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## Exploring diachronic salience of emotion metaphors: A contrastive study of HAPPINESS metaphors in Classical Malay and Indonesian

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This paper analyzes metaphorical conceptualizations of HAPPINESS in the historical corpus of Classical Malay and in the corpus of present-day Indonesian, the national variety of Malay used in Indonesia. The aim is to explore the idea of diachronic salience and universal/variation in metaphorical conceptualizations between diachronic varieties of the same language. Token and type frequencies are used as measures of salience of the metaphors. Seven of the top-10 metaphors in Classical Malay with high token and type frequencies also make into the top-10 metaphors ranked by these measures in Indonesian, suggesting a relatively stable diachronic salience of the metaphoric cognitive models of HAPPINESS in these two Malay varieties. The shared metaphors are parts of larger networks of semantic domains, namely POSSESSION, LOCATION, MOTION, CONTAINMENT, and QUANTITY. The metaphors are discussed in relation to themes reported in earlier cross-cultural psychological studies of the cultural folk models of HAPPINESS.

**Keywords:** metaphorical conceptualizations, Classical Malay, Indonesian, happiness, diachronic salience, corpus linguistics, cognitive models

### 1 Introduction<sup>1</sup>

One intensively researched area within the field of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)

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(Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) is metaphorical conceptualizations of emotions across languages (Kövecses, 2000; Lakoff, 1987), as Lakoff (1993, p. 205) indicates that metaphorical understanding is the norm when talking about emotions. A large and growing body of literature has investigated a wide variety of emotion concepts in different languages (see Soriano, 2013a for an overview), both major languages, such as English and Spanish, and the lesser-known indigenous languages (e.g., Taylor & Mbense, 1998; Gaby, 2008; Ponsonnet, 2014; Kahumburu, 2016, among others). Moreover, over the past two decades, (quantitative) corpus linguistic method, based on synchronic and diachronic data, and experimental approach have permeated the field of CMT and research on emotion metaphors. Quantitative corpus-based studies have revealed the predominance of metaphorical expressions about emotion in natural language use and the possibility to measure the importance of the metaphors for an emotion (e.g., Stefanowitsch, 2004, 2006). Diachronic studies on emotion metaphors have highlighted the potential influences of cultural elements on certain metaphorical conceptualizations (e.g., Geeraerts & Grondelaers, 1995; Gevaert, 2007). Recent experimental studies have corroborated results from the linguistic investigation on emotion metaphors (see Bergen, 2012, for a comprehensive overview).

Despite the importance of emotion metaphor research, literature on this topic in the Malay world remains scarce (but see, e.g., Goddard, 2008; Charteris-Black, 2003, for studies on body-parts in Malay variety spoken in Malaysia). This paper aims to contribute cross-linguistic insights to the existing literature on emotion metaphors,

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especially the growing interest in the historical cognitive linguistic approach to emotions metaphors (Díaz-Vera, 2015, 2019), which is still predominantly based on Indo-European languages (see Fabiszak, 2001; Koivisto-Alanko & Tissari, 2006; Gevaert, 2007; Tissari, 2010; Trim, 2010; Fabiszak & Hebda, 2010; Mischler, 2013; Oster, 2018; and the collection of papers in Díaz-Vera, 2015, among others). We analyze metaphorical conceptualizations of HAPPINESS in Classical Malay as compared to present-day Indonesian, the national variety of Malay in Indonesia. Following Díaz-Vera (2019), we discuss how these conceptualizations relate to, and can be compared with, findings from cross-cultural, psychological studies on the understanding of HAPPINESS, especially in the Malay worlds of Indonesia (Anggraeny, Yuniarti, Moordiningsih, & Kim, 2016; Hamka, Yuniarti, Moordiningsih, & Kim, 2016; Primasari & Yuniarti, 2012; Yuniarti, 2014) and Malaysia (Howell, Chong, Howell, & Schwabe, 2012; Mohd Hashim & Mohd Zaharim, 2020), and in other Asian countries (Uchida & Kitayama, 2009; Uchida, Norasakkunkit, & Kitayama, 2004, among others).

There are only few studies about emotion metaphors in Indonesian and they are all synchronic in nature (G. P. W. Rajeg, 2014, 2019a; I. M. Rajeg, 2013; Siahaan, 2008; Yuditha, 2013). Rajeg (2013) is the first quantitative corpus-based study in Indonesian, analyzing five words referring to ANGER, LOVE, FEAR, SADNESS and HAPPINESS respectively. For HAPPINESS, the study is based on the word *kebahagiaan* ‘happiness’ from the Sanskrit root *bahagia* ‘happy, happiness’. Rajeg (2013) applied *Metaphorical Pattern Analysis* (MPA) (Stefanowitsch, 2004, 2006) and used *Configural Frequency Analysis* (CFA) to identify emotion-specific metaphors for each emotion. Recent advance in emotion metaphor research has focused on investigating more than one word representing the same emotion (Ogarkova & Soriano, 2014; G. P.

W. Rajeg, 2014; Stefanowitsch, 2006). Such an approach aims to capture a more expanded understanding of the respective emotion domain by analyzing the lexical field of an emotion concept. We follow this practice by taking the aggregated metaphor data from different HAPPINESS words to represent the whole domain of HAPPINESS (see G. P. W. Rajeg, 2019a). As will be discussed in Section 2.2, the frequency of occurrences for a number of the HAPPINESS words in the Classical Malay corpus are so low that conducting a statistical comparison of the distinctive metaphors for each word in the Classical Malay data will not be meaningful since only two of the four words are relatively frequent (see Table 2). For this reason, this study primarily analyzes the broader domain of HAPPINESS captured by the aggregated tokens for all words.

The central questions addressed in this paper are (i) what are the prominent metaphors for HAPPINESS in the Classical Malay corpus? (ii) do they still exist in the present-day Indonesian? The corpus-based nature of this study allows operationalizing “prominence” in terms of frequency (Koivisto-Alanko & Tissari, 2006, p. 194). Two ranked-order frequency profiles are used for characterizing the prominence of a metaphor: (i) token frequency and (ii) type frequency (Oster, 2010, 2018). The extent to which HAPPINESS is conceptualized with the same prominent metaphors between these two language varieties may suggest a long-term “diachronic universal” and “diachronic salience” (Trim, 2011, p. 55) in the history of HAPPINESS metaphors in the Malay regions. This paper aims to contribute to the understanding of metaphor variation and similarity between diachronic varieties of the same language (Díaz-Vera, 2015) with an investigation on the distribution of the metaphor across the Classical Malay and Indonesian corpora (Gevaert, 2007; Polley, 2012, p. 20).

### 1.1 The need for diachronic metaphor studies

Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995) argue that diachronic metaphor studies can provide cultural insights in addition to the widely-held view of the bodily basis of emotion metaphors (Lakoff, 1987). The presence of a metaphor, such as ANGER IS HEAT (e.g., you make my *blood boil*, she was *doing a slow burn*), across different languages (Kövecses, 2000) has been argued to be influenced by the universal human physiology when experiencing anger (e.g., increased body heat). However, Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995) propose that the conceptualizations of emotion as a fire or (heated) fluid in a body-container could be a remnant of the Humoral theory (see also Gevaert, 2007). Siahaan (2008) also proposes a culturally-based analysis for the metaphorical usages of Indonesian *hati* ‘liver’, with liver divination practice as the cultural motive.

Another possible source of influence for a given conceptualization may come from the literary tradition within a certain developmental stage of a language. For instance, the Old and Middle English periods hold many translated texts from Latin. In addition, Romance influence, such as French borrowings, also characterizes the Middle English and Early Modern English periods (Gevaert, 2007). These phenomena could also be the cause for why several languages share similar conceptualizations.

Literary tradition in the history of Indonesian as a national language based on Classical Malay also includes the practice of translating literary works, predominantly of Islamic influence from Persian and Arabic (Robson, 2002). Robson (2002, p. 13) points out that such practice saw the flourishing periods of the Malay literary works in the 14th and the 15th centuries, the periods known as the Classical Malay periods. The translated works, especially for religious texts, instill the Islamic influence from Arabia on the Malay/Indonesian languages up until the present. Such cultural transmission

would also influence the ways a given emotion is talked about and construed. Studying the linguistic expressions for talking about an emotion in the earlier variety of Indonesian, namely Classical Malay, may reveal such cultural insights in addition to the widely held assumption of the embodied basis of emotion metaphors.

## **2 Data and methods**

### **2.1 Data source for Classical Malay and Indonesian**

The Classical Malay data comes from the *Malay Concordance Project* (MCP) (Gallop, 2013; Proudfoot, 1991, 2017). MCP is the only publicly available electronic corpora for diachronic studies of Classical Malay, allowing us to search for words from the 13th to the 20th-century Classical Malay manuscripts (the last period covered in MCP is the 1950s). In total, MCP consists of 5,889,508 word-tokens but they are not proportionally distributed across the periods and the genres. MCP may also not be complete, but Gallop (2013, p. 13) argues that it covers a representative collection of Malay written tradition from various locations in the Malay regions of Indonesia and Malaysia.

The texts in MCP, as shown in its direct-search webpage, consist of (i) Prose (N=3,981,802 tokens, or 69.61% of the total 5,889,508 tokens), (ii) Newspapers (N=648,651; 11.01%), (iii) Letters and Documents (N=553,427; 9.40%), (iv) Verses (N=524,602; 8.91%), and (v) Tracts and Manuals (N=181,026; 3.07%). Across the MCP periods, Prose is the predominant genre, especially from the 16th century onwards. However, in the beginning of the 20th century (i.e., 1900-49), Newspapers are more predominant than Prose; it is due to (i) the emergence of nationalism across the multi-ethnic group in the Dutch-Malay of the present-day Indonesia, and (ii) the predominant use of Malay newspapers to spread their movement (Robson, 2002, p. 29).

The Indonesian data comes from the *Indonesian Leipzig Corpora Collection* (Goldhahn, Eckart, & Quasthoff, 2012). The texts are sourced mainly from online newspapers, various web pages, and Wikipedia dumps. Table 1 shows the Indonesian corpus files used in the study (98,006,421 word-tokens) (G. P. W. Rajeg, 2019a).

