

Sunil Sharma

# Happiness and metaphors: a perspective from Hindi phraseology

**Abstract:** Following the tradition of embodiment hypothesis suggested by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the current research article aims to explore metaphorical concepts of happiness in Hindi phraseological expressions. The embodiment hypothesis postulates that phraseological expressions, especially idioms, are not the frozen building blocks of a language, but motivated linguistic bundles, which encode and reflect the physical and socio-cultural experience of a given linguistic community (see Gibbs 1993). In this regard, this article not only proposes the metaphorical instances of motivated Hindi phraseological expressions but also highlights the underlying socio-cultural particularities. This article is expected to contribute to international phraseological research given that Hindi language, particularly Hindi phraseology, has hardly been taken into consideration to validate or refute the postulates of embodiment hypothesis in connection with the conceptualization of emotional concepts.

**Keywords:** Hindi phraseology, embodiment hypothesis, metaphorical concepts, emotional concepts, happiness

## 1 Introduction

Right from the inception of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, phraseology has played a significant role in validating and refuting its postulates. The enormous amount of research conducted in various branches of linguistics underpins the assumption that „conceptual metaphors are mostly realised by verbal phrases ... or some multi-word [phraseological] sequences” (Shuangling 2014: 92). This study advocates the continuum of phraseology and metaphor and examines its significance for the study of the embodiment of happiness. The Hindi phraseological expressions, which according to Burger (2010: 11) are composed of at least two lexical components and are more or less idiomatic, have been collected

from the monolingual phraseological thesaurus and subsequently crosschecked with native speakers of Hindi to confirm their currency and lexicalized meaning. Hence, all examples included in the study belong to phraseology in a narrow as well as a broad sense, i.e. verbal and substantive collocations, idioms, partial idioms, sayings, set phrases, proverbs and empty verb constructions. The overall corpus of monolingual phraseological expressions is presented in the following pattern: Devanagari script, Latin transcription, word-to-word translation and natural English paraphrase. Unlike English, Hindi provides two different lexemes to denote the state of happiness, namely *khuśī* (Persian, PL: *khuśiyāmī*) and *sukh* (Sanskrit, PL: *sukh*).

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| (1) खुशियाँ मनाना<br><i>khuśiyāṁ mānānā</i><br>happiness.PL celebrate<br>'to celebrate happinesses' | (2) सुख भोगना<br><i>sukha bhōganā</i><br>happiness consume<br>'to undergo happiness' |
|---|--|

The Persian loan word *khuśī* mainly denotes an instantaneous and short-term state of being happy. *khuśī* and its adjective *khuś* are emotional states that, depending upon the context, involve physical as well as verbal expression such as cheering, good mood and laughter. Therefore, *khuśī* also corresponds to *joy* in English.

- (3) (बहुत) खुश लगना  
*(bahuta) khuśa laganā*  
(very) happy look  
'to look (very) happy'

Unlike *khuśī*, the Sanskrit word *sukh* primarily expresses a deep state of happiness and contentedness, usually for a longer period. Being purely internal states, *sukh* and its adjective *sukhī* do not include non-verbal expression.

- (4) सुख से जीना  
*sukha sē jīnā*  
happiness with live  
'to live with happiness'

Conclusively, *khuśī* denotes only a short-term or instantaneous state of being happy and appears mainly in plural form, while *sukh* articulates a long-term state of being “deeply happy” and appears primarily in singular form. Today, *khuśī* is far more current than *sukh*. It is difficult to determine which lexeme is the closest possible equivalent of happiness in English since the later denotes both long- and short-term positive emotional dispositions.

## 2 Metaphorical concepts

According to Kövecses (1991: 29), “when people in ordinary life talk about happiness they have in mind something like the concept that is recoverable from the language”. Though the embodied concept of happiness seems recoverable from the language that people use in ordinary life, its manifestation in the languages of collectivistic culture appears to be largely affected and structured by cultural-historical and religious artefacts. Considering the fact that Hindi is the mother tongue of collectivistic cultural communities, it is probably suitable to assume that the metaphorical concepts of happiness in Hindi are structured partially by socio-cultural and religious practices and partially by embodied experience. In other words, in comparison to Chinese and English, Hindi is expected to accommodate more secondary-level metaphors derived from the universal, primary-level metaphors of emotions, hence underpinning the inclination towards cultural and religious particularities. Even though I assume the existence of a collectivistic culture in Hindi speaking communities when comparing Hindi with English, and partly with Chinese, I am aware that it is not appropriate to treat the whole of native speakers of Hindi as uniform in their use and understanding of phraseological expressions, or as representatives of strong collectivistic cultures. In what follows, I am first going to introduce the metaphorical concepts, which seem to offer the motivational basis of Hindi phraseological expressions articulating the emotion *happiness*. Subsequently, the metaphorical concepts, both primary and secondary, will be elaborated on the basis of approaches suggested by Kövecses (1991, 2000, and 2006), Stefanowitsch (2004) and Yu (2012).

### 2.1 HAPPINESS IS UP, BUT NOT ABOVE THE GROUND

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Kövecses (2006), the orientational metaphor HAPPY IS UP is the most fundamental and universal metaphor that conceptualizes happiness in English. As Dancygier and Sweetser (2014: 25) suggest, the universality of this metaphor corresponds to the observation that, in the case of happiness, one shows the tendency towards moving upwards, jumping and having more energy. In the case of sadness, one shows the opposite tendency. This assumption also seems to be true for Hindi as there are several conventional phraseological examples that reflect a tendency towards upward movement in the state of happiness.

