIBLE LIVER (OBJECT); HIDDEN LOVE IS HIDDEN OBJEC(LIVER); UNCLEAR LOVE IS PARTLY VISIBLE OBJECT.

(d)	mèèr	már	-ì	bá	nèèn	-ì
	love	of	2SG	NEG:HAB	see	PASS:HAB
Lit.	'Your love cannot be seen.'					
	'Your love (degree) is not clear (to me).'					

In example (375d), love is not visible like in that of (375c) since it is a hidden love; however, example (375d) has higher degree of metaphoricity than example (375c), because mèèr' love' is very abstract and a visible object like a tree or hiding an object like a fish has been imposed on

the unclear love so that it becomes hidden or concrete and visible to human eye. Generally, the speaker in (375d) implies that the addressee lover does not love him/her very much. Hence, CLEAR (INTENSE) LOVE RELATION IS VISIBLE OBJECT; HIDDEN/INITIAL LOVE IS AN INVISIBLE /HIDDEN OBJECT. Generally, the source domains of LOVE IS A HIDDEN OBJECT include objects hidden in house, under water, in pocket, or underground.

7.9 LOVE as SACRIFICE

Strong degree of love leads to sacrifice, which is mostly done by boys who travel to girls' villages by crossing rivers and passing through dense forests in the mid nights. To exemplify love as DEVOTION and SACRIFICE, the following poem in (376) and linguistic metaphors in (376a-c) are worth mentioning[102].

(376a)	jí	-ì	tʃɔ̀ɔ̀dɔ̀	wànɛ̀[103]			
	PERF	2SG	marry	when			
	'When did you marry her?'						
(b)	jí	-ì	màŋŋɔ̀	wʌ̀nɛ̀?			
	PERF	2SG	search	when			
	'When did you search her?'						
(c)	jììn	-ɔ̀	-tʃàm	bééjo	kɔ̀ɔ̀r	-ɛ̀	wʌ̀nɛ̀?
	2SG	PERF	eat	mosquito	after	3SG	when
Lit.	'Where were you eaten up by mosquito after her.'						
	'Where were you bitten by mosquitoes for her.'						

The poem in (376a-c) was a song by the poet Obeel Roodo who had love process with a girl, but while they had already started their romantic (sexual relation), another man asked her and because the latter man was rich with dìmùùj beads paid to him for his sister' marriage, the girl's mother and her cowives advised the girl to abandon Obeel because Obeel was a poor man. So, the girl agreed with the latter man and stopped her love relation with Obeel. The reason why Obeel used the word màŋŋɔ̀ 'search' is to elaborate the earlier stage of the love. This is the initial love stage in which a boy chooses a girl, needs suggestion and advise from friends and finally asks a girl for romantic relation by going near her home.

In Anywaa, a person who wants to marry can say to his friend mʌ̀ʌ̀ŋ à kī ɖáágɔ̀ 'Search a girl for me'. The word tʃɔ̀ɔ̀d 'marry' in (376a) implies that the latter man was not the actual husband of

[102]As liver and mouth meet and are close, minds can also be close. So, being close as in kàrgɛ̀ bá tʃʌ̀ʌ̀n nírí 'They are not close to each other these days' is very important. So,UNITY IS PHYSICAL AND MENTAL CLOSENESS . Thus, being in love is being mentally close as can be found in the example ŋɛ̀ʈgɛ̀ ɔ̀gʌ́ʌ́bó 'Their minds/brains have attached themselves together' to imply sharing ideas and agreement. For detail, see also Kövecses (1986).

[103] The song was remixed by Ojulu Opwola, from whom the song was recorded, but the elaboration of the love process was made by John Ogool.

the girl as he had no long love process and evaluation with the girl, conceit and devotion for the girl. Because the girl had already started romantic relation with Obeel, she was considered like his wife. Obeel also has addressed the latter man who his wife as ì/jìnì '(2SG)' to give a clue that he is singing to this man. Obeel's use of the experience of being bitten by mosquitoes to express his love scarifice in the form of song takes us to the conclusion that he has used EXTENSION as his poetic device, which is the extension form of the conventional metaphors in (376a-c).

In (376c) being bitten by mosquitoes has been mentioned by Obeel to elaborate his suffer and devotion for the girl as her true girlfriend (fianceé). As sacrifice for love, while waiting for a girl at a back of yard or in grassy area at night, a boy may be bitten by mosquitoes or red ants but he is not irritated as he is waiting for his true lover. This is sacrifice which was not made by the man who married Obeel's girlfriend. A girls is happy when a boy who wants to marry her shows great devotion by enduring unfavourable conditions without giving up. This convinces a girl that a boy truly loves her and this makes a girl a gree with a boy for romantic relation leading to marriage. A girl also loves hero boyfriend who kills beasts he meets on the road while going to a girl. Because he will one day protect her during an attack by enemy.

In poem (376a-c), Obeel has used QUESTIONING as his poetic device, which rhymes with wʌ̀nɛ̀ 'when?' three times. Lakoff and Turner (1989:69) and Sullivan (2007:404) define questioning as the process of drawing attention to the source domain of the poem by calling into question to explicate the unmapped part of source domain and the meaning of the metaphor. Kövecses (2010) defines poetic device as a away/ conceptual technique of creating novel metaphor or image from conventional materials of everyday language and thought.

In reference to poem (376a-c), Obeel is clarifying and elaborating that he was the actual lover who suffered for the girl. In general, Obeel has used questioning to elaborate that his love with the girl was the true one, because the love was based on true CHOICE, DEVOTION, SACRIFICE and EVALUATION rather than resource, i.e bride-price. The man who married his girlfriend was therefore not a true lover/husband of the girl but a criminal who took his girl friend. In fact, among the Anywaa, the first (young) lover is the true lover because people evaluate themselves and know each other very well. The reason for which the man fell in love with Obeel's fiancée and why she accepted that man's love while she has spent her love life with

Obeel called into question to Obeel. In Anywaa, conventional linguistic metaphors of LOVE IS SACRIFICE can be illustrated in (377a-c) as follows:

(377a)	mèèr	dʒíŋ	-á	dʒàmm	-ì	mō	-à	-lɛ́t̪	gɛ̀bèèt
	love	not feel pain	FOC	thing	PL	REL	be	painful	all
Lit.	'Love does not feel anything painful.'								
	'Love makes a lover not to feel anything painful.'								
(b)	à	dī	ŋààlɔ̀	kīpɛ́r	-ì				
	1sG	AUX	slaughter	for	2SG				
	'I should be slaughtered for you.'								
(c)	à	t̪ɔ̀ɔ̀	-ɔ́	kɔ̀ɔ̀r	-ì				
	1SG	die	FOC	after	2SG				
	'I will die by following you.'								

As the data in (377a-c) imply, if a lover is in another place, the other lover follows him/her like going to the village where the other lover is. So, there may be accidents on the road. When poor men marry, they are beaten for not paying, cattle, money or bead doweries. However, they don't give up but still love their wives. Sometimes the girl's family can allow them to live with small amount of dowry but sometimes they are divorced. In an initial stage of love, boys go to the villages where their lover girls live. Sometimes a girl may refuse to go to the boy. So, the boy goes back to his village in midnight and may meat crocodile, leopard or lion. But such animals do not eat up a man who is moving for love as it is convicted that a person travelling for love will not die because love is not crime. There are killings between men if they fall in love with the same girl. Sometimes when lovers are not allowed to marry each other, either of them may commit suicide.

7.10 LOVE as FOOD

Among the Anywaa there are different types of food like fried meat, stew, and roasted meat or fish, with different styles of cooking. The most common food among the Anywaa is porridge eaten with fish or meat. These source domains are mapped on to love forming LOVE IS FOOD/NUTRIENT. According to Kövecses (1986) LOVE IS FOOD is formed because LOVE IS NEED LIKE FOOD. Regarding the reason for using food as source of love metaphor is claimed by Grady (19997) as "There is a correlation between physical sensation, sexual desire and focus on finding food". Among the Anywaa, food is the symbol of love and union. Therefore, eating alone is very shameful and makes a person not a true Anywaa. The Anywaa word ŋwààk 'sharing' basically and literally means *eating together*. In Anywaa, love takes

general FOOD source but usually SPECIFIC FOOD[104] ITEMS are used as love sources for specific meanings. Below are the linguistic metaphors from (378)-(383) used to understand love based on the source domain of FOOD.

(378)	mèèr	ā	-ŋwʌ̀ʌ̀	-è	nī	lɛ́ŋ
	love	PST	smell	3SG	CON	smell of roasted fatty meat
Lit.	'He /She smelled the love as roasted fatty meat.'					
	'He/She felt the love very well.'					

The love in (378) is conceptualized as A ROASTED MEAT, which implies experiencing love in a positive way. The metaphor of love based on good taste of food includes experiencing sexual intercourse.

In the metaphor méɛ́j ākwáttáŋòòmì 'love of game porridge,' the lovers meet in short time, have sexual intercourse and separate within very short time. Other people understand that the lovers are not clearly in a good love manner. Such lovers also do not have good behaviours. If they marry, they divorce soon. The game porridge called ākwáttaŋòòmì is a porridge prepared from soil, which is sifted like a flour. During games, this porridge is prepared by girls who are still maturing. As wives are cooks, maturing girls should learn and practice cooking. This food is picked up with bark spoons, but not actually eaten although boys and girls pretend to be eating. During this game, boys who are entering maturity build grass huts. One boy carrying water throws up water and says kɔ̀t̪ āòò 'It is raining now'. This time, like couples, a boy and a girl enter a grass hut and have sexual intercourse. When this is heard by the parents, all the boys and girls are beaten and warned not to repeat the act. The huts are also burned and demolished. In fact, during the game, some boys will have sexual intercourse with their relatives.

(379a)	tʃóóŋ	ōdʒùlù	ā	-óó	rǎ	-à
	fish desire	Ojulu	PST	come	body of	1SG
Lit.	'I have the desire of Ojulu as my fish.'					
	'I have experienced the longing for Ojulu.'					

The metaphor in (379a) extends the desire of fish food to including sexual desire. Literally, tʃóóŋ is the desire for fish when it is not available but needed. When a girl's body has good smell, it is said ŋír 'Her body smells as the smell of fresh meat (of boar)'. Example (379a) underlies SEXUAL(LOVE) DESIRE IS A DESIRE FOR FISH; SEXUAL PARTENER IS A FISH.

[104] If an Anywaa wife is sexually dissatisfied or not physically pleased by her husband, she stops cooking food for her husband. The word āpɔ̀tɔ̀ small piece of meat is extended to low degree of love as mèèr mō ŋá āpɔ̀tɔ̀ dɔ̀ŋ ' Love which is a very small piece of meat'. Hence, LOW DEGREE OF LOVE IS A VERY SMALL PIECE OF MEAT.

(b)	mɔ̀ɔ̀ŋŋ	-ɔ̀	lààw	-è	kīpér	-i
	swallow:FQ	FOC	saliva of	3SG	for	2SG
Lit.	'He is salivating/swallowing his saliva for you.'					
	'He has fallen in love with you.'					

In example (379b) the addressee is a boy who has fallen in love with the girl, the addressee, because he has been attracted by the girl. The salivation does not simply imply love but the boy's desire for sex since he has been attracted by the girl's breasts and the butt. As we salivate for food, we salivate for love and sexual intercourse. Hence, SEX IS FOOD; SEXUAL ORGANS ARE (TASTY) FOODS.

(380)	lúúp	ā	-nī	bɪíḍ̱	-à	dʒír	-ì
	issues	PST	COMPLT	remove fish	1SG	for	2SG
Lit.	'I have already removed the fish bones of your love issues.'						
	'I have already convinced the girl you have fallen in love with.'						

In (380), the implied meaning is that the speaker is the love intermediary of the addressee (2SG), who is a boy. The love intermediary has therefore mostly talked to the girl and the girl has almost accepted the love issue as she has believed the love intermediary. So, if the boy in (380) talks to the girl, she will have no more reactions. In (380), the source domain of food has the FRAME of A FISH WITH MORE BONES IN ITS FLESH, whose bones should be removed before eating it so that it will be eaten without discomfort. Hence, GOOD DISCUSSION OF LOVE ISSUES IS REMOVING FISH BONES; BAD LOVE ISSUE IS A BONY FISH. The word bìì̱ḏ literally means to remove the bones of a fish so that it will be eaten with comfort. An aggressive girls, who may insult a boy for the first time, can be convinced by clever go-between. If a fish is eaten without removing its bones, a small bone may stuck in the eater's throat bringing discomfort and pain.

(381a)	ḍ̱áágɔ̀	mèèr	ā	-bɛ̀l	-è
	female	love	PST	taste	3SG
Lit.	'The girl (has) tasted the love.'				
	'The girl (has) experienced the love for the first time.'				

The new experience in (381a) implied by the linguistic metaphor in (381a) includes love objects like male's sexual organ or sexual relation. A male can also metaphorically taste a female's sexual organ as tasty food during his first time of experiencing sex. The experience of the metaphor in (381a) comes from tasting tasty food for the first time and keeping on eating. Hence, EXPERIENCING LOVE(SEX) FOR THE FIRST TIME IS TASTING FOOD. When love relation is favorable, a lover or another person may use the linguistic metaphor in (381b):

(b)	méér	mán	mɛ́...t	dɔ̌...tʃ
	love	this	ta...sty	ver...y
Lit.	'This love is ve...ry ta...sty.'			
	'This love relation is ve...ry good.'			

The love relation in (381b) is uttered about the present good love relation whose experience is based on the source TASTY FOOD which is being eaten now. Example, (381b) underlies GOOD LOVE RELATION IS TASTY FOOD; BAD LOVE RELATION IS A BAD FOOD.

As half food eaten by others has negative meaning that the person who is eating leftover is less important person due to being a bachelor, this experience is used in love and marriage. For example a corn whose part was eaten by birds is locally called ādìwɛ́ɲɔ̀ 'a sweet maize, which has been eaten by many birds'. The word ādíwɛ́ɲɔ̀ litearrly means *maize that is a mouth of a bird'*. Such a maize has been eaten by different birds at different times. This kind of maize is extended to a woman who was married by many men. Hence, WOMEN ARE SWEET MAIZES; MARRIAGE IS EATING SWEET MAIZES. In normal life, everybody has his/her favorite food desired by habitual appetite. So, OUR FAVOURITE GIRL IS THE APPETITE WE HAVE FOR FOOD .

In the cognitive model of love and food, the words pàr 'wish' màŋŋɔ̀ 'like', lɛ́ɛ́j ʧwìŋ 'appetite', and ʧóóŋ 'fish desire' are sub-categories of the basic level mèèr 'love', whose superordinate level is dʒùòdo 'emotion (feeling)'.

(382)	ōmʌ̀ʌ̀n	ātʃálá	ā	-ʧìèl	-è	dʒì	ōlèèrò
	Oman	Achla	PST	cook meat with little water	3SG	to	Oleero
Lit.	'Oman cooked Achala for Olero.'						
	'Oman was a love intermediary of Olero.'						

Literally, the verb **ʧìèl** means cooking meat or fish with little water. Such a cooking is used for eating meat or fish without porridge or with little porridge. Metaphorically, this word is applied to an intermediary's process of convincing the girl in a clear way for her boyfriend. When a girl accepts love issues, it is said ḏáágɔ́ ātʃìèk 'The girl is ready to be eaten.'

(383)	tìɛ̀t	ʧíɛ̀ŋ	mɛ́t
	legs of	canes	delicious
Lit.	'The bottom parts of	(durra) canes	have a special taste.'
	'A reestablished love is very special.'		

The lower parts of canes are the parts of canes which remain in the soil after the durra canes are cut for harvesting. Such parts of canes are very sweet and cold as they are still in the soil and living. The bottom part of cut cane may start growing again. Furthermore, during this time, the cut canes are dry and cannot be eaten. When this is applied to love, it means love in which lovers separated for long time and met somewhere and start new love by having sexual intercourse as new experience. In fact, in early youth stage, a girl may be married to a boy but the marriage

may be rejected by a girl's family due to the boy's poverty or any other reason. Yet if they meet in favourable place, the two people can have sexual intercourse, which is said to be special.

The above linguistic metaphors in (378)-(383) are very common in the daily lives of the Anywaa. Evidences come from the very common foods in the community. Hence, conventional metaphors. In showing the mapping, the food corresponds to love and the hungry person is the person who desires love. Hunger is mapped onto desire for love. Physical nourishment corresponds to psychological strength and the cook is the love intermediary (See Abdullah, 2016:113.

7.11 LOVE as CONTAINER AND SUBSTANCE

The intensity of love is often expressed by the amount of substance in container. Analogically, if there is high amount in a container, the love intensity is high and vice versa. Body and its parts can serve as containers of love. In reference to Anywaa, containers like house, gourd and pot, which contain, maize, durra or any other object, serve as experiential bases of love as substance and container (see also Lakoff and Johnson (2010) and Lakoff, (1986a&b). For detail, consider the following examples in (384)-(391).

(384)	dèèr	-è	bʌ̀r	-è	míél	kīpér	-ì
	body of	3SG	whole:3SG	3SG	dance	for	2SG
Lit.	'His/her whole body is dancing/trembling for you.'						
	'He/She love you very much.'						

Example (384) is based on an object in a container and moves a container. So, in (384), what makes the trembling person tremble is the love in his/her body. Therefore, the example implies the person spoken about immediately feels happy and agitated when seeing his/her lover as love is substance in his/her whole body. Both love and marriage can exist in a boy's body. For example, dèèrè dá pɛ̀r 'In his body, there is love and marriage issue, which is about to be declared' implies that a small discussion for the girl's marriage has been started and some doweries like a goat to be slaughtered in the girl's home for her future welfare have been paid by the boy. But the girl's parent have not yet agreed up on the dowries and the discussions are not over. Therefore, pɛ̀r can be defined as a love and marriage or engagement relation which is about to be officialized by paying dowries to the girl's parents. Another name of pɛ̀r is kʌ̀ʌ̀ɲ 'marriage discussion'.

If a matured boy says dèèra dá ɲúóm'There is marriage in my body', he means that he has decided to make his marriage formal as there is love and sexual relation between him and his

girlfriend, who has agreed with the making of marriage formal. In such a context, most of the time, the boy makes an agreement with the girl and he/his parents go to the girl's parents to pay the bride price. He does this before the girl is asked by her relatives about the marriage issue. Such a marriage discussion flows smoothly. This takes us to the specific level metaphor BODY IS THE CONTAINER OF LOVE/MARRIAGE, whose generic level metaphor is BODY IS A CONTAINER OF EMOTIONS. The metaphor tʃwíɲà dá ɲùòm 'There is marriage in my liver' may imply that the speaker man is thinking of marrying a girl or has planned to marry without determination due to obstacles like the girl's disagreement or lack of dowry; the metaphor basically implies that the speaker is thinking of marrying but has not decided it. So, the love and the marriage usually make him worry.

In Anywaa, love can be A BOLING SUBSTANCE IN A LOVER'S BODY. Such a love implies that the person whose body contains boiling love fluid is the one who has higher love degree/faith. Such metaphors can be found in the linguistic metaphor in (385):

(385)	mèèr	-ā	tòà	-á	ɲèŋ	tʃúúw	-ì
	love	PST	boil	FOC	eyes of	bones of	2SG
Lit.	'Love has boiled into the joints of your (2SG) bones.'						
	'You love your lover very much.'						

The experience of the love metaphor in (385) comes from boiling foods like bones (with meat). When a bone with meat is boiled for a long time, the hot water enters the joints and the meat or bones become soft with the boiling water inside them. So, example (385) underlies LOVE IS BOILED SUBSTANCE IN HUMAN BODY/JOINTS OF HUMAN BONES.

(386)	tʃwíɲ	-à	ò	-pʌŋ	kī	mèèr	kīpér	-ì
	liver of	1SG	PERF	full	with	love	for	2SG
Lit.	'My liver is full of love for you.'							
	'My heart is full of love for you, I Love you from the bottom of my heart .'							

In (386) LOVE IS A FULL SUBSTANCE IN LIVER, which is based on full amount of substance in a container. To the Anywaa, love in liver is the highest and the truest, because fact is liver, but its opposite is méej lák 'love in teeth', in which a lover simply laughs with the partner but sometimes cheats him/her. The non-existence of love in an Anywaa's liver is based on the experience of seeing an empty container. Generally, based on (386), SMALL DEGREE OF LOVE IN LIVER IS SMALL AMOUNT OF SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER;NON-EXISTENCE OF LOVE IN LIVER IS AN EMPTY CONTAINER.

(387)	wáŋ	-ì	ŋìì	-à	wódʒáál	ê...
	eye of	2SG	recognize	1SG	old man	INTER
	'An (old) man, I have recognized your loving me in your eye.'					

Example (387) implies that the speaker is a girl who has understood that the man has fallen in love with her and he is about to talk to her about the love issue. The girl's evidence is based on the way the man looks at her. The interjection ê... implies that the girl has truly recognized the man's loving her by seeing his eye. Hence, in (387), LOVE IS A SUBSTANCE IN THE EYE OF THE MALE. Though the word (wú)dʒààl basically refers to an old man who may have white hair, the use of the word in (387) has an ironic respect augmented by the interjection **ê...,** which implies recognition and refusal to love recognized in the eye of the man. The girl might have accepted the love after sometime.

(388)	méér	már	-è	kʌʌr	-è	ká	tʃɛ́r	-é[105]
	love	of	3SG	carry	3SG	with	hand of	3SG
Lit.	'She carries her love with her hand.'							
	'She is promiscuous.'							

The girl in (388 is also called tʃèrè dʒóót 'Her hand is light(not heavy)'. Basically, this idiom means someone who is overgenerous as such a person gives food and other things easily and sooner. In the same way, when a girl illustrated in example (388) is asked, she accepts love and sex within a very short time despite her background for a man. Because there is no bad thing in clean object, mèèr mō tɔ́ŋ 'clean love' is a love is without deceiving between lovers.

(389)	ɲī	mèèr	mō	ʈ̱îɪ..ɳ̱	pòòt	dá	-gɔ́
	child of	love	REL	small:EMPH	still	exist	it
	tʃwíɲ	-è					
	liver of	3SG					
Lit.	'An extremely small child of love still exists in his liver.'						
	'He still loves her to a little extent.'						

Example (389) may imply that the man divorced the woman but still loves her with the aim of reestablishing love. The falling tone and the vowel extension in ʈ̱ìì̱ɳ̱ 'little' clarifies that the love is very little as the people do not meet. Yet, an obstacle like the new husband makes him afraid of talking to the woman. Example (389) is also uttered for a woman who divorced her husband but still has small love for him. Such a woman has positive attitude towards the man but does not express her attitude explicitly due to the new marriage. Such a love also exists in stomach but its intensity is lower than that in the liver.

(390)	ɲɛ̀jjà	tʃʌ́ʌ́nò	kī	dóɔ́r	mèèr	kīpɛ́r	pá	āɲwáá
	king	speaking	with	voice of	love	for	country of	Anywaa
Lit.	'The king is speaking with voice which contains love for the Anywaa country.'							
	'The king is speaking with the love for the Anywaa country.'							

[105]For such a girl, it is also offensively said múrè kʌʌrè ká (ō)ʈ̱ʌ̀ɲ tʃɛ̀rè 'She carries her vagina with her palm'. Similarly, nìirè kʌʌrè ká tʃɛ̀rè'He/She carries his/her sleep with his/her hand 'means such a person is sleepy, falling asleep sooner. Such a person is also called **ò-níín-è** 'a person of sleep'

In (390), the speech of king here has the strong love of tribe, community and villages and the whole Anywaland, which the Anywaa conceive as their country. His voice, which contains love for Anywaa country, therefore ranges from low to rising tone. Due to a king's mental and spiritual strength, what he says usually quickly motivates the Anywaa to sacrifice for their land. Because the way the king spoke implies his love and happiness with the Anywaa country, example (390) underlies EMOTION METAPHORS ARE EMBODIED IN HUMAN THROAT AND VOICE. According to Esenova (2011:8-9), voice container metaphor like that in (390) usually focuses on intensity and control of emotion. Emotions affect the quality of our voice and we can understand people's emotion and feeling based on their voices. In Anywaa, d̰ī mèèr' language (mouth) of love' is the one which contains love.

(391)	lúúmm	-í	jì	-è	dá	méér
	sentence	this	stomach of	3SG	exist	love
Lit.	'Inside the stomach of this sentence, there is love.'					
	'This expression/sentence contains love.'					

Example (391) underlies LINGUISTIC EXPRESSION IS A CONTAINER OF EMOTION, because the expression or sentence in (391) has been understood as a container of love based on the way the speaker speaks.

As can be seen from examples (384)-(391), mouth body, eye, liver, stomach, tongue and hand, are the containers with love inside them. According to Sinha (1999) linguistic expressions are containers and meanings are contents, but what is remarkably special is that voice, language and its units like morpheme, word, phrase ,clause and sentence contain love without clear experience. The clarity of love as substance in a container comes from audible voice of the speaker, which in particular reference to Anywaa culture is mostly the male's voice. The reason why voice is a container of emotion is important to discuss as it has no clear boundary.

According to Ibanz (1997), containers are three dimensional having inner part, outer part and boundary but voice does not have such a dimension used to put and take out substances. So, the use of voice as a container of emotion is unusual and difficult to correlate with a concrete container like a pot. However, human instincts help to impose boundary on voice. Furthermore, voice conveys emotion and our judgements about other people's emotional states from the sound of their voice. That is why it is normal that voice is imagined to be container of emotions. Researchers have convincingly shown that there is an obvious link between a person's emotional state and acoustic quality of his/her voice. For example, Murray and Arnott (1996) stress that

desperate emotional states will result in different acoustical changes in the person's voice. It is also claimed that emotion influences pitch, timing and voice quality of utterance. From these findings we can conclude that changes in voice accompanying emotions are determined by physiological processes taking place in the body. So, the metaphor VOICE IS A CONTAINER OF LOVE (EMOTION[106]) is motivated by human physiology like trembling or cry (see Esenova, 2011 and Lakoff and Johnson1980).

LOVERS ARE OBJECTS IN CONTAINERS

In Anywaa, love can be used as a container of lovers to imply experiencing love. Drum, which metonymically stands for love, can also serve as a container of lovers. Consider examples below in (392a-c).

(392a)	wà	ɛ́n	-á	jì	bùùl
	1PL:EXCL	be:LOC	FOC	in	drum
Lit.	'We (EXCL) are in drum.'				
	'We are still lovers, our love is still in initial stage.'				

Example (392a) implies that the speakers are still young lovers being in process of making love and still go to dance space. The metaphor can also mean the speakers are marriageable girls/boys. In less metaphorical meaning the expression means the speakers are right now dancing implying that some may choose lovers later. Here, DRUM METONYMICALLY CAN STAND FOR DANCE AND LOVE. In fact, among the Anywaa, drum dance which leads to marriage, is danced by the young. When men and women grew old, they stop frequent dances except for some occasions like a political dance in which an enemy is defeated. Further, when they are teaching the young, old people can dance. Hence, travelling to different villages for drum dances is carried out by young girls and young boys.

(b)	wà	ɛ́n	-á	ʈɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ̀
	1PL:EXCL	be:LOC	FOC	dance space
Lit.	'We are in dance space.'			
	'We are still marriageable girls/boys.'			

The metaphor in (392b) implies that the speakers are still very young and marriageable. Hence, example (92b) underlies THE SPEAKERS ARE SUBSTANCES IN THE DANCE SPACE CONTAINER, where boys look for girls.

(c)	ɡɛ̀	ɛ́n	-á	jì	mèèr	mɔ̄	dɔ́ɔ́ŋ	dɔ́tʃ
	3PL:PL	be:LOC	FOC	in	love	REL	big	DEG
Lit.	'They are inside a very big love.'							
	'They are experiencing an intense love.'							

[106]The fact that voice and language contain emotion can be further proved by the Anywaa metaphors dwɔ́r mɛ́t ɛ̀tʃ voice of happiness, dwɔ́r gɔ̀ɔ̀tɔ̀ 'voice of anger', dwɔ́r lúʌ́r 'voice of fear'. Language is also a container of anger and fear in ɖì gɔ̀ɔ̀tɔ̀, ɖí lúʌ́r 'language of anger, language of fear' and ɖí mɛ́t ɛ́tʃ 'language of happiness.'

Example (392c) implies that the people are currently enjoying their intense love. So, in (392c) LOVERS ARE OBJECTS INSIDE BIG LOVE, whose experience comes from big containers like house, river or pot. Hence, INTENSITY OF LOVE IS THE SIZE OF CONTAINER; EMOTIONAL STATE IS CONTAINER.

When a boy is in an initial stage of telling his love to a girl, love is understood as a speaking person and advisor to imply eagerness of telling love or worry for the lover. Such metaphor has personificaction. Liver, which metonymically stands for love, also speaks to a boy to express his love to a girl. Consider the following examples in (393a-b):

(393a)	mèèr	tʃʌ́ʌ́n	-ò	jì	tʃwíɲ	-à
	love	speak	PROG	in	liver of	1SG
Lit.	'Love is speaking in my liver.'					
	'I am very much worried by love.'					

If friend/relatives know that a boy has started a love relation with well-mannered girl, an advice can be given to a boy to marry her. This metaphor, in which love speaks can be spoken by a boy who has a lot of worries for his girlfriend due to absence of frequent contact caused by distance. Example (393a) may imply a boy's eagerness to marry his girlfirend. When a lover has a lot of romantic worries for his/her lover, it be expressed based on SPEAKING LIVER as:

(b)	tʃwíɲ	-à	tʃʌ́ʌ́n	-ò	kīpɛ́r	-ì
	liver of	1SG	speak	PROG	for	2SG
Lit.	'My liver is always speaking for you.'					
	'I'm worried by my love for you.'					

In example (393b), the speaker is a boy who is worried by his liver as he has much love for the addressee, who is a female he loves.

7.12 LOVE as INSANITY AND CURSE

An abnormal acting of lovers can used as source domain of love. Furthermore, activities of cursed and mad people can serve as experiential bases for the behaviour of lovers. In fact, among the Anywaa, people can be cursed to become insane or fearful or act abnormally. According to Kövecses (2000:43,73-75,2002:87) cited in Rajeg (2016),"Irrationality and complete lack of control are parts of INSANITY. Love is a strong emotion. In the insanity metaphor of love, rational self (agonist) is very affected psychologically and behaviourally. These impacts of irrationality on normal person experiencing love are the consequences of intense psychological force of love." Consider examples (394)-(396b).

(394)	kʌ̀ʌ̀bì	tʃààl	-à	ŋát	dʒúú
	promiscuous	like	FOC	person of	gods
	'A promiscuous girl is like a crazy person.'				

As the free translation in example (394) indicates, promiscuous girl and mad person are related in many ways. One thing is that a promiscuous girl does not have shame of having sexual intercourse with her relative boy. This also happens to insane people, who may have romantic love with their relatives by forcing them. The second thing is that promiscuous girls act abnormally and badly; their dressing style and acting is like that of insane people. In addition, they like sexual intercourse in unexpected time and place. That is why it is believed among the Anywaa as kʌ́p à dʒóɔ́k 'Promiscuity is being an evil-eyed'. Thirdly, like crazy people, promiscuous girls do not select one lover due to their strong abnormal sexual desire. When a degree of promiscuity becomes the highest, a girl/woman is called (kʌ̀ʌ̀bì mō) òròòk 'sex maniac'. Such a girl or woman is perceived as a girl who is crazed by sexual relation. Thus, her head and her liver are confused.

(395)	mèèr	már	-ù	wì	-è	bá	lɛ́ɛ́r
	love	of	2PL	head of	3SG	NEG	clean
Lit.	'Your love has no clean head.'						
	'Your (PL) love is insane, You (2PL) are leading an abnormal love.'						

When love relation is normal, it is said mèèr mō pàjjà 'a normal love' whose experience comes from ḏàànɲɔ̀ mō pàjjà 'a normal person, i.e not insane'; such a love has a good respect, normal love issues and favourable relation among lovers unlike love relation in (395), in which abnormal or bad things are experienced and understood by others. Generally, example (395) underlies LOVE IS CRAZY.

(396a)	ààn	-ā	-nɔ́ɔ́n	mèèrr	-ì
	1SG	PST	deceive	love	DEF
	'I was deceived by love.'				

The love in (396a) has spiritual force of making a person unwise, insane or gullible. Such a speaker is not thinking appropriately due to high intensity of love.

(b)	mèèr	ā	-tìmò	ná	dʒùù	wì	-è
	love	PST	become	CON	gods	head of	3SG
Lit.	'Love has become gods in his/her head.'						
	'Love has become/became madness in his/her head.'						

The love illustrated in (396b) is compounded as mèèj bɔ́ɔ́l 'madness love', in which a lover or lovers are perceived to be abnormal showing different abnormal acts. If one lover dies, the other may go mad. In addition to the metaphors in (394)-(396b), the mix between insanity and curse as a source domain of love can be seen in the following poem in (397a&b):

(397a)	gìij	-à	ā	-tìmò	kɛ̀ɛ̀	bɔ̀ɔ̀lɔ̀[107]	rá	-a
	thing	DEF	PST	become	like	madness	body of	1SG
	'That thing has become a disease like madness in my mind.'							