*Table 1 Corpus files in the Indonesian Leipzig Corpora*

	Corpus files	Size (in word-tokens)
1	ind_mixed_2012_1M-sentences.txt	15,052,159
2	ind_news_2008_300K-sentences.txt	5,875,376
3	ind_news_2009_300K-sentences.txt	5,868,276
4	ind_news_2010_300K-sentences.txt	5,874,158
5	ind_news_2011_300K-sentences.txt	5,852,211
6	ind_news_2012_300K-sentences.txt	5,873,523
7	ind_newscrawl_2011_1M-sentences.txt	16,376,426
8	ind_newscrawl_2012_1M-sentences.txt	16,916,778
9	ind_web_2011_300K-sentences.txt	4,472,885
10	ind_web_2012_1M-sentences.txt	15,844,629

The *Indonesian Leipzig Corpora* are unannotated plain texts of randomized sentences. The naming format of the file captures different information separated by underscores: (i) language (a three-character code according to ISO 639 at *Ethnologue*); (ii) genre; (iii) year of download or publication, especially for the *news* genre; and (iv) sentence size. We also used data from the *Indonesian Web as Corpus* (IWaC) of *Sketch Engine* and *WebCorp* for two words with low tokens in the *Leipzig Corpora* (cf. Section 2.2).

## 2.2 The studied HAPPINESS words

Shaver et al (2001) identified five root words referring to five prototypical concepts in Indonesian, namely *bahagia* ‘happy’, *gembira* ‘excited; exuberant’, *senang* ‘happy;

contented’, *ceria* ‘cheerful’, and *riang* ‘joyous. In their study, Shaver et al (2001) discovered that *senang* appeared as the prototypical label for the generic HAPPINESS domain. The same set of words are analyzed from the MCP corpus.

We analyzed these root forms and their derivatives as abstract nouns, following previous corpus-based studies on emotion metaphors focusing on nouns (e.g., Stefanowitsch, 2004, 2006). The nouns can be of two morphological forms: (i) the nominalized form with *ke-* *-an* circumfix (e.g., *kegembiraan* ‘joy’ from *gembira* ‘excited’) and (ii) the root-nominal (e.g., *gembira* ‘excited’). The nominal usages of the roots as in (1) were decided manually because they occur predominantly in predicative syntax (see (2)). The word forms such as *kebahagiaan* and *bahagia* are then viewed as the lexicalization of the concept BAHAGIA (the concept is labelled with the root word).

(1) Malay (AHmz 328:12, c1380)<sup>2</sup>

<i>kerana</i>	<b><i>bahagia</i></b>	<i>dan</i>	<i>kebesaran</i>	<i>itu</i>
because	happy	and	greatness	DEM
<i>tiada dapat</i>	<i>di-buat-buat</i>			
NEG	can	PASS-make~PL		
‘since that <i>happiness</i> and greatness cannot be faked/pretended (lit. cannot be made up)’				

(2) Malay (AHmz 220:38, c1380)

<i>Apa</i>	<i>kurang</i>	<b><i>bahagia</i></b>	<i>aku</i>	<i>beroleh</i>	<i>menantu</i>
What	less	happy	1SG	gain	child-in-law

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<sup>2</sup> Abbreviations used in the interlinear glossing: 1, 2, 3 (first, second, third person); ADV (adverbial); APPL (applicative); AV (actor/active voice); BER (*ber-* verbal prefix); BER- -AN (*ber-* *-an* adjectival circumfix); CAUS (causative); COP (copular-like marker); DEM (demonstrative); DISHON (dishonorific expression); FOC (focus marker); FUT (future marker); INCL (inclusive); INTENSIF (intensifying function); INTR (intransitive); LOC (locative); MID (middle voice); NEG (negation); NMLZ (nominalizing affix); PASS (passive); PL (plural); POSS (possessive); REFL (reflexive); REL (relative-clause marker); SG (singular); TR (transitiviser).

<i>akan</i>	<i>Umar Muad Karab</i>	<i>itu</i>
towards	NAME	DEM
'Am I less <i>happy</i> to get Umar Muad Karab as the son-in-law'		

The question about why the use of *bahagia* as a noun in (1) does not appear in the nominalized *ke-* *-an* form (*kebahagiaan* 'happiness'), similar to its coordinated collocate *kebesaran* 'greatness' (from *besar* 'big'), would be due to the nominalized form *kebahagiaan* was not attested in the text in c1380 in (1); it only appeared three centuries latter starting from the 1600s. Figure 1 shows the normalized token frequencies for the root forms (both nominal and others) (upper panel) and the nominalized forms (lower panel) across the MCP periods; the periodization is taken directly from the webpage (<https://mcp.anu.edu.au/Q/words.html#bytime>). The form *keceriaan* 'cheerfulness' is missing from Figure 1 because it is not attested in MCP.

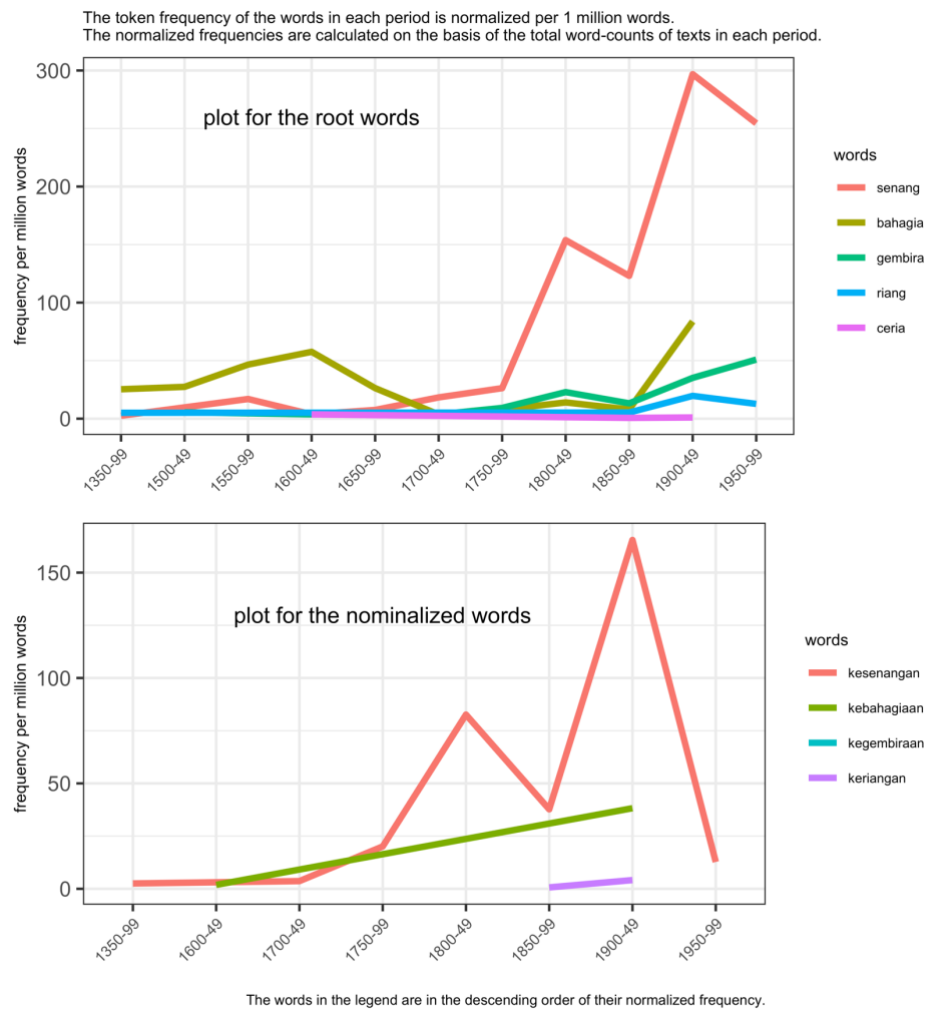


Figure 1 Normalized frequency of the HAPPINESS words in MCP

Most of the studied words were first attested in the 1350-99 period. Meanwhile, all attestations of *kegembiraan* ‘joy’ are found only in the period of 1900-49. Figure 1 also shows relative-frequency increase for certain words in the 1800s and 1900s, such as the Austronesian-based word *senang* ‘happy; contented’ becoming more frequent from the 1700s to the 1900s. Prior to these, the Sanskrit-based word *bahagia* ‘happy’ was predominant. Moreover, *ceria* ‘cheerful’ only occurs four times in the period of 1600-49. The year 1950 is the last period in which the studied HAPPINESS words are attested. The rightmost column in Table 2 summarizes the total frequencies of the analyzed HAPPINESS nouns in MCP.

Table 2 Analyzed tokens for the HAPPINESS nouns in MCP

Concepts	Root tokens	Root-nominal	ke- -an tokens	Total analyzed tokens (Root-nominal + ke- -an)
BAHAGIA	174	95	38	133
CERIA	4	0	0	0
GEMBIRA	96	9	3	12
RIANG	30	2	5	7
SENANG	668	81	298	379

All four tokens of the root *ceria* ‘cheerful’ in Table 2 are in non-nominal usage.

Therefore, only nouns for the remaining four concepts were analyzed. Table 3 presents the distribution of the Indonesian data (G. P. W. Rajeg, 2019a).

Table 3 Analyzed tokens for the Indonesian HAPPINESS nouns

		Total analyzed tokens (1000 random sample of ke- -an + Root-nominal tokens)			
Concepts	Root tokens	tokens	ke- -an (Leipzig)	All ke- -an	root-nominal)
BAHAGIA	5997	414	3222	3222	1414
CERIA	851	39	265	1033	1039
GEMBIRA	4248	133	1208	1208	1133
RIANG	504	12	60	360	372
SENANG	13488	292	1249	1249	1292

Given the low token-frequencies for the *ke- -an* forms of CERIA ( $N_{keceriaan}=265$  tokens) and RIANG ( $N_{keriangan}=60$ ), more tokens were gathered from the *Indonesian web as Corpus* (IWaC) in *Sketch Engine*, and ten Indonesian newspapers searched through *WebCorp* (the search was done in August 2015). The total tokens for *keceriaan* and *keriangan* after these additions are shown under the “All ke- -an” column in Table 3.

