METAPHORICAL CONCEPTUALIZATION OF SADNESS IN WOLAITA

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Abstract: This study investigates the metaphorical conceptualization of sadness in Wolaita, a language spoken by over 1.6 million people in Ethiopia, from a cognitive-linguistic perspective. Grounded in Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), the research explores how the Wolaita people express sadness through linguistic metaphors and compares these with findings from well-studied languages such as English, Amharic, and Agnwa. The study aims to identify linguistic metaphors for sadness in Wolaita, describe their universal and culturally specific bases, and contribute to the debate on the universality versus culture-specificity of emotion conceptualization. Using qualitative methods, including data elicitation, introspection, and analysis of written and spoken texts, the study examines metaphorical expressions of sadness in Wolaita. Data sources include Wolaita-language textbooks, a bilingual dictionary, idioms, audio-visual materials, and native-speaker intuitions. The analysis identifies conceptual mappings between source domains (e.g., pain, fluid, journey) and the target domain of sadness. The findings reveal that sadness in Wolaita is conceptualized through metaphors such as "sadness is pain," "sadness is fluid," "sadness is down," "sadness is enemy," "sadness is burden," "sadness is journey," "sadness is food," and "sadness is gift." These metaphors reflect the Wolaita people's perception of sadness as an undesirable emotion, with cultural peculiarities such as the use of spoiled foods and impure fluids to represent its intensity. The study demonstrates that although sadness is universal at a basic level, its complex conceptualizations exhibit cultural specificity. This research contributes to cognitive linguistics and emotion studies by providing empirical evidence from an understudied language. It highlights the interconnection between universal human experiences and culturally shaped metaphors, enriching our understanding of the universality versus culture-specificity debate and underscoring the importance of linguistic diversity in emotion research.

1. INTRODUCTION

The focus of this study is the metaphor of sadness in the Wolaita language. The name Wolaita is the self-name of the people and their native language. A study by Dalke (2012) showed that Wolayta and Wolaittattuwa denote the name of the language, and Elias (2017) and Wakassa (2008) extend the use of *Wolaita qala* 'words of Wolaita' as the alternative name of the language.

Wolaita is one of the dominant languages spoken in Ethiopia. According to the 2007 Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia, the native speakers of the Wolaita language reached 1,627,955 in the country, the Wolaita language is a medium of education (Wakassa, 2014, p. 31), as well as the language of broadcast media. The immediate neighbouring languages of Wolaita are the Omotic languages, namely Dawuro in the west and Gamo in the south whereas Timbaro, Kambata, and Sidama are the Cushitic languages which share borders with Wolaita in the north and east respectively (Amha, 2009, p. 1088).

According to a linguistic classification by Fleming (1976), the Wolaita language belongs to the Omotic language family of the Afro-Asiatic phylum. Together with its sister languages, namely Korote, Male, Dawuro, Dache, Gamo, Dorze, and Oyda, the Wolaita language was grouped into the North Ometo cluster of the Omotic language family (Fleming, l969, p. 3). These languages hold equal status within the Ometo sub-group. Wolaita is mutually intelligible with these languages; it exhibits no internal dialectal variations on its own.

Wolaita is one of the widely studied Ethiopian languages. However, the previous works emphasized lexicogrammatical and phonological features, namely phonology, morphology, and syntax (e.g., Adams, 1983; Amha, 1996, 2002, 2006; Dalke, 2012; Elias, 2017; Hayward & Richard, 2000; Marcello & Sottile, 1997; Wakasa, 2000, 2002, 2005, 2008) were few previous works to mention. As can be observed from the complete list of bibliographies given in Wakasa (2008, p. 22-25) none of the previous works addressed the research problems of metaphor, especially sadness in the language.

Metaphor is a figurative language usage in which the conceptual mapping of events and objects describes abstract concepts such as emotions (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Kovecses, 1995). The world of concepts is not accessible to direct study, but language assists our understanding of conceptual meaning (Wierzbicka, 1995, p. 19). This premise evokes that the study of emotional concepts becomes possible because emotional behaviour is innate as it is a reaction of the whole organism to an internal or external event (Dissanayake et al., 2020, p. 44). The languages that humans speak allow people to 'engage in talk about the emotions' (Bamberg, 1997, p. 309) and become sources of data.

A large body of empirical research findings suggests that the focus of previous studies on emotion was on its universal nature. Eid and Diener (2001) challenged the ignorance of variation because universality played insufficient roles in the full understanding of the experience and ex-

pression of emotions. The study of emotions from the viewpoints of universal and culture-specific patterns (Dissanayake et al., 2020, p. 44; Kovecses, 2015, p. 93) takes the balanced initiative. The emotional metaphors represented in the vocabularies of all languages do not imply the same ways of conceptualization (Alsadi, 2017; Galati et al., 2005; Retova, 2008). The languages of the world are independent of one another, so the metaphor in a language is certainly the metaphor of that language because its understanding is 'folk' (Wierzbicka, 1986).

Cross-cultural emotion research intends to explore idiosyncratic aspects of emotion conceptualization (Wierzbicka, 1995, p. 18). However, previous research works have not yet explored a satisfying collection of findings that resolve the controversy about the metaphors of emotions that are commonly recognized in all cultures (Alonso-Arbiol et al., 2006, p. 837). The present research aims to investigate the conceptual metaphors for sadness in Wolaita from a cognitive-linguistic perspective and compare them with previous research findings on well-studied languages, which predominantly focus on English and other languages such as Amharic, Agnwa, and others. The concept of sadness is defined as a feeling of unhappiness or not being in a good mood (Sagista et al., 2023, p. 240). In the context of Wolaita, sadness encompasses despair, melancholy, distress, and grief.

It is of interest in the present research to establish how the Wolaita people conceptualize sadness in their linguistic and cultural contexts. Its specific objectives are: (a) to identify linguistic metaphors used to express metaphors of sadness in Wolaita; (b) to describe the experiential and cultural bases of conceptualizing sadness in Wolaita.