[107]The song was produced and sung by the male poet John Oriia.

(b)	gìij	-à	ā	-tìmò	kǎa	ātʃìènì	rá	-á
	thing	DEF	PST	become	like	curse	body of	1SG

'That thing has become something like curse in my body.'

In poem in (397a&b), the poet John Oria conceptualizes his love for Gambella as both madness and curse. Despite the fact that curse causes insanity, crazy and cursed people share common abnormal activities. They do not stop what they are not allowed to do or what they think of. John Oria has always been in worry for the role of artists/singers to change Gambella as the region is less developed. He has a strong love and dream for Gambella, which he wants to develop quickly. When he produced his album with the title ātùùlò 'the change rose like a sun' in 2008, he was very happy because there were other Anywaa boys who produced albums making him happy that many more singers are coming to change Gambella .

John's strong love for Gambella is mixed with happiness and worry that singers should play roles to change Gambella quickly. When a boy does not stop telling his love to a girl while she clarifies to him that she does not love him, she asks jìinò bɔ̀ɔ̀l wàlà jìinò tʃìɛnɔ̀? 'Are you mad or cursed?' In general, the conceptualization of love as insanity (curse) reminds us of analyzing embodiment and Anywaa philosophy of consciousness. The reason for which the poet in 397a&b) has used 'gìijà 'that thing', which implies that *love* is very discoursal and pragmatic in that it is clearly known mainly by the poet and other natives of Gambella the role of artists in change Gambella is small.

As examples in (394)-(397b) imply, lovers are unconscious due improper functioning of their mind and head caused by love. Among the Anywaa, the two main body parts functioning to regulate human consciousness are the *heart* and *head*. Heart functions for life consciousness reflected in the form of ādùùnnò 'soul', which is spiritual air. Because thinking and imagination make thing visible, the center of conscious is in the head, which links itself to eye, which also contributes to consciousness by seeing the world. Consciousness in the head is accompanied by spirituality. When an Anywaa goes mad, it is siad tímmɛ̀ ɔ̀kʌ̀lò'*The spiritual shadow of his/her head has been taken by a sorcerer'*. The Anywaa word for fontanel is also tìppò 'shadow', which is also believed to be used for breathing. A person without spiritual shadow, therefore, becomes unconscious. Similarly, as strong love brings irrationality, it makes an irrational lover unconscious of other things. That is why the Anywaa speak of mèèr wìà ākʌ̀lɛ̀ *'Love took my head'* , i.e *I'm unconscious due to love* (see also Perner,2003:78-80) .

7.13 LOVE IS DEATH

Higher intensity of love can metaphorically kill people. This implies an abnormal functioning of the body due to love intensity or longing. In fact, in real life, boys and girls commit suicide when love is stopped due to poverty, relation or hatred between families or lineage. The following linguistic metaphors in (398a-e) are evidences for LOVE IS DEATH.

(398a) ààn -nʌk mèèrr -ì
1SG kill love DEF
'I have been killed by the love.'

The speaker in (398a) is experiencing intense love and care for the lover. People who attract others for love are therefore conceptualized as KILLERS.

(b) mèèr á ʈ̪ɔ̀ɔ̀ jààkìɪtʃ -ù
love be death between 2PL
Lit. 'The love between you two is death.'
'You both love each other very much.'

Example (398b) implies that there are two lovers with both loving each other nearly equally with very strong love intensity. In fact, the metaphor can generally refer to unconscious behaviour caused by love. In (398b), the word jààkìɪtʃ 'between' implies the Anywaa's conception of love to exist between lovers and connects the lovers.

(c) tʃɔ̀ɔ̀w mō ʈ̪ɔ̀ɔ̀ʈ̪ ā -ʈ̪ɔ̀w kɪpɛr ātʃán rì mèɛ̀ŋ màn
males REL many PST die for Achan body of dance REL
àwʌʌrè
yesterday
Lit. 'During the yesterday's dance, many men died for Achan.'
'During the yesterday's dance, many men were very attracted by Achan.'

The implied meaning in (398c) is that many men fell in love with Achan as they were very attracted by her. Hence, AN ATTRACTIVE GIRL IS A KILLER BRINGING LOVE WHICH IS DEATH.

(d) jììn -ā -ŋìɛ̀l kàr káá -tʃà
2SG PST faint place where there
'You (2SG) fainted with love for me that time.'

Example (398d) underlies LOVE IS FAINT; A PERSON ATTRACTED WITH LOVE FAINTS. When a love partner becomes in a bad mood due to the absence of the other partner, others say tʌ́w mèèr 'The person is suffering from love disease'.

(e) d̪áágɔ̀ mán -ɛ̀tʃɛ̃ ānʌ́ʌ́ì
female DEM DIS killer
Lit. 'That girl is a killer.'
'That girl is very attractive.'

Example (398e) implies ATTRACTING A PERSON IS KILLING HIM/HER. The importance of love and lover can be conceptualized can be found in LOVE IS VALUABLE OBJECT as illustrated below in (399a&b):

(399a)	ōmééj	ɖááɲɔ̀	tʃààl	-à	kwàɲ	lìètʃ
	lover of	person	like	FOC	finding	elephant

'One's lover is like finding an elephant'

In example (399a), lover as an economic value like tusk or ivory as it is a matter of chance to choose a good lover. The bead locally called āwáágá 'white bead' plays a role as a source domain in which love and happiness is mixed. When a girlfriend becomes faithful to a boyfriend, she gives a string of white bead to her boyfriend. She therefore, expects this bead to be always worn by the boyfriend as she is faithful to her lover and has evidences that their romantic love relation will not stop. Such a bead is given when the lovers become faithful to each other. If a boy freind does not usually wear this string of bead, the girl becomes sad as it implies that the boy does not love her or he is not faithful to her. Example (399b) is worth mentioning to talk about the mix of love and happiness based on WHITE BEAD.

(b)	jì	-à	āwáágá[108]	kī	jì
	stomach of	1SG	white bead	with	2SG
Lit.	'My stomach is white bead with you'				
	'I am happy with you and I love you.'				

Example (399b) implies that the speaker loves the love partner as the behaviour is interesting to him/her. The metaphor is therefore composed of LOVE IS VALUABLE OBJECT and HAPPINESS IS WHITE BEAD. Because this bead is very important, during divorce, it may be given back to a female as there is no love relation again.

7.14 LOVE as FIRE

Heat and fire manifest themselves in LOVE IS FIRE. Intensity can be understood based on the impact it has on people. Fire burns people and causes pain. This pain serves as an experiential basis for love feeling and attitude. This implies that the metaphor EMOTIONAL PAIN IS UNDERSTOOD AS PHYSICAL PAIN is very broad in human conceptual system. When things or people are burned by fire, they function abnormally. Similarly, people who are attracted by others or those who fall in love with others act abnormally (Kövecses,1986:85). For example, in Anywaa a beautiful and attractive girl who has big clean or white eyes is called **āɲɛ̀ŋtʃúk**, which literally means *a beautiful girl whose eyes are glowing charcoals.* More often

[108] If a girl gives her string of bead to his lover boy, she tells this to her mother's co-wife (tʃì wʌ̀nnì) that there is a love relation between them. A girl tells the name of a boy to whom she has given the string of bead, because his mother's co-wife asks her when she does not see a string of bead around a girl's neck. If a boy is an evil-eyed or if there is a bad relation between a boy's and a girl's relatives, the co-wife tells the girl's mother and father so that the love relation is stopped. If a boy takes a girl's string of bead without her will, there will be a quarrel between the two as it implies forced love relation (marriage). Therefore, if a girl reports this to her parents, a boy should be beaten and give back the string of bead.

boys are afraid to tell their love to such a beautiful girl. They also act abnormally before talking to girls for romantic love. The following linguistic metaphors in (400)(-403c) illustrate LOVE IS FIRE.

(400)	mʌ̀ʌ̀ɖè	ā	-líɛ́l
	greeting	PST	burn
Lit.	'The greeting has burned.'		
	'The lovers have greeted themselves warmly.'		

The type of greeting in (400) is mʌ̀ʌ̀ɖ méér 'love greeting' in which lovers who separated for a long time have met again so that they greet each other warmly.

(401a)	ʧwíɲ	-ì	pʊ̀ʊ̀t	ná	mààtʃ	kìpɛ̀r	ʧì	-ì
	liver of	2SG	still	CON	fire	for	wife of	2SG
Lit.	'Your liver is still a hot fire for your wife.'							
	'You still love your wife very much.'							

The love metaphor in (401a) implies that the addressee man still loves his wife very much despite separation between them due to lack of dowry to be paid by him. The addressee man in (401a) has a lot of worries and much care for his wife. So, HIGH INTENSITY (OF LOVE) IS FIRE, LOW INTENSITY(OF LOVE) IS COLD; INTENSE LOVE IS FIRED LIVER.

(b)	mèèr	màr	-gɛ̀	pʊ̀ʊ̀t	nà	máátʃ	kìrɛ̆ɛ
	love of	of	3PL	still	CON	fire	really
Lit.	'Their love is really still fire.'						
	'Their love is still strong and stable.'						

The metaphor in (401b) clearly has the cognitive structural metaphor INTENSE LOVE IS FIRE, because we can infer that intensity of love in (401b) is still high. In Anywaa, when love intensity becomes increasing from time to time, it is called màà ābɔ̀w 'fire in a holow of a tree', which increases gradually until it makes the tree fall down. Like that in (401a), the lovers in (401b) have a lot of worries and much care for themselves, but example (401a) usually has more physiological and perceptual evidences of love intensity than example (401b). Example, (401b) can be argued to have higher structural metaphor than example (401a), because in (401b), we clearly map fire and its aspects onto love by using a great deal of knowledge about fire.

(402a)	dīʃʊ́ʊ́ɔ̀	ʧààl	-á	dʒɔ̀ŋ	mààtʃ
	male	like	FOC	warm oneself with fire	fire
Lit.	'Loving a male is like warming oneself with fire.'				
	'A male's initial love for a female is strong and positive but it later turns into quarrels.'				

The metaphor in (402a) is proverbial. It is usually uttered by wives for their husbands. Therefore, in (402a) dītʃʊ́ʊ́ɔ̀ 'male' stands for husband and ɖáágɔ̀ 'woman' stands for wife. When lovers are still young, they love each other and do not frequently fight/quarrel. However, after a husband takes the wife to his home, conflicts arise. Wives are more often beaten during those conflicts and are forced to leave the husband's home to go back where their mothers and fathers live.

During cold season, the Anywaa warm themselves with fire by using dry grasses and leaves. When it is very cold, and the intensity of fire is medial, people approach fire to stop cold. As the intensity of fire increases with the coming of the sun's heat, the people are burned and leave warming themselves. Similarly, when life with husband becomes difficult due to torture by the husband, the wife divorces him. So, Anywaa wives believe that living with husband is first favourable but become worse later. When fire becomes intense, it burns people and they go away from fire. This is called mààtʃ ānīdʒʌ̀ʌ̀r 'The fire has become intense'. When a husband becomes very aggressive by frequently beating the wife and dismissing her from his home, it is said dītʃʊ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ ānīdʒʌ̀ʌ̀r 'The husband has become an intense fire'.

(b)	mèèr	màr	-gɛ̀	ā	-tìmò	ná	bùr
	love	of	3PL	PST	become	CON	ash
Lit.	'Their love became ash.'						
	'The lovers totally separated.'						

Even if there are no glowing charcoals, ash can be hot but as fire can be totally extinguished and the ash becomes very cold, the love experience in (402b) implies cold love experienced and understood based on cold ash. Therefore, there is no body warmth felt by the lovers, because they no longer have body contact.

(403a)	d̪áágɔ̀	ààn	-ā	-ɲɛ̀b	-ɛ̀
	female	1SG	PST	burn	3SG
Lit.	'The girl burned me very intensely.'				
	'I was very attracted by the girl.'				

Anywaa girls with light skins like those of highlanders (e.g Amhara) are loved more as they are unique in the community. The use of fire as a source of brown skin and beauty, which trigger love and infatuation, can be seen in examples (403b&c) below:

(b)	wʌ̀ʌ̀d	-à	ʊ̀	-tʃo̤o̤ttọ̀	kī	ɲààn	mō	líél
	son of	1SG	PERF	marry:ACT	OBL	girl	REL	flame
	kīmár	mààtʃ						
	like	fire						
Lit.	'My son has married a girl who flames like fire.'							
	'My son has married a very beautiful and bright girl.'							

(c)	d̪áágɔ̀	mō	mààtʃ
	woman	REL	fire
Lit.	'A girl who is fire.'		
	'A very bright and beautiful/attractive girl.'		

The girl implied in (403b&c), is also referred to as ɲààn mō kwáár dɔ̀tʃ 'a very red girl', which means *a very brown and very beautiful girl*. The color of the girl is therefore the passion. However, āɲíbí 'burner' can be an attractive girl or boy despite the colour but the experiential base is a burning fire. Hence, (403a) has the cognitive metaphor ATTRACTING A PERSON IS BURNING HIM/HER; AN ATTRACTIVE PERSON IS A BURNER. Table 29 illustrates mappings for LOVE IS FIRE.

TARGET: LOVE	SOURCE: FIRE
person in love/ attracted person	burning object
cause of love	cause of fire
existence of love	burning of fire
love intensity	fire intensity
stopping love	extinguishing fire
a person affected by love	a person affected by fire

Table 29: LOVE as FIRE based on Kövecses (1986)

Fire burns people causing pain. When people are burned by fire, they function abnormally. People who are attracted by love also do not function normally. When fire is lit, it may suddenly burst into flame lasting for a short time. This helps to understand infatuation. But real love is fire which burns for a long time. Fire may be caused by wind, person, safety match, twirling, war or firing etc. Similarly, love may be caused by dancing together, advice by someone, assisting each other, etc. Like fire, love has beginning, existence and end (Kövecses,1986:2010).

7.15. LOVE as JOURNEY

According to Kövecses (1986:8), different journeys carried out for different purposes serve as source domain of love. There are two types of correspondences containing the relation between source and target domains. One is the ontological correspondences which exist between entities in the source domain and those in the target domain. These are the correspondences consisting of the frame, which is the basis of LOVE IS JOURNEY. The correspondence of stopping of journey to the stopping of love is an example of ontological correspondence. The other correspondence type is epistemic correspondence(s), which is (are) obtained between our knowledge of source domain and target domain. An example here is the concept of GOAL which appears in journey as we know that any journey has destination (Anudo and Kodak,2016:78-79). For example, āŋùùnn mèèr'love destination' implies the goal to marry each other, live together and have children or divorce. Below are the linguistic metaphors used to realize LOVE IS JOURNEY in Anywaa.

(404a)	wʌ́ʌ́t	-ɔ́gɔ́	nī	tʃaaʈ̪	-u	kī	tɔ̀ɔ̀r	-ì
	journey	that	REL:-DEFINE	travel	2SG	with	husband of	2SG
	ɛ́n	-ɔgɔ	ù	bá	píí	jà	āŋùùnn	-ɛ̀
	be	DIS	2PL	NEG	reach	in	end of	3SG

Lit. 'You will not the reach the destination of the journey of you and your husband.'
'The love relation(marriage) between you and your husband is not favourable.'

In example (404a), **wʌ̀ʌ̀ʈ̪** 'journey' metonymically stands for love. In a real life situation, a boyfriend or a grilfriend can go to the village where his/her lover lives. But in the initial stage of

love, a boy usually travels to the village where his girlfriend or the girl he has fallen in love with lives so that a girl believes that a boy truly loves her.

(b)	bʌ̀ŋ	dʒòo	ātʃíél	mō	máá	-è
	no	path	one	REL	catch	3SG
Lit.	'He/She does not take one road.'					
	'He/She has more lovers .'					

Example (404b) implies HAVING ONE LOVER IS TAKING THE SAME PATH; HAVING MORE LOVERS IS TAKING MORE ROADS; SEPARATION OF LOVERS IS TAKING DIFFERENT PATHS. Among the Anywaa, a divorced wife may marry another man in another village.

(c)	tʃwiɲ	-ì	tʃǎáa̱t	-á	kɔ̀ɔ̀r	ābʌ̀ŋ	kéér	-è
	liver of	2SG	walk	HAB	CON	Abang	only	3SG
Lit.	'Your liver is walking only after Ariet'							
	'You are giving more love attention only to Abang.'							

The love metaphor in (404c) is a compound; it has two primary metaphors which are LOVE IS LIVER and LOVE IS JOURNEY. More attention has been implied by liver of the man who loves Ariet very much. Thus, BECAUSE LIVER METONYMICALLY STANDS FOR THE LOVER MALE'S ATTENTION, IT WALKS AFTER ABANG. So, ATTENTION IS MOTION.

(d)	dá	gìì	mō	dī	tʃàrɔ̀	nī	wʌ̀ʌ̀d	-ì	tʃʌ̀ʌ̀n̰
	exist	things	REL	AUX	tell:FQ	that	son of	2SG	walk
	-ò	kɔ̀ɔ̀r	ɲīt̰íín̰						
	PROG	after	princess						
Lit.	'There are rumors that your son is walking after the king's daughter.'								
	'There are rumors that your son has fallen in love with the princess.'								

The speaker in (404d) is afraid and telling her/his fear and prediction to the mother or father of the son for there will be more dowries when the princess is married. If a boy follows a girl, it means the boy is in an initial stage of intimacy or talking to a girl about love relation but there may or there may not be evidences revealing that the girl has accepted the love. But if a girl follows a boy, the love relation has already started including sexual relation and the girl loves the boy more than the boy does to her. In such a situation, the girl is mostly dominated by the boy's decisions. Hence, unidirectionality. Yet the exepression nìinè t̰ɔ̀ɔ̀ 'SLEEP IS DEATH ' can also be uttered as t̰ɔ̀ɔ̀ nìinè 'DEATH IS SLEEP', which can be realized in níír t̰ɔ̀ɔ̀ 'death sleep'. Since both imply unconsciousness and not feeling pain, there is bidirectionality here.

(e)	ɲéjjà	ā	-kòò	nī	"kɛ̀r	-ì	dúú	kɔ́ɔ́r
	king	PST	say	QUOT	NEG	2SG	return:VENT	after
	ɲààr	-à	kĕ...t!"					
	daughter of	1SG	ngai...n					
Lit.	'The king said, "Don't come back to my daughter agai...n!"'							
	'The king told her daughter's lover boy not to form love relation with the daughter again.'							

The king's metaphor in (404e) presupposes that the boy who fell in love with the princess was warned before as there was love relation between them but did not consider the warning as

strong so that he started love with the princess again. The extension of the vowel **e** in kě...t 'again' as stronger emotion of warning than simply used with the basic word kèèt 'again/forever'. Such a warning is given after a boy is severely beaten. In the love relation process, a boy usually goes near where his lover girl lives so that a girl is called for him to talk to her for love issues.

(f)	ɲùòm	tʃáá̱ṯ	-ɔ̀	kɔ̀ɔr	-è
	marriage	walk	FOC	after	3SG
Lit.	'Marriage walks after its relative.'				
	'Marriage follows its relative.'				

The metaphor in (404f) has its real life actuality. When a woman is married, her relative may go to live with her where she was married, but after certain time, that girl may also be married there. They will live in the same village. However, a husband's relative does not marry a wife's relative. When love relation and progress is good, it is said as to be walking smoothly and when love relation stops, it is understood as love's stopping walking. Consider examples (405a&b).

(405a)	mèèr	tʃʌ̀ʌ̀ḏ	-í	nī	pɔ̀ɔ̀ṯ
	love	walk	HAB	CON	smooth
	'The love walks smoothly.'				
	'The love relation has a good progress.'				

The experience of the love relation in (405a) is based on dʒòò mō pɔ́ɔ́ṯ 'smooth road'. A BAD ROAD is also used as a source of love quality. For example, dʒòòrì ráátʃ 'Your road is bad' implies that the girl's/boy's romantic friend has bad behaviour or there is bad relation between the families of the two lovers or the boy is poor. Hence, bad love leading to bad marriage.

(b)	mèèr	màr	-gɛ̀	ā	-tʃùŋŋò
	love	of	3PL	PST	stop
Lit.	Their love relation has stopped walking.				
	'Their love relation has stopped.'				

Example (405b), which implies separation of lovers, is based on the stopping of a moving entity like a person. Among the Anywaa, when love relationship stops, both lovers and their relatives do not visit each other except for rare cases like mourning and visiting children.

GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT OF LOVE

In Anywaa, the gradual development and starting of love is based on small or narrow road, whose experience may come from narrowly opened eye. In Anywaa, the center of road (path) is called wàŋ dʒòò 'eye of road'. Hence, intensity of love is size of road. Consider the following example in (405c).

(c)	mèèr	ā	-tʃáá	-è	kī	dʒòò	mō	wî...t
	love	PST	start	3SG	with	road	REL	narrow
Lit.	'He started love in an extremely narrow road.'							
	'He started the love relation very gradually.'							

Example (405c) implies that the man started talking to the girl in simple or joking way, but later this led to romantic love relation. The low degree of love relation has been emphasized by the vowel extension in wî...t 'narro...w' and the falling tone. Hence, GRADUAL STARTING/DEVELOPMENT OF LOVE IS A VERY NARROW ROAD; DEGREE OF LOVE IS SIZE OF ROAD.

Kövecses (2010:122) puts as "When we map detailed additional and special knowledge of source domain elements onto target to interpret and understand conceptual metaphor clearly, this is called *metaphorical entailments*."This implies that metaphorical entailment is a detailed inference used in metaphor. So, based on (405c), we can make an experiential analogy that when we start clearing road, its center is small: similarly, in an intial stage, the confidence of speaking to each other and the intensity of love is low.

According to Anudo and Kodak (2017:171) love can be metaphorized as different modes of transportation like canoe, car, train and ship. The Anywaa examples of love understood in terms of JOURNEY takes CANOE as a cultural mode of transport. Below is table 30 providing the details of the mapping for **LOVE IS JOURNEY**.

TARGET: LOVE	**SOURCE: JOURNEY**
the lovers	the travellers
love relationship	vehicle
love events	journey
the progress made	distance covered
difficulties experienced	obstacles of journey
choices about what to do	decision about direction
goals of the relationship	destination of journey
love life style	path (direction)
stages of love process	stages of journey
love intensity	size of road
quality of love	quality of the road/journey
stopping love relation	stopping vehicle from moving

Table 30: Showing Mappings for Love IS JOURNEY (Kövecses, 2010: 9 and Abdullah, 2016:109)

By extending LOVE IS JOURNEY to LOVE IS MOTION EVENT, love can be used as PATH, FIGURE, GROUND or SOURCE. This forms an ontological metaphor of love. Since changes are motions and love is emotion, it falls under event structure metaphor classification (See also Anudo and Kodak, 2017 and 2010). Consider the following examples.

(406a)	mèèr	màn	-à	-póó̰t̪	-wà	kī	jì	-è
	love	REL	PST	pass	1PL:EXCL	through	stomach of	3SG
	mét	dɔ̀tʃ						
	tasty	DEG						
	'The love through which we passed was very tasty.'							
	'We experienced good love relation in the past time.'							

In (406a) LOVE IS PATH and the reason for which delicious food is used is to show the good progress of love and its intensity. In Anywaa, a very smooth road is also said to be dʒòò mō mɛ́t 'A delicious road'. Hence, GOOD IS TASTY. The meaning here is that the love relation spent by the lovers was good in the past. Example (406a) generally underlies EXPERIENCING LOVE IS PASSING THROUGH CERTAIN PATH.

(b)	mèèr	már	-á	kī	jì	kʌ̀l	-á	tʃwíɲ	-à
	love	of	1SG	with	2SG	come from	FOC	liver of	1SG
Lit.	'My loving you comes from my liver.'								
	'I really love you from the bottom of my heart.'								

In (406b) LOVE IS FIGURE coming from liver; this is a very real love as opposed to one which comes from stomach/mouth. If a boy tells a girl for the first time that his love comes from his liver, he tastes a piece of soil or dust with the meaning that if he lies, he will die. Hence, example (406b) makes liver the SOURCE for love as FIGURE. Females are usually easily convinced with the metaphor (406b) as the Anywaa do not have lie in their livers.

(c)	wà	kʌ̀l	-á	jī	mèèr	mō	dɔ́ɔ́ŋ	dɔtʃ
	1PL:EXCL	come from	FOC	stomach of	love	REL	big	DEG
Lit.	'We came from the stomach of very big love.'							
	'We experienced very high love.'							

In (406c) the inner part of love being its STOMACH, which implies love state, is SOURCE of motion as experiencing love. The implied meaning is that the lovers experienced good love with high intensity in the past time. So, STOPPING LOVE IS COMING OUT OF LOCATION.

(d)	mèèr	ā	-láár	rìŋ	tʃwíɲ	-á
	love	PST	do quickly	run:VENT	liver of	1SG
Lit.	'Love ran into my liver very quickly.'					
	'I quickly became infatuated.'					

In (406d), the tense is present as the ventive verb rìŋ 'run toward' implies. The current experience of love is faster and stronger due to beauty or attraction of the person seen. With help of itive and ventive motion verbs to express reestablishing love after divorce, love can be understood based on ITIVE AND VENTIVE MOTION CARRIED OUT BY LOVE, THE FIGURE. Consider examples (407a&b).

(407a)	mèèr	már	tʃì	-è	ā	-dɔ̀ɔ̀	tʃwíɲ	-è
	love	of	wife of	3SG	PST	return:ITV	liver of	3SG
Lit.	'His love for his wife returned to his liver.'							
	'He has fallen in love with his former wife, whom he divorced.'							

Example (407a) implies that the husband and wife separated but the husband started loving the woman again. The itive verb dɔ̀ɔ̀ 'return way', implies that the man loved the woman again in the past and the speaker is now away from this man, who has started love with the woman again. Thus, the speaker may use words like jààwʌ̀ʌ̀rɛ 'yesterday 'or kàr kààtʃà 'that time.'

(b)	mèèr	már	tʃì	-è	ā	-dùù	tʃwíɲ	-è
	love	of	wife of	3SG	PST	return:VENT	liver of	3SG

Lit. 'The love of his wife (has) returned to his liver.'
'He has fallen in love with his wife again.'

Example (407b) implies that the man and his wife separated for a long time but the man has now started to love the woman to marry her again. The ventive verb dùù 'return to' implies that the man has recently restarted the love with the woman and this man and the speaker are in the same place. Thus, NEAR (PRESENT) IS VENTIVE; FAR (PAST) IS ITIVE.

Different sources mostly reveal different aspects of concepts. For example, NUTRIENT and JOURNEY metaphors capture different aspects of the concept LOVE. The main issue that the nutrient metaphor addresses is NEED, while the journey metaphor elaborates the aspects of PROGRESS, DIFFICULTY and GOAL. Therefore, different metaphors emphasize different aspects of a concept but an overlap between the aspects highlighted by different metaphors are also sometimes possible (Kövecses,2010).

7.16 LOVE as SUPERNATURAL BEING

People worship different gods. This experience is used for understanding love and respect between people. The special significance of deity lies in the fact that it evokes emotion concepts associated with love. These concepts include RESPECT, ADIMIRATION, DEVOTION, SACRIFICE and ENTHUSIASM. There is natural link between PRAISE OF GOD and RESPECT, ADIMIRATION, WORSHIP and DEVOTION which all presuppose enthusiasm. If I admire you, I adore and I am devoted to you (Kövecses, 1986). Consider examples (408a-e).

(408a)	mííò	dʒʊ̀ɔ̀k	ná	wʌ̀ŋ	gwìɛ̀nɔ̀
	mother	God	as	say	chicken

Lit. 'Mother is God, as the chicken said.'
'Mother's love is like God.'

Among the Anywaa, mother's love is conceptualized in terms of God's love of people and other creatures. Mothers love children more than fathers do. During famine, danger and diseases, mothers care for children. During famine, adults may sometimes not eat but very small food can be prepared for children. During war, children are put in the house but mother may be sitting in front of a door thinking that children should survive but she must die. Also mothers sleep on

their children so that danger will not reach them. The personification metaphor in (408a) clearly, comes from chicken. When it rains and becomes cold, chickens run under the wings of their hen (mother) and are protected but those who do not have mothers suffer from cold and cry . During this time their cry is interpreted by the Anywaa as mííó dʒʊ́ɔ́k!, mííó dʒʊ́ɔ́k!' *Mother is God!; Mother's (love) is God!*' Children whose mothers are not alive usually suffer from lack of mother's care and protection.

(b)	mèèr	ā	-tìmò	ná	dʒʊ̀ɔ̀k	dèèt	-gɛ̀
	love	PST	become	CON	God	bodies of	3PL
Lit.	'Love has become god/GOD in their body.'						
	'Their love is very strong and very respected by them.'						

The love metaphor in (408b) is based on much respect between the lovers. Supernatural beings are respected by providing them with charms of beads, goats, bulls and chicken. Gods are also provided with the bloods charms so that they drink them.

(c)	dʊ̀ʊ̀nʌʌ	jìin	-à-	-ɖáánɔ̀	à	dì	-ì	làmɔ̀	dɔ̀tʃ
	if	2SG	be	humanbeing	1SG	AUX	2SG	worship	DEG
	kírɛ̌ɛ								
	really								
	'If you were a real human being, you would have really worshipped me very well.'								

The implied meaning in (408c) is that the speaker loved and did a lot of good things for the addressee but the addressee still does not like him or her and ignores the benefits. The metaphor is motivated by both experience and context. Thus, both the addresser and addressee have understood each other. This supports what Sinha (1999), regarding meaning and context in cognitive linguistics mentions as *"Meaning is a mapping between a linguistically conceptualized situation, and conceptually motivated expression, making the hearer understand it, in the context of what the message is about, i.e the meaning intended by the speaker."*

(d)	ɲààr	-è	èè	tììò	káámár	ɲī	dʒʊ̀ɔ̀k
	daughter of	3SG	PERF	treat	like	child of	God
	'She loves her daughter like godchild.'						

Twins, who are also called ɲíí dʒʊ̀ɔ̀k 'God's children' are very loved and cared by fulfilling their needs and charms. Thus, special love is given to them like god's children.

(e)	dèèr	-è	éé	tììò	ná	gʊ̀ʊ̀gɔ̀
	body of	3SG	PERF	make	as	Googo
Lit.	'He has made himself Googo.'					
	'He loves himself very much.'					

The love metaphorized in (408e) is vanity. Googo god can be found in Pohol village and Othwonh village, which is along Owach river. The god requires the charms of white and other beads with varied colours. This god dislikes direct language; for example, the ordinary word bèèr 'mosquitoes' is lwáŋŋí 'flies' for it when people are in its forest called lùr gʊ̀ʊ̀gɔ̀ 'forest of Googo'.

The god also does not allow carrying heavy thing on head but on shoulders. If offended like using direct language, gʊ̀ʊ̀gɔ̀ brings long lasting rain or it sends a swarm of bees to sting a person or people.

The examples in (408a-e) are frequently used to portray lovers to show that their feeling of love are strong that in many cases they cannot feel the wrong doings of their lovers. Furthermore, in such love case there is only one beloved who is the locus of the devotion of the lover. The source domain of of LOVE IS DEITY/SUPERNATURAL is very common in daily life and easily understood. It is more concrete than love due to worshipping, songs, charms, physical forms and materials (Anudo and Kodak, 2017) .

7.17 LOVE as SOCIAL SUPERIORITY

According to Kövecses (2004), metaphor with source domain of social superiority makes the self irrational (though rational before the struggle) and the self has come under the control of emotion or emotion object.“ The idea of the metaphor here does not refer to a temporary state or action experienced by a person. Instead, the metaphor makes love a superior being who controls the behaviour of a person so that he/she is led by emotion but not reason (Rajeg, 2016:76) and Kövecses (2000:71).” The conceptual metaphor LOVE IS SOCIAL SUPERIORITY coincides with the cultural belief among the Anywaa that LOVE/MARRIAGE IS POLITICS, WHOSE POWER IS IN THE HAND OF A HUSBAND. For detail, the following examples have been provided to illustrate LOVE IS SOCIAL SUPERIORITY.

(409a) dīʈʃʊ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ dììm ká mèèr
male colonize with love
'Man is colonized with love.'

Example (409a) implies that the speaker is a female. In fact, this metaphor is a part of women's proverb used to advise wives to control, attract and cheat husbands romantically. If a woman loves a husband very much, he becomes very friendly and easy to order him. But women cannot use their physical forces to dominate husbands as they are mostly physically weak.

(b) ōʈʃálá ā -dáá bʌ̀ʌ̀t kèènnò
Ochala PST migrate:ITV on hearth
'Ochala migrated away to live near hearth.'

METONYMICALLY, HEARTH STANDS FOR A WOMAN. Males are expected to stay in firepalce and discuss issues like marriage issues, war plan and interpretation of ominous signs or augury, which are hidden from females. They also stay there to eat in group. If a male spends most of his times with his wife near hearth, he is said to have become a woman as a result of the

wife's domination of him through love. Hence, stronger love makes a person inferior due to much respect he/she gives to the other's love request. A wife is also not allowed to stay in the fireplace unless she is there for a while by providing food to men or for a brief case.