We then analyzed a random sample of 1000 concordance lines for each of the *ke- an* forms in the Indonesian database (Stefanowitsch, 2006, p. 71). If the tokens were below 1000, such as for *keriang* ‘cheerfulness’ (N=360), all tokens were analyzed. While the focus of this paper is to capture the prominent metaphors in the lexical field of HAPPINESS collectively, the imbalanced tokens for each word in the two corpora would skew the results. For instance, the high frequency of a metaphor could be due to the high frequency of a given HAPPINESS word with which the metaphor occurs.

### 2.3 Metaphorical data retrieval and annotation

To identify the metaphorical expressions containing the HAPPINESS words, we applied the *Metaphorical Pattern Analysis* (MPA) (Stefanowitsch, 2004, 2006). MPA is designed to analyze one (or more) metaphorical target domain(s), such as HAPPINESS, via its representative lexical item(s). The basic steps in MPA consist of (i) retrieving (a sample of) the usage of the target-domain words (i.e., as nouns) from the corpus, and (ii) identifying all metaphorical expressions where one of their constituent parts is filled with the target-domain word (Stefanowitsch, 2006, p. 64). Consider example (3) with the target word *kegembiraan* ‘joy’.

- (3) Indonesian (ind\_newscrawl2012\_1M:189973)
- |               |                                |                           |                            |                           |             |
|---------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|-------------|
| <i>Kampiu</i> | <i>ski</i>                     | <i>air</i>                | <i>DKI Jakarta</i> ,       | <i>Fath Daud Wangka</i> , | <i>juga</i> |
| winner        | ski                            | water                     | PLACE                      | NAME                      | also        |
| <i>tidak</i>  | <b><i>men-(t)ampak-kan</i></b> | <u><i>kegembiraan</i></u> | <b><i>ber-lebih-an</i></b> |                           |             |
| NEG           | AV-be.visible-TR.CAUS          | joy                       | BER-more-AN                |                           |             |
- ‘DKI Jakarta’s water ski winner, Fath Daud Wangka, did not reveal excessive joy’

Given (3), two syntactically relevant expressions are retrieved: *menampakkan NP* ‘to reveal NP’ and *NP berlebihan* ‘excessive NP’. These metaphorical expressions are what Stefanowitsch (2006, p. 66) calls *metaphorical patterns*, namely multiword expressions

evoking a given source domain into which the target-domain words have been inserted.

The source-domain lexical units in these metaphorical patterns are the transitive verb *menampakkan* ‘reveal’ and the adjective *berlebihan* ‘excessive’.

The next step is to categorize (i) the source domain evoked by these source-domain lexical units and (ii) how HAPPINESS is conceptualized within the evoked source domain. Categories of the source domains are mainly based on the *MetaNet* (MN) frames for English<sup>3</sup> (Sullivan, 2013; Petruck, 2016; Kövecses, 2017, p. 5; see also David, 2017, for a recent overview of the frame-semantic approach to conceptual metaphor). To illustrate, the pattern *menampakkan NP* ‘to reveal NP’ evokes the CAUSE TO SEE frame. Given the pattern and the frame, HAPPINESS is conceptualized as an (un)veiled object since *kegembiraan* ‘joy’ fills the direct object slot linked to the seen\_object role of the frame. In this case, HAPPINESS IS AN (UN)VEILED OBJECT metaphor is postulated, because there are also expressions evoking a related frame, namely the HIDING frame, where HAPPINESS maps onto the hidden\_object role.

We adopt López’s (2011) procedure with Spanish data to use the closest English equivalent of the Indonesian and Malay source-frame words to determine the closest frames evoked by the patterns. For some cases, the frames are sourced from the English *FrameNet* (FN) repository<sup>4</sup> or proposed anew. The Indonesian metaphor database is part of the open-source R package *happyr* (G. P. W. Rajeg, 2019b). The Classical Malay data and the R codes for analyses are stored at <https://doi.org/10.17605/OSF.IO/2Y846>.

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<sup>3</sup> The *MetaNet* frames repository can be accessed via

<https://metaphor.icsi.berkeley.edu/pub/en/index.php/Category:Frame>

<sup>4</sup> The *FrameNet* frames repository can be accessed via <https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/>

### **3 Results and discussion**

The prominent metaphors in Classical Malay and Indonesian are characterized according to their token (§3.1) and type frequencies (§3.2). Each of these measures highlights different usage and representational properties of the metaphors. The comparison between the two language varieties focuses on (i) the prominence and (non-)overlapping metaphors within the top-10 items for a given frequency profile; and (ii) which metaphors capture similar semantic dimensions of happiness as reported in cross-cultural, psychological studies, especially in Indonesia and Malaysia.

#### **3.1 Top-10 metaphors ranked order by their token frequency**

Token frequency of a metaphor is tallied from the token frequency of its metaphorical patterns. Figure 2 visualizes the distribution of the top-10 HAPPINESS metaphors in the two corpora; the distribution is represented as percentages of the token frequencies so that they are comparable between the two corpora (Levshina, 2015, p. 70).

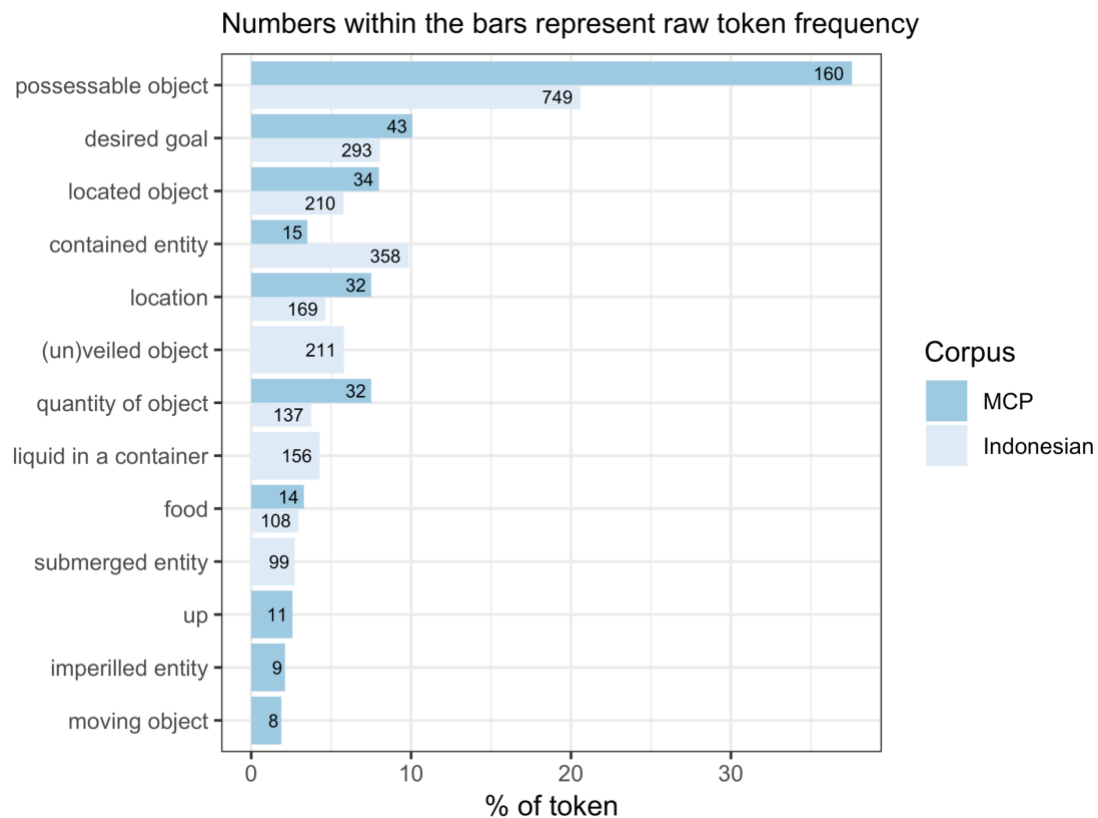


Figure 2 Top-10 metaphors in Classical Malay and Indonesian according to the token frequency

Seven metaphors are shared between Classical Malay and Indonesian, namely POSSESSABLE OBJECT, DESIRED GOAL, CONTAINED ENTITY, and LOCATED OBJECT. The high number of the shared metaphors in the top-10 list suggests diachronic stability for these metaphorical conceptualizations in the two language varieties (cf. Trim, 2011, p. 64 for the analysis of LOVE metaphors). The relative prominence of these metaphors given their percentages differs between the two languages. This could be due to the higher number of metaphor types identified for Indonesian (62 metaphor types) than for Classical Malay (38 types), and to the different sizes of the analyzed sample.

Figure 2 also shows the non-overlapping metaphors. For instance, LIQUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor is not amongst the top-10 most frequent metaphors for HAPPINESS in MCP as it only occurs three times in MCP, but relatively much more frequent in

Indonesian. This asymmetry could be due to the fact that LIQUID IN A CONTAINER is strongly associated with the word *kegembiraan* ‘joy’ in Indonesian (G. P. W. Rajeg, 2019a), the token frequency of which is very low in MCP (Table 2). Meanwhile, HAPPINESS IS UP, HAPPINESS IS AN IMPERILED ENTITY, and HAPPINESS IS A MOVING OBJECT are all attested in Indonesian but at lower proportion compared to the top-10 items.

According to Trim (2011, p. 67), to further assess the argument for the long-term diachronic trend of a given metaphor, we need to “determine whether it occurs at all stages” in the history of the language (cf. Gevaert, 2007). The MCP ends at the 1950s (<http://mcp.anu.edu.au/Q/texts.html#chronological>) and to the best of our knowledge, there are no open-access diachronic corpora of Indonesian/Malay capturing the periods after 1950s until the present-day Indonesian (such as the one provided in the *Corpus of Historical American English* [COHA]). Thus, our claim about the long-term, diachronic universality of the metaphors in Figure 2 can only be seen as a hypothesis.

