

# Happiness and Joy in Corpus Contexts: A Cognitive Semantic Analysis

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*This article approaches the concept of ‘happiness’ in English through an analysis of words beginning with hap(p)\* or joy\* in their contexts, as extracted from an electronic collection of texts, A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers (ARCHER, 1650–1990). It is primarily a conceptual analysis, aiming to see what other types of concepts ‘happiness’ is associated with. It deals with causal concepts (why are people happy?), physiological concepts (what does happiness feel like?), behavioural concepts (what do happy people do?), and metaphorical concepts (what is happiness like?). In this, it adapts Kövecses’s descriptions of emotion concepts (1990), and is a sequel to my studies on ‘shame’ and ‘pride’ (Tissari 2006a & b). The findings are summarised in two tables, which illustrate some of the answers to the above questions according to register (text type). While the hap(p)\* words are more frequent in this data, the joy\* words convey more intensity of emotion and attract more physiological, behavioural, and metaphorical concepts. The data also suggests many concepts that are antithetical to ‘happiness’.<sup>1</sup>*

## 1 Introduction

This article draws data from *A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers* (ARCHER, 1650–1990) in order to characterise the concept of ‘happiness’ in terms of two sets of English words, one derived from the Norse root *hap(p)\**, and the other from the French root *joy(e)\** (originally Latin *gaudium*; cf. the OED entries for the nouns *hap* and *joy*). The data primarily represents the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a period which is usually referred to as Late Modern English.

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<sup>1</sup> While writing this paper, the author was a member of the VARIENG Research Unit for Variation, Contacts and Change in English at the Department of English, University of Helsinki, and a research fellow at the Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies. I thank my two reviewers for reading this article and providing me with pertinent comments, and of course I am responsible for any remaining flaws.

I read and re-read the two sets of words in their immediate contexts and wrote down words (such as *freedom, health*; or *accept, forgive*), phrases (such as *the interests of good government, high up in the world*), and sentences (such as *President Johnson has already said that he will be happy to meet Mr. Kosygin*) which would help me to find answers to my questions, modelled after Kövecses (1990):

- (1) What causes happiness?
- (2) What are the physiological effects of happiness?
- (3) What are people's behavioural reactions to happiness?
- (4) What kind of other concepts appear to be related to the concept of 'happiness'?
- (5) Which conceptual metaphors contribute to people's understanding of happiness?
- (6) What kind of linguistic metonymies occur with these words?

My study complements Kövecses's cognitive linguistic research on happiness (e.g. 1991, and this volume) by adding three dimensions: firstly, another method, that of collecting the data from a computerised corpus of English texts; secondly, a historical view; and thirdly, new details, even a new category of 'antithetical concepts' (question 7). Instead of a statistical analysis of which other words tend to go together with *hap(p)\** and *joy\** words, this article attempts a qualitative analysis of 'happiness' through slicing their co-texts into parts denoting relevant other concepts, i.e. answers to the questions given above. In so doing, it in fact departs from Kövecses's method of modelling emotion concepts towards modelling single words on the one hand, and towards a larger repertoire of potentially relevant concepts on the other.

To put it differently, a main difference between this study and Kövecses's (this volume) is that it applies a "bottom-up" rather than a "top-down" approach. It is an attempt to see what kind of concepts tend to be mentioned in context with words for 'happiness', which results in a shift of focus from metaphor and metonymy to conceptual networks. Fabiszak's research on 'joy' in Old and Middle English, which deals with the causes of this emotion and people's reactions to it (2001/2002), shares this focus to some extent.<sup>2</sup> Stefanowitsch's research on 'happiness' in Present-Day American and British English (2004 & 2006, respectively) is also corpus-based, but deals with conceptual metaphors rather than concepts *per se*. In terms of my own work, this study follows my analyses of 'pride' and 'shame' in particular (Tissari 2006a & b), and of emotion words and their metaphors in general.<sup>3</sup>

2 Diller (1996) deals with issues similar to Fabiszak (2001/2002), developing a more lexicogrammatical point of view.

3 In Tissari (2003) I deal with the conceptual metaphors for the concept of 'love', but there I deal differently with 'love' than I deal with 'happiness' here. In Tissari (2003) I discuss the cause(s) of love, but focus less on its physiological effects, or on behavioural reactions to it, nor do I in Tissari (2003) deal with concepts related to 'love', or with metonymy.

Metaphor and metonymy will be defined in sections 2 and 3.3, and the discussion of these two terms will be summarised in section 5. The working definition of ‘concept’ will involve that which is expressed by a word or phrase occurring in the context in which the words are studied (cf. Diller, this volume). Inevitably, the data will include more concepts than metaphors or metonymies.

## 2 An Overview of the Data

Table 1 is a quantitative overview of the data, while Table 2 is qualitative, suggesting typical causes of happiness, and typical source domains for its metaphors. ‘Source domain’ is the other concept through which ‘happiness’ is understood. Cognitive linguists talk about mapping from the structure of the source domain, such as ‘natural and physical forces’, onto the structure of the target domain, such as ‘happiness’. To quote Deignan (2005, 14):

The source domain is typically concrete and the target domain is typically abstract. It is said that ideas and knowledge from the source domain are mapped onto the target domain by the conceptual metaphor. In the example of *HAPPY IS UP*, ideas and knowledge from the source domain of upward direction and movement are mapped onto the target domain of emotion.

From now on, small caps will be used for target domains, source domains, and conceptual metaphors, such as *HAPPY IS UP*.

I have used a slightly modified version of ARCHER, to which some American literature has been added by collaborators at the University of Helsinki.<sup>4</sup> Table 1 is therefore based on the assumption that “[g]enerally, for each period ARCHER includes about 20,000 words per register” (Biber, Finegan & Atkinson 1994, 4).

Register	Items (raw figures) hap*/joy*	N/10,000 (register)
Drama	165/39	83/20
Fiction	271/74	136/37
Additional American literature	40/4	20/2
Journals-Diaries	81/25	41/13
Legal opinion	3/0	2/0
Letters	86/14	43/7
Medicine	14/1	7/1
News	50/13	25/7
Science	5/1	3/1
Sermon	54/38	27/19
Total (N=978=100%)	769/209 (79%/21%)	-

**Table 1. The ARCHER data: a quantitative overview.**

The normalised figures show us not only that the words studied are clearly more frequent in some registers than others, but also that they are much more frequent in several registers in ARCHER than in other corpora (Table 3 below). It seems that words beginning with *hap(p)\** were very popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They primarily tend to appear in speech-like registers (drama, letters) and in reported speech (fiction).

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<sup>4</sup> This is not the newest WordSmith version of the corpus released in 2006, because the data was collected before I could use it.

Table 2 summarises the analysis presented in sections 3 (happiness) and 4 (joy). In brief, love and relationships are the most typical causes of happiness and joy in ARCHER, while the most typical source domain for metaphors of HAPPINESS seems to be (A) VALUABLE COMMODITY. To paraphrase the latter notion, HAPPINESS is seen as an object or substance which people would like to possess, and which is quantified in order to measure its worth. Metaphors of containment characterise HAPPINESS in terms of an object or substance which is being contained somewhere, for example in the heart, or which contains its experiencers.