(c)	ōmɔ̀d	ò	-ɲɔ̀ɔ̀n	mèèrr	-ì	pìɲ
	Omod	PERF	step on	love	DEF	down
Lit.	'The love has stepped on Omod.'					
	'Omod has been controlled/colonized by love.'					

The meaning implied in (409c) is that Omod's wife controlled him with indirect use of love. Hence, most of resources of Omod are provided to her and her relatives. The peaker in (409c) is mostly interpreted to be Omod's relative complaining for not having benefit from Omod. Such a husband can be insulted by wife but does not react.

(d)	ātwáát	ɲī	-káŋ	tʃa̰tt	-ɔ̀	kɔ̀ɔr	ōmèèr
	lazy and passive	daughter of	fallow	follow:FQ	FOC	after	lover
	'The controlled lover is following her lover.'						

Literally, ātwáát is a white object/maize and nītwáát is to become white or ashy. Because passive people are lazy as they do not clean their body well and smear them with cultural oil, they are ashy. Thus, people who are controlled are lazy and ashy they do not react. That is why they are also called ābùùr (PL. ābùùrrì). The kind of love in (409d) is called mééj ŋɛ̀ɛ̀w rɔ̀k 'love of selling oneself'. The word ɲīkaŋ 'daughter of fallow' suggests that the dominated female is native to village which has fallow. In such a love relation, one lover becomes subordinate and loves the partner by benefiting him/her while he/she is not clearly loved and benefited. Regarding the romantic love relation between a boy and a girl, in certain instances, a boy may feel inferior to attract a girl during the first stage of love process, but a girl can still determine to refuse despite a boy's making himself inferior to her.

Love as social superiority can also be seen in the use of love in the idealized cognitive models of CHIEFDOM and NOBILITY of Anywaa as follows in (410a&b):

(410a)	tʃʊ̀ɔr	-ɛ̀	ɛ́ɛ́	tìì̀ò	káámár	wá	ārìɛ̀d
	husband of	3SG	PERF	treat	like	son of	Aried
Lit.	'She is treating her husband like Ariet's son.'						
	'She treats her husband like Comarade Mengistu Haile Mariam.'						

(b)	ɲùòm	már	-gɛ̀	ɛ́	-gì	wɔ̀rɔ̀	dɔ̀tʃ	kàámár	wʊ́
	marriage	of	3PL	PERF	3PL	respect	DEG	like	son of
	dīkààŋ								
	Dikang								
	'They are highly respecting their love like son of Dikaang.'								

The Anywaa examples in (409a-d) & (410a&b) imply that one person comes under the control of one lover or love takes control over the other. The two examples in (410a&b) remind us of political system of Anywaa. In example (410a), the husband is loved and highly respected like

Comarade Mengistu[109] Hailemariam. As social government, when the regime of Comarade Mengistu came in 1974, many things were changed among the Anywaa. Examples include sharing the lands previously occupied by kings, avoiding inter-village wars and using money as dowry instead of beads, spears and cattle. The Anywaa community is socialist. So, when Comarade Mengistu became the president in (1974/1975), he was given an Anywaa mother name Ariet and called mìŋgìtʃú wá ārìɛ̀d 'Mengistu, the son of Ariet'. This was because Ariet is the firstborn mother and Mengistu was considered to be the first socialist president, whose political system coincides with the sociocultural practices of the Anywaa in which things are shared resulting in higher respect for him. When the EPRDF came with the late Prime Minister Meles Zenawi, he was given mother Ajulu and called mʌlʌ̀tʃò wá ādʒùlù 'Meles, the son of Ajulu' as he is the second leader to the Anywaa due to introducing democracy, which the Anywaa call **ākúóm ɲwààk** 'government of sharing'.

In example (410b) on the other hand, love or marriage[110] is conceptualized as king Agada, who ruled Adongo after his father ākwàj wō tʃààm 'Akway Cham'. The reason why he is called with his mother's name Dikang is that kings have no ancestral father or ancestors as their ancestor Ochudho went back to the river. They are cared by their maternal uncles. Kings are very respected and loved as they were sent by God to rule the people. When he makes a mistake to a wife's relative, it is the ground in the palace that is beaten by the king's maternal uncle but the king is not beaten. While a commoner is addressed by his name, her name or pronouns like **ɲé** 'You, MASC and **ɲá** you, 'FEM', a king is addressed as tʃìbɛ́ɛ́r 'good person'. Further, kings have their honorific words. For example, the ordinary word for house is **ɔ̀tɔ̀** but that of a king is ōwɛ́ɲɔ́, the ordinary word for eyes is ɲɛ̀ŋ (SG, wàŋ) but a king's eyes are called pɔ̀ɔ̀l (Lit. clouds). While the ordinary word for spoon is āpààl, that for a king is tʃɔ̀ò (Lit.bone).

Very respected husbands are treated with social superiority. A husband 's porridge is put in a big decorated gourd and the stew is put in decorated pot. Both pot and gourd may be smeared with

[109]Personal names of Anywaa like dʌ́rg 'Derg' Miŋgitʃu 'Mengistu, gwáád 'comarade', tʃɔ̀ɔ̀tʃáál social, máábʌ̀r 'association' ābìjɔ̀t' revolution' and tíkìdʌ́m 'Let her move first' indicate that the names were borrowed from the Amharic vocabularies used during the Derg era. In different situations, people create metaphors, for example in churches, the Anywaa conceptualize God's love as First-born children like ōmɔ̀d, ōrìɛ̀d or ārìɛ̀t, because God's love is the first to be given due attention for life as we care more for a first-born child.

[110] People who have marriage relation fear and respect each other highly in many aspects. For example, they do not eat or drink together for debates may arise. Also, they do not bathe in the same harbour as it is shame to see a marriage kin's genitals. The word ɲɛ́jjá 'king' has its historical meaning *that man*, used to refer to ōtʃúúɖó, the king's father, who stole away back to the river after conceiving kɔ̀ɔ̀rì, chief' tʃwʌ̀ʌ̀j's daughter.

butter. When providing food to a husband, a wife kneels down and puts down the food near him but does not say tʃàm ènɔ̀gɔ̀ 'Here is the food', because telling him that the food is near him seems an insult. Also, respected husbands are addressed as wʌ́ʌ́ ōmɔ́tí ' the Omod's father'. Bull names are also used to respect husbands. For example, if the husband's bull has the colour similar to that of crocodile he is addressed as ɲààŋ 'crocodile' or āŋíélŋèèt̪ɔ̀ 'that which is dying of laughing' as the crocodile widely opens its mouth while warming itself with the sun in sand. In fact, a wife is also repected as míí ōdʒúlú Ojulu's mother or based on father's bull name. Example, if the wife's father has the bull name whose colour is similar to ibis, she is addressed with honour as ɲò-ōkùòm, which literally means DAUGHTER OF IBIS. This in turn makes a husband respected in a mother's father bull name as wò ɲìkwàtʃ 'son of a leopard daughter' used to address and respect a husband whose mother's father has a bull name whose colour is similar to that of kwàtʃ 'leopard'.

The experience of political domination can also be found in love is SOCIAL SUPERIORITY caused by forced marriage. In such a love relation, a wife is controlled and lives oppressed doing things devoid of his/her interest. In the following poetic or unconventional metaphor song in (411a-f), LOVE IS SLAVERY.

(411a)	mèèr	à	láŋ	ààà					
	love	be	slavery	INTER					
	Alas!love is slavery.'								
(b)	wààn	-ō-	-ŋèèt̪	-à	nìdìì?				
	1PL:EXCL	FUT	laugh	1PL:EXCL	how				
	'How are we going to laugh?'								
(c)	tièŋŋ	-à	gèbèèt	d̪ááɲ̪ɔ̀	wʌ̀ʌ́ó	kō	ōmééj	-è	
	peers of	1SG	all	person	converse	OBL	lover of	3SG	
	'All of my peers converse with their peer lovers.'								
(d)	wà	ŋèèt̪	-í	kī	dʒààl	mō	jì	-è	
	1PL:EXCL	laugh	HAB	with	old man	REL	stomach of	3SG	
	kùù	-á	jɔ̂ɔ						
	not know	1SG	INTER						
	' But I am laughing with an old man, whom I don't know his stomach.'								
(e)	tíí	-ì	kī	kùùlè	kéélll	-á	t̪àarìpá	kī	jī
	do	2SG	OBL	small jobs	even	FOC	five cents	within	in
	dwʌ̀ʌ̀j								
	moon								
	'Even if you earn five cents in a month, do small jobs.'								
(f)	ààn	-ō	-ŋʌ̀ʌ̀d̪ò	kīpér	-ì	tʃɔ̀k	-à		
	1SG	FUT	believe	for	2SG	sibling of	1SG		
	'I do believe you, my brother.'								

As can be understood from the first line (411a) of the poem, the slave is Akeek Gilo who was married to her peer Wiith before. Because she knew her peer Wiith, the marriage was based on her will. However, because the young husband was poor, she was forced to be married by a rich

old man by being taken to him although she was not interested in the marriage. The reason for which Akeek conceptualized love with the old man as SLAVERY was due to her suffering like a slave. Because the old man doubted that she might be married by a young man or she might return to her young husband Wiith, whenever she stays outside by playing with other girls, the old man forces Akeek to go to bed very early. In addition, when she wants to go to another village to attend weeding ceremony or to visit her relatives, Akeek is prevented, beaten with a butt of gun. Sometimes a gun may be fired above her as death warning.

The use of SLAVERY as source domain of love created by Akeek in a new and original way implies that she used extension technique of creating her original unconventional metaphor LOVE IS SLAVERY, which is newer and rarer than LOVE IS SOCIAL SUPERIORITY. The source of love as slavery has been directly used by Akeek to portray herself as a slave in the love relation between her and the old man. (See Kövecses,2010:49). In lines of (411b&d) of the poem, one reason why Akeek mentions the difficulty of laughing is that old men do not have clean teeth. One of the elements which beautify and intensify the love of young lovers is laughing with clean teeth leading to attracting a partner.

Furthermore, old people do not wear clean clothes and this brings bad smell. They also smoke water pipe and Anywaa cigarette called kútkút making their body smell like tobacco, which is unfavouarble to a (young) girl. In (411d), Akeek mentions as wà ŋèèti kī dʒààl mō jìè kùùà 'I'm laughing with an old man, whose stomach I do not know' to imply that she did not know his actual love and overall attitude of the old man as they did not grow up in the same village nor did they know each other in public dance place with drum. Therefore, contextually to know the stomach of the old man means to know how much the old man loved Akeek although the general use refers to knowing one's attitude for someone. In fact, lovers who started their love at youth age love at each other without doubt as they had adequate times to know each other and evaluate themselves. As a young husband, Wiith did small jobs like fishing, farming and other small jobs so that he accumulated money and returned the dowry of the old man so that they remarried.

The small earnings by Wiith have been metaphorically emphasized by Akeek as tààrìpà'five cents', which she mentioned in line (411e) by advising her young ex-husband to do small jobs to accumulate money to return the old man's dowry so that their former marriage will be reestablished.

As young husband, Akeek trusted Wiith a lot and that is why she calls him tʃòkà 'my brother' as mentioned in line (411f) to conceptualize Wiith as her faithful husband. The Anywaa word tʃóógò generally means sibling in English. With the favourable life and freedom she obtained, Akeek had three children with her actual husband Wiith. In general, it can be deduced from Akeek's song that the concept of slavery is also used by ordinary people in a different way from this poem about her forced marriage. Therefore, to Akeek, the old man was not her true lover. According to Kövecses (2009:185-186), POETIC CREATIVITY IS A NEW WAY OF SEEING. The idea that the general physical, biological, mental, emotional, etc situation of a poet can influence the way a poet writes or sings a poem is well known and is usually considered while appreciating poetry (see also Steen, 2010 & 2011).

7.18 LOVE as FORCE

The concept of love as force initiates struggle between opponents. The idea and image of natural forces like wind, storm and flood are present here. If we are dragged away by a big wave, there is nothing much we can do about it since the wave is very forceful with great impact on the object. This is what NATURAL FORCE metaphor mainly highlights. Kövecses (2000, 2002) and Rajeg (2016). Based on Kövecses (2004), love understood based on force has the following two major conceptual metaphors: THE PERSON AFFECTED BY LOVE IS THE PERSON AFFCETED BY FORCE AND THE EFFECT OF LOVE IS THE PHYSICAL EFFECT OF FORCE. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980:49) cited in Rajeg (2016:75), electromagnetic and gravitational forces are regarded as physical forces metaphorically applied to understand LOVE. Kövecses (2000:37) also proposes other forms of love force based on physical forces like heat, the attraction of bodies, abrupt physical contact between bodies and the like. The major emotional aspect expected to be of PHYSICAL FORCE metaphor is PASSIVITY. To understand LOVE IS FORCE clearly, the linguistic metaphors of Anywaa have been given in (412a)-(416b).

(412a)	mèèr	ārìɛ̀d	ā	-kɔ̀ɔ̀l	dì	nùʌ̀ʌ̀r
	love	Aried	PST	blow:ITV	center of	Nuer

'Love blew away Aried to the center of Nuerland.'

In example (412a), the implied meaning is that Aried was married to a Nuer man and taken away to the center of countryside in Nuerland, where almost no Anywaa lived in. The itive verb **kɔ̀ɔ̀l** 'blow away' implies that the speaker was not in Nuer area where Aried was taken by her Nuer husband. The word dì 'center of' also implies that the very traditional Nuer life was where Aried

was in and it is difficult to find an Anywaa there. Briefly, in example (412a) LOVE IS WIND FORCE as it is clued by the itive verb kɔ̀ɔ̀l 'blow away'.

(b)	t̪àr	-è	bá	mʌ̀g	-í	bùùt	dʒɔ̀	mɔ̀ɔ̀k
	butt of	3SG	NEG	attract	HAB	near	people	other
Lit.	'His/Her butt is not gravitationally attaracted by the soil near other people.'							
	'He/She does not sit where her lover does not exist.'							

The example (412b) metaphorizes love as GRAVITATIONAL FORCE in soil, which attracts a person's butt due to love. The experience comes from sitting near a lover for long time but sitting near other people for little time as a girl usually likes being together with her husband.

Sometimes source domain of MAGNET is used and clued by the verb **gàm** 'to magnetize' which metaphorically signifies TO BE ROMANTICALLY ATTARCTED. So, love is a MAGNETIC FORCE. Although the verb **màk** can be used to mean magnetize, it has generic sense as it can mean stop, hold, receive, trap and catch something like a ball, tree, animal and person . In the love process among the Anywaa, tùùd 'pull' to mean to attract usually happened to males, i.e a male is pulled (attracted) by a female. Hence, LOVE IS A STRONGER ATTRACTIVE FORCE, TO BE ATTRACTED BY LOVE IS TO BE PULLED BY LOVER(GIRL), THE PERSON WHO IS ATTRACTED IS THE ONE WHO IS PULLED AND THE PERSON WHO ATTRACTS THE OTHER IS THE PULLER.

(c)	mèèr	ààn	-à	pɛ́ɛ́	-è	báŋ	kùù
	love	1SG	PST	lead a blind	3SG	to	thief
Lit.	'Love made me blind and led me to the thief.'						
	'Love confused me and made me married to the thief.'						

Example (412c) implies that the speaker female might/might not have known that the man was a thief but love and advantages like money forced her to be married by him. The very good clue here is pɛ̀ɛ̀tʃ 'lead a blind' whose stem is {pɛ́ɛ́-} 'lead a blind'. So, example (412c) has physical human force of a non-blind person leading a blind. The example in (412c) has two primary metaphors: LOVE BLINDS PEOPLE and LOVE LEADS A BLIND.

(d)	ààn	-à	-pʌ́t̪	tʃɛ̋r	dīt̪ʃʊ̀ɔ̀ɔ	mʊ̄	ráátʃ
	1SG	PST	fall in	hand of	husband	REL	bad
Lit.	'I fell in the hand of bad husband.'						
	'I have been married to a bad man.'						

The speaker woman in (412d) who is leading bad life with her bad husband. The experience is based on an object thrown away and falls in a bad place or a person's hand. The use of TACTILE EXPERIENCE to understand LOVE in Anywaa can be illustrated in (413a&b) as follows:

(413a)	ààn	-à	-màk	mèèrr	-ì	ká	āt̪ʃàlà	dɔ̀t̪ʃ
	1SG	PST	catch	love	DEF	with	Achala	DEG
Lit.	'Love strongly caught me with Achala.'							
	'I have been attracted by Achala.'							

In (413a), the word màk 'catch' evokes physical force of human being, who catches things with with his/her stronger hands as clued by the degree word dɔ̀tʃ 'very' evoking bá lɔ́ɲ wɛ́tʃ 'I cannot leave her'. Therefore, in (413a) love is mainly conceptualized as physical force of a person touching and catching things. Thus, the self or the speaker in (413) has become irrational and weak as he is caught by love, whose force is physically based on catching (see also Kövecses, 2000) and Rajeg (2016). Based on the force in (413a), we can infer that the speaker in (413a) is a male who loves Achala very much or he will ask her for starting love issue with Achala.

(b)	tʃwíɲ	-ì	ā	-gùt	mèèrr	-ì
	liver of	2SG	PST	touch	love	DEF
Lit.	'Your liver has been touched by love.'					
	'You have strongly fallen in love (with the girl).'					

In example (413b), the addresser clearly knows that the addressee is strongly attracted by the other partner like a girl and therefore loves her very much. So, it is difficult for the addressee to leave the girl or partner while they have started the relation. In such a context, a boy will ask the girl if love is in an initial stage. The metaphor experience in (413b) is based on the physical force of TOUCHING THINGS WITH HANDS. If an object is strongly touched, it may move or fall down. Generally, in Anywaa gùt tʃwìɲ 'touching liver' can metaphorically mean intensifying anger, offending or arousing an interest. Like in other communities, the Anywaa think that the strongest love force is GOD'S FORCE as can be illustrated in (414) below:

(414)	mééj	ārìèd	kī	tʃʊ́ɔ́r	-ɛ	tèèg	-è	dʒʊ̀ɔ̀k
	love of	Ariet	and	husband of	3SG	force	3SG	God
Lit.	'The strength of the love between Ariet and her husband is God.'							
	'There is a very strong love relation between Ariet and her husband.'							

In a strong love relation like that in (414), lovers respect each other very well and are very polite to each other. Further, in such love relation, what is needed by a partner is fulfilled soon as we immediately fulfill any request by God/god. Generally, the love relation in example in (414) cannot be stopped as the God's power cannot be reduced. So, in example (414) LOVE IS GOD'S FORCE, which is the strongest force.

According to Johnson (1987) physical appearance also contributes to sexual attraction and sexual acts. The relation between physical appearance and sexual attraction involves the projections of physical objects onto our experience of sexual motivation, activity and causal interaction. Therefore, a girl's butt, eyes, legs and piercing breasts strongly attract a boy leading to his raping her. Hence, PHYSICAL APPEARANCE IS A PHYSICAL FORCE.

In some cases, a woman may not know that she is attracting her male lover but in other cases, a woman knows that she is looking really good and she will use that beauty and flaunt it by creating good vibe. A woman therefore uses her appearance as physical force to exert on him. Hence, based on folk and scientific models, the following conceptual metaphors are worth forming: SEXUAL EMOTION NATURALLY RESULTS IN SEXUAL ACTIVITY, SEXUAL EMOTION IS A NATURAL RESPONSE TO BEING ACTED UP ON BY PHYSICAL FORCE, SEXUAL ATTRACTION AND SEXUAL EMOTION RESULT IN IMMORAL ACTIVITIES LIKE RAPING OR FORCED KISSING (See also Johnson, 1987: 8-12).

In Anywaa, the conceptual metaphors LOVE IS ELECTRIC FORCE and LOVE IS AN EYE'S FORCE can be linguistically illustrated in (415a&b).

(415a)	tʃwíŋ	-à	ā	-dííŋ	mèèrr	-ì
	liver of	1SG	PST	electrify	love	DEF
Lit.	'The love electrified my liver.'					
	'Love has made me passive.'					

In example (415a), love is an electric force making the speaker loving the partner very much by electrifying the liver. The very obvious frame is ādíŋŋá 'the electric fish 'which electrifies people when it is touched after it has been caught with hook or fishing net. The word díìŋ 'electrify' in relation to electric fish gives a good clue to predominant cultural practice. However, to an Anywaa in urban area, ELECTRICITY serves as an experiential basis for the metaphor in (415a) although it is a recent cultural practice among the Anywaa. The implied meaning in (415a) is that the speaker was aggressive before but became polite or happy and passive due to his/her high love for his/her partner.

(b)	ārìɛ̀d	ā	-màk	wàŋ	-à
	Ariet	PST	catch	eye of	1SG
Lit.	'Ariet has been caught by my eye.'				
	'I have been attracted by Aried.'				

The type of love force illustrated in (415b) is VISUAL FORCE. The metaphor implies that the speaker man has seen Ariet and he was attracted by her. Thus, Ariet has become fit to speaker's eye as he is usually looking at her. Although the physical force can have implicit human attributes in the aforementioned love metaphors as physical force, the very remarkable love as force is found in metaphors in which love has human attributes which are peculiar to Anywaa community. In doing so, love is given clan, ancestral bull or geographical reference. To elucidate such metaphorization in Anywaa, consider the following linguistic metaphors in (416a&b).

(416a)	mèèr	wà	ākwʌ̀ɲì	tɔ̀ŋɔ̀	kɛ́ɛ́	ɖ̱áá ɲ̱ɔ̀	tʃáṯ
	love	son of	select	egg	really	person	make wander
	-è	tʃáṯ	-ɔ̀				
	3SG	make wander	IFT				

'Love, the son of uncrowned king lineage/clan, can make a lover wander.'

(b)	mèèr	kwátʃáár	ààn	a	-tʃîp	pìɲ
	love	grandson of white bull	1SG	PST	put down	

Lit. The love, whose grandfather's bull is white and whose mother's name is Ajulu has put me down.

'Love has given me a good life due to good marriage.'

In (416a), love is personified for its physical force in making a male lover wander from village to village by following his girlfriend. At night, girls converse in a group in one home so that when a girl is called by his boyfriend, it is difficult to go to him in the presence of her peers as this may be known by the other girls. So, until she comes out and meets her, a boy wanders by coming and going back. The praising or honorification of love in (416a) is uttered by tracing a male's relationship to a grandfather. The literal meaning of pààk is to sharpen something. This type of love honorification is used to give supplementary identity through the sides of mother and father. Hence, boys obtain their pááè 'love praisings' from their mothers clan ancestor and girls obtain their honorific titles from their fathers clan ancestor. This is important for boys to remember their mothers and maternal uncles who may have contribution in one's existence. Mothers and fathers are remembered through kinship ties.

When girls are married, they are taken away to the husband's village. So, they should remember their fathers or male relatives through the honorification of pááɛ[111]. Therefore, a boy whose

[111]During traditional dancing with drum, before dancing in pairs, girls and boys ask páágí à ŋɔ́ɔ́ní'What is your ancestral honorific title?'This used so that relatives will not marry each other because people with similar honorific titles based on clan are not allowed to marry each other. This is now adays declining though. The Anywaa also use geographical or ecological reference of one's mother's village or place of origin. This reference is locally called tèèŋ. This refrencing is used for respect or honour by clarifying a clan's faction by elucidating the degree of relatedness bewteen a man and girls of mother's clan. Such a praising is also used to physically situate the sphere of one's mother's existence by emphasizing one's own sphere of existence and increasing spiritual intensity of a person's life. Thus, it gives physical and psychological power to the loved person honorified and praised. Examples include wɛ́ɲdɔ̀ɔ̀dɔ̀ 'A boy whose mother's village has dɔ̀ɔ̀dɔ 'clay' '. On the other hand, wɛ́ɲdʒáá is a boy whose mother's native village has more suassage trees (dʒààè). Similarly, wɛ́ɲkùt is a boy whose mother's village has kùt 'deep part of a river'. wɛ́ɲákóóllá is a refrence to a boy whose mother is native to Itang Bura, which owns lake Akolla. Wɛ́ɲádóóŋó is a reference to a boy whose mother is a native of Adongo village but the boy is native to his father's native village. Such a boy is a known as wò ɲàkɔ̀ɔ̀ 'son of a native girl'. The Anywaa word wɛ́ has its English equivalent *son of* and ɲī means *daughter of,* which is followed by the physical environment. Its formal form is wò ɲí dʒɔ́[son of duaghter, girl of people of certain village or place]. See also Perner (2003). Boys who are easily ordered by old men to do something for them are loved and advantaged in a special way due to their services to old people. So, by using high or rising tone as kwátʃǎar/kwátʃáár, òòì mɔ̀ 'The boy, whose mother is Ajulu, Let you come!', the boy is called with high love and awarded with very delicious meat, sweet maize, fish (stew), head of cane rat or honey. The deletion of wɛ́ 'son of' or ɲī 'daughter of' before the geographical reference or clan does make the geographical/environmental reference very concrete and increases one's love and pride for an environment. This deletion makes PEOPLE GEOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES OR LAND FEATURES. For example, ārìɛ̀d ɲī dɔ̀ɔ̀dɔ̀

mother's clan ancestor is tʃwʌ̀ʌ̀j 'creator'. The Anywaa clan called dʒɔ́ wʌ̀ʌ̀t tɔ̀ŋ is the lineage which did not receive the insignia for coronation as they were discriminated to be uncrowned due losing their ancestral maternal uncle ɲìŋɛ̀r. The literal meaning of tɔ̀ŋɔ̀ is *egg* but in the context of (416a), it means a person who is a member of king lineage and can be crowned as his father was a king. Sometimes, it is said that members of this lineage mostly give birth to females, who are not crowned as kings among the Anywaa. Hence, in (416a), love has been given this lineage and respected based on it. Although the lineage had its original homeland in Adongo, today, the members are found in Pocama, Ajwara, Pokedi, Pinyman and Inywany. The members of this clan are honorified as as ɲōōkwʌ̀ɲ, ōtʃʊ̀ɔ̀k or wárákwʌ́ɲì tɔ̀ŋɔ̀ and greeted as ɲíkéén or wɛ́ɲdwɔ́í or ɲídwɔ́ì. The Anywaa word kwʌ̀ɲ has its English equivalent *selection or picking up* (See Also Evans-Pritchard, 1940: 30 and Perner, 2003:263).

The praising in (416b) is called dʒààlɛ/lɔ̀ɔ̀ɛ̀, which is obtained from the side of grandfather or mother. Based on (416b) kwàtʃáár is a boy whose mother's name is Ajulu or whose grandfather's bull is ōtʃààr 'white bull'. So, in (416b) love has been personified based on the grandfather's white bull name or having a mother with the name Ajulu. Hence, love has become a son of a father whose father bull is white. The word kwá formally means kàr 'place of', because a boy replaces his father.

7.19 Summary of Love Metaphors

In this part of the study, metaphors of love in Anywaa have been analyzed and interpreted. In Anywaa love is conceptualized based on many source domains like FISHING, HUNTING, COLLECTION OF WILD FRUITS, UNITY, INSANITY, DRUM DANCE, FORCE, FOOD and FIRE. For example, the linguistic metaphor mèèjí ààná tùùdɛ̀ 'Your love pulled me to you' to imply *being attracted romantically*, underlies LOVE IS FORCE. Furthermore, the Anywaa understand love in terms of body parts like LIVER, EYE AND HEART, which is connected with spiritual messages released by omen birds. The use of heart and Omen birds as source domain of love implies the Anywaa's belief that love is God given and it is always assisted by it. The

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'Aried, the daughter clay' is also uttered as ārièd dɔ̀ɔ̀dɔ̀ 'Aried who is a clay'. Both utterences mean Aried's native village, which is originally owned by her father, has clay. Similarly, ōbʌ̀ŋ wɛ́ɲkùt 'Obang son the mother whose village has a very deep part of the river' is also uttered as ōbʌ̀ŋ kútı 'Obang who is a deep river' is used to praise Obang whose mother's village has a deep river. Also, ākwáj tʃwʌ̌a 'Akway who is a tamarind tree' is used to praise Akway whose mother's village has more tamarind trees/big tamarind. This makes Akway very pleased with the trees in his mother's village as the trees are his identities.

Anywaa usually interface love with happiness, because like happiness, love is a positive feeling towards something or someone. Among the Anywaa, in the process of romantic love, active role is played by males. Phonologically, while males' active role in love is marked by breathy vowel, females' passive role is marked by plain vowel.

Chapter Eight

8.1 Metaphorical Conceptualization of JEALOUSY (ENVY) in Anywaa

Like in English, in Anywaa the concept of JEALOUSY is synonymous with ENVY. It is named as wʌ̀rò 'greed', gúók 'dogness' or kèèŋ (kèèʈʃ) 'feeling bitter', derived from kéétʃ 'bitter'. Hence, jealousy and envy are not separate emotions in Anywaa. Envy and jealousy have been claimed to be the least studied and are prototypical concepts in the secondary or social category of emotion. The concept of jealousy needs both social and biological understanding. In social constructivism, adult human emotions like envy depend on social concepts and culture is understood to be the regulator of emotional expression based on others' thoughts and feelings. Naturalism on the other hand, sees emotions like jealousy as natural processes free from social norms and conscious semantic analysis. Thus, naturalism focuses on biological factors influence and primary emotions like jealousy, which are possessed by all species (Ratner, 1989:211).

The general behaviour of jealous people includes prolonged looking and pàr 'wish'. In Anywaa, jealousy or envy interacts with anger, fear, greed and love (strong desire). The linguistic metaphors have been provided from (417a)-(417e) to support the mixture of jealousy and other emotions in Anywaa.

(417a)	n	-á	-wìŋ	gɔ̀	nī	kàt	ādìŋŋá	ò
	when	PST	hear	it	that	stew of	electric fish	PERF
	-tʃàmɔ̀	bùùt	-è	jì	-è	dōō	tʃòòt	
	eat	absent	3SG	stomach of	3SG	PROSP:PST	burst	

'His stomach was about to explode when he heard that the stew of electric fish was eaten while he was away.'
'He became very angry and very jealous when he heard that the stew of electric fish was eaten while he was away.'

The example in (417a) illustrates the mixture of jealousy and anger. The word tʃòòt 'burst' is the contextual evidence as people metaphorically burst with anger. The prospective aspect **dōō** also contains the past tense. The aspect implies that an action or event was about to happen but did not happen (see also Biniam, 2010:113). The prospective aspect which contains present tense in Anywaa is {**màŋŋ-**} 'want'.

(b)	jì	-ì	ò	-wááŋ	kīpér	āpííɖ̲è
	stomach of	2SG	PERF	burn	for	herrings

Lit. 'Your stomach has burned for the herrings.'
'You have become angry and jealous for the herrings.'

Example (417b) implies that the addresee was not allowed to eat herrings despite his/her appetite. This jealousy, which is mixed with intense anger, is therefore accompanied by āgʌ́ʌ́t 'angry look' and closed mouth. The word wááŋ ètʃ 'burning of stomach' means becoming angry

but with low tone, wààŋ èʧ 'to burn a stomach' means *to cause a person to be angry*. Therefore, in example (417b) wááŋ 'burn' evokes FIRE as the source of the jealousy anger. Hence, JEALOUSY IS FIRE. So, ògòòtɔ̀ 'has become angry' has similar meaning to has become jealous/greedy. When herrings are fried, they produce the voice tʃă...tʃ, which increases jealousy appetite for fish and salivation.

(c)	à	nɛ̀ɛ̀t	-è	nà	à	kwààll	-è	kwààll	-ɔ̀
	1SG	see:FQ	3SG	CON	1SG	steal:FQ	3SG	steal:FQ	IFT
Lit.	He is seeing me with fear of stollen looking.'								
	'He is jealous of me.'								

The jealousy in (417c) is understood from people who wish to have the wife of another man. The speaker in (417c) is therefore a female, who is a wife of another man. This jealousy is accompanied by fear as the female may angrily ask him for looking at her several times.

(d)	jì	mèèr	-ì	kī	dʒàp	dʒɔ̀	mɔ̀ɔ̀k	kīpɛ̀r	ŋɔ̀
	2SG	love	2SG	OBL	things of	people	other	for	what
Lit.	'Why do you love others' belongings?'								
	'Why are you jealous of other people's belongings?'								
(e)	kɛ̀r	-ù	wʌ́r	kì	tùk	líéj	mɔ̀	-à	
	NEG	2PL	be greedy	of	horns of	elephants	of:PL	1SG	
	'Do not be jealous/greedy of my tusks.'								

Example (417e) implies that wʌ̀rɔ̀ 'greed' is used as a synonym of gúók 'jealousy'.

