
DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

METAPHORICAL CONCEPTUALISATION OF ANGER, FEAR AND SADNESS IN ENGLISH

Orazgozel Esenova

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DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

Most emotion concepts that people use in their everyday lives are metaphorically structured and understood. Therefore, the study of metaphor becomes significant for adequate understanding of emotional reality. This thesis, written within the framework of cognitive linguistics, examines the metaphors of anger, fear and sadness embedded in the conceptual system of English speakers and explores the role of various bodily and cultural factors in the creation of those metaphors. The metaphors chosen map the source domains of CONTAINER, ANIMAL, SUPERNATURAL BEING, HIDDEN ENEMY, TORMENTOR, SMELL, TASTE, PLANT, MIXED SUBSTANCE and PURE SUBSTANCE onto the target domains of ANGER, FEAR and SADNESS.

Although there is a large body of research on emotion metaphors, much remains unknown in this field. For instance, while it is an established fact that emotion concepts often arise from bodily experience, we do not yet have full knowledge of corporeal experiences giving rise to such concepts. For example, little is understood about the role of such fundamental physiological experiences as child containment, voice production, smell and taste perception in the metaphorical conceptualisation of emotions. Due to this, the thesis undertakes to explore the role of these experiences in the structuring of our everyday concepts of anger, fear and sadness. Moreover, we have scant knowledge about the importance of the following basic experiences in the conceptualisation of emotions: human interaction with animal species such as horses, snakes, birds, etc., and the cultural views resulting from it; folk beliefs about the supernatural, agricultural experience of growing plants and the practice of mixing different substances. The thesis investigates whether humans make use of their knowledge of the above-mentioned physical domains in their understanding of anger, fear and sadness. The outcome of the study demonstrates that in the conceptual system of English there are a number of anger, fear and sadness metaphors based on these experiences. Furthermore, the thesis partly examines the scope of some emotion metaphors analysed in the study. It also provides evidence for the stability of many emotion metaphors presented over long periods of time.

The thesis employs an interdisciplinary approach which means that the outcome of the study is assessed in relation to the findings from other related fields. The linguistic data of the study has been obtained from multiple sources such as dictionaries, the BNC, and the Internet by using two data retrieval methods: a) the source-domain-oriented approach; b) the Internet/corpus search method. Such a combination of methods enables identifying and retrieving a large number of metaphorical emotion expressions.

Keywords: cognitive linguistics, conceptual metaphor, emotion, emotion metaphor, anger metaphor, fear metaphor, sadness metaphor, metaphor scope, experiential basis of metaphor.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHDE	The American Heritage ® Dictionary of the English Language
BNC	The British National Corpus
CALD	The Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary
CED	Collins English Dictionary
CMT	Conceptual Metaphor Theory
CTEL	Collins Thesaurus of the English Language
DARE	The Dictionary of American Regional English
KEMD	Kemerman English Multilingual Dictionary
LDOCE	Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English
M-W	Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary and Thesaurus
OED	The Online Dictionary, Encyclopaedia and Thesaurus
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
WRUD	Webster’s Revised Unabridged Dictionary
viz.	namely
etc.	et cetera

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Some Traditional and Contemporary Attitudes towards Emotions

In Western culture human faculties have long been viewed as being organised in a hierarchical order. In that hierarchy, emotions were granted only a peripheral role whereas reason was considered as superior to all other faculties of the soul. The belief in the supremacy of reason was so strong that this had led many to the fallacious assumption that reason alone is a perfect guide to truth and human behaviour and that no emotion should be involved in human judgment and decision making. Within the framework of this view, emotions were often considered as vestiges of human evolution, an impediment to the proper functioning of rationality rather than a benefit. Especially, such a worldview was characteristic of the philosophical school of Stoicism. For example, in the excerpt presented below, the famous philosopher Seneca portrays emotion as the worst enemy of reason (see, Seneca, <http://praxeology.net/seneca2.htm>. Accessed: 01.04.10):

Reason herself, to whom the reins of power have been entrusted, remains mistress only so long as she is kept apart from the passions: if once she mingles with them and is contaminated, she becomes unable to hold back those whom she might have cleared from her path. For when once the mind has been aroused and shaken, it becomes the slave of the disturbing agent.

It should be mentioned that such views can be encountered not only in philosophical treatises and essays but also in the way people reason about their emotions. For example:

- (1) Emotions *clouded* his judgment (CED in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/cloud>. Accessed: 01.04.10).
- (2) Emotional arguments *aside*, here are the facts (CTEL in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/aside>. Accessed: 01.04.10).

Obviously, in both metaphorical expressions presented above, emotion is conceived of as something that is irrational, something that impairs rational, objective judgment.

Another highly widespread view of emotions in Western culture is the idea of the separateness of emotion from reason. Many modern scholars believe that such erroneous attitudes about emotion stem from the Cartesian philosophy which considered the mind as an entity separate from the body and emotions. However, such traditional assumptions on emotion have been challenged by recent findings in the field of neurological studies. For instance, in his work *Descartes' Error: Emotion, Reason, and the Human Brain*, Antonio Damasio provides empirical evidence that runs contrary to the idea of emotion-reason split (see, Damasio, 1994).

The author demonstrates clearly and convincingly that there is a close relationship between emotion and reason. The main idea that the scholar puts forward is that it is impossible to make a sensible judgment without emotions.

For example, it is known that the frontal lobe of the brain controls such important human functions as motor activity, mood and the ability to make decisions, etc. Damasio's study shows that patients with damaged frontal lobes are incapable of making sensible decisions. Thus, Damasio's research ascribes emotions a key role in decision-making. The crucial role of emotions in human life is also recognised by cognitive linguists. For instance, one of the founders of *The Conceptual Metaphor Theory* G. Lakoff claims that "Real reason is inexplicably tied up with emotion; you cannot be rational without being emotional" (see, Lakoff, <http://blog.buzzflash.com/contributors/3014>. Accessed: 01.04.10). Given the above-mentioned findings, emotions become an attractive subject of study for specialists working within different scientific fields.

Since the emergence of cognitive linguistics in the 1980s, many researchers have attempted to explain the ways in which language mirrors the underlying conceptual structures that people use to make sense of the surrounding world. It has been suggested that abstract, difficult-to-understand concepts such as ideas, desires, and emotions are commonly comprehended in terms of more basic concepts (see, Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Kövecses, 2002). For example, in their famous work *Metaphors We Live By*, G. Lakoff and M. Johnson demonstrate how such concrete concepts as war, money, magic, brittle object, etc., are systematically used as sources for the understanding of more elusive concepts such as argument, time, love, mind, etc (see, Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

Emotion is an extremely subtle and complex phenomenon and as such it is systematically comprehended via other more tangible things such as natural forces ((3) *stormy* passions); bodily containment ((4) She could no longer *contain* her anger and shouted at him uncontrollably); wild animals ((5) He kept a *tight leash* on his emotions); opponent ((6) He has finally *conquered* his fear of spiders); spatial concepts ((7) She's been really *down* since her husband died); light and darkness ((8) He was *radiating* joy and happiness; (9) a *somber* mood); temperature ((10) He greeted us both with *warmth*; (11) needed time for tempers *to cool*); nutrient ((12) a *hunger* for affection); illness ((13) *sick* with worry); madness ((14) *mad* with jealousy)¹, etc. A significant body of research has shown clearly and convincingly that emotions are not merely bodily sensations but have a conceptual content (see, Kövecses, 1990, 2000a).

The current study, which is written within the framework of cognitive linguistics, examines the metaphorical mappings from the following general source domains CONTAINER, ANIMAL, SUPERNATURAL BEING, HIDDEN ENEMY, TORMENTOR, SMELL, TASTE, PLANT, MIXED SUBSTANCE and PURE SUBSTANCE onto the target domains of ANGER,

¹ The metaphorical expression (3) is taken from WRUD in *dict.die.net* (see, <http://dictionary.die.net/stormy>); (4), (6), (7), (8) are retrieved from the CALD (see, respectively, http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/contain_2; <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/conquer>; http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/down_15; http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/radiate_2) (5) is taken from the CED in the ODET (see, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/leash>); (10) from CTEL in the ODET (see, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/warmth>); and (9), (11), (13), (14) and (15) are taken from the AHDE in the ODET (see, respectively, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/somber>; <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/cool>; <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/hunger>; <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/sick>; <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/mad>). All the examples mentioned above were accessed: 01.04.10.

FEAR and SADNESS. It contributes to research in the field by providing further evidence that emotions are consistently structured and understood metaphorically.

1.2. The Choice of the Source Domains

Despite that an impressive body of evidence has been accumulated over the years to verify that most emotion concepts are metaphorically structured and understood, the role of certain source domains and experiences in the conceptualisation of emotions is not yet fully researched. For example, cognitive linguists claim that most central metaphors that people use are based on bodily experience. Yet not all bodily experiences that potentially may give rise to emotion metaphors have been investigated. For instance, we do not know much about whether the physical ability of taste and smell perception may motivate emotion metaphors. Hence the choice of the source domains of TASTE and SMELL is explained by the necessity of examining this subject. Yet in all fairness it must be admitted that according to E. Sweetser's study, the sense of smell has few abstract or mental connotations in English (see, Sweetser, 1991: 37). However, the author's hypothesis has not yet been tested empirically in the context of metaphorical emotion language.

Another important bodily experience is that of physiological containment. We know from previous research that container metaphors for emotion are typically grounded in that experience. Child containment or pregnancy is an integral part of bodily containment. Therefore, this experience could potentially give rise to the formation of some container metaphors. However, we have limited knowledge about whether child containment or pregnancy serves as the basis for metaphorical conceptualisation of emotions. To examine this issue, the CONTAINER source domain was chosen.

I have also decided to investigate the possible role of another prominent bodily experience in the metaphorical conceptualisation of emotions; that of voice production. A close interconnection between voice and emotion has long been known in psychology and other related disciplines. However, what is less comprehended is whether such a link between voice and emotion may give rise to the formation of conceptual emotion metaphors. During the course of such an investigation, I came across a specific group of metaphorical container expressions in which voice is conceptualised as a container for anger, sadness and fear. They are clustered under their conceptual voice metaphors. Finally, the study also scrutinises some other container metaphors for emotion where the containers conveyed are the head and the heart. Such metaphors are also motivated by the experience of bodily containment.

What is more, we know from previous research that emotions are commonly understood in terms of such general animal source domains like CAPTIVE ANIMAL (see, Kövecses, 2000a). However, what still remains to be researched is whether some specific animal domains like HORSE, SNAKE, BIRD and so forth can be mapped onto different emotion concepts. Therefore, these specific source domains have been chosen for investigation. Since animal experience is one of our most fundamental experiences about which we have tremendous knowledge, I assume that the metaphorical mappings from the aforementioned source domains onto emotions may exist.

Agriculture is another basic experience that has been practiced since ancient times. It is reasonable, therefore, to expect that such an experience may give rise to the metaphorical

conceptualisation of many abstract phenomena including emotions. In view of this the PLANT domain was selected for scrutiny. It should be admitted that the existence of the conceptual mappings from the source domain of PLANT onto the target domain of ANGER has already been indicated in some previous cognitive linguistic studies (see, for example, Stefanowitsch, 2006). However, such mappings have not yet been studied in a systematic way. In addition it is necessary to find out whether the PLANT source domain occurs with the target domains of FEAR and SADNESS.

In previous studies the source domains of SUPERNATURAL BEING and HIDDEN ENEMY were described as being specific to fear (see, Kövecses, 1990), though this claim has not yet been tested extensively by the research community. It was therefore decided to investigate various possible metaphorical mappings from these source domains onto the target domains of ANGER, FEAR and SADNESS. Earlier research shows that the TORMENTOR source domain occurs with FEAR (see, *ibid.*). However, it does not provide evidence of the existence of similar mappings between the TORMENTOR source domain, on the one hand, and the target domains of ANGER and SADNESS, on the other. Hence, this study examines the presence of such mappings.

In previous research, the existence of the metaphorical mappings from the PURE SUBSTANCE and MIXED SUBSTANCE source domains onto some of the emotion concepts analysed in this study has been mentioned by A. Stefanowitsch (see, Stefanowitsch, 2006). However, the metaphorical expressions manifesting such mappings have not yet been scrutinised. This is the reason for why the PURE SUBSTANCE and MIXED SUBSTANCE source domains were chosen for analysis in this investigation.

1.3. Main Hypotheses, Aims and Objectives

The main hypotheses of the thesis are the following.

1. The emotions of anger, fear, and sadness have a conceptual structure that organises our perceptions of emotional reality. It is partly shaped by metaphors whose source domains are grounded in the following experiences: a) physiological experiences, such as child containment, voice production, taste and smell sensation; b) physical practices, such as human interaction with animal species like horses, snakes, and birds; the agricultural experience of growing plants; the practice of mixing different substances; and c) cultural beliefs, such as folk concepts of the supernatural; cultural perceptions of different animal species.

2. The source domains that occur with anger, fear, and sadness may have application beyond the emotion domains under consideration.

The overarching aim of the thesis is to investigate the existence of the conceptual mappings between the source domains chosen for analysis and the target domains of ANGER, FEAR and SADNESS and, if they exist, to find out the ways in which the resulting emotion metaphors help us conceptualise anger, fear and sadness metaphorically. An additional aim of the study is to explore the scope of the identified emotion metaphors. Through this I aim to contribute to the existing body of research on emotion metaphors. In pursuit of these goals the following research questions can be asked:

- Are there any cross-domain mappings between the source domains chosen for analysis and the target domains of ANGER, FEAR and SADNESS? If such mappings exist,

how do the resulting emotion metaphors shape our understanding of the concepts of anger, fear and sadness?

- Are the metaphors analysed in the study unique to the emotion concepts they characterise or do they have a scope of application that stretches beyond those emotion domains?

To pursue these objectives it is first and foremost necessary to define the theoretical basis of the study. This will enable us to provide an adequate account for the observed evidence. Thereafter, a method for metaphor identification needs to be established. In the following step, the metaphorical expressions of anger, fear and sadness with the source domains chosen for analysis need to be selected and systematised. It is then necessary to cluster the retrieved linguistic metaphors under their conceptual metaphors. Finally, the identified conceptual metaphors must be categorised according to their source domains and analysed. A different principle needs to be applied when grouping together the metaphors scrutinised in the chapter about the metaphor scope. It is necessary to categorise the metaphors under discussion depending on whether their target domains are represented by emotion concepts or non-emotional phenomena.

The study also demonstrates that the emotion metaphors analysed derive both from bodily and cultural experiences. This allows maintaining a balanced approach to the subject matter.

The theoretical basis of the study is the *Conceptual Metaphor Theory* that has been developed by G. Lakoff and M. Johnson (see, Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 1999).

1.4. Method and Material

Firstly, the primary material of the study consists of metaphorical expressions of anger, fear and sadness with the source domains of CONTAINER, ANIMAL, SUPERNATURAL BEING, HIDDEN ENEMY, TORMENTOR, SMELL, TASTE, PLANT, MIXED SUBSTANCE and PURE SUBSTANCE. Secondly, it is comprised of linguistic horse metaphors whose target domains are represented by a) emotions other than anger, fear and sadness; b) non-emotional phenomena.

The majority of the metaphorical expressions analysed in this research are retrieved from the following data sources: *the Internet*, *The British National Corpus*, *The Online Dictionary, Encyclopaedia and Thesaurus* (ODET), and *The Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (CALD). Most examples are taken from the first two resources. A brief characterisation of each data source employed in this study is given below.

The Internet. Over recent years the Internet has become a valuable source of research for many scientists. It provides immediate access to a huge assemblage of texts on diverse topics from which the researcher may retrieve the necessary linguistic information with the help of modern search engines. One apparent advantage of such texts is that they are predominantly expressed by means of naturally occurring language. Furthermore, since the Internet contains a large assortment of texts, this enables metaphor researchers to find diverse metaphorical expressions which would otherwise be difficult to detect.

The BNC corpus. *The British National Corpus* contains approximately 100 million words and it includes samples of both written and spoken language. Approximately 90 percent of the corpus texts come from written sources whereas the spoken material accounts for 10 per cent, respectively. The corpus material is derived from a diverse assortment of sources from the later

part of the 20th century. The material taken from written sources comprises quotations from regional and national newspapers, specialist periodicals and journals for different age groups, scientific and fiction books, unpublished letters, school and university essays, etc. The material elicited from spoken sources contains texts from informal conversation, spoken language gathered in a variety of contexts such as formal business or government meetings, radio shows, etc. The corpus data used in this study is generated by using the XAIRA concordancing programme.

The Online Dictionary, Encyclopaedia and Thesaurus (ODET). This online data resource is based on a variety of dictionaries. One major source of information on which it is grounded is *The American Heritage® Dictionary of the English Language* (AHDE), Fourth Edition. The majority of the metaphorical expressions taken from the ODET come from this dictionary. It comprises approximately 200,000 boldface terms and more than 33,000 written examples. Some linguistic metaphors retrieved from the ODET originate from *Collins English Dictionary* (CED), Sixth Edition. The extended version of the dictionary contains 250,000 word entries. The ODET is based on American English employed in the USA. Part of the linguistic material included in the ODET comes from *Collins Thesaurus of the English Language* (CTEL), Second Edition and *Kemerman English Multilingual Dictionary* (KEMD). In addition, the ODET also comprises data from *McGraw-Hill Dictionary of American Idioms and Phrasal Verbs* etc.

The Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (CALD) is published by the Oxford University Press. The dictionary includes more than 90,000 examples. In addition, it comprises 25,000 collocations. One obvious advantage of the dictionary is that it provides up-to-date vocabulary, idioms and phrases.

Some isolated examples analysed in the thesis are taken from *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary and Thesaurus* (M-W dictionary) and *The Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) and from the online dictionary *dict.die.net.* and *The Dictionary of American Regional English*. The use of multiple data sources is explained by the fact that it gives access to a large number of metaphorical expressions and hence enables the identification of complex mappings from various source domains onto the target domains under scrutiny.

Part of the linguistic data presented in this study has been gathered by employing *the source-domain-oriented approach*. The method is used to retrieve metaphorical expressions from dictionaries.

1.5. The Source-Domain-Oriented Approach

The general description of the source-domain-oriented method and of the ways in which it is applied to corpus texts is given by A. Stefanowitsch (see, Stefanowitsch, 2006). The method was initially developed for corpus texts by A. Deignan (see, Deignan, 1999). One apparent advantage of this approach is that all metaphorical expressions contain lexical items from their source domains; hence by looking for the dictionary entries for the lexical items related to particular source domains one may arrive at the metaphorical expressions of which they are a part.

Thus, in this approach, the researcher first selects individual lexical items associated with the source domains that he/she wants to investigate. Then he/she searches for the selected lexical items in a chosen data source (dictionaries and/or corpora). In the following step, the researcher retrieves the metaphorical expressions from that data source and classifies them under their

conceptual metaphors. The source domain lexical items used to retrieve the linguistic metaphors from dictionaries are indicated in the Appendix. Let us illustrate the method by example.

One source domain word selected for analysis is *unbridled* and it is related to the domain of HORSE. The following metaphorical anger expression was found in the AHDE in the ODET by searching for the word *unbridled* (<http://www.thefreedictionary.com/unbridled>). Accessed: 01.04.10):

(15) *Unbridled* anger.

In this expression, anger is described in terms of a horse. Therefore, it is placed under its conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A HORSE (see, 4.6.). Another example is taken from CED in the ODET (<http://www.thefreedictionary.com/bridled>). Accessed: 01.04.10):

(16) He *bridled* his rage.

The metaphorical expression was retrieved by looking for the source domain lexical item *bridle* and it is placed under the same conceptual metaphor.

It should be admitted, however, that together with advantages the method under consideration has its disadvantages. It is not easily applicable to the Internet texts. This is due to the large amount of irrelevant hits that the search engines provide. Just to illustrate the idea by example, one source domain investigated in this study is SNAKE. If one searches the Internet for the word *snake* associated with this source domain, the search engine will retrieve millions of irrelevant search hits. In order to circumvent this problem, a different method was used when retrieving linguistic metaphors from the Internet.

1.6. The Internet/Corpus Search Method

This method was used to retrieve metaphorical expressions from the Internet and partly from the BNC and operates as follows: words and expressions likely to appear in the metaphorical expressions being searched for are entered in the search engine's keyword entry box. The resulting linguistic metaphors are then retrieved and placed under their conceptual metaphors. This is the most widespread method applied to the Internet texts when searching for information. It is also applicable to other corpus texts. To illustrate the method by example, two search phrases appear below which have been used to find some metaphorical expressions:

(17) *Reeked of anger.*

(18) *Grief flourished.*

The linguistic metaphors which contain them can be found respectively under the conceptual metaphors ANGER IS A BAD SMELL (see, 4.7.) and SADNESS IS A PLANT (see, 6.8.). Detailed information about the search words and expressions used to retrieve the metaphorical examples from the Internet and the BNC is given in the Appendix. One obvious advantage of the method is that it makes it possible to quickly retrieve the metaphorical expressions looked for. Its disadvantage is that it is not always possible to predict which words and expressions are likely to appear in the searched metaphorical expressions.

Scientific novelty. Firstly, the study demonstrates for the first time that such bodily experiences as child containment, smell, taste perception, voice production and the source

domains associated with them play a crucial role in the metaphorical conceptualisation of anger, fear and sadness. In addition it establishes the existence of the metaphorical mappings from specific animal domains such as HORSE, SNAKE and BIRD onto the target domains under consideration. It further shows that there are systematic mappings from the PLANT, MIXED SUBSTANCE and PURE SUBSTANCE domains onto the analysed target domains. Additionally, it tests the hypothesis that the source domains of SUPERNATURAL BEING and HIDDEN ENEMY is specific to fear.

The thesis places a specific focus on the description of the above-mentioned source domains and the ways in which they help us understand the target domains to which they apply. In addition it provides linguistic evidence that the metaphors considered in the study also existed centuries ago. Furthermore, it provides evidence from other related fields such as psychology, neuropsychology, etc. to support the findings of the study. The novelty of the study is also determined by the fact that it provides a description of various folk belief systems, customs, attitudes and values reflected in the metaphors analysed in the study.

Practical importance of the study. The results generated by the study can be used in teaching the course of Cognitive Linguistics at the university level and in the preparation of metaphor dictionaries. They may also be of interest to journalists as well as for specialists working within the field of literary, cultural studies and ethnography.

The structure of the thesis. The dissertation consists of eight chapters. Chapter 1 is the introduction. It provides information about the aims and objectives, material and methods, theoretical basis, scientific novelty, practical importance of the study. It also explains the choice of the source domains analysed in the thesis. In Chapter 2 an overview of different metaphor theories is given and their approach to the subject matter is characterised. In Chapter 3 an overview of research findings on metaphorical emotion conceptualisation is given. Chapter 4 analyses the metaphorical conceptualisation of anger. Chapters 5 and 6 discuss the metaphors of fear and sadness respectively. Chapter 7 scrutinises the issue of metaphor scope and Chapter 8 summarises the major findings of the study.

Chapter 2

THEORIES OF METAPHOR

2.1. Introduction

Metaphor is a term that has its origin in the Greek word *metapherein* meaning “transfer, carry over”. The first known scientific metaphor theory was developed about two millennia ago by the Greek philosopher Aristotle. However, the value of the scholar’s theory is determined not only by the fact it is the first scholarly theory of metaphor. The Aristotelian hypothesis remained influential across many centuries of Western thought and it laid the foundations of the traditionalist approaches to metaphor which dominated before the advent of *The Conceptual Metaphor Theory*. The traditionalist study of meaning within philosophy and linguistics assigns little role to metaphor in understanding and structuring of our concepts and reality. In its account, metaphor is merely a matter of language; an embellishment that helps to make speech vivid and colourful, something that deviates from normal literal language. Despite that the modern cognitive linguistic theory of metaphor has proven the traditionalist approaches false, the impact of the latter can still be observed in some contemporary grammars and dictionaries. For example, *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary* provides the following definition of metaphor (see, M-W, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/thesaurus/metaphor&x=11&y=13>. Accessed: 01.04.10):

...an elaborate or fanciful way of expressing something <“it’s raining cats and dogs” is just a colorful *metaphor* and not a meteorological announcement>

The Conceptual Metaphor Theory was created by G. Lakoff and M. Johnson because of discontent with the role attributed to metaphor in the traditional philosophical and linguistic theories. The solid linguistic evidence found by the authors has convinced them in the belief that metaphor is omnipresent in language and thought and, therefore, it may be central to human cognition. Such observational evidence could not be accounted for within the narrow framework of traditionalist theories. Hence, the need arose to create a new theory which would satisfactorily explain the whole matter. G. Lakoff and M. Johnson’s approach to metaphor may be characterised as revolutionary in the sense that it demolishes the foundations of the traditionalist view by considering metaphor primarily as a matter of thought and only derivatively as a matter of language. This cognitive conception of the subject matter has raised the status of metaphor considerably and today it is studied not only by linguists but also by researchers from a broad range of scholarly disciplines such as literature, philosophy, psychology, anthropology, and musical science.

From Aristotelian times to the 21st century many different theories of metaphor have been developed. This chapter is designed to furnish a general overview of four prominent metaphor models. They are the following: *The Substitution Theory of Metaphor* (Aristotle), *The Speech*

Act Theory (J. Searle), *The Interaction Theory* (M. Black) and *The Conceptual Metaphor Theory* (Lakoff & Johnson). The main emphasis of the chapter will be on the CMT because it provides a theoretical backdrop to the current study. Furthermore, the theory has its own standardised system of terminology and definitions developed for the description of conceptual metaphors. They will be applied throughout the present thesis. Consequently, the chapter provides a brief account of the terminology and definitions of the CMT.

2.2. The Substitution Theory of Metaphor (Aristotle)

In his famous works *Poetics* and *Rhetoric*, Aristotle made a first attempt to give a scientific account of metaphor. In the philosopher's view, metaphor is the transfer of the name of a thing to another thing (see, Aristotle, *Poetics*, XXI, <http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/poetics.3.3.html>. Accessed: 01.04.10). The transfer takes place:

- from genus to species as “There lies my ship” where “lying at anchor” is a species of the more generic term “lying”;
- from species to genus as “Verily ten thousand noble deeds hath Odysseus wrought” where “ten thousand” is a species of the genus term “large number”;
- from species to species as “With blade of bronze drew away the life” and “Cleft the water with the vessel of unyielding bronze” where both “to draw away” and “to cleave” are the species of the genus term “take away”;
- by analogy, that is, by proportion as “The cup is to Dionysus as the shield to Ares” where analogy makes it possible to define “the cup” as “the shield of Dionysus” and to define “the shield” as “the cup of Ares”.

Aristotle's hypothesis of metaphor can be characterised as substitutionalist because it follows from the theory that metaphor involves the replacement of one term for another. The reason for applying the name of one kind of thing to another is believed to be the intrinsic similarity between those things (Aristotle, *Poetics*, XXII, <http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/poetics.3.3.html>. Accessed: 01.04.10):

But the greatest thing by far is to have a command of metaphor. This alone cannot be imparted by another; it is the mark of genius, for to make good metaphors implies an eye for resemblances.

Aristotle's resemblance or comparison view is also reflected in his work *Rhetoric* where he characterises metaphors as *elliptical similes*. He claims, among other things, that “The Simile also is a metaphor; the difference is but slight” (see, Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, <http://www.public.iastate.edu/~honeyl/Rhetoric/rhet3-4.html>. Accessed: 01.04.10).

In the Aristotelian approach the much celebrated simile (19) *Achilles is like a lion* would be the same as (20) *Achilles is a lion*, the only difference being that in the former, the comparison is made explicit through the specific resemblance term *like* whereas in the latter it is implicit.

It is important to point out that Aristotle's comparison hypothesis has received criticism from cognitive linguists and there seem to be solid reasons to be sceptical of the theory. For example, in the Aristotelian approach the above-mentioned utterance *Achilles is a lion* would be interpreted as a metaphor that brings together two different things (Achilles and the lion) on

the basis of some intrinsic similarity (courage). Cognitive linguists argue that *Achilles is a lion* does not provide evidence for the similarity theory of metaphor because the theory holds that all metaphors are based on the intrinsic literal similarity. According to G. Lakoff and M. Turner, for the similarity view to be feasible the “courage” of the lion would have to be “the same literal property” as the “courage” of Achilles. However, literally, lions do not have human courage (which is a property of human *character*); they have an *instinctive* behaviour that we understand metaphorically in terms of human courage (Lakoff & Turner, 1989: 198). According to the authors, the similarity between the “courage” of Achilles and that of the lion is not literal but metaphorical. V. Evans and M. Green characterise such a similarity as a *perceived resemblance* (see, Evans & Green, 2006: 293). Furthermore, in cognitive linguistics the metaphorical utterance *Achilles is a lion* is considered as the surface manifestation of the underlying conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS (see, for example, Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, 2003: 111).

Another crucial difficulty with Aristotle’s metaphor theory is that it views metaphor as a carry-over of names between objects. By doing so, he treats it as a process that takes place at the *word* level and not at the level of thought. Moreover, the philosopher places metaphor beyond the realm of ordinary language. He views it as a deliberate deportation from the ordinary conventional use of language because metaphor presupposes the application of the name of an object to another object to which it is not normally applied.

As the titles of Aristotle’s above-mentioned treatises suggest, the author considers metaphor in the context of two arts: poetics and rhetoric. Within this framework, he views metaphor as a stylistic device, a decorative embellishment, a figure of speech used by poets and rhetoricians to add a specific zest to the narrative.

The discovery of a huge system of conceptual metaphors in recent years has shown that metaphor resides not merely in language at the word level, but primarily in thought and cognition. It was established that metaphors help us structure our everyday concepts and make sense of the world. Moreover, there is enormous linguistic evidence that metaphor is pervasive in ordinary conventional language. All these findings are clearly at odds with the Aristotelian view that metaphor is merely a matter of language as well as with his standpoint that metaphor is a deviation from ordinary conventional language.

2.3. The Speech Act Theory of Metaphor (J. Searle)

John Searle approaches metaphor through the framework of *The Speech Act Theory* (see, Searle, 1993). According to the author each statement is composed of two types of meaning: a) *sentence meaning* and b) *speaker’s utterance meaning*. **Sentence meaning** is the same as literal meaning; it is a coded, fixed, nonfigurative, plain meaning and autonomous of the speaker’s intentions. In addition, sentence meaning is compositional: sentences derive their meanings from the meanings of their constituent elements and the rules that are employed to conjoin them. Moreover, sentence meaning is truth-conditional: a sentence is true if and only if its truth conditions are satisfied. **Speaker’s utterance meaning** is the meaning that the speaker wishes to communicate to the hearer. Metaphor is an attribute of speaker’s utterance meaning and as such is a deviation from the literal meaning. For instance, the author explains this idea as follows (see, *ibid*, p. 84):

...whenever we talk about the metaphorical meaning of a word, expression, or sentence, we are talking about what a speaker might utter it to mean, in a way that departs from what the word, expression, or sentence actually means. We are, therefore, talking about possible speaker's intentions. Even when we discuss how a nonsense sentence, such as Chomsky's example, "Colorless green ideas sleep furiously", could be given a metaphorical interpretation, what we are talking about is how a speaker could utter the sentence and mean something by it metaphorically, even though it is literally nonsensical.

J. Searle further claims that, in the case of literal statements, sentence meaning and speaker's utterance meaning coincide. The speaker means what he says. For instance, if a speaker says *S is P* he/she means "S is P". In metaphorical statements, speaker's utterance meaning does not coincide with sentence meaning. If the speaker says *S is P* he/she means "S is R". For example, if the speaker says (21) *Sally is a block of ice*, this does not entail literally that (x is a block of ice). The meaning of the utterance is understood to be "Sally is emotionally reserved".

J. Searle goes on to claim that the speaker uses sentence meaning as a point of departure in order to be able to decipher the speaker's utterance meaning. In the first step the interpreter tries to analyse the literal meaning of a statement. When the interpreter assesses that meaning as literally anomalous, he/she starts looking for a different meaning, that is speaker's meaning. For instance, if the interpreter hears the sentence *Sally is a block of ice*, he/she would assess its meaning to be literally deficient. He/she would understand straightaway that Sally is not a solid frozen block of water and, therefore, the sentence's literal interpretation is not apt. He/she would realise that the author of the utterance may want the utterance to be interpreted metaphorically. In this way the hearer will be able to decode the meaning of the metaphorical sentence.

Searle's metaphor theory has been criticised by cognitive linguists on several points. For example, the scholar's assumption that metaphor is confined to speaker's utterance meaning is refuted by G. Lakoff in his essay *Contemporary Theory of Metaphor* (see, Lakoff, 1993: 238-239). Lakoff's arguments on this issue are based on the analysis of several metaphorical utterances presented by Searle in his work on metaphor. Among them is the example *Sally is a block of ice*. According to G. Lakoff, the meaning of *Sally is a block of ice* is based on shared human knowledge of temperatures and the everyday system of metaphorical mappings and is not merely a matter of pragmatics.

G. Lakoff uses the following arguments to support his reasoning. *Sally is a block of ice* is the linguistic manifestation of the underlying conventional conceptual metaphor AFFECTION IS WARMTH. The phrase *a block of ice* in the sentence *Sally is a block of ice* activates the domain of temperature and since it is used about a person, it also evokes knowledge of what a person can be. Conjointly, both kinds of knowledge activate the conceptual metaphor AFFECTION IS WARMTH. Since we have an experience of ice being cold and not getting warm immediately and easily, this knowledge is projected onto Sally's being unaffectionate and not being able to become affectionate immediately or effortlessly.