This research will contribute to filling the knowledge gap on the controversies over the cognitive-linguistic analysis of emotion concepts as universal and culture-specific by providing data from Wolaita. Its particular significance will be a rich source of information for the researchers who aim to investigate sadness from a conceptual metaphor theoretical framework (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Conceptual metaphor is a theory that works at the level of general mapping from typically concrete source domains onto abstract concepts as the target domains. Lakoff and Johnson (2003) claimed that conceptual metaphor is an understanding and expression of one kind of thing (e.g., SADNESS) in terms of another (e.g., DOWN) as in SADNESS IS DOWN. The major claim of the theory that has drawn the attention of scholars is that metaphor structures much of the nonphysical reality in which we think and act. Lakoff and his colleagues asserted metaphor as an essential element in categorizing the world and our thinking process (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 1987; Johnson, 1987).

There are two layers of metaphor. The first one is metaphorical expression which manifests conceptual metaphor. The other is a conceptual metaphor, which brings two domains or concepts into correspondence. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) claimed that the source domain (concrete) entity is a borrowed concept to explain the context of a sentence or word. On the other hand, the target domain (intangible experience) is the content context that would like to be reached by the source domain (Sagista et al., 2023, p. 241) and further on. Metaphor is considered a very crucial aspect of such human cognition and communication because metaphorical expression links mind and language and even more. For example, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) viewed that metaphor functions to mirror conceptual systems.

Similarly, Khajeh and Abdullah (2012) elaborated that conceptual metaphors are bestowed in language, and at the same time language serves as a basic indicator of these conceptualizations. Liu (2002) as cited in Khajeh and Abdullah (2012) also posits that metaphor is universal in all languages and cultures, which means that its use is not "culture-exclusive" rather its choice to carry the realities seems to be "culture-specific", or folk. Lakoff and his colleagues argued that the figurative usage of language is crucial in expressing the daily realities of people irrespective of language speakers' lack of conscious awareness of these systems. As a result, Khajeh & Abdullah (2012) evoked that careful study of metaphorical linguistic expressions can reveal the phenomena of people's shared ideas, beliefs, and dispositions within a specific culture.

It has been claimed that the conceptualization of emotion in many languages of the world is universal due to the similarity of human nature, the physiological and behavioural responses of the body in reaction to emotions, which in turn leads to similar experiences of abstract concepts, i.e. emotion (Kovecses, 2000, 2010; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Nevertheless, empirical results on sadness only partially aligned with this assertion. The results of comparative studies among English and other languages such as Minangkabau (Yanti, 2016), Chinese (Liu & Zhao, 2013), and Persian (Moradi & Mashak, 2013) showed that most conceptual metaphors of sadness are not universal. For instance, SADNESS IS COLOUR is understood as 'Blue' in English and 'Black' in Persian (Imran et al., 2021, p. 86).

3. METHODS AND MATERIAL

The present study investigates conceptual metaphors of sadness in Wolaita and employs the Conceptual Metaphor Theory proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), according to which much of our ordinary language is figurative and fairly systematic (Soriano, 2015, p. 206). CMT relies on linguistic metaphors to make generalizations about conceptual metaphors and accessible data sources (Ansah, 2010; Knowles & Moon, 2006, p. 7; Moser, 2000; The Pragglejaz Group, 2007). The study adapts a general CMT framework to address the verbal justification of systematicity in the metaphorical uses of everyday discourse about sadness in Wolaita.

This paper employed qualitative research methods to analyze the metaphors obtained through recording, elicitation, introspection, and the written and spoken texts in Wolaita. The elicitation was conducted with the participants of group discussions who reflected on the audio-visual materials that the researchers provided them with as the stimulus to generate as many metaphors as possible. Introspection was also utilized here since the principal investigator is a native speaker of the Wolaita language. These methods were adopted because no electronic corpora are available for the Wolaita language.

3.1. Tools of data collection

In the present study, the researchers read and listened to text materials and employed elicitation and introspection to extract textual data from the data sources. In addition to the native speakers of the Wolaita language, the data for written texts comes from reading the Wolaita language students' textbooks for junior and senior level grades. The reason is that academic texts are thought to involve a rich collection of metaphors (Schmitt, 2005, p. 370; Wojciechowska & Juszczyk, 2014, p. 6). Another source is the online Wolaita-English bilingual dictionary, retrieved as a mobile app from the Google Play Store. The Wolaita language idioms book was used as a source of data.

Moreover, the researcher utilized the recorded audio and song lyrics, as well as video of television programs, which are naturally occurring data sources and were full of emotional expressions (Nugraheny & Yuwita, 2023, p. 258).

3.2. Data collection

The collection of linguistic expressions as the data for the study adopted Kovecses's (2008) bottom-up approach to metaphor extraction and the Pragglejaz Group's (2007) metaphor identification procedure. Through manual extraction, more technically termed 'searching' (Stefanowitsch, 2007), the principal researcher and his assistants were able to separate metaphorically used words, phrases, and sentences conceptualizing sadness in Wolaita. To identify linguistic metaphors in the text materials, the researchers analyzed lexical units within their surrounding context. They marked these units as metaphors when the preceding and following context indicated an indirect or figurative usage.

In determining the basic and contextual meanings of the lexical units, the research team looked up the meanings of some lexical units in the online Wolaita-English Dictionary, and sometimes the principal researcher resorted to native speaker intuitions, as he is a native Wolaita speaker, before making any decision. The researchers employed inter-coder agreement reliability to resolve disagreement in defining the lexical unit as a metaphor (Steen et al., 2010). Because the inter-coder agreement rate of 75% is the minimum requirement to determine a lexical unit as a metaphor (Cameron, 2003), each of the three inter-coders' decisions in the present study was allocated 25%, or 0.25, to hit the target, where 3 multiplied by 0.25 is equal to 0.75.

 After the identification of linguistic metaphors, Steen's (1999) five-step procedure (MIPVU) was employed to assist in the identification of conceptual metaphors and establishing metaphorical inferences gained from linguistic expressions: (1) Identifying metaphorical focus; (2) Identifying metaphorical idea; (3) Identifying metaphorical comparison; (4) Identifying metaphorical analogy; (5) Identifying metaphorical mapping.

To infer conceptual metaphors, the researchers closely examined conceptual mappings that included either explicit words for sadness or references to it. This scrutiny was aimed at understanding the underlying conceptual metaphors. Using the linguistic expression "gen-anʧa kofa" ('a bullying idea') as an example, the metaphorical nature of each lexical unit was determined by conceptually transferring the knowledge structure of "gen-anʧa kofa" ('a bully') to understand sadness as an enemy in the Wolaita language.