Register	Typical cause of happiness or joy	Typical metaphor (source domain)
Drama	Social relationships	VALUABLE COMMODITY
Fiction	Love, marriage	VALUABLE COMMODITY
Additional American literature	Love, family life	THE HEART (as the site of happiness)
Journals-Diaries	A pleasant event	Containment
Legal opinion	(Happiness is satisfaction with the conditions of one's life)	(HUMAN ACTION)
Letters	Social relationships	VALUABLE COMMODITY
Medicine	Professional success	(>metonymy)
News	A good event	VALUABLE COMMODITY
Science	Scientific work	(>metonymy)
Sermons-Homilies	God	Containment
All registers	Love (and friendship)	VALUABLE COMMODITY

**Table 2. The contents of the ARCHER data: a qualitative overview.**

Table 3 provides a somewhat wider view by presenting some comparative data from six corpora.<sup>5</sup> Two of these, the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence Sampler* (CEECS), and the (Early Modern English period of the) *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (HC[E]) represent earlier English, while the rest of the corpora represent the twentieth century. More specifically, the *Brown* and *FROWN* (*Freiburg-Brown*) corpora contain U.S. English, and the *LOB* and *FLOB* (*Freiburg-LOB*) British English. Each of these four has about one million words, while the CEECS and HCE are somewhat smaller, ca. 450,000 and 551,000 words, respectively.<sup>6</sup>

Corpus	N: Noun (Adj)	N/10,000 Noun (Adj)	N/10,000 Noun+Adj
CEECS (1418–1680)	63 (112)	1.4 (2.5)	3.9
HCE (1500–1710)	50 (58)	0.9 (1.1)	2.0
BROWN (1961)	23	0.2	-
FROWN (1991)	30 (90)	0.3 (0.9)	1.2
LOB (1961)	52	0.5	-
FLOB (1991)	24 (164)	0.2 (1.6)	1.9
Total (- figures for 1961)	167 (424)	0.6 (1.4)	2.0

**Table 3. The comparative data: the noun *happiness* in six corpora.**

Compared to ARCHER, the noun *happiness* is not very frequent in these corpora. Even if one also takes into account the frequency of the adjective *happy* (Heikkinen & Tissari 2002, 67), which occurs more often than the noun, the figures remain quite different from those for ARCHER. This is significant, because all these corpora except CEECS are designed to include a range of text categories in order to provide a general standard for the language variety in question, e.g., Early Modern (British) English. Stefanowitsch's recent research on the concept of happiness provides us with the relevant extra information that in Present-Day British English, the noun *joy* is "roughly one-and-a-half times more frequent" than the noun *happiness* (2006, 82).

As for conceptual metaphors occurring with the noun *happiness*, the comparative data resembles that from ARCHER. The most frequent source domain is (A) VALUABLE COMMODITY, while metaphors of containment are the second most frequent. The twentieth-century corpora suggest A QUEST FOR THE COMMODITY, agreeing with

5 I discussed this data in a paper, "Mid mycelre *blisse*': Conceptualising happiness in Old and Modern English", which I gave together with Kanerva Heikkinen at the FINSSE2 conference in Tampere, Finland, in August 2003 (FINSSE=the Finnish Society for the Study of English).

6 For the manuals, see <<http://khnt.hit.uib.no/icame/manuals/>> [accessed in January 2007].

Stefanowitsch's recent results for American newspapers (2004: 143–145).<sup>7</sup> In other words, contemporary English seems to focus more on the active pursuit of happiness than the earlier varieties, which convey a less frantic image of the possession of happiness.<sup>8</sup>

### 3 More on the First Set of Words (*hap[p]\**)

This section proceeds in ascending order of frequency; we begin with the register which provides us with the least hits for the first set of words (Legal opinion), and end with the register which provides us with the most (Fiction). The same principle holds for section 4, dealing with *joy\** items.

#### 3.1 Legal Opinion (3 hits: *happy*, *happiness*)

The earliest example, a polite statement, comes from the year 1788:

(1) We are *happy* that this cause has come before us ...

The second discusses how

(2) to promote the means of human *happiness* (1795),

and the third is:

(3) [H]e earned good wages, was without financial difficulties, and had a *happy* cheerful disposition. (1919)

In Kövecses's terms, ex. (1) represents 'happiness as an immediate response', while exs. (2) and (3) represent 'happiness as a value' (this volume). Extract (2) aims to define this value in terms of *the wants of individuals*, suggesting causes of happiness. If happiness can be *promoted*, it is a result of human action, and this could be regarded as a metaphor (a correlation between concrete and abstract concepts). The person characterised by ex. (3) seems to have his financial wants supplied, but it is not entirely clear whether this is the cause of his happiness.

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7 Alongside what he calls the QUEST model, Stefanowitsch discusses what he calls the TRANSFER model, which involves giving, receiving and buying happiness (2004, 145–147). I have included such TRANSFER metaphors in the metaphor category HAPPINESS IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY.

8 This is interesting because the text extracts from the ARCHER registers of fiction and drama often convey a process of marital arrangements, essentially a pursuit of happiness, however portrayed more in terms of "yes" or "no" to a lifetime choice of (un)happiness than in terms of a potentially lifetime process.

### 3.2 Science (5 hits: *happy*, *happily*)

The main cause of happiness is scientific work in itself. A recurring characteristic of these extracts is that expressions with the *hap(p)\** words appear fairly formulaic, probably intended to promote the writer's career, as in

(4) If this imperfect communication gives you, or the Society, any satisfaction, I shall be very *happy*, and shall be encouraged to prosecute these inquiries as much as my leisure from other pursuits will admit. (1775)<sup>9</sup>

### 3.3 Medicine (14 hits: *happy*, *happiest*, *happily*, *happiness*)

The main cause of happiness is the doctor's professional success, whether in the recovery or at least the relief from pain of the patient, or, more generally, in understanding how a disease works. Concepts related to HAPPINESS thus include RECOVERY and RELIEF, and, more generally, THE EFFECT, VIRTUE<sup>10</sup> AND INNOCUITY (in terms of new drugs being harmless) OF MEDICINE. The only metaphor is related to good medical practice:

(5) ... we can at least pride ourselves in possessing a clear conscience, which is the Alpha and Omega of *happiness*, professional and otherwise. (1905)

The metaphor *the Alpha and Omega of happiness* suggests both AN (ALPHABETICAL) ORDER and THE BEGINNING AND END OF A CONTINUUM.

However, metonymy is more characteristic of this register than metaphor. For the purposes of this article, let us define metonymy in terms of ascribing happiness to the co(n)text instead of the people experiencing it. In ex. (6), happiness is ascribed to the result of action:

(6) ... the *happy* instantaneous relief was, as far as a matter of this nature can be proved, evidently and entirely owing to it. (1735)

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9 A reviewer pointed out that formulaic usages are an "unsolved problem in cognitive corpus linguistics". More formulaic usages appear below and some are discussed by Diller (this volume).

10 The noun *virtue* should here be understood primarily in terms of efficacy or power.



### 3.4 Additional American Literature (40 hits: *happy, happier, happiest, happily, happiness*)

There is no single evident cause for happiness here, but it often seems to result from love, whether between the sexes, or in the family. Other causes include escape from captivity, overcoming difficulties, and success of plans.