An important point that follows from Searle's doctrine is that literal language is comprehended through normal cognitive operation while figurative language demands a specific cognitive effort to be grasped. Cognitive linguists consider this view to be false and their standpoint is supported by the outcomes of empirical research. For instance, by referring to the results of numerous psycholinguistic studies, R. Gibbs argues that listeners and readers

are able to understand figurative interpretations of metaphor, metonymy, sarcasm, idioms, proverbs and indirect speech acts without having first to scrutinise and refute their literal meanings when these tropes are seen in realistic social contexts (see, Gibbs, 1993: 254-255). According to R. Gibbs, similar cognitive processes lie behind our understanding of both literal and figurative language. These outcomes invalidate the traditional assumptions that figurative language is a deviation from literal language and that its interpretation requires a specific cognitive effort.

2.4. Max Black. The Interaction Theory of Metaphor

The Interaction Theory of Metaphor was first introduced by M. Black in his work *Metaphor* (see, Black, 1962) and it was elaborated further in his essay *More about Metaphor* (see, Black, 1993). The theory was inspired by the work of the celebrated English literary critic and rhetorician I.A. Richards who characterised metaphor as “the omnipresent principle of language” (Richards, 1965: 92). In Richards’s view metaphor is operative not at the level of word conjugation but it emerges out of the interaction between the conceptual structures underlying words.

In M. Black’s account, a metaphor takes place at the sentence level and not merely at the level of individual words. A metaphorical statement has a *focus* – the word or words used non-literally, and the *frame* – the surrounding literal context. To illustrate this idea, M. Black uses the sentence (22) *The chairman plowed through the discussion* as example. In this utterance, the word *plowed* is the focus and the rest of the sentence is the frame. Moreover, a metaphor has two distinct subjects: the “primary” or “principal” subject and the “secondary” or “subsidiary” subject. For example, in the metaphorical statement (23) *Man is a wolf*, *man* is the primary subject and *wolf* is the secondary one. The two subjects under consideration are the systems of things rather than individual things. Metaphor involves the interaction between the two systems.

In the author’s account, *wolf* in the metaphor *Man is a wolf* does not function in conformity with its standard dictionary meaning. In a contemporary dictionary the standard meaning of *wolf* may be characterised as “a wild animal of the dog family” (see, for example, CALD). However, this is not the intended meaning of *wolf* in the above-mentioned metaphor. Therefore, it is necessary that the reader or the listener knows *the system of associated commonplaces* about wolves in order to adequately understand the meaning of the metaphor under discussion. In Black’s interpretation, the wolf system of associated commonplaces is the system of ideas, features and beliefs regarded as characteristic of wolves. The scholar’s main point here is that a metaphorical statement operates by projecting onto the primary subject the associated commonplaces that are predictable in regard to the secondary subject. Moreover, the system under discussion need not always be true. What is most important for the effectiveness of metaphor is that the system of associated commonplaces is readily and easily evoked. The system may vary with regard to which community the speaker or the reader belongs and depending on the inclinations of the reader or the listener.

Furthermore, M. Black emphasises that when a man is called a wolf, this evokes a system of associated commonplaces in the mind. The hearer uses the wolf system of implications to build the corresponding system of implications about the primary subject. This helps the hearer *organise* the features of the primary subject. Any human characteristics that can be expressed

with the help of the “wolf language” will be rendered prominent whereas other features will be suppressed.

To summarise then, Black’s interaction theory differs from the traditionalist approaches in the sense that it assigns metaphor an active role as a cognitive, rather than a purely rhetorical, device.

2.5. The Conceptual Metaphor Theory

The approach to metaphor employed by *The Conceptual Metaphor Theory* radically differs from that used by the traditional metaphor theories. As has already been demonstrated, the CMT treats metaphor first and foremost as a matter of thought and cognition and only secondarily as a matter of language. In his work *The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor*, G. Lakoff illustrates this idea through the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY (see, Lakoff, 1993: 206).

Thus, the author claims the following about the conceptual nature of the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor (see, *ibid*, pp. 208-209):

What constitutes the *LOVE-AS-JOURNEY* metaphor is not any particular word or expression. It is the ontological mapping across conceptual domains, from the source domain of journeys to the target domain of love. The metaphor is not just a matter of language, but of thought and reason. The language is secondary. The mapping is primary, in that it sanctions the use of source domain language and inference patterns for target domain concepts. The mapping is conventional, that is, it is a fixed part of our conceptual system, one of our conventional ways of conceptualizing love relationships. This view of metaphor is thoroughly at odds with the view that metaphors are just linguistic expressions. If metaphors were merely linguistic expressions, we would expect different linguistic expressions to be different metaphors. Thus, “We’ve hit a dead-end street” would constitute one metaphor. “We can’t turn back now” would constitute another, entirely different metaphor. “Their marriage is on the rocks” would involve still a different metaphor. Yet we don’t seem to have dozens of different metaphors here. We have one metaphor, in which love is conceptualized as a journey. The mapping tells us precisely how love is being conceptualized as a journey. And this unified way of *conceptualizing* love metaphorically is realised in many different *linguistic* expressions.

The CMT holds that metaphor exists at two levels of organisation: a) the conceptual level; b) the linguistic level. Conceptual metaphors operate at the level of thinking, hence the term “conceptual metaphor”.

Conceptual metaphor is a set of systematic correspondences or mappings between a source domain and a target. **The source domain** is predominantly associated with some tangible physical experiences and therefore it is more concrete than the target domain. For instance, the source domain of JOURNEY is more concrete and less complex than the target domain of LOVE in the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor. It is a conceptual domain that we utilise in order to understand the target. **The target domain** is more abstract than the source domain and it is primarily associated with such intangible, abstract experiences as emotions, ideas, thoughts, etc. The target domain is comprehended and structured in terms of the source domain. The conceptual metaphor is designated in the form of a formula A IS B or A AS B. Here A and B stand for disparate conceptual domains. Furthermore, in cognitive linguistics a **conceptual domain** is understood to be any coherent organisation of experience.

Linguistic metaphors (or metaphorical expressions) are present at the level of language and they are viewed as the verbal manifestations of conceptual metaphors. In their study

G. Lakoff and M. Johnson have demonstrated that in our conceptual system there is a metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 4). The linguistic metaphors below are taken from the Internet and they manifest the same conceptual metaphor:

- (24) ...Greg Easterbrook brought in the *heavy artillery* in the argument over the safety of cars... (<http://www.carsareevil.com/safety>. Accessed: 01.04.10).
- (25) Often times, your best *ammunition* in an argument is your opponent's words (http://www.ehow.com/how_4808815_argue-like-lawyer.html. Accessed: 01.04.10).
- (26) ...Sarah was the *victor* of this argument (<http://www.ew.com/ew/article/0,,1033350,00.html>. Accessed: 10.05.10).
- (27) During a debate last month, McClintock *assailed* his opponent for raising the issue (see, <http://www.vcstar.com/news/2008/may/07/mcclintocks-foe-making-residence-an-election/>. Accessed: 10.05.10).
- (28) Those who disagreed with him were quick to *attack* him with a well prepared *arsenal* of criticism (<http://dance-of-ecstasy.net/dance/0601.html#start>. Accessed: 10.05.10).

Some of the above-mentioned linguistic metaphors convey certain images that were absent in the corresponding metaphorical expressions analysed by G. Lakoff. Those images involve the means of combat (heavy artillery, ammunition and arsenal). They are mapped onto the means of persuasion or arguing.

Due to metaphorical expressions being linked to metaphorical concepts in an organised manner such expressions are regarded to be as the main evidence for the existence of conceptual metaphors. As G. Lakoff and M. Johnson put it (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 7):

Since metaphorical expressions in our language are tied to metaphorical concepts in a systematic way, we can use metaphorical linguistic expressions to study the nature of metaphorical concepts and to gain an understanding of the metaphorical nature of our activities.

The unidirectionality of conceptual metaphor. The metaphorical process typically goes from the more concrete and less intricate to the more abstract and more intricate and not other way around. Therefore, more abstract concepts are understood in terms of more concrete ones. In the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, the abstract concept of love is understood in terms of a more concrete concept of journey. However, it is uncommon to think of a journey in terms of love.

Aspects of conceptual domains. Source and target domains are characterised by some facets of experience such as intensity, cause, control, purpose, etc. In cognitive linguistics they are defined as *aspects of domains*.

Types of conceptual metaphors. The most common cognitive linguistic classification of conceptual metaphors distinguishes between three different metaphor groups: a) *structural metaphors*; b) *ontological metaphors*; c) *orientational metaphors*.

In structural metaphors one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another concept. To exemplify, in the metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY mentioned above, the target concept of LOVE is structured in terms of the source concept of JOURNEY.

Oriental metaphors are the metaphors that give a concept a spatial orientation (viz., *up/down, in/out, front/back, on/off, deep/shallow, central/peripheral* etc.). Put another way, they enable us understand abstract concepts in terms of spatial orientation. The cognitive

role of orientational metaphors consists in making a range of target concepts coherent in the human conceptual system. What distinguishes this group of metaphors from structural metaphors is that they do not introduce much structure to the target domain (see, Wallington & Barnden, <ftp://ftp.cs.bham.ac.uk/pub/tech-reports/2006/CSRP-06-02.pdf>. Accessed: 05.05.10). For instance, the conceptual metaphor MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN that has been presented by G. Lakoff and M. Johnson in their work is an example of an orientational metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 15-16). The following linguistic metaphors instantiate the same conceptual metaphor:

- (29) My grades are *up* (The AHDE in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/up>. Accessed: 01.04.10).
- (30) He had to keep the prices *up* (BNC).
- (31) Prices have been going *down* steadily (KEMD in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/down>. Accessed: 01.04.10).

The metaphor has a physical basis; if one adds more of a substance or of physical objects to a container or pile, the level goes up.

Furthermore, in cognitive linguistics, **ontological metaphors** are defined as follows (see, *Glossary of Linguistic Terms*, <http://www.sil.org/linguistics/GlossaryOfLinguisticTerms/WhatsAnOntologicalMetaphor.htm>. Accessed: 01.04.10):

An ontological metaphor is a metaphor in which an abstraction, such as an activity, emotion, or idea, is represented as something concrete, such as an object, substance, container, or person.

For example, the following metaphorical expression describes hope as a physical object that can easily be broken, damaged or destroyed:

- (32) A *fragile* hope.

These types of metaphors are also called **entity metaphors**. Moreover, **container metaphors** are typical ontological metaphors. A container metaphor is one that describes a concept as equipped with an inside and outside and as having the capability to contain something within it:

- (33) An *empty* threat (The AHDE in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/empty>. Accessed: 01.04.10).
- (34) A mind *filled with* fantasies (M-W dictionary, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/fill>. Accessed: 01.04.10).

In the above metaphorical expressions the concepts of threat and the mind are conceived of as containers. **Personification** is yet another type of ontological metaphor. In personification an abstract concept can be ascribed human qualities. For instance, in the following metaphorical expressions, hunger and flowers are conceptualised in terms of a person:

- (35) Hunger *sat shivering* on the road (The AHDE in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/personification>. Accessed: 01.04.10).
- (36) Flowers *danced* about the lawn (The AHDE in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/personification>. Accessed: 01.04.10).

Some cognitive linguists employ a different classification of conceptual metaphors. For example, A. Barcelona considers orientational and ontological metaphors under the general

category of *perceptual metaphors*, based on the fact that the notions of object, substance and spatial position emerge directly from our perceptual experience (Barcelona, 1986). He argues that there is also a range of other perceptual experiences that give rise to metaphorical conceptualisation. For example, some widely known metaphors are based on our experience of temperature perception:

(37) *This is **hot** news.*

(38) ***Cold** war.*

The author labels such metaphors as *the heat perception metaphors*. Yet some other metaphors are motivated by the experience of light perception:

(39) *The news saw the **light** last week.*

Hence they are classified as *the light perception metaphors*. Barcelona suggests considering the heat and light perception metaphors in the category of perceptual metaphors mentioned above. The author includes in the same group the metaphors based on the experiences of touching and physical handling:

(40) *A **touch** of irony ("a degree of").*

(41) *I cannot **grasp** your theory.*

Primary metaphor. *The Theory of Primary Metaphor* has been developed by Josef Grady (see, Grady, 1997). It is grounded in Christopher Johnson's *Theory of Conflation* according to which a systematic correlation between subjective experiences and sensory motor experiences evolve in early childhood (see, Johnson, 1997). For example, there is a systematic correspondence between the subjective experience of knowing and the sensory experience of vision because often what we know comes from vision. During the early stages of its development the infant does not make a distinction between the two domains of experience. In the later stages, however, it develops the ability to discern between them. Nevertheless, the association between the two domains continues to exist. This lays the foundation for the creation of conceptual metaphors. J. Grady classifies such metaphors as primary metaphors. For instance, the metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING is an example of a primary metaphor. The metaphorical expression below reflects this metaphor:

(42) *I see your point (The AHDE in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/see>. Accessed: 01.04.10).*

The correlation in our experience between the sensory-motor domain of seeing and the subjective domain of knowing is assumed to function as the basis for the creation of this particular metaphor (see, Lakoff & Johnson, 1999: 53-54).

The importance of Grady's findings on primary metaphors consists in the fact that they explain why particular source domains occur with certain target domains. Such domains go together because they correlate in our experience. Grady's theory is a significant contribution to *The Conceptual Metaphor Theory*.

Compound metaphor. Joined together primary metaphors form compound metaphors through the process of conceptual blending. For example, the metaphor PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor is an instance of a complex metaphor and is constituted by the two

primary metaphors: PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS and ACTIONS ARE MOTIONS (see, *ibid.*, pp. 60-63).

The scope of metaphor – a whole set of target domains onto which a particular source domain applies. For example, the source domain of BUILDING applies to a whole group of target domains which include such target concepts as THEORIES, RELATIONSHIPS, CAREERS, A COMPANY, ECONOMIC SYSTEMS, SOCIAL GROUPS and LIFE (see, Kövecses, 2002: 108-109).

Image schema is “a mental pattern that recurrently provides structured understanding of various experiences, and is available for use in metaphor as a source domain to provide an understanding of yet other experiences” (see, *Glossary of Linguistic Terms*, <http://www.sil.org/linguistics/GlossaryOfLinguisticTerms/WhatIsAnImageSchema.htm>. Accessed: 01.04.10).

Image-schema metaphor is a metaphor that is grounded on skeletal image schemas like the container image schema, the force schema, the path schema, etc. For instance, the container image schema underlies container metaphors.

G. Lakoff formulates **The Invariance Principle** in the following way (see, Lakoff, 1993: 215):

Metaphorical mappings preserve the cognitive topology (that is, the image-schema structure) of the source domain, in a way consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain.

Furthermore, *The Invariance Principle* states that the source domain interiors will be mapped onto the target domain interiors and the source domain exteriors will be applied onto the target domain exteriors, etc. However, there are no cases in which the source domain interiors map onto the target domain exteriors, or the source domain exteriors map onto the target domain interiors, etc.

The embodiment hypothesis claims that large portions of human conceptual system and language are structured by peculiarities of our bodies and brains and our interaction with the outside world.

Experiential basis of metaphor. Conceptual metaphors are motivated by human experience. For instance, one of the commonly used metaphors MORE IS UP is motivated by our experience of putting more liquid into a container and observing the liquid level going up or adding more objects to a pile (see, Lakoff, 1993: 240). In our everyday experiences increase in quantity systematically correlates with an increase in height. Such a correspondence between quantity and verticality motivates the conceptual metaphor MORE IS UP. The experiential basis of metaphor is its groundedness in experience.

Highlighting. A target domain may have many different aspects. However, only some of them will be highlighted or focused on by the source domain. For instance, the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor highlights or focuses on the battling aspect of a verbal argument.

Hiding. Those aspects of the target domain that are not highlighted or focused on by the source domain can be characterised as hidden. For instance, the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor mentioned above also has a co-operative aspect. However, this aspect of the metaphor is not highlighted by the source domain. For instance, G. Lakoff and M. Johnson explain this in the following manner (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 10):

In allowing us to focus on one aspect of a concept (e.g., the battling aspects of arguing), a metaphorical concept can keep us from focusing on other aspects of the concept that are

inconsistent with that metaphor. For example, in the midst of a heated argument, when we are intent on attacking our opponent's position and defending our own, we may lose sight of the cooperative aspects of arguing. Someone who is arguing with you can be viewed as giving you his time, a valuable commodity, in an effort at mutual understanding. But when we are preoccupied with the battle aspects, we often lose sight of the cooperative aspects.

Partiality of metaphorical structuring. Metaphors partially structure one concept in terms of another. The ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor mentioned above partially structures the concept of ARGUMENT in terms of the concept of WAR.

Even though the current study does not intend to analyse metonyms for emotion, it is crucial to show how the CMT makes a distinction between metaphor and metonymy. In cognitive linguistics metonymy is also believed to exist at two levels: *the conceptual* and *the linguistic level*. Metonymical expressions (linguistic metonyms) are the linguistic manifestations of the underlying conceptual metonyms. The CMT defines metonymy as a cognitive process where one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another entity, the target, *within the same conceptual domain* (Kövecses, 2002: 248). Here both the vehicle and target entities are elements of the same conceptual domain. In the following quotation from G. Lakoff a clear-cut distinction is drawn between metaphor and metonymy (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 265):

In a *metaphor*, there are two domains: the target domain, which is constituted by the immediate subject matter, and the source domain, in which important metaphorical reasoning takes place and that provides the source concepts used in that reasoning. Metaphorical language has literal meaning in the source domain. In addition, a metaphoric mapping is multiple, that is, two or more elements are mapped to two or more other elements. Image-schema structure is preserved in the mapping-interiors of containers map to interiors, exteriors map to exteriors; sources of motion to sources, goals to goals, and so on.

In a *metonymy*, there is only one domain; the immediate subject matter. There is only one mapping; typically the metonymic source maps to the metonymic target (the reference) so that one item in the domain can stand for the other.

The paramount function of metaphor is to provide a partial understanding of one domain of experience in terms of another, whereas metonymy fulfils a referential function (see, Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 36). For instance, let us consider the following famous utterance (see, *ibid*, p. 35).

(43) *The ham sandwich is waiting for his check.*

The aforementioned sentence is a typical example of referential metonymy. Here “the ham sandwich” is used to refer to the person who ordered the ham sandwich. In metonymy one entity is used to refer to another entity associated with it.

Metaphonymy. Even though in many cases a clear-cut borderline can be drawn between metaphor and metonymy this is not always the case. Metonymy and metaphor may indeed interact and the two processes are not reciprocally exclusive. L. Goossens has coined a cover term *metaphonymy* for the process of interaction between metaphor and metonymy (see, Goossens, 2002). At this point, I want to mention one example that illustrates clearly the way in which metaphor and metonymy interact. G. Lakoff claims that the emotion metaphor ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER has a metonymical conceptual motivation (Lakoff, 1987: 383). It is motivated by a range of anger metonyms such as body heat, internal pressure and agitation (see, *ibid*, pp. 282-383).

Research into metaphonymy seems to be in its infant stage and we do not yet know much about how widespread this phenomenon is in language (see, Barcelona, 2003: 11). Especially, we do not know how common the process is in emotion conceptualisation and how many emotion metaphors are metonymically motivated or how many metonyms have a metaphorical conceptual motivation. Much more research needs to be done in order to gain a profound insight into the nature of metaphonymy and draw safe theoretical conclusions about the issue and its systematicity in language.

The Container Image Schema. In cognitive linguistics an image schema is defined as “a recurring, dynamic patterns of our perceptual interactions and motor programs that gives coherence and structure to our experience” (Johnson, 1987: xiv). The container image schema is one of the most fundamental schemas used in abstract reasoning. Many conceptual metaphors that we use both in our everyday reasoning and academic conversation are motivated by the container image schema. There are also many emotion metaphors that are based on the container schema. Here are some of them: THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR THE EMOTIONS; THE EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS IN A CONTAINER; HAPPINESS/JOY IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER (see, Kövecses, 1991b: 31, 33-34); ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER (see, Lakoff, 1987: 383).

The container image schema has three different structural elements: an *interior*, an *exterior* and a *boundary*. The schema is a gestalt structure where parts are comprehended within the framework of a larger whole. For instance, one cannot have one of the structural elements of the container image schema without the other: an interior does not exist without an exterior and boundary; an exterior does not exist without an interior and boundary; and a boundary does not exist without an interior and exterior. Our recurring, kinaesthetic experiences of bodily containment give rise to the container image schema. As M. Johnson puts it (see, Johnson, 1987: 21):

Our encounter with containment and boundedness is one of the most pervasive features of our bodily experience.

We are intimately aware of our bodies as three-dimensional containers into which we put certain things (food, water, air) and out of which other things emerge (food and water wastes, air, blood etc.). From the beginning, we experience constant physical containment in our surroundings (those things that envelop us).

Chapter 3

OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH FINDINGS ON METAPHORICAL EMOTION CONCEPTUALISATION

3.1. Introduction

Since the advent of cognitive linguistics the CMT has systematically been applied to the study of emotion concepts used by speakers of English and other languages. As a result a rich body of knowledge concerning the metaphorical and metonymical aspects of emotion conceptualisation has been acquired.

The metaphorical aspects of emotion conceptualisation have received attention from various researchers working in the field of cognitive linguistics (see, for example, Kövecses, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1991a, 1991b, 1995, 1998, 2000a, 2000b, 2002, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2008; Kövecses, Palmer, Dirven, 2003; Lakoff, 1987; Barcelona, 1986, 1995; Kendrick-Murdock, 1994; Radden, 1998; Niemeier, 2003, 2005; Emanatian, 1995; Athanasiadou, 1998; Györi, 1998; Omori, 2008; Taylor, Mbense, 1998; Mikołajczuk, 1998; Rull, 2001-2; Peña Cervel, 2001, 2003; Tissari, 2003, 2006; Mostovaja, 1998; Koivisto-Alanko & Tissari, 2006; Apresjan, 1997; Yu, 1995; Maalej, 2004; Sirvydė, 2006, 2007 etc.). The results of these studies converge on the conclusion that the emotion concepts that people use in different cultures across the world are metaphorically structured and understood. Furthermore, they convincingly demonstrate that the emotion language used by disparate cultures is largely metaphorical.

In what follows, I give a brief characterisation of some key research outcomes involving the metaphorical aspects of emotion conceptualisation. Additionally, in accordance with the Cognitive Commitment, I provide data from other knowledge fields that support such findings. The chapter is organised in the following way. After this introductory section, different types of emotion metaphors are analysed in 3.2. Aspects of emotion concepts are discussed in 3.3. The scope of emotion metaphors is considered in 3.4. The experiential basis of emotion metaphors is scrutinised in 3.5. The diachronic stability and change in emotion metaphors are regarded in 3.6. Universality and variation in the metaphorical conceptualisation of emotions are discussed in 3.7. The degree of metaphorisation of emotion concepts is reviewed in 3.8. Use of emotion metaphors by ordinary and creative speakers is considered in 3.9. Emotion metaphors and empirical methods are discussed in 3.10. Finally, the chapter ends with a set of concluding remarks in 3.11.

3.2. Types of Emotion Metaphors

In *Metaphors We Live By* (see, Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), G. Lakoff and M. Johnson present, among other things, a number of *orientational*, *structural* and *ontological* emotion

metaphors. They constitute a subcategory of the corresponding general categories of conceptual metaphors. However, since the above-mentioned study was not particularly designed to investigate emotion metaphors it does not pigeonhole such metaphors into a specific category. Nevertheless, G. Lakoff and M. Johnson's analysis of emotion metaphors in this book can be viewed as the first classification of such metaphors. Let us to take a closer look at different types of emotion metaphors scrutinised by the authors. The following conceptual metaphors belong to the group of *orientational emotion metaphors*: HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN; EMOTIONAL IS DOWN. Their source domains are constituted by the spatial concepts UP and DOWN (see, Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 15, 17). The metaphorical expressions that will be introduced next reflect, respectively, the above-mentioned orientational metaphors:

- (44) She's been really *up* since she started her new job (CALD, http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/up_31. Accessed: 01.04.10).
- (45) Illness of any sort can leave you feeling *low* (CALD, http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/low_6. Accessed: 01.04.10).
- (46) He couldn't *rise* above his *emotions* (see, Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 17).

The upward orientation of happiness and downward orientation of sadness in the metaphors HAPPY IS UP and SAD IS DOWN have a physical basis: drooping posture is associated with sadness and erect posture with happiness. Emotion is understood in terms of downward directionality in the metaphor EMOTION IS DOWN. Generally speaking, English associates the upward orientation with goodness and the downward orientation with badness. This yields the metaphors GOOD IS UP and BAD IS DOWN. The above-mentioned emotion metaphors are coherent with these general metaphors.

Furthermore, Lakoff and Johnson analyse a set of structural emotion metaphors in their above-mentioned book. A case in point is the previously mentioned metaphor LOVE AS JOURNEY (see, *ibid*, pp. 44-45). The rich network of the metaphorical projections present in this metaphor provides the concept of LOVE with a complex structure. Now compare this to the previously analysed group of the orientational emotion metaphors that do not have such an intricate conceptual structure. Here it is appropriate to mention two other structural emotion metaphors that have been studied by Lakoff and Johnson. Those are LOVE IS WAR and LOVE IS MADNESS (see, *ibid*, p. 49). The linguistic metaphors below manifest respectively these conceptual metaphors:

- (47) She would do anything to *win* his love (CALD, http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/win_1. Accessed: 01.04.10).
- (48) Lorna is completely *crazy* about her boyfriend (CALD, http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/be-crazy-about-sb-sth#be-crazy-about-sb-sth__1. Accessed: 01.04.10).

In the metaphors LOVE IS WAR and LOVE IS MADNESS, the abstract elusive concept of love is structured and understood in terms of the more concrete delineated concepts of WAR and MADNESS.

In chapters 6 and 7 of *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson also present a range of ontological emotion metaphors. In them an emotion is described in terms of concrete physical entities. For instance (see, *ibid*, pp. 26-27):

- (49) *My fear of insects* is driving my wife crazy.
 (50) There is *so much hatred* in the world.
 (51) He did it out of *anger*.

There are many different reasons for why people think of emotions in terms of physical entities. The purpose of such a conceptualisation in (49) is referring to fear; in (50) it is quantifying the intensity of hatred; in (51) it is the identification of the cause of anger. It becomes clear from the aforementioned facts that emotion metaphors help us pick up different aspects of emotional experience such as intensity, cause, etc. The previously mentioned classification contributes a great deal to our understanding of the difference between various groups of emotion metaphors.

Barcelona presents two different types of emotion metaphors in his analysis of depression metaphors: a) *perceptual emotion metaphors*; b) *structural emotion metaphors* (see, Barcelona, 1986). Different from Lakoff and Johnson's classification, here the orientational and ontological emotion metaphors fall under the category of perceptual metaphors for the reasons mentioned in the previous chapter. *The light perception metaphors* (HAPPINESS IS LIGHT; UNHAPPINESS IS DARK) and *the heat perception metaphors* (HAPPY IS WARM; UNHAPPY IS COLD) are also considered in the same group. According to the author, these metaphors are motivated by our perceptual experience.

V. Apresjan proposes a different classification of emotion metaphors (Apresjan, 1997). She distinguishes between three metaphor groups: a) the physiological metaphor type; b) the cognitive metaphor type; c) the cultural metaphor type. These groups differ from each other along at least two dimensions: a) phenomena that form the source domain for the metaphorical mapping; b) the kind of mapping that takes place. Below I provide a very brief characterisation of each metaphor type.

The physiological metaphor type is constituted by such emotion metaphors as ANGER IS HEAT, FEAR IS COLD, and DISGUST IS FEELING SICK etc. The source domains of such metaphors are represented by:

- a) uncontrollable, immediate physiological reactions, physiological states, that are short lasting in time;
- b) they are usually visible or otherwise easily perceptible to an observer;
- c) they are specific to a given emotion or are, at least, its most salient manifestations.

The mapping in this metaphor type is conditioned physiologically. That is, metaphors are grounded on certain physiological similarities. For instance, in the metaphor FEAR IS COLD, fear is conceptualised as cold because of the fact that the reaction of the body to fear is the same as the reaction of the body to cold (shaking, temporary paralysis, pallor, etc).

The cognitive metaphor type is represented by metaphors such as GRIEF IS BURDEN, GRIEF IS DEATH, GRIEF IS ILLNESS and LOVE/PLEASURE IS SWEET, etc. Even in this case, the source domains of the metaphors under consideration are constituted by disparate physiological sensations. However, these sensations are arbitrarily chosen and are not the manifestations of the emotions onto which they are metaphorically mapped. On the contrary, the sensations in the source domains of physiological metaphors are the obligatory bodily manifestations of the emotions in the target.

For example, in the cognitive metaphor GRIEF IS ILLNESS ((52) *grief paralyzes one*), grief is not conceptualised in terms of the real physiological reactions accompanying this emotion. In our experience grief does not correlate with bodily paralysis or illness. Nevertheless, the emotion is understood in terms of illness. According to Apresjan, the mappings in this metaphor are based on the cognitive affinity of illness and grief. The GRIEF IS ILLNESS metaphor likens the effect of grief on the mind to the effect of illness on the body. In addition, the emotional experience of grief and the bodily experience of illness seem to have a shared dimension or component. Both are bad deplorable occurrences. Generally speaking, the source and target domain phenomena in cognitive metaphors are evaluated to be similar in the sense that they are judged to be either negative or positive.

The source domains in *the cultural metaphor type* do not form a homogenous group. This group is constituted by such metaphors as JOY IS LIGHT, ANGER IS DARKNESS, etc. The mappings between the source domain and the target seem to be based on culture-specific connotations. For example, in the above metaphors the physical concepts of light and darkness are mapped onto joy and anger respectively. According to Apresjan, generally, a mental link exists between positive emotions and light, on the one hand, and negative emotions and darkness, on the other. Such a conceptualisation stems from the fact that in many communities light is culturally associated with spiritual goodness, whereas darkness has connotations of spiritual evil.

3.3. Aspects of Emotion Concepts

Emotion is a multidimensional experience which consists of many different aspects. For example, an emotion may be experienced with different degrees of intensity. The feeling of anger may include anything from mild irritation to fuming madness. Happiness may range from moderate contentment to intense euphoria which makes one feel “in the seventh heaven”. Consequently an emotional experience has an intensity aspect. As another example, at some point in our lives we all have to face emotions such as shame, guilt, or fear that we view to be troublesome. Therefore, such emotional experiences have a difficulty aspect. As mentioned before, the job of emotion metaphors is to capture different aspects of emotional states. Let us illustrate this idea by example. The following emotion metaphors are used to make sense of the intensity aspect of emotion (Kövecses, 2000a: 41):

INTENSITY OF EMOTION IS AMOUNT/QUANTITY (OF SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER).

INTENSITY OF EMOTION IS HEAT.

INCREASE IN INTENSITY OF EMOTION IS GROWTH.

INTENSITY OF EMOTION IS INCREASE IN EFFECT (OF FORCE).

Below are two metaphorical expressions in which the intensity of fear is described in terms the amount of a substance in a container:

(53) Those eyes *full* of terror (BNC).

(54) ...I kind of see, a *tinge* of fear *in* their eyes (<http://articles.latimes.com/2001/apr/07/sports/sp-47980>. Accessed: 04.05.10).

The intensity of fear is much higher in (52) than in (53). Accordingly, the large amount of the substance correlates with the high intensity of emotion in the former. A small amount of the substance corresponds to the low intensity of emotion in the latter.

The metaphor EMOTIONAL DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS helps us to make sense of the difficulty aspect of emotion. The following metaphorical phrase is the linguistic manifestation of this metaphor:

(55) Alone and *burdened* by the guilt (BNC).

The question that arises at this point is this: what and how many aspects of emotional experience are captured by conceptual metaphors? On the basis of the existing research findings on emotion metaphors Kövecses identifies the following aspects: *existence, intensity, passivity, control, "positive-negative" evaluation, difficulty, desire/need, nonphysical unity, progress and harm* (see, *ibid.*, p. 46). According to the author, some aspects of emotional experience can be seen as complex phenomena consisting of several minor dimensions or aspects. A case in point is the control aspect. Kövecses divides it into three subcategories or stages: a) attempt at control; b) loss of control; c) lack of control. Each subspect is conceptualised by different metaphors (see, *ibid.*, p. 43). The conceptualisation of the control aspect of emotion has also been studied in detail by J.C.P. Rull (see, Rull, 2001-2).

Kövecses's study also shows that several conceptual metaphors may be used to capture one and the same aspect of an emotional experience. For example, all of the four intensity metaphors presented above focus on the intensity aspect of emotion.

3.4. Scope of Emotion Metaphors

The issue of the scope of emotion metaphors has been examined by Z. Kövecses (see, Kövecses, 2000a: 35-50). The results of the study help us understand whether people comprehend emotion concepts in a unique way, which is by using the source domains that are specific to emotion concepts or by employing the source domains that are also used in the structuring of non-emotional concepts. The study also provides an insight into how our conceptual system as a whole is organised. The general conclusion drawn by Kövecses is that the majority of the source domains associated with emotion concepts are not specific to emotion concepts, but have a wider scope of application (Kövecses, 2000a: 49-50):

Indeed, we have found that most of the source domains of emotion concepts have a scope of application that extends beyond the domain of emotion. These non-specific source domains are parts of very general metaphorical mappings whose range of application covers large portions of our conceptual system. This has the important theoretical implication that, at least in cases like the domain of emotion, we do not understand abstract domains in unique ways, that is, by making use of a set of metaphors specific to a given abstract domain. Instead we seem to build up abstract domain from "conceptual materials" that we make use of in other parts of our conceptual system as well.