8.1.1 Animals Metaphors of Jealousy

The use of ANIMALS as source domain of JEALOUSY is both folk and scientific proof that humans are evolved animals. Hart and Long (2011:53) mention that humans are animals sharing physical, behavioural and neural machinary with other primates. Humans have the mental ability to make and understand metaphors; they create animals in order to cognitively model and represent other agents like other humans in our continuous struggle for survival in this rapidly changing world. In Anywaa, the general use of jealousy based on the source domain of ANIMAL can be illustrated as follows in (418a&b).

(418a)	à	páá	lʌ̀ʌ̀j	káámár	már	-ì	
	1SG	not	animal	like	of	2SG	
Lit.	'I am not an animal like you.'						
	'I am not a jealous person like you.'						
(b)	jììn	-à	lʌ̀ʌ̀j	mɔ̄	jì	ráátʃ	dɔ̀tʃ
	2SG	be	animal	REL	2SG	bad	DEG
Lit.	'You are a very bad animal.'						
	'You are very jealous.'						

In Anywaa, a jealous person can be called lʌ̀ʌ̀j 'animal' and jealous people are called lʌ́ʌ́j 'animals'. Hence, examples (418a&b) imply A JEALOUS PERSON IS AN ANIMAL.

8.1.1.1 Dog Metaphors

The most common animal that is metaphorically used to conceptualize jealousy in Anywaa is gùòk 'dog'. That is why in Anywaa, a (very) jealous person is called with low tone as gùòk 'dog' and jealousy is called with high tone as gúók 'dogness, state of being a dog'. Morris (to appear) mentions that some very recent studies on non-human primates have empirically proved that dogs show jealousy that is similar to that of humans. Such conceptualization proves and triggers the conceptual metaphor A JEALOUS PERSON IS A DOG; JEALOUSY IS STATE OF BEING A DOG. The perceived similarity between the greed of dog and that of a jealous person motivates these conceptual metaphors with the following linguistic metaphors of Anywaa in (419a-e).

(419a)	à	páá	gùòk	káámár	már	-ì
	1SG	NEG	animal	like	of	2SG
Lit.	'I'm not a dog like you.'					
	'I'm not jealous/greedy like you.'					

Because imagery is the mental representation of stimuli, even when a dog is not physically present, when a jealous Anywaa is insulted as gùòk (dɔ́tʃ) ' very') dog!', he/she becomes angry by remembering the dog's bad attributes of jealousy like growling, salivation and looking up and dow inside a spoon while someone is eating (see Kosslyn et al, 2002 and Matlin, 2005:208). Therefore, in the understanding of the Anywaa, cognition can be understood as the use of experience and knowledge one has in different situations for different reasons and meanings. Thus, experience, which is the basis of reason (knwoledge), precedes reason. This in turn makes empricism the basis for rationalism/reasoning.

(b)	tʃwíɲ	-ì	tʃwíɲ	gùòk
	liver of	2SG	liver of	dog
Lit.	'Your liver is the liver of a dog.'			
	'You are jealous/greedy like a dog.'			

Agitation behaviours of dogs and greed behaviour of hyenas are also mapped onto jealous acts of people. BECAUSE LIVER IS THE CENTER OF PERSONALITY AND DESIRE AMONG THE ANYWAA, A JEALOUS PERSON HAS THE BAD LIVER OF AN ANIMAL AND THEREFORE ACTS BADLY LIKE AN ANIMAL LIKE A DOG/HYENA.

(c)	gúók	már	-ì	ā	-dɔ́ɔ́ŋŋɔ̀
	state of being a dog	of	2SG	PST	grow
Lit.	'Your state of being a dog has grown.'				
	'Your jealousy has increased.'				

Although it is not expected in Anywaa culture, like dogs, jealous people have confidence and take things which are not theirs with force. In Anywaa, a jealous person is also called gúú ḏááɲɔ̀ 'manned dog'. This in turn implies a jealous person leads béét gúók 'leading a dog's life', béét

rʌʌò 'bad life'. Example (419c) underlies AN INCREASE IN THE INTENSITY (OF JEALOUSY) IS GROWTH OF A LIVING THING.

(d)	kùr	-ò	kò	ónéŋ	gùòk
	wait	PROG	with	partial jealous looking of a dog	dog
	'He is wating and sadly seeing (food) like a dog.'				

The metaphor wʌ̀jì nɔ̀, gùògì bɛ̌ 'Ah! your jealousy/greed, your state of being a dog' implies that the addressee is eager to be given food in the hand of the speaker. In such a context, while the food is very little and prepared for children and cannot be shared, the addressee complains to be given it. Such a jealous person also looks inside a spoon or stew and salivates like a dog as example (419d) suggests.

(e)	kɛ̀r	-ì	ŋʌ̀rò	kīpɛ̀r	kwàt	dʒɔ̀	mɔ̀ɔ̀k
	NEG	2SG	growl	for	porridges of	people	other
	'Do not growl for others' porridges.'						

Jealous people quarrel for things not given to them; similarly dogs growl for things not given to them. If members of a fireplace usually fight over foods or if they do not want another person from another fireplace to eat with them, the fireplace is named as wì màà gùùj ' the fireplace of dogs'. The word dìŋáŋ 'growling of dog(s)' can be applied to jealous people's complaint noise for beer or food. With an apposition, gùòk 'dog' is also called gùòk, ɲōōŋáŋ 'dog, the growling and jealous animal making growling voice ŋáŋŋáŋ', which is also applied to a very jealous person's complaint.

Furthermore, in Anywaa, the offensive word gàt literally refers to a dog's eating, but it can metaphorically be extended to *a jealous/greedy person's eating*; similarly, the causative form gààt literally refers to feeding a dog but this word can be metaphorically extended to *feeding a jealous or greedy person*. This implies A JEALOUS PERSON'S EATING IS A DOG'S EATING.

The Anywaa word ɲwààk basically literally means *eating together*. So, among the Anywaa, an Anywaa who eats alone is not an Anywaa (not human being) but a dog or a hyena.

Metaphorically, degree of jealousy can be measured based on the source domain of being a big dog, growing of a dog's tail and becoming a dog. Examples (420a-d) have been provided to illustrate this conception of jealousy intensity in Anywaa.

(420a)	gùòk	mán	-à	nʌk	dʒíb	-è	ò	-tùì	kīrɛ̌ɛ
	dog	REL	AUX	be	tail of	3SG	PERF	sprout	really
Lit.	'A dog whose tail has really sprouted.'								
	'A really very jealous person.'								

Example (420a) underlies INTENSITY OF JEALOUSY IS LENGTH OF A DOG'S TAIL. One of the attributes of jealous people is to go back and take or use what they have rejected before. In

Anywaa accepting what one has rejected or disliked before is called dɔ́ɔ́n bʌ̀ʌ̀t ŋʊ̀ɔ̀k 'to go back to eat your own vomitus'. This experience comes from dog, which eats own its vomitus when it is hungry and difficult to find food.

Some jealous people refuse to eat food or take certain object, but later go back to use that object due to the jealous feeling that the object will be used by another person. A very jealous person can be called as ōtʃwáálì, which is a very big aggressive, strong and very jealous dog. Usually, it frightens other dogs not to eat food. This dog can find a fish which is hidden in a difficult place to open. It easily picks up and takes foods. Therefore, BEING VERY JEALOUS IS BECOMING A VERY BIG AND AGGRESSIVE DOG.

(b)	gúúj	mō	dʒìp	-gɛ̀	mʌ́n	-á	ābììè	kī	ō
	dogs	REL	tails of	3PL	prevent	FOC	clothes	from	come
	wɔ́k								
	out								

Lit. 'Dogs whose tails are prevented from coming out by clothes.'
'Very jealous/greedy people.'

Such people are also metaphorically referred to as tùùŋ gúúj 'The lineages/relatives of dogs'. The Anywaa word dʒìp[112] 'coccyx', which literally means tail can be used to measure the jealousy intensity. Therefore, VERY JEALOUS PEOPLE HAVE LONG COCCYXES.

(c)	wʌ́ʌ́d	-ì	ā	-tìmò	nà	gùòk	mɔ̀n
	son of	2SG	PST	become	CON	dog	really

Lit. 'Your son has really become a dog.'
'Your son has really become very jealous.'

The jealousy metaphor in (420c) is used to confirm that the son's jealousy has really increased although he has not really turned into dog. The words gùòk 'dog' and the evidential mɔ̀n 'really' provide evidences for the increase in the intensity of the son's jealousy and greed. Sometimes gùòk mɔ̀n 'really a dog' is used to talk about high intensity of one's jealousy even some parts of an expression may not be metaphorical. Acccording to Lakoff and Turner (1989:58), metaphoricity mainly depends on specific aspects of conceptual structure; a part of concept's structure can be understood metaphorically using features extended from source domain while the other part of concept's structure can be understood nonmetaphorically, i.e directly without metaphor. The point given by Lakoff and Turner (1989) here makes language to be usually metaphorical. In the context of jealousy metaphor of Anywaa, gùòk 'dog' can refer to a jealous person but not the barking animal. Hence, lexical metaphor.

[112] Among the Anywaa, a person whose waist/butt is small can be insulted as dʒíbì wìit 'Your tail is thin'.

(d)	gùòk	mɔ̄	ră...ʧ	dɔ̌...ʧ
	dog	REL	ba...d	ver...y
Lit.	'A very bad dog.'			
	'A very jealous person.'			

In (420d) words ră...ʧ 'bad' and dɔ̌...ʧ 'very', which have been used with vowel extensions express higher degree of being jealousy understood based on gùòk 'dog'/gúók 'dogness'. There are very bad dogs which directly come to eat with people or quickly search and eat hidden foods by people (see also Okello,2012).

Metaphors of jealousy based on the source domain of DOG have very specific mapping in which general attribute of DOG like growling is mapped onto a jealous person's complaint. Yet, it is difficult to map the dog's tail onto coccyx. Mappings in which very specific aspect or limited aspects of a source domain are mapped onto specfic aspects of a target domain are what I will call *closed* or *narrow* mappings and mappings like those in tables (24) & (30), in which unlimited aspects of source domain are mapped onto unlimited aspects of a target domain are those I will call *open mappings*.

Jealousy affecting lingeages is believed to be inherited and that is why the Anywaa speak of gúók mɛ̀nn(ì) 'his/her mother's jealousy', gùòk wʌ̀nn(ì) 'his/her father's jealousy' or gúók kwàrì 'his/her ancestor's jealousy. This implies that THE PARENTS WERE DOGS WHOSE CHILDREN HAVE BECOME PUPPIES. Such people are also called as tùùŋ gúúj, ɟí ɔ́t gúók 'the relatives/ (sub)lineages of dogness/jealousy'. The metaphor that jealous people are dogs or being jealous is being a dog can also be found in compounds like gúú kɔ́ɔ́ŋɔ́ 'dog of beer', gúú gwɛ́lɔ́ 'dog of money' etc, which in turn imply the specific thing of which a person is usually very jealous.

Although dog is given bad image as the most jealous animal today, it is also respected for many mythical contributions which support the life of the Anywaa today. One is that fire was shat by the dog[113]. Before the existence of fire, people used the sun to cook their foods, but the foods could not be cooked well and could take longer time.

Another importance of dog was that God told all the animals to go to him to give them the spears and the animal which arrived very early in the morning would take the spears. However, God told the secret to the bufallo to reach God's home before the other animals when ʧɛ̀èj dʒòòpè

[113]The importance of dog was narrated and elaborated by Oguta Adiw.

'morning star' appeared so that HE would give the buffalo the spears. But because the dog understood the secret, he told the man to reach God's home before the morning star appeared. So the man went to God earlier before the morning star appeared. When the man arrived, he knocked at the door and God asked jììná ŋá 'Who are you?' The man responded ááná dʒòòbì 'I am the buffallo'. So the metallic spears were given to man. But when the morning star appeared, the buffalo went to God. When the buffalo arrived, he knocked at the door. When he was asked, he responded that he was buffalo. However, God responded that someone came earlier and said he was buffalo so that I gave him the spears. Guessing that the man pretended to be buffalo, God gave the buffalo strong big horns. This implies that the spears, swords, guns and knives which are used to protect ourselves from beasts today could have been owned by animals.

Most importantly, dog was the closest animal to God and without it man could not exist. The first people conceived by God out of nothing were twins named as ōlár and āwèttí 'a female to be thrown away'. The word lààr means heat and colour of the sun. Hence ɲì(ì)-dʒòɔ̀k 'children of God, spiritual/evil beings'. These twins were very thin and milk could be seen in their stomachs. Because the twins were very ugly and thin, thinking that HE had nothing to do with them, God told the dog to throw them away. However, instead of throwing the twins away, the dog hid them in hollow in a trunk of a tree. When God gave it food, the dog would feed the twins with some of it. As they grew up, the twins became fat and beautiful. When the dog showed them to God, he started loving them (see Perner, 2003:24).

In early times, dog and other animals were lingual and the dog was called mèɖ̪ɔ̀ 'wise and clean person like a king.' The reason for which dog is seen to be a greedy today was that its greed was mythically believed to start when they were invited for marriage discussion and conclusion in certain home where there were crumbs of porridge soaked in the pot. While a woman was cleaning the pot, the dog heard the voice of scraping by a woman with spoon and went to eat the crumbs leading to the loss of his language. When God called the dog **méɖ̪ɔ́**!, it started wagging its tail on the ground and barks when asked and saw a danger. So, the name gùòk, which literally means barking and greedy animal started to be used since that time. When a dog barks, it produces the voice gúó, gúó, which is related to its name gùòk 'dog'.

Despite its being greedy, the dog is very respected by the Anywaa today for keeping home, telling the coming of enemy and mythical contributon to existence and survival of the human being. Today, Anywaa kings like dogs most for the dog's contribution for the survival and existence of human being. Killing a dog in the presence of an Anywaa king results in punishment.

8.1.1.2 Hyena Metaphors

Jealous people wish the important things of other people and rush to eat a lone even if food is not well cooked. They also take important things from people forcefully. Hyenas do not select bad and good foods and more often eat alone. They also steal or take foods like goats and other predators' kill forcefully. Hyena can urinate, shit on other animals' killed and put soil on foods so that the other animal rejects the dirty food and the hyena will eat it. Jealous people also are said to have such attributes of eating bad things and complaining for minor (bad) things. Consider the following examples in (421a-d).

(421a)	ōdìèk	ā	-òò
	hyena	PST	come
Lit.	'The hyena has come.'		
	The jealous/greedy person has come.'		

Example (421a) implies that the jealous person has gone where the speaker is so that he/she will be given food. By using high tone, a jealous person can be addressed as ódíék'The hyena!' Sometimes, a jealous person person can be called ōdíék ɲááḰáláŋòòŋì 'Hyena, which cries as ŋóóŋì. Hence, A JEALOUS PERSON'S COMPLAINT IS THE HYENA'S CRY FOR FOOD.

(b)	ōdʒùlù	a	-tìmò	ná	ōdìèk	kīpér	kɔ̀ɔ̀ŋɔ̀
	Ojulu	PST	become	CON	lion	for	beer
Lit.	'Ojulu has become a hyena for the drink.'						
	'Ojulu has become very jealous of the drink.'						

Based on (421b), in a context of the metaphor, Ojulu is not invited to drink but he is complaining to drink and he is angrily looking at others with his bad eyes like those of hyena.

(c)	gɛ̀n	-à	ōdíí
	3SG	be	hyenas
Lit.	'They are hyenas.'		
	'They are very jealous/greedy.'		

Example (421c) talks about very greedy people who have more complaints and fight over food and other things despite the quality of the object. Hyenas fight over foods and bite each other. Hence, JEALOUS PEOPLE ARE HYENAS. Sometimes a person's jealousy can be understood based on a hyena's jealousy as wʌ̀j ōdíék 'a hyena's greed'.

(d)	máɲŋ	-à	ɡɔ̀	ná	-à	ɲàm	-è	kīpér
	want	FOC	it	to	1SG	chew	3SG	for
	kīpér	āpííɖ̱è						
	for	herrings						

Lit. 'He is about to bite me for the herrings.'
'He is about to attack me for the herrings.'

As example (421d) suggests, a jealous person may attack an owner of fish, gun or any other thing if not allowed to use it. Similarly, a hyena may attack a man and takes goats. This implies that the emotion which is usually evoked by jealousy and interfaced with jealousy is anger, which becomes hatred due to jealousy stimulus like a bull.

8.1.1.3 Birds Metaphors

Birds like ākʌ́ná 'kite', ātʃúṯ 'vulture', tʃʊ̀ʊ̀r ' white-necked vulture', ālúór 'marabou' and ōdùùṯ 'bald eagle (SP)' are jealous birds whose acts are mapped onto those of jealous people. A kite is good at looking and snatches things not given to it. A vulture eats the human feaces and flesh but no benefit is obtained from it. The white-necked vulture imagines and dreams of food like slaughtered bull, dead people in battle field and rotten food so that it goes where the dead body is and eats it. The linguistic metaphors below in (422)-(425b) have been given to reflect JEALOUS PEOPLE ARE JEALOUS BIRDS.

(422)	jìín	-à	ōɖ̱ùùṯ
	2SG	be	bald eagle

Lit. 'You are a bald eagle.'
'You are very greedy and mean.'

The bird species called ōɖ̱ùùṯ 'bald eagle' eats on dry tree when it catches a fish thinking that the leaves will beg it. This bird usually rushes to eat foods. Also the bird does not leave a part of the fish in sand as the fish will be eaten by a person or another creature although it may like another bird's food to take it forcefully.

(423)	jìín	-à	ātʃút?
	2SG	be	vulture

Lit. 'Are you a vulture?'

Example (423) means the addressee is jealous needing others' benefits but prevents his. Such a jealous person may be given what he begs but when he is begged, he prevents his. The Anywaa use metaphor (423), because a vulture eats human faeces but its faeces are not eaten by people nor is its flesh eaten due to spiritual matter believed to exist in its body. Hence, people do not get any davantage from vulture as its faeces and flesh are not eaten or used by people.

(424a)	wàŋ	-ì	waŋ	ākʌ́ná
	eye of	2SG	eye of	kite

Lit. 'Your eye is the eye of kite.'
'You are looking with jealousy.'

As kites see with more attention, so do jealous people. Hence, A JEALOUS PERSON'S EYE IS A KITE'S EYE. Example (424a) implies that the addressee is seriously looking at something in the hand of the addresser so that it will be given to him/her and he/she may steal the thing if not given to him/her. Hence, jealousy look.

(b)	ɲīlààl	kúró	káámár	ākʌ́ná
	child	waiting	like	kite
Lit.	'The child is waiting like a kite.'			
	'The child is waiting for food with jealousy/greed.'			

A kite usually waits for a long time by looking attentively while a person is eating or preparing fish or meat for food. In such a context, a kite wants to be thrown a piece of meat, but if not given and if a person goes away, it flies and snatches some meat. Similarly, if the child in (424b) is not given what it is waiting for, it may eat without being invited. In Anywaa, a kite is sometimes called ōdìì-mààl 'the hyena of sky' and this name is also extended to a jealous person who acts like a kite, which snatches things in the hands of people

(c)	ākʌ̀n	dʒʌ̀ʌ̀r	-ò
	kites	soar	PROG
Lit.	'The kites are soaring.'		
	'The jealous/greedy people are moving around.'		

Kites usually soar in a group and intestines of fishes may be thrown to them and take them for food. But sometimes they soar by investigating a person who is slicing meat or fish. After certain time, kites will start snatching things like fishes. Similarly, jealous people who move around may be given foods but some may steal foods or clothes. In Anywaa, ākʌ́ná 'kite' is metaphorically extended to kùù 'thief'. So, A THIEF'S FINGER IS A KITE'S CLAW. Generally, examples (424a-c) underlie A JEALOUS PERSON IS A KITE; JEALOUS PEOPLE ARE KITES.

(425a)	ālúór	ā	-rìŋŋò	nī	tʃwééltʃwéél
	marbou	PST	run:VENT	CON	cweelcweel
Lit.	'The marbou is running to us with speed voice cweelcweel.'				
	The jealous/greedy person rushing to us for food/something.				

The implied meaning of (425a) is that the greedy/jealous person is rushing where the speaker is so that he/she will be invited something like food or another thing without the will of the owner. Literally, the voice tʃwééltʃwéél is produced by marabou's long legs when it rushes to people who are eating fishes so that a fish is thrown to it. Marbou is said to be jealous/greedy because it rushes to fishing before other birds and eats the fishes killed by human beings and put near the river. In Anywaa, a jealous person who rushes is called ālúór 'marbou' (PL.ālójjé). Hence, A JEALOUS/GREEDY PERSON WHO RUSHES IS MARABOU.

Animals can be called with imperative ideophones specifying the animal figure. Such addressings are mapped onto jealous people. For example **tʃwɛ́j lɛ́r...** is a voice of kite and also used to call a kite to give it a fish or meat but it is used to call a jealous person as kite and kúútkúút, which is accompanied by finger friction of a thumb and middle finger producing the voice tajtaj and by rounding the lip and producing an alveolar click like [ǀ**]** rapidly is used to call a jealous person as we call a dog with this voice to give it a bone. This voice is similar to the one produced when sucking a bone with meat and stew. Because dogs are mostly called by whistling, like a dog, a jealous person can also be called by whistling fast. Hence, CALLING A JEALOUS PERSON IS CALLING AN ANIMAL.

When a kite on a tree sees meat in a hand of a person at home or under tree, it cries as tʃw[114]ɛ́j lɛ̌rr... and the Anywaa interpret the kite's cry as its complaint to mean "The meat you are slicing or eating is very delicious and fatty; so, I like it to be given to me!". If a person having meat throws a piece of meat to a crying kite on a tree, it keeps silent and eats it, but if it is crying without being given meat, it furtively flies to an owner of meat and snatches some meat by scratching that person's palm and fingers. The Anywaa word tʃwɛ̌j has the English equivalent of a very delicious fatty meat and lɛ́rr... means very tasty. So, like a human being, a kite has jealousy wish by crying for the fatty meat. Jealous people can imagine and search information soon. So, they can go somewhere for drinking beer for which they were not invited. That is why they are understood as WHITE-NECKED VULTURES as illustrated below in (425b).

(b)	gìilɔ̀	lʌ́gò	káámár	tʃʊ̀ʊ̀r
	Giilo	dream	like	white-necked vulture
	'Giilo dreams like a white-necked vulture.'			

The implied meaning in (425b) is that Giilo guesses the times when others eat or drink and goes there and arrives while the people are about to eat or drink. So, he is invited as it is shameful not to invite him. Like white-necked vultures, jealous people are good at imagination and guessing.

Generally, the Anywaa conceive jealousy as animals' emotion and behaviour. Therefore, generous people are given attributes of clean birds like fish eagle, because this bird eats only small part of a fish it catches and leaves the remaining part in the sand. When people find this fish, they cook and eat it thinking that the fish eagle left it in the sand for them. An eagle is also

[114] This personification reverses PEOPLE ARE ANIMLAS to ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE, which violates unidirectionality hypothesis.

represented as clean or generous person. A fish eagle does not take a fish killed by human being. According to Pinker (2007), people cannot only ignore metaphors, but can question and analyze which parts are used and which ones should be left out." Hence JEALOUSY IS ANIMAILISM; JEALOUS PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS. A dog protects home, gives information for the coming of an enemy and helps people with hunting. Such good qualities of a dog are not used as source domains of dog metaphors of jealousy in Anywaa, because jealousy is a negative emotion.

The GREAT CHAIN is defined by attributes and behaviours which apply to each form of being. Like other human beings and animals, jealous people have biological, instinctual attributes, but specified highest order features like intellectual, moral, aesthetic and other features are lacked by animals. In GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor, specific features are selected from the general ones. Therefore, jealous people have higher order attribute than jealous animals despite shared behaviours (Ibanez, 1997).

8.2 JEALOUSY as CRY

Cry is aslo used as source domain of jealousy or envy. Jealous people have more complaints understood as CRY. Although a jealous adult person may not really cry, a jealous child cries for an important thing like banana in a hand of another child. An adult who usually complains for others' things is said to to be gòò kō ōdúúrù tʃʊ́ʊ́ʈ 'He/She is always crying'. This makes jealous people act childish. Consider the following examples of JEALOUSY IS CRY in (426a-e).

(426a)	pì	ɲɛ̀ŋŋ	-è	lúór	nī	pă...w	kīpɛ̀r	ādìʈʃùlà
	water of	eyes of	3SG	fall down	CON	pa...w	for	unfiltered beer
Lit.	'His/Her tears are falling down as pa...w for unfiltered/solid beer.'							
	'He/She is becoming very jealous of unfiltered beer.'							

If a person is jealous of many things, there is a conception HE/SHE CRIES FOR ANYTHING HE/SHE SEES'. The tear voice pă...w, which is based on the voice of falling or flowing liquid, expresses higher degree of jealousy based on complaint.

(b)	kɛ̀r	-ì	dʒùòŋò	kīpɛ̀r	gìr	ŋát	mɔ́r
	NEG	2SG	cry	for	thing of	person	another
Lit.	'Do not cry for another person's property.'						
	'Do not be jealous.'						

Example (426b) is at mental space level, i.e discoursal level, because it implies that the addresser is complaining for the speaker's (someone's property). If the addressee is a child, he will be actually seen crying for someone's property. The metaphorical proposition of such a jealousy metaphor is easily understood based on the interaction, scene, scenario or looking at the conceptualizers. This implies that mental space is more specific than frame and can therefore

clarify metaphorical proposition to be easily judged as either true or false contextually. Scene, which is equated with mental space, is the level of conceptualization below domains and frames; scene (scenario) is at individual level, where speakers understand objects and events online in a very contextualized manner by using their knowledge in a specific context of communication (Kövecses, 2017 and Musolff, 2006).

(c)	wàŋ	-è	nīlɔ́ɔ́k	kīpɛ̀r	ɲàà̰tɛ̀
	eye of	3SG	move and about to fall down	for	fresh maizes
Lit.	'His eye is about to fall down for fresh maize.'				
	'He is looking at the fresh maizes with high desire, jealousy and sadness.'				

Jealousy fear which is accompanied by fear and sad looking at valuable object is wàŋè nīlɔ́ɔ́l 'The jealous person looks fearfully with strong desire'. Hence, JEALOUSY IS PROLONGED LOOKING WITH FEAR.

(d)	jì	dʒʊ̀ɔ̀g	-á	dʒʊ̀ɔ̀k	béér
	2SG	cry	FOC	cry of	mosqutoes
Lit.	'Your cry is a cry of mosquitoes, your tears are those of mosquitoes.'				
	'Your complaint is a crocodile's tear.'				

As (426d) implies, when mosquito bites a person, it cries while it has no pain; After finishing fishing, fishes are roped well and washed so that people start going home for cooking. When they see other people having more fishes, jealous people complain as **bʌ̀ŋ rɛ̀tʃ dʒìrà** 'I haven't caught fishes' while they have caught. During fishing in lakes and pond mostly by using fishing spears, there is fish begging locally called **dìɛ̀r**. When a fish is speared, one person can beg the fish of another person as ādìɛ̀ra 'I've indirectly begged your fish.' But jealous people do not like their fishes to be begged although they beg the fishes of other fishers. Instead, they like the kind of fishing locally called gʊ̀ʊ̀rámà̰tʊ̀, ābʌ́ʌ́tbóórò 'fishing without begging'.

(e)	ādīlèḛ̀dì	ɲɛ̀ɛ̀ŋŋ	-è	ò	-wàɲ
	gatecrasher	eye of	3SG	PERF	to rash
	'Jealous person, who is a gatecrashers, suffers from eye rashes caused by prolonged cry and looking at food in others' home.'				

Being a gatecrasher is very hated among the Anywaa as it leads to everlasting jealousy, greed and theft. That is why Anywaa mothers and fathers usually beat their gatecrasher children as they may be insulted of being incapable of providing food to their child.

As jealous person cries, his/her inner organs like intestines and throat also cry as a source of jealousy expression, desire and eagerness. This is because the food eaten goes into intestine and water, drink and stew pass through throat. Examples (427a-c) have been provided below for detailed understanding.

(427a)	tʃwàà̰g	-è	dʒʊ̀ʊ̀ŋò	dɔ́tʃ	nī	kɔ̆ɔk
	throat of	3SG	cry	DEG	CON	kook
Lit.	'His/Her throat cries intensely as kook.'					
	'He/She is very jealous of the drink.'					

Example (427a) implies that this person is very eager for a drink to which he/she was not invited. The voice kook, which implies higher degree of jealousy, is usually related to the cry of throat to predict eating soup or drinking beer.

(b)	tʃìir	-è	dʒùòŋò
	intestines of	3SG	cry
Lit.	'His/Her intestines are crying.'		
	'He is very jealous for the food.'		

In (427b) the very jealous may be seeing and smelling the food. When we are hungry, our intestines cry implying the hungry person's need of food.

(c)	nī	dʒʊ̀ʊ̀t	gír	ŋát	mɔ̀r	tʃìir	-è	nītʃă...tʃ
	when	see	thing of	someone	another	intestines of	3SG	cha...ch
Lit.	'When he/she sees another person's property, his/her intestines cry as cha...ch.'							
	'When he/she sees someone's property, he/she becomes jealous.'							

Example (427c) implies that, when this person sees something important in the hand of another person, he feels jealous and complains. The voice cha...ch is usually produced by a fish being fried. Example (427c) therefore has the conceptual metaphor EXPRESSING JEALOUSY IS THE CRY OF INTESTINES/THROAT. Greed looking at something important makes it difficult for a jealous person to move an eye away as illustrated below in (428a-c).

(428a)	wàŋ	ɲīlààl	màŋŋ	-á	pʌ́t	jì	kàdɔ̀
	eye of	child	PROSP	FOC	in	in	stew
Lit.	'The child's eye is about to fall in the stew.'						
	' With greed, the child is looking inside the stew.'						

The child in metaphor (428a) is now looking down at the stew so that he/she would be given some stew.

(b)	wàŋ	-ì	bá	dák	jì	kɔ̀ɔ̀ŋɔ̀
	eye of	2SG	NEG	move	in	drink
Lit.	'You do not remove your eye from the inner part of the drink.'					
	'You are looking at the drink with jealousy.'					

In (428b) an old person is looking inside the drink so that he will be invited.

(c)	wàŋ	-i	jì	-ì	gúr	jà	ādììŋà
	eye of	2SG	stomach of	2SG	pierce	in	beer filter
Lit.	'You have pierced your eye inside the beer filter.'						
	'You are looking inside the beer filter with high jealousy.'						

The jealous person in (428c) has a strong desire of beer as he/she is looking with more attention inside the beer filter. He therefore expects that after the beer is filtered, he will be invited.

8.3 Embodied Metaphors of Jealousy

Based on the functions of human body, understanding of the whole body and interaction with the enviroment, the Anywaa's conception of jealousy is embodied, i.e it has bodily basis. For example, high degree of jealousy can be expressed as dèèr gúók 'a body of jealousy', whose experience is based on feeling and seeing the whole human body. In Anywaa, jealousy can be

conceptualized as intestine(s) and liver based on the functions of these organs. Thus, both cultural interpretation and physical experience of the Anywaa make their conception of jealousy embodied (see Lemmens, 2015:92). Below in section 8.3.1-8.3.3 are the detailed discussions of embodied metaphors of jealousy in Anywaa based on human INTESTINES and LIVER.

8.3.1 JEALOUSY IS INTESTINE(S)

In the mind of an Anywaa, human character of generosity, jealousy and greed is centered in the intestines. The food we eat enters our intestines and our need of more food implies that we have more intestines making us jealous of others' food. Therefore, AN INCREASE IN THE SIZE OF LIVER AND NUMBER OF INTESTINES can be used to express jealousy in Anywaa. Thus, jealous people have more or big intestines. In its general sense of conceptualization of the Anywaa, jealousy is in intestine. The very general metaphor with intestine as source domain of *JEALOUS* and *MEAN* has the word **ōtʃíínò** which literally means *a person of intestines*, *owner of intestines*. Its plural counterpart is **ōtʃìnì** with the literal meaning *people of intestines*, *owners of intestines*. The word tʃíínò 'intestine', which means jealousy itself is metonymically the clear source domain of jealousy in Anywaa. Consider examples (429a-d) for detail.

(429a)	tʃìir	-è	dɔ́ɔ́ŋŋɔ̀	dɔ̀tʃ	
	intestines of	3SG	big:PL	DEG	
[115] Lit	'His/Her intestines are very big.'				
	'He/She is very jealous.'				
(b)	tʃìinò	már	-ì	dɔ́ɔ́ŋ	dɔ̀tʃ
	intestine	of	2SG	big	DEG
Lit.	'Your intestine is very big.'				
	'You are very jealous.'				