Six of the forty hits represent a scene in which a man is preparing for his death and which suggests some physiological effects and behavioural reactions: prayer, penitence, an embrace, kisses, and tears. These could also be seen in terms of DEATH and SADNESS, in spite of the words:

(7) Leave me, my girl, to prayer and penitence. I shall be *happy*. (1845)

The concept of DEATH nevertheless needs to be seen as related to HAPPINESS. Other related concepts include AFFECTIONATE EMOTION, BLESSING, CHEERFULNESS, GOODNESS, LAUGHTER, LIGHT, PEACE, and WARMTH.

The data also suggest concepts antithetical to HAPPINESS, summed up in the phrase *cares and miseries of the world*, which appears with the popular metaphor HAPPINESS IS IN THE HEART:

(8) ... the *happy* heart which now beats lightly in that bosom, will be weighed down, like mine, by the cares and miseries of the world. (1820)

Ex. (8) suggests a metonymy in which THE HEART STANDS FOR ITS OWNER. The passage also suggests that happiness physiologically affects the heart, which *beats lightly*.<sup>11</sup>

### 3.5 News (50 hits: *happy, happiest, happily, happiness*)

Most of the causes here are political and military. They include successes in negotiations and military measures, good relations between countries, and meetings between politicians. In contrast to the registers discussed earlier, the cause often seems to be an event. Consequently, people's behavioural reactions to happiness involve such actions as saluting, speeches, and shooting the cannon.

Concepts related to HAPPINESS could be introduced through the title VIRTUOUS POLITICS, because they include, for example, BENEFICENCE, DUTY, FRIENDSHIP, HONOUR,

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<sup>11</sup> Although more data would be required to ascertain that this metaphor was typical of nineteenth-century American English, this idea supports what Stearns has to say about eighteenth-century medical practitioners: they "stressed the role of specific emotional states, notably anger, in causing angina and other heart problems" (1994: 222).

HOPE, LOYALTY, NOBILITY, OPTIMISM, PEACE, PRUDENCE, and STABILITY. The news reports appear to be in the interests of the rulers, like the following:

(9) An extra, issued from the seat of the new Government, announces this *happy* event. (1853)

Metonymy, as in *happy event*, is more characteristic of this register than metaphor, the main reason being that it characterises the usage of the adjective and adverb, which are more frequent than the noun. Here is another example:

(10) ... another shock of an earthquake was felt here, which was preceded by a subterranean noise, but *happily* did no damage. (1767)

Another characteristic of this register is the use of excerpts from political speeches and other “polite formulations”. Extract (11) exemplifies what appears to be the most frequent metaphor, HAPPINESS IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY (the verb *have* suggesting possession):

(11) “I am glad to have the *happiness* of making this tribute to your honoured dead.” (1893)

### 3.6 Sermons-Homilies (54 hits: *happy, happier, happiness*)

It seems fair to suggest that God is the prime source of happiness here. Direct attributions of people’s happiness to God include:

(12) How *happy* did they think themselves in having Jesus Christ present amongst them! (17xx)

Not surprisingly, the characteristic behavioural reaction to happiness is praise. Ex. (13) also attests metonymy:

(13) What tho thou art ever so gloomy now, canst thou forget that *happy* morning, when in the house of God thy voice was loud, almost as a seraph’s voice in praise? (18xx)

Apart from ANGELS, HAPPINESS is associated with such other concepts as GLORY, GRACE, THE FAVOUR OF GOD, HEAVEN, HOLINESS, HOPE, JUSTICE, (ETERNAL) LIFE, LIGHT, LOVE, PEACE OF MIND/SOUL, and RIGHTEOUSNESS. Concepts opposed to HAPPINESS include DARKNESS, DEATH, DREAD, GUILT, INFIRMITY, PUNISHMENT, TEMPTATION, and TRANSGRESSION.

Metaphors of containment characterise this register. Jesus is seen as a source of happiness in a passage which discusses the Eucharist:

(14) ... it contains Jesus in person, the author of sanctity, the source of *happiness*. (17xx)

However, HAPPINESS is also regarded as THE OBJECT OF PURSUIT, while LIFE is regarded in terms of A JOURNEY:

(15) ... our Lord ... came to guide us in the way to *happiness*, not only as a teacher by his word and excellent doctrine, but as a leader, by his actions and perfect example ... (16xx)

### 3.7 Journals-Diaries (81 hits: *happy, happier, happily, happiness*)

At least four distinct categories of causes suggest themselves: (1) meeting other people and/or spending time with them, (2) holidays, (3) marriage, and (4) spiritual experiences. Table 2 summarises these in 'pleasant event', because each of them involves an event.

People describe both their physiological effects and behavioural reactions. They suggest that happiness makes it easier for them to speak, makes it difficult for them to *contain themselves* (1886), makes them feel warm, and, in general, is attested in people's looks, especially their faces. It is shown by people's gestures, and makes them speak and shout. Happiness is associated with celebrating, in particular the New Year, and drinking. Ex. (16) attests both a cause (*holiday picnic*), a physiological effect (*happy faces*, note also the metonymy *faces* for *children*), and behavioural reactions (*flags, shouting*):

(16) As we came down the river this morning we met a steamboat going up full of schoolchildren, flags, shouting, and *happy faces* out for a holiday picnic. (1872)

The register suggests many potential related concepts. They could be included under such headings as (1) LIFE and HEALTH, (2) BEAUTY and POSSESSIONS, (3) LOVE and SOCIABILITY, (4) VIRTUE and UNDERSTANDING, (5) HIGH NUMBER OR QUALITY, (6) SPIRITUALITY, and (7) FEELING OR EMOTION. These groups nevertheless overlap. For example, sociability may include eating and pastimes, which in turn may be related to leading a healthy life; beauty and love tend go together in the choice of a spouse; and so on.

Let us give an example combining SOCIABILITY and HIGH QUALITY, which shows overlap between causes of HAPPINESS (here, at least potentially, holidays) and behavioural reactions (celebrating the New Year, note also the metonymic *happy week*):

(17) We had a supremely *happy week* before he left, & saw the New Year in together. (1917)

The heading (5) HIGH NUMBER or QUALITY in itself reminds us of the metaphor GOOD IS UP (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 14–21), which is related to HAPPY IS UP. GOOD IS UP appears several times. Ex. (18) attests this, along with the categories (3) LOVE and SOCIABILITY (*the dear sufferer*), (4) VIRTUE and UNDERSTANDING (*a sincere trust*), (6) SPIRITUALITY (*an elevation of mind*), and (7) FEELING OR EMOTION (*felt*), in discussing a funeral.<sup>12</sup> The adjective *happy* probably indicates that the deceased has entered the kingdom of Heaven, metaphorically conceived as being UP:

(18) I felt an elevation of mind, which supported me, and a sincere trust that the dear sufferer is now *happy*. (1805)

Metaphors of containment are more frequent than GOOD IS UP and HAPPY IS UP, assuming that one may regard the metonymic association of happiness with the face (ex. 16) in terms of the metaphor HAPPINESS IS IN THE FACE, similarly to the metaphor EMOTIONS ARE IN THE HEART (ex. 8).