The study also shows that various source domains that occur with emotions have different scope of application within the emotion domain. For instance, the source domains in the following emotion metaphors have a wide scope of application; that is, they get mapped onto all emotions (see, *ibid.*, p. 36):

EXISTENCE OF EMOTION IS PRESENCE HERE ((56) All feelings *are gone*).
EXISTENCE OF EMOTION IS BEING IN A BOUNDED SPACE ((57) She *was in ecstasy*).
EXISTENCE OF EMOTION IS POSSESSION OF AN OBJECT ((58) She *has* a lot of pride).
EMOTION IS A LIVING ORGANISM ((59) His fear *grew*).

The source domains presented below apply to most but not all emotion concepts: CONTAINER, NATURAL FORCE, PHYSICAL FORCE, SOCIAL SUPERIOR, OPPONENT, CAPTIVE ANIMAL, INTENSITY, DIVIDED SELF, BURDEN and ILLNESS (see, *ibid*, pp. 36-38). These source concepts are more specific in their metaphorical imagery than the source domains discussed previously. Yet the third group of source domains seems to get projected only onto some emotion concepts. They are the following concepts: HEAT/FIRE, WARM-COLD, LIGHT-DARK, UP-DOWN, VITALITY-LACK OF VITALITY, ECONOMIC VALUE, NUTRIENT/FOOD, WAR and GAME, MACHINE, ANIMAL AGGRESSION, HUNGER, RAPTURE/HIGH, HIDDEN OBJECT, MAGIC, UNITY, JOURNEY and PHYSICAL DAMAGE (see, *ibid*, pp. 38-40).

Finally, the following source domains are categorised as applying to one emotion only (see, *ibid*, p. 40):

TRESPASSING, PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE – ANGER.
HIDDEN ENEMY, SUPERNATURAL BEING – FEAR.
BEING OFF THE GROUND, BEING IN HEAVEN, AN ANIMAL THAT LIVES WELL,
PLEASURABLE PHYSICAL SENSATION – HAPPINESS.
HAVING NOT CLOTHES ON, DECREASE IN SIZE, BLOCKING OUT THE WORLD –
SHAME.

Recent corpus-based research has revealed some additional source domains used in the conceptualisation of emotions. To mention only a few examples, Stefanowitsch's study shows that the source domains of PURE and MIXED SUBSTANCE apply to the majority of the emotion concepts that he has analysed (see, Stefanowitsch, 2006). In addition, the author has established that the source concepts of PLANT and AURA occur, respectively, with the target concepts of ANGER and SADNESS and so forth. In another study, it has been demonstrated that the source domain of PLANT applies to the emotion domains of LOVE and HAPPINESS in Mandarin Chinese (see, Lai, Vicky Tzuyin & V. Ahrens, K., 2001).

It is important to emphasise that Stefanowitsch's aforementioned study also refutes some of the outcomes of Kövecses's research involving the application scope of some source domains that apply onto emotions. To mention just one example, in his previously cited work Kövecses claims that the source domain of HEAT/FIRE occurs mainly with three emotion concepts: anger, (romantic) love and lust (see, *ibid*, p. 38). Then he goes on to claim that it may be applicable onto shame. Stefanowitsch's work shows, however, that the HEAT/FIRE source domain also applies onto the target domains of JOY, FEAR, SADNESS and DISGUST. Taking into account these facts, the HEAT/FIRE domain can be considered in the category of the source domains that apply to most emotions. As is obvious, our knowledge of the source domains that apply onto emotions may not yet be complete. The same holds true for our knowledge of the application scope of such domains within the emotion domain. Further investigations are needed to get a complete picture of the matter.

3.5. Experiential Basis of Emotion Metaphors

As mentioned before, conceptual metaphors are motivated by their experiential bases. Due to this, knowledge of the experiential bases of metaphors is essential for their adequate understanding and representation. As G. Lakoff and M. Johnson put it (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 19):

We do not know very much about the experiential bases of metaphors. Because of our ignorance in this matter, we have described the metaphors separately, only later adding speculative notes on their possible experiential bases. We are adopting this practice out of ignorance, not out of principle. *In actuality we feel that no metaphor can ever be comprehended or even adequately represented independently of its experiential basis.*

Despite the fact that we do not yet have complete knowledge of the subject matter, some important facts involving the experiential bases of conceptual emotion metaphors have already been established by cognitive linguists. Correlation in experience seems to be one of the major reasons why certain source domains occur with particular target domains of emotion. For example, it has already been pointed out that the metaphors like HAPPY IS UP and SAD IS DOWN are based on the correlation between a subjective emotional state and the physical body posture. Moreover, the correlation between the physiological reactions like body heat, internal pressure, etc., on the one hand, and the mental experience of anger, on the other, gives rise to the metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER. The subjective emotion of fear corresponds with chill and cold and moist skin in our experience. This motivates the metaphor FEAR IS COLD.

Furthermore, cognitive linguists have also found a correspondence between an emotional state and a physical experience in the metaphor AFFECTION IS WARMTH.

The following metaphorical emotion expressions collected from CALD and the ODET are the linguistic manifestations of this metaphor:

AFFECTION IS WARMTH

- (60) I *warmed* to her mother from the start (CED in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/warm>. Accessed: 01.04.10).
- (61) They're a very *warm* family (CALD, http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/warm_2. Accessed: 01.04.10).
- (62) He has a lovely *warm* smile (CALD, http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/warm_2. Accessed: 01.04.10).

AFFECTION IS WARMTH is assumed to be based on the recurring correspondence between the subjective feeling of affection and the physical sense of warmth experienced by the infant when it is held in the arms of the parent.

It is important to mention, however, that the existence of an experiential basis does not automatically lead to the creation of a conceptual metaphor. For example, G. Lakoff and M. Johnson claim that there is a physical basis for the metaphors HAPPY IS WIDE and SAD IS NARROW. Nevertheless, this possibility is not realised in English. As the authors put it (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 18):

There are many possible physical and cultural bases for metaphor. Coherence within the overall system seems to be part of the reason why one is chosen and not another. For example, happiness also tends to correlate physically with a smile and a general feeling of expansiveness. This could

in principle form the basis for a metaphor HAPPY IS WIDE; SAD IS NARROW. And in fact there are minor metaphorical expressions like “I’m feeling expansive”, that pick out a different aspect of happiness than “I’m feeling *up*” does. But the major metaphor in our culture is HAPPY IS UP; there is a reason why we speak of the height of ecstasy rather than the breadth of ecstasy. HAPPY IS UP is maximally coherent with GOOD IS UP, HEALTHY IS UP, etc.

Our tactile experiences seem to give rise to some commonly used conceptual emotion metaphors. This is a perceptual experience. For instance, in *The Conceptual Metaphor Home Page*, A. Goldberg indicates that the metaphor EMOTIONAL INTIMACY IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS is motivated by our physical experience of touching (For a detailed information see, *Conceptual Metaphor Home Page*, http://cogsci.berkeley.edu/lakoff/metaphors/Emotional_Intimacy_Is_Physical_Closeness.html. Accessed: 09.03.07).

The two linguistic metaphors presented below are the surface manifestations of the above-mentioned conceptual metaphor:

- (63) Her relationship isn’t good with her father, but she’s very *close* to her mother (CALD, http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/close_5. Accessed: 24.09.08).
- (64) Her *nearest* and dearest friend (M-W dictionary, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/nearest,5>. Accessed: 24.09.08).

Furthermore, in her work, Y. Popova claims that some perceptual qualities related to touch like “soft” and “hard” are commonly used in the description of emotions (see, Popova, 2002: 68). As linguistic evidence for her claim, the author mentions the metaphorical descriptions such as (65) *soft-hearted* and (66) *hard-hearted* employed by people when they talk about an individual’s ability to show feelings.

3.6. Diachronic Stability and Change in Emotion Metaphors

Various cognitive linguistic studies have examined the issue whether the conceptual metaphors for emotions remain constant through centuries or whether they change. This is a highly important question because it concerns not only emotion concepts but also our conceptual system as a whole. Since metaphorically structured emotion concepts make up a part of our conceptual system, the change in such concepts would mean the change in the conceptual system. Current metaphor studies do not give a uniform view of the matter. For instance, Z. Kövecses emphasises that most conceptual metaphors for emotions are stable through time (see, Kövecses, 2000a: 27-29). The author holds the belief that whereas emotion metaphors preserve their conceptual structure over time, the linguistic metaphors that reflect them may have changed with time. Such a metamorphosis seems to be determined by cultural, technical and scientific developments. Z. Kövecses exemplifies his claim through the metaphor LOVE IS A UNITY OF TWO COMPLEMENTARY PARTS. According to the author the linguistic metaphors manifesting this conceptual metaphor have existed in different periods of history. A case in point is the metaphorical phrase (67) *If ever two were one, then surely we* used by Ann Bradstreet, a 17th century American poetess, in her poem *My Dear and Loving Husband*. Another historical source which contains evidence for the existence of the same conceptual metaphor is Plato’s *Symposium*. In this work, Aristophanes holds that Zeus

had chopped people in two parts because of their hubris and love is a longing to be brought together with the lost part. The metaphorical expressions that highlight the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A UNITY OF TWO COMPLEMENTARY PARTS also exist in contemporary English (see, *ibid*, p. 26):

(68) *We're as one.*

(69) *We fused together.*

However, researchers are not all in agreement as to the claim on the stability of emotion metaphors over time. C. Gevaert has studied the conceptualisation of anger in English from a diachronic perspective (see, Gevaert, 2001, 2005). As is known the major conceptual metaphor of anger in the contemporary English is ANGER IS A HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER. Gevaert's study shows that the conceptualisation of anger in terms of heat has not always been a permanent feature of the anger concept in English but it was subject to a significant change over the period of time from Old to Middle English. On the basis of the data existing in different diachronic corpora, Gevaert has established that the amount of heat metonyms and metaphors was insignificant before 850 (1.58% of all the words referring to anger); the number of such metaphors and metonyms increased enormously between 850 and 950. After this period, the number of heat words decreased gradually. For instance, between the period 950 and 1050 the corresponding figure was equal to 6.22% and in 1300 it was 1.36%. The number of heat words started increasing again in 1400. Gevaert claims that in Old English the SWELLING domain was a major source domain in the metaphorical conceptualisation of anger.

Now the question is how to account for the cases such as those examined by C. Gevaert? In his work, Z. Kövecses provides a convincing answer to this question (see, Kövecses, 2006). As is known, the metaphor ANGER IS A HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER is motivated by universal human physiology. According to Z. Kövecses, universal embodiment is a multifaceted phenomenon: it may have many different components or aspects. The conceptual metaphors that are created may be based on one component or aspect at a certain point of time and on another at another time. The choice of the component depends on a variety of factors in the surrounding cultural context.

Furthermore, the universal bodily basis does not seem to be utilised in the same way in different cultures. For example, the heat conceptualisation of anger is less common in Chinese than in English. In Chinese the dominant metaphors of anger are grounded on pressure. What this means is that in this culture, conceptual metaphors of anger are based on a different aspect of anger than in English. According to Kövecses, universal embodiment provides only a *potential* basis for metaphorical conceptualisation but it does not *predict* what the actual metaphors will be.

G. Lakoff and M. Johnson's analysis of the orientational metaphors used in the conceptualisation of happiness and sadness provides additional evidence in favour of Z. Kövecses's view. In 3.5. it was mentioned that there is a physical basis for the creation of the metaphors HAPPY IS WIDE and SAD IS NARROW. It was further pointed out that the potential possibility to form such metaphors remains unrealised in English. This means that the existence of a potential basis for conceptualising happiness and sadness in terms of wideness and narrowness does not automatically lead to the creation of the corresponding metaphors HAPPY IS WIDE and SAD IS NARROW.

3.7. Universality and Variation in the Metaphorical Conceptualisation of Emotions

One major assumption in cognitive linguistics is that disparate cultures describe emotions metaphorically in similar ways because some fundamental experiences that human beings have are universal. It is surmised, for instance, that all humans, regardless where in the world they live, have the same body and physiology and this fact is responsible for the existence of similar bodily metaphors for emotions in typologically distinct languages. To exemplify, THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS metaphor seems to be one of the metaphors that have a near-universal status. Near-universal metaphors are the metaphors that can be found in various genetically unrelated languages of the world (see, Kövecses, 2000a: 37). Researchers look for such metaphors in unrelated tongues because the similarities in metaphorical patterns existing in related languages may stem from the fact that the languages in question have originated from a common ancestor.

Thus, according to Z. Kövecses, the universal character of the metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS results from the fact that it is grounded on the global experience of bodily containment. However, despite the fact that the above-mentioned metaphor is universally pervasive, there is a cross-cultural variation in its use. Cultures may differ with regard to where in the body they locate emotions. For example, English may place courage in the whole body and in the heart. In the metaphorical expression presented below, courage is located in the veins which run through the whole body:

- (70) Now that I was away from the city, with its comforts and its phobias, I felt the courage seeping back into my veins (<http://www.independent.co.uk/travel/news-and-advice/kenya-how-to-get-around-on-crutches-664188.html>. Accessed: 01.04.10).

Furthermore, the WRUD in the ODET defines the expression (71) *full-hearted* as “full of courage or confidence”. In this metaphorical utterance, the heart is conceived of as the seat of courage. However, in the Chinese cultural model the main locus of courage is understood to be the gallbladder (see, Yu, 2003). This yields the metaphor GALLBLADDER IS CONTAINER OF COURAGE. Given that both English and Chinese use the human body as a source domain for the conceptualisation of courage, they view different parts of the body as salient for the understanding of emotions. Moreover, English and Chinese also differ in the sense that they conceptualise courage in terms of different substances. In (70) courage is conceived of as blood; in (71) it is described in terms of an unspecified substance. According to Yu, in Chinese courage is conceptualised as *qi* (a gaseous substance). This yields the metaphor COURAGE IS QI (GASEOUS VITAL ENERGY) IN GALLBLADDER. It is important to mention that the existence of such a cross-cultural variation in the conceptualisation of emotions is not by chance; metaphors used by speakers of different languages exist in a particular historical and cultural context. That context marks the metaphors used in a particular community with cultural uniqueness.

Some important cross-cultural similarities and differences have also been found in the conceptualisation of anger. For instance, the metaphors of anger employed in Hungarian, Chinese and Japanese have been examined, respectively, by Z. Kövecses, B. King and K. Matsuki (Kövecses, 2000a; King, 1989; Matsuki, 1995). According to Kövecses, the term *düh* denotes the concept of anger in Hungarian. The Hungarians make sense of anger by using the

same conceptual metaphor that is employed by English speakers, that is ANGER IS A HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER. In both cultures, the whole body can be conceived of as a container for anger. However, apart from the whole body, anger is also placed in the head in Hungarian. Z. Kövecses's views this conceptualisation to be specific to Hungarian (see, Kövecses, 2000a, pp. 149-150).

In Japanese the concept that corresponds to English anger is *ikari*. According to Matsuki, the metaphor ANGER IS A HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER is also used in Japanese. However, what distinguishes Japanese from English and Hungarian is that, in addition to the whole body, it conceives of the stomach/bowel area (*hara* in Japanese) as a container for anger. The concept of *hara* has a cultural importance and as such is restricted to Japanese. Also, in the Japanese cognitive model anger is conceived of as moving from the stomach/bowel area (*hara*) to the chest (*mime*) and then to the head (*atama*).

Ning Yu's study also demonstrates that in Chinese anger is conceived of as a substance held in the body container (see, Yu, 1995). In this respect, Chinese exhibits similarity to English, Hungarian and Japanese. However, the Chinese concept *nu* is different from the corresponding concepts in English, Hungarian and Japanese in the sense that it is based on the cultural notion *qi* (gaseous energy) that has been mentioned above. As we already know, English, Hungarian and Japanese conceptualise anger as a fluid. N. Yu claims that, different from the above-mentioned languages, Chinese places *qi* in several different body containers: the breast, heart, stomach and spleen. What is more, whereas English, Japanese and Hungarian conceptualise anger as a hot fluid, the *qi* fluid in Chinese is not hot; its temperature is not specified.

In his previously mentioned book, Z. Kövecses explains the similarities present in the languages under discussion as follows. People experience the same physiological reactions in their bodies when they are angry, for example body heat, internal pressure, redness in the neck and face area, etc. This gives rise to similar conceptualisations of anger in disparate cultures.

However, some researchers working in the field of cognitive linguistics question the claim that the heat metaphors of anger used in different cultures are physiologically motivated and therefore universal. For instance, D. Geeraerts, S. Grondelaers claim that the heat metaphors used in English may well be motivated by the European medical doctrine of *The Four Humors* which is a culture-specific doctrine (see, Geeraerts, Grondelaers, 1995). The idea of the impact of the humoral theory on the formation of the European concept of anger has been accepted by Z. Kövecses. In the author's view, the conceptualisation of anger is influenced by both physiology and culture (for a detailed explanation see, Kövecses, 1995). By suggesting this, the author creates a balanced approach to metaphor which accounts both for the universality and variation in its use. Here it is crucial to mention that the role of cultural factors in the conceptualisation of emotions has never been denied by Z. Kövecses and he touches upon this issue in many of his works.

Among the conceptual metaphors of happiness used by English speakers the following ones can be found: HAPPINESS IS UP, HAPPINESS IS LIGHT and HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER (see, Kövecses, 2000: 24-25). It has been established that the same conceptual metaphors are used by speakers of Chinese and Hungarian in their everyday reasoning about happiness (see, Yu, 1995; Kövecses, 2002: 165). Moreover, the fact that English, Hungarian and Chinese use the UP, LIGHT and FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphors in the conceptualisation of happiness shows that there is a universal motivation for such

metaphors. This motivation consists in the fact that in a joyful state we tend to be up, move around and jump up and down; in addition, our eyes are bright and we smile. The major mappings found in the fluid metaphor of happiness may be based on universal experiences and metaphorical perceptions: namely, that the emotions are occurrences inside the body container, and that the emotions are associated with bodily liquids, such as blood; etc (see, Kövecses, 2005: 38). Nevertheless, apart from similarities, there are also some crucial differences in the ways in which different cultures understand happiness. For example, N. Yu claims that some conceptual metaphors of happiness used by Chinese speakers are not encountered in English. A case in point is the metaphor HAPPINESS IS FLOWERS IN THE HEART.

3.8. Degree of Metaphorisation of Emotion Concepts

Cognitive linguistic research into emotion metaphors shows that disparate emotion concepts have different degrees of proneness to metaphorisation. For example, the concept of love appears to be liable to a high degree of metaphorisation (see, Kövecses: 2000a: 27), whereas the concept of surprise is characterised by the low degree of metaphorisation (see, *ibid*, pp. 33). The reason for this is declared to be that love is a hybrid category: it is not merely an emotion but also a relationship. Due to this, the source domains that are typically used to characterise relationships are also employed in the conceptualisation of love. For example (see, *ibid*, pp. 26, 94-95):

LOVE IS A BOND: (72) There is a close *tie* between them.

LOVE IS AN ECONOMIC EXCHANGE: (73) I'm *putting more into* this than you are.

FRIENDSHIP IS A STRONG (PHYSICAL) BOND: (74) A real friendship *starts with a thread and spins into a rope*.

FRIENDSHIP IS AN ECONOMIC EXCHANGE: (75) Friendship is a *give and take*.

When it comes to the concept of surprise, with reference to Kendrick-Murdock's study (see, Kendrick-Murdock, 1994), Z. Kövecses mentions only three conceptual metaphors associated with this emotion. They are the metaphors of PHYSICAL FORCE, BURST CONTAINER and NATURAL FORCE (see, *ibid*, p. 33). According to the scholar, surprise is not a socially complex phenomenon and therefore there is not a significant amount of conceptual content related to it. Surprise shows a low degree of metaphorisation.

In Z. Kövecses's account, *pride* is another emotion concept that is characterised metaphorically only to a small degree. Five conceptual metaphors of pride are presented in Kövecses's book. They are the following metaphors: FLUID IN A CONTAINER, SUPERIOR, ECONOMIC VALUE, CAUSING INJURY TO SOMEONE, CAUSING PHYSICAL DAMAGE TO A STRUCTURED OBJECT (see, *ibid*, p. 30). The amount of the surprise and pride metaphors mentioned by Z. Kövecses is very low in comparison to that of love metaphors. Kövecses presents 24 love metaphors in his book.

However, it is difficult to tell whether the above-mentioned findings concerning the metaphorisation of pride are representative of all the available evidence. For example, in her corpus-based study of pride metaphors in Late Middle and Early Modern English, H. Tissari identifies 13 conceptual metaphors of pride (see, Tissari, 2006: 24). Clearly, the results of her

study contradict the claims made by Kövecses about the low degree of the metaphorisation of pride. In connection with the author's findings, some important questions arise: does the discrepancy in the results of the studies carried out by Z. Kövecses and H. Tossari depend on the fact that a considerable change has taken place in the metaphorisation of pride from Old and Middle English to Modern English, or does it depend on the fact that a part of pride metaphors used by speakers of Modern English have not yet been accounted for? Further investigations are needed to find a satisfactory answer to these questions.

3.9. Use of Emotion Metaphors by Ordinary and Creative Speakers

It is common knowledge that emotion metaphors are employed by both the ordinary speakers of language and creative users such as poets. In connection with this an important question arises as to whether the two groups of speakers comprehend emotion concepts in the same way or differently. More exactly, do they use the same kind of conceptual metaphors to make sense of an emotional experience or do they use entirely different metaphors? An answer to this question can be found in R. Gibbs's work (see, Gibbs, 1994). In this study the author analyses, among other things, how the concepts of love and anger are conceptualised by poets and the ordinary English speakers. Gibbs mentions the fact that such metaphorical emotion expressions as (76) *He's sustained by love*; (77) *I'm starved for your affection*, etc., used by ordinary speakers picture love in terms of a nutrient. Hence they manifest the underlying conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A NUTRIENT (see, *ibid*, pp. 5-6). Then the author analyses how the same concept of love is understood in Emily Dickinson's poem *I Taste a Liquor Never Brewed*. According to Gibbs, Dickinson's description of love as a (78) *liquor never brewed* is a poetic elaboration of the idea that love is a nutrient. In other words, both the everyday emotion expressions that describe love as a nutrient and the linguistic metaphors of love used by E. Dickinson are motivated by the same conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A NUTRIENT.

R. Gibbs convincingly demonstrates that the metaphorical anger expressions used by ordinary and creative speakers are also motivated by the same conceptual metaphors (see, *ibid*, pp. 7-8). For example, the metaphorical phrases like (79) *Bill is getting hot under the collar*; (80) *Jim's just blowing of steam* are the everyday expressions that English speakers use when reasoning about anger. They reflect the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER. According to Gibbs the same conceptual metaphor motivates some poetic descriptions of anger used by creative speakers. For instance, the image of anger provided by Adrienne Rich in his poem *The Phenomenology of Anger* is that of acetylene – a formidable substance. The conclusion drawn by Gibbs here is that creative speakers do not conceptualise anger in a way that is different from the way in which anger is conceptualised by ordinary speakers. What they do is to elaborate the everyday conceptual metaphor of anger in a new way.

3.10. Emotion Metaphors and Empirical Methods

The major cognitive linguistic claims on emotion metaphors gain support from various empirical studies performed in the field of related disciplines such as psychology,

neuropsychology, psycholinguistics, etc. For example, the assertion of the ubiquity of metaphor in emotion language is supported by a psychological study performed earlier by J.R. Davitz and S. Mattis (see, Davitz & Mattis, 1964). The objective of the study was to establish the role metaphor plays in the communication of emotional meaning. The participants were shown a series of Rorschach inkblots and were asked to tell what each inkblot resembles. In each case the subjects were required to report a precept expressing one of five emotional meanings: anger, anxiety, joy, love, or sadness. With the help of this procedure, 72 statements judged as metaphors have been elicited. Here are some sample expressions: “A kind of insect which annoys me” for anger; “Two puppies that are very close. Could be siblings” for love; “It looks like confusion” for anxiety, etc. The subjects of the study frequently used metaphors to communicate emotional meaning. According to the authors, the received expressions were not literally applicable to the inkblots employed but they were grounded on a perceived resemblance. In the following step the same statements were shown to another group of participants who had to determine which of the five emotional meanings was conveyed. The participants correctly classified approximately 80 per cent of the statements. To confirm the received result an additional group of participants were involved in the experiment.

The use of metaphor in emotion discourse has also been experimentally researched by the psychologists A. Ortony and L. Fainsilber (see, Ortony & Fainsilber, 1987). Their results also confirm the pervasiveness of metaphors in emotion discourse. In addition, the study shows that the metaphorical meaning conveyed by emotion descriptions is irreducible to some literal propositions. The subjects of the experiment were instructed to recall their experiences of specific emotions and depict *how* they felt that emotion or what they *did* when experiencing it. More exactly, they were asked to revive in memory their experiences of the four positive emotions, which are *happiness*, *relief*, *gratitude* and *pride* and the four negative emotions, which are *sadness*, *fear*, *resentment*, and *shame*. The participants frequently used metaphorical expressions when describing their emotional experiences. Furthermore, they were more likely to use metaphorical language when describing feeling states (17%) than when characterising their actions (4%). The subjects tended to use more metaphorical expressions when characterising intense emotions (12%) than when describing mild ones (9%). A. Ortony and L. Fainsilber further claim that the production ratio of novel metaphors was much higher in the description of intense emotions (12%) than that in the depiction of mild emotions (8%). The authors explain this phenomenon by the fact that people are more likely to use striking and complex metaphors in order to describe their intense emotions.

The authors of the study acknowledge that the use of metaphorical language in the description of the subjective quality of the experienced emotions is inevitable because the use of literal language in such a situation is inadequate. For instance, one of the participants of the study described his experience of resentment by saying that he felt like “a storm was brewing inside”. According to the authors this description captures the richness, vividness and a more specific character of the experienced emotion which would be impossible to capture with the help of the literal description *resentment*.

Ortony and L. Fainsilber distinguish between three communicative functions of metaphor. The first function is that metaphors give us the possibility to express something that is impossible to express with the help of literal language. The authors characterise this hypothesis as *the inexpressibility claim*. The second function is that metaphors help us make sense of the

vividness of a subjective experience (*the vividness claim*). Yet another function is that metaphor is a compact means of communication (*the compactness claim*). Metaphors help us to convey voluminous information in a concise way.

Another source of evidence comes from educational psychology. In his book *Teaching with Emotion. A Postmodern Enactment*, M. Zembylas explores among other things the emotion metaphors used by teachers in their professional discourse (see, Zembylas, 2005). According to the author, emotion metaphors are pervasive in teachers' narratives. The reason for this seems to be that the educational process does not merely involve the transmission of factual knowledge from teachers to students. A whole array of emotions is involved both in education and learning. This contributes to the fact that teachers resort to metaphors in order to make sense of their emotions involved in science teaching. The study is based on the metaphorical language used by an elementary school teacher (Catherine) who participated in a three year ethnographic project examining the role of emotions in her teaching. The emotion expressions analysed in the research are elicited from a vast range of interviews, observations and written documents in which Catherine narrates her emotional labour in science teaching. One obvious advantage of Zembylas's research is that it is based on the naturally occurring narrative and not on the intuitively elicited data. Furthermore, the study shows that emotion is often involved in rational thinking. This view contradicts the traditional assumption that emotion and reason are separate things.

The author identifies a range of conceptual metaphors underlying the metaphorical emotion expressions used by Catherine. Here are some of them: EMOTION IS A NATURAL FORCE, EMOTION IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, EMOTION IS ILLNESS, EMOTION IS BURDEN and EMOTION IS A PHYSICAL DAMAGE (ibid, p. 141). It is common knowledge in cognitive linguistic literature that the same metaphors are also frequently used in people's everyday reasoning about their emotional experiences (see, for example, Kövecses, 2000a). According to the author, the metaphors used by Catherine capture, respectively, the following aspects of emotions: *intensity, control, the positive/negative evaluation, difficulty and harm*. What is more, Catherine's narrative includes a description of how emotions are perceived in the school in which she taught. Her colleagues consider emotion as a "lower" status phenomenon in comparison to rational responses to which they assign a "higher" status. This shows clearly that the concepts of emotion and rationality are understood in terms of spatial concepts. This provides evidence for the cognitive linguistic assumption that the concept of physical space is actively used in the conceptualisation of emotions.

A series of experimental studies carried out in recent years furnish evidence for the claim that human bodily experiences play a paramount role in the structuring of our emotion concepts. They show clearly that much of people's metaphorical reasoning about their affective experiences is motivated and constrained by the neurophysiologic, biological, anatomical, etc., functioning of the body. For instance, in English emotional distress is commonly conceptualised in terms of physical pain. This is evident from the fact that the vocabulary used to describe physical pain is also employed to characterise emotional suffering. To give some examples: (81) stomachache/heartache; (82) be hurt by a dog's bite/be hurt by another's biting remark. A neuropsychological study carried out by N.I. Eisenberger, and M.D. Lieberman shows that this is not merely a coincidence: the same region of the brain processes both physical pain and emotional distress (see, Eisenberger & Lieberman, 2005). This means that the conceptualisation of emotional distress in terms of physical pain has a neurological basis. The existence of the link in the brain

between the physical pain and emotional distress is also confirmed by other empirical studies. For instance, in a neuropsychological study, G. McDonald & M.R. Leary have found out that people exposed to social exclusion experience emotional pain “because reactions to rejection are mediated by aspects of the physical pain system” (see, McDonald & Leary, 2005). Therefore it is not surprising that people make sense of emotional suffering in terms of physical pain.

Furthermore, in their everyday talk English speakers employ the concept of temperature to make sense of their emotions. For example, the metaphorical expressions like (83) *icy stare* and (84) *cold reception* are used to characterise emotional aloofness. In other words, emotional aloofness is understood in terms of coldness by those towards whom it is directed. It is common knowledge that emotional aloofness is often demonstrated in order to exclude an individual or a group of individuals from social relations. An experiment performed by two psychologists at the University of Toronto, G.J. Leonardelli and C.B. Zhong provides evidence for the fact that the above-mentioned conceptualisation is grounded in bodily experience (see, Zhong & Leonardelli, 2008). The study shows that people exposed to social exclusion experience physical coldness. The study also demonstrates that social exclusion may make people prefer hot drinks such as hot soup or coffee.

In one experiment of the study the participants were divided into two different groups. The first group was asked to remember a situation in which they were excluded by others. The second group was urged to think of a situation where they were included by others. Then both groups were requested to estimate the room temperature. The degree of temperature estimated by the first group was much lower than that given by the second group despite that the room temperature remained unchanged during the entire test.

In another experiment a group of students played a computerised ball-toss game. Some participants received the ball twice at the start of the game but were omitted from the rest of the 30 throws. Other players received the ball many times. When the game finished the participants were requested to rate the extent to which they desired the following products: hot coffee, hot soup, apple and crackers, and Coca Cola. The participants who were excluded from the game gave more preference for warm products like hot coffee and hot soup than the participants that were included in the game. Leonardelli and Zhong claim that the results of this study are consistent with the embodiment hypothesis in the sense that it demonstrates that cognition is not separate from physical and somatic perception.

A much discussed emotion metaphor ANGER IS HEAT also conceptualises anger in terms of temperature. The cognitive linguists Z. Kövecses and G. Lakoff claim that this metaphor is motivated by human physiology (see, Kövecses, 1986; Lakoff, 1987). For instance, in his work *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things*, G. Lakoff describes the folk theory of the physiological effects of anger: increased body heat, increased internal pressure (blood pressure, muscle pressure), agitation, and interference with accurate perception. He then claims that this theory, especially that part which emphasises HEAT, motivates the general anger metaphor ANGER IS HEAT (see, Lakoff, 1987: 381-383). The validity of this theoretical assumption is supported by the results of the Ekman group’s psychological research carried out independently of cognitive linguistic studies. The results gained by this group corroborate the idea that there exists a clear-cut correlation between increased skin temperature and the experience of anger (see, Ekman, Levenson & Friesen, 1983).

Furthermore, the AFFECTION IS WARMTH metaphor mentioned earlier maps the source domain of temperature onto emotion. A series of experiments performed by the psychologists

L.E. Williams and J.A. Bargh provide biological evidence for a strong link between physical and emotional warmth. These experiments show that both physical temperature and interpersonal warmth are processed by the same area of the brain, namely insular cortex or insula (see, Williams & Bargh, 2008).

In the first experiment of the study a laboratory worker asked each study participant for help to carry her cup of coffee. The cup contained either hot or icy-cold coffee. A short while later the participants received a portrayal of an imaginary individual featured as cautious, determined or industrious. They were then required to give their judgments about the fictitious individual's personality traits. The participants who held the hot cup of coffee were more inclined to portray the target person as "warm" in comparison to those who held the cup with ice-cold coffee.