- (5) खुशी से उछल पड़ना  
*khuśī se uchala paṛanā*  
 happiness from jump.STEM start[VC]  
 ‘to start jumping out of happiness’

- (6) खुशी से पाँव जमीन पर न पड़ना  
*khuśī sē pāṁva jamīna para na paṛanā*  
 happiness from feet ground on not fall  
 ‘the feet do not come on ground due to happiness’

As *khuśī* is an emotional state that involves physical as well as verbal expression, the notion of *khuśī* in the above-mentioned phraseological expressions corresponds to *joy* in English. In comparison to the English metaphor HAPPINESS IS UP, which draws no vertical limit of movement, the Hindi version of the metaphor defines a certain vertical limit, above which happiness turns into arrogance and illusion. In other words, only the English language derives the specific metaphor BEING HAPPY IS BEING ABOVE THE GROUND from the generic metaphor HAPPY IS UP, whereas Hindi changes the target domain of the metaphor with slight change in its source domain and creates the new mapping TO BE ARROGANT IS TO BE ABOVE THE GROUND. “Being above the ground” is projected negatively upon the character and personality of a person. This is the reason why all the below mentioned examples, which describe physical “movement above the ground without a base” mean arrogance, illusion and false superiority. As a result, it is appropriate to claim that Hindi has the metaphor JOY IS UP, but not HAPPY IS UP. Unlike Chinese (Yu 2012), which has neither this specific metaphor nor its linguistic instances, Hindi has several set phrases for the metaphor TO BE ARROGANT IS TO BE ABOVE THE GROUND with meanings varying from illusion, arrogance and over-smartness to false superiority. The negative attribution to the dimensional vector UP in Hindi is contrary to the well-studied universal primary metaphor UP IS GOOD.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>(7) आसमान पर उड़ना<br/> <i>āsamāna para uṛanā</i><br/>         sky on fly<br/>         ‘to fly in the sky’</p> <p>(8) अपने कदम आसमान पर रखना<br/> <i>apanē kadama āsamāna para rakhanā</i><br/>         one’s steps sky on put<br/>         ‘to put one’s steps on sky’</p> <p>(9) किसी का आसमान पर चढ़ना<br/> <i>kisī kā āsamāna para caṛhanā</i><br/>         sb NOM sky on climb<br/>         ‘sb climbs on the sky’</p> | <p>(10) खुद को आसमान पर खींचना<br/> <i>khuda kō āsamāna para khiñcanā</i><br/>         himself ART sky on pull<br/>         ‘to pull himself on the sky’</p> <p>(11) किसी का सिर आसमान से लगना<br/> <i>kisī kā sira āsamāna sē laganā</i><br/>         sb GEN head sky with join<br/>         ‘sb’s head touches the sky’</p> <p>(12) (ज्यादा) आसमान में उड़ना<br/> <i>(jyādā) āsamāna mēṁ uṛanā</i><br/>         (much) sky in fly<br/>         ‘to fly much in the sky’</p> |
|--|---|

- (13) अपना सिर/अपने पाँव जमीन पर न लाना  
*apanā sira/apanē pāṁva jamīna para na lānā*  
 his head/his feet ground on not bring  
 ‘one doesn’t bring his head/feet on the ground’
- (14) किसी का पाँव धरती पर न पड़ना  
*kisī kā pāṁva dharatī para na paṛanā*  
 sb GEN foot land on not fall  
 ‘sb’s foot doesn’t come on the ground’
- (15) किसी के पैर हवा में पड़ना  
*kisī kē paira havā mēm paṛanā*  
 sb GEN feet air in fall  
 ‘sb’s feet step in air’

According to Kövecses (2006), the specific metaphor HAPPY IS BEING ABOVE THE GROUND, or more specifically HAPPY IS BEING IN THE SKY, is based on the Christian religious belief that heaven and its location, i.e. the sky, are the dwelling places of God and the saints, and hence they are also the place for the realization of eternal happiness. According to Hartman-Schmitz (1989) and Lang (1994), Jewish, Shiite Islamic and Christian beliefs consider “seventh heaven/sky” as a real place for the realization of eternal happiness. Through language contacts between Hindi and English during the British colonial period in India, the English phrase “to be in the seventh sky/heaven” also came to be borrowed in Hindi, but was nuanced with negative meanings such as arrogance and conceit.

- (16) (दिमाग) सातवें आसमान पर/में होना  
*(dimāga) sātavēm āsamāna par/mēm hōnā*  
 (mind) seventh sky on/in be  
 ‘to be in seventh sky/[sb’s mind is in seventh sky]’

In most cultures and religions of the world, it is believed that heaven, which is located in the sky, is the real dwelling place of God. The belief that God lives in heaven is also valid in Hinduism. But other than in Christianity, according to which eternal happiness/salvation is attained when the earthly human meets the heavenly God, eternal happiness/salvation in Hinduism is achieved through the confluence of *आत्मा ātmā* “soul” and *परमात्मा paramātmā* “supreme-soul” by the means of pilgrimage on earth. *ātmā* itself is a form of *paramātmā*, i.e. the supreme soul. Moreover, according to Hindu mythology, heaven, or the so-called confluence of all the spiritual, metaphysical and physical beings, lies on the mountain *Kailash [Meru]* (Gopal, Madan 1990: 78) in the Himalayan range. Since heaven is believed to be situated on the mountains and eternal happiness

and salvation are possible through pilgrimage on earth, it appears plausible that *being in the sky/cloud*, or in other words, *being above the god*, does not seem to be positively valued or worthy of praise in cultural and religious beliefs. Hence, all the Hindi phraseologisms, including both borrowed and natural expressions, denote arrogance, egotism and expression of false superiority. The negative semantic connotation of upward movement also reflects in the use of the verb उछलना *uchalanā* “to jump” which, independent of the context, has the following lexicalized meanings: 1) the physical act of upward movement, 2) to show arrogance or to act superior and 3) to have an illusion.