3.3. Analysis of conceptual mappings

This study, as a piece of qualitative metaphor research, aimed to describe the conceptualization of sadness by examining the conceptual mappings between their source and target domains. The verbal interpretations of specific metaphors, accompanied by literal glosses and their English equivalent translations, were conducted sequentially across the conceptual mappings. Finally, the implications of the results were discussed in light of previous cross-cultural emotion research findings.

4. RESULTS OF THE STUDY

4.1. Sadness is pain

The metaphors of sadness map a disease of the body or mind (Irma et al., 2021, p. 89), which is a cause of suffering from the pain of injury or wound to conceptualize psychological suffering.

1   bari   hajk'k'-ida   naʔa   miʃ-uwa   mule   agg-ukku.
      her   died-that   son   pain-ABS   never   forget-3sg.f.IMPFV
      Lit. 'She never got over grief of her son's death.' 'She has grieved.'

In example (1), the metaphorically used word that describes the bad feelings of sadness is *miʃ-uwa* 'hot' or 'fever' in Wolaita. It implies that a saddened person is hot in the same way as the degrees of the heat of the entity that lies between *doʃo* 'warm' and *séela* 'burn.' Its metaphorical equivalence shows the emotional states that cause damage during its control. Its usage in the context of *hajk'k'-ida naʔa miʃ-uwa* 'the pain for the dead son', (in 1), describes the remembrance of loss by death but not the actual moment of grief.

2   a.   kuttia   haik'-í-n   I   tam-a-n   geli   kij-íis.
            hen   dead-REL-for   he   fire-OBL-in   enter   be remove-3sg.m.PFV
      Lit. 'He entered into the fire with sadness for his hen dead.' 'He sorrowed seriously.'
     b.   tá-ssi   ta   mar-atu   séel-ai   wopp-ibéenna   g-áasu.
            me –for   my   chicken-3pl.ABS   pain-3sg.m.NOM   calm-3sg.m.NEG   say-3sg.f.PFV
      Lit. 'I still feel pain about my dead chickens.' 'I could not stop grieving'

These metaphors describe the pain of sadness as the pain caused by the burn of fire to the human body. The metaphor *tam-a-n geli kij-íis* 'He entered into fire' (in 2a) describes someone who was sad and could not control his sadness. Another metaphor *séel-ai wopp-ibéenna* 'My pain has not been calm' (in 2b) describes someone as extremely sad despite the attempts made to control it.

3   a   ta   háasaj-á-n   masunt't'-áasu.
      she   my   speech-ABS.3sg.m-in   be wound-3sg.f.PFV
      Lit. 'She was injured with my speech.' 'She became sad because of my speech.'

The bodily impact of illness caused by injury to the body is mapped to describe sadness. So, *háasaj-á* 'speech' (in 3) is taken as something that causes the accident of *masuntt -* 'injury' and conceptualizes someone's serious psychological distress. This metaphor illustrates how the negative emotional experience of sadness can impair rationality, much like an illness poses a threat to the body.

4   a   dabúbé   ne   aʃ-uwa-n   háattáa   tig-o
          place name.ACC   your   flesh-ABS-on   water   pour-3sg.m.OPT
      Lit. 'Let water be poured on your pain.' 'Wish you a quick recovery from the grief.'

b	tana		mo;	ta		aʃ-uwa	mo
	me.ACC		burn.OPT	my		flesh.ABS	burn.OPT

Lit. 'Let it burn me and my flesh.' 'Grieving hurt me.'

These metaphors imply that the saddened person is already a victim of the heat of sadness and its effects are painful to oneself and others. The metaphor *ne aʃ-uwa-n háattáa tig-o* 'Let the water be poured into your pain' (in 4a) assumes the intensity of grief is a heat that hurts the mourners so that the observers wish them a quick recovery from it. Another metaphor *tana mo* 'Let it give me pain' or *ta aʃ-uwa mo* 'Let it give me pain to my flesh' (in 4b) assumes that the mourners are in the heat that gives them and the observers a pain.

The examples provided illustrate scenarios where people express wishes for a swift recovery from sadness, similar to how they wish for a quick recovery from injuries or other physical ailments. Additionally, the effects of sadness as pain are likened to experiencing unpleasant sensations akin to physiological pain, though not caused by heat.

5 a. a-ssí   naʔa hajk-uwa sij-í-n   wozzan-ai   meʔ-íis.

   his-to son death-ABS hear-SUBOR-for heart-3sg.m.NOM be break-3sg.m.PFV

Lit. 'His heart was broken with sadness for hearing the loss of his son.'

'He lacked control of his grief.'

   b. íita   háasaj-ai   asá-ssi   giddo   asa-tettaa

   bad speech-3sg.m.NOM person-for internal body-NMNL.3sg.m

   tolku óott-idi   mentt-ées.
   piece do-CONV   break-3sg.m.IMPFV.

Lit. 'Bad news breaks the internal body.' 'It causes the loss of control sadness.'

   c. ʧʼaʃʃ-ai   sot-uwa-n   seéll-ées.
   insult-3sg.m.NOM diaphragm-ABS-in burns-3sg.m.IMPFV

Lit. 'Insult gives pain to the diaphragm.' 'I become out of control with sadness.'

In (5), the metaphors equated the unpleasantness of sadness to the feelings of sickness around the internal organs. While *wozan-ai meʔ-íis* 'heartbroken'(in 5a) describes someone's low-spirited feelings with the loss of sadness control, *giddo asa-tetta* 'the internal body parts' (in 5b), and *sot-uwa* 'the diaphragm' (in 5c), show the loss of controlling sadness, which gives bad feelings around these organs. The reason is that someone's loss of controlling extreme feelings of sadness is his or her loss of controlling the bodily sufferings caused by the damage to these internal organs.

4.2. Sadness is a Fluid

In Wolaita, the causes and effects of sadness are metaphorically compared to a fluid that has its mass and depth and is unclean, like rainwater. This metaphor takes into account both the contained and moving fluid.