In the following experiment the study subjects were asked to hold heating pads or frozen pads and were informed that they participated in a product assessment study. In the next step, the subjects were proposed to take a gift for themselves or a gift certificate for a friend as a reward for the participation in the study. The gift certificate was often preferred by the participants who had held the hot pad whereas the subjects who held ice pads were inclined to keep the gift for themselves. L. Williams and J. Bargh draw the conclusion that the feeling of physical warmth can have an effect on how we conceive of other people. Physical warmth may cause us to view others more positively and also evoke more positive affective responses in us.

Emotion metaphors have also been investigated empirically by some experimental psychologists when attempting to solve some fundamental problems involving metaphor. For instance, R. Gibbs has carried out a series of psycholinguistic experiments to test the claim that metaphors are conceptual structures. In his research he scrutinised the metaphor ANGER IS A HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER. The study furnishes evidence for the fact that this metaphor is conceptual in nature (see, Gibbs, 1994). In Gibbs's study, the participants performed different mental imagery tasks. They were required to recall the images that they associated with anger expressions like (85) *flip one's lid*, (86) *blow one's stack*, etc. The idioms evoked a similar image in the minds of the study subjects, that is a hot fluid in a pressurised container. In Gibbs's account it is possible for people to create such a similar image because of the fact that the metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER exists in people's conceptual system. However, it does not seem to be the case that the above-mentioned metaphor is automatically accessed every time when a metaphorical heat expression of anger is used. As Gibbs himself puts it:

...it is not necessarily the case that people automatically activate their pre-existing metaphorical knowledge that anger is a heated fluid in a container each and every time they read or hear the expressions *He almost exploded with anger* or *She blew her stack when she heard of her husband's affair* (Gibbs, 1994: 19).

Here, Gibbs makes the assumption that the access may be task and context dependent.

In their work *Cognitive Metaphor and Empirical Methods*, J. Valenzuela and C. Soriano give, among other things, a description of their reaction time research that has to do with the metaphorical conceptualisation of anger. The main result of the study was that such emotion metaphors as ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, ANGER IS AN AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL and ANGER IS AN OPPONENT constitute stable cross-domain mappings in the speakers' minds (see, Valenzuela & Soriano, 2005).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the main tenet of the CMT is that metaphor is primarily a matter of thought. If this assumption is true then what lies at the thought level

should manifest itself not only linguistically but also through non-linguistic means. Today, there is enough non-linguistic evidence for the existence of some conceptual emotion metaphors. For example, C. Forceville has examined the visual manifestation of the idealised cognitive model for anger in the Asterix comic album *La Zizanie* (see, Forceville, 2005). The author emphasises that the visual representations of anger found in this album are compatible with the conceptual metaphor of anger analysed by Z. Kövecses ANGER IS A HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER. Furthermore, C. Forceville assumes the possibility that such representations may be motivated by the above-mentioned anger metaphor.

The psychologist W.G. Parrot has examined people's everyday talk about the state of *being emotional* in order to establish how people conceptualise this category (Parrot, 1995). The study participants were asked to recall a time when they viewed themselves to have been emotional. They were asked: a) why that experience made them qualify it as emotional; b) how their thoughts, feelings, and actions would have differed if they had not been emotional. The study showed that the concept of being emotional includes four basic themes or elements: a) intense, strong emotions; b) mixed emotions; c) being out of control; d) being irrational.

W.G. Parrott emphasises that the combination of these elements resembles the prototype of emotion proposed by Z. Kövecses. According to Kövecses a prototypical emotion scenario has the following stages: 1) an event; 2) an emotion exists with intensity; 3) attempt at controlling the emotion, but the emotion's intensity is so great that the emotional person becomes irrational; 4) loss of control; 5) the emotion fades away. The first element in W.G. Parrot's description, that is intensity, coincides with the second stage in Kövecses's prototype scenario. Furthermore, W.G. Parrot's third and fourth elements, namely being out of control and being irrational, respectively, correlate with the 4th and 3rd stages in Kövecses's prototype scenario.

In W.G. Parrott's psycholinguistic experiment the participants described their experience of being emotional in terms of the four structural components: intensity, control, irrationality and mixedness. This provides empirical evidence for the claim made by Z. Kövecses that emotions are not nebulous feelings devoid of conceptual content but they have a complex conceptual structure (see, Chapter 1 of this thesis). As is known, often the aspects or elements of emotion concepts like those mentioned by W.G. Parrott are highlighted by conceptual emotion metaphors. The author's study shows that speakers of language are able to identify different elements or components of their emotional experiences.

3.11. Conclusions

Cognitive linguistic research has systematically shown that the concepts used by people to reason about emotions are metaphorically structured and understood. These findings invalidate the traditional view according to which emotions are amorphous feelings devoid of conceptual content. There are several classification models of conceptual emotion metaphors, each with a set of criteria. Moreover, an emotion has multiple aspects and metaphors help us make sense of them. Cognitive linguists have identified the following aspects: *existence, intensity, passivity, control, "positive-negative" evaluation, difficulty, desire/need, nonphysical unity, progress and harm*. Some aspects such as control may be seen as complex phenomena and they may consist of several minor subspects. Each subspect is conceptualised by different metaphors. Often, several emotion metaphors highlight one and the same aspect of emotion.

The majority of the source domains that occur with emotions are not specific to emotions. They apply to a number of target concepts outside the emotion domain. A significant amount of source domains that occur with emotions have been identified and studied by researchers. However, the list may not be complete since recent corpus-based research on emotion metaphors has revealed new source domains missed in earlier studies. Moreover, recent research also shows that our current knowledge of the application scope of some source domains within the emotion domain may not be exhaustive. Further investigations are needed to get a broader picture of the matter.

Much is not yet known about the experiential basis of emotion metaphors. Nevertheless, some important factors concerning the issue have already been established. Correlation in experience seems to be one of the major reasons why certain source domains occur with particular target domains. Research shows further that emotion metaphors may also be motivated by tactile experiences. However, the existence of an experiential basis does not automatically lead to the formation of a conceptual metaphor. There is a variety of physical and cultural groundings for metaphor. Coherence within the overall system is considered to be responsible for why one is chosen and not another.

Cognitive linguistic studies provide evidence for both diachronic stability and change in conceptual emotion metaphors. One possible reason for change may be that embodiment provides a potential basis for metaphorical conceptualisation without predicting what the actual metaphors will be. Universal embodiment has various components. Conceptual metaphors may be grounded on one component at a particular point of time and on another at another time. The choice of the component depends on various factors in the surrounding cultural context. Furthermore, universal bodily basis may also be utilised differently in different cultures.

Research shows that many emotion metaphors used in different cultures are near-universal. It is assumed that one key factor responsible for the existence of such metaphors in typologically different languages is universal human physiology. At the same time there are also certain differences between cultures in the conceptualisation of emotions. For example, given that many cultures conceive of the body as a container for the emotions, they may place emotions in different parts of the body. Cultures may also differ in the sense that they may conceptualise emotions in terms of different substances, etc. Generally speaking, cognitive linguistics holds that metaphors are shaped by both embodiment and culture. This is a balanced approach to the subject matter because it takes into account both the universality and culture-specificity aspects of metaphor.

The liability of different emotion concepts to metaphorisation is a problematic issue and different studies present contradicting results concerning this question. Further research is necessary in order to gain a better understanding of the matter. Moreover, it has been established that ordinary and creative users of language make sense of emotions by using the same conceptual metaphors. The only difference between them seems to be that creative speakers elaborate conceptual emotion metaphors in a new way. Finally, many cognitive linguistic claims involving metaphorical emotion conceptualisation have been tested and verified by a variety of empirical studies.

Chapter 4

METAPHORICAL CONCEPTUALISATION OF ANGER

4.1. Introduction

In his book on emotion metaphors, Z. Kövecses emphasises that “anger is perhaps the most studied emotion concept from a cognitive semantic point of view” (see, Kövecses, 2000: 21). The metaphorical conceptualisation of anger has been analysed in the following works (Kövecses, 1986, 1995, 2000b, 2006; Lakoff, 1987; Gibbs, 1994; Geeraerts and Grondelaers, 1995; Ungerer and Schmid, 1996; Gevaert, 2001, 2005, etc.). These studies scrutinise the subject matter from different angles and perspectives. Nevertheless, they all have one idea in common: the everyday concept of anger is partially structured and comprehended metaphorically. On the basis of existing research, Z. Kövecses provides a summary of the conceptual metaphors of anger identified by cognitive linguists (see, Kövecses, 2000). They are presented below:

ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER: (87) She is *boiling with anger*.

ANGER IS FIRE: (88) He’s doing a *slow burn*. His anger is *smoldering*.

ANGER IS INSANITY: (89) The man was *insane with rage*.

ANGER IS AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE: (90) I was *struggling with my anger*.

ANGER IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL: (91) He *unleashed* his anger.

ANGER IS BURDEN: (92) He *carries* his anger around *with him*.

ANGRY BEHAVIOUR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR: (93) Don’t *snarl at me!*

THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS TRESPASSING: (94) Here I *draw the line*.

THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE: (95) He’s *a pain in the neck*.

ANGER IS A NATURAL FORCE: (96) It was a *stormy* meeting.

AN ANGRY PERSON IS A FUNCTIONING MACHINE: (97) That really *got him going*.

ANGER IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR: (98) His actions were completely *governed* by anger.

However, some corpus-based investigations carried out in recent years show that certain conceptual mappings from particular source domains onto the target domain of ANGER have been left out of account in previous research. Just to exemplify, A. Stefanowitsch’s study has revealed metaphorical mappings such as ANGER IS A PLANT and ANGER IS DARKNESS, etc (see, Stefanowitsch, 2006). As is evident, they are not present in Z. Kövecses’s list of anger metaphors mentioned above.

Stefanowitsch’s research has established a range of other metaphorical mappings such as ANGER IS MIXED/PURE SUBSTANCE, ANGER IS LIGHT, ANGER IS A SLEEPING ORGANISM, ANGER IS GORGE, etc. The researcher considers these mappings as the

subcategories of more general conceptual mappings analysed previously in cognitive linguistic literature. More precisely, they instantiate respectively the conceptual mappings ANGER IS LIQUID, ANGER IS FIRE, ANGER IS A FIERCE ANIMAL and ANGER IS A HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER. However, since the author's study is restricted to the identification of the metaphorical patterns associated with particular emotion words, he does not present and analyse any linguistic metaphors manifesting the above-mentioned metaphorical mappings. Therefore, such mappings need to be further analysed by cognitive linguists in order to find out in what ways they help us make sense of anger and what aspects of anger they highlight. In this study I will analyse, among other things, the conceptual mapping ANGER IS PURE/MIXED SUBSTANCE identified by A. Stefanowitsch.

It is important to emphasise that despite that a significant number of cross-domain metaphorical mappings associated with the concept of anger have been described in the above-mentioned studies, there are still some conceptual mappings waiting to be identified and researched.

In what follows I present and analyse a set of conceptual metaphors of anger that have either received scant attention in cognitive linguistic literature or were simply ignored. Moreover, the chapter also aims at testing some claims made in previous research about the metaphorical conceptualisation of anger against the linguistic material presented in the current investigation. The metaphors analysed are grouped together according to their source domains. For instance, all the metaphors that conceptualise anger in terms of different animal species are categorised under the heading *Metaphors of Anger with the ANIMAL Source Domain*. The metaphors in which anger is conceived of as substances and fluids held in a container are classified as *Metaphors of Anger with the CONTAINER source domain* etc. Some conceptual mappings analysed in this study have been presented in my previous articles (see, Esenova, 2008, 2009a, 2009b). This research is partly an update of my earlier investigations.

4.2. Metaphors of Anger with the CONTAINER Source Domain

We know from the preceding chapter that the widespread belief amongst cognitive linguists is that some container conceptualisations of anger employed by speakers of other languages are not present in the conceptual system of the English people. Two theoretical assumptions are of particular interest here. One of them declares that whereas in Hungarian the head is conceived of as a container for anger, such a way of thinking of anger is not characteristic of English. The assumptions about the distinctiveness of the English mode of anger conceptualisation often stem from the view of how emotions are generally understood in the Western cultural model. Thus, it is surmised that in this model the head is not conceived of as a container for the emotions. The reason for this is alleged to be that in the Western philosophical thinking there is a theory of the heart/head dichotomy. For example, according to the Cartesian philosophy, thinking and feeling are allocated to different regions of the body, to the mind and the heart, correspondingly (see, for example, Niemeier, 2005; Goddard, 2005). Thus, cognitive linguists believe that since the head is not conceived of as a locus of emotion in the Western culture, consequently anger may not be located in it.

The other claim asserts that in the minds of Zulu speakers the heart is a seat of anger, while users of English mainly associate this bodily organ with such positive emotions as love,

affection, etc. For example, in his work, Z. Kövecses characterises the metaphor ANGER IS IN THE HEART used by Zulu speakers as being specific to that culture (see, Kövecses, 2002: 184). As the author puts it:

...Zulu shares many conceptual metaphors with English...This does not mean, however, that it cannot have metaphors other than the ones we can find in English. One case in point is the Zulu metaphor that involves the heart: ANGER IS (UNDERSTOOD BEING) IN THE HEART. When the heart metaphor applies to English, it is primarily associated with love, affection, and the like. In Zulu it applies to anger and patience-impatience, tolerance-intolerance.

However, neither of the above-mentioned hypotheses is supported by the linguistic data of the present study. In the English metaphorical emotion expressions presented below, the head is conceived of as a container for anger:

- (99) His *brain exploded* with fury... (BNC).
(100) Behind his crinkly eyes ... lies a *brain simmering with resentment* (<http://www.ew.com/ew/article/0,,254004,00.html>. Accessed: 22.04.10).

It is evident that the linguistic metaphors (99) and (100) are related to the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER. The container conveyed by the metaphor is the head. Now let us take a look at some other metaphorical anger expressions:

- (101) A *hot anger filled* his *heart* (http://books.google.se/books?id=DJZM6VK8SMAC&pg=PA129&lpg=PA129&dq=%22hot+anger+filled%22&source=bl&ots=dOaQsyb6Sa&sig=_11MboA-jQuqxc613dS6iBlxIFg&hl=sv&ei=1iTNS_fJMcT2OafIzPQP&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=9&ved=0CDEQ6AEwCDgK#v=onepage&q=%22hot%20anger%20filled%22&f=false, p. 129. Accessed: 22.04.10).
(102) A *heart filled with anger* (<http://ezinearticles.com/?Reasons-Ugly-People-Marry-Angels-and-Good-Looking-Ones-Stay-Single&id=2748218>. Accessed: 22.04.10).

In (101) anger is conceived of as a hot fluid in a container. Therefore, it is a linguistic example of the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER. However, different from the aforementioned case, here the container for anger is the heart. In (102) the temperature of the fluid is not specified. Therefore the metaphorical expression under discussion may be categorised as reflecting the underlying conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER. Even in this case the container for anger is the heart.

Thus the facts indicated above show clearly that English speakers may conceptualise the head as a container for emotion. They also provide evidence that the heart may be conceived of as a container for such a negative emotion as anger. When making decisions about the similarities and differences between English and other cultures in the metaphorical conceptualisation of anger, linguistic evidence such as that quoted above should not be ignored. Too much reliance on the influence of particular philosophical or cultural theories may lead to the fact that certain metaphorical patterns of emotion conceptualisation may be left out of account. I agree, however, with the idea that even though the head conceptualisation of anger exists, anger may more readily be associated with the whole body than with the head. Nevertheless, this is not sufficient reason to ignore the head metaphors of anger.

The present study shows that, apart from the whole body, the heart and the head, English also locates anger in the voice. For instance, in the metaphors that will be discussed below voice

is conceived of as a container and anger as a substance or fluid held in that container. Despite the fact that the voice-container metaphors are commonly used in English to make sense of anger and other emotions they have largely been left unaccounted for by cognitive linguists.

ANGER IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER.

- (103) There was *a hint of anger in his voice* (BNC).
- (104) Mariana said, with *a lot of anger in her voice*, “Where have you been?” (BNC).
- (105) Kelly thought she detected *a trace of bitterness in his voice* (BNC).
- (106) There was more than *a touch of irritation in Dane’s voice* (BNC).

The above metaphor can be classified as an instantiation of the metaphor VOICE IS A CONTAINER FOR ANGER in this particular case. Moreover, it is common knowledge that fluids are specific forms of substances. The following metaphorical expressions describe anger as a fluid held in a container. Therefore, they are the linguistic manifestations of the metaphor ANGER IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER. This conceptual construction too derives from the metaphor VOICE IS A CONTAINER FOR ANGER in this particular case:

- (107) “Listen to me, Barnett,” said Minter, anger *seeping into his voice* (BNC).
- (108) She *filled her voice with* all the anger she had *in her body* (BNC).

Obviously, in (108) two container images are conveyed: the voice and the body. The fluid is perceived to be transferred from the body-container into the voice-container. This is an image of the two communicating containers.

The container present in the source domain of the metaphor ANGER IS A HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER identified by Z. Kövecses is the body. As it will be evident from the following discussion, the metaphor under consideration has a version in which the container conveyed is the voice.

ANGER IS A HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER

- (109) ...Her voice *boils with rage*... (http://books.google.se/books?id=59-AQawZU8EC&pg=PA158&lpg=PA158&dq=%22voice+boils+with%22&source=bl&ots=_9d2eZBB7i&sig=bLHniXHjOPHVdPx5OId2lbI9r-4&hl=sv&ei=zpbNS9DGFdOvOICY3eUP&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=3&ved=0CBAQ6AEwAg#v=onepage&q=%22voice%20boils%20with%22&f=false, p. 158. Accessed: 22.04.10).
- (110) “They didn’t even sneeze, they didn’t even think about extraditing them,” Putin said, his voice *simmering with anger* (see, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/07/24/AR2007072401353_pf.html. Accessed: 22.04.10).

It is common knowledge in cognitive linguistics that the ANGER IS A HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor has a range of metaphorical entailments. Presented below are some of those entailments that instantiate the voice-container version of this metaphor.

When the intensity of anger increases, the fluid rises:

- (111) Carrie asked with anger *rising in her voice* (BNC).
- (112) There was anger *welling up in his voice*... (<http://www.uuloudoun.org/HumanGod.html>. Accessed: 22.04.10).

Intense anger produces pressure on the container:

- (113) His voice was rough *with barely suppressed fury* (BNC).

What is more, the substances we use may be of different quality and characteristics. Some of them may not cause any harm to humans whereas other substances may be dangerous. The following linguistic metaphor describes anger as a dangerous chemical substance held in a container. Even in this case the container is the voice. It manifests the underlying metaphor ANGER IS A DANGEROUS SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER which instantiates the general metaphor ANGER IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER.

- (114) That *caustic* anger Maik had always had in his *voice* when speaking of his only surviving relative (<http://www.squidge.org/~peja/cgi-bin/viewstory.php?sid=33670&warning=FRM>. Accessed: 22.04.10).

The dangerous substance in the source domain of the above metaphor is characterised as being *caustic*. This means that through chemical reaction it may burn, corrode, dissolve, or eat away everything with which it comes in contact.

In the following metaphorical emotion expressions anger is understood in terms of sulphur – a solid dangerous substance. The containers in which the substance is imagined to be held are the body and the eyes:

- (115) ...others didn't even attempt to *contain* their *sulphurous* anger (see, <http://www.thisislondon.co.uk/music/article-23393547-so-who-is-the-more-authentic-kurt-or-britney.do>. Accessed: 22.04.10).
- (116) With a *sulphurous* glance at her, he grabbed his books and papers and rushed out (BNC).

There are two major reasons for why people conceptualise anger in terms of sulphur.

Firstly, sulphur is a harmful substance. It is a corrosive material and in addition it is highly inflammable. It is also capable of irritating the respiratory tract and has a suffocating odour. In a parallel fashion, anger is a dangerous emotion in the folk theory. Thus, the perceived resemblance between a dangerous substance and anger that is believed to be harmful makes it possible to conceive of the latter in terms of the former. At this point it is important to mention that the conceptualisation of anger in the metaphor ANGER IS A DANGEROUS SUBSTANCE is in line with that in ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL. In both cases anger is portrayed as highly dangerous emotion. Secondly, there is a cultural underpinning for the conceptual link between sulphur and anger. In the Christian culture sulphur is associated with Hell and the devil (the obsolete name for sulphur is *brimstone*). For instance, *The Merriam-Webster Dictionary* characterises the adjective *sulphurous* as “of relating to, or dealing with the fire of hell” (M-W dictionary, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/sulphurous>. Accessed: 01.04.10).

In *The Revelation 20: 10* it is stated that the devil was cast into the lake of burning sulphur (see, <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Revelation+20%3A10&version=NIV>. Accessed: 05.05.10).

The Revelation 9: 12-21, contains a portrayal of some strangely shaped horses with the heads of lions and with tails of snakes (see, <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=revelation%209:12-21&version=NIV>. Accessed: 05.05.10). It is said that one third of mankind was murdered by fire, smoke and sulphur that were ejected through the mouths of those creatures. Obviously, such animals do not exist in reality and they are, rather, the embodiment of the devilish power. Moreover, in *The Bible*, sulphur is also associated with God's wrath and the punishment of sin. For example, in *Genesis 19: 24*, it is said that God rained down burning sulphur on Sodom and

Gomorrah (see, [http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Genesis 19: 24](http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Genesis+19%3A+24). Accessed: 05.05.10). The image of sulphur is also pervasive in Western literature. In his epic poem *Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained* (Book I), J. Milton gives us a description of “fiery deluge fed with ever burning sulphur unconsumed” (see, Milton, 2005). In Act IV, Scene I of the tragic play *Othello*, by W. Shakespeare, Desdemona expresses her desire to reconcile Othello with Cassio. At this, infuriated Othello exclaims, “Fire and brimstone!” (see, <http://www.clicknotes.com/othello/T41.html>. Accessed: 05.05.10).

The metaphor ANGER IS A DANGEROUS SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER makes a subjective negative judgment about anger by describing it as a harmful destructive emotion. Therefore it can be considered as highlighting the negative evaluation aspect of anger.

As mentioned before, containers are three-dimensional constructs which have an inside, outside and a boundary. One can put things into containers and take things out of them. However, the container described in the metaphor VOICE IS A CONTAINER FOR ANGER is an unusual container in the sense that it does not have such visible elements as an interior, an exterior and a boundary. Physical entities cannot be put inside the voice and things do not emerge from it. There are no visible boundaries that would separate voice from the things in the outside world. Nevertheless, we conceive of our voice as a three-dimensional container. The question is how can this be explained? The answer is that there is a human tendency to impose a boundary on various things or phenomena even when they do not have any visible physical boundaries. The concept of territoriality seems to be of great importance for humans. In their book *Metaphors We Live By*, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson explain this tendency in the following manner (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 29-30):

But even when there is no natural physical boundary that can be viewed as defining a container, we impose boundaries – marking off the territory so that it has an inside and a bounding surface – whether a wall, a fence, or an abstract line or plane. There are few human instincts more basic than territoriality. And such defining of a territory, putting a boundary around it, is an act of quantification. Bounded objects, whether human beings, rocks, or land areas, have sizes. This allows them to be quantified in terms of the amount of substance they contain.

So when we impose an imaginary boundary on voice and view it as a container for emotion, we conceive of emotion as a measurable substance or fluid. For instance, when we say (117) *His voice was full of anger and hatred* (BNC) or (118) *His voice was totally devoid of emotion* (BNC) our purpose is to measure the intensity of anger. We think and speak of intensity in terms of the quantity of a physical substance or fluid held in a container.

Evidence from other fields. There is also another important reason for why voice is conceptualised as a container for emotions. Voice conveys emotion and we make judgments about other people’s emotional states from the sound of their voice. That is why it is natural that voice is imagined to be a container for the emotions. Researchers have clearly and convincingly shown that there exists an obvious link between a person’s emotional state and the acoustic quality of his/her voice. For instance, I.R. Murray and J.L. Arnott emphasise that disparate emotional states will result in different acoustical changes in a person’s voice (see, Murray & Arnott, 1996). They also claim that emotion influences the pitch, timing and voice quality of utterances. Therefore a conclusion can be drawn that the changes in voice accompanying emotions are determined by the physiological processes taking place in the body. Hence, the VOICE IS A CONTAINER FOR ANGER metaphor is motivated by human physiology.

In the following linguistic metaphors anger is conceived of as a colour held in a container. The imagined container is the voice. They are the linguistic manifestations of the metaphor ANGER IS A COLOUR (IN A CONTAINER).

- (119) There's a *tinge of anger in his voice* ([tint of irritation in his voice \(\[Now let us consider the following metaphorical expressions:\]\(http://books.google.se/books?id=Vhk5yk_0J6cC&pg=PA30&lpg=PA30&dq=%22with+a+tint+of+irritation%22&source=bl&ots=ZM8NknInymb&sig=wLIFRrBlqUhwG85iidQclRmFg&hl=sv&ei=ddHNS4PV1d6kONPWobEP&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=3&ved=0CBEQ6AEwAg#v=onepage&q=%22wit h%20a%20tint%20of%20irritation%22&f=false, p. 30. Accessed: 22.04.10\).</p>
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<p>(120))

- (121) Dubois glared at the Doctor with a *tinge of anger* (BNC).
- (122) He paused, knowing eyes *tinged with irritation* looked down on her... (BNC).

These linguistic metaphors instantiate the same conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A COLOUR (IN A CONTAINER). However, different from the previously analysed case, here the container conveyed is the eyes. In the ANGER IS A COLOUR (IN A CONTAINER) metaphor the intensity of anger is understood in terms of the amount of a colour. More exactly, a small amount of a colour in the container in the source domain correlates with the low intensity of anger in the target. Again, physically, voice cannot contain any colour substances, nevertheless, metaphorically, it can be thought of as a container with a colour in it. Finally, ANGER IS A COLOUR (IN A CONTAINER) is a subcategory of the general metaphor ANGER IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER mentioned above.

At this point, an important question arises as to why the COLOUR source domain applies onto anger. There is a perceived similarity between the domains of COLOUR and EMOTION. As is known, colours are seen to be vivid, forceful and strong phenomena; this is why we talk about colour *intensity*. We ascribe the same characteristics to emotions and we believe that emotions also have the intensity aspect.

Evidence from other fields. Apart from what has been mentioned above, empirical studies show that there is a strong correlation between colour and emotion in our experience: colours may evoke both positive and negative emotional reactions in people (see, Kaya & Epps, 2004). This is another important reason why an emotion can be conceptualised in terms of a colour.

In the container metaphors of anger that I have presented so far, anger is understood in terms of some kind of substance (fluid, colour, etc.). However, the study has also identified another type of container metaphor in which anger is conceptualised as a child held in the body-container. For example:

- (123) Rage *gestated inside him* (

- (125) Then he was *pregnant with indignation* (see, http://books.google.se/books?id=w-dHcN NfOCcC&pg=PA33&lpg=PA33&dq=%22pregnant+with+indignation%22&source=bl &ots=8hu24X6tLE&sig=x6gHbZPHKJxeRrNLYNxl_mZ3oc&hl=sv&ei=ONtAS5ff BsnH_gaiwezbcg&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=4&ved=0CBcQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q=%22pregnant%20with%20indignation%22&f=false, p. 33. Accessed: 22.04.10).
- (126) ...my impression of him was that he was “*pregnant with rage*”... (http://jamiewjackson.blogspot.com/2004_09_01_archive.html. Accessed: 22.04.10).
- (127) Do not judge or humiliate anyone, for this *gives birth to anger* (see, <http://www.orthodox.net/gleanings/anger.html>. Accessed: 22.04.10).
- (128) Indignant at this, and *conceiving* anger and rancour against Darker, Athirston attacked him with a knife... (<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=104136>. Accessed: 23.04.10).
- (129) The first step in dealing with resentment is to *kill* it in its *embryonic stage* (<http://www.angelfire.com/wa/ruthsda/emotions.html>. Accessed: 23.04.10).

In these linguistic metaphors anger is portrayed as a child growing in the parent’s uterus.

As such they can be viewed as the linguistic manifestations of the container version of the metaphor ANGER IS A CHILD. Herein, it is important to emphasise that not all metaphorical anger expressions in which the emotion under consideration is conceived of as a child can be classified as linguistic *container* metaphors. I shall return to this matter later in this section. At this stage, I will introduce the following poetical metaphorical expression that has been created by the famous American author and poet Robin Morgan. In it anger is portrayed in a similar way to that in the above linguistic metaphors².

- (130) I’m *pregnant with rage*, and my *pains are coming closer*.

This metaphorical sentence, too, is the linguistic example of the ANGER IS A CHILD metaphor mentioned above. Moreover, the conceptual metaphor at hand seems to be based on the following set of ontological mappings.

Source: CHILD	Target: ANGER
The child	anger
The parent	the angry person or the source of anger
The womb	the mind
The conceiving of the child in the womb	the creating of anger in the mind
The gestation of the child in the womb	the development of anger in the mind
The stages of the child’s gestation	the stages of anger development
The nutrition	that which maintains anger
The size of the child	the intensity of anger
Killing the child	getting rid of anger
Giving birth to the child	giving rise to/causing anger
The birth pain	emotional suffering

² Quoted with permission of the author, Robin Morgan, from her poem “Annunciation” in *Monster: Poems* by Robin Morgan, Copyright 1970 (Random House, New York, 1970).

The metaphor ANGER IS A CHILD highlights several aspects of anger. Firstly, it captures the intensity of anger. As is evident there is a correlation between the size of the child and the intensity of anger. For example, the image of the small embryo conveyed by the metaphor symbolises low intensity anger. Also, the metaphor communicates the image of a child that is on the verge of birth (130). This is a much bigger image in comparison to that of the embryo. Hence, it corresponds to the high intensity anger. Secondly, the metaphor captures the control aspect of anger. It shows that the more intense anger is the more difficult it is to control. For example, in (130), there is an enormous internal pressure in the container and it is on the brink of bursting with the child. What this image symbolises is that the angry person is on the verge of losing control over anger. Thirdly, the metaphor tells us something about some possible causes of anger. For instance it shows that such unfavourable human traits as the humiliation of others and judgmental attitude towards them may cause anger.

At this point of the discussion, it is necessary to say a few words about the metaphorical examples (125) and (126) which are used to describe high intensity anger. The question that needs to be asked here is: how can we explain the fact that these linguistic metaphors are employed to describe high intensity anger? What is obvious is that the metaphorical examples under scrutiny contain the image of a pregnant body. One prominent feature of pregnancy that naturally strikes our attention is the enormous enlargement of the body. Therefore, in our psyche pregnancy is closely associated with a large, full body. The image conveyed by the linguistic metaphors under discussion is that of a body-container full with child. It is used to symbolise high intensity anger. This pattern is similar to that in the other container metaphors for emotion. To exemplify, in the metaphor THE EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS IN A CONTAINER analysed previously in cognitive linguistic literature, the fullness of the container symbolises the high intensity of emotion (see, Kövecses, 1990).

In the ANGER IS A CHILD metaphor, the stages of child gestation correlate with the stages of anger development. For instance, the embryonic stage is the early stage in the child's prenatal growth. At this stage the embryo is not a fully formed organism. This stage corresponds to the initial stage of anger development in the above metaphor. This is the time point at which anger comes into existence. The metaphorical example (130) describes the final stage of the child's growth in the uterus. This stage correlates with the late stage of anger development.

The ANGER IS A CHILD metaphor further conceptualises the angry person in terms of the parent of the child. By doing so, the metaphor keeps the angry person responsible for his / her anger. In human society parents are responsible for their children's lives. The message conveyed by the metaphor is that in the same way as a human child may not survive without its parent's care, anger may not exist if we do not maintain it. In the metaphor under discussion the source of anger is also understood in terms of the parent. Furthermore, the metaphor maps the nutrition in the source domain on that which maintains anger in the target. Unhelpful thoughts and stories are viewed to be the two things that keep anger alive. Also, there is a metaphorical mapping between the womb in the source and the mind in the target. The uterus is a physical location where a child grows. The mind is a mental location where anger is believed to develop. Therefore, the latter is understood in terms of the former.

What is more, there is also a correlation between the birth pain and emotional suffering. As any other form of physical pain, birth pain is not a pleasant experience. Therefore, it is natural that that it is mapped onto emotional suffering which is an equally unpleasant experience.

This conceptualisation overlaps with the metaphor EMOTIONAL PAIN IS PHYSICAL PAIN that we have in our conceptual system.

In addition, a few words should be said about the description of the womb-container in the metaphorical anger expressions presented above. In some linguistic metaphors, the container is directly mentioned. In some other cases its presence is signified through such domain-specific container words as *gestate* and *pregnant* associated with the containment of the child within the uterus from conception to birth. It is also indicated with the help of *birth* which denotes the emergence of the baby from the body-container. Yet in some other cases the presence of the container is only implied. A case in point is (129) where anger is portrayed in terms of an embryo. Our world knowledge tells us that normally an embryo is contained and grows inside the uterus of the mother. At this early stage of its development the embryo cannot survive on its own. The fact that we have this knowledge of embryos makes the mention of the uterus redundant in (129). Finally, some general spatial terms (such as *in*, *inside* as in (124) and (123), respectively) that are commonly used in the description of containers are also employed in the characterisation of the womb-container.

At this stage of the analysis it is necessary to pay some attention to certain linguistic anger metaphors presented in cognitive linguistic literature. Researchers often consider the metaphorical expressions like the one below as the linguistic examples of the FLUID metaphor for emotion. For instance, a similar expression can be found in (Kövecses, 1990: 147):

- (131) I *swelled with anger*... (<http://www.powells.com/cgi-bin/biblio/8-9780345505347-1>. Accessed: 23.04.10).