Concepts antithetical to HAPPINESS include DEATH, DULLNESS/UNEVENTFULNESS, FEAR, ILLNESS, WEAKNESS, and WORRY. More generally, they involve such antonymies as LIFE VS. DEATH, HEALTH VS. ILLNESS, SOCIABILITY/EVENTFULNESS VS. UNEVENTFULNESS, UNDERSTANDING VS. STUPIDITY, and so on. Many of the antithetical concepts meet in MELANCHOLY.

### 3.8 Letters (86 hits: *happy, happier, happiest, happily, happiness, happinesse, happynesse*)

Happiness here results from seeing friends, spending time with them, and spending time with one's own family. In such circles, happiness generates happiness:

(19) Does not the greatest part of my *Happiness* result from seeing others pleased and delighted? (1774)

In twentieth-century English, the expression *I am happy* can also be used to express agreement:

(20) I shall of course be perfectly *happy* to spend our joint holiday in the Inn at C'Burn this year, if it so falls out. (1953)

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<sup>12</sup> It is even possible to see the past tense of the verb *support* in terms of the related concepts (1) LIFE and HEALTH.

This suggests a metonymic development in which A POSITIVE EMOTION, HAPPINESS, has begun to stand for A POSITIVE RESPONSE.<sup>13</sup>

In general, the letter writers are friendly and/or polite, and attempt to please the recipients. This involves wishes such as (21) and (22):

(21) And be *happy*. (1929)

(22) I should be loath to tell a lye but I call God to witness your health and *happinesse* is a thing I more earnestly desire then any thing I know. (1653)

Words for HAPPINESS can also be used to express regrets:

(23) [I] am affraid the present posture of Affaires in our office will not let me have the *Happiness* I proposed to my self of passing part of the summer in Your Company. (1708)

The polite expressions in the letters suggest that HAPPINESS IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY (exs. 22, 23 and 24).

(24) ... one who values no *happiness* beyond the friendship of men of wit, learning, and good nature. (1714)

To attempt to distinguish between causes of HAPPINESS and concepts related to it is to some extent futile, because HAPPINESS is so often associated with LOVE and FRIENDSHIP, but the co-texts for *hap(p)\** words also tend to include synonyms such as *cheerfulness, delight, ease, enjoyment, gladness, joy, and pleasure* (ex. 19). A further group of expressions concerns (RATIONAL) VIRTUES, such as *wit, learning, and good nature* (ex. 24).

Antithetical concepts are sometimes mentioned, including DOMESTIC QUARRELS, GRIEF, ILLNESS, MISERY, REGRET, and UNEASINESS, even WRATH. One way to indicate the contrast between happiness and unhappiness is through metaphors of LIGHT and DARKNESS:

(25) One thing is most sure: that after the blackest gloom we may be quite *happy*. (1764)

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13 Heikkinen & Tissari (2002, 67) point out that this is not given in the OED. Similarly, negative emotions can stand for a negative response, e.g. in the colloquial *'fraid so* (Tissari 2007).

### 3.9 Drama (165 hits: *happy, happier, happiest, happiness*)

The main cause here is social relationships, whether meeting people, spending time with them, or getting married. Sometimes the extracts suggest that happiness can be achieved through doing or being something (e.g. *trying harder* 1977), but the effect may be ironic:

(26) Yes, to be idle, selfish, and useless: that is, to be beautiful and free and *happy*: hasn't every man desired that with all his soul for the woman he loves? (1895)

The expression *to make someone happy* also occurs several times:

(27) Name it, my angel, this moment, and make me the *happiest* of mankind! (1775)

The physiological effects mentioned in drama include: (1) looking happy, smiling, (2) being bewildered, giddy, or distracted, not being able to express what one feels, not knowing what to do, say, or think, and (3) tears and crying. It is interesting that what Kövecses calls INTERFERENCE WITH NORMAL MENTAL FUNCTIONING is at least as typical as looking happy (e.g. 1990, 89).

What do happy people do, then? They embrace each other, shake each other's hands, think about their happiness, tell other people about it, and weep. Crying is ambiguous because it can also signal the opposite emotion. Similarly, laughter may accompany derision.

There are several kinds of words and expressions which tend to appear in close proximity to *hap(p)\** words and suggest related concepts. These include words and expressions for the partly overlapping categories of (1) family members (e.g. *my old father*), (2) one's beloved (*my dear*), (3) marriage (*bride*), (4) commending people (*beautiful, really and truly a good woman*), (5) thanking people (*a thousand thanks*), (6) virtues (*an honest man*), (7) positive emotions (*hope*), (8) fortunate or pleasant circumstances (*surpasses my most sanguine hopes*), and (9) financial issues (*to refund the money*).

As an imitation of spoken language, drama relies more on the context and provides us with less explicit suggestions for related concepts than the other registers. To give an example, the following extract contains 'positive expressions', but does not directly convey their cause. Rather, it suggests that happiness attracts intensifiers and exclamations:

(28) *Sally*: Oh, Larry, I feel like nothing on earth! I feel real mad! and I'm so *happy*! I've never been so *happy* in my life.

*Larry*: Bless you, Sal!

*Sally*: Aren't you *happy*?

*Larry*: Yes ... if this could last for ever.

*Sally*: For ever and ever! (1935)

It is also possible to interpret ex. (28) in terms of a metaphor, HAPPINESS IS MADNESS. A similar idea is conveyed in ex. (29). The physiological effect INTERFERENCE WITH NORMAL MENTAL FUNCTIONING suggests a metonymic basis for this metaphor.

(29) *Butler*: Oh, Sir! the Family is turn'd upside down. We are almost distracted; the *happiest* People! (1731)

Drama nevertheless does not appear to be particularly rich in metaphors. The most common metaphor seems to be HAPPINESS IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY, as in exs. (30) and (31). In (30), the interpretation is based on the verbs *enjoy* and *contribute*.

(30) I'll tell you what, Frank: the greatest pleasure an honest man can enjoy aboard of this world is to contribute to the *happiness* of the whole crew. (1776)

(31) I have the *happiness* of being engaged to her for the next quadrille! (1889)

We may also note that the characters in the plays use *hap(p)\** words in order to be introduced in a polite and refined manner, as suggested by exs. (31) and (32):

(32) But to be known to so worthy a person as you are, would be so great an honour, so extraordinary a *happiness*, that I could not avoid taking this opportunity of tendering you my service. (1680)

A further characteristic of drama is that people speak in oxymorons:

(33) Well, certainly I am the *happiest* toad! (1680)

(34) If I gave her cause she'd be delighted – be miserably *happy*. (1871) <sup>14</sup>

This leads us nicely to concepts opposed to HAPPINESS. Above all, these seem to involve PROBLEMS IN HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS, such as exploiting one's position, setting people against each other, being ungrateful, having one's heart broken, having no friends, getting disappointed, and so on. That there is something problematic may

<sup>14</sup> A reviewer read *miserably* in terms of intensification, a topic discussed in section 5.2. While writing this, I focused more on its pejorative quality (cf. OED [*miserably*, adv. 5]).



be signalled through negation (e.g. *it's no use*) or through adjectives such as *poor* or *tragic*. Moreover, whereas people are commended in many positive statements concerning their wisdom and virtue, VICE and FOOLISHNESS are contrary to HAPPINESS (e.g. *abus'd, caprices, crime, foolish girl, false woman*).