6 a. ta ajfia-n   afutt-ai   tʃˀagg-enna.

    my eye-3sg.m.-in tear-3sg.m.NOM be rain-NEG-3sg.m.IMPFV

  Lit. 'The rain of tears is nonstop.' 'I could not stop weeping with the grief.'

  b. afutta sóos-íis.

    tears   fall heavy rain-3sg.m.PFV

  Lit. 'He wept a storm of tears.' 'He mourned hopelessly.'

  c. mult'tˀá tˀóoh-íis.

    snowy storm-3sg.m.PFV

  Lit. 'He dropped the tears of snow.' 'He could not control his sorrow.'

  d. ojiddusáa-ra   t'igg-íis.

    four sides-from   torrential-3sg.m.PFV

  Lit. 'He wept the tears of torrential rain.' 'His sorrow was out of control.'

These metaphors describe the expression of sadness through weeping similar to raining in Wolaita. The intensities of sadness are the intensities of the rain that ranged from less powerful up to the most frightening situations of torrential rains. Thus, *afutta* 'weeping' in sorrow or grief equates to the rain that *tʃˀagg-enna* 'falls continuously' (in 6a), *sóos-íis* 'is stormed' (in 6b), leads to the situation when *mult'tˀa t'óoh-íis* 'He dropped the tears of snow' (in 6c), and *ojiddusáa-ra t'igg-íis* 'is torrential' (in 6d). The intensity and amount of the fluid that moves correspond to the release of tears with the loss of control over sadness. Besides, unexpected sadness causing someone to weep is the rain that falls unexpectedly in Wolaita.

7 afutta hotot-u   óott-áasu.

  tear   to drop-ABS does-3sg.f.PFV

  Lit. 'She dropped sudden tears of rain.' 'She became sad and lacked control of it.'

Often, dropping tears in this way reflects the level of shock wherein someone's sadness has become out of control with sadness or worry. In Wolaita, the expression *hotot-u* 'it rained suddenly' shows not the situation of actual rain but rather describes the situation where someone drops tears unexpectedly or in massive amounts. The reason is that sadness caused the shock and tears of sadness as the real-world phenomena of rain produced the mass of running water.

8 afutta tek'k'-ana-wu   dandaj-abéekku

  tear   to protect-OBL-3sg.m-to is able-3sg.f.NEG.PFV

  Lit. 'She couldn't stop the flooding of her tears.' 'She lost the control of her sorrow.'

This metaphor maps both the contents and intensity of fluid, which jointly implies the severity of grief that hurts a person. The use of *afuutta 'the tear'* gained the conceptual equivalence to the concept of flooding because *tek'k'-ana-wu danddaj-abéekku* 'She couldn't stop the flooding of her tears'(in 8) conceptualizes someone's hopeless cries with a loss of controlling sadness.

9 a. asa   dúussá   balbuk'k'-ées
       person   life   impure -3sg.m.IMPFV

Lit. 'It makes personal social life impure.' 'It makes the people feel sad.'

   b. asa   dúuss-ai   bulk'ot-ana   dandaj-ées.
       person   life-3sg.m.NOM be muddy-FUT   possible-3sg.m.IMPFV

Lit. 'Social life will possibly be impure.' 'Saddening things may happen in relations.'

These metaphors mapped the features of an impure liquid that becomes unsuitable for personal use to describe the causes and effects of sadness. Such misbehaviours cause *dúussá* 'interpersonal life' *balbuk'-ées* 'it forms wave' (in 9a), and makes the relationship *bulk'k'otana danaddaj-ées* 'it mud' (in 9b). This metaphor equates personal abuse, which poses a threat to interpersonal relationships, to an external force that contaminates the liquid.

10 met-uwa-n   múuhett-i-nne   atti   agg-óosona.
    difficulty-ABS-in sink SUBOR.3sg.m-and   left   stay-3pl.IMPFV

Lit. 'They sink in difficulty.' 'They are failing to fulfill their needs.

In Wolaita, the metaphors that describe the experiences of sadness in terms of fluid also map its content with depth to imply extreme emotional states. The depth of fluid is metaphorically significant because extreme sadness is the person's sinking into it, as in *múuhett-* 'to sink' as mapped in *met-uwa* 'difficulty' (in 10) describes someone's expression of sympathy.

4.3. Sadness is Down

This metaphor maps emotionally dejected bodily behaviours such as slouching, drooped shoulders, and turning down corners of the mouth to show their direct relation to the loss of controlling one's sadness. The intensity of sadness acts as a force that weighs heavily on a person's physical being and the emotional state of their rational mind, making them feel closer to or beneath the ground.

11 deʔo   gufant-ia   imatta   moh-oi   íita.
    life   upside-down-NOM   guest   invitation   be bad.OPT

Lit. 'Wasting money downed the economy.' 'Extravagancy threatened life.'

The metaphorical use of *imatta moh-o*i ('inviting guest') as a symbol of extravagance is conceptualized as *deʔo gufant-ia* ('making the economy upside down'), which puts people in danger of hunger. This metaphor reflects the economic failure caused by wasteful spending, which in turn leads to sadness as a force that crushes people's spirits. It serves as an expression of both criticism and sympathy for someone's inability to lead a healthy and sustainable life.

12 a. m-io-bi   t'aj-í-n   namis-a-n   kund-íis.
        to eat-3sg.m.NOM-what   disappear-SUBOR-for   hunger-ABS-in   fall-3sg.m.PFV
    Lit. 'He fell in hunger and lacked what to eat.' 'I was economically poor.'
    b. met-oi   duge   náak'k'i   oik'k'-íis.
        difficulty-3sg.m.NOM   down   to push   catch-3sg.m.PFV
    Lit. 'I was pressed down by the difficulty.' 'I have a low economy.'

In Wolaita, the expression *duge* 'downward' implies something situated nearer to or under the ground physically, and its meaning relates to something that is about *kund-* 'to fall' or *náak'k'i oik'-* 'to press down'. Its metaphorical extension describes an expression of sadness because of *namisa* 'hunger' (in 12a) and *met-oi* 'difficulty' (12b). This describes the bad life situations of economically disadvantaged people who are assumed to face the accident of *kund* ('to fall') which implies their physical and emotional failures.