### **3.1.1 HAPPINESS IS A POSSESSABLE OBJECT**

HAPPINESS IS A POSSESSABLE OBJECT is attested from the 14th to the mid of the 20th century (c1950), suggesting its long-term persistence from the Classical Malay period until the birth of the modern variety of Malay such as Indonesian. Metaphorical expressions for the POSSESSABLE OBJECT metaphor highlight several aspects based on the evoked semantic frames. The two prominent frames given their token (N) and type frequencies are the GAIN POSSESSION (N=83; Type=9) and the TRANSFER SCENARIO frames (N=58; Type=12). The GAIN POSSESSION frame captures the experience of happiness as receiving a possessable object (examples (4) and (5) below), while the TRANSFER SCENARIO frames ((6) and (7)) captures the cause of happiness as transferring an object from a Donor to a Recipient (cf. Stefanowitsch, 2004).

(4) Malay (AHmz 697:39, c1380)

<i>supaya</i>	<i>hamba</i>	<b><i>beroleh</i></b>	<i><u>bahagia</u></i>
so.that	1SG	receive/gain	happy

‘so that I *receive happiness*’

(5) Indonesian (ind\_web2012\_1M:742359)

<i>mereka</i>	<i>ber-harap</i>	<i>mudah-mudahan</i>	<b><i>mem-peroleh</i></b>	<i><u>bahagia</u></i>
3PL	MID-hope	hopefully	AV-acquire	happy

‘they hope to *acquire happiness*’

The earliest attestation for the GAIN POSSESSION frame in (4) occurs in a Prose titled *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* (The Story of Amir Hamzah), a Malay translation of a Persian tale that was transported from Sanskrit (Robson, 2002, p. 13). The Persian influence on the manuscript is linked to literature in the northern India Muslim. Historically, the Islamic influence in the CM period had been established before the 13th century in the Malay Archipelago and Peninsula through the first Islamic sultanate of Samudra-Pasai in northern Sumatra (the present-day Aceh, Indonesia) (see Robson, 2002, p. 12ff).

Metaphorical expressions evoking the TRANSFER SCENARIO frame are attested latter than the GAIN POSSESSION, namely in the second half of the 17th century<sup>5</sup>.

Example (6) illustrates one of the two earliest attestations in the Malay version of the Islamic world story *Hikayat Sultan Ibrahim Ibn Adham* (Fang, 2013, p. 257).

(6) Malay (IbrA 100:39, c1650)

<i>engkau</i>	<i>akan</i>	<b><i>di-beri</i></b>	<i>Allah taala Tuhan azza wa jalla</i>
2SG	FUT	PASS-give	The Almighty God

<i><u>bahagia</u></i>	<i>dunia</i>	<i>dan</i>	<i>dalam akhirat</i>
happy	world	and	inside afterlife

‘you will be *given*, by the Almighty God, *happiness* in the world and the afterlife’

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<sup>5</sup> This statement never suggests that the TRANSFER SCENARIO frame is not attested in earlier periods with HAPPINESS and/or the other target-domain items given the limitation of the corpus coverage.

Example (7) shows a specific mapping of HAPPINESS not only as a generic possession, but as a gift, suggesting the willingness of the Donor to cause the Recipient (i.e., kids) to be happy. This mapping is constructed via derived verb based on the noun root *hadiah* ‘gift/present’ suffixed with the transitivizer *-kan*.

- (7) Indonesian (ind\_web2012\_1M:774145)  
*Mari-lah kita hadiah-kan se-cercah harapan dan*  
 Let-FOC 1PL.INCL gift-TR.APPL one-glimpse hope and  
  
*kegembiraan kepada anak-anak di dunia*  
 joy towards children LOC world  
 ‘Let us *gift* a glimpse of hope and *joy* to the children in the world’

Previous corpus-based studies on HAPPINESS in English also discovered that the sub-mapping of TRANSFER SCENARIO, namely CAUSING HAPPINESS IS TRANSFERRING AN OBJECT, is strongly associated with HAPPINESS when contrasted with the other basic emotions, such as ANGER, FEAR, and SADNESS (Stefanowitsch, 2004, p. 145, 2006, p. 93). A historical corpus study by Tissari (2008, p. 148) also identified the prominence of the transferred object mapping<sup>6</sup> for conceptualizing HAPPINESS in the 18th- and 19th-century English. Furthermore, Türker (2013, p. 102) reported the applicability of SHARING metaphor for HAPPINESS in Korean. Our findings suggest cross-linguistic similarity and salience for construing HAPPINESS as a possessable object that can be shared and received (see also I. M. Rajeg, 2013, p. 36 who found association between *kebahagiaan* ‘happiness’ with POSSESSION metaphors).

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<sup>6</sup> Tissari (2008, p. 150, footnote 7) subsumes the Transferred\_object mapping under the VALUABLE COMMODITY source domain. This source domain also covers the notion that HAPPINESS is construed as a desired object to possess and quantify for its worth (Tissari, 2008, p. 148).

The giving and receiving aspects of the POSSESSABLE OBJECT metaphor converge with findings from psychological studies on Indonesian participants, reporting that togetherness with the closest people, including sharing and meeting with friends and family, is their main factor to feel most happy (Yuniarti, 2014, pp. 7–8; cf. Jaafar et al., 2012, p. 552). The metaphor is also related to other themes found by Yuniarti (2014, p. 7) to be the prominent factors, namely social support and social benevolence.

The social support factor includes the idea of “being loved, getting a reward, and being supported” (Yuniarti, 2014, p. 7), which arguably reflects the positive effect on the Receiver role in the GAIN POSSESSION frame. The reverse perspective is represented by the social benevolence, capturing “making others happy and helping others” (Yuniarti, 2014, p. 7), that take the perspective of the TRANSFER SCENARIO frame where sharing or giving happiness to others is construed as causing happiness (cf. Díaz-Vera, 2019, p. 373). Türker (2013, p. 102) also analyzes the SHARING metaphor in Korean to reflect the social feature of HAPPINESS as a collective rather than personal feeling (see Díaz-Vera, 2019, p. 375, for similar analysis on the POSSESSABLE OBJECT metaphor as ‘a factor of social harmony’ or ‘social sharing of happiness’ in English). Converging theme of togetherness with family and friends via certain events is also reported to be an important domain for adolescent’s happiness in Malaysia (Mohd Hashim & Mohd Zaharim, 2020, p. 8). Overall, the interdependence and togetherness themes reflected by the metaphor reflects the collectivistic cultures of the Malay speech-community, similar to most Asian countries (Jaafar et al., 2012; Uchida & Kitayama, 2009; Uchida et al., 2004), where social support, compassion, and “embeddedness of the self in a social relationship” play important role in one’s and communal happiness (cf. Primasari & Yuniarti, 2012, p. 57; Yuniarti, 2014, p. 7).

### 3.1.2 HAPPINESS IS AN IMPERILED ENTITY

The IMPERILED ENTITY metaphor is based on the HARM frame family in MN (Dodge, 2016, pp. 282–286), such as DESTROYING, IMPACT, PROTECTING, DANGER, and REJUVENATION (from FN). Inference from this metaphor is that HAPPINESS is construed as an entity that should be protected and preserved (8) from external harms (e.g. destruction; (10) and (9)). This conceptualization can be related to the POSSESSABLE OBJECT since we strive to protect our possession. Moreover, the IMPERILED ENTITY metaphor represents the dimension of valence, capturing the positive and valuable aspects of HAPPINESS (Uchida & Kitayama, 2009; Díaz-Vera, 2019).

- (8) Malay (BSK 11/17, c1770)  
*nama orang besar mem-(p)elihara-kan kehidupan dan kesenangan*  
 name person big AV-preserve-CAUS life and pleasure  
 ‘name of big person preserves life and pleasure’

- (9) Malay (PBanj 268:24, c1860)  
*sudah me-rusak-kan kesenangan dan kesentosaan*  
 already AV-damaged-CAUS pleasure and tranquility  
 ‘already damaging pleasure and tranquility’

- (10) Malay (S 22Feb36:9, c1930)  
*menjauhkan tiap2 perkara yang boleh men-cedera-kan kesenangan*  
 keep.away every issue REL may AV-injured-CAUS pleasure  
 ‘keeping away every issue which may injure/hurt pleasure’

Example (8) is from a history of Bima, Indonesia, while that in (9) comes from a treaty between the Dutch and the Banjarmasin area of Indonesia. MCP website mentions that the text in (9) is translations of bureaucratic-legal Dutch, so the metaphorical pattern may be a Dutch calque. Example (10) is from a native Malay newspaper called *Saudara*, published in Penang of the present-day Malaysia.

HAPPINESS IS AN IMPERILED ENTITY is both frequent (Figure 2) and productive (Figure 3) in MCP. In the Indonesian data, it makes into the top-10 metaphors with high

type frequency (Figure 3). This metaphor is semantically similar to the FRAGILE/DESTROYABLE OBJECT metaphor that Stefanowitsch (2006, p. 101) found to be strongly associated with *happiness* in English compared to *sadness*. Similarly, statistical association between FRAGILE OBJECT and the domain of HAPPINESS (compared to the other emotions) is identified in Indonesian (see I. M. Rajeg, 2013, p. 218).

### 3.1.3 HAPPINESS IS A DESIRED GOAL & HAPPINESS IS A MOVING OBJECT

The DESIRED GOAL metaphor construes HAPPINESS as a destination or a desired object one wishes to achieve. It is first attested in the 1500s text of Iskandar Zulkarnain story in the pattern *pintu bahagia* ‘door to/of happiness’, construing HAPPINESS as a location via the MN’s ACCESS TO LOCATION frame. The metaphor persists in the later periods towards the end of MCP and is mainly evoked by MOTION-related source frames; the predominant one is the PURSUE frame, which is a subcase of the SELF-PROPELLED MOTION TO A DESTINATION frame in MN. Within this frame, the pursuit of the desired object/destination is mapped onto the attempt to be happy. All expressions of the PURSUE frame in MCP (from c1650 to c1940) refer to ‘searching’ based on one verbal root *cari* ‘search; look for’. Example (11) is the first attestation of PURSUE from a history text of Ambon, Indonesia, titled *Hikayat Hitu* (The story of Hitu).