The universal application of the metaphor HAPPINESS IS UP in English can vary significantly, as exemplified by expressions such as *deep happiness*, *deeply happy*, *profound happiness*, which suggest a different orientational vector DOWN. Here, it may be noted that even though the adjectives *deep*, *profound* and *eternal* get conjugated with *sukh* as well as *khuśī*, their frequency of conjugation with the first lexeme is much higher and more natural than with the second lexeme.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (17) गहरा/गहन/असीम सुख<br>gaharā/gahan/asīma sukha<br>deep/profound/endless happiness | (18) गहरी खुशी<br>gahari <i>khuśī</i><br>deep happiness |
|---|---|

## 2.2 HAPPINESS IS A DESIRED OBJECT, BUT BESTOWED BY KARMĀ OR FATE

The next metaphor appearing with a large number of phraseological examples is the dual-nature, ontological metaphor HAPPINESS IS A DESIRED OBJECT (Stefanowitsch 2004: 136), in which either the objects/events/states are considered as locations and the changes are seen as relative motion of the individual in respect of location or vice versa. According to the first version, a person who aspires for happiness moves towards happiness. He looks for it and finally grabs it. Fundamentally, it is an ontological metaphor, which assigns to happiness the status of an object. Only through the ontologization of happiness, it is possible to search and grab it.

- (19) जीवन में खुशियाँ ढूँढना/ढूँढ लेना  
jīvana mēm *khuśiyām* ḍhūṁḍhanā/ḍhūṁḍha lēnā  
life in happiness.PL search/search.STEM take [VC]  
‘to search/have found happiness in life’
- (20) छोटी-छोटी बातों/चीजों में खुशियाँ ढूँढना/ढूँढ लेना  
chōṭī-chōṭī bātōṁ/cījōṁ mēm *khuśiyām* ḍhūṁḍhanā/ḍhūṁḍha lēnā  
small-small incidents/things in happiness.PL search/search.STEM take [VC]  
‘to search/have found happiness in very small incidents/things’

- (21) (जीवन में) खुशियाँ पाना/पा लेना  
*(jīvana mēm) khuśiyām̃ pānā/pā lēnā*  
 (life in) happiness.PL get/get.  
 STEM take [VC] ‘to get/have got  
 happiness in life’
- (22) खुशियाँ हासिल करना  
*khuśiyām̃ hāsila karanā*  
 happiness.PL achieved do  
 ‘to achieve happiness’
- (23) किसी के साथ खुशियाँ बाँटना  
*kisī kē sātha khuśiyām̃ bām̃ṭanā*  
 sb ART with happiness.PL share  
 ‘to share happiness with sb’
- (24) किसी की खुशियाँ छीनना  
*kisī kī khuśiyām̃ chīnanā*  
 sb GEN happiness.PL snatch  
 ‘to deprive sb of his happiness’

Unlike English, which contains a considerable number of examples for this metaphor (Kövecses 2012), Hindi shows only a marginal number since not all the cases in which a person moves towards happiness draw positive social evaluation. A run or race for happiness is mostly considered as a failed attempt.

- (25) खुशियों के पीछे दौड़ना/भागना  
*khuśiyōm̃ kē pīchē dauṛanā/bhāganā*  
 happiness.PL ART after race/run  
 ‘to race/run after happiness’

In Hindi, the primary mode of conceptualization of happiness is its personification. It enables the happiness to meet a person of its own accord. How and when happiness meets a person depends solely upon the latter’s destiny and *karmā*. As a result, it is always suggested through phraseological expressions not to look for happiness or run after it.

- (26) खुशियाँ ढूँढने से नहीं मिलती हैं  
*khuśiyām̃ dhūṁḍhanē sē nahīm milatī haiṁ*  
 happiness.PL searching by not meet.PRS be.PRS.3PL  
 ‘one doesn’t get happiness by searching’
- (27) खुशियाँ इंसान में खुद में होती हैं  
*khuśiyām̃ insāna mēm khuda mēm hōtī haiṁ*  
 happiness.PL human in Self in be.PRS be.PRS.3PL  
 ‘happiness lies inside the human’
- (28) जो मिला है जीवन में, उसी से खुश रहना सीखो  
*jō milā hai jīvana mēm, usī sē khuśa rahanā sīkhō*  
 what met.IMF be.PRS.3SG life in that with happy live learn.IMP  
 ‘Learn to live happy with what you have got in life’

The linguistic and cultural worldview that happiness cannot be searched for or grabbed, but rather comes to an individual independently of the latter’s

efforts, rests on the belief in the principles of *karmā*. The Sanskrit lexeme *karmā* refers to intentional and moral deeds of a person that determine the destiny, fate and all aspects of human life including happiness and sorrows. In other words, *karmā* is a system of action–reaction or cause–effect, according to which bad *karmā* tie the soul to the cycle of rebirth and lead to sorrows and bad living conditions in the current and next life. Unlike bad *karmā*, good *karmā* manifest in the form of happiness, prosperity and wellbeing in the current and next life. This is the reason why Hindi considers happiness as a desired object/fellow/companion that meets a person only with the support of destiny.