13 a. a   gúuttio   gamʔaj-ida   á a ɗa - w o ɗ - a -
                                                                           nne…
        she   a while   stay away-that   turn   upside-
                                                                           down-OBL-and
    Lit. 'After a while, she overturns...' 'She holds unpredictable emotional feeling.'
    b. naʃʃ-io-g-aa-ppe   tóotʃ-io-g-ée   dar-idi   béett-ées.
        repute-REL-NMNLZ-   shame-REL-NMNLZ-   exceed-CONV   see -3sg.m.IMP-
        ABS-from   ABS   FV
    Lit. 'Humiliation is greater than respect.' 'Someone has shown disrespect.'

These metaphors describe the interpersonal relationship problem that caused a decrease in the intimacy with friends, family members, and colleagues are a downward orientation. In (13a), for example, *aaɗa wod-a-nne* 'and she overturns' describes an expression of sadness towards the bad temper of one's friend as a complaint whereas *naʃʃ-io-g-aa-ppe* 'instead of being respectful' they prefer *tóotʃ-io-g-ée* 'to humiliate' (in 13b) describes the situation of sadness that the observers can express towards the people's lack of respect each other. That is, this metaphor describes the high degree of disrespect against each other as the saddened people ignore their friendship relationships, which as a result gets lowered.

4.4. Sadness is Enemy

This metaphor portrays that sadness is a powerful struggle and a person who attempts to control sadness defends himself or herself by defeating sadness as the enemy.

14 a. eti   issi   mala   gid-enna   téela   ojk'-idosona.
        they   one   kind   be-3sg.m.NEG   attitude   hold-3pl.PFV
    Lit. 'They held dissimilar views.' 'They became enemies.'
    b. éen-enna-nne   ak-ett-enna   t'éela
        be fine-NEG.3sg.m-and   accept-PASS-NEG   attitude
    Lit. 'It is a rebellious attitude.' 'Someone held the hatred attitude.'

The metaphor *oik'-idosona* 'they held' (in 14a) describes sadness for the dispute that caused them to hold *issi mala gid-enna t'éela* 'dissimilar way of seeing' and to become enemies. Similarly, *éen-enna* 'rebellious' (in 14b) also describes a bad attitude or *t'éela* 'the way of seeing' towards the enemy who held divergent attitudes towards each other. In this regard, the rational self and sadness are the enemies.

15 a. asa   máat-ai   jeret-io   wode…
        human   right-3sg.m.NOM   walk over-ABS   when
   Lit. 'Human rights are walked over.' 'The gender equality is tortured.'

    b. móor-o   k'of-ati   ná-atu
        wrong-ABS   thought-3pl.NOM   child-3pl.m.GEN
        máata   jeɗ-ia   t'éel-atu-n   mood-ett-óosona
        right   step over-ABS   perception-3pl-in   category-3pl.PFV
   Lit. 'Wrong sayings step over the children's right.' 'Children are deprived of their rights.'

In (15), the person's misbehaviour is the enemy because it arouses sadness, which is often the winner of the struggle and threatens the person. Therefore, *jerett-* 'to step over' as in *asa máat-ai* 'human right' (in 15a) and *t'éela* 'way of seeing' (in 15b) describes the person's loss of controlling sadness towards the attitudes and practices that violate human rights.

16 gen-anʧa   kofa.
    ill behaving-NMNLZ   idea
   Lit. 'It is a bullying idea.' 'That is saddening misbehaviour.'

The metaphorical use of *gen-anʧa* 'hurtful' maps *qofa* 'idea' to conceptualize sadness towards misbehavior that hinders interpersonal relationships as the enemy.

17 a. ná-ati   ʃátetan-ada-n   óott-ia   hantáa-ra
        child-3pl.NOM   no intimacy- CONV-to   does-ABS   dangerous-with
        gúuss-ati-kka   deʔ-óosona.
        saying-3pl-too   exist-3pl.PFV
   Lit. 'Dangerous sayings isolate children.' 'The children develop inferiority.'

    b. báattis-óo-ra   palamett-ido-bai   húupʼia-n   sim-erett-idi
        [person name]-OBL-with   argue-that-thing   mind-in   come-3sg.m.REFL.CONV
        ʃemp-uwa   digg-iís
        rest-3sg.m.ABS   refuse.3sg.m.PFV
   Lit. 'Mr. Batiso's abuse urged me.' 'Mr. Batiso saddened me.'

The literal usages of *hantáara* 'life-threatening' and *ʃemp-uwa digg-ís* 'was urged' correspond one's enmity with the unacceptable behaviors of persons, things, or animals that are dangerous. Thus, *hantáa-ra gúussa* 'dangerous speech' (in 17a) and *palamett-ido* 'for the argument' (in 17b) described the loss of control over sadness because sadness was powerful to control.

18 a. óos-uwa   lag-ia   as-ai   hijéesa-tetta-n   ʧ'add-ettées.
        work-ABS   hate-ABS   person-NOM   hunger-NMLZ-by   hit-3sg.m.IMPFV

Lit. 'Lazy persons hit by hunger.' 'They are vulnerable to the hunger.'

    b. hakko   I   óos-uwa   birʃ-idi   góolatt-idi   júuj-ées.
        sadly   he   work-ABS   be lazy-CONV   be swing-   walk-
                                                        CONV   3sg.m.PFV

Lit. 'He swings everywhere for no affair.' 'I feel sad that he is a lazy person.'

    c. banta   wolk'-aá-ppe   daro   dúussa   dáan-awu   pork'att-óosona.
        their   energy-   beyond   life   lead.ABS   torture-
                  OBL-from   3pl.IMPFV

Lit. 'They struggle to improve their life.' 'They are poor people.'

These metaphors align the real-life conflict between individuals with the struggle between life's challenges and the principles of positive psychology. The metaphor *hijées-atetta* 'backward-ness' (in 18a) is the enemy by which the economically poor person *ʧ'add-ettées* 'is hit' and becomes sad because of the lack of success.

In addition, the term *góolatt-idi,* meaning "is swung," illustrates the misbehaviour of individuals whose lack of privilege leads to sadness for both themselves and those who observe them. The root of this sadness lies in the life circumstances that leave the idle person feeling adrift. Similarly, *banta wolk'k'-a-ppe* ('beyond their energy') in (18c) expresses sadness towards those who *pork'att-óosona* ('are being tortured') by life's challenges.

4.5. Sadness is Journey

The metaphors of the journey describe the existence and intensity of sadness in Wolaita. It mainly equates the obstacle aspects that impede the success of a journey to provide its negative evaluation.