- (11) Malay (Hitu 106,XXVI, c1650)  
*Daripada itu-lah men-(t)inggal negeri men-cari senang*  
 from DEM-FOC AV-stay country AV-search happy  
 ‘It is from/because of that (reason someone is) leaving the country (lit. let the country stay) to *search for happiness*’

In the Indonesian data, the expressions evoking ‘searching’ are still predominant, but conceptually enriched with those referring to ‘chasing’ (e.g., *meng(k)ejar kesenangan* ‘chase pleasure’) and ‘hunting’ (based on *buru* ‘to hunt’). The hunting type especially

manifests as the verb *memburu* ‘to hunt’, derived patient-nouns with the *-an* suffix (*buru-an* ‘a prey/hunt; i.e., sth. being hunted’), and agent-noun with the agentive prefix *peN-* (*pem-buru* ‘hunter’; see (12)). These nominal lexicalizations of hunting evoke specific mappings for HAPPINESS, namely as a prey hunted by the emotion-hunter.

- (12) Indonesian (ind\_newscrawl2011\_1M:79925)  
*atau ter-jerumus jadi pem-buru kesenangan.*  
 or PASS-plunge become NMLZ-hunt pleasure  
 ‘or being plunged/fell into becoming the *hunter* of *pleasure*.’

Example (13) below illustrates the end point of the SELF-PROPELLED MOTION TO A DESTINATION frame, that is, reaching a destination is mapped onto the attainment of happiness. The excerpt is from the Malay newspaper *Saudara*.

- (13) Malay (S 15Jan36:2, c1930)  
*kita masih teringin lagi men-capai akan*  
 1PL.INCL still want again AV-reach towards  
  
*kemajuan dan kebahagiaan hidup*  
 progress and happiness life  
 ‘we still want to *reach towards* progress and life *happiness*’

- (14) Indonesian (ind\_newscrawl2011\_1M:451099)  
*Saya ber-usaha kembali ke keceriaan*  
 1SG MID-effort return to cheerfulness  
 ‘I strive to *return to cheerfulness*’

The inference evoked by the SELF-PROPELLED MOTION TO A DESTINATION and the PURSUE frames shows the self-derived action taken by the candidate Experiencer to achieve well-being. It also highlights the process, necessity, and desirability of the candidate Experiencer to be happy (e.g., the hunting mapping would also capture the necessity for HAPPINESS-prey for the survival of the Experiencer). Moreover, the mapping suggests that HAPPINESS is construed as one’s life ideal or purpose.

The semantics of the lexical units in the metaphorical expressions, especially for the SELF-PROPELLED MOTION TO A DESTINATION, mostly highlights the arrival of the Mover at the Goal as in (13) above, both in Classical Malay and Indonesian. Meanwhile, all the metaphorical expressions for PURSUE in Classical Malay refer to the searching of the desired object as in (11) but more varied in Indonesian, suggesting that one requires exploration (e.g., chasing, hunting) to achieve well-being. The semantic aspect of the QUEST metaphor reflects the dimension of “personal achievement” (Díaz-Vera, 2019, p. 375) (e.g., in career or work achievement, or self-fulfillment) that is reported as one of the indicators for HAPPINESS by Indonesian and Malaysian participants (Jaafar et al., 2012; Primasari & Yuniarti, 2012; Yuniarti, 2014), but it is less prominent than the social and togetherness factors.

The same inferences of the metaphor are also found in English, though Stefanowitsch (2006, pp. 93, 97) lumped the searching and arriving expressions under a single metaphor, namely TRYING TO ATTAIN EMOTION IS SEARCHING FOR AN OBJECT<sup>7</sup>. The conceptualization of the DESIRED GOAL metaphor, or the QUEST metaphor in Stefanowitsch (2004, p. 143), has been found to be prominent for the word *happiness* in English and *Glück* in German (Stefanowitsch, 2004, pp. 143–145). The prominence of this metaphor for HAPPINESS is also attested in the 20th-century corpora of English (Tissari, 2008, p. 149). Moreover, Türker (2013, pp. 96–97) states that this QUEST metaphor (labelled as [HIDDEN] DESIRED OBJECT in Türker’s study) “is one of the most

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<sup>7</sup> In the earlier study on HAPPINESS in English and German, Stefanowitsch (2004, pp. 143–145) split the ‘searching/pursuing’ and ‘finding/capturing’ mappings, but group them under what he calls the ‘QUEST model’.

frequent and productive metaphors” for HAPPINESS in Korean. These findings suggest that the QUEST metaphors for HAPPINESS hold a long-term salience in English as well as in the Malay regions and a related Asian culture, such as Korean.

A reverse tendency of the MOTION metaphor appears in Mandarin Chinese. Polley (2012, p. 65) found that Chinese prefers the object-moving variant, in which HAPPINESS is the moving-object while the candidate Experiencer is the stationary-goal; this HAPPINESS IS A MOVING OBJECT is also found in MCP and Indonesian (see (15) and (16)). English in contrast prefers the more active, moving-ego variant with stationary HAPPINESS-goal (Polley, 2012, p. 71), corroborating Stefanowitsch’s findings above.

(15) Malay (AHmz 362:28, c1380)

<i>bahagia</i>	<i>datang</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>tempat</i>	<i>kita</i>
happy	come	to	place	1PL.INCL.POSS
‘happiness comes to our place’				

(16) Indonesian (ind\_web2011\_300K:182926)

<i>perasaan</i>	<i>bahagia</i>	<i>meng-hampir-i</i>	<i>diri=nya.</i>
feeling	happy	AV-close-TR.APPL	self=REFL
‘feeling of happiness comes close to h(im/er)self.’			

The lower frequency of HAPPINESS IS A MOVING OBJECT metaphor in MCP, and Indonesian compared to the DESIRED GOAL metaphor suggests that Classical Malay and Indonesian pattern closely with English. They highlight the “desire to act” (Soriano, 2013b, p. 417) of the candidate Experiencer to achieve happiness by moving towards the desired goal/destination. The metaphor also captures the idea that happiness in the Malay speech community can be very personal and related to “self-fulfillment” (Yuniarti, 2014) (similar to a western culture such as American English (Díaz-Vera, 2019, p. 376)), and not only related to social togetherness and harmony.

### 3.1.4 Conceptualizations of HAPPINESS via the LOCATION frame family

The LOCATION-based conceptualizations map HAPPINESS onto either a location (HAPPINESS IS A LOCATION) or an object at a location (HAPPINESS IS A LOCATED OBJECT).

The LOCATION mapping, grounded in the generic STATES ARE LOCATIONS metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 29), construes HAPPINESS most frequently as a bounded region (17), attested in MCP as early as 1370 in the Prose genre. The inference here is that experiencing an emotion is understood as being in a bounded region.

- (17) Malay (Bayan 209:23, c1370)

<i>daripada</i>	<i>adil</i>	<i>murah=nya</i>	<i>Hasanah</i>
from	righteous	generous=3SG.POSS	NAME
<i>sekahan=nya</i>		<b><i>dalam</i></b>	<u><i>kesenangan</i></u> <i>juga</i> .
appropriate.attitude=3SG.POSS		inside	pleasure as.well.

‘from Hasanah’s righteous generosity, his appropriate attitude, *inside* pleasure as well.’

- (18) Indonesian (ind\_mixed2012\_1M:214395)

<b><i>Dalam</i></b>	<u><i>rasa</i></u>	<u><i>bahagia</i></u>	<i>tiba-tiba</i>	<i>ter-selit</i>	<i>rasa was-was</i> .
inside	feeling	happy	suddenly	PASS-slip.in	feeling of anxiety

‘*Inside* the feeling of happiness, anxiety was suddenly wedged/slipped in.’

While the STATES ARE BOUNDED REGIONS metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999) is attested in the 14th century, it occurs in the Malay translation of Persian text entitled *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* (The Story of Bayan Budiman) (Robson, 2002, p. 14). The metaphor could be a form of calque from Persian. Next, HAPPINESS can also be conceptualized as a two-dimensional location, unspecified for its boundedness (cf. (19)). It is firstly attested in MCP in the 16th-century Malay translation of an Arabic text entitled ‘*Aqā’id al-Nasafī*’.

- (19) Malay (AN a15; c1590)

<b><i>ada</i></b>	<i>ia</i>	<b><i>pada</i></b>	<u><i>bahagia</i></u>	<i>dan</i>	<i>celaka</i>	<i>juga</i>
exist	3SG	LOC	happy	and	misfortune	also

‘he exists/is at happiness as well as misfortune’

- (20) Indonesian (ind\_web2012\_1M:642581)  
*mereka ber-ada pada titik akhir kebahagiaan*  
 3PL MID-stay LOC spot/point end happiness  
 ‘they stay at the end tip/point/spot of happiness’

Another LOCATION-related metaphor is the well-known HAPPINESS IS UP (e.g., that *boosted* my spirits, my spirit *rose*) (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), based on the MN’s BEING AT A HIGH LOCATION frame. This metaphor is prominent in MCP (both in its token and type frequencies [Figure 3]) but not part of the top-10 frequent metaphors in Indonesian. The UPWARD construal of HAPPINESS is also attested in other Asian languages such as Vietnamese (Nguyen, 2017), Korean (Türker, 2013), Mandarin Chinese (Yu, 1995; Polley, 2012), and Persian (Safarnejad, Ho-Abdullah, & Awal, 2014), the language that has direct influence on Classical Malay (Robson, 2002). Examples (21) and (22) show that HAPPINESS is conceptualized as vertically oriented landmark having its peak (*puncak*) or highest point (as indicated by the superlative morphology *ter-* in (22)).

- (21) Malay (MG Dec34:443, c1930)  
*Daripada puncak kesenangan dan keramaian manusia*  
 From peak pleasure and crowd human  
  
*yang tinggal di negeri ini*  
 REL live LOC country DEM  
 ‘From the peak of pleasure and crowd of people who live in this country’
- (22) Indonesian (ind\_newscrawl2011\_1M:29994)  
*Kebahagiaan ter-tinggi dalam hidup*  
 happiness SUPERLATIVE-tall/high inside life  
 ‘The highest happiness in life’

The conceptualization of HAPPINESS as a vertically oriented landmark in (21) and (22) highlights the dimension of positive valence of HAPPINESS reported by Uchida & Kitayama (2009); Díaz-Vera (2019, p. 372) refers to this dimension as the “positive hedonic experience”. In MCP, this metaphor is predominantly attested in the Newspapers genre quite recently in the period of 1900-49 (nine tokens in total).