While I agree with the idea that some forms of fluid containment in the body such as the containment of blood and other liquids may give rise to the above conceptualisation, I think that the experience of pregnancy is equally likely to motivate the previously mentioned way of thinking of anger. This idea will be even more evident if we compare the aforementioned linguistic metaphor to the following literal expression used to describe pregnancy:

- (132) She also *swelled with child* (<http://www.socialtechnology.ca/stbook/1991new.htm>. Accessed: 23.04.10).

However, this is not to say that all the “swelling” metaphors may be motivated by this experience. For instance, such metaphorical examples as (133) *He got a **swelled** head* (see, Kövecses, *ibid*) definitely are not grounded in pregnancy. Now let us consider the following metaphorical emotion expression:

- (134) He was *bursting with anger*.

Cognitive linguists categorise the above example as the linguistic manifestation of INTENSE ANGER PRODUCES PRESSURE ON THE CONTAINER which entails the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER (see, Lakoff, 1987: 385). Even in this case, there is a reason to assume that the metaphorical anger expression under discussion may partly be motivated by the experience of pregnancy. To make this idea clear let us compare it with the following English literal expression that depicts pregnancy:

- (135) ...she was about to *burst* with child (<http://www.celebuzz.com/two-boys-charlie-brooke-s93551/>. Accessed 23.04.10).

Moreover, it has already been mentioned that the ANGER IS A CHILD metaphor has two variants: the container and non-container versions. The following metaphorical emotion expressions can be considered as the linguistic examples of the non-container version of the ANGER IS A CHILD metaphor:

- (136) Say, shall we *nurse* the rage? (OED).
- (137) To *nourish* resentment (The CED in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/nourish>. Accessed: 01.04.10).
- (138) He *nurtured* that anger for a decade (<http://www.michigandaily.com/content/why-racial-preferences-are-product-white-guilt>. Accessed: 23.04.10).

As is evident, the above metaphorical examples do not contain any words or expressions that convey the image of the womb-container. These linguistic metaphors show that there is one additional mapping from the source domain of CHILD to the target domain of ANGER: the nursing of the child is projected onto the maintaining of anger.

Finally, pregnancy is one of our most fundamental experiences of bodily containment. As such, along with other forms of bodily containment, it provides the basis for the formation of the CONTAINER image schema and the creation of the metaphors of child containment. Unfortunately, when analysing the types of bodily containment that give rise to the above schema researchers often fail to mention this experience. For example, as it was indicated in the second chapter of this thesis, M. Johnson enumerates only the containment of food, air, blood, and bodily wastes, etc., as the factors that give rise to the CONTAINMENT schema. The above facts provide evidence in favour of the cognitive linguistic view that the human bodily experiences give rise to conceptual metaphors.

4.3. Metaphors of Anger with the PURE vs. MIXED SUBSTANCE Source Domains

Among the metaphorical emotion expressions collected for the present study there is a group of linguistic metaphors in which anger is described in terms of a pure unmixed substance. This yields the metaphor ANGER IS A PURE SUBSTANCE.

ANGER IS A PURE SUBSTANCE

- (139) ...it was the *pure* wrath of God, *without any alloy or mixture* (<http://www.iclnet.org/pub/resources/text/ipb-e/epl-09/flafn-34.txt>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (140) ...his first emotion was *pure* anger at the killers (http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/iraq/2003-11-09-alpha-company-cover_x.htm. Accessed: 24.04.10).

We know from experience that each emotion may be sensed either separately or together with other emotions. The metaphor ANGER IS A PURE SUBSTANCE portrays anger as a discrete, unipolar emotion without any extraneous emotional components. Put another way, it is used to make sense of that form of anger which is sensed separately from other emotions. Therefore, the metaphor can be viewed as highlighting the uniformity aspect of anger. Moreover, it also captures the intensity aspect of anger. Usually those emotions that people characterise as “pure” are very intense. Finally, the metaphor focuses on the cause of anger. For example, in (140) the cause of anger is death.

What is more, there is another group of metaphorical expressions in which anger is described as being experienced simultaneously with other emotions, often of conflicting character. In them, anger and other emotions are understood in terms of mixed substances. For example:

- (141) ...I was *filled with a strange mixture of* anger and bewilderment (<http://www.ministrymagazine.org/archive/2003/August/ministering-to-families-of-the-terminally-ill.html>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (142) The betrayed spouse is feeling a *mixture of* anger, hurt, and fear (<http://www.gregswensonphd.com/infidelity.htm>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (143) That pleasure is *alloyed with* anger (<http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1951&dat=19860904&id=J5IoAAAAIBAJ&sjid=6oUFAAAAIBAJ&pg=4774,834161>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (144) Another odd *amalgamation of* anger, hope and happiness (see, <http://www.berkeleydailyplanet.com/issue/2000-05-11/article/169?headline=Albright-s-rowdy-welcome>. Accessed: 24.04.10).

Obviously, the above metaphorical emotion expressions are not used only to make sense of anger. They are employed to conceptualise complex emotions consisting of several emotional elements occurring simultaneously. Therefore, they can be viewed as the linguistic examples of the metaphor COMPLEX EMOTIONS ARE MIXED SUBSTANCES (for more detailed information about the MIXED SUBSTANCE metaphors see, Esenova, 2009b). Nevertheless, the metaphor under discussion has relevance for the purposes of the present study. It shows how anger can be felt as part of a complex emotional experience. Such a perception of anger is the opposite to the conception of anger as a discrete emotion in the metaphor ANGER IS A PURE SUBSTANCE.

Taking into account what has been said above, it can be concluded that the metaphor COMPLEX EMOTIONS ARE MIXED SUBSTANCES focuses on the complexity aspect emotion. The job of the metaphor is to tell us that what is experienced is not a uniform but a complex emotion consisting of several affective components. In addition, the metaphor also highlights the cause of complex emotions. For instance, in (142) the complex emotion is caused by matrimonial infidelity.

At this point an important question arises as to why we conceive of anger and other emotions experienced simultaneously in terms of mixed substances. The MIXED SUBSTANCE metaphor is grounded on the human experience of blending dissimilar substances. This is a fundamental experience and is pervasive in our life. For example, concrete used as a building material is formed by mixing together the distinct substances of cement, water, gravel and sand. Some metals are acquired from a combination of two or more metals. For example, brass is an alloy of zinc and copper. Dental amalgams which consist of a mix of mercury and silver are used in the medical practice as a filling material. The list can be made very long. The MIXED SUBSTANCE source domain is a perfect source domain for the conceptualisation of complex emotions for the following reasons: a mixed substance consists of two or more elements of dissimilar character. In a parallel fashion, a complex emotional experience consists of two or more emotions of distinct quality. Different substances mixed and blended form a new substance. In a similar fashion, distinct emotions experienced at the same time form a kind of an “emotional blend”. For example, when we feel anger and sadness simultaneously what we are experiencing

is neither pure anger nor pure sadness but a blend of the two. The perceived similarity between mixed substances and complex emotions makes it possible to map the former onto the latter.

Furthermore, colour is a specific form of substance. In the following metaphorical expressions anger and other emotions felt at the same time are conceived of as mixed colours. They reflect the metaphor COMPLEX EMOTIONS ARE MIXED COLOURS. The metaphor is the subcase of the general metaphor COMPLEX EMOTIONS ARE MIXED SUBSTANCES mentioned above:

COMPLEX EMOTIONS ARE MIXED COLOURS

- (145) His joy is *mixed with a tinge of anger*... (http://american_almanac.tripod.com/element.htm. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (146) His mocking was *tinted with anger* (<http://freakytrigger.co.uk/popular/2006/05/procur-harum-a-whiter-shade-of-pale/>. Accessed: 24.04.10).

The metaphor COMPLEX EMOTIONS ARE MIXED COLOURS is motivated by human experience of mixing various colours. For example, we may blend a tinge of a colour with a greater amount of a base colour to make the latter lighter or darker. To make the base colour darker, one adds a small portion of black to it and mix them together. To make the base colour lighter, one adds a tinge of white to it. The added colour changes the shade of the base colour. The above metaphorical expressions feature one component of the simultaneously occurring emotions as dominant. Here, the dominant emotions are joy and mocking. Therefore they are conceptualised in terms of a base colour. The intensity of the dominant emotion is high and it correlates with the higher amount of base colour substance. The other emotion, namely anger, is subsidiary; that is why it is conceived of as an added colour. The intensity of the subsidiary emotion is low and corresponds to the low amount of added colour. This demonstrates clearly that the intensity of the simultaneously experienced emotions may differ. Moreover, in (145), the subsidiary emotion is understood to alter the quality of the dominant emotion by making it less pleasurable. Summing up, the metaphor COMPLEX EMOTIONS ARE MIXED COLOURS helps us make sense of the intensity aspect of complex emotions.

Anger and other emotions felt simultaneously may be understood in terms of mixed food substances. This gives rise to the metaphor COMPLEX EMOTIONS ARE MIXED FOOD SUBSTANCES. This metaphor is also a subcategory of the metaphor COMPLEX EMOTIONS ARE MIXED SUBSTANCES.

COMPLEX EMOTIONS ARE MIXED FOOD SUBSTANCES

- (147) *A strange cocktail of anger and pride* (http://www.clarets-mad.co.uk/rprt/mch/a_strange_cocktail_of_anger_and_pride_474807/index.shtml. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (148) *...a bitter concoction of anger, frustration and disappointment*... ([http://www.inthenews.co.uk/news/features/in-depth/obituary-sir-bobby-robson-\\$1315492.htm](http://www.inthenews.co.uk/news/features/in-depth/obituary-sir-bobby-robson-$1315492.htm). Accessed: 24.04.10).

Food is a prominent domain in which different ingredients are often mixed together. For example, tea is a mixture of water and dried leaves; a salad is an admixture of different vegetables; a cocktail is a mix of various drinks; soup is a mixture of meat, vegetables and so forth. The above-mentioned metaphor is motivated by this experience.

Thus the MIXED SUBSTANCE metaphors mentioned above highlight three different aspects of complex emotions: a) complexity; b) cause; c) intensity. It should be pointed out that

until now cognitive linguistic studies of anger described the emotion under discussion as a discrete mental phenomenon. However, as we now know, anger may not always be sensed in such a manner. Unfortunately, the question about how anger is conceptualised when it is experienced as part of a complex emotional experience have been left out of account in cognitive linguistics. Further research is needed to find out more about the phenomenon.

Evidence from other fields. The phenomena of unipolar and complex emotions are widely known in psychology and other related disciplines. As R.A. Thamm puts it (see, Thamm, 2008: 26):

Many theorists had something to say about mixed emotions. In a positive vein, Averill (1975) proposed the construction of “compound” emotions, based on the more “elementary” ones. Ekman (1982), in confirming his studies of facial expression of emotions, concluded that emotions do “mix”, and Plutnick (1962) spoke of “mixed states” of primary emotions, in that a small number of “pure” emotions could be combined into more uniquely specific “compound” and “complex” structures. In addition, Turner (2002) noted that one way to increase the emotional repertoire is to “mix” primary emotions.

Summing up, the above discussion shows clearly that anger may be experienced in two different ways: a) as a discrete, unipolar emotion without any extraneous emotional components; b) as part of a complex emotional experience where it combines with other emotions.

4.4. Metaphors of Anger with the SUPERNATURAL BEING Source Domain

Many cultures have a supernatural belief system about the powers beyond nature such as gods, angels, ghosts, giants, banshees, goblins, witches, etc. Supernatural beings have captured our imagination for hundreds of years and the folk tales about them have been passed from generation to generation. Accordingly, in our conceptual system, there is a general source concept of SUPERNATURAL BEING. Z. Kövecses has convincingly proven that this concept applies to the target concept of FEAR (see, Kövecses, 1990: 76). It was mentioned in 3.4. that in cognitive linguistics the source domain of SUPERNATURAL BEING is considered to be specific to fear. The only emotion metaphor in which it is surmised to occur is FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING. The metaphor was analysed by Z. Kövecses in his work on emotion concepts (see, Kövecses 1990: 76). However, the available empirical evidence shows that the scope of application of the SUPERNATURAL BEING source domain stretches far beyond the domain of fear. For instance, the metaphorical expressions below map the SUPERNATURAL BEING domain onto the target domain of ANGER.

ANGER IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING

- (149) I'm *haunted* by anger (<http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1G1-81498047.html>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (150) Rage *has taken us over like a demon from Hell!* (<http://www.buzzle.com/articles/reckless-rage-doesnt-respect-life-appropriately.html>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (151) A *ghost* of anger made itself felt (<http://ebooks.metronet.lib.mi.us/00000021-0000-0000-0000-000000000001/10/232/en/ContentDetails.htm?ID=5754291F-69CF-4220-86D8-7BA56A5001C5>. Accessed: 24.04.10).

As the corresponding SUPERNATURAL BEING metaphor for fear, ANGER IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING portrays its target concept as a supernatural entity that can cause a lot of emotional distress to the self. The following ontological correspondences have been identified in the ANGER IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING metaphor:

Source domain: SUPERNATURAL BEING	Target domain: ANGER
The supernatural being	anger
The mental distress caused by the supernatural being	the emotional distress caused by anger
Being controlled by the supernatural being	anger being in control over the self.

As is evident, the ANGER IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING metaphor highlights at least two aspects of anger. Firstly, it captures the cause of anger which is emotional distress. Secondly, it focuses on the control aspect of anger.

Obviously, the metaphor uses our perceptions and beliefs about supernatural beings to conceptualise anger. Therefore, in order to adequately interpret the metaphor, it is first of all necessary to have due knowledge of its source domain. This rule also applies to any other metaphors. For example, G. Lakoff and M. Turner put this idea as follows: “in order to understand a target domain in terms of a source domain, one must have appropriate knowledge of the source domain” (see, Lakoff & Turner, 1989: 60).

Thus, one of the images conveyed by the metaphor is portrayed as *haunting* the self. In the folk belief of the supernatural, haunting is most commonly associated with the ghosts of those who have passed away with unfinished business. In the Encyclopaedia entry for *ghost* in the ODET it is argued that our concept of ghosts is grounded in the idea that the spirit is separable from the body and can continue its existence after the death of the body (*Britannica Concise Encyclopedia* in the ODET, <http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/ghost>. Accessed: 01.04.10). It is surmised, for example, that the ghosts of the dead may seek revenge by haunting those who wronged them in life. The other image communicated by the metaphor is that of a demon. According to the folk belief of the supernatural, demons are housed in Hell and this belief is reflected in (150). The demon is further characterised as *having taken control* over the self. Such a perception stems from the belief of demonic possession according to which demons are capable of entering the human soul and taking complete spiritual control over the victim. The victim has no control over the demonic spirit. The possessed is assumed to show such symptoms as violent outbursts, expunged memory, etc.

In the above description two major characteristics ascribed to supernatural beings can be identified: a) the capacity to cause much mental suffering to human subjects; b) the capacity to exert mental control over human subjects. The metaphor ANGER IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING uses these characteristics of supernatural beings to conceptualise anger.

Moreover, the metaphor under discussion bears some similarities to another metaphor, namely ANGER IS AN OPPONENT which also captures the control aspect of anger (for detailed information about this metaphor see, Lakoff, 1987: 391-392). How can this be explained? In the folk belief system some evil supernatural beings like demons are perceived to be the opponents of both God and humankind. It is for this reason that when we think of anger in terms of such supernatural beings we conceive of anger as an antagonist emotion.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the principle of unidirectionality states that the metaphorical process goes from the more concrete and tangible domain to the more abstract

intangible one. However, the supernatural beings like ghosts and demons present in the source domain of the metaphor ANGER IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING are imaginary figures that many people believe do not even exist in reality. Therefore, they cannot be characterised as concrete tangible entities, though in ancient times they were *believed* to exist and have some physical properties. This shows clearly that in order for a particular concept to function as a source domain it does not need to be a concrete physical concept. Even imaginary concepts can be used as source domains of metaphors.

Finally, the concept of the supernatural being may be more deeply rooted in human psyche than we might even realise. Supernatural figures frequently appear in theatres, literature, horror movies. The latter are extremely popular at the present time. In Shakespeare's play the ghost of Hamlet's father appears to tell Hamlet that he was killed by Claudius (see, Shakespeare, 1897). Supernatural beings are also present in fairy tales and the Halloween costumes that children wear also symbolise such creatures.

4.5. Metaphors of Anger with the HIDDEN ENEMY and TORMENTOR Source Domains

According to Z. Kövecses's research on emotion metaphors, HIDDEN ENEMY belongs to the group of source domains that are specific to fear (see, Kövecses, 2000: 40). When it applies to fear the resulting metaphor is FEAR IS A HIDDEN ENEMY (see, Kövecses, 2000: 23). The metaphor characterises fear as an enemy/opponent that lurks around, creeps up on, preys on or hounds the self. However, it is doubtful whether the HIDDEN ENEMY can be classified as a source domain that is specific to fear. Some metaphorical emotion expressions collected for the present study describe anger as a hidden enemy. For example:

- (152) I believe that we all have some sort of dark anger *lurking* inside of us (http://www.movie-views.com/films/W/walking_tall.html. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (153) Rage *creeps up on* you unawares too (<http://users.picknowl.com.au/~unitariansa/sermons/grief.htm>. Accessed: 24.04.10).

These metaphorical expressions can be classified as the linguistic manifestations of the metaphor ANGER IS A HIDDEN ENEMY.

In the lists of emotion metaphors presented by Z. Kövecses in his work *Metaphor and Emotion: Language, Culture, and Body in Human Feeling* (see, Kövecses, 2000) there is only one metaphor with the TORMENTOR source domain. That is FEAR IS A TORMENTOR (see, Kövecses, 2000: 23). A detailed account of the metaphor is given in his other book *Emotion Concepts* (see, Kövecses, 1990: 75). The metaphor portrays fear as a person who can afflict the self with great pain. The present study shows that apart from fear, the TORMENTOR source domain is also mapped onto anger. Let us illustrate this idea by example:

ANGER IS A TORMENTOR

- (154) The rage *tortured* him for years... (<http://www.newsday.com/at-an-early-age-samuel-l-jackson-learned-to-keep-silent-about-the-injustice-all-around-him-the-rage-tortured-him-for-years-until-1.617000>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (155) Anger *tortured* me (<http://rivervalley.satruck.org/about/news/stories/tony-zs-story-river-valle>. Accessed: 24.04.10).

What the above examples show is that, similar to fear, anger may be comprehended as an emotion which causes great suffering to the self. In addition, they demonstrate that the source domain under scrutiny has an application that extends far beyond the target domain of FEAR.

4.6. Metaphors of Anger with the ANIMAL Source Domain

Some metaphors that will be discussed in this section are the subcategories of the general metaphors ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL and ANGRY BEHAVIOUR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR analysed previously (see, Kövecses, 1986). Therefore, it would be reasonable to give a brief characterisation of these major metaphors before introducing the new ones.

ANGER IS DANGEROUS ANIMAL

- (156) He has a *fierce* temper.
- (157) It's dangerous to *arouse* his anger.
- (158) That *awakened* my ire.
- (159) He *unleashed* his anger.
- (160) Don't let your anger *get out of hand*.
- (161) He *lost his grip* on his anger.

Thus, ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL describes anger as a sleeping animal that is dangerous to awaken, something that needs to be restrained and something with an insatiable appetite. The metaphor captures the control aspect of anger. The following conceptual correspondences are distinguished in this metaphor (see, *ibid*):

Source: DANGEROUS ANIMAL	Target: ANGER
The dangerous animal	anger
The animal's getting loose	loss of control of anger
The owner of the dangerous animal	the angry person
The sleeping animal	anger near the zero level
Being awake for the animal	anger near the limit.

It is important to mention, however, that apart from control the metaphor ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL may also highlight the cause of anger. Let us illustrate this idea:

- (162) ...the bombardment *unleashed* a violent anger among civilians (<http://www.britannica.com/bps/additionalcontent/18/23643898/War-in-Somalia-looms>. Accessed: 24.04.10).

This example is similar to the metaphorical expression (159) in the sense that it describes anger as something that needs to be kept restrained. Here the cause of anger is the bombardment of civil population.

Moreover, ANGRY BEHAVIOUR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR is classified as an instantiation of the ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL metaphor mentioned above. It conceptualises angry behaviour in terms of aggressive animal behaviour. The following metaphorical emotion expressions are the linguistic manifestations of this metaphor (see, *ibid*):

(163) He was *bristling* with anger.

(164) That *got my hackles up*.

One additional metaphorical emotion expression can be included in the above list. For example:

(165) He put my *back up* with his boasting (KEMD in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/back>. Accessed: 01.04.10).

The above conceptualisation can be explained as follows. In a hostile condition some animals like dogs keep their tails upright and rigid. The example (165) describes angry human behaviour in terms of such animal conduct. In his famous work on the expression of emotions in humans and animals, C. Darwin argues, for example, that an angry man is sometimes said “to have his back up” (see, Darwin, 2007: 115). According to the author, here the angry human behaviour is described in terms of the corresponding hostile behaviour of a dog.

The ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL metaphor conveys the general image of a harmful animal. Such attributes as fierceness, insatiableness, etc., ascribed to the animal are the commonplace features that apply to many different savage beasts. The current study shows, however, that anger can also be understood in terms of some specific animals. In the metaphors that will be discussed below anger is conceptualised as horses and snakes and angry behaviour as aggressive horse and snake behaviour.

Horse metaphors. In the metaphor presented below, the emotion of anger is characterised in terms of a horse.

ANGER IS A HORSE

(166) His common sense is a *bridle* to his quick temper (The Thesaurus in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/bridle>. Accessed: 01.04.10).

(167) I usually manage to *curb* my anger when I'm at home, but at work I often don't succeed (BNC).

(168) *Unbridled* anger (The AHDE in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/unbridled>. Accessed: 01.04.10).

(169) ...You must try to *put a curb on* your bad temper (CALD, http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/curb_2. Accessed: 01.04.10).

(170) He *bridled* his rage (The CED in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/bridle>. Accessed: 01.04.10).

(171) Burun was unable to *rein in* his temper (BNC).

(172) *Harness* anger, expert says (<http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1499&dat=19810809&id=OVwaAAAAIIBAJ&sjid=uCkEAAAIAIBAJ&pg=6961,4985947>. Accessed: 24.04.10).

The following ontological correspondences can be identified in the ANGER IS A HORSE metaphor:

Source: HORSE	Target: ANGER
The horse	anger
The bridles	reason
Being bridled for the horse	anger being under control
Being unbridled for the horse	anger being out of control
The owner of the horse	the angry person.

The metaphor is motivated by our centuries-long experience of raising and keeping horses as livestock animals. From ancient times horses have been used by humans in agriculture, warfare and as a transport means. As a result of such a human-horse interaction people have acquired enormous knowledge of horse behaviour and characteristics. Furthermore, keeping any wild animal as livestock presupposes human control over such an animal. If left without control the animal may cause much harm both to its owner and to other people in its surroundings. We know from our experience that an unbridled horse is hazardous to ride. It may run at a dangerously high speed and throw off the rider or trample him/her, etc. It may also trample and destroy things in its surroundings. The metaphor ANGER IS A HORSE maps this knowledge of horses onto anger. The message conveyed by the metaphor is that in the same way as an unharnessed horse may cause harm to the horse owner and to others, anger may cause harm to the angry person and to others if it is not controlled by reason.

Apart from being a dangerous animal a horse also has some other characteristics: it is a strong, powerful and energetic animal and it shows intense reactions. For these reasons, the HORSE domain gets mapped onto such an intensive emotional state as anger.

It should be pointed out that the conceptualisation of anger as a horse is not a new phenomenon. This is a deeply entrenched way of thinking about anger in Western culture. For instance, in *Henry VIII* written by Shakespeare, we find the following lines (see, Shakespeare, http://www.shakespeare-literature.com/Henry_VIII/2.html. Accessed: 05.05.10):

(173) Anger is like
 A full-hot horse, who being allow'd his way,
 Self-mettle tires him.

The linguistic example of the ANGER IS A HORSE metaphor is also present in the poem *Fringilla: Some Tiles in Verse* written by the 19th century poet Richard Doddridge Blackmore (see, http://books.google.se/books?id=4An17tvMG5cC&pg=PA184&lpg=PA184&dq=%22curb+thy+rages%22&source=bl&ots=CmQXFxsqIQ&sig=opvnJyHpP2PIDv4TWzuUDYbZ_hk&hl=sv&ei=xiHPS_vpM4ynOliv2KcP&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CAYQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=%22curb%20thy%20rages%22&f=false, p. 184. Accessed: 24.04.10). For example:

(174) King of Egypt, curb thy rages;
 Lo, how trouble should be borne!
 Memnon soothes the woe of ages,
 With a sweet song, every morn.

Moreover, the tendency to comprehend anger in terms of a horse existed in Western culture long before the periods in which W. Shakespeare and R. Doddridge Blackmore lived. For instance, in the excerpt presented below, the Greek physician and philosopher Galen born in AD 129, describes the emotion of anger experienced by Medea, the protagonist in the Euripides' play *Medea*, in terms of a horse³. In Euripides' play, Medea kills her two children in order to hurt her husband Jason, who abandoned her.

She knew that she was performing impious and terrible deed... But again anger like a disobedient horse which has got the better of the charioteer dragged her by force towards the children ... and back again reason pulled her... And then again anger ... and then again reason.

³ Quoted from: J. Annas, "Humans and Beasts: Understanding Ourselves". In: J. Annas, *Ancient Philosophy: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 10.

Another Greek philosopher, Plato, describes passions in general in terms of an ugly horse in his *Chariot Allegory* (see, Plato, <http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/p/plato/p71phs/index.html>. Accessed: 05.05.10). He speaks of the human soul in terms of a charioteer with two horses. One of the horses has an aesthetically pleasing appearance and noble qualities: it is white and long-necked, well-mannered and moves without being prodded. The white horse symbolises rational and moral dispositions. The second horse has an ugly appearance and ignoble qualities: it is black, short-necked, with bloodshot eyes and it is ill-mannered and cannot run without being goaded. The black horse embodies passions and appetites. Here passions and appetites are understood to be irrational forces by Plato. Finally, the charioteer symbolises reason. In Plato's view the human soul works in harmony when rational and moral dispositions, as well as passions and appetites, are guided by reason. Plato describes the two horses in the following manner:

...The right-hand horse is upright and cleanly made; he has a lofty neck and an aquiline nose; his colour is white, and his eyes dark; he is a lover of honour and modesty and temperance, and the follower of true glory; he needs no touch of the whip, but is guided by word and admonition only. The other is a crooked lumbering animal, put together anyhow; he has a short thick neck; he is flat-faced and of a dark colour, with grey eyes and blood-red complexion (Or with grey and blood-shot eyes.); the mate of insolence and pride, shag-eared and deaf, hardly yielding to whip and spur.

In some metaphorical expressions collected for the current study, an angry person's behaviour is understood in terms of an aggressive horse behaviour. For instance, people perceive a horse's bridling behaviour as a sign of aggression. When a horse bridle, it throws its head up. Among other things the horse may bridle when reined in while attempting to escape from displeasure. So, in English, angry human behaviour is commonly comprehended in terms of the bridling behaviour of a horse. This yields the following metaphor:

ANGRY BEHAVIOUR IS AGGRESSIVE HORSE BEHAVIOUR

- (175) She *bridled* at the suggestion that she had been dishonest (CALD, http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/bridle_2#bridle_2__3. Accessed: 01.04.10).
- (176) *Bridling* at the criticism (The AHDE in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/bridle>. Accessed: 01.04.10).

The above conceptual construction is a subcategory of the general conceptual metaphor ANGRY BEHAVIOUR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR mentioned previously. Obviously, the metaphor highlights the cause of anger. The accusation of dishonesty and criticism are considered to be the causes that evoke anger. Moreover, apart from portraying angry behaviour as an aggressive horse behaviour and highlighting the cause of anger, the metaphor also reflects some of the core human moral values. For example, it shows that people do not like to be viewed as dishonest. This is because in human society dishonesty is seen as an immoral and unacceptable trait. It is regarded as a violation of moral norms: dishonest people treat others with disrespect by lying to them and cheating them, etc. Moreover, the fact that humans do not want to be regarded as dishonest means that they want to be seen as honest. This is due to the fact that honesty is considered as a good virtue in human community. We like honest people because they have integrity, they are not deceitful and we think of them as honourable people.

Furthermore, there is also a possibility that in the metaphor under discussion the angry person views the accusation of dishonesty and the criticism directed at him/her as unjust. That

is, the angry person may consider him/herself as being wrongly accused or criticised and may, therefore, feel offended. As we know from the previous anger studies, it is always an offending event that triggers anger in the subject. For example, in the prototypical anger scenario established by cognitive linguists, the first stage is the offending event. The offending event constitutes an injustice and triggers anger in S (see, Lakoff, 1987: 397).

Snake metaphors. The metaphor that will be presented next maps the source domain of SNAKE onto the target domain of ANGER. It is a subcategory of the metaphor ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL.

ANGER IS A SNAKE

- (177) But my anger *coiled, preparing its fangs* (<http://www.bartelby.org/84/103.html>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (178) Anger at himself *coiled* within him (BNC).
- (179) ...there's a *coiled snake* of rage *lurking* there (<http://www.charlestoncitypaper.com/charleston/film-review-zwnj-ice-baby/Content?oid=1107530>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (180) It had caused the *snake* of anger inside her to be *aroused from its slumber* and *hiss, baring its fangs* (http://www.fanfiction.net/s/5319896/1/Hold_My_Hand. Accessed: 24.04.10).

Now, an important question that arises at this point is why people conceptualise anger in terms of a snake. Over epochs of human experience a great deal of knowledge has been obtained about snakes by observing their characteristics and conduct. That encompasses, among many other things, the knowledge of the danger that snakes may pose to humans. In the ANGER IS A SNAKE metaphor, this knowledge is used to make sense of anger. The metaphor conveys the image of a snake preparing for a deadly attack. Before striking the victim snakes coil up, open their mouths and emit a hissing sound. Then they attack the victim and kill it. Another thing we know about snakes is that they lurk under bushes, rocks, in the high grass and in holes in the ground in order to protect themselves from being devoured by other wild animals or to hide from the scorching sun. One may expose oneself to a mortal danger if one treads upon a hidden snake. Obviously, this knowledge is also employed in the conceptualisation of anger in the metaphor under scrutiny.

At this point of discussion, it is crucial to focus attention on the fact that the metaphor portrays the snake as a lurking creature. In this sense, it overlaps with the metaphor ANGER IS A HIDDEN ENEMY analysed earlier where the hidden enemy is depicted as a lurking being (human or animal). How can this be explained? It is common knowledge that an enemy is a threat to one's well-being. Since snakes have the ability to kill humans they may also be seen as non-human enemies. In addition, they have a habit to hide and make themselves invisible. Therefore, they make up a hidden danger that threatens our safety.

Most of us react with fear to snakes. This phobia is so deep-seated that even the very sight of the creature evokes a panic-like feeling in us no matter whether the animal encountered is poisonous or not. Sometimes, the sheer thought of a snake may make you shudder with fear. A 2001 Gallup poll survey asked US adults what they were afraid of. According to the survey, the fear of snakes tops the list of Americans' fears (see, *Gallup Poll*, March 19, 2001, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/1891/snakes-top-list-americans-fears.aspx>. Accessed: 05.05.10).

The question is why we respond to snakes so strongly. Research shows that our fear of snakes may be prewired in the brain as a result of our evolutionary makeup. This seems to be a survival

mechanism that enables humans to avoid being bitten by serpents and poisoned (see, LoBue & DeLoache, 2008). The SNAKE source domain is an excellent domain for the conceptualisation of anger because, as we already know, anger is a dangerous animal in our conceptual system.

In the linguistic examples presented below, angry speech behaviour is understood in terms of an aggressive snake behaviour. This yields the metaphor ANGRY SPEECH BEHAVIOUR IS AGGRESSIVE SNAKE BEHAVIOUR. It can be classified as a subclass of the metaphor ANGRY BEHAVIOUR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR.

ANGRY SPEECH BEHAVIOUR IS AGGRESSIVE SNAKE BEHAVIOUR

- (181) ...yet the attendants demand tips and get very angry, hissing like spitting cobras, when you try and explain you have not coins in your pockets (http://www99.epinions.com/review/trvl-Airlines-Europe-Iberia/content_193854541444. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (182) But a humiliating defeat at Bradford last Sunday had the Leeds fans *spitting* fury in radio phone-ins (BNC).

Furthermore, the CALD defines the metaphorical phrase (183) *spit venom* as “to speak in an angry way” (see, CALD, http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/spit-blood-venom#spit-blood-venom__1. Accessed: 01.04.10).

In the above metaphorical expressions, a person’s angry speech behaviour is understood in terms of the hissing and venom-spitting behaviours of a snake. Such conduct in a snake is extremely dangerous. It has already been mentioned that, before striking the prey, snakes emit a hissing sound. Moreover, some species of snakes commonly known as spitting cobras eject venom into the eyes of the victim which causes the latter temporary blindness. The snake then bites the prey many times until it is paralyzed or dead. Since in the folk belief an angry behaviour is understood to be a violent, dangerous behaviour it is conceptualised in terms of an aggressive snake behaviour in the metaphor under scrutiny.