### 3.10 Fiction (271 hits: *happy, happier, happiest, happily, happiness, hapiness*)

A major cause of happiness here is marriage:

(35) From that *happy* day Caesar took Clemene for his wife ... (1688)

If we broaden the cause to love in general, we cover even more cases, for example:

(36) Wherever fortune has thrown me, it has been my *happiness* to imagine myself in love with some divine creature or other ... (1789)

Although many of the causes relate to sociability and the family, they are varied, and include being saved from alcoholism, being able to educate one's children, and getting a work contract – the last being one of a number of financial causes. There are religious and idealistic causes, such as *believing in all good things of life and humanity* (1895), dying in a calm manner, and *the possession of the heavenly truth* (1728). There are less idealistic causes, such as getting rid of one's wife, and *chastising someone without murdering him, and without giving any advantage over [one's] own life* (1753). The description of concepts related to HAPPINESS below suggests more causes, such as beauty and pleasure (cf. ex. 36).

The physiological effects of HAPPINESS and LOVE go together, affirming the connection between the two, and yielding tremblings and sighs, paleness, and a *rising heart* (1696). Happiness is attested in people's looks and in the sound of their voices. A lengthy passage suggests that when a male singer's voice is deep and generous, he sounds happy, and like a *romantic lover* (1926). Another extract suggests that when people are happy, they cease to pay attention to any sounds that they are not interested in, such as boring speeches. Smiles and laughter may be categorised as either physiological effects or behavioural reactions, because they may, but need not be, consciously "performed".<sup>15</sup>

Fiction provides us with the largest set of behavioural reactions, which could be very generally divided into gestures, looks, and words. In addition, happiness is reported to occur together with music, dance, and drinking.

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<sup>15</sup> Ekman (2003) is a recent book on a related topic, the regulation and recognition of facial expressions.



To specify, people's gestures may involve embraces, nods, grabbing a person's hands, bowing, kisses, and even licking one's lips (at the sight of a woman). The movement can be further extended:

(37) Well ... well ... This is indeed a *happy* reunion. Berlin is herself once more. I propose that we adjourn to my room and drink a glass in celebration ... (1935)

That looking is involved is suggested by such verbs as *watch* and *stare*, perhaps also *nod*. However, such instances are not nearly as frequent as expressions having to do with saying or uttering something. More specifically, one might mention exclamations, especially *Oh!*, giving thanks, and praying, but common verbs such as *speak* and *answer* in themselves also indicate speech acts.

Concepts related to HAPPINESS could be summarised in the five categories of LOVE, BEAUTY, PLEASURE, VIRTUE, and the somewhat fuzzier DESIGN/ORDER/PURPOSE, which all more or less belong together. In any case, the data suggest a social (at times religious) order, within which people are searching for personal happiness, or arranging for other people's happiness, often marriages, through communicating with each other (and with God).

Beauty is conveyed by such details as descriptions of people's bodies, clothes and possessions, and of landscapes, as in ex. (38).

(38) ... way off in the distance, were all these mountains covered with snow. It was a beautiful *happy* picture but it seemed more beautiful because the concourse was so cold and bare and had nothing *happy* about it. (1967)

Presumably, beauty goes with pleasure, but pleasure is also indicated by words such as *delight*, *luxurious*, *pleasure(s)*, and *satisfaction*, whereas virtue is suggested by expressions such as *the reputation to be a woman of a sound judgment* (1702), and *thy holy attachment to that good lady* (1764), just to give a few examples. It seems most important to note that beauty can be associated with order, love with virtue, and so on.<sup>16</sup>

There is a tension between concepts related and concepts opposed to HAPPINESS, as illustrated by ex. (38), in which there is a contrast between the beautiful landscape and the cold and bare concourse. More generally, it is not simply that concepts opposed to LOVE, BEAUTY, PLEASURE, VIRTUE, and DESIGN/ORDER/PURPOSE are opposed to HAPPINESS, but that these may also disagree with each other: virtue with pleasure,

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16 The data could be discussed in terms of the history of Western philosophy, not only in terms of the concept of HAPPINESS, the topic of White (2006), for example, but also in terms of the concepts of ART, BEAUTY, ORDER, and so on. I realised this when I was reading Bahr on Thomas Aquinas (1965, 50–53).

love with order, beauty with purpose. In addition, SADNESS/MELANCHOLY and WORRY/ANXIETY stand out as opposites to HAPPINESS.

(39) Beside, when I think of leaving this house, my heart saddens at the thought, and tells me I cannot be *happy* out of it ... (1778)

Metaphors of containment, such as EMOTIONS ARE IN THE HEART, and the metaphor HAPPINESS IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY compete for popularity in this register, but the latter is ultimately more frequent. This register provides more metaphors than the others. Here are three examples:

(40) HAPPINESS IS A DRINK: I drank large draughts of *happiness* in the endearing company and conversation of my dear Zobeide, and one dear child, a daughter. (1797)

(41) HAPPINESS IS FOOD: I have tasted some momentary intervals of *happiness* ... (1664)

(42) HAPPINESS IS UP: ... she will meet a man, young and handsome too, who will rise her to wealth, *happiness* and grandeur. (1847)

One characteristic of fiction is that people reminisce and think about the happiness which they once had. This is one source of metonymic expressions (*intervals of happiness*, ex. 41).

It can be difficult to say in what way and to what extent an expression is metonymic. Ex. (43) either suggests that the squire came out in the manner of a happy person (less metonymic), or that his coming out made somebody else happy (more metonymic), or both (even more metonymic).

(43) *Happily*, the Squire came out too, and gave a loud greeting to her father ... (1861)

## 4 More on the Second Set of Words (*joy*\*)

### 4.1 Science (1 hit: *joy*)

Here, too, the cause is science itself, but there is more emphasis on the intensity of the emotion:

(44) ... I was not a little transported with *Joy* in the perusal of Honourable Mr. Boyle's Essay Instrument ... (1675)

The verb *transport* is sporadically used with *hap(p)\**, but it is much more characteristic of *joy\**, suggesting the metaphor JOY IS A RAPTURE OR JOY IS MOVEMENT (OUT OF THE ORDINARY).

#### 4.2 Medicine (1 hit: *joy*)

The single hit again suggests something out of the ordinary:

(45) The melancholic ascribes his depression to the burden of sin. The maniac attributes his *joy* to increased wealth, or accounts for his anger by detailing the plots of his enemies. (1868)

JOY IS UP is indirectly suggested by the adjectival participle *increased*. Most evidently, there is a connection between JOY and INTERFERENCE WITH NORMAL MENTAL FUNCTIONING, but while in the case of HAPPINESS this interference tends to be evaluated positively, here it is suspect. MELANCHOLY and ANGER are opposed to JOY, while MANIA is related to it.

#### 4.3 Additional American Literature (4 hits: *joy*, *joys*)

This scanty data mainly suggests physiological effects and behavioural reactions, emphasising that happiness affects the heart. In ex. (46), the cause of joy is an anticipated meal (note also a possible connection between *high* and JOY IS UP):

(46) ... Throbs high his breast with fond anticipation, And prelibates the *joys* of mastication. (1823)

Another physiological effect of joy is a *trembling hand* (1845). Jumping is mentioned as a behavioural reaction. This data also suggests that joy makes people act in haste and excitement.