Stefanowitsch (2006, p. 93) and Rajeg (2013, p. 37) also demonstrate that the UPWARD source-frame is strongly attracted to HAPPINESS in English and Indonesian respectively. Our study further shows that HAPPINESS IS UP has been attested since the Classical Malay as the predecessor of the present-day Indonesian.

The HAPPINESS IS A LOCATED OBJECT metaphor is a mapping variant within the LOCATION-based frame. HAPPINESS here maps onto the Located\_thing role (examples (23) and (24)), rather than the Location role.

(23) Malay (HF 5:13b, c1590)

*pada kedua alam ada=nya senang*  
 LOC both realm exist=NMLZ happy  
 ‘the existence/presence of happiness at the two realms’

(24) Malay (Aceh 195:2, c1620)

*tanda bahagia ada pada cucu=nda*  
 sign happy exist LOC grandchild=2SG.POSS  
 ‘sign of happiness exists/is present at your grandchild’

(25) Indonesian (ind\_newscrawl2012\_1M:243120)

*lalu, keceriaan di wajah=nya*  
 then cheerfulness LOC face=3SG.POSS  
  
*tampak me-lebih-i hari-hari biasa.*  
 appear AV-more-TR.APPL day~ADV usual  
 ‘then, cheerfulness at h(is/er) face appears exceeding h(is/er) daily cheerfulness.’

The earliest attestation of the LOCATED OBJECT metaphor in (23) is from a collection of poems written by the earliest Sumatran author Hamzah Fansuri (Johns, 1990), and from the historical text of Aceh, North Sumatra, Indonesia (24). The metaphor highlights the experience of HAPPINESS as a physical object situated at the Experiencer’s body (25).

### 3.1.5 INTENSITY OF HAPPINESS IS THE QUANTITY OF OBJECT

The QUANTITY OF OBJECT metaphor is the only frequent metaphor in MCP focusing on ‘intensity’ (Soriano, 2013b, p. 415). It conceptualizes HAPPINESS as a reified physical

object, where increased quantity maps onto the more intense and, potentially, more rewarding state of HAPPINESS. Example (26) shows the earliest attestation of this metaphor in c1530 in the Malay translation of the Hindu epic, *Ramayana*. The reduplication for the root *tambah* ‘add’ in (26) emphasizes the intensification/increased quantity of the experienced happiness, reflecting the MORE OF FORM IS MORE OF CONTENT metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, pp. 127–128). The QUANTITY metaphor also highlights the valence dimension of “positive hedonic experience” (Díaz-Vera, 2019, p. 372; Uchida & Kitayama, 2009) of HAPPINESS as an emotional state.

(26) Malay (Rama 31:2, c1530)

<i>Jikalau</i>	<i>barang</i>	<i>daulat</i>	<i>sri maharaja</i>	<b><i>ber-tambah~tambah</i></b>
if	thing	sovereignty	your Majesty	MID-add~INTENSIF

<i>kiranya</i>	<u><i>bahagia</i></u>	<i>sri maharaja</i>	<i>hamba-lah</i>	<i>akan</i>
seemingly	happy	your Majesty	1SG.DISHON-FOC	FUT

<i>meny-(s)ampai-kan</i>	<i>kehendak</i>	<i>hati</i>	<i>sri maharaja</i>	<i>itu.</i>
AV-arrive-CAUSE	wish	liver	King	DEM.

‘If following the sovereignty of your Majesty, your *happiness adds up*, it is me, your humble servant, who will deliver your wish (lit. cause the wish of your liver to arrive), your Majesty.’

In English, Stefanowitsch (2006, p. 93) detects a significant statistical association between *joy* and the INTENSITY OF EMOTION IS QUANTITY metaphor. We show that this metaphor seems prominent for HAPPINESS in Classical Malay and Indonesian. While the QUANTITY metaphor is also frequent in Indonesian, richer images of intensity are foregrounded by the CONTAINMENT-related metaphors (§3.1.6).

### 3.1.6 HAPPINESS IS A CONTAINED ENTITY & HAPPINESS IS LIQUID IN A CONTAINER

The metaphors HAPPINESS IS A CONTAINED ENTITY and HAPPINESS IS LIQUID IN A CONTAINER are based on frames in the CONTAINMENT frame family. The CONTAINMENT-

related metaphor is commonly found in many other languages (e.g., Nguyen, 2017 also found LIQUID IN A CONTAINER is applicable for HAPPINESS in Vietnamese). The LIQUID IN A CONTAINER variant is based on the more specific FLUID CONTAINMENT frame where the Content role is semantically type-constrained as Liquid.

The metaphors highlight rich aspects of HAPPINESS, such as the cause (27), existence (28), increased intensity (29), attempt at control (31), and inability to control or cope with happiness; hence, released from the Human-Container (examples (30), (32) and (33)). These aspects depend on the semantic inferences evoked by the source-frame lexical units in the metaphorical patterns.

(27) Indonesian (ind\_mixed2012\_1M:758052)

*maka Joki **meng-isi** hari-hari=nya **dengan** keceriaan*  
 so.that NAME AV-content day~PL=3SG.POSS with cheerfulness  
 ‘so that Joki *fills-in* his days *with happiness*’

(28) Indonesian (ind\_web2012\_1M:765976)

*aku **meng-(k)andung** bahagia, kamu **meng-(k)andung** bahagia*  
 1SG AV-uterus/bladder happiness 2SG AV-uterus/bladder happy  
 ‘I *contain happiness*, you *contain happiness*’

(29) Indonesian (ind\_web2012\_1M:11014)

*mem-buat dada Yuuri **di-penuh-i** kebahagiaan*  
 AV-make chest NAME PASS-full-TR.APPL happiness  
 ‘making Yuuri’s chest be *filled-up with happiness*’

(30) Indonesian (ind\_web2011\_300K:148444)

*Demikian besar **ledakan** kegembiraan di hati-nya sehingga*  
 so big explosion joy LOC liver-3SG.POSS so that

*perempuan itu tidak dapat men-(k)uasa-i diri.*  
 woman DEM NEG can AV-power-APPL self  
 ‘(the) *explosion* of *joy* in her liver is so big that that woman cannot master/control herself.’

The examples below evoke the LIQUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor since the source frame expressions imply that the content is a type of liquid.

- (31) Indonesian (ind\_web2012\_1M:434000)  
*teman-temannya pun tak dapat mem-bendung kegembiraan mereka*  
 friend~PL.3SG.POSS also NEG can AV-dam joy 3PL.POSS  
 ‘h(is/er) three friends also cannot *dam* their *joy*.’
- (32) Indonesian (ind\_news2008\_300K:168635)  
*kegembiraan yang me-luap atas kemenangan tak ter-duga ini*  
 joy REL AV-boil.over on victory NEG PASS-expect DEM  
 ‘*boiled-over joy* over this unexpected victory.’
- (33) Indonesian (ind\_newscrawl2012\_1M:999615)  
*Ia tak bisa meny-(s)embunyi-kan rasa bahagia yang ter-pancar*  
 3SG NEG can AV-hide-CAUS feeling happy REL PASS-spurt.out  
 ‘(S)he cannot hide the *feeling* of *happiness* that is *spurred out*’

The lexical units evoking the RELEASE LIQUID frame constitute the lion’s share of the tokens of the metaphor, highlighting the expression of intense happiness (G. P. W. Rajeg, 2019a, p. 152) and the arousal dimension of emotion in general (Soriano, 2013b, pp. 415–416). *Terpancar* ‘be spurred out’ in (33) is the most frequent lexical unit for the metaphor overall and for the RELEASE LIQUID frame. The *ter-* static-passive prefix further accentuates the passivity of the experiencer and the uncontrollability in expressing (i.e., ‘spurring out’) the emotion since one function of *ter-* is expressing “accidental” or “uncontrolled action” (Sneddon, Adelaar, Djenar, & Ewing, 2010, pp. 117–118). This shows how morphology contributes additional layer to the semantic aspect of a given mapping that is evoked by the verbal lexical unit.

Note that the CONTAINMENT-related metaphors are also attested in MCP from the 1800s to the 1900s, but much less often than in Indonesian (cf. below). Example (34) instantiates the CONTAINED ENTITY metaphor while (35) expresses the more specific LIQUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor in MCP.

- (34) Malay (PK 7:12d, c1920)  
*besar-lah hati dengan kegembiraan*  
 big-FOC liver with joy  
 ‘liver be *swelling with happiness*’

- (35) Malay (Maul 1098c, c1810)  
*Taufik Hidayat*      *limpah*      *bahagia*  
 NAME                      brim                      happy  
 ‘Taufik Hidayat is *brimming with happiness*’

Recent finding in Indonesian (G. P. W. Rajeg, 2019a, Chapter 7) demonstrates that the CONTAINMENT-related metaphors are statistically associated with *kegembiraan* ‘joy’, *keceriaan* ‘cheerfulness’, and *keriangsan* ‘cheerfulness’, the frequencies of which are extremely low in MCP (Figure 1 and Table 2). We can only hypothesize that the low frequency of these words could be one of the reasons why the CONTAINMENT metaphors are not that prominent in MCP. In contrast, the CONTAINMENT metaphors are strongly repelled by *kebahagiaan* ‘happiness’ and *kesenangan* ‘pleasure’ (G. P. W. Rajeg, 2019a, pp. 224, 232), the two frequent words for HAPPINESS in MCP.

If no such association of words and metaphors would be expected, we would expect that the CONTAINMENT-related metaphors should be prominent in Classical Malay, given the profound influence of European on the Malay regions due to colonialization (by Portuguese and Dutch in Indonesia or British in Malaysia), which may bring the European idea of Humoral theory motivating the CONTAINMENT metaphors (Geeraerts & Grondelaers, 1995). Nonetheless, further study is needed with different set of historical corpora and more balanced distribution of the HAPPINESS words to test our hypothesis that the CONTAINMENT metaphors are less prominent in MCP due to their dissociation with *kebahagiaan* and *kesenangan* in Indonesian.