- (29) तक्रदीर/किस्मत/भाग्य में खुशियाँ/सुख/दुःख (न) होना  
*taqadīra/kismata/bhāgya mēm khuśiyām̐/sukha/duḥkha (na) hōnā*  
 fate.URDU/fate.PERSIAN/fate.SANSKRIT in happiness.PL/happiness/  
 sorrow (not) be  
 ‘sb has (no) happiness/sorrow in fate’
- (30) ईश्वर/भगवान/देनेवाले का किसी को छप्पर फाड़कर खुशियाँ/सुख देना  
*īśvara/bhagavana/dēnevālē kā kisi kō chappara phāṛakara khuśiyām̐/  
 sukha dēnā*  
 God/God[SYNONYM]/Giver NOM sb to.ART thatched-roof tear-ABS  
 happiness.PL/happiness give  
 ‘god gives sb happiness in so much excess that it is rain of happiness  
 through thatched-roof’
- (31) किसी के घर/जीवन में खुशियाँ बरसना  
*kisī kē ghara/ jivana mēm khuśiyām̐ barasanā*  
 sb GEN home/life in happiness.PL rain  
 ‘There is rain of happiness in sb’s home/life’
- (32) (किसी के घर/जीवन में) खुशियों/सुख का अकाल पड़ना  
*(kisi kē ghara/ jivana mēm) khuśiyōm̐/sukha kā akāla paṛanā*  
 (sb GEN home/life in) happiness.PL/happiness GEN draught fall  
 ‘there is draught of happiness in sb’s home/village’
- (33) जिंदगी में किसी को खुशियाँ/दुःख/सुख मिलना  
*jindagī mēm kisi kō khuśiyām̐/duḥkha/sukha milanā*  
 life in sb to.ART happiness.PL/sorrow/happiness meet  
 ‘happiness/sorrow meets sb in life’
- (34) खुशियों का साथ छोड़ जाना  
*khuśiyōm̐ kā sātha chōṛa jānā*  
 happiness.PL NOM company leave.STEM go [VC]  
 ‘happiness leaves sb’s company’



- (35) खुशियाँ (खुशियों को) रूठ जाना  
*khuśiyāṁ (khuśiyōṁ kā) rūṭha jānā*  
 happiness.PL (happiness.PL NOM) disenchant.STEM go [VC]  
 ‘happiness gets disenchanting from sb’
- (36) (किसी के जीवन/भाग्य में) खुशियाँ लौट आना  
*(kisī kē jīvana/bhāgya mēm) khuśiyāṁ lauṭa ānā*  
 (sb GEN life/fate in) happiness.PL return.STEM come [VC]  
 ‘happiness comes back in sb’s life/fate’
- (37) भाग्य/तकदीर में खुशियाँ होनी चाहिए  
*fate.SANSKRIT/fate.URDU in happiness.PL be.PRS. should.PRS.3PL*  
 ‘there should be happiness in fate’
- (38) पल दो पल की/दो दिन की मेहमान हैं खुशियाँ  
*pala dō pala kī/dō dina kī mēhamāna haiṁ khuśiyāṁ*  
 moment two moment GEN/two days GEN guest are happiness.PL  
 ‘happinences are guests of one, two moments/of two days’

The complementary use of lexemes denoting natural phenomena such as destiny, God, heaven, aridity and rain, over which humans have no control, makes this metaphor a very language- and culture-specific occurrence in Hindi. According to Kövecses (2012: 176), even Christianity used to hold the belief that God bestows man with happiness only after considering his deeds, but this belief has disappeared owing to industrialization. In Indian culture and language, however, this religious belief is still active. In Chinese language, the metaphor does not exist.

From the above-mentioned examples it is evident that the Persian loan word *khuśi* applies to the egocentric perspective of the metaphor HAPPINESS IS A DESIRED OBJECT, in which a human being moves towards a desired object, whereas the Sanskrit word *sukh* occurs only in phraseological expressions describing happiness from an allocentric perspective, in which the desired object moves towards the human being or is gifted to the latter by a super-natural power and fate. As a result, mainly *khuśi* is used with egocentric verbs such as *ढूँढना dhūṁḍhanā* ‘search’, *पाना pānā* ‘find’, *बाँटना bāṁṭanā* ‘share’, *छिनना chinanā* ‘snatch’, *देना dēnā* ‘give’ and so on. This might be attributed to the parallel influence of Persian and English on Hindi language during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that created an egocentric perspective in the conceptualization of emotions, while Sanskrit might have transferred an allocentric viewpoint to Hindi language. This assumption may be seen as a hypothesis to further investigate the diachronic shift in the conceptualization of happiness in Hindi.

## 2.3 HAPPINESS IS VEGETATION

A specific metaphorical concept of happiness in Hindi is the structural metaphor HAPPINESS IS VEGETATION, which verbalizes happiness as blossom, flowering, greenery and harvest on the fields. The Chinese version of this metaphor is HAPPINESS IS FLOWERS IN THE HEART, which, according to Yu (2012), reflects the “more introverted character of Chinese”. Yu (2012) drew this conclusion based on the presence of the lexeme *heart* in Chinese phraseological expressions. Since Hindi phraseological expressions contain a variety of lexemes denoting internal organs and body parts such as the limbs, heart, liver, eyes, mouth and face, it would be meaningful to ascertain that, unlike the Chinese metaphor, the Hindi metaphor tends more towards reflecting the extrovert character of Hindi speaking populations, rather than highlighting their introvert nature.