#### 4.4 News (13 hits: *joy*, *joyous*)

The causes of joy here appear no different from the causes of happiness, but the behavioural reactions suggest a difference in the intensity of celebrating the good event. These include bonfires, decorating a city with lights, discharging guns in the castle, drinking, erecting triumphal arches, fireworks, greeting a person with enthusiastic cheers, and parading.

The metaphor JOY IS UP is signalled in several ways. The direction of fireworks and triumphal arches is upwards, and as A VALUABLE COMMODITY, JOY is quantified. The following quote indicates an upward direction through *transcendent* and *highest*:

(47) ... the new federal constitution by the convention of New-York (sic), being the eleventh state, is a matter of the most transcendent *joy*, and honourable in the highest degree to the majority of that house. (1788)

The adjective *honourable* in ex. (47) exemplifies the fact that the concepts related to JOY in this register do not particularly differ from those of HAPPINESS, but concern VIRTUES, such as LOVE, HONOUR, or VALOUR.

#### 4.5 Letters (14 hits: *joy, joys, joyfull, joyful*)

Most often, the cause expressed is meeting someone, although joy may also be the direct consequence of receiving a letter. Ex. (48) also involves physiological effects and/or behavioural reactions to joy:

(48) I Reciev (sic) your Letter my Dear, with a *joy* not to be Describ'd, but in the Deepest Silence, or Expressd but in Teares. (1729)

Ex. (49) mentions a further behavioural reaction:

(49) They received the proposition with a *joy* which transported one of them to take me by the hand as a brother. (1791)

The VALUABLE COMMODITY metaphor is not as popular as with *hap(p)\** words. Rather, JOY IS A RAPTURE/A MOVEMENT OUT OF THE ORDINARY (ex. 49), or JOY IS IN THE HEART are more frequent. Joy seems to be a more private and intense experience than happiness.

Concepts related to JOY also seem to involve more intensity than those related to HAPPINESS. Such intensity is suggested by ANGEL, CHARITY, ENTHUSIASM, GREATNESS, and IMMORTALITY. More down-to-earth concepts are nevertheless also associated with JOY, including FRIENDSHIP, GRATITUDE, HEALTH, HOPE, HUMOUR, PATIENCE, and PRUDENCE.

#### 4.6 Journals-Diaries (25 hits: *joy, joys, joyful, joyous, joyously*)

The causes of joy here vary from escaping dangers, to money, to becoming a mother, i.e. it is difficult to formulate a general cause. Instead, the data offer a list of behavioural reactions: people shouting and throwing away their caps, slapping their sides with their hands and singing, dancing, giving glorious speeches, and, more generally, rejoicing, demonstrating their feelings, and *showing evident marks of exultation and joy* (1788). Ex. (50) gives a further description, involving physiological effects:

(50) Four of our sisters there, on sight of me, sunk down, unable to utter a word through *joy* and love; but they welcomed me with their tears. It was a solemn silent meeting. (1744)

That joy is something that can render one speechless is also suggested by

(51) I went off to the Gallery and there revelled till lunch in the Michael Angelo drawings. It is a quite indescribable *joy* ... (1886)

The same passage includes the physiological effect *your heart comes into your mouth*.

The metaphors locate joy in the body in general, and in the face and heart in particular, but they also suggest that people can be contained in joy:

(52) Went to Kakaako at 10 A.M. in a *joyous* mood – but was not satisfied. (1887)

Metaphors emphasising the value and quantity of joy are at least as popular:

(53) He says that my three very nice young reporters gave great *joy* to him ... (1920)

The text extracts contain a number of close synonyms to or paraphrases of *joy*, such as *comfort*, *exuberant feelings of delight*, *happiness*, *rejoicing*, and *(noble) sentiments* (cf. *satisfied* > *satisfaction* in ex. 52). Other concepts related to JOY might involve FEASTING, PATRIOTISM, and SPIRITUALITY, as these are recurrent themes.

#### 4.7 Sermons-Homilies (38 hits: *joy, joyful*)

The causer here mainly appears to be God. A number of behavioural reactions are mentioned: being merry, dancing, drinking, eating, making music, praise, rejoicing, shouting, singing, and thanking. *Devout Exultation* (1715), *pious ejaculation* (17xx), and *joyful acclamations* (1789) comprise subcategories of praise.

Considering the size of the data, many metaphors appear. Here are some examples:

(54) JOY IS IN THE HEART: Great, then, and heart-felt is our *joy*. And to what shall we, in our measure, compare it save to the exultation which filled the breasts of the [early] Christians ... (1910)

(55) EMOTIONS ARE CAPTIVE ANIMALS: When the affections so kindly break loose, *Joy* is another name for religion. (17xx)

(56) (e.g.) JOY IS OIL: Why, then, are we so soon called forth to change our beauty for ashes, the oil of *joy* for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness? (1779)

(57) JOY IS A DRINK/FLUID(/LIGHT): They go to it as to an inexhaustible fountain and drink from it streams of sacred light and *joy*. (1824)

This register also favours metonymies of joy. In ex. (58), the noun *joy* comes to stand for God as the source of joy:

(58) ... no real contact of the heart with the best of beings, unless it makes us continually resort to Him as our chief *joy*. (1824)

JOY is associated not only with PIETY but also with (POSITIVE) EMOTIONS AND STATES in general, with AFFECTION(S), COMFORT, EMOTION(S), ENERGY, ENJOYMENT, FEELING, HOPE, LIBERTY, LIFE, and SENTIMENT(S). It also ought to be mentioned that JOY is associated with (THE BANQUET OF) HEAVEN.

There is a special phrase for entering Heaven, *to finish one's course with joy*, which appears twice, once in a Biblical quotation. It can be understood as a metonymic link between joy and its expressions. *With joy* may be paraphrased "with my hands raised and with shouts", because this phrase refers to a race.

(59) But none of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with *joy*, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God. (1789 / Acts 20: 24)

#### 4.8 Drama (39 hits: *joy, joys, joyous*)

The causes here tend to be social, ranging from honour to the safe return of friends, and from a journey to marriage and happiness over one's children. The physiological effects include palpitations of the heart, tears and weeping,<sup>17</sup> and not being able to think, perhaps also a feeling of suffocation:

(60) ... you may presently let her know, how happy she is in my affection: but let her know it gently, and by degrees, let [sic, read: lest] too sudden *joy* suffocate her spirits. (1671)

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<sup>17</sup> In the earlier discussion, I have included weeping in behavioural reactions to happiness. Indeed it can also be considered a conscious act, but whether a behavioural reaction need be the result of a conscious decision is also disputable.

Behavioural reactions include embracing, handshaking, singing, dancing, laughing, shouting, cheering, music, and smiles. More generally, the data talks about *expressions of joy* (1799).