19 a. hage   halaʧ-oi   bana   kess-ées
        this   [person name]-NOM   him   succeed-3sg.m.IMPFV
        g-íidi   ojk'-ido   og-ia.
        say-CONV begin-that   journey-3sg.m.NOM

Lit. 'Mr. Halacho thought to travel this way.' 'It is sad that he was misled.'

    b. ha   joh-uwa   og-ia   ane   ojtt-óos
        this   affair-3sg.m.NOM   road-3sg.m.ABS   let   begin-3pl.IMPFV

Lit. 'Let this dispute begin its journey.' 'Let's reconcile the disputers.'

These metaphors showed the observers' reaction towards something that they realized was wrong and that saddened them. The metaphorical use of *ogia* 'the road' (in 19a) implies someone's observation regarding the wrong strategies that were followed in the arguments which are thought to be *kess-ées* 'the route that takes to the destination.' Another expression *og-ia ojtt-óos* 'let its journey begin' (in 19b) describes sadness towards the affairs that were in a mess and become a cause of sadness. The conceptual equivalence of these metaphors lies in the notion that a person's failure in an argument is akin to embarking on a journey in the wrong direction.

20 a. t'éell-enna-ba-n   wot't'-ada   gel-oppa.
        concern-thing-that-in   run-CONV   take part-3sg.m.NEG.IMPFV
    Lit. 'Do not run to argue for nothing.' 'It gives me sadness.'

    b. od-ada   b-íiʃ-n   og-ia-n   dogett-i-n   azzan-áas
        talk-CONV   go-when-in   road-3sg.m.-in   forget-ABS.for   sad-3sg.m.PFV
    Lit. 'I forgot my talk on the road and felt sad.' 'I was sad about the failure.'

An offending person is a traveller whose misbehaviour is the obstacle that the actual traveller encounters. The metaphor *wot'*- 'to run' (in 20a) describes the intentional offensive behaviour that shows someone's lack of respect for the personal interest of other people. The cause of sadness is that someone attempts to be involved in affairs that do not concern him or her. Similarly, the expression *bíiʃ*- 'while travelling' (in 20b) describes someone's sadness about the failure while delivering a speech because the idea *dog-ettíis* 'was forgotten' and became an obstacle.

21 a. gatt-enna-ba-n   gel-oppa.
        range-thing-3sg.m.NEG-in   take part-3sg.m.NEG.IMPFV
    Lit. 'Stay out from issues not in your range.' 'Your interference saddens me.'

    b. tʃ'ima   asa   k'anggett-ai   gakk-ées.
        elderly   person   curse-3sg.m.NOM   reach-3sg.m.IMPFV
    Lit. 'The adult's curse reaches you.' 'Do not make adult persons sad the.'

These metaphors describe an expression of sadness towards someone's offensive behaviour that spoils the pleasure of the victim traveller. In Wolaita, the offenders are travellers whose unnecessary involvement in someone else's *gatt-enna-ba* 'affairs' (in 21a) is a cause for sadness for the victim person. The metaphor *k'angg-ettai gakk-ées* 'the curse travels to reach' (in 21b) conceptualizes the act of cursing to condemn misconduct as a journey that is not enjoyable for the traveler.

22 a. I   aji   wode-kka gosa-n   ek'k'i   er-enna.
        he   any   time-too where-at   stand   be able-NEG.3sg.m.IMPFV
    Lit. 'He keeps not standing at what he says.' 'He does not keep promises.'

    b. ha-gée   tanáa-ra bia   óos-o   gid-enna.
        this-ABS   me with   go   work-ABS   be-NEG-3sg.m.PFV
    Lit. 'This work does not go with me.' 'My job gives me sadness.'

The metaphorical use of *gosa-n* 'at the place' (in 22a) personifies sadness for promising something that a person *ek'k'i er-enna* 'never stops' or does not keep the promise. The expression *tanáa-ra bia* 'that accompany me' (in 22b) shows the speaker is sad towards óoso 'profession' that satisfied him or her no more.

23 dabb-o-tettaa-ssi   t'ub-eti   deʔ-ana   dandaj-óosona.
    friend-ABS-NMNL-in   obstacle-3pl.NOM   exist-FUT   be able-3pl.IMPFV
    Lit. 'Obstacles may occur in the journey of friendship.' 'Friends can quarrel.'

This metaphor implies that the disagreement that occurs between friends is the obstacle to the journey of their friendship. That is, *dabb-o-tettáa* 'friendship' as a route of the journey in the friendship can be hindered by misbehavior which is *t'ube* 'the obstacle' that saddens the friend.

24   a.   azzan-ida-g-awu   b-io-ssi   it'ior-í-n
            sad- that-NMNLZ-3sg.m.ABS   where-ABS-to   refuse-SUBOR-3sg.f-to
      Lit. 'With sadness, he wandered.' 'He lost control of his sadness.'

      b.   ná-ati   lut'etta-n   sint-awu   b-énna
            child-3pl.NOM   education-in   forward-ABS   go-NEG.3sg.m.IMPFV
      Lit. 'The children do not travel in their education.' 'They lacked success in it.'

      c.   eʧaivia   metoi   ná-atu-ppe   ʧ'ima   gakk-ana-wu   b-ées.
            HIV   problem   child-3pl-from   elderly   reach-3sg.m.FUT-ABS   go-3sg.m.IMPFV
      Lit. 'HIV victimizes children up to the adults.' 'It is a deadly disease.'

These metaphors describe the situations of wandering to escape from dreadful emotional feelings as obstacles. The metaphor *bio-ssi it't'ior-í-n* 'When she does not know where to go' (in 24a) describes the emotional wandering of someone *azan-ida-g-au* who feels sad and attempts to escape from the expected danger. The academic failure of students is described as a journey that *náati sintt-awu b-éenna mala óott-ées* 'makes the children not travel further in their education' (in 24b). The metaphor *eʧaivia metoi* 'the problems of HIV' that spreads *náatu-ppe ʧ'ima* 'from children to adults' is assumed to *gakanau b-ées* 'travel to arrive'.

25   azzan-ia-g-a-ssi   ellell-idi   ane   gakk-óos.
      sad-ABS-NMNLZ-3sg.m-for   be fast-CONV   let   reach- 3pl.IMPFV
      Lit. 'Let's arrive quickly for sad persons.' 'Provide them with support.'