Examples (429a&b) take us to the conceptual metaphors HIGH INTENSITY OF JEALOUSY IS LARGE INTESTINE(S); LOW INTENSITY OF JEALOUSY IS SMALL INTESTINE(S) and AN INCREASE IN THE DEGREE OF JEALOUSY IS THE INCREASE IN THE SIZE OF INTESTINE. However, with large size of stomach as jìè dɔ́ɔ́ŋ 'His/Her stomach is large', the implied basic meaning is that the person spoken about loves eating more food although it can

[115]The fact that idiom of stomach has confusing language can be found in the political myth of chief tʃwʌ̀ʌ̀j. When one of the chief tʃwʌ̀ʌ̀j's sons revolted against him, he sent his troops with the command nʌ̀gù kī jìè 'Kill him with his stomach'. By this metaphor, the chief meant the troops had to loot all the cattle and maizes of his rebelling son so that he would surrender due to hunger. However, because the troops did not understand the metaphorical language, they killed the son by spearing him with his stomach. So nʌ̀k ḡáánɔ́ kī jìè 'to kill someone with his stomach' means not to give him/her food. When an old Anywaa man or woman complains as àànà nʌ̀k kī jìà 'I'm being killed with my stomach', he/she means *I am not being given food and therefore starved*. Such a man or woman may curse the whole village or his/her relative who does not give him/her food but has durra/maizes or cattle.

sometimes mean jealousy mixed with frequent disastisfaction. That is why the idiom nʌgù kì jìɛ̀ '(You) (PL) Kill him with his stomach' has the literal meaning of spearing or shooting a person with his stomach. However, the connotative meaning is that *not to give the person food.* When food is eaten, it goes inside stomach. Further, hunger is felt with stomach.

(c)	tʃìir	-ì	ʇòòʇ	dɔ̀tʃ	kìrɛ̀ɛ̀
	intestines of	2SG	many	very	really
Lit.	'Your intestines are really very more.'				
	'You are really very jealous.'				

Example (429c) implies that ʇóóʇ tʃíín 'many number of intestines' as similar meaning to the abstract noun gúók 'jealousy' with high intensity. Thus, INTENSITY OF JEALOUSY IS NUMBER OF INTESTINES. A JEALOUS PERSON HAS MORE INTESTINES; A GENEROUS PERSON HAS FEWER INTESTINES. According to Ogarkova (2007:109), the psychological force producing intense desire for an object, or circumstance fulfilling the emotion while already having a significant other or amount of the desired object is called **lust**.

As a trait of a jealous person, in Anywaa, an act of keeping or reserving one's important thing to use it later for oneself by using others' before it is called **gòòl** and the perception and evaluation of despising that the amount or quality of the object one possesses is lower and less than the others' is called **bòɔ̀n/tààk** 'despise one's own amount/quality as poor/small to use others' before using it'. Such jealousy evaluation is usually faced during childhood and makes a person need another benefits from others. A jealous person with such an attribute and who keeps his/her object to use it later by using another person's material before using his/hers is called gòòlmòì (āgòòlɛ̀). If there is such a jealousy behaviour among parents or relatives, a child can be named góólmóì 'keep yours while you are using mine'. Hence, the naming is like a backbiting or an insult.

(d)	tʃìir	-ɛ̀	tʃìir	ōrwéédò
	intestines of	3SG	intestines of	tilapia
Lit.	'His/Her intestines are the intestines of tilapia.'			
	'He/She is very jealous.'			

Tilapia has more black intestines and therefore eats more needing other foods of other fishes. Another species of fish with more (black) intestines is **ōkùùrà** 'carp fish', whose more intestines are also used as source domain for an envious person's intestines as illustrated in (429e).

(e)	tʃíír	-í	tʃìir	ōkùùrà
	intestines of	2SG	intestines of	carp
Lit.	'Your intestines are the intestines of a carp fish.'			
	'You are very jealous.'			

Example (429e) is very discoursal or pragmatic in that the speaker is clearly speaking to the jealous person who is looking or complaining for something in the hand of the speaker or another person. Carp fish has more intestines and it eats very black mud making its intestines swollen, dirty and very more. The Anywaa's conception of fishes as jealous and greed animals with more intestines comes from the fishes' having more intestines and eating days and nights by fighting over their foods like frogs, grains, straw, earth worm, grass and dead bodies. So, fishes do not sleep for food and that is why both days and nights the Anywaa are fishing.

Generally, with the use of intestine as source domain, there is cultural belief among the Anywaa that a jealous person has bad intestines like those of a dog/hyena, due to eating bad foods. Hence, a jealous person is gourmand loving a bad/unclean food. Because animals like dog and hyena eat bad foods, tʃìir gùòk, 'intestines of a dog' or tʃìir ɔ̀díèk' intestines of hyena' can be used to express badness of jealousy and a jealous person. Therefore, jealousy language is more often interpreted as an insult as this emotion is very negative affecting peoples' life in a very bad way.

The conceptualization of jealousy as BAD ATTRIBUTE can be found in the jealousy metaphors conceptualized in terms of ROTTEN INTESTINES/BAD INTESTINES below in (430a-e).

(430a)	tʃìir	-è	ɔ̀	-kwʌ̀k
	intestines of	3SG	PERF	be rotten
Lit.	'His/Her intestines are rotten.'			
	'He/She is a very bad jealous person.'			

In (430a) the rottening of intestines implies badness of jealousy and jealous person based on bad things/rotten things.

(b)	tʃìir	-ì	rɛ́jjɔ̀	dɔ́tʃ	kírɛ̌ɛ
	intestines of	2SG	bad:PL	DEG	really
Lit.	'Your intestines are really very bad.'				
	'You are really very jealous/greedy.'				

Examples (430a&b) evokes bad intestines like those of tilapia, lungfish, dog and hyena, which eat bad foods, but the intestines of wìi̯t̪ 'aba fish' are not used as source domain to conceptualize BADNESS of jealousy, because this fish has fewer and clean intestines which are mixed with the fat in its stomach. That is why the intestines of aba fish are washed and cooked together with its flesh.

(c)	wʌ̀j	-ì	ráátʃ
	greed of	2SG	bad
Lit.	'Your greed is (very) bad.'		
	'You are very greedy.'		

The badnesss of jealousy in (430c) in based on concrete bad objects like mud or pus, which is not pleasant to human eye. In example (430c), the implied meaning is that the greedy person

does not want to wait of others to eat with them together. The greedy person also begs, complains for minor things like children's food and waits for something like food to be given to him/her. In Anywaa, because jealousy makes a person bad, a jealous person is sometimes called ráátʃ 'a bad person'. Therefore, the metaphor in (430c) is used to refer to very high jealousy in which a jealous person does not ignore minor things. So, the general quality of badness is used for badness of jealousy despite the absence of image-schematic structure. *The Inavriance Principle*, which was proposed by Lakoff (1990), was thoroughly revised by Ibanz (1998) as the **Extended Invariance Principle**, which states that the generic structure of source domain of metaphor should be in consistence with the inherent structure of the target domain even when there is no (detailed) image schematic structure.

(d)	ō	-ʈʃíínò	wá	ākwʌ̀ʌ̀là
	owner of	intesine	son of	rotten thing
Lit.	'An owner of intestine, who is the owner of a rotten thing.'			
	'A very bad jealous person.'			

Example (430d) implies that degree of jealousy can be understood from having intestines. The example in (430d) also takes wá āgwáŋ 'son of a bad image'. The word gwàànŋɔ̀ is a mocking with mouth, fingers or whistle in an indirect way or while a jealous person does no see what is being done after him/her.

(e)	ōʈʃìnò	wá	ālóóʈ̪à
	owner of intestine(s)	son of	picking up
Lit.	'An owner of intestines picking up foods.'		
	'A very jealous person.'		

In (430e) picking up has been understood as parents of the jealous person to imply higher degree of jealousy possessed by the jealous person in (445e). A very jealous/greedy person may take things forcefully or he/she may steal things. The Anywaa's evaluation of jealousy to be a very bad emotion is based on the bad attributes of jealous and greedy people as they prevent food from others, backbite, beg, eat bad things, kill people or curse other people for advantages. Generally, examples (430a-e) take to conceptual metaphors A JEALOUS PERSON IS BAD, A JEALOUS PERSON HAS BAD INTESTINES and A GENEROUS PERSON HAS GOOD/CLEAN INTESTINES.

8.3.2 Controlling Jealousy

In Anywaa, controlling jealousy is understood in terms of tying or supressing intesines or liver (see sections 35.1&35.3) for JEALOUSY IS INTSTINE(S) and JEALOUSY IS LIVER). The

following examples in (431)-(436) have been given to illustrate linguistic metaphors used to control jealousy in Anywaa .

(431)	tʃìir	-è	bà	màà	pìŋ
	intestines of	3SG	NEG	hold	down
Lit.	'He/She does not press down his/her intestines.'				
	'He/She does not control his/her jealousy.'				

The metaphor in (431) can have the conceptual metaphor CONTROLLING JEALOUSY IS SUPPRESSING THE INTESTINES.

(432)	tʃwíŋ	-è	bá	máá	pìŋ
	liver of	3SG	NEG	catch	down
Lit.	'He/She does not supress down his/her liver.'				
	'He/She does not control his/her jealousy.'				

The jealousy expressed in (432) is mixed with anger worry, which is understood from the physiology of standing up, pointing at people, rushing, fighting over things and insulting people. So, CONTROLLING JEALOUSY WORRY IS SUPPRESSING LIVER. We hold things firmly so that they will not explode or go somewhere. AN AGITATED JEALOUS PERSON SITS DOWN WHEN HIS/HER LIVER SITS DOWN.

Patient/non-jealous people usually sit down and wait while others stand up and quarrel over things like fishes or antelope meat. Sometimes, it is difficult to control jealousy and the behaviour of a jealous person becomes clear to the others. Such a clear jealousy is understood to be visible or the intestines of the jealous person are outside his/her stomach based on visible objects. Consider the following examples in (433)-(436) for detail.

(433)	tʃwíŋ	-à	ā	-dééd	-ā	kīpɛ́r	dʒáp	dʒìj
	liver of	1SG	PST	close	1SG	for	things of	people
Lit.	'I have closed my liver for the others' belongings.'							
	'I'm not jealous.'							

Example (433) is based on the experience of closing a house or container so that a bad thing will not enter inside it. The speaker in (433) implies that he or she has no worry and does not complain for another person's benefit. This in turn implies that among the Anywaa, worry is in both liver and mind but the most important organ for controlling emotion is liver. Thus, CONTROLLING JEALOUSY IS CLOSING LIVER; LOSS OF DESIRE/APPETITE IS THE CLOSIG OF LIVER.

(434a)	tʃìir	-ɛ	bà	túó	-é
	intestines	3SG	NEG	tie	3SG
Lit.	'He/She does not tie his/her intestines.'				
	'He/She does not control his/her jealousy.'				

Example (434a) implies that the intestines of jealous people are metaphorically loosened to imply dificulty of controlling jealousy. This takes us to the metaphorical conclusion that

JEALOUSY IS LOOSENED; GENEROSITY IS TIED, which implies that CONTROLLING JEALOUSY IS TYING THE INTESTINES.

(b)	tʃìir	-à	já	-á	túúó
	intestines	1SG	PERF	1SG	tie
Lit.	'I have tied my intestines.'				
	'I am not jealous.'				

What the speaker in (434b) implies is that he or she will not beg maize, durra or food from anybody even if he/she is very hungry. Such a person also does not go to another person's home during famine. Things which are tied are together do not go to another place. A person who has tied his/her intestines also stays at his/her home even if there is famine at his/her home. The jealous person in (434a) also usually gossips.

Example (434b) has the metaphorical entailment that when things are tied, they are good as they do not scatter somewhere and easy to carry. This takes us to the metaphorical conclusion and conception that JEALOUSY IS LOOSENED; GENEROSITY IS TIED, which implies that CONTROLLING JEALOUSY IS TYING THE INTESTINES (OBJECTS). Jealous people wander for food or drink and may enter others' home to be invited food or drink.

(435a)	tʃìinn	-è	ɛ́ɛ́	ɲɔ̀ɔ̀ɖɔ̀
	intestine of	3SG	PERF	show
Lit.	'He/She has shown his/her intestine to others.'			
	'His/ Her jealousy can be easily understood.'			

Example (435a) underlies INTESTINE WHICH IS OUT OF STOMACH METONYMICALLY STANDS FOR UNCONTROLLED JEALOUSY, which is very clear to others. Such a jealous person can use his or her physical force to take others properties or complains directly. This kind of person also usually complains or wanders by begging things like food or money. An eye like that of an animal can also tell that there is jealousy in the eye. Example, wàŋɛ̀ wàŋ gùòk/ākʌ́ná 'His/Her is the eye of dog or kite'. In certain situations, before taking or snatching food item like fish, a dog or a kite looks at something attentively with black eyes. Example (435a) takes us to the cognitive metaphor JEALOUSY IS POSSESSED OBJECT, because tʃĩínnɛ̀ 'intestine of him/her' implies gúógɛ̀ 'his/her jealousy, greed, dogness'.

(b)	tʃìir	-i	ɛ́n	-á	wɔ́k
	intestines of	3SG	be:LOC	FOC	out
Lit.	'Your intestines are outside your stomach.'				
	'You are very jealous.'				

The image schema in (435a&b) is IN-OUT. If the jealous person in (435b) is a child, it cries for something possessed by another person, but if the jealous person in (435) is an adult, he complains directly or quarrels for another person's property. Hence, CONTROLLING

JEALOUYS IS HIDING INTESTINES, which is based on hiding bad things like nose mucus, feaces and dead bodies.

(436)	ɲáán	-ɛ̀tʃɛ́	bʌ̀ŋ	tʃìin	mō	ɛ́ɛ́	kánɔ̀
	girl	that	no	intestines	REL	PERF	hide
Lit.	'The girl over there has not hidden her all intestines.'						
	'That girl is extremely jealous.'						

The experiential basis of the jealousy metaphor with intestines ouside stomach or visible intestines comes from cutting stomach with sharp knife resulting in the coming out of all intestines and other body parts in the stomach. Hence, CONTROLLED EMOTION IS A HIDDEN OBJECT. In fact, in most cases it is difficult to hide/control jealousy due to strong desire. In (436) tʃìin'intestines' has similar meaning to gúók 'state of being a dog', which also implies *jealousy*.

8.3.3 JEALOUSY IS A BIG LIVER

A big liver or opened liver is used as a source of jealousy in Anywaa. Because liver is the center of desire and appetite in Anywaa, it can be clearly used as a source domain of jealousy. The following linguistic metaphors of jealousy in (437a)-(439) illustrate JEALOUSY IS A BIG LIVER.

(437a)	kɛ̀r	tʃwíɲ	-í	pʌ̀l	kī	dʒáp	wàd	-ù
	NEG	liver of	2G	very big	with	properties of	relative of	2SG
Lit.	'You liver should not be very big for your relative's properties.'							
	'Do not be covetous.'							
	The Bible in Anyuak (2013: 94)							

In (437a), jealousy has been understood in terms of pʌ́l tʃwìɲ 'bigness of liver'. Example (437a) is one of the ten commandments. Here a relative's properties/wealth include wife, cattle, maize, durra, fishes, children and fruit bearing plants like mango. The jealousy in (437a) leads to adultery or theft (See Oboya and Okach, 2015:11). Therefore, the word wàdù 'your relative' does not necessarily refer to the addressee's relative but any person.

(b)	tʃwíɲ	-ì	pʌ́l	dɔ́tʃ
	liver of	2SG	big	DEG
Lit.	'Your liver is very big.'			
	'You are very jealous.'			

In example (437b), the metaphor implies jealousy as trait and it is equated with ŋát kɛ̀ɛ̀tʃ ' a person of bitter feeling', which implies a very jealous person who has been born with big liver. While pʌ́l tʃwìɲ 'bigness of liver' implies being jealous or the general concept JEALOUSY, tʃwìɲ pʌ́l 'The liver is big' implies existence of jealousy/jealous people. Hence, INTENSITY OF JEALOUSY IS SIZE OF LIVER; HIGH DEGREE OF JEALOUSY IS BIG LIVER; LOW DEGREE OF JEALOUSY IS SMALL LIVER;A VERY JEALOUS PERSON HAS A VERY

BIG LIVER; AN INCREASE IN THE INTENSITY OF JEALOUSY IS AN INCREASE IN THE SIZE OF LIVER.

(438)	tʃwíɲ	-è	ā	-lʌ̀mmò
	liver of	3SG	PST	regret
Lit.	'His/Her liver regretted.'			
	'He/She has regretted for what he/she gave to someone.'			

The jealousy metaphor in (438) is pragmatic and caused by two reasons: the first is that when the jealous person has what the other person has but judges the quality and amount of what he has to be lower than that of the other person. Example, (438) inlude bigger fishes, beautiful wife and more maizes possesd by another person. The other reason of such a jealousy is caused by giving something to someone, but regreting that what was given was better than what is being possessed. In such a context, when the jealous person judges the quality and amount of his/her property as poor, he or she goes back and takes what he gave to someone who did not have this property. Such a jealousy is frequent among Anywaa farmers. A farmer may give a part of his land to a person who has no land, but when the person who was given land cultivates well and produces more maizes with bigger sizes and quality, the owner of the land will claim the land and the maizes. The word **lʌ̀mmò** also means to go back or follow a person who was given certain property and take it from him/her by providing false reason for the claim.

(439)	tʃwíɲ	-é	éé	dààdɔ̀	kīpɛ̀r	dʒàp	dʒéj
	liver of	3SG	PERF	widely open	for	things of	people
Lit.	'He/She has widely opened his/her liver/stomach for other people's properties.'						
	'He/She has become extremely jealous of others' properties.'						

Example (439) entails something which is widely opened takes more contents; similarly, very jealous people need more things like fishes, money or maizes from others, because their wider livers and stomachs desire many things from time to time. So, based on the linguistic metaphor in (439), we can formulate: A VERY JEALOUS PERSON WHO NEEDS MORE THINGS FROM OTHERS HAS A VERY WIDELY OPENED LIVER; BEING JEALOUS IS OPENING LIVER; STRONG DESIRE/APPETITE IS WIDELY OPENED LIVER. A liver can clearly metonymically stand for a jealous person and his/her attributes. Consider examples (440a&b):

(440a)	ōlɔ̀k	tʃwíɲ	-è	màŋŋ	-á	dʒàp	dʒìj
	Olock	liver of	3SG	want	FOC	things of	people
Lit.	'Olock's liver wants others' belongings.'						
	'Olock is jealous.'						

In example (440a), Olock's desiring of others' properties has been understood in terms of his liver, which truly desires other people's properties. So, in (440a), A JEALOUS PERSON'S

LIVER METONYMICALLY STANDS FOR THE JEALOUS (WHOLE) PERSON. Hence, part- whole (meronym) metonymy.

(b)	ōlɔ̀k	màŋŋ	-á	dʒáp	dʒ̀ɪj
	Olock	want	FOC	things of	people
Lit.	'Olock wants other people's properties.'				
	'Olock is jealous.'				

Example (440b) has whole-part (holonym) metonymy, because the jealous person Olock metonymically stands for liver. We know that Olock, who is a whole person, is jealous or wants others' properties but in the philosophy of the Anywaa, what truly desires things and causes jealousy is not the whole person but the liver. Thus, a person does not eat, take an object, see an object or go somewhere with food or good thing without the will and desire of liver. This implies that metonymy is usually bidirectional unlike metaphor.

A liver of jealous person is also perceived to be jumping making him/her agitated. This means a jealous/greedy person's eagernes or rushing is caused by agitation made by a liver due to near object. In fact, when a jealous child needs a piece of meat, he/she jumps up by saying kʌ́lì 'Give it to me'. Because a jealous person is eager, he/she is busy to obtain something. The following linguistic metaphors in (441a-c) are used to express agitation and eagerness caused by jealousy, which is triggered by liver.

(441a)	tʃwíŋ	-è	bá	tʃîp	pì̀ŋ
	liver of	3SG	NEG	put	down
Lit.	'He does not put down his/her liver.'				
	'He is usually agitated with jealousy.'				

Example (441a) implies difficulty of controlling jealousy due near object like fish or money. Hence, CONTROLLED EMOTION IS DOWN LIVER ; UNCONTROLLED EMOTION IS UP (LIVER). An agitated jealous person usually stands but sits down after controlling his/her emotion.

(b)	tʃwíŋ	-è	pʌ̀rò
	liver of	3SG	jump
Lit.	'His liver jumps.'		
	'He is very eager and agitated with jealousy.'		

The Anywaa word for patience, which is not an attribute of a jealous person, is tʃîp tʃwì̀ŋ pì̀ŋ 'putting down a liver'. Eagerness and jealousy make a person stand and move from one place to another to search something important.

(c)	tʃǎn	tʃwíŋ	-è	bà	bùtì	kīpɛ́r	ŋwɛ̀ɛ̀tʃ
	Chan	liver of	3SG	NEG	sleep	for	monitor lizard
Lit.	Chan's liver does not sleep for the monitor lizard.'						
	'Chan is very eager for the monitor lizard (stew).'						

Example (441c) implies that the monitor lizard has been cooked and Chan wants to be invited as the montor lizard is in another fireplace. If the monitor lizard has been cooked at night, it is difficult for Chan to sleep as his liver is very busy for the monitor lizard stew. So, A PERSON SLEEPS WHEN HIS/HER LIVER SLEEPS.

What follows from the UP and DOWN of jealousy takes us to the general conclusion that source domain usually provides a great deal of knowledge to the long term memory but meaning is specified by frame, script, which is a part of general knowledge (schema), discourse, pragmatics, experiencer of emotion, history, convention and stimulus. Among the Anywaa, the UP of happiness is followed by whole person's jumping with shout and smile, but the jumping up of liver for jealousy agitation has no congruency with reality but clarified by near object like fish for which a person is jealous and agitated. Similarly, the DOWN of liver implies sadness based on falling down of a liver but the down of liver based on sitting down implies controlling emotion and taking a rest with a slight happiness (See also Matlin, 2005).

8.4 JEALOUSY as SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER

Different body parts and places like house, village or country can be used as containers of jealousy. Jealousy can be full in a container, small or large. And when the container like liver does not contain jealousy, it implies the absence of jealousy. Examples (442a-e) are worth giving below for clarity and detail.

(442a)	mán	-ɛ̀tʃɛ́	tʃáán	-a	wʌ̀rò	dèèr	-ì
	DEM	DIS	say	FOC	greed	body of	2SG
Lit.	'That was said by jealousy in your body.'						
	'You spoke with jealousy.'						

In (442a) because it contains language, jealousy is personified to speak the language, which is spoken by the jeaous person. It can also be concluded that the body and the message conveyed contained jealousy, which is behaviour. The demonstrative pronoun mánɛ́tʃɛ́ 'that' implies that the jealous person spoke unexpected thing in the past.

(b)	dòɔ̀l	mō	jì	-è	dá	wʌ̀rò
	voice/word	REL	stomach of	3SG	exist	greed
Lit.	'A voice/word whose stomach contains jealousy.'					
	'A voice or word which contains jealousy.'					

The implied meaning in (442b) is that there are words which indirectly express the speaker's jealousy through indirect complaint. Voice quality or intenisty also contributes to understanding the speaker's jealousy. Example, the jealousy interjection wó! is used to express unreasonable disatisfaction accompanied by frowning for food of good thing like hoe. With the word wʌ̀rò'

(dog's) jealousy/greed of food', which is extended from dog's jealousy to a jealous person, situational linguistic metaphor can be constructed. Hence, based on (442a) VOICE/EXPRESSION IS A CONATINER OF JEALOUSY

Stomach can metonymically stand for a jealous or greedy person resulting in the linguistic metaphor like jìɛ̀ āwʌ̀r 'His/Her stomach has become greedy'. Such a jealousy is mixed with specific condition in which there is high famine and people need foods in other homes. This famine is called kʌ̀ʌ̀ ŋʌ̀ʌ̀r gúú(j) 'the famine of growling dogs' as the dogs do not get fishes and bones adequately and people do not have enough food as the summer maize is not ready. This famine is faced in June. The metonymic metaphor jìɛ̀ āwʌ̀r 'His stomach has become greedy needing more amount' is also used when small amount of tasty food has been eaten but has not satisfied the person. So, the jealous person starts needing the food with high desire and starts needing such food in other's homes. That is why it may be said āwʌ̀r[116] dɔ̀tʃ kī rìŋ kùl 'He/She has become very jealous and seriously needs another meat of boar'. Children with such a jealousy cry and snatch foods in other children's hands. Thus, GREEDY STOMACH METONYMICALLY STANDS FOR A GREEDY (JEALOUS) PERSON.

(c)	tʃìir	-ɛ̀	ɛ́n	-á	wàŋ	-ɛ̀
	intestines	3SG	be:LOC	FOC	eye of	3SG
Lit.	'His/Her intestines are in his/her eye.'					
	'His/Her jealousy is in his/her eye.'					

As intestines metonymically stands for jealousy, the implied meaning in (442c) is that whenever such a jealous person sees important thing, he or she quickly rushes to other people so that he will be given what he needs. Further, the jealous person in (442c) needs, begs or complains for something as he/she immediately sees it. Thus, in example (442c) jealousy, with the source of INTESTINES, is a substance in the eye. Such a jealousy metaphor is mostly used in a situation in which a jealous person looks at the food sadly and may quickly rush to eating with the others without being invited. Indicators of such jealousy are eagerness, begging, staring at owner of food, salivation and avoiding speech. Such jealous people also locate the direction of smelling cooked food. If such a jealous person is a child, it soon cries for the food like piece of meat or

[116]When a crocodile eats a person and starts looking for another person in a river to take and eat him up, it is said ɲààŋ (jìɛ̀) āwʌ̀r kī ríŋ ɖáánɔ̀' The crocodile has become in high need of another human flesh as he has eaten up a man before'. This expression is also extended to a jealous person who has tasted delicious food or a drink with good taste but has not been satisfied. So, this person wanders for another beer or food. The metaphor is expressed as lwʌ̀ʌ̀gò káámàr ɲààŋ mō ɔ̀bìttò kī ríŋ ɖàànɔ̀ 'He is wandering like a crocodile who has not been satisfied with the human flesh it has eaten'.

fish in the hand of another child. With cry, such a jealous child tries to take the food of another child forcefully. The reason why jealousy in an eye is clearer than that in a liver or stomach is that an eye is more often open and people attentively see with it so that they are given what they need. So, in (442c) JEALOUSY/GREED IS A SUBSTANCE(OBJECT) IN AN EYE.

(d)	tʃwìɲ	ò	-pʌ̀ŋ	kī	gúók
	liver	PERF	be full	of	jealousy
Lit.	'The liver is full of state of being a dog. '				
	'There is a big jealousy (here).'				

In (442d), someone is talking about a very jealous person indirectly although he or she knows the person. Hence, the speaker here does not want to mention the name of the jealous person directly. This speech is called āgɛ̀ɛ̀là, dwáállɔ̀ 'soliloquy'. Because bitter substance implies jealousy mixed with anger, it can be a substance in a liver as in (442e):

(e)	tʃwìɲ	-ì	dá	kɛ̀ɛ̀tʃ
	liver of	2SG	exist	bitter feeling
Lit.	'There is bitter feeling in your liver.'			
	'The person/the people are very jealous'			

In (442e) jealousy is bitter substance in the liver of the jealous person. Hence, the jealousy intensity is high because the liver is full of jealousy based on bitter substance. This experience can come from a jar which is full of flour. Hence, IN THE LIVER OF A PERSON WHO IS NOT JEALOUS, THERE IS NO JEALOUSY/BITTER FEELING. The conceptualization of jealousy as GARMENT and NON-REMOVABLE OBJECT IN HUMAN BODY has been given below in (442f&g):

(442f)[117]	gúók	ā	-rɔ́m	deèr-	-ì/ ṯár	-í
	jealousy	PST	be fit	body of	2SG/butt of	2SG
Lit.	'The jealousy has fitted your body or butt.'					
	'You are very jealous/greedy.'					

Due to the use of the word rɔ̀mɔ̀ 'be fit' it can be argued that the jealousy in (442f) is conceptualized in terms of GARMENT containing jealousy and a jealous person. Example (442f) implies that the addressee is very jealous/very greedy and that is why jealousy has fitted every part of his/her body like a clothe. In a compound noun like dúúd gúók 'jealousy song', song is a container of jealousy as the poet or the singer was jealous of something.

(g)	gúók	bá	ááj	dèèr	-ì
	jealousy	NEG	go away	body of	2SG
	'The jealousy will not go away from your body.'				

[117] With the use of direct insult gúók mànɔ̀gɔ̀ ārɔ̀m mùrì 'That jealousy has fitted your vagina' is used to directly insult a jealous female and gúók mànɔ̀gɔ̀ ārɔ̀m ŋwɛ̀ŋ̀ì 'That jealousy has fitted your anus' is used to directly insult a jealous male based on CLOTHE. The word mànɔ̀gɔ̀ 'thither' is used to imply that the speaker is clearly distancing himself or herself from the addressee's jealousy. Hence, jealousy is in the body (parts) of the addressee.

Example (442g) entails that the jealous/envy is conceptualized as EVERLASTING EMOTIONAL TRAIT as the addressee is born with it and still exhibiting jealousy behaviour. Hence, in example (442g), jealousy is a permanent substance in the body. According to Ogarkova (2007), parental/romantic love, jealousy/envy and hatred are *affective event or emotional plots* rather than emotions. Variations of durations of experiencing envy and other emotions is further elaborated below by Ogarkova (2007) as:

> Emotions are brief and episodic, lasting seconds or minutes. However, parental love, romantic love, hatred, envy or jealousy last for longer times like months or years; a lifetime for love and hatred, and at least hours and days for jealousy and envy (Ekman,1998: 83,1992 and 1998) quoted in Ogarkova (2007:124).

As it can be understood from the Anywaa metaphors like (442g) that jealousy/envy is genetic, it implies that it has no time limit. This idea is further strengthened by Ryle (1961) that the durational criteria for distinction between jealousy or envy on one hand and sadness or anger on the other hand are debatable. Emotion has two senses; **dispositional** and and **episodic** senses. In dispositional sense, a person can be jealous for 40 years or forever, but in episodic sense, emotion is felt for specific time and event. In Anywaa, jealousy conceptualized based on big liver or more intestines is a good example of permanent/dispositional jealousy, because a jealous person is born with a big liver or more intestines but salivating for the stew of cane rat which is near a person is an episodic emotion of jealousy as it can be controlled soon after eating the stew. The metaphorization of JEALOUSY/ENVY AS MOVING ENTITY (FIGURE), which enters the body forever, can be found in the following examples in (443a-c).

(443a)	gúók	mènn-	-ì	ā	-ò	báŋ	-è
	dogness of	mother of:3SG	3SG	PST	come	to	3SG
Lit.	'His/Her mother's dogness came to him/her.'						
	'He/She has become jealous like his/her mother.'						

Among the Anywaa, males are sometimes believed to inherit the jealousy of their male relatives and females are believed to inherit the jealousy of their female relatives.

(b)	tʃìir	kwàr	-ì	ā	-tʃì	dèèr	-è
	intestines of	grandfather of	3SG	PST	go	body of	3SG
Lit.	'His ancestor/grandfather's intestines have entered his/her body.'						
	'He/She inherited the jealousy of the parents/family.'						

Insults like ɲī gùòk 'daughter of a dog' and ó gùòk 'son of a dog' are usually used to insult young jealous people based on the jealousy thought to have come from their parents. Example (493b) underlies INHERITED JEALOUSY IS INHERITED INTESTINES/LIVER.

(c)	gúók	t̪íɲ̪ó	ā	-dùùò
	jealousy	childhood	PST	return:VENT
Lit.	'His/her childhood jealousy returned to him/her.'			
	'He/She has become jealous like when he/she was a child.'			

The ventive verb dùùò 'return toward/to' implies that the speaker lives where the envious person lives and this person has become jealous like he/she was during the childhood. The speaker therefore knows the person spoken about from the childhood to adulthood. A child who usually cries for the food in the hand of another person may grow up with this jealousy. In sum, the data in (443a-c) imply that jealousy has been understood as a moving entity entering a person's body so that he/she becomes jealous. According to Goleman (1996), genetic heritage provides us with emotional chracacter that affect our temparament. The emotional lessons we learn in different places shape emotional circuits, making us more adept- or inept-at basic of emotional intelligence. This means childhood and adolescence are critical for determining basic emotional habits regulating our lives. Such scientific explanation, which claims jealousy as genetic quality of humanbeing, can be supported with linguistic metaphors of Anywaa like túúŋ gúók 'lineage of jealousy'.

Among the Anywaa, of all emotions jealousy is mostly conceived to be trait/personality. That is why it can be transferred from parent to child based on intestines, liver and aggressiveness. Therefore, as a childhood jealousy reflects, emotion concepts in Anywaa are closely tied to beliefs, world view, images and attitudes. According to Grigorjanova and Matytcina (2018), emotional concepts are mainly related to world view, view of reality, all ideas about the world and global image of the world. Linguistic world view is a system of value orientations encoded in associative-image complexes of language and understood by the researcher through interpretation of associative-image based on their signs and culture concepts. Each language has its own linguistic world view according to which a speaker organizes an utterance meaning. Hence, language is a set of beliefs about the world, a certain way of understanding reality with the help of linguistic units like lexical items, idioms, imagination and phonosemantic units, discursive and functional units of language. Therefore, in an emotional world view, emotional concepts are very important for analyzing emotions.