By portraying anger as a dangerous behaviour the metaphor conveys the message that it should be kept under control. Apart from highlighting the control aspect of anger, the metaphor also focuses on the cause of anger. The defeat in a sporting competition and expected but unreceived tips are the two things that are understood as triggering anger in the subject. The metaphor also reflects a widespread cultural custom in some countries; that is, the tradition of giving tips to service providers. Such a financial gift is bestowed as sign of gratitude for good service. Even though the gift is not obligatory, nowadays it is anticipated in some places. The refusal to bestow it may make some service providers angry.

In the metaphor that will be introduced next, an angry person is portrayed as a dangerous snake.

AN ANGRY PERSON IS A SNAKE

- (184) Often in American movies, the sentimentality ... makes me *puff up with venom like a cobra* (BNC).
- (185) The youth was “very angry, *dripping with venom*” (<http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/article/722038--youth-said-he-d-kill-them-all-jury-told>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (186) At once Canacya became furious, *like a snake jabbed with a stick* (http://books.google.se/books?id=Po9tUNX0SYAC&pg=PA191&lpg=PA191&dq=%22furious+like+a+sna ke&source=bl&ots=OjzhhBqTvl&sig=aadWvFAv9BfSY1JQPZLoR55PR7Q&hl=sv&ei=ESfXS9-mHJyUOMeu6PQG&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CAYQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=%22furious%20like%20a%20snake&f=false, p. 191. Accessed: 24.04.10).

Even in this case, one of the images conveyed by the metaphor is that of a snake ready to strike. As is known, cobras puff up before attacking their prey. The other image is the snake dripping venom. In this metaphor, one cause of anger is referred: excess sentimentality. The type of sentimentality portrayed here is a mawkish emotion which is often experienced as being excessively objectionable. Furthermore, the English language conceptualises anger as an old, necrotic, cast off snake skin. This yields the following metaphor:

ANGER IS AN OLD SNAKE SKIN

- (187) ...we naturally *shed* the anger *like a snake sheds its skin*... (<http://www.sia-hq.com/articles/Growing-by-Making-Friends-With-Your-Anger>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (188) Achilles only much later, when he has *sloughed off* his rage, addresses him properly (see, http://books.google.se/books?id=AW683CpijFUC&pg=PA30&lpq=PA30&dq=%22sloughed+off+his+rage%22&source=bl&ots=w71aqa0R2W&sig=w2vXTx4u0o0uwiD6CW94YGt2wZs&hl=sv&ei=P1tYS_qTDM3X-QbQ-_yvCg&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CAcQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=%22sloughed%20off%20his%20rage%22&f=false, p. 30. Accessed: 24.04.10).

The following conceptual correspondences can be identified in the metaphor ANGER IS AN OLD SNAKE SKIN.

Source: OLD SNAKE SKIN	Target: ANGER
The old snake skin	anger
The snake	the angry person
Carrying of the old skin	experiencing anger
Castng off the old skin	getting rid of anger
The new snake skin	the new positive emotion/trait
The skin renewal in the snake	the emotional/mental renewal in the angry person.

Different from the ANGER IS A SNAKE metaphor mentioned earlier, ANGER IS AN OLD SNAKE SKIN does not instantiate the general metaphor ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL. This is because it captures a different aspect of anger: it describes anger as something undesirable. Put another way, its function is to highlight the undesirability aspect of anger. The metaphor is motivated by the biological process of skin shedding in snakes and in science the phenomenon is known as *ecdysis*. The essence of the phenomenon consists in the following: when a snake grows, its skin does not lengthen to cover its enlarged body. Therefore, snakes grow a new skin underneath the old one and, when an appropriate time comes, they shed their old skin to replace it with the new one. Snakes shed several times a year. The above metaphor describes anger in terms of an old, outworn, dead snake skin that needs to be got rid of. The inability to shed their skin is harmful for snakes: if a snake does not shed it may not grow. This may lead to the death of the snake. Poor shedding in snakes is believed to be a sign of bad health or another imbalance. In a parallel fashion, the retention of anger is understood to be harmful for the mental well-being of the angry person. The message conveyed here is that in the same way as a snake sheds its old, necrotic skin and grows a new one, we should get rid of anger and allow new positive emotions to take place.

It is important to emphasise that the image of an old snake skin has historically been used in metaphorical expressions to make sense of some abstract concepts that were considered

undesirable. For instance, in Act 2, Scene 5 of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* (see, Shakespeare, http://shakespeare.mit.edu/twelfth_night/twelfth_night.2.5.html. Accessed: 05.05.10) we find the following line (189) *Cast thy humble slough and appear fresh* which in this particular context can be interpreted as “get rid of your lowly manners and behave in a new way”. Thus, the OLD SNAKE SKIN metaphors are deeply embedded in the conceptual system of English. Moreover, in Act 3, Scene 2 of the same play (see, Shakespeare, http://shakespeare.mit.edu/twelfth_night/twelfth_night.3.2.html. Accessed: 05.05.10), we find another snake-related image. In this scene, Sir Toby addresses Sir Andrew as (190) *dear venom* because of his angry temper. The latter example shows clearly that the conceptual link between the SNAKE source domain and the target domain of ANGER has existed historically.

Generally speaking, in Western culture there are both positive and negative associations attached to snakes. For instance, in the Biblical tradition, the serpent embodies Satan who is the arch adversary of humankind. According to this tradition, snakes are associated with fraudulence. For instance, *Genesis 3: 1-6* says that the serpent beguiled Eve to eat the prohibited fruit from the Tree of Knowledge, deceiving her into transgression against God's law (see, *Genesis*, <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=genesis+3:1-6>. Accessed: 05.05.10). Furthermore, snakes have a forked tongue: it is divided into two different parts at the tip. The forked tongue symbolises double-mindedness in the English culture. Thus, the English expression (191) *to speak with a forked tongue* means “to tell lies or say one thing and mean something else” (CALD, http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/forked-tongue#forked-tongue_3. Accessed: 05.05.10).

On the other hand, the Bowl of Hygieia – a jar with a snake wrapped around it – is an international pharmacological symbol. In this context the snake symbolises healing. In addition, snake shedding is commonly associated with renewal and reincarnation in Western culture.

4.7. Metaphors of Anger with the BAD SMELL and BAD TASTE Source Domains

The conceptual metaphors which will be scrutinised in this section map the source domains of BAD SMELL and BAD TASTE onto the target domain of ANGER. This yields the metaphors ANGER IS A BAD SMELL and ANGER IS A BAD TASTE. These metaphors are motivated by the human experience of smell and taste perception. For instance, ANGER IS A BAD SMELL characterises anger in terms of an offensive odour whereas ANGER IS A BAD TASTE conceptualises it as an unpleasant taste.

Smell and taste are the two perceptual experiences that have many shared characteristics. Just to exemplify, we judge what we perceive as smell and taste as either good or bad. Good smells evoke pleasure. For example, we grow flowers for their fragrance; we decorate our homes with them. Flowers are given during the most important events of life like weddings, funerals and so on. We perfume ourselves to attract attention. We air our homes to make them smell fresh. Foul smells provoke displeasure. For instance, nobody would evaluate the odour of putrid fish or rotten eggs as enjoyable. Moreover, sweet food gives us pleasure whereas bitter or overly salty food evokes negative feelings in us. By analogy with our taste and smell experiences, we also evaluate our emotional experiences as being positive or negative. Hence

there is a perceived similarity between the TASTE and SMELL domains, on the one hand, and the domain of EMOTION, on the other. Such a resemblance makes it possible for us to think of the latter in terms of the former. This gives rise to the smell and taste metaphors of emotion.

It is further important to emphasise that taste and smell differ in important ways from other forms of perception such as hearing and seeing. Most of information that we apperceive through eyes and ears is of neutral character; that is, we are less likely to evaluate such data as positive or negative. Our primary goal with visual and aural perceptions is to understand what we see, and hear. Of course, some facts that we get through vision and hearing might contain information that may be characterised as positive or negative. In the majority of circumstances, however, this is not the case. Let us first introduce the metaphor ANGER IS A BAD SMELL.

ANGER IS A BAD SMELL

- (192) He *reeked* of anger, a *stench like burned pepper* (http://www.apbooks.net/Belle_Chapter1.pdf. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (193) I've seen their cruelty, *smelt* their *putrid* anger ([http://www.tommutch.com/The%20Birth%20of%20SuperBird%20\(novel\)%20Chapter%204.pdf](http://www.tommutch.com/The%20Birth%20of%20SuperBird%20(novel)%20Chapter%204.pdf), p. 33. Accessed: 24.04.10).

The following ontological correspondences are present in this metaphor.

Source domain: BAD SMELL	Target domain: ANGER
Bad smell	anger
Giving off a bad smell	having anger
Unpleasantness of the smell to the senses	unpleasantness of anger to the mind
Smelling a bad odour	detecting anger.

Note that the above-mentioned metaphor is not motivated by the real, physical odours given off by a person in an angry emotional state. An angry person does not smell like something burned, he or she does not give off a putrid smell. Here an unpleasant emotion is simply conceptualised in terms of an unpleasant odour. The metaphor is used to capture the negative evaluation aspect of anger.

At this point, the questions that arise are these: Why do humans have an aversion to certain odours? Does such a dislike have a biological basis or is it a learnt behaviour?

Evidence from other fields. It seems to be the case that the sense of smell functions as a protective mechanism and has an importance for our survival. For example, in their evolutionary past, humans have developed an aversion to foul-smelling substances like rotten meat, faeces; poisonous gases, etc. because these substances are, more often than not, harmful to the body. The article *Aversion to Food*, published in *Encyclopedia of Food and Culture*, emphasises, for instance, that “The presence of a poison is more likely to be indicated by a particular odour or taste than by a particular appearance or sound” (see, <http://www.enotes.com/food-encyclopedia/aversion-food>. Accessed: 05.05.10). What all this proves is that our aversion to particular scents has a biological basis.

Research in the field of neuroscience provides evidence in favour of the view that there is a close biological link between smell and emotion. For example, the scientists M. Lewis,

J.M. Haviland-Jones and L.F. Barrett claim, among other things, that the same brain regions (amygdale and the orbito-frontal cortex) are involved in the processing of both emotions and odour stimuli (see, Lewis, Haviland-Jones & Barrett, 2008: 237). Similar ideas are also found in S. Feinstein’s work (see, Feinstein, 2006: 68). Moreover, the author emphasises that our emotional states are changed by scents even when we are unaware of them (see, *ibid*). Thus, the close neural association between smell and emotion may also be one of the things that contributes to the fact that we think of emotion in terms of smell. Now, let’s present the metaphor ANGER IS A BAD TASTE.

ANGER IS A BAD TASTE

- (194) He was a famously *peppery* lawyer (CALD, <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/peppery>. Accessed: 05.05.10).
- (195) He was full of *bitterness* after he lost his job (CALD, http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/bitterness_2. Accessed: 05.05.10).
- (196) Two *vinegary* fellows bickering (M-W dictionary, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/vinegary>. Accessed: 01.04.10).

The following ontological mappings have been identified in the metaphor ANGER IS A BAD TASTE.

Source domain: BAD TASTE	Target domain: ANGER
Bad taste	anger
Unpleasantness of the taste to the senses	unpleasantness of anger to the mind.

In the ANGER IS A BAD TASTE metaphor, anger is characterised in terms of a sharp unpleasant taste. Furthermore, similar to ANGER IS A BAD SMELL, this metaphor captures the negative evaluation aspect of anger. In addition, it also focuses on the cause of anger. One cause of anger to which it refers is the loss of a job. This is one common factor that would make most people angry. The metaphor is motivated by our perception of certain tastes such as sour and bitter that are experienced to be unpleasant. Now the question is where this dislike of sour and bitter comes from. Is it inherent or acquired?

Evidence from other fields. The researchers Schroeder and Gordon emphasise that people have an inherent aversion to bitter and sour tastes (see, Schroeder & Gordon, 2002: 83). As the authors put it:

During the transition from milk to solids, acceptance of new foods is shaped by an inborn preference for sweet and salty, and an aversion to sour and bitter.

In the previously referenced article on food aversion, *Encyclopedia of Food and Culture* explains the evolutionary value of human aversion to bitter tastes as follows (see, <http://www.enotes.com/food-encyclopedia/aversion-food>. Accessed: 05.05.10):

From birth, humans find certain tastes, notably the taste of bitter, to be aversive, and therefore may not consider items with those tastes to be appropriate foods. For example, many wild plants taste extremely bitter. Given that poisonous plants are often bitter, scientists believe that humans who avoided bitter tastes were more likely to survive and therefore humans evolved to have an innate aversion to bitter tastes.

In another article labelled as *Sensation and the Senses*, the same source claims that sour taste may be “a signal for unripeness/spoilage in foods, or the fact that concentrated, and thus

extremely sour, acids can cause tissue damage” (see, <http://www.enotes.com/food-encyclopedia/sensation-senses>. Accessed: 05.05.10). Again, what all this demonstrates is that our dislikes of certain tastes are biologically shaped and they have a protective function.

It has already been mentioned, among other things, that humans have an inborn propensity to salty taste. Even though this is the case, there is a threshold beyond which salty taste may not be pleasant to senses – overly salty taste is not experienced by most people as enjoyable. Such human practices also may give rise to metaphorical conceptualisation. For instance, the metaphorical expression that is presented next describes anger in terms of overly salty taste.

(197) Why do you have to get so *salty*, when people want to get fun? (DARE, 2003: 718).

This example too is the linguistic manifestation of the metaphor ANGER IS A BAD TASTE. *The Encyclopedia of Food and Culture* distinguishes between four basic tastes: sweet, sour, bitter and salty (see, <http://www.enotes.com/food-encyclopedia/sensation-senses>. Accessed: 05.05.10). As is evident from the metaphorical anger expressions analysed above, out of these tastes, sour, bitter and salty are used in the conceptualisation of anger. This shows clearly that taste perception plays a significant role in the conceptualisation of anger. As we have already seen, the same holds true for smell perception. Unfortunately, A. Barcelona’s classification of perceptual metaphors referred in the previous chapter does not include any metaphors motivated by smell and taste perception despite such metaphors being present in our conceptual system.

4.8. Metaphors of Anger with the PLANT Source Domain

Another basic human experience is that of agriculture. Plants we grow provide our basic needs for shelter, food, medicine, clothing, etc. Therefore, the English language often conceptualises anger as a plant. This yields the metaphor ANGER IS A PLANT.

ANGER IS A PLANT

- (198) And the *small of seed* of anger against him *knotted* itself inside her into a *hard little core* of resentment (BNC).
- (199) His *seeds* of anger *sprouted* long before you two met (<http://www.helium.com/items/1142650-how-to-understand-men-and-stay-sane?page=2>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (200) After this, ... *deep seated* anger can *take root* (BNC).
- (201) The feeling of rejection had quickly *blossomed into* anger (<http://www.freewebs.com/wolfsbride/dbz/ten.html>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (202) But his anger *flourishes* nonetheless (<http://www.csmonitor.com/2006/0523/p14s03-bogn.html>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (203) I know there’s *deep-rooted* anger (see, http://www.prospect.org/cs/articles?article=when_the_levee_breaks_news. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (204) Divorce is too often the *bitter fruit* of anger (http://www.heraldextra.com/news/article_95780972-8123-541e-9d2d-60db12d22a04.html. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (205) Remember that anger *stems from* fear and a sense of helplessness (<http://www.csulb.edu/~tstevens/b-anger.htm>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (206) Her rage is *withering*... (<http://www.jrhaule.net/dm09.html>. Accessed: 24.04.10).

The following correspondences can be found in this metaphor.

Source: PLANT	Target: ANGER
The stages of growth and fruition of the plant	the stages of anger development
The parts of the plant from which other parts grow	causes of anger
The size of the plant	the intensity anger
The soil	the angry person.

The following stages of plant growth are mapped onto various stages of anger development in the above metaphor: *seed, germination, root, bloom, fruition* and *withering*. The seed image characterises the initial stage of plant growth. At this stage, anger comes into existence. Images such as a germinating plant and a plant taking root are also associated with early stages of plant growth. These stages in the source correspond to early stages of anger development in the target. Moreover, humans view bloom as the best stage of plant growth. Therefore, the blooming stage of the plant growth correlates with the best stage of anger development. Anger is a well-developed, full-fledged emotion at this stage. The fruition stage in the plant growth corresponds to the stage of anger development when the emotion leads to a concrete result. Finally, at the withering stage, the plant stops growing and it dies. This is the final stage of plant life. Hence, the withering stage of plant growth correlates to the final stage of anger development when anger ceases to exist.

At this point of the discussion, a few words should be said about why people view the blooming as the best stage of plant growth. This will give us the possibility to understand why the best stage of an abstract concept like emotion is conceived of as the best stage of plant growth.

Evidence from other fields. We know from experience that people have positive associations with flowers because flowers induce the feeling of happiness in them. The psychologist Gordon H. Orians explains this by the fact that, in our evolutionary past, flowers had been associated with food resources. He claims the following (see, Orians, <http://www.apa.org/divisions/div10/articles/orians.html>. Accessed: 05.05.10).

Because flowers precede fruits, flowering plants provide excellent cues to timing and locations of future resources. In addition, flowers may attract animals that are potential human prey. In species-rich environments, paying attention to flowering plants may particularly enhance resource-acquisition abilities in the future. Until the 19th century, honey was the only natural source of sugar; bee-keeping is an ancient human enterprise.

The above facts show clearly that our perception of flowers is formed by evolutionary processes. It is now evident that such a perception gives rise to the metaphorical conceptualisation of anger. It is important to mention that (204) which maps the fruition stage of plant growth onto anger conveys the image of a bitter fruit. This image is used in order to symbolise the negative consequences of anger and such a conceptualisation is motivated by our taste experiences. We have positive taste experiences with sweet fruits and negative taste associations with bitter fruits. Therefore, we are more likely to conceptualise bad consequences of our emotions and deeds in terms of bitter tasting fruits and we tend to conceive of good consequences of our emotions and deeds in terms of sweet fruits. This proves once again that the bodily experience of taste plays an important role in the conceptualisation of emotions.

In the ANGER IS A PLANT metaphor, the size of the plant at different stages of its growth corresponds to the intensity of anger at disparate stages of its development. In the initial periods of growth, the size of the plant is not big. Therefore, the small-size plant images like the seed, the germinating plant and the root-taking plant are used in order to symbolise low intensity anger. The images like the deeply rooted plant and the blooming plant characterise large plants in later stages of their development. Such plant images symbolise high-intensity anger. The intensity of anger is equal to zero at the withering stage when the plant dies.

It is important to mention that there is a similarity between the conceptual metaphor at hand and the metaphor ANGER IS A CHILD. Both metaphors map the stages of growth of the phenomena in their source domains onto the stages of anger development. In addition, they conceptualise the intensity of anger in terms of the size of the phenomena in their sources. The similarity of the conceptual mappings in the ANGER IS A CHILD and ANGER IS A PLANT metaphors stems from the similarity of the phenomena in their source domains. Both plants and people are living organisms and they undergo the same stages of development. They come into existence at a particular point in time, develop then die. They then are replaced by other plants and people. In the beginning, they are very tiny organisms. They gradually grow in size to become large. For these reasons, it is natural that there is a resemblance in the metaphorical mappings of the metaphors ANGER IS A CHILD and ANGER IS A PLANT.

The metaphor further maps the parts of the plant from which other parts grow (the root, the bud) onto the cause of anger. In the metaphorical examples (201) and (205), anger is viewed as arising, respectively, from the feeling of rejection and fear. This is an emotional transformation.

Evidence from other fields. Interestingly, the renowned psychologist Keith Oatley's study provides evidence for the transformation of one kind of emotions into another (see, Oatley, 2004). She claims, among many other things, that anger may result from fear (see, *ibid*).

There is also a correlation between the soil in the source domain and the angry person in the target. It is important to mention that such a conceptualisation is based on the widespread belief that the first human was created from soil. For example, *Genesis 2: 7* says that God created Adam from the dust of the Earth (see, <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Genesis+2&version=NIV#en-NIV-38>. Accessed: 05.05.10). We find the same conceptualisation in *The Parable of the Sower* where four kinds of human hearts (the four human characters) are described in terms of the four types of soils (see, <http://www.biblegateway.com/resources/commentaries/Matthew-Henry/Matt/Parable-Sower-3209>. Accessed: 05.05.10).

It should further be mentioned that the ANGER IS A PLANT metaphor is grounded on the perceived similarity between plant growth and emotion development. Like plants, an emotion comes into existence at a particular time and then develops and fades away. When this "emotional cycle" is over, we experience other emotions that develop in the same way.

The PLANT source domain is a domain where a great change takes place. A seed barely visible to the human eye grows into something very big. Considerable changes also take place in the domain of emotion. For example, anger may be experienced with different degrees of intensity. Something that begins as a mild annoyance may escalate into dramatic fury. These changes are often accompanied by bodily changes. For these reasons the PLANT source domain becomes a perfect source domain for the conceptualisation of anger.

4.9. Conclusions

In this chapter, among other things, some of the previously made cognitive linguistic claims about the metaphorical conceptualisation of anger have been tested against the linguistic data of the present study. The results of the research do not support the claim that, different from Hungarian, English does not conceptualise the head as a container for anger. Neither do they back up the postulate that, different from Zulu, in English the heart is not conceived of as an anger container. There is enough linguistic evidence showing that, in English, the head may be viewed as a seat of emotions and the heart – as a locus of anger. In some head and heart metaphors, anger is conceived of as a heated fluid in a container. They are the linguistic manifestations of the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER.

The study has established that English speakers often conceptualise voice as a container and anger as a fluid or substance held in it. The human instinct for territoriality and the tendency to impose imaginary boundary on different phenomena of reality seem to be the reasons for why voice that does not have any visible physical boundaries can be conceptualised as a container. In addition, physiologically, emotions affect the character of voice and we make judgments about other people's emotional states from the sound of their voice. This physiological phenomenon also contributes to the fact that people think of voice as an emotion container. In some voice metaphors, anger is understood as a heated fluid held in the voice-container. As indicated before, in previous research it was assumed that English locates anger in the whole body (see, 3.7.). The present study provides evidence that, apart from the body, English places anger in the heart, the head and the voice.

In some metaphors analysed in this study, anger is conceptualised in terms of a colour held in a container. The containers conveyed are the eyes and the voice. At least two things might have lead to the fact that people conceptualise anger as a colour. First of all, there is a perceived similarity between the domains of COLOUR and EMOTION. The two experiences have shared characteristics: vividness and intensity. Moreover, empirical studies demonstrate that there is a strong psychological link between emotions and colours. The colours we are exposed to may evoke both positive and negative emotions.

The study contains evidence that the experience of pregnancy – the containment of the child within the body – motivates the metaphor ANGER IS A CHILD (IN THE WOMB). The metaphor highlights such aspects of anger as intensity, control and cause. The metaphor also has a non-container version. The existence of this metaphor provides support for the cognitive linguistic hypothesis that human bodily experiences give rise to conceptual metaphors.

The ANGER IS A PURE SUBSTANCE metaphor analysed in this study describes anger as a discrete emotion where no other emotional elements are involved. The metaphor highlights three different aspects of anger: a) uniformity; b) intensity; c) cause. There is also a group of metaphorical expressions in which anger and other emotions experienced simultaneously are characterised as mixed substances. The underlying metaphor is COMPLEX EMOTIONS ARE MIXED SUBSTANCES and it is not specific to anger. It is used to make sense of complex emotions occurring at the same time. Moreover, the study demonstrates that the co-occurrence of anger and other emotions is also conceptualised in terms of mixed colour substances and mixed food substances. All in all, the COMPLEX EMOTIONS ARE MIXED SUBSTANCES

metaphor highlights three different aspects of emotion: a) complexity; b) cause; c) intensity. The study shows clearly that anger may be experienced in two different ways: a) as a discrete emotion; b) as part of a complex emotional experience. Some psychological studies provide evidence for the existence of “compound” and “elementary” emotions.

The present thesis does not confirm Z. Kövecses’s idea that the source domain of SUPERNATURAL BEING is specific to fear. Apart from fear, it also applies to anger. This means that the scope of application of this source domain is much larger than it was initially assumed. Our concept of supernatural beings is an imaginary concept. This shows undoubtedly that even non-tangible, imaginary concepts can be mapped onto the abstract target domains like emotions. Moreover, the study has established that the source domains of HIDDEN ENEMY and TORMENTOR apply not only onto fear but also onto anger.

The study has also revealed that human interaction with such animals as horses and snakes gives rise to a set of conceptual anger metaphors. The majority of them are the instantiations of the general metaphors such as ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL and ANGRY BEHAVIOUR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR. However, there are also some animal metaphors that are not the subcategories of these master metaphors. A case in point is the ANGER IS AN OLD SNAKE SKIN metaphor. Different from the DANGEROUS ANIMAL metaphor which highlights the control aspect of anger, the OLD SNAKE SKIN metaphor focuses on the undesirability of anger. Furthermore, the study shows that some animal metaphors identified in this study are deeply entrenched in the Western culture. There is linguistic evidence demonstrating that they have existed historically in Greek antiquity as well as at Shakespeare’s time, etc. Moreover, the image of snake present in some metaphors has been used as a cultural symbol in Western culture.

Some metaphors presented in this chapter are motivated by human experience of taste and smell perception. They characterise anger in terms of bad smell and bad taste. Such conceptual mappings are conditioned by the fact that both the BAD SMELL and BAD TASTE source domains, on the one hand, and the target domain of ANGER, on the other, have a common dimension: unpleasantness. Put another way, the perceived similarity between the source and target domain experiences gives rise to the metaphors ANGER IS A BAD SMELL and ANGER IS A BAD TASTE. What is more, empirical studies show that there is a close biological link between smell and emotion. This factor may also partly be responsible for why anger is imagined to be as a smell in our conceptual system.

In the ANGER IS A BAD TASTE metaphor, anger is conceptualised in terms of three different unpleasant tastes: bitter, sour and (overly) salty. Research in the field of taste perception provides evidence that some of our dislikes to certain tastes are conditioned by evolutionary factors. The same holds true for smell perception.

The study demonstrates that the human experience of growing plants motivates the metaphor ANGER IS A PLANT. The metaphor maps the stages of plant growth onto the stages of anger development. It also highlights the cause and intensity aspects of anger. The perceived similarity between the source domain of PLANT and the target domain of ANGER seems to be responsible for why people conceive of anger in terms of a plant. The metaphor ANGER IS PLANT shares some similarities with ANGER IS A CHILD. Such a resemblance stems from the similarity of the phenomena in the source domains of the above-mentioned metaphors. Both plants and people are living organisms and they undergo the same stages of development.

There are several crucial factors that give rise to the anger metaphors analysed in this study. The most important of them seems to be the perceived resemblance between the source and target domains. Moreover, such factors as correlation between emotion and physiology; human instinct for territoriality; correlation between emotion and colour, etc. also play a role in the metaphorical conceptualisation of anger. All in all, the anger metaphors analysed in this chapter highlight the following aspects of anger: intensity, control, cause, desirability/undesirability, positive/negative evaluation, uniformity/complexity, etc.

Chapter 5

METAPHORICAL CONCEPTUALISATION OF FEAR

5.1. Introduction

Fear is an emotional reaction evoked by expected danger to one's well-being. A close connection between fear and danger is reflected in the etymology of the word *fear*, which originates from the Old English noun *fæ*r "danger, peril" (see, *The Online Etymology Dictionary*, <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?search=fear&searchmode=none>. Accessed: 01.04.10). Fear has evolved in humans as an adaptive warning system necessary for the survival of our species. It enables us to identify hazardous situations and defend ourselves against them. For example, in their book *Handbook of Emotions*, M. Lewis, J.M. Haviland-Jones and L.F. Barrett characterise fear as follows: "...the feeling of fear is fundamentally about the experience of threat and involves the motivation to defend the self..." (see, Lewis, Haviland-Jones & Barrett, 2008: 377). C.E. Izard portrays fear as being caused by internal and external stimuli that signal danger (see, Izard, 1991: 356).

In their everyday reasoning about fear, people use a variety of conceptual metaphors. Many of them have been identified and thoroughly studied by Z. Kövecses (see, Kövecses, 1990). According to the author, our understanding of fear is largely based on the following metaphors (see, Kövecses, 2000: 23).

FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER: (207) The sight *filled* her with fear.

FEAR IS A HIDDEN ENEMY: (208) Fear slowly *crept up* on him.

FEAR IS TORMENTOR: (209) My mother was *tormented* by fear.

FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING: (210) He was *haunted* by fear.

FEAR IS AN ILLNESS: (211) Jill was *sick* with fright.

FEAR IS INSANITY: (212) Jack was *insane* with fear.

THE SUBJECT OF FEAR IS A DIVIDED SELF: (213) I was *beside* myself with fear.

FEAR IS AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE: (214) Fear *took hold* of me.

FEAR IS BURDEN: (215) Fear *weighed heavily* on them.

FEAR IS A NATURAL FORCE: (216) She was *engulfed* by panic.

FEAR IS SOCIAL SUPERIOR: (217) His actions were *dictated* by fear.

A. Stefanowitsch's study has revealed some additional conceptual mappings from such source domains as MIX, WILD/CAPTIVE ANIMAL, A BARRIER, SHARP OBJECT, etc. From them, the metaphorical mapping from the CAPTIVE ANIMAL source domain onto the target domain of FEAR will be scrutinised in this chapter, among other things. Undoubtedly, all of the above-mentioned findings contribute a great deal to our understanding of the

metaphorical conceptualisation of fear. In what follows, I am going to demonstrate however that, despite these findings, there are still some fear metaphors that demand a more close examination and that there are also ones that have totally been ignored by researchers working within the field of cognitive linguistics.

5.2. Metaphors of Fear with the CONTAINER Source Domain

In the previous chapter it was demonstrated that, despite the common belief in Western culture that thinking and feeling are associated with different regions of the body (with the mind and heart, respectively), some metaphors portray the head as a container for anger. In the light of such evidence, an important question arises as to whether the HEAD metaphor is specific to anger or whether it also applies to other emotions. In what follows, I suggest a partial answer to this question by examining the application of the HEAD metaphor onto fear. The linguistic material of the study provides evidence that English speakers may conceptualise the head as a container for fear. For example:

- (218) Her *head was full of fears* ... girl... (<http://www.blackpoolgazette.co.uk/Register.aspx?ReturnURL=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.blackpoolgazette.co.uk%2Feve%2Ffor-the-love-of-Tracey.4030832.jp>. Accessed: 24.04.10).

The above metaphorical example is the linguistic manifestation of the underlying conceptual metaphor FEAR IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER. As in any other container metaphor, here the content of the container (which in this case is a substance) is mapped onto an emotion (fear). The amount of the substance correlates with the intensity of the fear. The container holds a large amount of a substance and this corresponds to the high intensity of fear. Now let us consider the following metaphorical emotion expression:

- (219) Linda Dech watched her son graduate from the Army's Special Forces qualification course Friday with her *heart full of pride* and her *head full of fear* (<http://www.military-world.net/Iraq/773.html>. Accessed: 24.04.10).

Similarly to the previously presented example, this linguistic metaphor shows that the head can be conceptualised as a container for fear. However, different from that example, it portrays that form of fear which is experienced simultaneously with another emotion. The metaphorical expression under discussion conveys the images of two containers each with a substance inside. One container corresponds to the heart and the substance in that container to pride. The other container correlates with the head and the substance in it with fear. The amount of the substance held in both containers is large and it correlates with the high intensity of pride and fear. The two conceptualised emotions are of different character and, interestingly, they are placed in different containers.

It was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter that fear is caused by a perceived danger. However, danger is too a general concept to provide much help in everyday life. Therefore, the metaphors that we use to conceptualise fear specify those dangers. For example, in the linguistic metaphor under discussion the cause of the mother's fear is the possibility of her son being sent to a zone of military conflict and being injured or killed. The fears that stem from these causes are the *fear of injury* and *the fear of death*. What is more, the cause of the mother's pride is her

son's achievements. Previous cognitive linguistic studies provide evidence that achievements are the typical cause of pride (see, Kövecses, 1990: 93-94).

Evidence from other fields. Research in other scientific areas yields proof that the fear of death is widespread among humans and that it ranks high in the list of common human fears (see, for example, Payne, 1988). A similar result was generated by the 2005 Gallup survey which studied the fears of American youths (see, Lyons, 29.03.05, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/15439/What-Frightens-Americas-Youth.aspx>. Accessed: 05.05.10). The participants of M. Payne's study also reported the fear of injury. When it comes to pride, a psychological study on the development of self-conscious emotions in children carried out by S. Harter shows that the most prototypical cause of pride is personal achievement (see, Harter, 1999).

In the metaphor that will be introduced next, fear is conceived of in terms of a fluid kept in a container. The container conveyed is the head.

FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER

(220) Dr. Erdel didn't *fill my head with* fear of the flame (http://www.deaddayz.com/articles/character/Martian_Manhunter.htm. Accessed: 24.04.10).

(221) Now, though being older, different fears *seep into* thoughts (<http://www.ralphrobertmoore.com/essays.html>. Accessed: 24.04.10).

It is important to point out that in (221), the head container is not explicitly mentioned. Nevertheless, the image is there: our world knowledge tells us that human thought processes take place in the brain which is located in the head. Hence, in (221), there are two things that are imagined to be the containers for fear: the thoughts and the head. Moreover, FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER captures one particular cause of fear – the danger of being burnt by fire. This specific threat gives rise to *the fear of fire*. We dread fire because it is a clear physical threat to our security.