In (25), the metaphorical use of *gak-óos* 'let us travel to arrive' describes finding a means to support *azzan-ia-g-a-ssi* 'the saddened person' to gain calmness in the same way as helping the injured or exhausted traveller.

4.6. Sadness is Food

In Wolaita, the conceptual mappings with bad taste, smell, texture, and others conceptualize the unpleasantness of sadness.

26   woni   malʔ-ia   t'al-ia-n   búut'i   gel-íje
      ever   tasty-ABS   medicine-3sg.m.NOM-in   straw   enter-3sg.m. IMPV
      Lit. 'Put unclean straw in a sourer medicine.' 'Cause a sadness to intensify.'

The concept *of t'al-ia* 'medicine' implies the attributes of traditional medicinal foods and drinks that are prepared from the leaves, stems, or roots of plants and often taste sourer. Its metaphorical extension in woni *malʔ-ia* 'never taste sweet!' describes the sadness that occurred between people, and *búut'i gel-íje!* 'Enters a straw' describes its expected escalation.

27	jel-enna	ná-ata	ditʃia	áaj-eti
	give birth-NEG	chil-3pl.ACC	take care	mother-3pl.f.NOM
	daroto	ná-atu –ssi	azzan-okkona	k'aj-óosona
	many time	child-3pl-for	sad.3pl.NEG.IMPFV	be uncook-3pl.IMPFV

Lit. 'Stepmothers become raw for stepchildren.' 'They abuse the children.'

The metaphorical use of *k'aj-óosona* 'they become raw' in (27) describes the misbehaviors of stepmothers who become bad to their stepchildren. Therefore, the situation that is not suitable for the stepchildren equates to the person's attempt to consume food that is not well cooked or the immature fruit. It is also interesting to note from the following examples that low amounts of food that the person consumes are mapped to describe sadness in Wolaita.

28	a.	hegée	kal-iss-enna		k'ofá.
		that	be satisfy-CAUS.NEG.3sg.m.PFV		Idea

Lit. 'That idea is not satisfying.' 'It gives me sadness.'

	b.	I	háasaja	I	kall-enna.
		her.GEN	speech	he.MOM	be satisfy-NEG.3sg.m.PFV

Lit. 'Her speech dissatisfies him.' 'He is unhappy with her speech.'

	c.	he	k'ofa-ssi	kal-iss-ia	záar-uwa	imm-ibéenna.
		that	idea-for	satisfy-CAUS.3sg.m	response-ABS	give-NEG.3sg.m.PFV

Lit. 'He provided not a satisfying response.' 'I feel sad for his weak counter-argument.'

In Wolaita, the literal use of the expression *kal-* 'to satisfy' shows the feelings of satisfaction after eating foods, though the negative suffix *–enna* 'is not' portrays the lack of such feelings. Its metaphorical usage reflects the person's lack of satisfaction with someone's behaviours or actions, as in *k'ofa* 'idea' (in 28a), *háasaja* 'speech' (in 298b), and *záar-uwa* 'response' (in 28c).

4.7. Sadness is Load

A person who feels sad towards someone who misbehaves carries someone else's misbehaviour and faces a burden of load to his or her body.

29	bajina-ba	tʃ'áanoi	íita
	none exist-thing	to load	be bad

Lit. 'Do not load disinformation.' 'Do not abuse innocent persons.'

In (29), the metaphor *tʃ'áanoi* 'to put a load' describes *baina-ba* 'disinformation' that gives a person sadness. It usually causes a person to lose control over sadness when he or she faces intentionally abusive behaviours.

30 a. I   tá-ssi   ajissa-kko   det't'-ées
        he   me-to   what reason-too   be heavy.
    Lit. 'He has become heavy to me.' 'He feels sad at me.'
    b. a   ta   bolli   deet't'ia   k'áala   háasaj-áasu
        she   my   body   heavy   expression   talk-3sg.F.PFV
    Lit. 'She talked a heavy word at me.' 'She abused me verbally.'

In Wolaita, the literal use of *déet'o* 'is heavy' implies the heavy weight of something that is carried. Its metaphorical usage describes the existence and intensity of sadness. The metaphor *ʔaissa-kko* 'for no reason' (in 30a) describes its existence and *háasaj-áasu* 'verbal abuse' (in 30b) as a heavy load describes the intensity of sadness.

4.8. Sadness is Gift

The metaphors of gift evaluate sadness negatively because they map the attributes of declined offers as well as the gift that gives no pleasure to the receivers.

31 a. ná-ati   dunggúut'a ekki   j-óosona.
        child-3pl.ABS   isolation   hold   bring-3pl.IMPFV
    Lit. 'The children bring fearful behaviour.' 'They become fearful.'
    b. tájilo   néni   ne   k'áad-io   ekk-adasa.
        my mother-3sg.f.GEN   you   your   fate-3sg.f.NOM   receive-3sg.m.PFV
    Lit. 'Oh! Mom, you received your fate.' 'You were disadvantaged.'

In (31), the expression *ek-* 'to receive' equates sadness to the gift from the saddening behaviours of the offenders. The resulting feelings as in *dunggúut'a* 'isolation' (in 31a) and *k'áad-io* 'fate' (in 31b) are seen as the gifts that are given but not received happily. The gifts that are being given produce pleasurable feelings to the givers, though the receivers suffer from it.

32 a. ná-ati   háasa-ido-bai   ek-ett-enna-ba   g-óosona.
        child-3pl.ABS   talk-that-thing.3sg.NOM   accept-PASS-   say-3pl.IMPFV
                                                   3sg.m.NEG-thing
    Lit. 'The children's talk is unacceptable.' 'They are inferior.'
    b. a-bá   as-ai   ekk-enna
        his thing-OBL   person-3sg.m.NOM   take-3sg.m.NEG
    Lit. 'People ignore his speech.' 'He is being viewed as a silly person.'

Sadness is also the effect of a rejected gift, even though the receivers seek it to be offered. The metaphors *náa-ti háasa-ido-bai ekk-ettenna-ba* 'what children speak is not acceptable' (in 33a) and *a-ba as-ai ekk-enna-n* 'people ignore his speech' (in 33b) conceptualize the person's feelings to practice their freedom of speech and social equality.