- (39) किसी का अंग-अंग खिलना      (40) किसी का दिल बाग-बाग होना  
*kisī kā aṅga-aṅga khilanā*      *kisī kā dila bāḡa-bāḡa hōnā*  
 sb GEN limb-limb blossom      sb GEN heart garden-garden be  
 ‘sb’s all limbs blossom’      ‘sb’s heart becomes like garden’
- (41) किसी की आँखों में सरसों फूलना/खिलना  
*kisī kī āṁkhōṁ mēṁ sarasōṁ phūlanā/khīlanā*  
 sb GEN eyes in mustard bloom/blossom  
 ‘mustard flowers blossom in sb’s eyes’
- (42) किसी का मन/कलेजा खिलना/खिल उठना  
*kisī kā mana/kalējā khīlanā/khīl uthanā*  
 sb GEN heart/liver blossom/blossom.STEM rise [VC]  
 ‘sb’s heart/liver blossoms/blossoms up’
- (43) किसी की तबियत हरी/मन हरा होना  
*kisī kī tabiyata harī/mana harā hōnā*  
 sb GEN health green.ADJ.F/heart green.ADJ.M be  
 ‘sb’s health/heart becomes green’
- (44) किसी के चेहरे/मुँह पर बसंत खिलना  
*kisī kē cēharē/muṁḥa para basanta khīlanā*  
 sb GEN face/mouth on spring blossom  
 ‘spring blossoms on sb’s face/mouth’
- (45) किसी की ज़िंदगी हरी-भरी होना  
*kisī kī jīndagī harī-bharī hōnā*  
 sb GEN life green-filled be  
 ‘sb’s life gets filled with greenery’

Yu (2012) claimed that the metaphor HAPPINESS IS BEING ABOVE THE GROUND reflects the extrovert character of English speakers. Since this specific metaphor does not exist in Hindi, the expression of happiness in English through the above-mentioned metaphor corresponds to the expression of the same emotion through the metaphor HAPPINESS IS VEGETATION in Hindi.

## 2.4 HAPPINESS/SATISFATION IS COLDNESS

The attributional metaphor HAPPINESS/SATISFATION IS COLDNESS is probably based on the geographical and climatic conditions in Hindi speaking areas in India. The temperature modality *cold*, which otherwise expresses lethargy and negativity, has acquired positive value in Hindi. Another reason behind the inclusion of the temperature modality *cold* in place of *warm* might be attributed to the fact that the modalities *hot* and *warmth* are systematically occupied by the emotional concepts anger, revenge and conflict. The metaphor HAPPINESS IS COLDNESS, which does not exist in English and Chinese, shows strong presence in Hindi with a variety of somatic concepts including the liver, eyes, heart, uterus, and so on.

- (46) किसी की आँखें ठंडी होना  
*kisī kī āṁkhēṁ ṭhaṇḍī hōnā*  
 sb GEN eyes cold be  
 ‘sb’s eyes become cold’
- (47) किसी की कोख ठंडी होना  
*kisī kī kōkha ṭhaṇḍī hōnā*  
 sb GEN uterus cold be  
 ‘sb’s uterus becomes cold’ [a woman gives birth to a baby]
- (48) किसी का कलेजा ठंडा/छाती ठंडी होना  
*kisī kā kalējā ṭhaṇḍā /chāṭī ṭhaṇḍī hōnā*  
 sb GEN liver cold.ADJ.M/chest cold.ADJ.F be  
 ‘sb’s liver/chest becomes cold’
- (49) किसी के कलेजे में ठंड बैठना/पड़ना  
*kisī kē kalējē mēm ṭhaṇḍa baiṭhanā/paraṇā*  
 sb GEN liver in coldness sit/fall  
 ‘coldness sits/comes in sb’s liver’
- (50) दिल में ठंडक पड़ना/होना  
*dila mēm ṭhaṇḍaka paraṇā/hōnā*  
 heart in coldness fall/be  
 ‘coldness comes/spreads in sb’s heart’

The second of these phraseological expressions is a conceptual blend of socio-cultural aspects, i.e. the long awaited birth of a baby and freedom from infertility, and the suitable temperature for happiness. In some parts of India, an infertile woman is socially stigmatized and the birth of a child is therefore regarded as a sign of relief from stigma and dishonour. In connection with phraseological units with the somatic concept *eye* it is necessary to mention that they mainly express the state of happiness, but, based on the context, they may also denote the reception and experience of sexual lust. More interestingly, the variant *sukh* applies exclusively to phraseological expressions with the internal organs liver, heart and uterus, whereas the conjugation of *cold* with the phraseological constituent *eye* expresses feelings varying from sexual lust to happiness.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>(51) किसी की आँखें ठंडी होना<br/> <i>kisī kī āṁkhēm ṭhaṇḍī hōnā</i><br/> sb GEN eyes cold be<br/> ‘sb’s eyes become cold’</p>                            | <p>(53) अपनी आँखें ठंडी करना<br/> <i>apanī āṁkhēm ṭhaṇḍī karanā</i><br/> his eyes cold do<br/> ‘to make one’s eyes cold’</p>                          |
| <p>(52) किसी की आँखों को ठंडक मिलना<br/> <i>kisī kī āṁkhōm kō ṭhaṇḍaka milanā</i><br/> sb GEN eyes to.ART coldness meet<br/> ‘coldness meets sb’s eyes’</p> | <p>(54) किसी की आँखों में तरावट आना<br/> <i>kisī kī āṁkhōm mēm tarāvṭa ānā</i><br/> sb GEN eyes in cooling come<br/> ‘cooling comes in sb’s eyes’</p> |