The main object of cognitive linguistics is concept, which is a perception about elements used in human thinking reflecting the result of human experience, knowledge, all human activities and cognition. Concept, an abstract idea in thought and language, is the knowledge about parts of the world in all its connections and relationships reconstructed through its linguistic reflection. A concept is a part of cultural unit used in cultural interpretaion by adapting global understanding. The complex units used in human thinking process are concepts (Grigorjanova and Matytcina,

2018). In line with what Grigorjanova and Matytcina (2018) elaborate, based on the experience of intestines which are dirty and big, the Anywaa can understand the concept of jealousy based on INTESTINES linked with experience of big object, more objects, tying objects and seeing dirty objects.

8.5 JEALOUSY as COLOURS

Despite the universal use of body parts (embodiment) to express universal meaning, in different cultures, an embodied experience is metaphorically used by identifying and emphasizing specific body part(s) to express metaphorical meanings like those of emotions (Kovecses, 2010:203). In the mind of an Anywaa, human character is centered in the inner organs. Therefore, white, red, black and green colours are metaphorically attached to liver, stomach and intestines to describe and express the concepts of jealousy, stinginess and generosity as human characters based on the reality in outer physical world. The evaluation of jealousy as NEGATIVE EMOTION among the Anywaa can be understood from the use of BLACK, RED and GREEN COLOURS as source domains evoking negative feeling, image, and attitude among the Anywaa in their conceptualizing jealousy.

8.5.1 JEALOUSY IS BLACK

Based on black things like charcoal, dirty soil and clay, jealousy can be conceptualized as BLACK COLOUR IN EYE, STOMACH OR LIVER. Below are linguistic metaphors based on BLACK COLOUR in (444a-c).

(444a)	wàŋ	-ɛ	ɛ́ɛ́	kìil	-ɔ̀
	eye of	3SG	PERF	see with blackened eye	COMPL
Lit.	'By blackening his/her eyes, she/he is sadly seeing something important.'				
	'He/She has become jealous of the object near him/her.'				

The jealous person in (444a) is waiting near something like food or toy to be given to him/her. The compound jealousy word kìil wàŋ 'look sadly with black eyes for a long time' implies serious need or waiting of something until it is given. It is accompanied by displeasure, discomfort and sadness. The word ɔ̀kìl and tʃɔ́l both mean black but the former is blacker (dirtier) and it is difficult to remove its dirts. It can be therefore concluded that JEALOUSY BLACKENS HUMAN EYES. The use of black colour as a source of jealousy is based on the relation between black colour and dirt/dirty object like a cooking pot, which are unpleasant like jealousy.

If a child who comes from another home looks sadly to be given food, its eye is interpreted to black in Anywaa. Such a child's jealousy also leads to an insult to his/her parents because it may mean the parents are lazy and do not bring fishes and do not cook good food.

(b)	wàŋ	-è	tʃɔ́l[118]	bʌ̀ʌ̀t	d̪ʌ̀k	mɔ̀	-wà	ìtʃɛ́
	eye	3SG	black	on	cattle	of:PL	1PL:EXCL	there
Lit.	'His eye is black on our cattle there.'							
	' With jealousy, he is seeing our cattle there.'							

The reverse order **tʃɔ́l wàŋ** 'blackness of eye' means jealousy accompanied by a jealous person's fear of begging an object'. Such a jealous person looking at what he/she wishes to have but it is also associated with being an evil-eyed or looking at someone's object with wish and fear. In (444b), the jealous person is looking sadly with wish for the cattle.

(c)	tʃìir	-è	tʃɔ́l	dɔ̀tʃ
	intestines of	3SG	black	DEG
Lit.	'His/Her intestines are very black.'			
	'He/She is very jealous/stingy.'			

The reversed order tʃɔ̀l tʃìirè means *his/her jealousy* (Lit. Blackness of his/her intestines) but tʃɔ̀l tʃìin, which literally means blackness of intestines, has the metaphorical meaning of *jealousy/greed* but tʃìin tʃɔ́l 'The intestines are black' implies the existence of jealousy in one's intestines, i.e being jealous. Example (444c) can have the complex metaphor JEALOUSY IS BLACK INTESTINES whose primary metaphors are JEALOUSY IS INTESTINES and JEALOUSY IS COLOUR (BLACK). While black jealousy in the eye is contextual implying looking at an object with greed, black colour linked to intestine(s) usually expresses jealousy, meanness or greed, which are behaviours.

As the BLACKNESS OF INTESTINES STAND FOR JEALOUSY OR ENVY, the WHITENESS OF INTESTINES STAND FOR GENEROSITY. Thus, there are cases where the Anywaa hate black colour if it is remarkably dirty or black without being smooth. In Anywaa,

[118]Among the Anywaa, children can be named based on their quality or face. This implies that the child is not handsome or not beautiful. In fact, this naming is attitudinal or situational. If a child is very black, it is named ōtʃɔ̀l 'black'(MASC) or ātʃɔ̀l (FEM). Sometimes ōtʃɔ̀lāgáák 'black male child like crow (āgáák 'crow')' and ātʃɔ̀lwàŋ 'a black female child including her eyes (wàŋ 'an eye').' An intensively black (male) child is called ɔ̀tʃíídɔ̀. The adjective ɔ̀tʃíídɔ̀ has higher degree of blackness than tʃɔ́l 'black'. The personal name which implies and indicates that the child is ugly or very black or dirty is ɔ̀dɔ̀ɔ̀dɔ̀, which is categorially an adjective conflating balckness, dirty, ugiliness and unclean fluid in the body. For someone to be totally black, the gum, palm, eyes and foot must also be black. Thus, every visible part of the body must be black. That is why it is said tʃɔ́l kī ɲɛ̀ŋŋɛ̀ bèèt 'black with all his or her eyes'. A very black Anywaa is also compared to a very black lungfish living in hole in a burned field as tʃɔ́l kéé lúúd̪ āwàànà 'A very black person like the lungfish fish living in a burned field or put in the charcoal of a burned field'. In fact this lungfish is blacker than the one living in water. The names which indicate that the child is ugly or evil-eyed is ōrààtʃ (MASC) and ārààtʃ (FEM). The Anywaa word ráátʃ means bad in English. A bad or difficult life may contribute to such a naming though.

the specific element or quality which makes a person generous is called **ʧààj**. It is mostly located in the stomach and can be found in the linguistic metaphors below in (445a-c):

(445a)	jì	-è	dá	ʧààj
	stomach of	3SG	exist	white element of generosity
Lit.	'There is generosity quality or white element in his/her stomach.'			
	'He/She is generous.'			

In general, the the element called ʧààj is imagined to be white making human intestines and liver white/clean and makes a person generous and sympathetic. The word ʧààj is therefore equivalent to the English word GENEROSITY. This word is close to ʧààk 'milk', whose colour is white but milk may not have direct correlation with ʧààj 'white element of generosity in stomach/liver'. Therefore, a generous Anywaa can be described to have WHITE INTESTINES as follows in (445b):

(b)	ʧìir	-ì	tár	dɔ̀ʧ
	intestines of	2SG	white	DEG
Lit.	'Your intestines are very white.'			
	'You are very generous.'			

In Anywaa generosity is called tátʃ ʧíín 'whiteness of intestines' as opposed to jealousy/meanness locally called ʧʃɔ́l ʧʃìin 'blackness of intestines'.

(c)	ʧìir	-ì	ā	-tìmò	nī	tár
	intestines of	2SG	PST	become	CON	white
Lit.	'Your intestines have become white.'					
	'You have become generous.'					

Example (445c) presupposes that the addressee was jealous or mean before. Therefore, CHANGE OF HUMAN CHARACTER OF JEALOUSY/GENEROSITY IS THE CHANGE OF COLOURS OF INTESTINES OR LIVER. Generally, examples (445a-c) underlie the following two cognitive metaphors: GENEROSITY IS WHITE and GENEROSITY IS (CLEAN) INTESTINES. Due to degree of white color, we can further generate the conceptual metaphor AN OVERNENROSITY IS VERY WHITE COLOR/VERY CLEAN INTESTINES.

Among the Anywaa, during childhood a child is begged for food to be checked whether it is generous or jealous/mean. A child who usually gives food to other is generous and will grow up with this quality. In addition to expressing happiness[119], jìè/ʧʃwíɲè tár'His/Her liver/stomach is

[119]This implies that generous people are usually happy unlike jealous people. The idiom jìà ʧʃáák 'My stomach is milk' refers to happiness experienced by the speaker in terms of MILK. In their folk view, the Anywaa believe that females are more jealous. Therefore, females have blacker stomach and intestines than males, who have whiter intestines and stomach. Yet, the linguistic metaphor **jìè bʌ́ʈ̪ káámár ɖ̪ágɔ̀** (Lit. His stomach is tasteless like a stomach of a female) 'He is more generous like a female' is a good evidence for another view that females feel and control their emotion sooner and are more generous but have bitter livers than males, who are patient. The relation between white and happiness and black and anger/jealousy leads to the conceptual metaphor CLEAN IS WHITE;DIRTY IS BLACK .

white' means *He/She is generous*, which implies mix of generosity with love, happiness and sympathy. In Anywaa, an introvert person who may be mean and does not treat others well is called jìɛ̀ ráátʃ 'His/Her stomach is bad'.

Unlike jealousy, which is bitter, generosity is tasteless and is very important to help others, but jealousy is dangerous due to its bad taste, which is based on bad things it causes to a community. Therefore, in Anywaa, generosity is understood as TASTLESS as the examples below in (446a&b) imply.

(446a)	jì	-ɛ̀	bʌ́t̪
	stomach of	3SG	tasteless
Lit.	'His/Her stomach/liver is tasteless'		
	'He/She is generous.'		

Example (446a) implies that generosity is called bʌ́t ètʃ 'tastelessness of stomach'. The experience of tasteless object extended to generosity comes from water or porridge, which is tasteless if not flavoured.

(b)	tʃwíŋ	-ɛ̀	bʌ́t̪
	liver of	3SG	tasteless
Lit.	'His/Her liver is tasteless.'		
	'He/She is generous.'		

The Anywaa's use of TASTELESS OBJECT as a source domain of GENEROISTY implies that a generous person is patient and sympathetic unlike a jealous person, who is aggressive and eager. Hence, GENEROSITY IS TASTELESS (STOMACH/LIVER). Based on (446b), generosity can be compounded as bʌ́t̪ tʃwìŋ 'tastelessness of liver'. See also examples (454a)-(454d).

What can be generally concluded from understanding jealousy based on body organs is that both internal and external organs like eyes and intestines with black and dirty experience evoke imaginary bodily images for the formation of jealousy and/or other negative emotions (See Yu, 2002) for detail.

8.5.1.1 JEALOUSY IS RED

Lakoff and Johnson (1999:45) state that people use conventional mental imagery based on sensorimotor domain to understand target domains, which are subjective. So, the Anywaa use image of red colour like blood, fire or bullet in their mind to understand bad/intense jealousy and bad/very jealous people. When jealous people are angry for good things possessed by others ,their eyes are red like blood or fire as they are very angry and irritated. In mind of an Anywaa,

red is a destructive colour implying anger and danger. Generally, jealousy conceptualized based on blood makes a jealous person need whatever he or she sees due to high desire. Also JEALOUSY AS INTESTINE IN THE EYE makes a person complain directly many times leading to quarrel and killing. Hence, he or she does not ignore things nor does he or she thank others for the past favours. The following examples in (447a-d) are worth mentioning to illustrate JEALOUSY IS RED COLOUR in the mind of the Anywaa.

(447a)	n	-á	-nɛ̀ɛ̀n	rɛ̀tʃ	tʃɛ̀r	-à	wàŋ	-ɛ̀
	when	PST	see	fishes	hand of	1SG	eye of	3SG
	ā	-pùt	mʌ̀ṯṯò	nà	rɛ̀mɔ̀			
	PST	do immediately	drink	CON	blood			
Lit.	'When he saw fishes in my hand, his eye immediately turned into blood.'							
	'He immediately became jealous and angry as soon as he saw the fishes in my hand.'							

In (447a), the jealousy is mixed with angry looking with red eyes at the speaker, because the jealous person might not have fishes or might have smaller fishes than those of the speaker.

(b)	wàŋ	-è	tʃwíér	kīpɛ́r	ɲàà̱t̪à
	eye of	3SG	bleeding	for	sweet maize
Lit.	'His/Her eye is bleeding for the sweet maize.'				
	'He/She is jealous of sweet maize.'				

Although the angry looking of the jealous person in (447b) may be accompanied by red eyes, bleeding eyes usually express jealousy with big desire and anger for what has been seen. So, the jealous person in (447b) is seriously looking at the sweet maize to be given to him/her, but his/her angry looking is caused by his understanding that the owner is not willing to give him/her the maize.

(c)	wàŋ	-ɛ	kwáár	kī	mʌ̀ʌ̀r	dʒɛ́j
	eye of	3SG	red	with	wives of	people
Lit.	'His eye is red with others' wives.'					
	'He is jealous of other men's wives.'					

The red colour of eye in (447c) does not necessarily mean that the jealous person has red eyes. The metaphor rather means that the man seriously and immediately looks at the beautiful wives of other men and eagerly starts talking to them for sex or marriage within short time. Therefore, a combination of strong desire and attentive looking results in jealousy understood in terms of RED COLOUR. In fact, the eyes of angry jealous person can be red. Red liver can sometimes imply strong desire for food or another thing. Hence, STRONG ABNORMAL DESIRE IS VERY RED; JEALOUSY IS RED LIVER/EYE.

(d)	tʃwíɲ	-ì	kɛ̀r	kwáár [120]	kī	dʒàp	dʒɛ̀j
	liver of	2SG	NEG	red	with	things of	people
Lit.	'Your liver should not be very red for the people's properties.'						
	'Do not be jealous of the others' properties.'						

In (447d) the red colour of jealousy in liver implies strong desire or love for things mixed with jealousy. From example (447d) we can conclude that TEMPORARY JEALOUSY IS TEMPORAY CHANGE OF THE COLOUR OF ONE'S EYE/LIVER TO RED COLOUR. But internal organs and their permanent colours are used to express jealousy as personality/behaviour. The attaching of black, red and green colours to body parts like intestines, liver and eye imply that colours are embodied as jealous people are usually created together with black intestines and red livers. Thus, Among the Anywaa, BEHAVIOUR IS AN INTERNAL ORGAN/PERMANENT COLOUR OF AN INTERNAL ORGAN.

JEALOUSY IS BLOOD

The Anywaa do clearly know that blood in human body is important, because it keeps the center of life (the heart) alive and active so that a person becomes alive, grows well and becomes very healthy. However, the unpleasantness of jealousy can be understood in based on the blood on the ground. Such blood is unpleasant to head, liver and eye because it is red and evokes bad feeling or it is about to decay. Consider examples (448a&b).

(448a)	gúók	má	rɛ̀mɔ̀
	dogness	REL	blood
Lit.	'State of being a dog which is blood.'		
	'Jealousy which is bad like blood.'		

In (448a), JEALOUSY IS BLOOD, which is used to emphasize badness of jealousy. Example(448) has higher degree of metaphoricity and structural metaphor than (448b), because in (448a) a long distance of mapping between jealousy and blood, which is bad. But in (448b), we can clearly see bad jealous person due to his complaints, accidents which cause bleeding and suffering due to jealousy, which causes conflict and danger.

(b)	gùòk	má	rɛ̀mɔ̀
	dog	REL	blood
Lit.	'A dog which is blood.'		
	'A very (bad) jealous person.'		

[120]The insult tʃìirì kwáár ŋwɛ̀ŋ̀i 'Your intestines are red, your arsehole is red!'has nothing to do with jealousy or envy of a male or female but an insult by females implying ŋwɛ̀ŋ̀ì kwáár 'Your anus is red'. The idiom jìè téɛ́k his/her stomach is hard lexicalizes interoverness, meanness and jealousy. But in a situation where something is said or discussed, it refers to someone who has doubt or who is confused. The insulting expression jìnà rèm ŋá? 'Whose blood are you?' implies the insulting of a mother indirectly and insulting the daughter or son directly but not father. Hence, PEOPLE ARE BLOODS, because their mothers menustruate.

In (448b), the use of blood to understand the badness of a jealous person is based on the unpleasantness of the jealous person's behaviour like complaining, backbiting and gatecrashing. *Because jealousy is bad and it is in human body, it also makes a jealous person bad.* In (448b), a JEALOUS PERSON IS BLOOD. The metaphor of jealousy also uses sperm as a source of unpleasantness of jealousy and jealous person. Hence, it takes the general source of bad colour. Consider examples (449a&b).

(449a)	gúók	mà	tìɛ̀w
	dogness	REL	sperm
Lit.	'Dogness which is blood.'		
	'Jealousy which is bad(like sperm).'		

In example (449a), the focus is on the badness or high degree of the jealousy. Hence, HIGH DEGREE OF JEALOUSY IS SPERM. The jealousy metaphor in (449a) is more metaphorical than that in (449b), because in (449a) sperm is imposed onto the abstract concept gúók 'jealousy/greed' based on high degree of transfer of the source domain of SPERM to JEALOUSY.

(b)	gùòk	mà	tíɛ́w
	dog	REL	sperm
Lit.	'A dog which is sperm.'		
	'A very bad jealous person.'		

In example (449b) the focus is on the badness of the jealous person due to his/her bad jealous acts. Example, (449b) can also imply that the person addressed is very jealous. The general source of bad things used to talk about jealousy in Anywaa can have a linguistic metaphor gúók mō ráátʃ 'a bad jealousy', which in trun implies the Anywaa's evaluation of JEALOUSY AS A BAD EMOTION AND JEALOUS PEOPLE AS BAD PEOPLE.

The Anywaa's use of changing the colour of liver into red to imply becoming angry and jealous is based on the experience in which colour comes and goes as emotion is experienced and controlled. When it is cloudy, the sky is black, but when the sky is clear, the sky has white colour, because it is clean. Understanding jealousy based on black intestines is based on permanent colour as jealousy is usually natural or genetic and difficult to change. Example, the colour of the blood is permanently red: it cannot be changed. In the conception of the Anywaa, colours do migrate and replace each other. For example, the white colour of the day-time migrates and it is replaced by the black colour of night.

8.5.1.2 JEALOUSY IS GREEN

Green is the colour of unripe fruit bringing stomach pain when eaten. The Greeks associated green and pale with envy. They further believed that jealousy was accompanied by over production of bile. In English, the idiom *green Monster* stands for *jealous person* (Neamann and Silver, 1995 and Ogarkova, 2007:114). The extension of the consonant r in măr... 'green' marks higher degree of the devil-eyed's jealousy and looking with extremely green eyes. Generally, the Anywaa believe that jealousy results in death, conflict, theft, curse, promiscuity and begging which are reflected by the use of negative aspects of colours.

The relation between red eye and green eye of an evil eyed and attack caused by jealousy coincides with Greene (2018:274)'s point that jealousy is usually associated with eyes. The Latin root for envy is *invidia*, which means *to look through to probe with eyes like a dagger*. The early meaning of envy was associated with an evil eyed and the belief that a look can truly express curse, bewitch or physically harm an owner of the object. Below in (450a&b) are examples of jealousy in understood terms of GREEN colour in Anywaa:

(450a)	ɲèŋŋ	-è	márr	bʌ̀ʌ̀t	rɔ̀ɔ̀	-è
	eyes of	3SG	green	on	calf	PL
Lit.	'His eyes are green on the calves.'					
	With jealousy, he is looking at the calves.					

In (450a), the person who is looking at the calves with jealousy is an evil-eyed who is angry for the calves. This is because the Anywaa believe that an evil-eyed person has green eyes, which are filled with spiritual matters used for bewitching. Therefore, to the Anywaa, eyes like those of cat are green. Thus, WHEN A JEALOUS EVIL-EYED BECOMES VERY JEALOUS, HIS EYES BECOME VERY GREEN WITH JEALOUSY ANGER. Thus, GREEN EYE STANDS FOR AN EVIL-EYED'S JEALOUSY. Generally, an eveil-eyed's jealousy response is bewitching. In Anywaa, the urine of an evil eyed is said to be green as it has spiritual power bringing disease and death. So, if an evil eyed urinates where people or cattle live, people/cattle will be sick and they may die.

(b)	tʃìir	-ì	márr
	intestines of	2SG	green
Lit.	'Your intestines are green.'		
	'You are very jealous.'		

In example (450), the use of GREEN COLOUR attached to intestines is based on the unpleasantness of jealousy to people based on a bad thing. Therefore, the source domain of green colour in (450b) does not include pleasant things like plant leaf, but mucus, rotten objects and

pus, which are unpleasant to human head, eye and liver. In general, the use of black, green and red colours as source domains of jealousy/envy implies that red, green or black colour corresponds to jealousy. The person whose liver/eye contains such a colour is the jealous person. The degree of blackness/greenness or redness corresponds to the intensity of jealousy. We know that colours fade gradually until they disappear. This is mapped onto the gradual reduction of jealousy until it stops but this depends on the source of jealousy. This leads to the generalization that jealousy is the combination of happiness, love, hatred, anger, fear and wish. Metaphors of emotions like jealousy formed based on COLOUR, imply the relation between, mental imagery, visual perception, somatic response, metaphor and meaning (Gibbs, 2005:126).

8.5.2 JEALOUSY as BAD TASTE/SMELL

Physical sense of smell and taste can be used to conceptualize jealousy or envy. Smell and taste are the two perceptual experiences sharing characteristics . We judge what we feel as either good or bad. Flowers like mint and sweet foods like candy give us pleasure but rotten egg or putrid food evokes negative feeling in people. We also evaluate emotions as either positive or negative, which in turn helps us think about EMOTION in terms of SMELL and TASTE (Esenova, 2011:63-64 and Frijda & Fisher,n.d). In Anywaa, both jealousy and jealous person can have BAD SMELL AND BAD TASTE. The following examples in (451a)-(454d) are linguistic metaphors used to examplify the conceptualization of jealousy or envy in terms of BAD SMELL or BAD TASTE in Anywaa.

(451a)	gúók	mán	-à-	-ráátʃ	kīrɛ́ɛ́
	jealousy	REL	be	bad	really
	'A jealousy which is really foul.'				

Example (451a) is based on very bad smell or taste whose degree as been clarified by kīrɛ̌ɛ'really'. Among the Anywaa, a very jealous or stingy person is usually isolated even when he/she faces a problem needing urgency.

(b)	ō	-tʃìinò	wá	ākwʌ̀ʌ̀là
	person of	intestine	son of	rotten thing
Lit.	'An owner of intestine(s) who is a son of a rotten thing.'			
	'A putrid jealous person.'			

In (451b), the word ākwʌ̀ʌ̀là' rotten thing' evokes a very bad smell of a rotten object. In Anywaa, a jealous person is also metaphorically insulted as gùòk mō ò̀kwʌ̀k 'a rotten dog'. So, gúók à rʌ̀ŋŋò 'JEALOUSY IS BECOMING BAD' since it brings bad image and bad relation or bad behaviour. Because a rotten object is unpleasant to human eye, a jealous person is also unpleasant to human eye.

(452a) gùòk mán -à -tík
dog REL be civet
Lit. 'A dog with the smell of civet.'
'A civet jealous person.

Example (452a) has lower degree of metaphoricity, because the body of a person who may be jealousy may have civet smell although there is no direct link between civet smell and jealous person. Uncleaned armpit of a person has civet smell. In Anywaa, the smell of bedbug and civet cat have tík 'civet smell', which serve as source of bad jealousy.

(b) gúók mán -à tík
dogness REL be civet
Lit. 'Dogness which is civet.'
'Jealousy which is civet.'

Example (452b) has higher degree of metaphoricity than example (452a), because the civet smell is imposed on jealousy, which has no direct relation with this smell. We cannot smell jealousy but we can smell the body of a person, who may have civet smell and who may be jealous.

(453a) gúók mán -à- -kɔ́t
dogness REL be musky
Lit. 'Dogness which is musky.'
'Jealousy with musky/fleshy odour .'

Example (453a) has higher degree of metaphoricity, because musky smell is imposed on jealousy to talk about its badness easily, but we cannot directly smell jealousy to be musky.

(b) gùòk mán -à kɔ́t
dog REL be musky
Lit. 'A Dog which is musky.'
' Musky jealous person.'

This metaphor in (453b) has lower degree of metaphoricity than the one in (453a), because due to the smell of genital like a female's genital, a person's body may have musky smell although the person may not be jealous. Hence, JEALOUSY INTENSITY IS DEGREE OF BADNESS OF SMELL. Degree word like dɔ̀tʃ 'very' and evidential word kìrɛ̌ɛ 'really' can be used the express jealousy intenisty. An extremely bad odour makes us irritated and forces us to leave a place or close our mouths and noses.

8.5.2.1 JEALOUSY IS BITTER

In Anywaa, the experience of BITTER TASTE can be used to express jealousy. The distinction between jealousy and bitter taste is tonal. The Anywaa word for bitter is kɛ́ɛ́tʃ 'bitter', which has high tone and that for jealousy takes low tone as kɛ̀ɛ̀tʃ 'feeling bitter', which implies being angry or irritated for something important. Sometimes a jealous person is referred to as ŋát kɛ̀ɛ̀tʃ 'a person of bitter taste/feeling'. Examples (454a-d) have been given to understand JEALOUSY IS BITTER in detail.

(454a)	jì	-è	láw	kì	dʒàp	dʒɔ́	mɔ́ɔ̀k
	stomach of	3SG	tonic	with	things of	people	other
Lit.	'His/Her stomach is tonic with others' properties.'						
	'He/She is rather jealous of others' objects.'						

The lexical item for jealousy in (454a) is láw ètʃ 'tonicness of stomach', which is in English *covetousness*. In a decontextualized metaphor, jìè láw 'his/her stomach is tonic' refers to a covetous person who usually does not want to give back something he/she has taken from another person. The experience of tonic taste in stew/or fried fish reveals that the food is less tasty as the salt is inadequate. Therefore, because of the word láw 'tonic', the degree of jealousy or meanness in (454a) is lower than the one based on BITTER TASTE. The experience comes from putting little salt in stew and tasting it. When salt is over in stew, it becomes very bitter and therefore not eaten.

Jealous people are more often backbited and stigmatized. The word láw literally means less salty and no enough salt to make the food tasty. The jealous person in (454a) usually does not want to give back something he has taken from another person as the evidence dʒáp dʒɔ́ mɔ́ɔ́k 'others' properties' indicates. Example (454a) therefore underlies SLIGHT JEALOUSY IS TONIC (LESS BITTER, LESS SALTY).

(b)	jì	-è	kɛ́ɛ́tʃ	kī	dìèk	mō	ōdʒùlù
	stomach of	3SG	bitter	for	goats/sheep(PL)	of	Ojulu
Lit.	'His stomach is bitter for Ojulu's goats and sheep.'						
	'He is jealous of Ojulu's goats or sheep (PL).'						

The example here implies that Ojulu has both rɔ́ɔ́mmɔ̀'sheep' (PL. ròòm) and ātɛ́ɛ̀à 'goat', whose plural form is ātéé 'goats.' The compound word kɛ́ɛ́tʃ ètʃ 'bitterness of stomach' contextually refers to jealousy mixed with anger and depression. The jealous person in example (454b) may have goats and sheep, which may be fewer or thinner than Ojulu's. Example (454b) implies that when a feeling or emotion organ like liver or stomach is linked with bitter taste to metaphorically express jealousy, the word kɛ́ɛ́tʃ 'bitter 'is linked with body part like stomach or liver. Thus, A JEALOUS PERSON WHO IS ANGRY HAS A BITTER LIVER OR STOMACH.

(c)	tʃwíɲ	-è	kɛ̀ɛ̀j	-è	kɛ̀ɛ̀j	-ɔ̀	dɔ̀tʃ	kīpɛ̀r
	liver of	3SG	make bitter	3SG	make bitter	IFT	DEG	for
	dʒàp	dʒɔ̀	mɔ̀ɔ̀k					
	things of	people	other					
Lit.	'He/She makes his/her liver very bitter for others' belongings.'							
	'He/She she is very jealous.'							

Example (454c) implies that the jealous person in (454c) becomes angry for other people's belongings. Hence, INTENSITY OF JEALOUSY IS DEGREE OF BITTERNESS. Bitter things like high amount of salt, pepper and calabash fluid are good source domains for

understanding bitter jealousy linked with anger, which may lead to fighting or killing for a good thing like a string of bead, ivory, gun or gold.

(d)	ù	kɛ́ɛ́j	-à	pɛ́r	bɛ́ɛ́r	már	-à?
	2PL	feel bitter	FOC	for	beauty	of	1SG
Lit.	'Are you feeling bitter for my beauty?'						
	'Are you jealous of my beauty?'						

The speaker in in (454d) is a beautiful girl and the addressee are males or females who are jealous of her beauty. A girl can be jealous of a girl's beautiful eyes, legs, hairs and butt, which attract more men. Beautiful girls are usually attacked by boys if they are asked for romantic love and refuse. Evil-eyed people also bewitch beautiful girls by making them eaten up by a crocodile or bitten by a snake for their beauty. This implies that the word kɛ̀ɛ̀tʃ/kɛ̀ɛ̀j 'feel bitter', which implies jealousy, usually metaphorically means feel angry. Infact, jealousy can be accompanied by frowning and irritation.

Because of the word kɛ́ɛ́tʃ 'bitter', which brings irritation, it can be concluded that examples (454b-d) imply the conceptual metaphor INTENSE JEALOUSY (ANGER) IS BITTER. The verb kèèò '(He/She) feels bitter' can alone express jealousy and anger as a trait. This verb therefore optionally takes the prepositional phrase kīpɛ́r dʒàp dʒɛ̀j 'for other people's objects'.

Sense of smell is important for our survival. Favourable smell is approached and bad smell makes people move away. Most people do not like tasting too salty and bitter things. From birth bitter taste is known to be aversive. Poisonous plants are bitter and avoiding tasting them helps to survive as warned by folks and scientists. This smell combines anger and jealousy (See Esenova, 2011). In line with this, it can be seen among the Anywaa that life with jealous people is difficult as they curse, beg, gossip, kill, complain, insult people and look angrily. Hence, they have fewer friends. So, JEALOUSY/ENVY IS A BAD SMELL OR TASTE. Bad smell is therefore mapped onto jealousy and a person whose body has a bad smell correponds to jealous person. Unplesantness of bad smell/taste is mapped onto unplesantness of jealousy to the Anywaa community. A very bad smell or taste may trigger voming and nauseating, which the Anywaa call ŋɔ̀ɔ̀ 'vomiting' and lʌ́ʌ́m tʃwìŋ ' nauseating (in liver)'.

When there is an abnormal feeling brought by intense jealousy, it can be conceptualized as disease or death. In fact, jealous people can be sick with jealousy anger, can drown, can be burned by fire, can fall down from mango trees and feel sad when they are not given what they

want as they want to take things forcefully or steal them. Consider examples (455a-d) for the details of JEALOUSY IS DEATH/DISEASE.

(455a)	tʌ́w	gúók
	disease of	state of being a dog
Lit.	'disease caused by state of being a dog.'	
	'jealousy disease.'	

Example (455a) implies that the jealous person in (455a) is in a bad mood due to not obtaining what he/she expected. Hence, PASSIVITY/SADNESS BROUGHT BY JEALOUSY IS PASSIVITY CAUSED BY DISEASE; JEALOUSY ACTS ARE SYMPTOMS OF DISEASE.

Diseases like malaria make people tremble. The trembling of a jealous person can also be linked to the fact that they have a lot of worries, moving fast, rushing and wishes for important things, but if not given to them, they become sad and sleep with malaria.

(b)	ɲīlààl	ā	-t̪ɔw	kīpér	tʃààk
	child	PST	die	for	milk
Lit.	'The child died for the milk.'				
	'The child has become very jealous of milk.'				

In the context (455b), the child can be sad, crying or rushing for milk. The child may fall down and cry by rolling itself on the ground until the milk is given to it. The metaphor in (455b) implies passivity of child or its sadness for something like meat. Example (455b) also can be uttered based on FAINTING as āŋìɛ̀l tʃǐínɔ̀, āŋìɛ̀l ɛ̀tʃì 'He/She has fainted due to intestine and stomach', which implies that *He/She has become very jealous and usually becomes sad when he/she sees a good thing like a big fish in the hand of another person*.

(c)	tʃìin	à	t̪ɔ́ɔ́	kàɲ
	intestines	be	death	here
Lit.	'Intestines are death here.'			
	'People are very jealous here is .'			

Example (455c) can be used as backbiting for a jealous person(s) who may not be very near the addresser.

(d)	gúók	jìin	-ā	nʌ́ʌ́	-ɛ̀
	dogness	2SG	PST	kill	3SG
Lit.	'Dogness has killed you.'				
	'You have become very jealous.'				