5. DISCUSSION

This section presents the results of the study on the metaphorical conceptualization of sadness in Wolaita to highlight its culture-specific and universal aspects from the perspective of previous cross-cultural findings. Our findings showed that the conceptual metaphors of sadness in Wolaita mapped the domains of PAIN, FLUID, DOWN, ENEMY, BURDEN, GIFT, JOURNEY, and FOOD to describe its existence, intensity, and control. A large portion of these source domains and their corresponding conceptual metaphors were identified in the previous cognitive-linguistic research works by Csillag (2017); Essenova (2011); Tran (2018); Wen &Chen (2023) and others. The representation of sadness as an emotional feeling towards loss, loneliness and disadvantage (Retová, 2008) was a central message communicated in the metaphors. The discussion that follows reflects how the metaphors of emotion portray the cultural sadness in Wolaita.

The metaphors of sadness in Wolaita dominantly mapped unpleasant aspects of food, such as smells of spoiled local foods and bitter tastes of traditional medicines. The metaphorical use of *k'aj-* 'to become uncooked', and *kall-iss-enna* 'not satisfying' associate the saddening behaviour with the food that tastes bad during its consumption. According to Khajeh, Ho-Abdullah and Hua (2013), the specific features of foods that are tasteless, bitter, and sour correspond to negative emotions. In Japanese, the bitter lemon conceptualizes sadness (Irma et al., 2021, p. 91).

Moradi and Mashak (2013) studied metaphors of burden and generalized that the causes and existence of sadness are a heavy burden imposed on the sad person. Bas and Büyükkantarcıoğlu (2019, p. 283–284) confirmed that the psychological burden of controlling sadness is an external burden imposed on the body. Sagista et al. (2023), for example, support the idea that the intensity of heartbreak is experienced as a burden that causes physical pain. In the Wolaita language, misbehaviour that saddens a person is conceptualized as a heavy load carried around the shoulder, whereas in Turkish, the burden is associated with the heart and liver.

The Wolaita metaphors of burden also diverge from the situation in Korean, which showed the existence of endurance with sadness, as in *seulpeum/ uureul gyeondida 'X bear*/put up with sadness' (Türker, 2013, p. 108). When the intensity of sadness gives burden to their shoulder, the Wolaita people put it down or throw away with a loss of control.

Regarding the metaphors of load, the person's struggle to control sadness as the struggle with the opponent or enemy was studied by Csillag (2017), Moradi and Mashak (2013), and Rull (2001), which jointly portrayed sadness as both a powerful challenger and a loser as in Wolaita. However, Csillag (2017), for instance, reported that 'SADNESS IS A POWER STONGER THAN THE SELF' elsewhere across languages though sadness can be a loser to the rational self in Wolaita. Csillag's findings support SADNESS IS ENEMY wherein the attacker is emotion and the victim is a sad person, which is still not a characteristic in the Wolaita metaphors.

The findings on the container metaphors of sadness across languages showed that the human body is a container and sadness is a fluid or substance that is placed inside the container (Irma et al., 2021, p. 90; Türker, 2013, p. 106; Moradi & Mashak, 2013, p. 109). The conceptual mappings apply either to its MOVEMENT, CONTENT or both to equate the intensity of sadness. The intensity of sadness in Wolaita maps both high contents and intensity of movements, as reflected in the tears of grief and equates the tears to the powerful rain. Because of this, sadness as an impure fluid in Wolaita contrasts with the absence of mixture metaphors of sadness in Korean (Türker, 2013, p. 110).

As to Kovecses (2005), the metaphor of the journey is part of the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL and equates PURPOSES with DESTINATIONS, ACTION (CHANGE) with MOTION, and DIFFI-CULTIES with IMPEDIMENTS. In Wolaita, the obstacles related to the locations of destinations characterize the travellers' uncertainty about the preferred roads to take and the intended destination of the journey. In addition, SADNESS IS OBSTACLE maps interpersonal relationship problems as obstacles and extends the metaphorical understanding of LIFE IS JOURNEY.

Finally, the metaphor SADNESS IS A GIFT illustrates the presence of sadness by likening it to the act of giving a gift that the recipient has no interest in receiving, thereby conceptualizing misbehaviour that causes distress to others. As a result, a harmful traditional cultural practice is a gift which offends the people who are living in the globalized twenty-first century. Thus, these practices, passed down from our forefathers, are like gifts that people today often show little interest in. However, they continue to be observed in rural areas. Contrary to this, some other metaphors equate sadness to the gift rejected by the receivers, as when the children's attempt to become sociable with the adults is a gift, but the adults rejected the children's offer.

6. CONCLUSION

Based on the results and findings of the study, sadness is a negative emotion that is conceptually structured in terms of PAIN, FLUID, DOWN, ENEMY, BURDEN, GIFT, JOURNEY, and FOOD source domains. Conceptual mappings characterizing sadness in Wolaita are SADNESS IS PAIN, SADNESS IS FLUID, SADNESS IS DOWN, SADNESS IS ENEMY, SADNESS IS LOAD, SADNESS IS JOURNEY, SADNESS IS FOOD, and SADNESS IS GIFT. Concerning cultural salience, however, the metaphors that describe the intensity and control aspects of the emotion mapped these domains to conceptualize sadness in the language. This situation maintains sadness as universal at the basic level, though its complex level conceptualization revealed an idiosyncratic feature.

The fundamental peculiarities established in the Wolaita perspective elaborated the common source domains of PAIN, BURDEN, JOURNEY, and FOOD beyond the newly incorporated one, the domain of GIFT. As an example, SADNESS IS PAIN commonly elaborated on the use of heart and belly; however, it is special to the Wolaita language that the pain of sadness damages the diaphragm. The most noticeable peculiarity was the use of spoiled local foods to show the existence of sadness and unpurified states of the liquid conceptualized the intensity. These conceptual mappings offer valuable insights into the emotional conceptualization of sadness in the universal and distinctive ways in Wolaita. With these metaphors, the Wolaita people evaluated sadness negatively.

The present research maintains that sadness is universal at the basic level. This study contributes to the ongoing debate on the universality versus culture-specificity of emotion conceptualization by providing evidence from the Wolaita language.

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The authors state that there is no conflict of interest.

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