## 2.5 HAPPINESS IS PHYSICAL EXPANSION

Physical expansion, especially of the chest, expresses the feeling of happiness, courage and pride, whereas the opposite situation, i.e. physical shrinkage and weight loss, indicates the emotional state of dishonour, embarrassment, fear and sorrow.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>(55) किसी का कलेजा/छाती बढ़ना/फूलना<br/> <i>kisī kā kalējā/chātī baṛhanā/<br/> phūlanā</i><br/> sb GEN liver/chest grow/expand<br/> ‘sb’s liver/chest grows/expands’</p> | <p>(57) किसी की छाती गज भर की होना<br/> <i>kisī kī chātī gaja bhara kī hōnā</i><br/> sb GEN chest yard equal to.ART be<br/> ‘sb’s chest expands by a yard’</p>         |
| <p>(56) अपने कपड़ों में न समाना<br/> <i>apanē kapaṛōm mēm na samānā</i><br/> his clothes in not fit<br/> ‘sb cannot contain himself in his clothes’</p>                     | <p>(58) किसी की छाती फूल उठना/जाना<br/> <i>kisī kī chātī phula uṭhanā/jānā</i><br/> sb GEN chest blow.STEM rise [VC]/<br/> go [VC]<br/> ‘sb’s chest gets enlarged’</p> |

- (59) *तन में/जामे में फूला न समाना*      (60) *किसी का अंग में अंग न समाना*  
*tana mēm/jāmē mēm phūlā na*      *kisī kā aṅga mēm aṅga na*  
*samānā*      *samānā*  
 body in/trousers in blow.IMF not fit      sb GEN limb in limb not fit  
 ‘sb cannot contain himself in his      ‘sb’s limbs can’t hold each other’  
 body/trousers’

Though the phraseological expressions of Hindi conceptualize positive feelings, including happiness, pride and courage, in terms of physical expansion, all of these different feelings borrow metaphorical imagery from different body parts and their respective movements. For example, an upright posture of the head is regarded as an expression of pride and honour, whereas an expansion of the chest and the inability to contain one’s limbs in their respective positions are metaphorically projected upon happiness. Nevertheless, the expansion of concerned body parts has its own limits, since the expansion beyond a certain limit, i.e. *ज्यादा चौड़ा होना jyādā cauṛā hōnā* “much wide be” is regarded as demonstration of arrogance, conceit and false superiority. It is a language-specific interpretation that distinguishes pride, happiness and arrogance from each other.

## 2.6 HAPPINESS LIES IN FOOD

A usual aspect of life, which reflects unusually, but prominently, in the conceptualization of happiness, is the excessive or adequate amount of basic food items. Since the majority of native Hindi speakers have traditionally given importance to vegetarianism these are only vegetarian food items such as bread, milk, curd, clarified butter and lentils, whose adequate or inadequate availability affects the state of being happy. Another reason for the selection of mappings from source domains of food to the target domain of happiness is that a considerable portion of the Hindi speaking population lives under poor living conditions with limited access to adequate food and water, which turns basic food items into extremely desirable objects. As Kövecses (2006) and Yu (2012) observed, the source domain *food* does not play any role in the conceptualization of happiness in English and Chinese. Some of the Hindi phraseologisms that conceptualize happiness in terms of excessive food availability are listed below. The last three examples are polysemous with meanings: a) to be happy, b) to have prosperity and fortune.

- (61) *रोटी-दाल से खुश होना*      (62) *रोटी पर रोटी रखकर खाना*  
*rōṭī-dāla sē khuśa hōnā*      *rōṭī para rōṭī rakhakara khānā*  
 flatbread-lentil with happy be      flatbread on flatbread put-ABS eat  
 ‘to be happy with flatbread and      ‘to put flatbread on flatbread and  
 lentil-curry’      eat’

- (63) किसी के मन में लड्डू फूटना  
*kisī kē mana mēm laḍḍū phūṭanā*  
 sb GEN heart in Laddus burst  
 ‘puddings burst in sb’s heart’
- (64) किसी के यहाँ/घर घी के दीपक जलना  
*kisī kē yahām̃/ghara ghī kē dīpaka jalanā*  
 sb GEN place/home ghee GEN lamps burn  
 ‘lamps of clarified butter burn at sb’s place/home’
- (65) किसी के घर घी-दूध/दूध-दही की नदियाँ बहना  
*kisī kē ghara ghī-dūdha/dūdha-dahī kī nadiyām̃ bahanā*  
 sb GEN home ghee-milk/milk-curd GEN river flow  
 ‘the river of clarified butter-milk/milk-curd flows at sb’s home’
- (66) किसी की पाँचों उँगलियाँ घी में होना  
*kisī kī pāñcōm̃ um̃galiyām̃ ghī mēm hōnā*  
 sb GEN five fingers ghee in be  
 ‘sb’s all five fingers are in clarified butter’

The results of this preliminary scrutiny seem interesting enough to merit a deeper inquiry among various cohorts in terms of region, modernity (urban/rural) and ethnic-religious groups. For example, it would be interesting to find out to what extent the expression of *cold* as a source domain for happiness applies to Hindi speakers in the cold and Himalayan region of India or to what extent the mappings from the source domains *food items* and *vegetation* differ between language speakers in urban and rural areas.

## 2.7 Some minor cases

Apart from the above-mentioned key metaphorical notions of happiness, there exist some marginal, but considerable instances of metaphorical conceptualization of the given emotion in Hindi. The first metaphorical concept is HAPPINESS IS LIGHT, which appears in both Chinese and English. The metaphor HAPPINESS IS LIGHT is a specific case of the generic attributional metaphors BRIGHT IS GOOD and DARK IS BAD. The following phraseological expressions may be considered as linguistic realizations of the metaphorical concept HAPPINESS IS LIGHT.