### 3.1.7 HAPPINESS IS AN (UN)VEILED OBJECT & HAPPINESS IS A SUBMERGED ENTITY

The (UN)VEILED OBJECT metaphor builds on the PERCEPTION frame family in MN, especially the CAUSE TO SEE and the SEEING frames. The utilized aspect of the frames implies the (in)visibility of HAPPINESS. The inference also includes (in)ability to

regulate emotion (e.g., (in)ability to conceal HAPPINESS, see 0). This inference corresponds to the main meaning focus of the CONTAINMENT metaphors, namely the expression of emotion (as evoked by the RELEASE LIQUID frame), and may relate to the high-arousal states or intensity (Soriano, 2013b, p. 415).

(36) Malay (Aceh 279:10, c1620)

*Dan telah di-per-tunjuk-kan Allah kepada hamba*  
and already PASS-CAUS-point-CAUS Allah towards 1SG.DISHON

*bahagia cucu hamba ini.*  
happy grandchild 1SG.DISHON DEM

‘And (it) has been *shown* by Allah towards me (the) *happiness* of my grandchild.’

(37) Indonesian (ind\_news2012\_300K:285829)

*Gerbang-gerbang tinggi (...) tak bisa men-(t)utup-i keceriaan*  
gate~PL tall NEG can AV-close-APPL cheerfulness

*dan kenikmatan para penghuninya*  
and enjoyment DEM.PL inhabitants

‘Tall gates (...) cannot *conceal cheerfulness* and enjoyment of the inhabitants.’

The SUBMERGED ENTITY metaphor is postulated based on metaphoric expressions evoking the vertically oriented outward motion of an Entity (e.g., emerging/surfacing).

(38) Indonesian (ind\_mixed2012\_1M:307168)

*permainan ini juga men-(t)imbul-kan kegembiraan*  
game DEM also AV-emerge-CAUS joy

‘this game also *gives rise to joy*’

The metaphor highlights the manner via which HAPPINESS comes to existence (cf.

Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, pp. 213–214).

These two metaphors are attested in MCP but much less frequent than in the Indonesian data. Hence, their absence in the top-10 metaphors in MCP. This suggests that the metaphors gain prominence in present-day Indonesian. However, their prominence could also be due to their statistical distinctiveness with *kegembiraan* ‘joy’ and *keceriaan* ‘cheerfulness’ (G. P. W. Rajeg, 2019a, pp. 235, 242), the two words that

are infrequent and absent respectively from MCP; the metaphors in contrast are strongly repelled in Indonesian by *kebahagiaan* ‘happiness’ and *kesenangan* ‘pleasure’ (G. P. W. Rajeg, 2019a, pp. 224, 232), the only two frequent HAPPINESS derived nouns in MCP. Regardless of these synchronic, statistically based metaphorical profiles of the Indonesian HAPPINESS words, larger historical data, especially for *kegembiraan* and *keceriaan*, is needed to verify our assumption.

### 3.1.8 HAPPINESS IS FOOD

The earliest attestation for the HAPPINESS IS FOOD metaphor in MCP is in 1810. Example (39) is from a Malay prose authored by Ahmad Rijaluddin, who long lived in Penang but was originally from a South Indian Muslim family (Ras, 1985). Example (40) is from c1900 monthly newspaper text called *Imam*; the newspaper features translation from Egyptian Arabic press and contributions from Sumatra (Indonesia) and Malaya.

(39) Malay (PNB 150:18, c1810)

<i>kita</i>	<i>tiada</i>	<i>boleh</i>	<b><i>me-rasa-i</i></b>	<u><i>senang</i></u>	<i>barang</i>	<i>seketika</i>
1PL.INCL	NEG	may	AV-taste-APPL	happy	for	a.while

‘we may not *taste happiness* for a while’

(40) Malay (Imam 342:7, c1900)

<i>Datanglah</i>	<i>bangsa</i>	<i>yang</i>	<i>lain</i>	<b><i>men-(t)elan</i></b>	<i>akan</i>	<u><i>kesenangan</i></u>
come.FOC	nation	REL	other	AV-swallow	toward	pleasure

‘Comes the other nation, *swallowing pleasure*’

The FOOD metaphor keeps its prominence in the present-day Indonesian and has also been found to be statistically associated with *kebahagiaan* ‘happiness’ compared to the other basic emotions (I. M. Rajeg, 2013, p. 218). In addition to expressions evoking the TASTE (39) and INGESTION (40) frames above, the Indonesian data also evoke the FOOD PREPARATION frame (G. P. W. Rajeg, 2019a, pp. 159–162) as in (41) and (42).

(41) Indonesian (Suara Merdeka via *WebCorp*:10)

*keriangan*    *demi*    *keriangan*    *di-saji-kan*    *dengan*    *manis*  
 cheerfulness    after    cheerfulness    PASS-serve-TR    with    sweet  
 ‘cheerfulness after cheerfulness are served with sweetness’

- (42) Indonesian (ind\_mixed2012\_1M:715755)  
*resep*    *bahagia*    *adalah*    *me-lihat*    *orang*    *yang*    *di*    *bawah*    *kita*  
 recipe    happy    COP    AV-see    person    REL    LOC    under    1PL.INCL  
 ‘the *recipe* of *happiness* is to look at the people below us (socioeconomically speaking)’

These linguistic expressions highlight the cause (41) and means (42) to achieve HAPPINESS. The pleasant, positive experience of eating and tasting food evoked by the INGESTION and TASTE frames corresponds to the evaluative dimension of HAPPINESS as a positive state (Díaz-Vera, 2019, p. 372; cf. Soriano, 2013b, pp. 416, 419).

### 3.2 Top-10 metaphors ranked order by their type-frequency

The type-frequency measure is based on counting the number of different source-frame lexical units evoking a given conceptual metaphor (Oster, 2018, p. 206; G. P. W. Rajeg, 2019a, p. 120; Stickles, 2016, p. 69). In the CMT literature (e.g. Lakoff, 1987, p. 384; Oster, 2018), the type-frequency of a metaphor reflects the productivity and conventionality of the metaphor (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 55; cf. Clausner & Croft, 1997). We use the type-frequency as another measure to rank-order the prominence of HAPPINESS metaphors in Classical Malay and Indonesian.

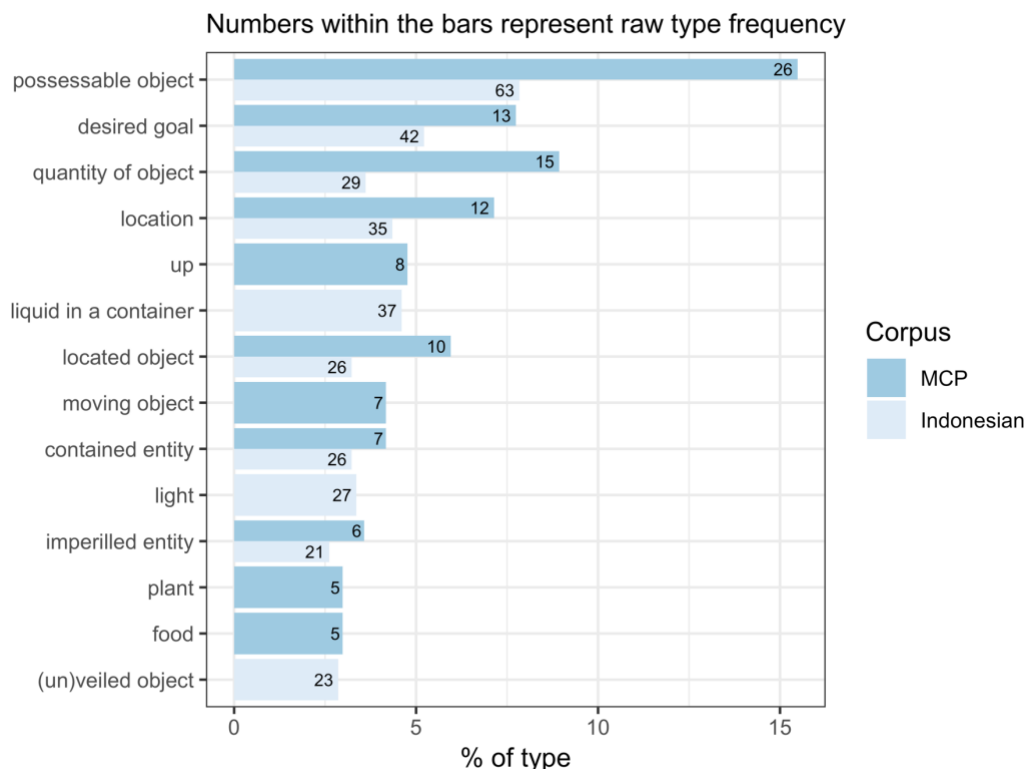


Figure 3 Top-10 metaphors in Classical Malay and Indonesian according to the type frequency

Figure 3 shows that the top-10 metaphors in MCP data are the same as those in Figure 2, but with a new addition, namely HAPPINESS IS A PLANT (example (43) in §3.2.1). The reason is that the type-frequency of the HAPPINESS IS A PLANT metaphor exhibits a tie with the metaphor in rank 10, namely HAPPINESS IS FOOD. The results in Figure 2 and Figure 3 indicate that the ten most frequent metaphors in MCP are also those which are the most productive and conventionalized (Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Oster, 2010). A similar trend is shown by the Indonesian data. Eight of the top-10 metaphors in Figure 2 still make into the top-10 list in Figure 3, except for HAPPINESS IS FOOD (§3.1.8) and HAPPINESS IS A SUBMERGED ENTITY (§3.1.7). This further shows a relatively high degree of diachronic salience of these HAPPINESS metaphors in the two varieties.

Rank-ordering the metaphor via different frequency-measure such as the type-frequency also reveals other metaphors that may not be prominent in the token-

frequency measure. This is evident in Indonesian by the presence of HAPPINESS IS LIGHT (§3.2.2) and HAPPINESS IS AN IMPERILED ENTITY (§3.1.2) in Figure 3. Considering each measure individually allows us to appreciate different usage properties of a metaphor, such that the metaphor may have smaller tokens but is varied in its linguistic expression (i.e., its type-frequency). A mere focus on metaphors in the token-frequency list may miss metaphors that are prominent in their type-frequency (e.g., HAPPINESS IS LIGHT).