In (455d), self-agentive activity in which jealousy is a killer has been illustrated. Jealous people may meet accidents and die or killed. A very jealous child may be cryng for maize or fish for a very long time and falls down and sleeps on the ground and this may lead to malaria. A jealous person may try to steal something and may be killed by the owner or may be killed by a fish net under water if he tries to steal the fish caught by the net, because his hands/legs may be webbed by the net. The Anywaa's folk view of understanding jealousy as DEATH has scientific

evidences. Adams (2012) confirms that the expression of jealousy is mixed with anger, depression, sadness, embarrassment and anxiety, which make a person lose control of what he she thinks or says. A mix of jealousy and anger also disturbs one's mental health and may bring death or madness due to stress (Farooq, Irfan and Farooq, 2020:2).

8.6 JEALOUSY as FORCE

Conceptualizing jealousy in Anywaa, jealousy or envy moves jealous people or make them act unnaturally. According to Kövecses (2000), EMOTION IS FORCE is the master of all emotion metaphors. This is because from the event structure and force-dynamics theory, emotion (antagonist) is conceptualzed as FORCE. The scenario is the existence of causes causing a person (self) to have an emotion, and the emotion causes an experiencer (agonist) to produce some response. Hence, CAUSES ARE FORCES (Kövecses, 1990 and Talmy, 1988). The conceptual metaphor JEALOUSY IS FORCE has its linguistic metaphors of Anywaa given in (456a-458c).

(456a)	kɛ̀ɛ̀tʃ	mán	-ǒ	-rààŋ	g̱ààṉɔ̀
	bitter feeling	REL	HAB	destroy/make bad	person
	'A destructive jealousy making a jealous person bad.'				

In example (456a) jealousy being an ANTAGONIST controls and destroys the jealous person, who is an AGONIST. A village, family or a clan can also be destroyed by jealousy due to conflicts and curse caused by jealousy. Thus, a very high jealousy spoils a jealous person due to bad images brought by jealousy.

(b)	gùòk		ā	-ŋɔ̀l	wʌ̀rò	lɔ̀ɔ̀gà	báŋ
	dog		PST	row:ITV	greed	side of a river	to
	kɔ̀ɔ̀ŋɔ̀	mō	kɛ̀r	tʃʊ̀ɔ̀l	-ɔ̀	báŋ	-è
	beer	REL	NEG	call	COMPL	to	3SG
Lit.	'Dogness rowed the dog to that side of the river for the beer he was not called for.'						
	'The jealous person went to the other side of the river for the beer he was not invited.'						

In example (456b), the verb ŋɔ̀l 'row away' is an itive verb implying that the speaker is not in the river side to which the jealous person went/was. Such an itive verb takes the distal {-è} 'that' attached to the stem lɔ̀ɔ̀- 'side of the river' but the ventive counterpart ŋùl 'row toward' takes the proximal {ì-} to be attached to lɔ̀ɔ̀- 'side of river'. In example (456b) therefore, jealousy has the force of human being rowing the canoe to the other side of the river where the Anywaa beer is being drunk. So, JEALOUSY CAN HAVE HUMAN FORCE OF ROWING THE CANOE FOR OMOLI TO REACH THE RIVER SIDE WHERE THE STEW WAS (See also Rull, 2001-2 and Schroeder and Gordon (2002).

(c)	ōmòòlī	ā	-kàt̪	lɔ̀ɔ̀gà	kīpɛ̀r	kát	ādìŋŋà
	Omooli	PST	cross a river:ITV	side of a river	for	stew	electric fish
	'Omoli crossed the river for an electric fish stew.'						

The example in (456c) implies that unless stopped by an external force to go back, Omoli's desire or jealousy inertia fastens his movement to the side of the river where the stew of an electric fish is being cooked. The jealousy force forced Omoli to cross the river for the electric fish stew. The Anywaa word kàt̪ 'cross' is usually used to mean *crossing the shallow part of a river mainly with legs but not with canoe.*

(457a)	gúók	dʒààl	ā	-kʌ̀l	-ɛ̀
	dogness	old man	PST	take away	3SG
	'Jealousy took away the old man.'				

The example (457a) metaphorically implies that jealousy has human force holding the hand of the old man. The low tone of the itive verb kʌ̀l 'take' implies that the old man went away from the speaker who is far from the object needed by the old man. The low tone therefore marks the old man's being taken way from the addresser (itive movement). The speaker here knows that where the old man went was far and not good for him but with he feeling of jealousy, he went there although the other people did not expect his going.

(b)	gúók	dʒààl	ā	-kʌ́l	-ɛ́[121]
	jealousy	old man	PST	bring	3SG
	'Jealousy brought the old man.'				

The example in (457b) implies that the jealous old man went where the speaker was. The high tone in kʌ́l 'bring' therefore marks ventive motion. However, whether the old man obtained what he wished is not evidenced here although he might have been given something due to his proximity and shame by the owner of food, meat or any other valuable object.

(458a)	gúók	màn	-ā	-tɛ́ɛ́k	kírɛ̊ɛ
	dogness	REL:DEFINE	be	hard	really
Lit.	'Dogness which is really hard.'				
	'Jealousy which is really intense.'				

Example (458a) takes us to the conceptual metaphor (EMOTION) INTENSITY IS HARD. The use of the defining relativizer màn 'which' implies that the jealous person about whom the people

[121] Tone can also be used to express fixed time and mandate. In the imperative ō-dùù-ì 'You have to return it toward,' the low tone implies that in the fixed time in future, the addressee should return the object he/she has taken. So, it is obligatory to the addressee to return the object to the owner after the time allowed for use. However, in the imperative ō-dúú-í 'You may return it toward,' the high tone implies that there is no fixed time for the addressee to retun the object to the owner. The owner will also not worry even if the object taken is not returned to him or her. Using rising tone, this optional use of returning the object can be expressed with passive voice as ōdǔuí 'It may be returned' but by using mid tone, the object to be returned can be metonymically made an agent, which returns by as ōdūūī 'It may return' . Hence, the expression káŋō máŋŋí dʒààk 'Any time you like' is implied by the addressee, who is the owner. It can be therefore concluded that grammatical tone expresses mandatory and optional action via different voices.

are talking is clearly known. This implies that jealousy force forces people to do jealousy activities.

(b)	gùòk	màn	-ā	-tɛ́ɛ́k
	dog	REL:DEFINE	PST	hard
Lit.	'The dog which is hard.'			
	'The very jealous person.'			

Example (458b) implies that the jealous about whom the people are talking is clearly known as suggested by the defining relativizer màn 'who'. The example implies A VERY JEALOUS PERSON IS STRONG. However, example (458a) is more metaphorical than example (458b), because in example (458b) we can infer that a very jealous or very greedy person can be really stronger and take an object forcefully. But example (458a) concretizes jealousy intensity by imposing strength on jealousy based on strong things like stone, metal, tree or a person. In Anywaa, jealousy or greed is also understood as a force which shakes the body. This conceptualization of jealousy has been linguistically illustrated in (458c) below:

(458c)	dèèr	dʒààl	míèl	kìpɛ́r	kat	ŋwɛ̀ɛ̀tʃ
	body of	old man	dance	for	stew of	monitor lizard stew
Lit.	'The old man's body is dancing for the monitor lizard stew.'					
	'The old man is trembling for the monitor lizard stew.'					

Example (458c) implies that the old man is now agitated with greed for the monitor lizard stew which is being cooked where he is. Monitor lizard is usually eaten by old men in the fireplace. Its stew is cooked for a long time and the monitor lizard flesh becomes very soft and tasty. The hands of very old people usually shake when they are about to take something (very important). Hence, BEING AGITATED WITH JEALOUSY IS TREMBLING.

Generally, examples (456)-(458c) imply that in the conception of JEALOUSY as FORCE among the Anywaa, the force of jealousy is usually stronger than that of a person and makes a jealous person travel for food, steal or beg.

8.7 JEALOUSY as INSANITY/CURSE

Jealousy can be conceptualized as CURSE OR INSANITY. An abnormal behaviour of a jealous person takes the source domain of INSANITY and CURSE. Among the Anywaaa, it is believed that a person who is very generous can be cursed to be mean and jealous. Similarly, a very jealous person can be cursed to be overgenerous so that he/she gives more maizes, durras or fishes to others easily. To illustrate JEALOUSY IS INSANITY/CURSE in Anywaa, the linguistic metaphors in (459a-d) have been provided below.

(459a)	wì	-è	dá	túóŋ	gúók
	head of	3SG	exist	worm	jealousy
Lit.	'There is jealousy insect/worm in his/her head.'				
	'There exists jealousy madness in his/her head.'				

The jealous person described in (459a) complains directly and goes somewhere he was not called for food or drink. The Anywaa's conception of insanity as a worm in head is based on worm in stomach and sore and causes disturbances and pain. Example (459a) generally implies intense jealousy.

(b)	kī	dʒír	-à	nī	dèèt	-ù	dá	ātʃĩén	wʌ̀rò
	from	to	1sG	that	bodies of	2PL	exist	curse of	greed
Lit.	'I think there is greed curse in your(2PL) bodies.'								
	'I think you (PL) have been cursed to be jealous/greedy.'								

As curse enters the body, its force also makes jealousy enter the human body. The implied meaning in (459b) is that all the relatives are very jealous/very greedy. In fact, among the Anywaa, it is believed that a group of people, lineage or clan can be cursed to be jealous. That is why it is said gɛ̀nɔ̀ tʃĩén gúók 'They have been cursed to be jealous'. The metaphor in (459b) can be lexicalized as gúóg ātʃĩénì 'curse jealousy/greed'.

(c)	gùòk	wì	-è	bá	lǽáj
	dog	head of	3SG	NEG	afraid: EMOT
Lit.	'A dog's head is not afraid.'				
	'A jealous person is shameless.'				

Example (459c) implies that jealous people are stupid as they do not understand bad things like looking at them with a scowl. A jealous person may go to an enemy's home for beer. Thus, jealous people act immorally like crazy people. Therefore, example (459c) underlies JEALOUSY IS FOOLISHNESS; JEALOUSY IS SHAMELESS/OVERCONFIDENCE.

(d)	tʃììn	ā	-tìmò	ná	dʒùù	wì	-è
	intestines	PST	become	CON	gods	head of	3SG
Lit.	'Intestines became gods in his/her head.'						
	'He/She was/has been maddened by many gods of jealousy.'						

The experience of different charms required by the different gods in the head of the jealous person takes us to metaphorical conclusion that the jealous person in (459d) exhibits different behaviours of insanity when he/she sees various things like fishes, clothes, maizes or cattle (of other persons). For example, a jealous person may speak crazily that he/she has not been given food while he/she has been given. Failure to find the charms makes a child mad or suffer from more diseases like paralysis. Similarly, when jealous people are not given what they wish, they act abnormally. A linguistic metaphor like gúók wìì ātʃùòɖɛ̀'Jealousy has made your mind dirty with confusion' leads to the conceptual metaphor MENTAL IMPURITY IS PHYSICAL POLLUTION.

Although degree words like dɔ̀tʃ 'very' and mèèt̪ 'slightly, rather' can be used to express jealousy intensity in Anywaa, Ograkova (2007) claims that THE INTENSITY OF JEALOUSY IS PHYSICAL SIZE OR QUANTITY. Based on this cognitive metaphor, the following linguistic metaphors of Anywaa in (460)-(461b) are worth mentioning for clarification.

(460a)	gúók	mō	dóɔ́ŋ	dɔ̀tʃ
	dogness	REL	big	DEG
Lit.	'Dogness which is very big.'			
	'A very big jealousy.'			

Example (460a) is based on the conceptual metaphor HIGH DEGREE OF JEALOUSY IS A VERY BIG OBJECT. In (460a), because a very big object has been mapped onto high degree of jealousy, we can conclude that a concept in human mind is not formed arbitrarily nor is it innate, but it is formed based on sensorimotor experience, mappings and embodiment, which are in turn specified by image schema.

(b)	gùòk	mán	-à	dóɔ́ŋ
	dog	REL	be	big
Lit.	'The dog which is very big.'			
	'The very jealous person.'			

The jealous person in (460b) can be a big person or a small child, but has higher degree of jealousy. Because puppies are small and do not search foods with jealousy force like big dogs, we can form the cognitive metaphor A VERY JEALOUS PERSON IS A BIG DOG. In (460b), what is emphasized is the fact that the person is very jealous. This jealousy intensity has been understood based on A VERY BIG DOG. To Hernandez and Ibanz (2011:19), a metaphor like that in (460b), in which only the major part of the target is understood by using the major attiribute(s) or feature(s) of the source is called *non-structural metaphor*, because detailed knowledge and image of the source are not used.

(461a)	ɲī	gúók	mō	ʈ̪î...n̪	dágɔ̀	dèèr	-ì
	child of	dogness	REL	sma...l	exist	body of	2SG
Lit.	'There is a very small child of dogness inside your body.'						
	'You are slightly jealous.'						

The modified form ɲī 'child of', whose basic form is ɲìj 'child', is derived from human child, but can be extended to fruit, young animal or very small object. The vowel extension in ʈ̪î...n̪ 'sma...l' implies very low degree of jealousy. So, based on the experience of seeing a small object in a container, we can form LOW INTENSITY OF JEALOUSY IS A SMALL CHILD (OBJECT) IN A JEALOUS PERSON'S BODY. The conception of low intensity of jealousy as a small object in the body of a jealous person in (461a) above is based on the addressee's behaviour of showing jealousy in an indirect way or in very rare times. In Anywaa, a daughter whose parent is

jealous is called ɲī gùòk 'daughter of dog' and a son whose parent is jealous is called wó gùòk 'son of a dog'. Hence, JEALOUS ADULTS ARE DOGS WHOSE CHILDREN ARE PUPPIES.

(b)	ʇ̪ʌ̀ʌ̀ŋ	kɛ̀ɛ̀tʃ	pʊ̀ʊ̀t	dágɔ̀	tʃwíɲ	-ì
	temple of	bitter feeling	still	exist	liver of	2SG
Lit.	'Inside your liver, there still exists a temple of bitter feeling.'					
	'Inside your heart, there still exists half of jealousy.'					

Example (461b) generally evokes HALF OF JEALOUSY (OBJECT) IS TEMPLE. This means in (461b) half of an object is imposed on small intensity of jealousy so that it becomes easy to talk about this intensity of jealousy. Hence, SMALL ASPECTS OF JEALOUSY ARE SMALL HALVES OF OBJECTS. The existence of small jealousy in liver given in example (461b) implies that the addressee seems to have stopped being jealous but the way he looks now still shows that he is still a bit jealous of the object which he can still see. In Anywaa, the concept of HALF is embodied, because it is derived from the basic body part noun ʇ̪ʌ̀ʌ̀ŋò 'temple' to mean *half*, whose modified form is ʇ̪ʌ̀ʌ̀ŋ 'temple of' to mean *half of*. For example, ʇ̪ʌ̀ʌ̀ŋ kùòn 'half of porridge' literally means temple of porridge based on its sliced shape like temple. Ogarkova (2007)'s claim that INTENSITY OF JEALOUSY IS SIZE/QUANTITY takes us to the conclusion that the Anywaa data in (460a-461b), which imply intensity of jealousy, are ontological metaphors of jealousy evidenced by SIZES and CONTAINERS, but NUMBER OF INTESTINES can also measure the intensity of jealousy. Intensity of jealousy can also be understood based on FIRE as follows in (461c):

(461c)	gúók	màn	-ā	-nʌ́k	mààtʃ
	dogness	REL	AUX	be	fire
Lit.	'Dogness which is fire.'				
	'Intense jealousy.'				

Based on (461c), it can be understood that JEALOUYS IS FIRE and THE INTENSITY OF JEALOUSY IS THE INTENSITY OF FIRE. Hence, A PERSON AFFECTED BY JEALOUSY IS A PERSON AFFECTED BY FIRE.

In general, based on different image sources like colour, taste, force and animals' characteristics, appearances and sounds, we can conclude that jealousy metaphors are one-shot/image metaphors, which map only one visual image on another concept. Therefore, while conceptual metaphor allows many concepts in source domains to be mapped onto corresponding concepts in the target domain, an image metaphor has one main image in the source domain. Regardng Anywaa, the mapping of black intestines of a tilapia onto those of a jealous person and the mapping of a a big object onto big intestines of a jealous person are strong examples of image metaphors of jealousy (see Lakoff and Johnson, 1980 for detail). So, it could be argued that

because the use of DOG as source of jealousy is based on visual similarity but not based on logical inferences, relationships and mappings, DOG is not a primary source concept for JEALOUSY (see Grady, 1997) for detail.

8.8 Summary of Jealousy Metaphors

Among the Anywaa, jealousy is usually understood as a trait beginning during childhood. In Anywaa, jealousy has different but related names like ʧìn(ò) 'intestine(s)', pʌ́l ʧwɨ̀ɲ 'bigness of liver', gúók 'being a dog' and kɛ̀ɛ̀tʃ 'feeling bitter', which imples that liver becomes bitter when a person becomes jealous. The Anywaa's understanding of jealousy in terms of BITTER LIVER implies the mix between jealousy and anger (irritation). The attributes of jealous people include crying, complaining, gatecrashing, over confidence, shamelessness and angry looking. In using colours to express jealousy in Anywaa, usually black colour is attached to intestines so that a person with black intestines is the jealous person. The Anywaa usually evaluate jealousy as a negative emotion. Evidences of badness of jealousy among the Anywaa include the use of source domains like big liver, musky smelling, civet smelling, black colour, bad attributes of dog and bad intestines. Therefore, in Anywaa, the language used to express jealousy is usually an insult.

Chapter Nine: Scope of Source Domains of Emotion in Anywaa

In this chapter, an attempt is to be made to confirm whether the emotion source domains of emotions analyzed in Chapters 4-8 are applicable in other areas rather than emotion concepts. In doing so, the major source domains have been selected and based on these source domains conclusion is to be made. The application of different source domains outside emotion scope is very important to see how much metaphor is pervasive among the Anywaa, because metaphorical language is not used only in expressing emotion. So, describing metaphor is not limited to metaphors of emotion only. In Anywaa, the use of SUBSTANCE and CONTAINER as source domain of other abstract concepts rather than emotions can be illustrated as follows in (462a)-(465b):

(462a)	wà	ɛ́n	-á	jì	kʌtʃ
	1PL:EXCL	be:LOC	FOC	stomach of	famine
Lit.	'We are in the stomach of famine.'				
	'We are suffering from famine.'				

In (462a) the speakers are substances in the container FAMINE to imply that it is a famine time. The preposition IN is derived from the human stomach 'jì 'stomach of'. Hence, FAMINE STATE IS AN ENCLOSED LOCATION.

(b)	dèèr	-ì	dá	dʒʊ̀ɔ̀k	mɔ̀n
	body of	2SG	exist	God/god	really
Lit.	'Inside your, body really there exists god/God.'				
	'You are really very lucky.'				

In metaphor (462b) LUCK has been understood in terms of SUPERNATURAL BEING IN THE BODY. This implies that dʒʊ̀ɔ̀k 'supernatural being' is a synonym of gúm dèèl 'luck'. The reason why LUCK is understood as God/god in Anywaa is that both luck and supernatural being help us escape from death, and obtain advantages like gold, girl, fish, weapon, ivory and others. For example, the Anywaa believe that if a hunter's arm vibrates, what vibrate in his arm are called dʒùù 'God's (chance) spirits', which tell the hunter that he will go to hunt and he will kill (shoot) a prey. Hence, LUCK IS A GOOD SUPERNATURAL BEING IN HUMAN BODY.

(c)	dèèr	-à	dá	kʌtʃ'
	body of	1SG	exist	hunger
Lit.	'There exists hunger inside my body.'			
	'I am hungry.'			

In example (462c), HUNGER IS A SUBSTANCE IN A BODY, which is a container as hunger weakens human body strength althought it is usually felt with stomach. In Anywaa, an abstract concept like thirst is also conceptualized as a substance in the body of a person who is thirsty. In

Anywaa, enclosed but wide areas like river and house optionally take jì 'stomach of', whose English equivalent is IN. Examples can be found below in (463a&b):

(463a)	wà	ɛ́n	-á	(jì)	nààm
	1PL:EXCL	be:LOC	FOC	stomach of	river
Lit.	'We are inside the stomach of the river.'				
	'We are in the river.'				
(b)	wá	ɛ́n	-á	(jì)	ɔ̀tɔ̀
	1PL:EXCL	be:LOC	FOC	stomach of	house
Lit.	'We are inside the stomach of house.'				
	'We are in the house.'				

As it can be understood from (463a&b), the locatives nààm 'river' and ɔ̀tɔ̀ 'house' have optionally taken the locative preposition jì 'in'. However, when the container is very small and/or very enclosed, the preposition jì 'in' is obligatorily used as illustrated below in (464).

(464)	dʒíéò	ā	-rɛ̀ŋ	jì	bùùr
	rat	PST	run:ITV	stomach of	hole
Lit.	'The rat has run into the stomach of the hole.'				
	'The rat has run into the hole. '				

In example (464) bùùr 'hole' has obligatorily taken jì 'in', because hole is small and very clearly enclosed. So, in Anywaa, very narrow or clearly enclosed containers like inner part of gun, pot, spoon and bag obligatorily take jì 'in'. It is difficult to come out of such a container. This obligatory use of location/container is imposed on emotion and other abstract or complex concepts like disease, hunger, war, etc so that an emotion or another abstract concept is easily conceptualized as a very concrete container or location. Consider examples (465a&b) below for detail.

(465a)	gɛ̀	ɛ́n	-á	jì	mèèr
	3PL	be:LOC	FOC	stomach of	love
Lit.	'They are inside the stomach of love.'				
	'They are in love.'				

This (465a) implies that the people are experiencing intense recent love, which is difficult to stop. So, love has been used as a container of lovers without deleting 'jɪ' 'in' so that love/emotion becomes concrete and very enclosed container like pot causing difficulty of coming out of it. This obligatory use of very enclosed container for love/emotion state is based on the fact that emotions clearly affect our life based on physiology.

(b)	ōdʒùlù	béédò	jì	tʌ̀w	nìr	-ì
	Ojulu	living	stomach of	disease	days	these
Lit	'These days, Ojulu lives in the stomach of disease.'					
	'These days, Ojulu is suffering from the disease a lot.'					

Example (465b) implies that the disease has almost become chronic in Ojulu's body as the disease is conceptualized as A HABITAT. So, Ojulu cannot stand appropriately nor can he walk. In addition, in such a disease context, Ojulu has no appetite of eating more food. He is therefore very thin. Based on example (465b), the following conceptual metaphors can be formulated: A

CHRONIC/LONG LASTING DISEASE IS A HABITAT; A PERSON WHO IS SUFFERING FROM A CHRONIC/LONG LASTING DISEASE LIVES IN DISEASE (BAD HABITAT). As can be inferred from examples (462a)-(465b), the use of human stomach as a source domain of container or state leads us to the conclusion that image schema can emerge from our body part shape and its function implying that image schema is prelinguistic. Human eye is also metaphorically used for understanding bulb, centre of road and opening and crystals as can be found in metaphors of the following examples in (466a-d).

(466a) wàŋ (nààm)
eye of river
Lit. 'eye of river'
'stream.'

In (466a) the experience is based on the opening of an eye and extension of the sight. In the context where people are fishing in a river, only 'waŋ 'eye' is used for stream, which is part of river which opens and sometimes closed by grass.

(b) wàŋ lìlmùw
eye of needle
Lit. 'eye of needle'
'opening of needle'

In (466b), the extension of an eye to an opened part of needle is based on opening our eye. In Anywaa, car bulb is called wàŋ ʈùrùbìil 'eye of a car'. Like an eye, when the headlight bulb of a car is lit, it enables us to see at night. Generally, as (466) implies, since we think, conceptualize concepts and imagine based on our body, MIND IS BODY.

(c) wàŋ ābʌ̀tʃ
eye of maize
Lit. 'An eye of maize'
'A grain of maize.'

In (466c), human eye has been extended to a grain of maize based on the shape of an eye.

(d) wàŋ dʒòò
eye of road
Lit. 'eye of road'
'centre of road'

In (466d), the Anywaa's understanding of the CENTER OF ROAD based on HUMAN EYE is based an opened center of eye, whose sides are covered by eyelashes, which cover human eye. Similarly, an open center of road has sides covered by grass which may cover the center of road when the grass grows. So, THE CLOSING OF OUR EYE BY EYELASHES IS THE COVERING OF ROAD BY GRASS AND THE OPENING OUR EYE IS THE OPENING OF THE CENTRE OF ROAD. The Anywaa understand the side of road based on TEMPLE (side of head). Thus, in Anywaa, side of road is called ʈʌ̀ʌ̀ŋ dʒòò 'side of road', which literally means *temple of road*. Therefore, SIDE OF ROAD IS (HUMAN) TEMPLE. In Anywaa, the

selection of TEMPLE as a source domain to understand and talk about SIDE OF ROAD proves Kövecses' (2008:175) argument that specific source specifies the meaning of target domain. Therefore, Clausner and Croft's (1997) criticism of level of schematicity of conceptual metaphor does not invalidate conceptual metaphor theory(CMT).

Human liver can be extended to other non-emotion concepts like tʃwíɲ ābʌtʃ 'liver of maize' to refer to the part of maize from which plumule and radicle grow and tʃwíɲ[122] gʊ̀ʊ̀l' liver of a farm' to refer to a very fertile part of a farm where very big maizes grow. The relation between liver and very fertile part of farm is that liver is smooth, center of cognition and soft and so is a very fertile part of farm, which is the center of farm. In Anywaa, the extension of body parts like liver, stomach, toes and head to other concepts like fertile land, inner part of river or pot, plant roots and tip of finger leads us to conclusion that metaphor is important to understand ourselves, objects and the world.

The metaphors used in the previous examples like (466a-d) are based on human liver, body and its parts as source domains of non-emotion concepts. Other non-body source domains can also be used as source domains of non-emotion concepts. For example, the source domain of FOOD can be extended to other concepts like speech, good information and others. Consider the following examples in (467a-e).

(467a)	dʒɔ́w	ā	-dʒʌ̀ŋ	kī	dʊ́ɔ́r	ɲɛ́jjá
	people:DEF	PST	be satisfied	with	voice of	king
Lit.	'The people were satisfied with the king's voice.'					
	'The people were convinced by the king.'					

In (467a), the word dʒʌ̀ŋ 'be satisfied' is a clue to food as a source of good point of discusion, because in Anywaa, this word is basically used for satsifaction with food like porridge eaten with tasty stew. Example (467a) therefore implies that those who spoke before the king did not convince the villagers as they did not raise the expected important point, but the king convinced the villagers, who stopped raising questions. Hencce, GOOD ANSWER/SPEECH IS TASTY FOOD; SPEECH IS VOICE.

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[122]Body parts like vagina and penis are extended to objects with opening parts and sharp things. Examples, múr tʃǎálá 'vagina of hoe' used to mean the opening part of hoe inside which the hand of hoe is fixed, Similarly, the opening part of fishing spear inside which shaft is fixed for fishing or hunting is called múr wáràgòòj/bɛ̀ɖ̰ì, which literally means vaigina of fishing spear. The trigger of a gun in Anywaa is called tʃúr ōwʌ̀ŋ 'gun's penis' and the sting of a bee is tʃúr kìtʃ 'bee's penis'. A basic body part like eye or mouth can be metaphorically extended to another body part, which is more complex or less accessible. For example, in Anywaa, the opening part of vagina is called ɖ̰ī múr 'mouth of vagina' and the inner opening part of anus is called wàŋ ŋwɛ̀ŋ 'eye of anus'. Finger tip is called wí lwɛ́ɛ́dɔ̀, which literally means head of finger.

(b)	dúúd	-ì	mɛ́t
	song of	2SG	delicious
Lit.	'Your song is delicious.'		
	'Your voice (song) is good'		

In (467b), GOOD SONG has been understood in terms of TASTY FOOD. Hence, GOOD IS TASTY.

(c)	mɛ̀ɛ̀ŋ	ā	-mìnnò
	dance	PST	become tasty
Lit	'The dance has become tasty.'		
	'The dance has become intense and good.'		

In the context of example (467c), many people can be seen running into dance and the dance is intense. The voice of drum and the people's voice are also very loud making the dancers very pleasesd. Usually dance becomes intense when drum is heated and beaten with elbow. Hence, INTENSE IS TASTY; INTENSE DRUM DANCE IS TASTY FOOD.

(d)	lɛ́ɛ́rɔ̀	mán	bá	mɛ́t
	tale	this	NEG	tasty
Lit.	'This tale is not delicious.'			
	'This tale is not interesting.'			

In (467d) bad story/tale has been understood based on bad food. SO, AN INTERESTING STORY/TALE IS DELICIOUS FOOD; BAD STORY IS BAD FOOD. Hence, BAD IS A NON-DELICIOUS FOOD. As the Anywaa tell tales at night, (467d) implies that it is now night and the tale is being told as it is clued by mán 'this'.

(e)	dá	lùùbò	tʃwíɲ	-à	mō	à	máɲɲ	-á
	exist	idea	liver of	1SG	REL	1SG	want	FOC
	gɔ̀	nɛ́ɛ́	ɲwáá	-à	kī	ù		
	it	PURP	eat together	1SG	with	2PL		
Lit.	'Inside my liver, there exists an idea which I want to eat together with you(2PL).'							
	'I have an idea which I want to share with you.'							

As the word ɲwààk 'eat together' suggests, in example (467e), an idea has been understood based on the source of FOOD and sharing an idea has been conceptualized as EATING TOGETHER, which the Anywaa call ɲwààk. Being in a group, the Anywaa eat foods like porridge and stew with spoons and the foods are inside containers like gourd or stew pot. While eating in a group, each member of a fireplace (home) picks an amount of food with spoon. Similarly, in a discussion, each person may participate by suggesting an idea. Therefore, AN IDEA IS FOOD; SHARING AN IDEA IS EATING FOOD TOGETHER. THE PEOPLE WHO SHARE IDEAS ARE THOSE WHO EAT FOOD TOGETHER. A CONTAINER OF IDEA (LIVER) IS THE CONTAINER OF FOOD.

Because MOTION has progress, it can be used as a source domain for other non-emotion concepts as illustrated as follows in (468a-b).

(468a) pùùr tʃʌ́ʌ́d̪ò nī bɛ́ɛ́r
cultivation walk CON good
'The cultvation is walking in a good way.'
'The cultivation is progressing well.'

In (468a) PROGRESS or GOODNESS of cultivation has been understood in terms of MOTION. Hence, PROGRESS IS MOTION; GOOD PROGRESS IS A GOOD MOVEMENT; MANNER OF ACTIVITY IS PATH.

(b) ātʃĭénì ā -píí dèèr ōwɛ́tī mɔ̀n
curse PST reach body of Oweti really
'Curse has really reached Oweti's body.'

In (468b) CURSE is conceptualized as A MOVING ENTITY and has reached Oweti's body. Thus, Oweti has become cursed. The example implies that Oweti has started behaving in the way cursed people behave. In the Anywaa's belief, curse is a moving spirit which enters the body of a cursed person so that the cursed person suffers from different problems like falling down, madness, trembling, foaming, becoming unclucky, killing others, etc. The speaker in (468b) clearly knows that Oweti would be cursed as he committed a mistake to the person known in the village. The evidential mɔ̀n 'really' tells us that the speaker has confirmed Oweti's being cursed as the curser was speaking with Oweti's name. The Anywaa sometimes equate curse with wìɲɔ̀ 'bird', which flies from one place to another. A curse can sometimes faint a witch doctor and runs to another person's body and faints him/her. To end a curse, a witch doctor removes the spirit of curse from the cursed person's body and puts it in fire. Then, it produces the voice tʃwí...tʃ, a voice similar to the cry of bird. The use of FORCE, COLOUR, FIRE, PLANT and FISHING as source domains of non-emotion concepts can be illustrated as follows in (469)-(472c):

(469a) lɛ̀ɲ ā -tìmò nī mààtʃ
war PST become CON fire
Lit. 'The war has become fire.'
'The war has become intense/difficult.'

In (469a) the difficulty or intensity of war has been understood in terms of FIRE, which is difficult to extinguish. In addition, a strong, hero or courageous person can be represented has fire like in mààtʃ āòò 'The fire man is coming'. Hence, INTENSITY/STRENGTH IS FIRE. Furthermore, in Anywaa, color can be used outside the scope of emotion as follows in (469b):

(b) ɲīlààl mō márr... dɔ́tʃ kírɛ̌ɛ
child REL gre...n DEG really
Lit. 'A child who is really very gre...n.'
'A child who is really very young.'

In example (469b), the concept of YOUNG has been understood based on GREEN COLOUR and a very young child as been understood based on very young and green plant like maize

which is still growing or an unripe fruit like mango, whose colour in Anywaa is understood to be green. The degree of greenness has been marked by vowel extension in márr 'green' and dɔ́tʃ 'very'. Hence, YOUNG IS GREEN; A VERY YOUNG CHILD IS A VERY YOUNG AND VERY GREEN PLANT/UNRIPE FRUIT; AN ADUTLT IS A BIG PLANT/RIPE FRUIT. Further, the idiom tʃɛ́ŋŋì tár *'Your hands are white'* implies that the addressee's hands are clean or the addressee takes good care of children so that they grow up with good behaviour.