Concepts related to JOY could be grouped under the headings MARRIAGE, PLEASURE, SOCIABILITY, and SPIRITUALITY. These, in turn, would then involve matters such as *glittering Trifles* (1686, PLEASURE), FAITHFULNESS, LOVE, SINCERITY (MARRIAGE), CHEERFULNESS, FRIENDSHIP, WISHES (SOCIABILITY), and BLESSINGS, PRAYER, AND HEAVEN (SPIRITUALITY). Extract (61) exemplifies MARRIAGE:

(61) Truly, I cannot but weep for *joy*, to think how happy I am in a sincere, faithful, and loving yoke-fellow. (1680)

Concepts opposed to JOY include DEATH, FEAR, ILLNESS, POVERTY, REGRET, and REPULSE. Metaphorically, JOY is mainly seen in terms of either containment or A VALUABLE COMMODITY.

#### 4.9 Fiction (74 hits: *joy, joys, joyes, joyful, joyfully, joyous, over-joy*)

The causes of joy here are both social and spiritual. They also often have to do with sight: sighting land from the sea, seeing a friend or a beloved person, seeing a beautiful woman, even imaginary visions. The following also involves a physiological effect:

(62) ... in a minute he saw her face, her shape, her air, her modesty, and all that call'd for this Soul with *joy* at his eyes, and left his body almost destitute of life ... (1688)

Other physiological effects include body heat, facial expressions, forgetfulness, *glowing* (1787, perhaps of the face, or then of the whole body), heart *dilating* (*their hearts would dilate with joy*, 1793),<sup>18</sup> being unable to speak, recovery from illness, sparkling eyes, standing without moving, and tears/weeping. Because the concepts of LOVE and JOY overlap in many extracts, it is difficult to say to what extent these are physiological effects of joy, or of love, even desire, as in the case of a man's eyes rolling and drool running down his beard. A description of lovers talks about *the silent language of the eyes* and suggests that a person might die of love (1696). Interestingly, a text from 1728 suggests a kind of opposite to INTERFERENCE WITH NORMAL MENTAL FUNCTIONING, claiming that spiritual joy is accompanied by an *enlargement of the faculties of the mind*, an *exact remembrance*, a *perfect consciousness*, and an ability to compose one's restless thoughts.

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18 In the sense given in the OED as "to make wider or larger; to increase the width of, widen; to expand, amplify, enlarge" (*dilate* v2: 1).



Many behavioural reactions are also mentioned. Apart from making music and dancing, these include hailing with loud cries, glad exclamations, laughter, taking another person by their hand, running into people's arms and embracing them, and asking a lot of questions. Most of the reactions are summarised in the expression *the voice of festivity and joy* (1728). Several of these reactions follow from joy caused by meetings, and the celebration of a wedding may also be seen as one. Staring at another person might also be considered a reaction in itself:

(63) ... looking more heedfully, Oh how pleas'd was he to behold his lov'd Bileront; such *Joy* fill'd their delighted Souls, there was no room for words. (1696)

Similarly, being silent or ceasing to play one's instrument may be considered behavioural reactions:

(64) how ineffable the vision! fullness of *joy* is in his presence, rapture and inexpressible extasy: the fairest seraph stops his lute ... (1728)

Or consider:

(65) ... the sky was like a school let loose, with the *joy* of wind and rain again. (1872)

When *let loose* refers to children, this is a behavioural reaction associated with their joy.<sup>19</sup> However, it is expressed metaphorically, which makes it a metaphor embedded in metaphor.

Metaphors in fact characteristically attend the *joy*\* words in this register. They often convey MADNESS, RAPTURE OR TRANSPORT. Joy is seen to move its experiencers to another reality, out of the ordinary, and perhaps, rational plane of existence.

(66) Tho' I have much natural Tenderness, yet, I believe, I shall not readily fall into the *Joys* of a Mystick, and feel the Raptures that attend the heated Pietist. (1737)

Metaphors conveying containment, value or quantity are also popular. Related concepts certainly include BEAUTY (ex. 62), LOVE (ex. 63), and SPIRITUALITY (ex. 64 and 66). The data also contains many near-synonyms and paraphrases, such as *delight*, *enthusiasm*, *glad*, *happy/happiness*, *pleasure*, and *satisfaction* (or, *pleas'd* in 63, *extasy* in 64, and *Raptures* in 66).

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<sup>19</sup> Another possibility is to see their *letting loose* as the cause of the children's joy.



DEATH and GRIEF appear to be frequent antitheses to JOY. POOR LIVING AND WORKING CONDITIONS are also mentioned several times. IMMORALITY and UNSOCIABILITY can be added to the list.

## 5 Discussion

### 5.1 Differences between Registers

The analysis suggests a different ‘happiness profile’ for each register. Registers differ not only in the frequency of the relevant words, but also in how these words are used. Table 4 attempts to capture the latter differences by qualitatively characterising the registers in such terms as might further distinguish between them (cf. Table 2).

Register	Cause(s) of happiness	Related concepts	Metaphor-metonymy
Drama	encounters	less explicit	relatively few (strong) metaphors
Fiction	marriage (JOY: sight)	BEAUTY	rich in metaphors and metonymic expressions
Additional American literature	domestic pleasures	AFFECTION, WARMTH	LOVE AND HAPPINESS ARE IN THE HEART
Journals-Diaries	travel	LEISURE (opposite: UNEVENTFULNESS)	GOOD IS UP (JOY: BODY AND FACE)
Legal opinion	abstract needs	SOCIETY AT LARGE	HAPPINESS IS THE RESULT OF HUMAN ACTION
Letters	social correspondence	EVERYDAY VIRTUES	VALUABLE COMMODITY
Medicine	medical work	ILLNESS, HEALTH	metonymy preferred to metaphor
News	political events	HONOUR, SECURITY	metonymy preferred to metaphor (JOY IS UP)
Science	scientific work	scientific concepts, organisation of scientific work	metonymy preferred to metaphor
Sermons-Homilies	theological	PRAISE	many JOY metaphors

**Table 4. Differences between registers in the ARCHER data.**

In order to find many metaphors of happiness one should preferably read fiction, but for metaphors of joy one might also take a look at sermons. Medicine, news and science differ from all the other registers not only in their low frequency of the relevant words, but also in their preference for metonymic rather than metaphorical expressions.

Drama as theatrical performance consists of ongoing action, and the meetings between people in drama are in this sense more dynamic and physical than in e.g. fiction. Compared to brief contexts from other registers, the extracts from drama seem to call for such extra information as stage directions. Further research into related concepts might take this into account and focus on the actors' movements, for example. Drama could also be compared with indirect speech in fiction. Drama opts for ordinary rather than quaint metaphors of happiness, probably to come closer to real speech.

In fiction, the topic and thus also the cause of happiness is often marriage, although this may be the goal rather than the starting-point. Descriptions of love potentially leading to marriage involve a significant amount of staring, which can be accompanied by passionate joy. Beauty plays a key role in the choice of one's partner. However, beauty is even more central to happiness in fiction, one characteristic of which is the use of descriptions. It is also in order to describe the experience of happiness or joy that many metaphors are used. Metonymies, on the other hand, indicate the circumstances of happiness, for example its timing (e.g. *one happy hour*).

The data from the additional American literature suggest an image of cosy domesticity as the setting for happiness, as contrasted with the wildness of the wide world. In an ideal home, everyone feels warm affection for each other. It is important that this affection is not faked but comes straight from the heart.

Journals and diaries are more difficult to summarise, because they discuss many kinds of issues, but something that clearly differs from the topics treated in the other registers is holidays and travel. Happiness is associated with leisure more often than work. The suggestion that the metaphor *GOOD IS UP* characterises this register is fairly tentative.