Evidence from other fields. The existence of fear of fire in humans has been confirmed by the studies investigating human behaviour and emotions from an evolutionary perspective. For instance, in their work, J.H. Heerwagen and G.H. Orians argue with reference to existing research results that the fear of fire is among the most common fears of preschoolers (see, Heerwagen & Orians, 2002: 43). The authors classify fire into the category of natural hazards that have been a crucial force throughout human evolutionary history. Furthermore, they claim that such hazards come suddenly and demand quick response such as finding shelter, getting help or moving away from the hazard. According to the authors, children would put themselves at risk if they would fail to respond to such hazards appropriately. What this shows is that certain human fears like the fear of fire have evolved in humans as a response to environmental hazards.

In the preceding chapter, it was argued that English speakers apply the heart metaphor not only to such positive emotions as love, affection, etc., as was held to be the case in previous studies, but also onto anger. Next, I intend to show that the heart metaphor is also applicable to fear which is reckoned to be a predominantly negative emotion in the folk belief. Thus, in the metaphor examined below, the heart is imagined to be a container and fear as a fluid held in it.

FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER

(222) *Cold fear filled every heart* (BNC).

(223) Though humans are several times the size of spiders, they still *instil fear in the hearts* of many, and for good reason (<http://sciencetoday.com/biology/zoology/when-spiders-attack/>. Accessed: 24.04.10).

(224) ...her heart almost *burst with* panic (BNC).

In (222), the temperature of the fluid is described to be cold. As we know from cognitive linguistic literature, in English and many other cultures fear is commonly associated with cold rather than with warmth or heat (see, Kövecses, 2005: 289). This gives rise to the metaphor FEAR IS COLD (see, Kövecses, 2002: 71). Thus, the conceptualisation of fear in (222) overlaps with that in the metaphor FEAR IS COLD. Moreover, the metaphor under discussion focuses on the cause of fear. In this case it is the danger of a spider bite. The type of fear evoked by this threat is known as *the fear of spiders*. It is common knowledge that some species of spiders are poisonous whereas others not. Unlike some snake poison, spider venom is not lethal to humans. Nevertheless, many people dread spiders. Now, the questions that arise at this point are these: If the spider venom is not deadly to humans, why do people have such a powerful fear of those creatures? What is the origin of this fear? Is it a part of our evolutionary make-up or is it a learned emotional reaction? Research in other fields sheds some light on these questions.

Evidence from other fields. There is not a unified view among researchers on the origin of the fear of spiders. Some scientists like Öhman are inclined to think that it has an evolutionary basis (see, for example, Öhman, 1986). That is, since some spiders contain venom, fear has evolved as a guard against the danger of being poisoned by them. A similar view is also expressed by Gordon H. Orians who includes spiders into the category of objects that typically evoke fearful responses and that have been associated with threatening situations throughout human evolution (see, Orians, 2001). The author emphasises, for example, that venomous and carnivorous beasts have been significant sources of human injury and mortality for many millennia.

However, other researchers like G.C.L. Davey reject this idea (see, Davey, 1994). The main argument Davey mentions in favour of his view is that the fear of spiders that Europeans and their descendants have is not shared by the representatives of different, non-European communities. In the author's account, this fact is not compatible with the idea that the fear of spiders is part of our evolutionary make-up. Davey puts forward the hypothesis that the fear of spiders has evolved as an outcome of the historical and cultural association between spiders and illness. To back up his view, the author refers, among many other things, to the fact that during the Middle Ages spiders were seen as harbingers of the Great Plagues that spread across Europe from the 10th century onward. The fact that spiders were often found in abundance in those parts of a house that were also inhabited by a black rat (for example, in thatched roofs) seems to have contributed to such a perception. According to Davey the fleas transmitting the plague were actually carried by the black rat but this was not known at that time. Finally, the outcome of both 2001 and 2005 Gallup surveys show that the fear of spiders ranks among top fears of the American adults and adolescents (see, Brewer, 19.03.01, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/1891/snakes-top-list-americans-fears.aspx>. Accessed: 05.05.10; Lyons, 29.03.05, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/15439/What-Frightens-Americas-Youth.aspx>. Accessed: 05.05.10).

In the next metaphorical emotion expression, fear is conceived of as a substance kept in a container. Even in this case, the container is the heart.

- (225) ...Luke Kutsch has not an ounce of fear in his heart (<http://eqonion.com/archive3.htm>. Accessed: 24.04.10).

The above metaphorical example reflects the underlying conceptual metaphor FEAR IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER. Both metaphors mentioned above instantiate the conceptual metaphor THE HEART IS A CONTAINER FOR FEAR.

The linguistic data collected for the current study provide evidence that, similar to anger, fear may also be conceptualised as an occurrence in the voice. For instance, the metaphorical expressions below are the linguistic manifestations of the metaphor FEAR IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER. The container they convey is the voice.

- (226) There seemed to be a *hint of alarm in her voice* (BNC).
(227) There was not an *ounce of panic in her voice* (<http://www.latimes.com/chi-michelle-obama-friend-20-jul20,0,3400994.story>. Accessed: 24.04.10).

The following metaphorical utterances also describe fear as a fluid held in a container. Even in this case the imagined container is the voice. The metaphorical expressions under discussion reflect the underlying conceptual metaphor FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER:

- (228) Thunder crashed ... and the sound of it seemed to *fill the whispered voice with dread* (BNC).
(229) “Yesterday was wonderful,” Rain said soothingly, hearing the *rising panic in the woman’s voice* (BNC).

In the above cases, both FEAR IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER and FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER are the specific instantiations of the general metaphor VOICE IS A CONTAINER FOR FEAR.

In the metaphorical expression presented next, fear is described in terms of a colour held in a container. The container conveyed is the voice.

- (230) I could discern a *tinge of dread in her tone* (http://books.google.se/books?id=poLWEeHl2nsC&pg=PA302&lpg=PA302&dq=%22tinge+of+dread+in%22&source=bl&ots=JB0O2ql0Jh&sig=S22C6Y-43ksTiUK-d9ZVRp5lCso&hl=sv&ei=8ah7S-aLFtPpQbEoaDQBQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=4&ved=0CBgQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q=%22tinge%20of%20dread%20in%22&f=false, p. 302. Accessed: 24.04.10).

The above linguistic metaphor reflects the underlying conceptual metaphor FEAR IS A COLOUR which is a subcase of the general metaphor FEAR IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER.

Now let us consider the following metaphorical expression.

- (231) “You guys are doing this all wrong,” I say, a *slight tint of panic coloring my voice* (<http://www.cracked.com/blog/the-shocking-truth-about-pirates/>. Accessed: 24.04.10).

This linguistic example also reflects the FEAR IS A COLOUR metaphor. However, different from the previously analysed case, it does not include any container expressions.

Similar to the ANGER IS A COLOUR metaphor analysed previously, FEAR IS A COLOUR characterises the intensity of fear in terms of the quantity of the colour kept in the container. Moreover, the metaphor highlights one cause of fear; the danger of saying something that may potentially bring trouble upon the self. When we think that what we say may trigger a negative reaction in others, or otherwise bring mischief upon us, we naturally feel fear because this is a clear danger to our mental and/or physical safety. The type of fear evoked by such a cause can be characterised as *the fear of saying something that may cause one trouble*.

The below emotion expressions also conceptualise fear in terms of a colour. They are the linguistic manifestations of the same metaphor FEAR IS A COLOUR. However, in them the eyes are imagined to be a container for fear.

- (232) They were all polite and attentive, with just the faintest *tinge of fear in their wide eyes* (<http://www.yelp.com/biz/target-burbank>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (233) A faint trace of fear *colored* her eyes (http://www.fanfiction.net/s/1732972/18/Two_of_Us. Accessed: 24.04.10).

It has become clear from the above analysis that the same voice container metaphors that apply onto anger are also used in the conceptualisation of fear. Given that the human voice contains not one but many different emotional cues and that people have the ability to tell which emotion is conveyed by each of these cues, it is natural that the voice-container metaphor applies not only to anger but also to fear. Moreover, in the previous chapter, it was mentioned that there is a perceived similarity between the source domain of COLOUR and the target domain of EMOTION. It was further pointed out that there is a strong correlation between colour and emotion in our experience. The application of the COLOUR source domain onto the target domain of FEAR is conditioned by these two factors.

The study also shows that, like anger, fear may be conceptualised in terms of a dangerous substance held in a container. For example:

FEAR IS A DANGEROUS SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER

- (234) ...a dread *corrodes* my marrow... (http://books.google.se/books?id=31GO9OUZznAC&pg=PA97&lpg=PA97&dq=%22dread+corrodes%22&source=bl&ots=vkCxdBpUEB&sig=YvUbmjF8nuUR53-0gPKOzEmURfs&hl=sv&ei=Kd_TS6ipHoWmOlibwgdN&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=2&ved=0CAgQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=%22dread%20corrodes%22&f=false, p. 97. Accessed: 24.04.10).

As is evident, the container portrayed here is the body. The metaphor characterises fear as a harmful, destructive emotion. By doing so, it highlights the negative evaluation aspect of fear.

In the previous chapter we have seen that the fundamental human experience of pregnancy gives rise to the container version of the metaphor ANGER IS A CHILD. As will be evident from the following discussion, our knowledge of that experience plays a significant role in the conceptualisation of fear. In the metaphor below fear is understood in terms of a child held in the womb-container.

FEAR IS A CHILD

- (235) ...a newly *conceived* fear of dying (<http://www.liebertonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1089/jpm.2009.0234>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (236) *Pregnant* with fear (<http://www.slate.com/id/116228/>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (237) He crossed to the sofa and collapsed; exhausted by the fear *gestating in his gut like a clawing foetus* (<http://www.greatwriting.co.uk/content/view/13495/82/>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (238) In the Middle Ages, ignorance *gave birth to* fear (<http://www.ebooksread.com/authors-eng/anatole-france/on-life--letters-1st-series-ala/1-on-life--letters-1st-series-ala.shtml>. Accessed: 24.04.10).

In the above metaphor, two causes of fear are highlighted: death and ignorance. These causes create, respectively, the following types of fear: *the fear of death* and *the fear of the unknown*.

Evidence from other fields. In the previous part of this chapter, I mentioned the fact that some psychological studies provide evidence for the existence of the fear of death in humans. Moreover, the psychologist S. Diamond claims that the fear of the unknown is genetically inherited and is designed to protect and preserve our survival in the potentially dangerous world (see, Diamond, 2009, <http://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/evil-deeds/200912/why-myths-still-matter-part-four-facing-your-inner-minotaur-and-following-you?page=2>. Accessed: 05.05.10).

According to the author, the fact that all infants pass through a phase of “stranger anxiety” and children have a fear of the dark is a direct manifestation of such innate fear of the unknown (see, *ibid*). At this point it is appropriate to note that the existence of the fear of death reveals another important thing about the human psyche – the presence of a very strong will to live a long life.

It is further important to emphasise that, like ANGER IS A CHILD, the metaphor FEAR IS A CHILD has two versions. Its non-container version is presented below:

- (239) Fear is a *child* of ignorance (<http://chestofbooks.com/health/natural-cure/The-Hygienic-System-Orthopathy/Mental-And-Emotional-Causes-Part-2.html>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (240) The organization’s culture *fostered* fear (<http://www.dyslexia-parent.com/mag49.html>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (241) Evaluation of performance *nourishes* fear (<http://www.stats.uwo.ca/computing/deming/101to125.htm>. Accessed: 24.04.10).

As is evident in the above metaphor, ignorance, a bad organisational culture and the negative evaluation of performance are understood to be factors that instigate fear. At this point, we already know why the lack of knowledge evokes fear in humans. When it comes to the bad organisational culture the following things can be said about the matter. An organisational culture is the customs, rituals and values shared by the members of an organisation that have to be accepted by new members (see, CED in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/organizational+culture>. Accessed: 01.04.10). The type of fear caused by a bad organisational culture can be characterised by the general term *workplace fear*. In the metaphor under scrutiny, a bad organisational culture is perceived as a threat to the mental and emotional well-being of the employees working for that organisation.

In many modern organisations there is an evaluation system which is aimed at assessing the work performance of employees. In the metaphor under scrutiny, such an evaluation is comprehended as the cause of fear. What is feared here is a negative evaluation: we are not likely being afraid of a positive assessment of our work results. The type of fear stemming from such a cause is *the fear of negative evaluation*. The above-mentioned facts show clearly that how others evaluate what we have done has a high importance for us. The question that arises at this point is why people perceive the negative evaluation of their work performance by others as a threat to them. Getting a bad performance assessment may have negative consequences for them in the form of reduced job benefits or the prospect of being fired. Therefore, it is natural that people react to such an evaluation with fear.

Evidence from other fields. The fact that in some workplaces a fear-driven culture is fostered is well known by specialists working within the field of organisational management. In his study, J.G. Suarez argues that employees working for companies with a bad organisational culture are afraid of speaking up about problems because of management’s tendency to kill the

messenger (see, Suarez, 1994). Then the author goes on to say that they also fear reprisal or a poor appraisal. Moreover, Suarez mentions the fear of failure as the typical emotion sensed by employees in the workplaces with such a culture. It is clear from the above description that the workplace fear is not a uniform phenomenon. It is rather a combination of different fears like *the fear of speaking up about problems, the fear of reprisal, the fear of failure* and so forth.

A psychological study carried out by M.R. Leary and R.M. Kowalski provides evidence that the fear of negative evaluation is characteristic of humans (see, Leary & Kowalski, 1995). The research demonstrates that people are more likely to attach importance to other people's evaluation of themselves if those others are socially desirable individuals. Here, the term "socially desirable" is attributed to competent, high-status and powerful people. According to the authors, since evaluations have impact on people's self-esteem and the sense of worth they are motivated to obtain positive and avoid negative evaluations from desirable people rather than from undesirable individuals.

There seems to be another crucial reason why people attach such a high value to the evaluation of competent and high-status people. Such individuals are often in a position of authority and hence they mediate rewards or punishments. M.R. Leary and R.M. Kowalski go on to say the following (see, *ibid*, p. 40):

Employers, teachers, supervisors and others in positions of authority are likely to bestow positive outcomes upon those who suitably impress them and negative outcomes upon those who do not. Thus, it is not surprising that people are often concerned about how they are being perceived and evaluated by authority figures.

Finally, the study also shows that different individuals have different degrees of proneness to the fear of negative evaluation.

At this point it is appropriate to mention a historical example of the CHILD metaphor for emotion. The following poetical linguistic metaphor is a creation of the English poet John Moultrie (1799-1874).

(242) Sin's *foul and monstrous womb gave birth*
To grief, and pain, and fear
(http://xtf.lib.virginia.edu/xtf/view?docId=chadwyck_ep/uvaGenText/tei/chep_3.1834.xml;chunk.id=d123;toc.depth=1;toc.id=d123;brand=default;query=Black Sabbath#.
Accessed: 24.04.10).

The aforementioned example describes fear, grief and emotional pain in terms of an offspring. Here sin is portrayed as the source of these emotions. Therefore, it is understood in terms of a monstrous being who is a parent. What all this means is that, in the metaphorical expression under consideration, fear, grief and emotional pain are conceptualised in the same way as in the modern-day CHILD metaphors of emotion.

5.3. Metaphors of Fear with the PURE vs. MIXED SUBSTANCE Source Domains

In the previous chapter, the PURE and MIXED SUBSTANCE source domains have been discussed in connection with the metaphorical conceptualisation of anger. This section investigates whether or not the same source domains occur with fear. A. Stefanowitsch's

aforementioned study does not provide any evidence of the presence of a conceptual link between the PURE SUBSTANCE source domain and the target domain of FEAR Z. Kövecses's list of fear metaphors presented above also does not include any conceptual metaphors with the PURE SUBSTANCE source domain. However, the current research shows that fear can be conceptualised in terms of a pure substance. For instance, the following metaphorical emotion expressions manifest the underlying metaphor FEAR IS A PURE SUBSTANCE:

- (243) I felt *pure* fear in those jaws (<http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/article29675>. ece. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (244) Mr. Birdsey eyed him with *unmixed* horror (<http://www.classicreader.com/book/3409/1>. Accessed: 24.04.10).

In the metaphor FEAR IS A PURE SUBSTANCE, we find the same patterns of conceptualisation as those in the corresponding metaphor for anger. Firstly, the metaphor portrays fear as a discrete, uniform emotion without other emotional elements being blended in. Hence it captures the uniformity aspect of fear. Secondly, it highlights the intensity of the emotion under discussion. It has been mentioned before that, usually, an emotion which is understood in terms of a pure substance is an intense emotion. Thirdly, the metaphor also captures one cause of fear – the danger of being eaten or injured by a savage animal. The type of fear instigated by this is *the fear of wild animals*. It is obvious that wild animals pose a serious threat to humans because of their ability to cause a serious physical injury or devour individuals. Therefore, it is natural that they evoke a fearful reaction in us.

Evidence from other fields. In the previous part of this chapter, the evidence confirming the existence of fear of wild animals in humans has been partially discussed. It was demonstrated, for instance, that fear of such animals as snakes and spiders is common in humans. To this it can be added that, in M. Payne's above-mentioned research, fear of animals was frequently reported by the study participants (see, Payne, 1988). Moreover, in his work, Gordon H. Orians describes animals as a force that has posed threat to humans throughout history. The author classifies the danger of savage animals into the category of environmental threats to which humans react with fear (see, Orians, 2001). Moreover, he emphasises that fear of animals develop in early childhood.

The present research further shows that, similar to anger, fear may be conceptualised as part of a more complex affective experience where different emotions co-occur. In the metaphorical expressions that will be introduced next, such emotions are conceptualised metaphorically in terms of mixed substances:

- (245) Nearly every new parent feels an *amalgam* of joy and terror (CALD, http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/amalgam_2. Accessed: 01. 04.10).
- (246) And her pleasure was *mixed* with fear – but less so than she had expected (BNC).

Thus, these linguistic expressions manifest the metaphor COMPLEX EMOTIONS ARE MIXED SUBSTANCES that has been mentioned in the previous chapter. Apart from complexity, the metaphor under discussion captures one cause of co-occurring emotions – first parenthood. The question that arises at this point is why being a new parent may evoke such conflicting emotions as happiness and fear.

First, let us begin with explaining the happiness component of the complex emotional experience under discussion. In Western and many other cultures, there is a deeply rooted belief

that it is emotionally gratifying for humans to have children. For example, in *The Bible*, in *Psalms 127: 3* it is said that children are reward from God (see, [http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Psalm%20127: 3&version=NIV](http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Psalm%20127:3&version=NIV). Accessed: 05.05.10). For this reason, children are viewed as a great source of happiness for their parents. Common folk views and beliefs about this experience are also well reflected in language. For example, in English, an infant is commonly described as (247) *a bundle of joy* (ODET) and (248) *a bundle from heaven* (*McGraw-Hill Dictionary of American Idioms and Phrasal Verbs* in the ODET, <http://idioms.thefreedictionary.com/bundle+of+joy>. Accessed: 01.04.10). From what is said so far it is clear that the overall cultural view of having children is very positive. Therefore, such cultural beliefs may play a significant role in our perception of parenthood as a happy experience.

However, as it is evident from the metaphor under discussion, parenthood may also involve some difficult emotions (in this case fear) if this is a new experience. Here the main reason for fear seems to be the lack of prior experience. In other words, the type of fear sensed by new parents is *the fear of the unknown*. As we already know, unknown experiences typically evoke fear.

The following linguistic metaphors describe fear and other emotions combined with it as diverse food ingredients mixed together. They manifest the previously mentioned metaphor COMPLEX EMOTIONS ARE MIXED FOOD SUBSTANCES:

- (249) The annual *cocktail* of fear and loathing (<http://www.johnsonbanks.co.uk/thoughtfortheweek/index.php?thoughtid=289>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (250) In most cases, what looks like *hauteur* is actually shyness, *combined with a dollop* of fear that they have forgotten your name and/or are about to do something stupid that everyone will notice (<http://therumpus.net/2009/09/the-blurb-10-managing-writers-in-the-workplace-a-guide-for-employers/>. Accessed: 24.04.10).

In the previous chapter it was seen that simultaneously experienced emotions may not always have an equal status. This observation also holds true for (250). Here, shyness is the dominant emotion and fear is the subsidiary one. The dominant emotion is understood in terms of a base food substance. The large amount of the base substance in the source domain correlates with the high intensity of shyness in the target. The subsidiary emotion is fear and it is described in terms of an added substance. The small amount of the added substance corresponds to the low intensity of fear.

The metaphor also captures one cause of the complex emotion: the danger of being negatively evaluated by others. It has already been mentioned that when fear is evoked by this cause, it is categorised as *the fear of negative evaluation* which is a form of social fear. Now we know that the same cause may also trigger shyness. Moreover, the metaphor reveals people's mental attitudes about their names. It shows clearly that human individuals attach a high importance to their names. In interpersonal relationships remembering other people's names is deemed to be crucial. This is because psychologically we feel pleased when other people recall our names. The question is why this is the case. Evidence from other areas of knowledge sheds light on this question.

Evidence from other fields. It seems to be the case that people attach importance to their names because one's name is the unique indicator of one's identity. For example, the famous author and great specialist in the area of public speaking Dale Carnegie wrote the following about the subject matter (see, Carnegie, 1936: 83): "Remember that a person's name is to that person the sweetest and most important sound in any language." D. Carnegie's assumption is

in line with the results of some empirical studies. To give one example, in an experimental study D.J. Howard, C. Gengler and A. Jain have tested the effect of remembering names on consumer behaviour. The outcome of their investigation showed that recalling someone's name facilitates their compliance with a purchase request made by the rememberer (see, Howard, Gengler & Jain, 1995). Given the psychological importance of names to identity, it is not surprising that people feel emotional discomfort when they do not remember other people's names.

In the metaphorical emotion expressions that will be presented next, fear and other emotions combined with it are understood in terms of mixed colours. They reflect the metaphor COMPLEX EMOTIONS ARE MIXED COLOURS presented previously:

- (251) ...a *colorful mix* of courage, fear, humor, and indifference... (<http://www.booksandsuchmart.com/4.html>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (252) A sympathy *tinged with* disgust and fear (<http://www.wordreference.com/es/translation.asp?tranword=sympathy>. Accessed: 24.04.10).

In (252), there is one dominant and two subsidiary emotions. The former is sympathy and the latter disgust and fear. The dominant emotion is described in terms of a base colour substance and the subsidiary ones in terms of added colours. Even in this case, the amount of the colours mixed together correlates with the intensity of complex emotions occurring simultaneously.

5.4. Metaphors of Fear with the SUPERNATURAL BEING Source Domain

Z. Kövecses's list of fear metaphors presented in the introductory part of this chapter includes a conceptual metaphor with the SUPERNATURAL BEING source domain. That is FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING. However, the current study shows that the SUPERNATURAL BEING source domain applies not only onto fear but also to the object or source of fear. This yields the metaphor THE OBJECT/SOURCE OF FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING.

THE OBJECT/SOURCE OF FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING

- (253) The headmaster at my junior school was a real *ogre* (CALD, <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/ogre>. Accessed: 01.04.10).
- (254) A foolish consistency is the *hobgoblin* of little minds (The AHDE in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/hobgoblin>. Accessed: 01.04.10).
- (255) You and Ken both are using "privatization" as the *big scary bugbear* to frighten voters with... (<http://www.newstatesman.com/blogs/sian-berry/2008/03/brian-paddick-libdem-candidate>. Accessed: 01.04.10).
- (256) ...The outsourcing *bogeyman* (<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/59889/daniel-w-drezner/the-outsourcing-bogeyman>. Accessed: 01.04.10).
- (257) Boredom, laziness and failure... These *bugaboos*, magnified by imagination, keep [the workaholic] running (The AHDE in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/bugaboo>. Accessed: 01.04.10).
- (258) ...wheels and loose straps are a baggage handler's *nightmare* (ODET. Accessed: 18.09.07).
- (259) The *bogey* of unemployment (CALD, http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/bogey_2. Accessed: 01.04.10).

The metaphorical expressions presented above convey the images of such supernatural figures as ogres, bugbears, bogeymen, bugaboos, goblins, etc. To understand why people conceptualise the object or source of fear in terms of such creatures, it is first of all necessary to know how the creatures under discussion are perceived in Western culture. The definitions of these mythical figures shed some light on the matter.

An **ogre** (feminine: *ogress*) is a large and hideous humanoid monster, a mythical creature often found in fairy tales and folklore. While commonly depicted as an unintelligent and clumsy enemy, it is dangerous in that it feeds on its human victims. The idea of the ogre has been used as a method of instilling good behaviour in children by suggesting that bad behaviour attracted and excited ogres, who then attack, kidnap, or even eat the perpetrator...

...Ogres are often characterised by their large, often disproportionate features: Depending upon the culture, ogres can be several times the size of a human being, or only a few feet taller. They are usually solidly built, with rounded heads, a large stomach and abundant and hirsute hair and beard. They often have large mouths full of prominent teeth, are distinguishable for their ugliness, and are accompanied by a horrific smell (see, <http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Ogre>. Accessed: 01.04.10).

bugbear (in English folklore) – a goblin said to eat naughty children and thought to be in the form of a bear (The CED in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/bugbear>. Accessed: 01.04.04).

bogeyman – an imaginary monster used to frighten children (The Thesaurus in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/bogeyman>. Accessed: 01.04.04).

bugaboo – an imaginary monster used to frighten children (The Thesaurus in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/bugaboo>. Accessed: 01.04.04).

bogey – an evil mischievous spirit; hobgoblin (The AHDE in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/bogey>. Accessed: 01.04.04).

hobgoblin – an ugly, mischievous elf or goblin (The AHDE in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/hobgoblin>. Accessed: 01.04.04).

nightmare – an evil female spirit afflicting sleepers with a feeling of suffocation (*Online Etymology Dictionary*, <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?search=nightmare&searchmode=none>. Accessed: 01.04.04).

These descriptions show clearly that the supernatural beings under consideration are perceived to be the objects and sources of fear in the folk belief. Apparently, it is for this reason that the source domain of SUPERNATURAL BEING gets mapped onto the objects or sources of fear in the natural world in the metaphor at hand. At this point it is necessary to provide a more detailed description of why, in the folk mythology and tales, the supernatural figures such as those mentioned above are portrayed as fear-inspiring characters. There is a variety of reasons for this. For instance, some figures like ogres, bugbears, etc., are believed to feed on human flesh. As we have already seen, man-eating creatures naturally evoke fear in us.

R. Cavendish has studied the evil supernatural powers in the Western religion, magic and folk belief. He claims that the fear of cannibalism and of being eaten up is an old element of folk terrors (see, Cavendish, 1975: 29). According to the author, the presence of such man-eating creatures in the folk tales may be a reflection of our deep-seated fear of the animal world, the fear of being devoured by savage beasts (see, *ibid*, pp. 111-112).

Indeed, the large physical size of an opponent seems to have a frightening effect on us. In folk myths and tales, ogre is described as being several times the size of a human being. The

size of such beings symbolises enormous physical strength and brutality. Some other supernatural spirits such as nightmares evoke fear because of the fact that they oppress and suffocate their sleeping human victims. What is more, such demons are also believed to have sexual intercourse with their victims. For example, *The Online Etymology Dictionary* tells us that *mare* in the compound noun *nightmare* is an Old English term for *incubus* (see, <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?search=nightmare&searchmode=none>. Accessed: 01.04.10).

According to the CEE in the ODET, incubus is a male demon who possesses women in their sleep and is responsible for the birth of demons, witches and deformed children (see, <http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/incubus>. Accessed: 01.04.10). Its female counterpart is the succubus. The myths about nightmares may stem from two common human fears: a) the fear of suffocation; b) the fear of giving birth to a deformed child.

An additional feature that makes the supernatural figures under consideration fear-inspiring is their ugly appearance. For example, it is evident from the above-mentioned definition of ogre that the creature has an appalling disproportionate shape. Other mythical beings like hobgoblins have an ugly, twisted facial appearance. It seems to be a common psychological trait of humans to react with fear to ugliness. In his article *The Ugly Truth*, the English artist and sculptor E. Allington argues that ugliness induces fear (see, Allington, http://www.frieze.com/issue/article/the_ugly_truth. Accessed: 05.05.10). To support his idea the author refers, among many other things, to the fact that in Old English, the word *ugly* had the meaning “dreadful”, “terrible”. Apparently it is for this reason that ugly monster characters frequently appear in the modern horror films.

Many folk tales about the supernatural beings mentioned above were used in ancient times with a special purpose which was to frighten disobedient children into good behaviour. This is also evident from the aforementioned dictionary definitions of those creatures. It is important to point out that such a tradition is still alive. Even nowadays parents may say to their children “The bogeyman will get you, if you get out of bed”.

The conceptual mapping in the metaphor under discussion is conditioned by the perceived resemblance between the source domain of SUPERNATURAL BEING and the target domain of THE OBJECT/SOURCE OF FEAR. The phenomena present in both domains evoke fear. This makes it possible for us to conceptualise different objects and sources of fear existing in the natural world in terms of a supernatural being. The following things are understood to evoke fear in the metaphor under scrutiny: cruel people/cruelty, foolish consistency, an opponent, outsourcing, the danger of getting bored and lazy and the risk of failure, the loose straps that may become entangled in a wheel and cause personal injury, unemployment, etc. Accordingly, the following types of fear can be distinguished: *the fear of cruel people/cruelty*, *fear of consistency*, *fear of outsourcing*, *fear of an opponent*, *fear of getting bored*, *fear of getting lazy*, *fear of failure*, *fear of loose straps* and *fear of unemployment*.

In the metaphor under discussion some threats are portrayed as the real objects or sources of fear. To mention one case in point, the metaphor portrays a cruel person as the object of fear and we know from experience that such individuals typically evoke fear. However, it features outsourcing as the imaginary, “made-to-believe” source of fear.

Evidence from other fields. Studies in other fields of knowledge confirm the idea that most of the phenomena that are perceived as the objects or sources of fear in the above metaphor may indeed give rise to fear. For example, cruel people or cruelty in general (be it physical or

mental) has been considered by many prominent Western thinkers as something that naturally instigates fear in humans. As one example, in her work, Judith Shklar, a political theorist at Harvard University, describes cruelty as an evil fear-inspiring vice (see, Shklar, 1984). Moreover, she believes that “The first right is the right to be protected against the fear of cruelty” (see, *ibid*, p. 237). As is evident in the above quotation the author describes cruelty as the source of fear.

Thus the next phenomenon that is viewed as the source of fear in the metaphor under discussion is foolish consistency. The study performed by the famous social psychologist Robert Cialdini sheds some light on the dangers of mindless consistency for humans (see, Cialdini, 1989). In the author’s account, foolish consistency is the tendency to be automatically and thoughtlessly consistent with one’s prior decisions and choices. It follows from the study that such a tendency is deep-seated and almost obsessive in humans. According to Cialdini, the danger of mindless consistency resides in the fact that it may coerce one to what one would not want to do. To illustrate his idea Cialdini gives us, among many other things, a detailed description of how he once met a “stunning young woman” who first misled him into believing that she was an interviewer and then made him buy a costly club membership subscription that he didn’t want to purchase. The main reason behind Cialdini’s decision to buy the expensive subscription was his desire to be consistent with what he had said during the fake interview with the “stunning young woman”. Cialdini’s research shows clearly and convincingly that when we are constantly concerned with matching our decisions and deeds with what we have already done, such an urge for consistency becomes a source of fear for us.

As mentioned before, in the metaphor under discussion another phenomenon that is viewed as the danger evoking fear in humans is privatisation. Research provides evidence that the fear of privatisation phenomenon exists. For example, B.C. Cooper and E.V. Randall’s study on the fear of the privatisation of education in England provides evidence for that (see, Cooper & Randall, 2008).

The dictionary definition of outsourcing is: “The procuring of services or products, such as the parts used in manufacturing a motor vehicle, from an outside supplier or manufacturer in order to cut costs” (see, The AHDE in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/outsourcing>. Accessed: 01.04.10). As has already been mentioned, in the above metaphor, outsourcing is described as the “made-to-believe” object or source of fear. How can this be explained? It is common knowledge that in industrial countries there is strong public opinion against outsourcing because it is believed to lead to the exporting of jobs to low-wage countries. Specialists studying the phenomenon argue that because of such beliefs workers in industrial countries experience the fear of outsourcing (see, for example, Amiti & Wei, 2005). However, according to Amiti & Wei’s study, such fear stems not from the fact that outsourcing exposes a real danger to workers in industrial countries. It appears to derive from the fact that outsourcing has received too much attention in the media and from politicians. One important result of the above-mentioned study is that, indeed in the US and many other industrial countries, insourcing is greater than outsourcing. What this shows is that fear may be artificially created to achieve certain goals.

The fact that laziness, boredom and failure are the objects or sources of fear for workaholics – people with obsessive need to work – is also an established truth. In his work, R.J. Burke, professor of organisational behaviour, demonstrates that one of the common things

that workaholics fear is failure. The reason for this seems to be the workaholics' exaggerated desire to live up to an idealised image "of who the person wants to be". According to Burke, for a workaholic failure would be the betrayal of that image (Burke, 2006: 72-74). Furthermore, the author is inclined to think that the person in question is afraid of the fact that if he/she gives up his/her workaholic habits, even for a short time, a natural laziness will take over. Burke goes on to claim that workaholics receive an adrenalin rush from overwork and without it their "fear of boredom looms large".