(470)	ākuoma	lwɛ̀ɛ̀t	-ɛ̀	ā	-kéét	pìŋ
	government	toes	3SG	PST	go deep	down
Lit	'The roots of the government have gone deeper down in the soil.'					
	'The government has become very strong.'					

In (470) government's strength has been understood in terms of plant roots, which have gone deeper down under the soil. The government in (470) is very strong and difficult to be overthrown, because the leader is very dedicated to the political actvities and clearly investigating government actvities. This takes us to the following conceptual metaphors: GOVERNMENT IS A PLANT, POLITICAL POWER IS A PLANT ROOT, GOVERNMENT AGENCIES ARE BRANCHES OF A PLANT, CESSATION OF POLITICAL POWER IS THE FALLING DOWN OF A PLANT.

(471a)	jì	mág	-á	dʒíp	lùùbò
	2SG	catch	FOC	tail of	discussion
Lit.	'You have caught the tail of the discussion.'				
	'You came late while the discussion/argument is about to finish.'				

The implied meaning in (471a) is that the addressee came late while the discussion has already started. Therefore, because he did not understand the topic or motion, he will not convince his opponents who have understood the discussion or motion well based on the experience of catching a fish with its head, gill or eye. Thus, AN ARGUMENT IS FISHING; A TOPIC OF DISCUSSION IS A FISH. MAJOR TOPIC IS A HEAD/EYE/GILL OF FISH AND MINOR POINT OF DISCUSSION IS A TAIL OF FISH. AN ARGUMENT/A DISCUSSION WHICH IS ABOUT TO END IS A FISH WHICH IS ABOUT TO SLIP. Experientially, more often a fish whose tail is caught is the one which has already started going away.

(b)	kúʌ́r	ā	-màà	-ɛ̀	kī	ɲááɲŋ	-ɛ̀
	political power	PST	catch	3SG	with	gill of	3SG
Lit.	'He has caught the political power/seat with its gill.'						
	'He is very committed to politics.'						

The political metaphor in (471b) is based on fishing with hand. Example (471b) therefore implies that the political leader like a king, chief or president does not want to be removed from power/throne. So, seizing a political power strongly has been understood in terms of catching a fish's gill strongly. So, the words ɲààŋ 'gill' and màk 'catch' are very important clues that the

source domain of the political power metaphor in (471b) is FISH/FISHING, but the word ākùʌ̀r 'authority' is clearly the target domain, because it literally does not have a gill like a fish. Among the Anywaa, it is difficult to take a fish out of the hand of a person who has caught it with its gill or head. Such person kills and owns the fish easily and the judgement will be given for him to take the fish, because he has caught the head and the gill, which contain much strength of the fish. Similarly, if a politician pays more attention to political power, it is difficult to take the political power from his hand as he controls the major branches of the government like military agencies. Therefore, based on example (471a&b), the following conceptual metaphors in (a)-(f) can be formulated:

(a) POLITICS IS FISHING.
(b) POLTICAL LEADERS ARE FISHERS.
(c) POLITICAL POWER/SEAT IS A FISH.
(c) A PERSON WHO TAKES THE POLITICAL POWER IS A PERSON WHO CATCHES AND TAKES THE FISH.
(d) FIGHTING OVER A POLITICAL POWER IS FIGHTING OVER A FISH.
(e) A POLITICAL COUNTRY IS A WATER BODY WITH FISHES.
(f) RULES OF POLITICS ARE THE RULES OF FISHING

The use of the source domain of FORCE outside emotion concept can be found in the target domains like GOVERNMENT, LIFE and HATRED as follows:

(472a)	ākùòmà	mán	tɛ́ɛ́k	dɔ́tʃ	
	government	this	hard	DEG	
Lit.	'This governments is very hard.'				
	'This government is very strong.'				
(b)	béétò	ā	-tìmò	nī	tɛ́ɛ́k
	living	PST	become	CON	hard
Lit.	'Living has become hard.'				
	'Life has become difficult.'				

In (472b), the stronger entity is life as we struggle to overcome life. The speaker in example (472b) is therefore overcome by the force of life. Thus, the speaker is leading difficult life filled with high poverty. In (472) political strength has been understood based on physical strength.

(c)	góór	mán	tɛ́ɛ́k
	study	this	hard
Lit.	'This study/education is hard.'		
	'This study/education is difficult.'		

In (472), the current difficult study, which has been pointed out like a near concrete object, is characterized by difficult exams in which students fail. Hence, in (472c) A HARD SUBJECT IS A STRONG PHYSICAL OBJECT. As it can be seen from the examples in (486a-c), the concept of force (power) is rendered by the word tɛ́ɛ́k 'hard'. So, complex fields like maths are hard to

deal with usually defeating people with failure to pass an exam. In Anywaa, when a student fails to pass an exam, it is said āpʌ̀ḏò 'He/She fell down'.

Generally, examples (462a)-(472c) imply that in Anywaa, the source domains used for emotion conception can also be used for non-emotion concepts. Hence, metaphor is very pervasive among the Anywaa. Furthermore, the application of metaphor and metonymy outside the scope of emotion proves what cognitive linguists like Kövecses (2010) hypothesize that most source domains that occur with emotions are not limited to emotions but have wider scope of metaphorical use beyond emotions (see also Esenova,2011:128). This means metaphor is used in any sector of human life. Furthermore, Kövecses (2010:xii) mentions that metaphor can be extended to non-linguistic metaphors like audio-visual actions by relating human knowledge, concept and experience (Lakoff and Johnson,2003). Gibss (2005) and (2012) state that psychological experiments have revealed the psychological reality of metaphors. This makes CMT very strong and empirical.

Chapter Ten: Explication of the Emotion Categories, Results and Discussion

In the present study, emotion metaphors of anger, fear, happiness, love and jealousy have been analyzed and interpreted based on the source domains of SUBSTANCE, PLANT, CONTAINER, FIRE, BODY, VOICE, FORCE, COLOUR, SUPERNATURAL BEINGS, etc. The results of this study show that emotions do mix within one source domain, but context can specify the kind of emotion and the meaning to be expressed. The present study has proved that human body mostly provides an important experience for metaphorical language. Based on this study, the most embodied emotion is love, because its metaphors are usually linked with body parts like eye, liver, heart, mouth and hand. In real life, love is also usually accompanied by body attachment, dancing together, and flirting with girls. Researchers like Altarriba et al (2004) cited in Kövecses (2019:44) argue that emotions such as fear, anger and joy are more embodied than any other abstract concepts. However, this argument has no strong evidences except bodily bases like body heat and physiology. Further, this study has shown that specific meanings of emotions are usually expressed by different body parts like eye, liver, heart, hand and their physiologies. This use of embodied metaphors clearly proves the cognitive scientists' claim that conceptual metaphors are grounded in the embodied human experience. So far, cognitive scientists like Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Johnson (1987) and Gibbs (2006) confirmed that our conceptual system is embodied. The study also indicated that second to BODY source domain, the source domains of ACTIVITIES like dancing and fishing are widely used as source domains of emotion metaphors in Anywaa.

This study has indicated that human body and its parts can be used as a container of emotions and most widely used container of emotions in Anywaa is liver. Since human body and its parts are bounded, it is easy for an Anywaa to use THE BODY as a container of emotion mainly due to physiologies like trembling and palpitations (heartbeat). However, all the emotions analyzed in this study can occur as substances in human voice, which imply emotion intensity, feeling and response of the experiencer. Yet, voice is not a bounded container, but it is used as a bounded container. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:29-30) state that when there is no naturally and physically bounded area that can be seen as a container, we impose boundary on a non-bounded object so that it will have an inner part and a bounding surface. Yet, despite imposing boundary on voice as a container of emotion, it is easy for the Anywaa to use voice as a bounded container because

it is metonymically equated with throat. For example, in Anywaa the GOODNESS OF VOICE is understood based on the source domain of TASTY FOOD as in dóórí mɛ́t 'Your voice is tasty', which has similar meaning to tʃwààgì mɛ́t 'Your throat is tasty'. Hence, throat, which is a clearly bounded container metonymically stands for voice. Both voice and throat can contain good song. Thus, in human conceptual system there is HUMAN BODY IS A CONTAINER OF EMOTION; HUMAN VOICE IS A CONTAINER OF EMOTION.

Based on the data in the present study, it can be inferred that there are two ways of forming metaphors of emotions in Anywaa: the first one, which cognitive linguists like Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Kövecses (2004) and Lakoff (1987), usually emphasize in Conceptual Metaphor Theory, is the mapping between source domain and target domain, which can be schematized as TARGET (EMOTION) IS SOURCE DOMAIN. In Anywaa, the use of source domains like tasty food for favourable love relation (GOOD LOVE REALTION IS TASTY FOOD, méér mɛ́t 'Love is tasty(favourable)') and the use of fire as a source of intense anger (INTENSE ANGER IS FIRE) do clearly illustrate TARGET A (EMOTION) IS B (SOURCE DOMAIN).

However, what is particular in this study regarding emotion metaphors in Anywaa and usually not emphasized by conceptual metphor theorists is the linking of source domains like taste, food, fire, colour and plant leaves with feeling organs like liver, stomach and intestines to express emotions. This cultural way of expressing emotion like kwààr tʃwìɲ '*to make one's a liver red'* to imply being angry or causing anger and sweet liver to imply happiness may give us ANGER IS BITTER and HAPPINESS IS SWEET (TASTY). However, as the body parts suggest, these metaphors are not simply formed by mapping between emotions and tastes. The emotion metaphors are rather formed by attaching source domains to feeling organs like liver to conceptualize emotions based on cultural conventions constrained by image schemas or perception. Thus, one can argue that HAPPINESS IS TASTY LIVER OR ANGER IS BITTER LIVER. Therefore, such a linking between body parts and sources like colours make body parts stand for emotions. These metaphors are therefore based on the conceptualization process in which image schema is organized into domain or frame, which is linked with an organ like liver to express emotion.

However, the attaching of tasty foods or colours to organs like liver to conceptualize happiness or another emotion does not challenge CMT but strengthens embodiment hypothesis, because

emotion concepts in Anywaa are very embodied. The happiness we experience and conceptualize due to tasty food confirms the correlation between pleasure and tasty food, which evokes positive feeling like smile when tasting tasty food. Lakoff and Johnson (1999:20) state that conceptual inference is usually based on sensory-motor inference.

The use of fishing, hunting, collection of wild fruits and drum dance as source domains of love among the Anywaa clearly imply that human activities are metaphorical. This further implies that mappings usually occur in cognitive system but also occur in language and activities. Although poets make creation in forming poetic metaphors, based on the poetic metaphors analyzed in this study, the present study argues that poetic metaphors are usually extensions of conventional metaphors. So, it can be argued that poets make some creations to express their specific meanings, feelings and the situation or event they experienced based on the experience they share with ordinary people in similar environment as ordinary people can understand poetic metaphors despite their complexity caused by the poets' talent of creativity. The argument here and the poetic metaphor data in this study support Lakoff and Turner (1989)'s argument that the conceptual metaphors used by poets share many features with conventional metaphor, because poets usually share many environmental experiences with ordinary people. Therefore, understanding the nature and value of poetic creativity requires our understanding of the ordinary way of thinking (Lakoff and Turner,1989: xi-xii)

The analysis in this study shows that among the Anywaa thinking is associated with head but emotion is linked with with liver and life is associated with heart. Yet, the Anywaa believe that there is an interaction between liver, mind and heart. This belief implies that in the conception of the Anywaa, emotion, mind and life are in high interaction. In many cultures, especially in Western cultures, heart is usually associated with emotions. For example, according to Swan (2009:466), the English idiom “to lose one's heart to someone” means *not to love someone*. However, the Anywaa's belief that the liver is the locus of emotion proves that metaphor is both universal and culture specific (see also Kövecses (2010). The use of body therefore imply that embodiment makes metaphor universal but specific body parts (frames) makes metaphor culture specific.

Kövecses (1990) mentions that the source domain of SUPERNATURAL BEING is limited only to fear, but this is not the case in the present study, because the source domain of supernatural

being can be used in other emotions and beyond emotions. For example, the Anywaa expression dʒʊ̀ɔ̀k āò bʌ̀ʌ̀tɔ̀ 'God has come to us' implies that there is an epidemic or AIDS where the speaker lives.

Furthermore, in this paper, it is claimed that the source domain of supernatural being can be applied to love, fear, anger, jealousy and happiness. But the meaning of each emotion metaphor expressed with source of supernatural being varies from emotion to emotion. For example, the use of supernatural being as a source of love implies much respect among lovers. Supernatural beings are respected by giving them blood as food, charms and building habitat for them. In the love process among the Anywaa, males are usually given higher respect than females. The use of source domain of supernatural being for fear is based on the experience of trembling, madness, falling down and foaming during fear. The Anywaa also fear supernatural beings as they make people get lost, beat them in darknes and make mothers give birth to deformed children. This study also claims that of all emotions analyzed in this paper, supernatural being is mostly used as a source domain of fear. The use of gods which the Anywaa imported from the Nuer, Dinka and Majang provide strong evidences of the predominant use of supernatural being as a source domain of fear. Although supernatural being is abstract, the activities used for the supernatural being like provision of charms, foaming and trembling with spirits make it a concrete source domain. Hence, in this study, it can be argued that in forming conceptual metaphor, the source domain can be abstract, but more basic or it can be concrete and the target domain can be abstract or concrete but less basic or more complex.

Although most of the source domains used in this study are common to all the emotions analyzed and described in this paper, some sources are limited to specific emotions. For example, PLANT LEAF, which is linked with stomach, is usually used only as a source of HAPPINESS, but it can be used for page(s) of a book. Intestines are also believed by the Anywaa as a container of food and waste products and that is why in Anywaa, intestines are used as source domain of jealousy or greed. This study has confirmed the high interaction between metaphor and metonymy. This finding also coincides with that of Kövecses and Radden (2007). The use of tasty food as a source domain of happiness and bad food for anger imply that language is not arbitary but experiential. The present study indicates that one metaphorial expression can be more metaphorical than another. This means degree of metaphoricity varies based on the relation between source and target domains.

The present study has confirmed the hypothesis that in Anywaa, anger, fear, happiness, love and jealousy are basic emotions. This is because these emotions are very frequently used among the Anywaa both in daily thinking and expressions. They are first easily learned emotions by adults and children as they can be easily linked with source domains. For example, happiness, which is mét ètʃ 'tastiness of stomach' in Anywaa, can be easily linked with tasty food, its source domain. These emotions also clearly exist in the basic or middle level of vertical schematization of emotion in Anywaa. For example, fear has its subcategory of bóók 'panic' and happiness has its subcategory of kááɲ 'joy'. Anger has its subordinate form kʊ́ʊ́n 'hidden anger mixed with doubt and fear'. While love has its subordinate level màŋŋɔ̀ 'like, want', jealousy has the subordinate category wʌ̀rò 'greed'.

This study strongly confirmed that idiom, proverb, simile, myth, analogy, and metonymy are metaphors, because they underlie experiential and cognitive bases. In the present study, it has been explicated that tone is important to express experience, scope and meaning and degree of emotion. For example, gradual decline in emotion intensity is expressed with falling tone and gradual increase in the emotion intensity takes rising tone. This experience is based on gradual happening of events and the gradual movement of objects. This takes us to the conclusion that further study is needed to see the relation between pitch, metaphor, cognition, language and emotion.

10.1 Summary and Conclusions

The present study was an attempt to investigate the metaphorical conceptualization of emotion in Anywaa in light of *Conceptual Metaphor Theory*. The emotions anlayzed in this study were anger, fear, happiness, love and jealousy. In Anywaa, there is no clear word for emotion but the language uses dʒùòdò 'feeling, sense' for the superordinate term emotion. The word dʒùòdò 'feeling' is based on the experience of a pain people feel. Therefore, in the mind of the Anywaa, this conception makes an emotion to be usually understood as negative feeling. The present study has confirmed that in Anywaa, there are different linguistic metaphors of emotion used to realize conceptual metaphors of emotions. For example, the linguistic metaphor tʃwíɲá ākwʌ́ʌ́lì 'You rottened my liver' to mean *You have saddened me*, is used to understand the negative quality and effect of anger (sadness) based on rotten thing. Similarly, tʃwíɲ ɲákɔ̀ɔ̀ tár 'The girl's liver is white', which implies that the girl is happy, underlies HAPPINESS IS WHITE. The

metaphor tʃǐírì ʈóóʈ dɔ́tʃ 'You have very more intestines' means the addressee is very jealous. Hence, JEALOUSY IS INTESTINE (S).

In the metaphorical conceptualization of emotion in Anywaa, image schemas impose high constraints of the source domains of emotions. For example, while delicious foods are mapped onto the target domain of happiness, those food items which are not delicious or not cooked are not used as experiential bases of understanding happiness but used for understanding anger. Similarly, black, dark and red colours are mapped onto anger and jealousy while white colour is used as source domain of happiness and love. In fact, the Anywaa more often do not like very black and very red colours as they trigger dirt and danger. While health is used as source domain of happiness, disease is mapped onto anger and jealousy. Such restrictions in turn help categorize emotions into negative and positive based on their effects. The use of similar colour for two or more emotions contributes to the mixture of emotions causing metaphorical ambiguity. For example, jìà tár dìtʃʌ̀ŋì 'My stomach is white today' expresses happiness but jìà tár kì ɲīʈìì̱ŋ 'My stomach is white with the princess' may express romantic love with the princess or being happy with her deeds. The source domains used for the emotions analyzed in this study can also be applied onto non-emotion concepts like life and politics. This implies pervasiveness of metaphor among the Anywaa.

There are different techniques of grading the metaphorical conceptualizations of emotion degree in Anywaa. One way is by using degree adverbs like dɔ̀tʃ 'very'. Size of source domain can also be used to measure the intensity of emotion in Anywaa. Hence, the bigger the liver, the higher the intensity of love or jealousy and vice versa. The metaphor MORE OF FORM IS MORE OF CONTENT can also be seen in the extension of vowels and consonants. Emotion with vowel or consonant extension has higher intensity. While emotion uttered with voice has higher intensity, one without voice has lower intensity. Tone too contributes to the grading of emotion metaphor. While low and falling tones mark low emotion intensity, high and rising tones mark higher intensity of emotion.

Unidiretionality restricts the source domain to structure the target but fewer cases of emotion metaphors of Anywaa can be argued to have bidirectionality. For example, in Anywaa, mèèr à bùùl '*Love is drum'* and bùùl à mèèr '*Drum is love'* both imply that dance with drum results in love and marriage. Such a case is further strengthened by Turner (1989) cited in Q. Ma (2015:

84) that PEOPLE ARE MACHINES and MACHINES ARE PEOPLE may have distinct mapping in that the former has speed and efficiency mapped onto people. Although the latter metaphor maps volition and desire of people onto machines, speed and efficiency of people can be mapped onto machines. Because emotion forces people to act in certain way, in the present study, it can be concluded that the master of all emotion metaphors in this study is EMOTION IS FORCE.

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APPENDICES

This part of the study presents and discussses appendices pertaining to emotion, metaphor, metonymy, cognition, literary language and cultural models. The appendices consist of omens, riddles, proverbs, offensive words and euphemisms, interview questions and the informants. Omens, riddles, proverbs and euphemisms have been included in the appendices part here, because they have been partly used in chapter four.

APPENDX I: Omens and Future Events Among the Anywaa

Among the Anywaa, omens are important sources of informations, emotions or events. They help the Anywaa to interpret omenous messages and events. Further, omens help the Anywaa to understand fluctuation of seasons and prepare themselves for different activities. When a group of frogs cry while it is not rainy season, it implies that the rainy season is coming so that men prepare themselves for the cultivation in the rainy season. Omens also make the Anywaa understand emotion as predicted event whose intensity increases when the predicted event happens. For example, shooting star makes the Anywaa very shocked as it means the coming of heavy war or death of a great person like a king. Below is table 1 for omens and their meanings among the Anywaa.

Ominious Sign[123] in Anywaa	**English**	**Interpreted Event**
lòɔ̀tʃ	overcast	coming of war with many dying
wàŋ már pìŋ dì tʃàm dʒùùwì	vibration of lower part of an eye	cry
rùùgà	coming of long lasting heavy rain	death of whale-headed stork locally called ò̱dùrò
wàŋ már máál dì tʃám dʒùùwì	vibration of upper part of an eye	seeing an important thing
ōtììt dɔ́ŋŋá (jì) ɔ̀tɔ̀	A glow worm enters a house (at night)	coming of a guest
dʒòɔ̀k tʃwààk ní kɔ̀ɔ́k	noise made by throat as kook	drinking beer
kɔ̀t ōdíék	little rain while it is sunny	Hyena is giving birth.
lwáŋŋɔ̀ rèŋŋà dààl	a fly's entrance into mouth	eating fish stew
lʌ̀ʌ̀k āgwììlà	dreaming with cat fish	(relative's) death
ōdʌ́rò	shooting star	death of a king/chief
dʒwɔ̀k túlá/ō̱tòò	cry of owl/fox	death, war
dìlwɛ́ɛ́l màr ōdwʒʌ́llì	orioles' noise	people quarrel or fight
wèŋ/túóŋí dʒùòŋò máál kì wʌ̀ʌ̀r	crying of birds and insects in the sky at night	coming of heavy rain
lááw ḏʌ̀ʌwò	Having more saliva in the mouth	A relative dies of disease

Table 1: Omens among the Anywaa

[123]The omens were elicited by the researcher and the interpretations were made with the assistance of Guurnyaang Obang and Okello Okugn. Among the Anywaa, it is believed that heavy rain implies mourning and crying for the death of whale-headed stork. It is also believed that when a person who has no relative where he/she lives or a great person like a king dies, heavy and long lasting rain comes mourning and crying for this person. This rain is believed to be brought by God as its sign of crying for a great person or a dead person without a relative who should cry.

APPENDIX II: RIDDLES

In Anywaa a riddle is called ōgwáɲɲáŋɔ́, whose plural counterpart is ōgwáɲɲáŋɛ́. The literal meaning of ōgwáɲɲáŋɔ̀ 'riddle' is "what?" in English. Sometimes lɛ̀ɛ̀rɛ̀ mòà ʈ́érɔ́ 'small tales' is used as synonym of ōgwáɲɲáŋɛ̀ 'riddles'. This synonymous use is seldom because a tale is not a question but a long narrative with imaginary characters. A riddle is a puzzle asked to be answered based on description. In Anywaa, to ask a riddle, first one says **ōgwaɲɲáŋɔ̀**... followed by description of the object from certain point of view or indirect clues. This can be seen in an example like ōgwáɲɲáŋɔ́ dìŋʌ̀ʌ̀è òòrò; jìè tʃwììr 'What is that whose outer part is dry season, but the inner part is rainy season?' The answer is ākòòjà 'water smoke'. When the respondent answers the questions, the challenger says āŋìɛ̀lì, káré 'You got it, right.' If the respondent(s) miss/misses the correct answer, the challenger, says dùù ɖʌ́ʌ́à ' Return my cattle' and the respondent(s) say(s) ɖʌ́ʌ́ì ɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ̀ nɔ̀ 'Here are your cattle'. Then, the challenger says náá dɔ́ɔ́ŋ a᷄dɔ́ɔ́ŋ èè... 'I'm wiser' with the literal meaning I'm older than you because you missed the answer (See also Okello, 2014).

Among the Anywaa, both riddles and tales are used for entertainment only at night as there is belief that telling tales and riddles during the day-time makes a person get lost when visiting a maternal uncle's home. Riddles are played by children. Therefore, if an adult participates, he or she is to help or teach riddles to the children. Yet, one should not be confused that riddles are childish. They are very important to help children develop imagination, literay thinking, understanding bodily bases of meaning and pedagogic function. Syntactically, riddles usually have short sentences. The answers for riddles may relate to body parts, topography, ecology, economy, gender and other things in one's surrounding. Yet, some riddles have universal descripitions and answers.See Perner (2011:92-103) for detail of Anywaa riddles and answers. Below are some riddles elicited by the researcher.

(1) béédó dɛ́ŋ lìɛ̀l
live:HAB near termite hill
'It lives near termite hill.'
Answer: ìʈ́ 'ear'

(2) mènn -ì màʈ́ ʈ́ -à pìì ɲààr -ɛ dànn
mother of:3SG 3SG drink:FQ FOC water child of 3SG eat:FQ
-à bur
FOC ash
'The mother drinks water and the child eats ash.'
Answer: ākóójá kī dááè 'water smoke and its tobacco container pot.'

(3) ná -á pɔ̀n -á ɲààr -è, ààn -à
while 1SG pick FOC child of 3SG 1SG PST
dʒʊ̀ʊ̀ pìɲ
pull down
'While I was about to pick its child, it pulled me down.'
Anwer: lʌ́ʌ́ŋò 'Nabaq tree'

The riddle in (3) underlies A FRUIT IS A HUMAN CHILD and A FRUIT BEARING TREE IS A HUMAN MOTHER. The word ɲìj 'human child' can be extended to the concept of OFFSPRING.

(4) tʃʊ̀ŋŋò dì nààm nì dɛ̀ŋŋ -è dá ābɔ̀w
standing middle of river and side of 3SG exist grass(SP)
' It is standing in the middle of the river and it is surrounded by grass.'
Answer: tʃwɛ̀ttà/dʒʊ̀ɔ̀m 'clitoris'

(5) kìtʃ bɛ̀l -è nʊ̀ ʊ̀ -tɔ̀w
honey taste 3SG while PERF die
'It tastes honey only when it is dead.'
Answer: lìɛ̀tʃ(lìè bat) 'ivory ring'

The Anywaa women put some beewax on the inner side of ivory rings they are wearing on the upper arm in order to keep them in their place. Riddle (5) underlies WHEN AN ELEPHANT IS A LIVE, ITS TUSK, WHICH IS USED AS AN ARM BRACELET, IS ALSO ALIVE. The word lìɛ̀tʃ 'upper arm bracelet' is extended from lìɛ̀tʃ 'elephant'. So, clear distinction between the upper arm bracelet and the elephant is made by lìɛ̀ bàt 'arm bracelet', which literally means arm elephant. The arm bracelet is made from tusk, which is sometimes called lʌ̀j lìɛ̀tʃ (PL.lák líɛ́tʃ), which literally means elephant's tooth (teeth).

(6) pʌʌ̀r máál ká lɔ̀ɔ̀ŋŋ -è
jump up with testicle of 3SG
'It jumps up with its big swollen testicle (hydrocell).'
Answer: ādʒɔ̀ɔ̀gá 'bird-scarce bell'

APPENDIX III: PROVERBS

Proverbs are sayings with hidden meanings. Hence, like idioms, their meanings cannot be understood literally. Although they are not learned by heart for wisdom, proverbs give advise or warning for successful or careful life. Thus, they make people wise. Proverbs are also pedagogically important in teaching people about their life and environment by applying conceptual metaphor. In Anywaa, proverbs are called āŋáádɛ̀ (SG. āŋáádà). The word ŋààt in English means not to pass near by something. Proverbs are more often used by adults, but their experience, which make it easy to understand a proverb, comes from childhood experience. Children hear proverbs from adults; one can easily form both conceptual and linguistic metaphors from proverbs. To understand a proverb thoroughly, one must know the event, context, history or anecdote. See Perner (2011) and Okello (2014) for detail. Below are some proverbs of Anywaa elicited by the researcher.

(1) múú ɲààdʒwʌ̀ʌ̀l n -á dɔ̀ɔ̀ báŋ tʃwɛ̀gɛ̀
handing over Nyaajwaal REL PST return:ITV to broth
Lit. 'Nyaajwal' s overgenerosity made her eat only broth but not meat.'
'Being overgenerous makes the generous person poor.'

(2) āgáák kwáj -á ākʌ̀nà
crow beg FOC kite
Lit. 'Crow is begging the black kite/ A rubbish bird is begging the rubbish bird.'
'A poor person should not beg a poor person.'

(3) āgáák jì dwɔ́ŋ, jì páá wɛ́ɲ bèèlò
crow 2S big 2SG NEG bird of durra
Lit. 'Crow, you are big; you are not young enough to sit on durra head and eat it.'
'Corruption of the best is the worst.'

(4) ɲààŋ tʃǎm -á dìpòòj
crocodile eat FOC teacher
'A crocodile eats the advisor but not the swimmer.'

(5) ŋátímán pɛ́ɛ́k lɔ̀ɔ̀ŋŋ -ɛ̀ ŋʌ̀jj -à ɛ̀
everybody weight testicle of 3SG know FOC 3SG
'Everybody knows the degree to which his swollen testicle (hydrocell) is heavy.'
Implied meaning: A problem is clearly known by the victim.

APPENDIX IV: Offensive Words &Euphemisms[124]

According to Schulz (2000:84-85), an offensive word has negative connotation and its euphemistic form is polite form used for respecting people and controlling emotions (see Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 2010). For example, in Anywaa, the word ɲʊ́ɔ́l 'give birth' is an offensive word used for plants and animals despite being a general word for delivery. So, it has the euphemistic form lwáár 'give birth', which is used only for human beings. Therefore, the use of offensive word designates prejudice, disrespect, fear, bad attitudes, terror and insult. Thus, among the Anywaa, using rèmɔ̀/āmʌ̀ʌ̀n 'blood, menstruation' instead of piìn pìŋ 'sitting down' is an insult to an Anywaa woman. While euphemistic word brings positive emotion, an offensive word develops negative emotion to an addressee or a person spoken about. Table 2, which is given below, provides offensive and euphemistic Anywaa words.

Offensive Word	**Gloss**	**Euphemistic Form**	**Literal Meaning**
píɛ̀lɔ̀	defecation	lààjɔ̀	passing urine
ŋwɛ̀ŋ	anus	ʈàw, kùr ʧʊ̀ɔ̀w	butt, males' side
mùr	vulva,vagina	ɛ̀tʃ,ŋʌ̀tʃ	stomach,back
ʧʊ̀l	penis	ɲìm,dʒààʈ	front,stick
āmʌ̀ʌ̀n,rèmɔ̀,dwʌ̀ʌ̀j	menustruation, blood, moon	píín pìŋ, gìr mʌ̀ʌ̀n	sitting down, females' object
mɛ̀ɛ̀rɔ	being drunk	dʒʌ̀ʌ̀ŋɔ̀	satisfaction
gàt, làp	eat(with tongue) like a dog	lwòdò	taking
ɲʊ́ɔ́l	give birth	lwáár, pʌ́ɖò	embarace,fall down
ŋɔ̀ɔ̀ʈ, kààp	sexual intercourse, fucking	níínɛ̀	sleeping
kʌ̀ʌ̀bì,āŋóóɖì	promiscuous,fucker	ɲɛ̀ŋŋɛ̀ ʈóóʈ/ráátʃ	has more eyes, bad
ʧʃídʒɔ̀ɔ̀k	evil-eyed	ráátʃ	bad(person)
ʈɔ̀ɔ̀	death	pʌ̀ɖò/ɖíèrò	confusion,falling down
ʧʃìèɖò	faeces	lààtʃ dɔ́ɔ́ŋŋɔ́	big urine

Table 2: Illustrating Offensive words & Euphemisms in Anywaa

[124]The Euphemisms were elicited by the researcher and checked with Meher Omod. The actual Anywaa word for vagina is **ɔ̀tààt**.

Appendix V: Interview Questions and Key Informants

The interview questions for the present study were prepared in December, 2020 and the interview was conducted in December 20, January 15 and February 20. The interview questions, were written in English but were orally asked in Anywaa. The interviewee were Abala Omod, Philliph Omod, Othoo Ojulu and Didumu Ajiba. For the detail of the key informants, see table 3, which has been provided after the interview questions below. The followings are the interview questions for the present study.

1. During drum dance, can one boy dance with more girls?
2. Does a male and female's dance in fair directly lead to marriage?
3. What are the criteria for choosing a dance partner among the Anywaa?
4. In Anywaa, is there an interaction between happiness and love?
6. Does the extension of a sound mark emotion degree in Anywaa?
7. Does the use of plain vowel mark higher degree of emotion in Anywaa than the use of a breathy vowel?
8. Does a man's shouting with a bull name imply higher degree of happiness?

The Key Informants

No	**Informant's Name**	**Age**	**Gender**	**Region**
1	Ajulu Ojwaato	40	f	Lul
2	Abala Omot	70	m	Lul
3	Akeek Giilo	45	f	Openo
4	Desalign Omod	50	m	Lul
5	Okello Okugn	38	m	Openo
6	Okuch Golo	60	m	Lul
7	Prince Obang Ojulu	50	m	Lul
8	Chief Phillip Omo**d**	68	m	Lul
9	Prince Othoo Ojulu	40	m	Openo
10	Pastor Omod Oway	70	m	Openo
11	John Ogol	50	m	Lul
12	Pastor Ocathi Ojulu	80	m	Openo

Table 3: The Key Informants' Profiles

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work. It has never been presented for any academic study in any other university and all sources and materials used have been dully acknowledged.

Name: Okello Ojhu Ogud

Signature:_____

Date:_____

Confirmation

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as supervisor.

Supervisor(s):

Dr. Moges Yigezu

Signature:_____

Date:_____