Legal texts seem to involve a subregister which discusses human happiness on a rather general and abstract level, and considers society at large. This is different from the other registers, in which happiness and joy are quite personal. It also seems likely that where such texts use metaphors of happiness, they have a set of metaphors of their own. A potential candidate is *HAPPINESS IS THE RESULT OF HUMAN ACTION*.<sup>20</sup>

Letters are an extension of conversing with other people in their absence, and in many ways the usage of the *hap(p)\** words in them reflects this. Social responsibilities and gestures which cannot be conducted through speech or shown by the body are

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20 Whether this is a metaphor is a separate discussion. The human action in question could be fairly immaterial, e.g. a declaration. It is also relevant to discuss the abstractness of the concept of *HAPPINESS*. Current happiness research claims that happiness is less immaterial and vague than we might think (Frey & Stutzer 2005, I thank Anne Birgitta Pessi for this reference).

set down in writing. The virtues recommended in the letters may be seen as guidelines for successful everyday life and communication. The VALUABLE COMMODITY metaphor for HAPPINESS appears to be especially suited to this kind of communication.

Medicine and science are clearly different from the other registers in terms of their topics, and prefer metonymy to metaphor. News also deals with a specific set of events, but is not as clearly different from, say, journals and diaries. However, it belongs to the same set of texts as medicine and science in that it seems to provide us with metonymies rather than metaphors. To distinguish it from other registers, one might emphasise that it often deals with honour and security, rather than love.

Sermons and homilies are, by their nature, theological texts, which distinguishes them from the other registers. However, several of the other registers contain individual passages discussing spiritual experiences. Similarly, praise of God is not solely the province of these texts, although it is something which is typical of them. What best seems to distinguish this from the other registers is the writers' frequent use of *joy*\* words and their metaphors.<sup>21</sup>

## 5.2 Differences between HAPPINESS and JOY

It is quite clear from the two sets of data that there is a difference in intensity between HAPPINESS and JOY. HAPPINESS is a kind of norm, while JOY is often associated with something beyond the ordinary, often but not always in a positive sense. To put it another way, JOY is more like an emotion. Extracts with *joy*\* words provide us with proportionally more physiological effects, behavioural reactions, and conceptual metaphors than *hap(p)*\* extracts.

Sometimes the difference between *hap(p)*\* words and *joy*\* words may be mainly stylistic, the latter having connotations of both intensity and solemnity. An author or speaker might wish to use *joy*\* instead of *hap(p)*\* words in order to emphasise the extraordinary nature of the experience (cf. ex. 47/news, 48/letters, 54/sermon, 64/fiction). Paradoxically, the more frequent the *joy*\* words become, the less emphasis they convey.

That HAPPINESS and JOY both overlap and diverge is suggested also by the translations of these words, for example from English into Finnish. While the noun *happiness* is supposed to be translated as *onnellisuus*, *onni*, the adjective *happy* translates as both *onnellinen* and *iloinen* (Hurme, Pesonen & Syväoja 2003). *Joy* may best correspond to *riemu*, but it is also close to *ilo*.

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<sup>21</sup> Cardinal's definition of God as happiness and love in fact summarises the spiritual aspects of the ARCHER data fairly well (1977 [1970], 59: "Dios es felicidad porque es amor, y porque es la felicidad del amor.")

In Tuovila's Present-Day Finnish data, *ilo* is twice as frequent as *onni* – *ilo* is in fact the most frequent of all the emotion words. She also suggests that *ilo* is cognitively more salient than *onni* (2005, 66 & 71). This is in line with Stefanowitsch's results for Present-Day English *happiness* and *joy*, of which the latter is more frequent (2006, 82). The two languages may not be entirely comparable, though: the word *love* occurs more than 22,000 times in the *British National Corpus*, which is about twenty-two times the frequency of the word *joy*. In Tuovila's data, *rakkaus* ('love') is about as frequent as *ilo* (2005, 66).

It is noteworthy that the *hap(p)\** words are more frequent than the *joy\** words in ARCHER. Rissanen says that the word *happiness* began to be used in a period in which more and more people were able to experience a "heightened feeling of contentment, harmony and balance, not necessarily caused either by purely material or other-worldly factors" (1997, 247). In Present-Day English such contentment does not seem to be enough, but people look for more intense emotional experiences. This also suggests a further research question: in what ways may 'intensity' mark positive emotion(s), or even more generally, positive experiences, and are there differences between historical periods in this respect? <sup>22</sup>

### 5.3 On CONTAINERS, COMMODITIES and Metaphor Identification

It has been suggested that HAPPINESS, even JOY, is most often conceptualised in terms of containment or COMMODITY/EXCHANGE. This is remarkably similar to my findings for *love* (Tissari 2003, 380 et passim). It seems that these metaphors may not distinguish emotion concepts from other concepts. It is therefore understandable that they do not play as prominent a role in Kövecses's analysis (1990) as in mine. However, they seem to call for special attention. One reason is that an analysis focusing on these metaphors could further distinguish between what Goatly calls active metaphors, as opposed to sleeping and dead ones (1997, 32). Another is that these metaphors can tell us a lot about human thought and social relationships.<sup>23</sup>

Moreover, I actually hesitate in deciding which of the two metaphors is more frequent in various registers. The more one considers even brief extracts of texts, the more potential concepts one notices, which suggest links to metaphorical source domains.

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<sup>22</sup> See Ullmann (1972 [1962], 128–140) for a relevant discussion of "emotive overtones" in meaning.

<sup>23</sup> Saarinen introduces contemporary approaches to gift-giving (2005, 15–35).

## 5.4 On Concepts, Metaphor and Metonymy

To put it another way, language seems to be more metaphorical than one would expect, but in a less straightforward manner (cf. Deignan 2005, 210–213, 223–224 et passim). One cannot necessarily tell the difference between a ‘metaphor’ and a ‘concept’; indeed, a metaphorical source domain is a concept as well. That metaphor and metonymy may be difficult to distinguish from each other is a well-known fact (e.g. Goossens 1995). To give an example, the metaphor *HAPPINESS IS IN THE FACE* is also a physiological effect and a behavioural reaction of happiness, and the expression *happy faces* may metonymically stand for smiling people. Cultural and social expectations are involved in expecting people to smile on certain occasions and in expecting this to convey happiness. Sometimes such expectations make people resort to more or less formulaic phrases to communicate happiness (cf. ex. 4, 11, 20, 31). They are part of the notion of register as well and have been considered in that respect in this article.

To develop this study, it would seem reasonable to allow even more overlap between the various categories of concepts, and to examine the conceptual networks around *HAPPINESS* and *JOY* more holistically, taking into account not only the fact that concepts may be linked both through metaphor (comparison) and metonymy (contiguity), but also further cultural and/or social factors (cf. Diller, in this volume), in addition to register.

There are always several views to take on linguistic data. This article highlights the richness and informative, indeed concept-forming, capacity of ordinary language, and suggests a bridge between linguistics and other academic disciplines.

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<sup>24</sup> *Kun on tunteet* refers to the title of a collection of short stories by Maria Jotuni, one of the first Finnish female authors.