### 3.2.1 HAPPINESS IS PLANT

Example (43) illustrates a metaphorical expression for the HAPPINESS IS PLANT metaphor in MCP. It is taken from a 20th-century Malay newspaper entitled *Majlis*.

- (43) Malay (M 2Jun32:6, c1930)  
*kita boleh berharap bahwa **benih** gembira kepada pertanian itu*  
 1PL.INCL may hope that seed excited towards agriculture DEM  
  
*akan **ber-cambah** dengan **suburnya***  
 FUT INTR-seed-bud with fertility  
 ‘we may hope that the *seed of excitement* towards agriculture will *germinate with fertility*’

Example (43) is interesting since multiple types of metaphoric expressions for the same source frame co-occur in the same sentence, which is not uncommon (Sullivan, 2013, pp. 135–138). The expressions in (43) highlight the fertile growth of excitement towards agriculture as Malay’s major source of occupation at that time until now.

It should also be noted that the PLANT metaphor could be considered amongst the most productive one in Indonesian (N=35; Type=20) but it is just slightly below the tenth metaphor in the Indonesian data by one type (i.e., HAPPINESS IS AN IMPERILED ENTITY; N=32; Type=21). We therefore argue for the diachronic trend of PLANT metaphor for HAPPINESS in Classical Malay and Indonesian. Most of the metaphoric

expressions for PLANT in Indonesian (i.e., 11 out of 20 types) refer to the growth of the plant (44), highlighting the developmental aspects for the existence of HAPPINESS.

(44) Indonesian (ind\_mixed2012\_1M:501478)

*bunga2      bahagia      sudah      tumbuh      mekar      di      hati      ini*  
 flower~PL    happy    already    grow    bloom    LOC    liver    DEM  
 ‘the *flowers* of *happiness* have *blossomed* in the heart (lit. in the liver)’

Other aspects highlighted by the HAPPINESS IS PLANT are the cause and inexistence of HAPPINESS. The former uses expressions referring to sowing the seed (45) while the latter is evoked by expressions referring to the withering of the plant (46).

(45) Indonesian (ind\_web2012\_1M:267719)

*Men-(t)umbuh-kan      gairah      dan      kegembiraan      belajar*  
 AV-grow-CAUS      passion    and    joy      study  
 ‘To *grow* passion and *joy* to study’

(46) Indonesian (ind\_web2012\_1M:78744)

*kebahagiaan      akan      layu      dan      meng-(k)ering*  
 happiness    will    be.wilted    and    INTR-dry  
 ‘*happiness* will be *wilted* and *dry up/wither*’

Overall, examples (44) and (45) entail that HAPPINESS is a state that must be nurtured to fruition, capturing its beneficial consequence to the Experiencer, hence its positive dimension. Example (46) demonstrates that HAPPINESS may not last, reflecting its “transcendental reappraisal”, especially “nihilism” (Díaz-Vera, 2019, p. 373).

### 3.2.2 HAPPINESS IS LIGHT

The HAPPINESS IS LIGHT metaphor captures the evaluative/valence dimension of HAPPINESS, particularly the “positive hedonic experience” (Díaz-Vera, 2019, p. 375).

Kövecses (2000, pp. 39, 44) argues that the LIGHT metaphor is central in characterizing the evaluative aspect of HAPPINESS in present-day English (see Fabiszak, 2001, p. 61, for the Old English data). In MCP, there are three attestations for the HAPPINESS IS LIGHT.

The earliest one in (47) is from *Bustan al-Salatin* (c1640), a collection of writings from Aceh of North Sumatra, Indonesia ([http://mcp.anu.edu.au/N/BS\\_bib.html](http://mcp.anu.edu.au/N/BS_bib.html)).

- (47) Malay (BS.L 2/13:29, c1640)  
*kelihatan-lah cahaya tanda kebahagiaan pada muka=nya*  
 be.visible-FOC light sign happiness LOC front=3SG.POSS  
 ‘light sign of happiness appears at h(er/is) face’

The token and type frequencies of the HAPPINESS IS LIGHT metaphor are much higher in the Indonesian (N=43; Type=27) than MCP data. Metaphorical expressions in the Indonesian data capture two sub-mappings, namely (i) the emission of the light (48) in an uncontrolled and accidental manner evoked by the semantics of the *ter-* prefix, and (ii) the dimming light (49) (examples are from G. P. W. Rajeg, 2019a, pp. 175–179).

- (48) Indonesian (ind\_web2011\_300K:166766)  
*Sekilas ter-bersit kegembiraan di hati para prajurit*  
 at.a.glance PASS-radiate joy LOC liver DEM.PL soldier  
 ‘At a glance, joy flashes across in the heart (lit. liver) of the soldiers.’
- (49) Indonesian (*Media Indonesia* via *WebCorp*:9)  
*Keceriaan itu seolah pudar*  
 cheerfulness DEM as.if dim  
 ‘That cheerfulness appears dim.’

In the light emission sub-mapping (illustrated in (48) and (50)), different luminosity of the emitted light corresponds to different intensity of HAPPINESS (see G. P. W. Rajeg, 2019a, pp. 177–179 for further details and more examples).

- (50) Indonesian (ind\_web2012\_1M:206829)  
*Keceriaan ber-sinar terang*  
 cheerfulness MID-light bright  
 ‘Cheerfulness shines brightly’

While in the Indonesian data the LIGHT metaphor is not identified to show any significant preference to the HAPPINESS words (G. P. W. Rajeg, 2019a), it occurs more

frequently than expected with *keceriaan* ‘cheerfulness’ (N=13), the word with the highest percentage of occurrence with the LIGHT metaphor, followed by *kegembiraan* ‘joy’ (N=9). Moreover, the metaphor is strongly dispreferred by *kesenangan* ‘pleasure’ in Indonesian (G. P. W. Rajeg, 2019a, p. 232). The evidence that HAPPINESS IS LIGHT is more frequent in the present-day Indonesian could be due to (i) such association of words and the metaphor (note that, in MCP, *keceriaan* ‘cheerfulness’ is not attested and *kegembiraan* ‘joy’ only has three tokens [see Table 2]), or (ii) to the more exposure to English expressions for the LIGHT metaphor for HAPPINESS.

#### 4 Conclusion

This paper aims at exploring the idea of diachronic salience of metaphorical conceptualizations between diachronic varieties of the same language (e.g. Díaz-Vera, 2015; Trim, 2011), namely Classical Malay and Indonesian; the latter is the national variety of Malay spoken in Indonesia. The corpus-based results show that Classical Malay and Indonesian share seven of the top-10 metaphors ranked by their token- and type-frequencies. These metaphors reflect larger networks of semantic domains: POSSESSION (e.g., the TRANSFER SCENARIO and GAIN POSSESSION sub-mappings, and their connection with the IMPERILED ENTITY); LOCATION (e.g., HAPPINESS IS UP); MOTION (e.g., the QUEST metaphor), CONTAINMENT (i.e., the SUBSTANCE/LIQUID IN A CONTAINER metaphors); and QUANTITY. These findings suggest a relatively long-term diachronic salience of these metaphoric models for HAPPINESS from the Classical Malay to the present-day Indonesian. However, further study is needed to assess this claim and the existence of the metaphors after the 1950s where the MCP ends (Trim, 2011, p. 67).

One of the noticeable differences between the Classical Malay and Indonesian data is the prominence of LIQUID IN A CONTAINER and LIGHT metaphors in Indonesian

but not in Classical Malay. We have hypothesized that their low frequencies in MCP could be due to their strong association in Indonesian with words whose frequencies are very low and non-existent in MCP, namely *kegembiraan* ‘joy’ and *keceriaan* ‘cheerfulness’. We have also discussed the correspondence between the meaning foci of the metaphors and the cross-cultural folk models of HAPPINESS based on earlier cross-cultural, psychological studies. We argue that HAPPINESS in the Malay speech community can be considered (i) as a communal and socially interdependent feeling (e.g., via the POSSESSABLE OBJECT metaphor), reflecting the collectivistic cultures, and (ii) as a personal achievement and fulfilment (e.g., via the DESIRED OBJECT metaphor), reflecting the individualistic culture.

Analyzing metaphors based on historical data from Classical Malay provides hints to the cultural influence for a given conceptualization due to the literary tradition in the history of the present-day Malay/Indonesian language (e.g., practice in translating works of Islamic influence into Malay during the Classical Malay period) (cf. Gevaert, 2007). Further research needs to explore such influences in more details regarding, for instance, the details of the texts (e.g., their origin) in which the metaphorical conceptualizations occur across the Malay period up to the present. Studying the history of metaphorical conceptualizations in relation to the origin of the text they appear in, as well as the socio-cultural and political context of the period, may reveal the extent to which the metaphors are culturally influenced, in addition to being based on the universal, embodied experiences (Geeraerts & Grondelaers, 1995; Gevaert, 2007).

From the methodological perspective, considering each frequency measure individually for rank-ordering the metaphors allows us to pinpoint which metaphors are not so often attested but productive given their wide range of linguistic expressions (i.e.,

the type-frequency). Favoring one measure over the other could obscure insights from metaphors that are prominent in another measure (e.g., HAPPINESS IS LIGHT and IMPERILED ENTITY are not frequent in Indonesian but exhibits high type-frequency). Theoretically, this study contributes further cross-linguistic evidence for some similarities in the conceptualizations of HAPPINESS in the Malay world and other languages (e.g., the prominence of HAPPINESS IS LIGHT in terms of its type frequency and the high type- and token-frequencies of the DESIRED GOAL or QUEST metaphor) (Fabiszak, 2001; Kövecses, 2000; Nguyen, 2017; Stefanowitsch, 2004).

As mentioned in Section 2.1 and throughout the discussion, the limitation of this study is the imbalanced tokens between the HAPPINESS words in the MCP compared to Indonesian. This drawback could influence the results of the study that should be kept in mind. A larger diachronic corpus of Indonesian, especially following the period after the MCP, is needed for a more comprehensive study on the usage variation and stability of metaphorical expressions evoking individual conceptualization of HAPPINESS.

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