- (67) किसी की जिंदगी/जीवन में रौनक/रौशनी/उजाला होना  
*kisī kī jindagī/jivana mēm̃ raunaka/rauśanī/ujālā hōnā*  
 sb GEN life/life[SYNONYM] in shine/light/brightness be  
 ‘there is shine/light/brightness in sb’s life’

- (68) (किसी के जीवन में) खुशियों की रौशनी (भरना)  
*(kisī kē jīvana mēm) khuśiyōm kī rauśanī (bharanā)*  
 (sb GEN life in) happiness.PL GEN light (fill)  
 ‘(to fill) light of happiness (in sb’s life)’
- (69) किसी की आँखें खुशी से रौशन होना/करना  
*kisī kī āṁkhē khuśī sē rauśana hōnā/karanā*  
 sb GEN eyes happiness from shiny be/make  
 ‘sb’s eyes shine due to happiness’
- (70) किसी की जिंदगी का सूरज उगना  
*kisī kī jindagī kā sūraja uganā*  
 sb GEN life GEN sun rise  
 ‘the sun of sb’s life rises’
- (71) (किसी का/किसी का चेहरा/किसी की आँखें) खुशी से चमक उठना  
*(kisī kā/kisī kā cēharā/kisī kī āṁkhēm) khuśī sē camaka uṭhanā*  
 (sb NOM/sb GEN face/sb GEN eyes) happiness from shine.STEM rise [VC]  
 ‘sb/sb’s face/sb’s eyes shine up with happiness’

Another case is the metaphorical concept HAPPINESS IS PRESSURE OF LIQUID IN A CONTAINER, which appears in English as well as Chinese.

- (72) खुशी में आपा खोना/खो देना  
*khuśī mēm āpā khōnā/khō dēnā*  
 happiness in self loose/loose.  
 STEM give [VC]  
 ‘to loose/have lost his control  
 in happiness’
- (73) खुशी से फूट पड़ना  
*khuśī sē phūṭa paṛanā*  
 happiness from burst.STEM fall [VC]  
 ‘to burst out of happiness’
- (74) खुशी के आँसू  
*khuśī kē āṁsū*  
 happiness GEN tears  
 ‘the tears of happiness’
- (75) खुशी के आँसू न रोक पाना  
*khuśī kē āṁsū na rōka/ruka*  
 happiness GEN tears not hold can  
 ‘sb can’t hold tears of happiness’

Unlike the metaphor ANGER IS PRESSURE OF HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, the metaphor HAPPINESS IS PRESSURE IN A CONTAINER does not specify the temperature of the liquid. Moreover, apart from lexeme *tears*, there is no other lexical indication to the physical state of happiness in the body. The third and last case of metaphorical conceptualization of happiness in Hindi is the metaphor HAPPINESS IS TIME, which conceptualizes happiness and sorrow as time slots that a person has either left behind or is going to reach. Both models, moving-ego and moving-object, play a significant role in the conceptualization of happiness as time. Interestingly, only the *sukh* variant of happiness applies to this metaphor. However, this concept does not exist in Chinese and English.

- (76) अच्छे दिन/बुरे दिन देखना  
*acchē dina/ burē dina dēkhanā*  
 good days/bad days see  
 'to see bad/good days'
- (77) किसी के जीवन में अच्छे दिन आना  
*kisī kē jīvana mēm acchē dina ānā*  
 sb GEN life in good days come  
 'good days come in sb's life'
- (78) जीवन में सुख भरे दिन आना  
*jīvana mēm sukha bharē dina ānā*  
 life in happiness filled days come  
 'the days filled with happiness come in sb's life'
- (79) किसी के जीवन में बुरे दिन आना  
*kisī kē jīvana mēm burē dina ānā*  
 sb GEN life in bad days come  
 'bad days come in sb's life'
- (80) किसी के दुःख भरे दिन बीतना/निकल जाना  
*kisī kē duḥkha bharē dina bītanā/nikāla jānā*  
 sb GEN sorrow filled days pass/pass.STEM go [VC]  
 'sb's days filled with sorrows pass/pass away'

This metaphor also corresponds to the metaphorical inferences FUTURE IS AHEAD and AHEAD IS GOOD and their antonymic concepts PAST IS BEHIND and BEHIND IS BAD.

### 3 Discussion

On the basis of their observations, Kövecses (2000, 2006, and 2012) and Yu (2012) suggested the following key metaphorical concepts existing in English and Chinese: *HAPPINESS IS LIGHT*, *HAPPY IS UP*, *HAPPINESS IS A DESIRED OBJECT*, *HAPPINESS IS FLUID IN A CONTAINER* and *HAPPINESS IS WARMTH*. It is not surprising that most of these metaphorical concepts also exist in Hindi phraseology, except *HAPPINESS IS WARMTH*. But, what is really unusual is the finding that Hindi systematically employs some extra source domains like *PHYSICAL EXPANSION*, *VEGETATION*, *FOOD*, *COLDNESS* and *DESTINY* that do not exist in Chinese, English and any other language studied so far. Chinese shares the source domain *VEGETATION* but its scope is limited to the somatic concept *heart*. What is more interesting is the observation that Hindi allows only the generic metaphor *HAPPY IS UP*, while denoting all phraseological expressions having the source domain *HEIGHT ABOVE THE GROUND* with negative meanings of arrogance and false superiority. Based on the variations in metaphorical concepts, it may be concluded that embodied cognition and cultural context



cannot be separated from each other for the study of metaphorical concepts of happiness in any language of the world. In contrast, only their confluence can delineate and categorize the emotional concepts. If we look at one of the basic assumptions of embodiment hypothesis, i.e. that metaphorical phraseologisms make sense on the basis of conceptual metaphors, then the Hindi phraseologisms *kisī kā sira āsamāna sē laganā* “sb GEN head sky with touch” ‘sb’s head touches the sky’ and *khuśiyōm̄ kē pīchē bhāganā* „happiness-PL ART after run” ‘to run after happiness’ should convey positive meanings on the basis of the metaphors HAPPY IS UP and HAPPINESS IS A DESIRED OBJECT. However, both of these expressions convey a negative meaning because religious and cultural beliefs allow Hindi speakers neither to run after an object which only destiny can bestow upon a human, nor to go above a particular height since God and heaven themselves rest on earth, and to fly above God is not praiseworthy. On the one hand, these observations reflect the important role played by culture-specific artefacts in the conceptual structuring of abstract emotional concepts. On the other hand, the conceptual preferences and linguistic variations in metaphorical concepts suitably stress the value of the confluence of culture, body and metaphor in the tradition of Geeraerts:

First, we are embodied beings, not pure minds. Our organic nature influences our experience of the world, and this experience is reflected in the language we use. Second, however, we are not just biological entities: we also have a cultural and social identity, and our language may reveal that identity, i.e. languages may embody the historical and cultural experience of groups of speakers (and individuals). (Geeraerts 2006: 5)

## Abbreviations

ABS	Absolutive
ADJ	Adjective
F	Feminine
GEN	Genitive
IMF	Imperfect
IMP	Imperative
M	Masculine
PRS	Present indefinite
sb	somebody
STEM	Stem of the verb
VC	Verb + Verb compound (The second verb in order underlines the completion of action described by the first verb)

## Bibliography

### Primary literature

- Bhatia, Kailash Chandra. 2001. *hindī-īnglīśa muhāvarā-lōkōkti kōśa* [Hindi-English idiom-proverb thesaurus]. Delhi: Prabhat prakāśana [Prabhat Publication].
- Kapoor, Badrinath. 2009. *hindī muhāvarā ēvaṃ lōkōkti kōśa* [Hindi idioms and proverbs thesaurus]. Delhi: Lokbharti prakāśana [Lokbharti Publication].
- Paneru, B. R. 2011. *dēvabhūmi hindī muhāvarā kōśa* [Dēvabhūmi Hindi idioms thesaurus]. Nainital: Dēvabhūmi prakāśana [Dēvabhūmi Publication].
- Sharma, Harivansh Rai. 2015. *muhāvarā kōśa* [Idioms thesaurus]. Delhi: Rajpal & Sons.
- Tiwari, Bholanath. 2012. *hindī muhāvarā kōśa* [Hindi idioms thesaurus]. Delhi: Hindi Book Center.
- Trivedi, Shikha & S. P. Paramhans. 2007. *lōkōkti ēvaṃ muhāvarā kōśa* [Proverbs and idioms thesaurus]. Delhi: Delhi pustaka sadana [Delhi Book House].

### Secondary literature

- Burger, Harald. 2010. *Phraseologie. Eine Einführung am Beispiel des Deutschen*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag.
- Dancygier, Barbara & Eve Sweetser. 2014. *Figurative Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Geeraerts, Dirk. 2006. A rough guide to cognitive linguistics. In Dirk Geeraerts (ed.), *Cognitive Linguistics: Basic Readings*, 1–28. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Gibbs, Raymond. 1993. Why idioms are not dead metaphors. In Christa Cacciari & Patrizia Tabossi (eds.), *Idioms-processing, structure and interpretation*, 57–77. Hillsdale & New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Gopal, Madan. 1990. *India through the ages*. New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.
- Hartman-Schmitz, Ulrike. 1989. *Die Zahl Sieben im sunnitischen Islam*. Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang.
- Kövecses, Zoltán. 1991. Happiness: A definitional effort. *Metaphor and Symbolic Activity* 6(1). 29–47.
- Kövecses, Zoltán. 2000. *Metaphor and Emotion. Language, culture and body in the human feeling*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kövecses, Zoltán. 2006. *Language Mind and Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kövecses, Zoltán. 2012. Emotion Concepts in Cultural Contexts: the Case of Happiness. In Paul Wilson (ed.), *Dynamism in emotion concepts*, 159–182. Paris & Berne: Peter Lang.
- Lakoff, George & Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lang, Friedrich. 1994. *Die Briefe an Korinther [Das Neue Testament Deutsch, Band 7]*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.
- Shuangling, Li. 2014. A corpus-based analysis of metaphorical uses of high frequency noun *Time*: Challenge to Conceptual Metaphor Theory. In Jesús Romero-Trillo (ed.), *Yearbook of Corpus Linguistics and Pragmatics*, 79–88. Dordrecht: Springer.

- Stefanowitsch, Anatol. 2004. Happiness in English and German. A metaphorical pattern analysis. In Michel Achard & Suzanne Kemmer (eds.), *Language, Culture and Mind*, 134–149. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Yu, Ning. 2012. *Metaphorical expressions of anger and happiness in English and Chinese* (reprint of a 1995 journal article). In Patrick Hanks & Rachel Giora (eds.), *Metaphor and Figurative Language. Vol. 3. Literary and Cross-Cultural Perspectives*, 328–359. London & New York: Routledge.