It should further be pointed out that a sociological study carried out by J.M. Barbalet provides evidence in favour of the view that unemployment is a threat that commonly evokes fear among the employed. The author emphasises with reference to the US and UK research that unemployment is a real possibility for the majority of people during their working lives (see, Barbalet, 2001) and that as a result most employees are afraid of losing their jobs. The author classifies the fear of unemployment into the category of social fears in the sense that it is experienced and shared by members of a social collective, that is employed people as a group.

In my research, I have not come across the studies on the fear of loose straps which in the above metaphor is portrayed as being experienced by baggage handlers. This is not surprising, since the fear of loose straps is not a common type of fear sensed by the general population such as the fear of death or the fear of animals. It is characteristic of a specific professional group. Nevertheless, some articles published by travel news agencies help us understand why loose straps may be dangerous. For example, the agency *Consumer Traveler* claims that such straps may get caught in conveyer equipment and damage luggage (see, for example, Leocha, 2009).

Finally, it is important to emphasise that the images of various supernatural beings discussed above frequently appear in Western art and literature. Here I want to restrict myself to two well-known examples. The Anglo-Swiss artist Henri Fuseli (1741-1825) has created an oil painting *The Nightmare* where the incubus is portrayed as sitting on a sleeping woman's chest (see, http://www.artchive.com/artchive/F/fussli/fuseli_nightmare.jpg.html. Accessed: 05.05.10). The character Puck in W. Shakespeare's play *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is a hobgoblin (see, Shakespeare, <http://www.opensourceshakespeare.org/views/plays/playmenu.php?WorkID=midsummer>. Accessed: 05.05.10). This is additional evidence in favour of the view that the image of the supernatural is deeply entrenched in Western culture.

5.5. Metaphors of Fear with the ANIMAL Source Domain

The DANGEROUS ANIMAL metaphor. As mentioned previously, Stefanowitsch's corpus-based study has revealed that there is a conceptual link between the source domain of WILD/CAPTIVE ANIMAL and the target domain of FEAR. Given the fact that in the folk belief emotions are often viewed as dangerous and irrational forces that should be kept under a strict control, it is not surprising that fear is metaphorically conceived of as a wild animal. However, despite that the existence of the above-mentioned cross-domain mapping is an established fact, the metaphor resulting from it, that is FEAR IS A WILD/CAPTIVE ANIMAL, has not received due attention in cognitive linguistic literature. Therefore the subject demands further investigation.

As is evident there is a variation in the labelling of this metaphor. A. Stefanowitsch uses the designations WILD ANIMAL and CAPTIVE ANIMAL interchangeably in his

aforementioned work to mark the source domain of the metaphor FEAR IS A WILD/CAPTIVE ANIMAL. Moreover, he places under this conceptual construction such metaphorical patterns as *fear be fierce*, *unleash fear*, etc., that are similar to those in the DANGEROUS ANIMAL metaphor for anger analysed by Z. Kövecses. In order to avoid confusion and employ a unified labelling system, I will use the designation FEAR IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL in my analysis. The metaphor is presented below.

FEAR IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL

- (260) I have a *ferocious* fear of dentists... (<http://www.yelp.com/biz/university-of-connecticut-dental-school-farmington>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (261) Since the death of her mother she had always had a *fierce* fear of storms (<http://www.fanfiction.net/s/4037629/1/Storm>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (262) The fear is *unleashed* (<http://www.coloradoconnection.com/news/story.aspx?id=404311>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (263) I had an equally *fierce* fear of the dark... (<http://www.randomhouse.ca/catalog/display.pperl?isbn=9780739321669&view=printexcerpt>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (264) The thought of asking people for money *awakens* fear in even the boldest of board members (http://www.nonprofit.umich.edu/news_events/past_events.php. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (265) ...I still have this *insatiable* fear of speaking in public places... (<http://sofurry.com/page/36374/user>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (266) After evening prayers something happened to *arouse* her fears further (BNC).
- (267) Unfortunately, many people can have their fear *get out of hand*... (<http://www.articletrader.com/pdf/article-103011.pdf>. Accessed: 24.04.10).

As is evident the FEAR IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL metaphor conveys the same image of the dangerous animal as that in the corresponding anger metaphor. Apart from highlighting the control aspect of fear, it reflects a set of factors that typically cause fear. Those are dental procedures, storms, darkness, the idea of asking other people for money and public speaking. Research in other fields of knowledge provides evidence in favor of the view that these factors indeed evoke fear in humans.

Evidence from other fields. *The fear of the dentists and dental procedures* is a widespread phenomenon and it has even become the subject of some behavioural studies (see, for example, Gale, 1972). As is known, pain is a danger signal to the brain that something is out of order in the body. Therefore it is not surprising that we react with fear to painful dental procedures. However, pain does not seem to be the only cause of dental fear. For example, research shows that fear may result from how a patient perceives the entire situation of dental treatment (see, *ibid*). Put another way, the patient's perceptions and attitudes may partly be responsible for the dental fear.

In Heerwagen and Orians's work mentioned earlier, *the fear of storms* and *the fear of darkness* are characterised among the greatest fears of young children (see, Heerwagen & Orians, 2002: 43). The fear of darkness has also been reported by the adolescents who participated in M. Payne's study as well as by adults in the 2001 American Gallup survey (see, Payne, 1988; Brewer, 19.03.01, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/1891/snakes-top-list-americans-fears.aspx>). Heerwagen and Orians are inclined to think that fear of storms and of darkness have

evolved in humans as an adaptive mechanism for coping with environmental challenges (see, Heerwagen & Orians, 2002).

Since our commonplace reaction to danger is fear, it is natural that humans have developed fear towards such an environmental hazard as storm. With regard to the fear of darkness, Heerwagen and Orians believe that dark places and deep woods are also associated with threats. They emphasise, for example, that ghosts and witches in children's stories are constantly associated with darkness, deep woods and being alone. According to the authors, such conditions are connected to dangerous animals, sudden attack or other threatening events (see, *ibid*).

The fear of asking for money is a frequent subject of social studies. In his book, S. Zastrow describes it as a normal phenomenon and it follows from the author's reasoning that when faced with the need to ask for money, many people would come up with multiple excuses just to avoid tasking themselves with such work. According to the author, they may say, for example, that they do not know anyone who is affluent or that they cannot do it until after their children return from school or they may simply postpone the task forever (see, Zastrow, 2009: 301). In Zastrow's account such behaviour reflects people's cultural attitudes towards money. In Western society money is a taboo subject and the cultural norm predicts that it should not be discussed in polite company. According to the author, the fear of failing and loosing face also contributes to people's avoidance of asking for money.

Finally, there is also empirical evidence that *the fear of public speaking* is widespread among people. The 2001 Gallup survey demonstrates that the fear of public speaking occupies the second place in the list of Americans' fears (see, Brewer, 19.03.01, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/1891/snakes-top-list-americans-fears.aspx>. Accessed: 05.05.10).

In his work M.D. Isaacson portrays the fear of public speaking as a phenomenon that evolves from some other forms of fear such as *the fear of strangers*, *the fear of being stared at*, *the fear of the unusual* and *the fear of rejection* (see, Isaacson, 1984: 39).

Horse metaphors. One subcategory of FEAR IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL is the metaphor FEAR IS A HORSE. It is presented below:

- (268) We all keep *horses* of fear in our subconscious *stables*. We *feed* them and *shelter* them and so of course they *breed* (<http://www.bobwoodyard.com/speaking.html>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (269) Army psychologists are attempting to *curb* fear among troops, used to life in the cities along Australia's eastern seaboard, of the vast, still space they encounter during operations in the Outback (BNC).
- (270) In some districts there was *unbridled* fear... (<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2005/oct/15/iraq.rorycarroll>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (271) We need to *harness* fear and put it in service to our best (<http://essex.bookaisle.com/657B02C9-94FE-4D74-926B-9C707BFB22C9/10/259/en/ContentDetails.htm?ID=%7B9A93B991-F32D-4649-8971-F0C9E1ABFF5E%7D>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (272) I try to *rein* in my fears *but sometimes they get away from me* (<http://bycommonconsent.com/2006/04/30/a-mormon-mecca-in-england/>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (273) *Curb* fear of rejection (http://www.itemporium.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=74&Itemid=82. Accessed: 24.04.10).

Generally speaking, the same ontological mappings present in the metaphor ANGER IS A HORSE also exists in FEAR IS A HORSE. However, in addition to them the FEAR IS A HORSE

metaphor includes some supplementary mappings. For instance, in it the stable in the source domain is projected onto the mind in the target. The breeding of the young correlates to giving rise to more fear. The feeding/sheltering of the animal corresponds to the maintaining of fear.

Moreover, the metaphor portrays fear as a horse that needs to be kept under control. It also highlights two causes of fear: vast unpopulated spaces and rejection. The types of fear stemming from such causes are *the fear of open spaces* and *the fear of rejection*.

Evidence from other fields. In his work, Gordon H. Orians explains the origins of the fear of open spaces from an evolutionary perspective. He classifies open spaces in the category of objects and situations that function as the universal sources of fear (see, Orians, 2001). According to the author, such phenomena have been associated with threatening circumstances throughout human evolution. He argues, for example, that the danger of open spaces consists in the fact that people in such spaces are vulnerable to attacks by foes and dangerous predators.

The facts presented in the study carried out by R.F. Baumeister and M.R. Leary help us understand the reasons behind the fear of social rejection (see, Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Among other things, the researchers claim that human beings have a deep-seated inner need to create and maintain interpersonal relationships. Such a psychological drive is innate and nearly universal. Moreover, the need to belong has an evolutionary basis. That is, in our evolutionary past those with social bonds to others had better chances to survive and reproduce than those who did not have such ties. The creation of social ties generates positive emotions in humans whereas real, imagined or even potential dangers to social bonds produce unpleasant emotions. The lack of belongingness has serious consequences for individuals. For example, both psychological and physical health problems are more widespread among people who lack social ties. Thus, the above description shows clearly and convincingly that social rejection is a considerable threat to individuals and it is not surprising that human-beings fear such a rejection.

Finally, despite that both anger and fear are conceptualised in terms of a horse, not all of the horse metaphors used about anger are applicable to fear. For example, among the linguistic metaphors that describe fear in terms of a horse, there are no expressions in which fearful behaviour is characterised in terms of an aggressive horse behaviour. In this sense the conceptualisation of fear differs from that of anger.

Snake metaphors. In the previous chapter we saw that the SNAKE source domain commonly occurs with the target domain of ANGER. As it will be evident from the following discussion, the application scope of the SNAKE source domain stretches beyond the domain of ANGER. It is actively used in the conceptualisation of fear. This is natural, given the fact that people have vast fundamental experience and knowledge about snakes. Thus, the metaphor presented next maps the SNAKE domain onto the target domain of FEAR. This conceptual construction also instantiates the general metaphor FEAR IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL.

FEAR IS A SNAKE

- (274) She saw fear *slither* across his face (BNC).
- (275) Fear *coiled around* his heart (<http://giantarmors.com/blog/book-0-armor/chapter-3/>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (276) ...felt an *icy snake* of fear *uncoil* within him (http://books.google.se/books?id=3JQf91A2RqoC&pg=PA26&lpg=PA26&dq=%22fear+uncoil+within%22&source=bl&ots=GcsrEdzhvF&sig=dLkmgKElRkTVvtY6XssLpSajMIM&hl=sv&ei=IEnUS8-4DpCvOKqNrf8N&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CAYQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=%22fear%20uncoil%20within%22&f=false, p. 26. Accessed: 24.04.10).

It is commonplace knowledge that snakes may be dangerous in different ways. Some of them are harmful because their venom may kill the quarry. Other snakes such as anaconda are not venomous but are still dangerous because they kill their prey by coiling around it and squeezing, causing suffocation and death. The metaphorical example (275) is motivated by this experience. In it the dangerous snake is imagined as coiling around the heart. Moreover, the SNAKE source domain is suitable for the conceptualisation of fear not merely because of the fact that snakes are dangerous animals. For example, one common folk belief about snakes is that they are cold-blooded beasts. Since in our conceptual system fear is typically associated with coldness (see, Kövecses, 2005: 289) it is natural to think of fear in terms of a cold snake, as described by example (296).

The previously mentioned folk belief regarding the coldness of snakes is grounded in the biological functioning of serpents. More precisely, the body temperature of snakes is regulated in a way different from that of humans as it is governed by external weather conditions.

We know from the previous chapter that the OLD SNAKE SKIN source domain is used in the conceptualisation of anger. In some metaphorical expressions collected for the current study the emotion of fear is also described in terms of an old snake skin. This yields the metaphor FEAR IS AN OLD SNAKE SKIN. Such a conceptualisation shows clearly that in the folk theory of emotions, fear is categorised into the group of undesirable feelings that we should strive to eliminate.

FEAR IS AN OLD SNAKE SKIN

(277) Fear is *sloughed off like a dead skin* (<http://www.sacred-texts.com/eso/dsc/dsc08.htm>. Accessed: 24.04.10).

(278) ...learns to *shed* his fear of public speaking (<http://whitehorne.com/about.htm>. Accessed: 24.04.10).

Obviously, apart from capturing the undesirability aspect of fear, the above metaphor also focuses on one cause of fear, that is the danger of public speaking. Some factors that contribute to the formation of the fear of public speaking in humans have already been mentioned above. It was emphasised in the previous chapter that English speakers conceive of angry speech behaviour in terms of an aggressive snake behaviour. However, among the metaphorical emotion expressions of fear collected for the current research there are no linguistic metaphors that describe fearful speech behaviour in terms of an aggressive snake behaviour. In this sense, the conceptualisation of fear is different from that of anger.

Finally, in the following linguistic metaphor, a frightful person is conceived of as a snake:

(279) She is too frightened, too tense, *like a coiled creature ready to do harm* (BNC).

This linguistic metaphor is the surface manifestation of the metaphor A FEARFUL PERSON IS A SNAKE which instantiates the general metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS (see, Kövecses, 2002: 125).

The bird metaphor. The metaphor that will be scrutinised below conceptualises the fearful person in terms of a white-feathered gamecock. It is the metaphor A FEARFUL PERSON IS A WHITE-FEATHERED GAME BIRD. It is a subcategory of the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS mentioned above. It is important to mention that English speakers commonly characterise cowardly people such as those who show ignoble fear when encountering a dangerous situation, as being white-feathered. For example:

A FEARFUL PERSON IS A WHITE-FEATHERED GAME BIRD

(280) He was one of the *white-feathered* sort (OED).

(281) “He has a *white feather in his wing*,” said Simon, somewhat scandalized by his ready surrender (OED).

The metaphor under consideration is motivated by the English cultural tradition of cockfighting. Historically, a white feather in the tail of a game bird was believed to be an indication of inferior breeding (see, *Online Etymology Dictionary*, <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?search=white-feather&searchmode=none>. Accessed: 01.04.10). However, there may not be a straightforward link between a white feather in a bird’s tail and its bad fighting qualities. A bird without a white feather in its tail may also be a poor fighter. The above-mentioned belief of gamecocks can be explained by the way in which humans understand the behaviour of animals and their own conduct. When analysing animal metaphors used about humans, Kövecses emphasised that people have a tendency to attribute human characteristics to animals and then to reapply these features to humans (see, Kövecses, 2002: 125).

In the past a white feather was a traditional symbol associated with cowardice. It was given to men who abstained from joining the Army as a sign of their perceived cowardice. During the First World War this tradition gained a new importance. Presented below is an excerpt in which the custom is described (see, <http://www.diggerhistory.info/pages-medals/white-feather.htm>. Accessed: 01.04.10). The excerpt also gives us a clue as to how those who received white feather experienced the event.

In August 1914, Admiral Charles Fitzgerald founded the Order of the White Feather. With the support of leading writers such as Mary Ward and Emma Orczy, the organisation encouraged women to give out white feathers to young men who had not joined the British Army.

One young woman remembers her father, Robert Smith, being given a feather on his way home from work: “That night he came home and cried his heart out. My father was no coward, but had been reluctant to leave his family. He was thirty-four and my mother, who had two young children, had been suffering from a serious illness. Soon after this incident my father joined the army.

It should further be pointed out that, historically, the tradition of cockfighting was also one of the favourite themes in the Western art. For example, the painting *The Cockfight* by Jean-Léon Gérôme (see, Gérôme, http://www.artchive.com/web_gallery/J/Jean-Leon-Gerome/The-Cock-Fight.html. Accessed: 05.05.10) and the statue *Winner of the Cockfight* by Alexandre Falguière created in the 19th century (see, Falguière, 1900, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Alexandre_falguiere's_statue_winner_of_the_cockfight_version_with_long_drape_vbig.jpg. Accessed: 05.05.10) reflect the tradition of bird-fighting. Finally, different from the animal metaphors presented above, A WHITE-FEATHERED GAME BIRD metaphor is specific to fear.

5.6. Metaphors of Fear with the BAD SMELL and BAD TASTE Source Domains

Like many other source domains analysed in this study, BAD SMELL and BAD TASTE occur not only with anger but also with fear. The metaphorical expressions that are introduced below portray the emotion of fear in terms of an objectionable, unpleasant odour. It is the linguistic manifestation of the underlying metaphor FEAR IS A BAD SMELL.

- (282) Nevertheless, he could almost *smell the stench* of fear: the house was too quiet (BNC).
- (283) Mount Doom – it’s an ominous, scary place that *reeks* of fear (see, <http://stanford.wellsphere.com/chiari-malformation-article/fear/310203>. Accessed: 24.04.10).

By describing fear as a bad smell the metaphor places fear in the same category as anger, that is the category of negative emotions. In the metaphorical emotion expression below fear is described in terms of a bad taste.

- (284) ...a recent *rancid* fear of seeming a certain way (“snobbish”)... (<http://www.harpers.org/archive/2009/03/hbc-90004580>. Accessed: 24.04.10).

This linguistic example is the surface manifestation of the underlying metaphor FEAR IS A BAD TASTE.

In both metaphors above, the data acquired through olfactory and taste organs (e.g. *stench*, *rancid taste*, etc.) function as the basis for understanding the abstract mental experience of fear. Moreover, the metaphor FEAR IS A BAD TASTE captures one cause of fear. It is the risk of appearing snobbish. Here the perceived danger consists in being negatively evaluated by others. Thus, the fear stemming from such a threat is *the fear of negative evaluation*. Some facts from other fields of knowledge confirming the existence of the fear of negative evaluation have already been discussed in the previous part of this chapter.

Additional evidence from other fields. Apart from what has been said so far, there seems to be another crucial reason that might have contributed to the fact that, in our conceptual system, fear is associated with a smell. In a recent experimental study it has been established that humans have the physical ability to detect the smell of fear (Zhou & Chen, 2009). It was further found that such a perception operates only at the subconscious level.

In the study a group of males were shown films with themes that evoke fearful reactions. During the process sweat was collected from them by placing gauze pads in their armpits. Subsequently, a group of female participants were shown images of faces that varied from mildly happy to indefinite to fearful. They were given the task of identifying whether the mood conveyed by each facial image presented to them was happy or fearful. During the procedure the gauze pads with the sweat collected from the male participants were located under their noses.

The female participants were more inclined to identify the facial images with ambiguous mood as fearful when they were inhaling the sweat collected from the male participants. However, in those cases when the facial emotion expressions that they saw were distinguishable, the exposure to the sweat had no impact on them. What this study proves is that human olfactory senses play a role in our emotion perception.

5.7. Metaphors of Fear with the PLANT Source Domain

In the previous chapter it was demonstrated that the source domain of PLANT occurs with the target domain of ANGER. The linguistic data of the study provides evidence that the same source domain is mapped onto fear. For instance:

FEAR IS A PLANT

- (285) Thus are the *seeds* of future panic *sown* (BNC).
- (286) Comelius began to feel the *seeds* of panic *taking root* in his stomach (BNC).

- (287) The uncertainty *blossomed into* fear again... (BNC).
- (288) Fear *flourishes* in Texas (<http://www.aim.org/aim-column/fear-flourishes-in-texas/>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (289) I have a *deeply rooted* fear of confined spaces (<http://www.amazon.com/Cujo-Dee-Wallace/dp/B00005O438>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (290) ...the *root* of all fear is the threat of loss (BNC).
- (291) Big fears *stem from* insecurities (see, <http://www.financialpost.com/story.html?id=1903031>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (292) ...he could not ignore the *growing* fear that this time the very worst had happened (BNC).
- (293) Today, America is *harvesting the bitter fruits* of fear of critical ideas and thought (see, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/cifamerica/2009/sep/20/jimmy-carter-barack-obama-racism>. Accessed: 24.04.10).
- (294) Sable's fear *withered away* (see, <http://www.northcastle.co.uk/guild/fanfic/eternallegend13.html>. Accessed: 24.04.10).

Obviously, the stages of plant that get mapped onto the stages of fear in the FEAR IS A PLANT metaphor are the same as those in ANGER IS A PLANT. Those stages are *seed, germination, root, bloom, fruition* and *withering*. Likewise in the case of anger, the metaphor tells us something about the possible causes of the conceptualised emotion. They are the following: uncertainty, confined places, the threat of loss, insecurities, the worst case scenario, critical ideas.

It is commonplace knowledge that uncertainty stems from the lack of knowledge, information that is necessary to make certain decisions. Therefore, the fear resulting from uncertainty can be characterised as *the fear of the unknown*. This form of fear has already been discussed above. Other causes reflected in the metaphor under scrutiny give rise, respectively, to the following types of fear: *the fear of confined places, the fear of loss, the fear of insecurity, the fear of the worst case scenario and the fear of critical ideas*. The majority of these fears have been studied in other fields.

Evidence from other fields. The research carried out by Gordon H. Orians sheds some light on the origins of the fear of confined spaces in humans. The author considers confined spaces within the category of the phenomena that he characterises as the universal sources of fear (see, Orians, 2001). According to Orians, the danger of closed spaces consists in the fact that they offer few escape routes.

In the fear of loss, the object of loss is something that has a value for the fearful person. We are not likely to be afraid of losing something that doesn't have any importance for us. In M. Payne's aforementioned study adolescents reported, among many other things, that they fear the death of their parents (see, Payne, 1988). This is a specific form of the fear of loss. To this it can be added that some other forms of fear that have been considered above, such as the fear of unemployment, the fear of injury, the fear of (one's own) death, etc., can also be characterised under the general category of the fear of loss. This is because all of them are caused by the danger of loss: the loss of job, the loss of health and the loss of life, respectively.

In the book *The Psychology of Emotions*, Caroll E. Izard portrays insecurity as one of the main causes of fear (see, Izard, 1991: 281-282). To illustrate this idea the author provides a narrative of a sixteen-year-old girl, Jane, who describes, among other things, her experience of fear resulting from the separation of her parents. For Jane her family was the source of her

security. However, her feeling of security disappeared to be replaced with fear when her family fell apart. Izard emphasises that Jane's sense of insecurity gave her the feeling as if crucial aspects of her life were out of her control. According to the author, such insecurity is sensed as a threat to our safety.

The study performed by R.W. Paul and L. Elder helps us understand the ways in which critical thinking may be perceived as dangerous and avoided (see, Paul & Elder, 2000: 234). The authors make the following suggestions. Critical thinking challenges the status quo and those who benefit from the status quo may feel intimidated by such an uncovering of weakness. Moreover, there is a tendency to perceive critical thinking as negative thinking. In addition, other people may feel personally intimidated by the debate that may reveal potential problems associated with them and their work. Thus, since we are aware of the multiple negative consequences our critical thinking, we may not always be willing to express our critical views publicly.

5.8. Conclusions

The metaphors analysed in this chapter help us understand, among many other things, the multiple causes of fear. They show that fear may be instigated by a great variety of physical, mental, and social dangers. The study demonstrates further that each cause gives rise to a specific type of fear. The existence of the majority of those fears is confirmed by the scientific evidence from other fields of knowledge.

Despite the widespread belief in Western culture that thinking is associated with the head and emotions with the heart, some metaphors presented in this chapter describe the head as a container for fear. In such metaphors fear is conceived of as a substance or fluid held in the head-container. Moreover, the outcome of the study does not support the hypothesis that in English the heart is mostly associated with such positive emotions as love, affection, etc. There is enough linguistic evidence to prove that the heart may be conceptualised as a locus of fear, which is a predominantly negative emotion.

The present research yields evidence that English speakers conceptualise voice as a container for fear. In the voice-container metaphors of fear, the emotion under scrutiny is comprehended in terms of fluids and other substances held in the voice. The human voice contains a variety of emotional cues. It is due to this that the voice-container metaphor applies to more than one emotion.

One substance in terms of which people understand fear is colour. This gives rise to the metaphor FEAR IS A COLOUR which is a subcategory of the general metaphor FEAR IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER. The perceived similarity between the source domain of COLOUR and the target domain of EMOTION, as well as the presence of a strong correlation between colour and emotion in our experience, seem to be responsible for the fact that the COLOUR source domain occurs with fear. The study also shows that fear can be conceptualised in terms of a dangerous substance. The metaphor FEAR IS A DANGEROUS SUBSTANCE characterises fear as a negative emotion.

Some metaphorical emotion expressions scrutinised in this chapter are motivated by the human experience of pregnancy – carrying a developing child within the body. They are the linguistic manifestations of the container version of the metaphor FEAR IS A CHILD. As in the case of anger, the metaphor also has its non-container variant.

The study further demonstrates that like anger, fear is conceived of in terms of a pure substance. The function of the metaphor FEAR IS A PURE SUBSTANCE is to portray fear as a discrete, uniform emotion. Like the corresponding anger metaphor, it also highlights the intensity and cause aspects of fear. It was found out that, similar to anger, fear may also be conceptualised as part of a complex emotional experience where it co-occurs with other emotions. The metaphorical expressions reflecting such a conceptualisation are based on the metaphor COMPLEX EMOTIONS ARE MIXED SUBSTANCES and its submetaphors such as COMPLEX EMOTIONS ARE MIXED FOOD SUBSTANCES and COMPLEX EMOTIONS ARE MIXED COLOURS.

The research has established that there is a conceptual mapping between the SUPERNATURAL BEING source domain and the target domain of THE OBJECT/SOURCE OF FEAR. In folk mythology and tales, such supernatural creatures as ogres, bugbears, bogeymen, bugaboos, goblins, demons, etc., are viewed as the objects of fear. Due to this they are projected onto the objects or sources of fear in the natural world in the metaphor THE OBJECT/SOURCE OF FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING. The perceived similarity between the source and target domain of this metaphor is responsible for the fact that the former is mapped onto the latter. Furthermore, folk mythology describes the supernatural beings that have been mentioned as man-eating, brutish, ugly creatures that suffocate humans and have sexual intercourse with them. Such a description may stem from a wide variety of human fears like the fear of being devoured by savage animals, the fear of suffocation, giving birth to a deformed child, etc. Historically folk mythology about the aforementioned imaginary creatures was often used with the purpose of frightening disobedient children into good behaviour.

The linguistic material of this investigation provides evidence that similar to anger, fear is conceptualised in terms of different animals. For instance, the source domain of DANGEROUS ANIMAL and its two subdomains HORSE and SNAKE get mapped onto the target domain of FEAR. The resulting metaphors capture such aspects of fear as control and cause. The fact that the above-mentioned source domains apply to both anger and fear is explained by the general folk view of emotions according to which emotions are dangerous impulses that should be kept under a strict control. Moreover, it was established that like anger, fear may be conceptualised in terms of an old snake skin. The folk theory of emotions includes fear into the category of undesirable emotions that we should get rid of. FEAR IS AN OLD SNAKE SKIN is based on this view. The metaphor is used to highlight the undesirability and cause aspects of fear.

Not all the animal source domains that apply to anger occur with fear. For example, the domain of AGGRESSIVE HORSE BEHAVIOUR commonly conceptualises angry behaviour in terms of an aggressive bridling behaviour of a horse. However, the same source domain does not seem to be used to characterise a fearful conduct. Moreover, the domain of AGGRESSIVE SNAKE BEHAVIOUR is employed to make sense of angry speech behaviour. Fearful speech behaviour is not likely to be conceptualised in terms of an aggressive snake behaviour.

The study shows that not all the animal metaphors that apply to fear are applicable to anger. For example, the metaphor A FEARFUL PERSON IS A WHITE-FEATHERED GAME BIRD analysed in this chapter is specific to fear. It is used to characterise the cowardliness of a person as undesirable. The metaphor is motivated by the English cultural tradition of cockfighting.

It has further been established that there is a conceptual link between the BAD SMELL and BAD TASTE source domains, on the one hand, and the target domain of FEAR on the other. This provides evidence for the view that the data acquired through olfactory and taste organs function as the basis for our understanding of fear. In addition, research in other fields yields proof that humans have the physical ability to detect the smell of fear through their olfactory organs. This factor may also contribute to the fact that we think of fear in terms of a smell.

Finally, the study shows that there is a conceptual link between the source domain of PLANT and the target domain of FEAR. This yields the metaphor FEAR IS A PLANT. Generally speaking, the metaphors analysed in this study highlight such aspects of fear as intensity, cause, source, negative evaluation, control, undesirability, uniformity/complexity, etc.

Chapter 6

METAPHORICAL CONCEPTUALISATION OF SADNESS

6.1. Introduction

In scientific literature sadness is generally portrayed as an emotional reaction to some sort of loss. For example, in their work, M. Lewis, J.M. Haviland-Jones and L.F. Barrett claim that “the feeling of sadness involves sensations of loss” (see, Lewis, Haviland-Jones & Barrett, 2008: 377). Izard portrays the emotion as being caused by the loss of someone held dear through death or separation (see, Izard, 1991: 200). Moreover, L. Wolpert argues that sadness is commonly induced “by loss of some sort, from person to money” (see, Wolpert, 2008). Furthermore, the author describes sadness as a response resulting from the loss of attachment. He emphasises that attachment is an adaptive trait from an evolutionary perspective because it stimulates humans to restore what has been lost. He portrays human beings’ attempt to re-establish the lost bond in the following manner:

...loss of this attachment, even briefly, can cause sadness in young children and causes them to search for the parent. Attachment is also important for couples and its loss promotes sadness and the search for partner.

In an attempt to make sense of this highly adaptive emotion English speakers have created a range of conceptual metaphors. A significant number of such metaphors have been studied by Antonio Barcelona within the framework of cognitive linguistics (see, Barcelona, 1986). The summary of the metaphors identified by the author are presented in Z. Kövecses’s book *Metaphor and Emotion: Language, Culture and Body in Human Feeling* (see, Kövecses, 2000: 25-26). They are the following.

SADNESS IS DOWN: (295) He *brought me down* with his remarks.

SADNESS IS DARK: (296) He is in a *dark* mood.

SADNESS IS A LACK OF HEAT: (297) Losing his father *put his fire out*; he’s been depressed for two years.

SADNESS IS A LACK OF VITALITY: (298) This was *disheartening* news.

SADNESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER: (299) I am *filled with* sorrow.

SADNESS IS A PHYSICAL FORCE: (300) That was a *terrible blow*.

SADNESS IS A NATURAL FORCE: (301) *Waves* of depression *came over* him.

SADNESS IS ILLNESS: (302) She was *heart-sick*. Time *heals* all sorrows.

SADNESS IS INSANITY: (303) He was *insane with* grief.

SADNESS IS A BURDEN: (304) He *staggered under* the pain.

SADNESS IS A LIVING ORGANISM: (305) He *drowned* his sorrow in drink.

SADNESS IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL: (306) His feeling of misery *got out of hand*.

SADNESS IS AN OPPONENT: (307) He was *seized by* a fit of depression.

SADNESS IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR: (308) She was *ruled by* sorrow.

It is important to mention that certain source domains used in the conceptualisation of sadness focus on the negative evaluation aspect of the emotion under discussion. The domains of DOWN, DARK and A LACK OF VITALITY, etc., are just a few cases in point. They form the opposite of such source domains of happiness as UP, LIGHT and VITALITY that focus on the positive evaluation aspect of happiness (for more detailed information about the source domains for happiness and the metaphors in which they occur see, Kövecses, 2000: 24-25).

A. Stefanowitsch's corpus-based study has revealed some other conceptual mappings from particular source domains onto the target domain of SADNESS (see, Stefanowitsch, 2006). Some cases in point are the following: SADNESS IS A PURE/MIXED SUBSTANCE, SADNESS IS DEPTH, SADNESS IS AN AURA, SADNESS IS A SOUND, SADNESS IS TASTE, etc. From these conceptual constructs SADNESS IS A PURE/MIXED SUBSTANCE and SADNESS IS TASTE will be analysed in this chapter, among other things. Since the aforementioned findings provide rich knowledge of how the concept of sadness is organised and understood, their significance cannot be underestimated. However, as it will be evident from the discussion below, some important patterns of sadness conceptualisation have been left out of account by cognitive linguists. Hence, in this chapter an attempt will be made to narrow the existing gap in the area.

6.2. Metaphors of Sadness with the CONTAINER Source Domain

In the previous two chapters it was demonstrated that English speakers may conceptualise the head as a locus of both anger and fear despite the common hypothesis that the head is not conceived of as a locus of emotion in Western culture. With these results at hand it would be logical and necessary to investigate further whether or not the HEAD metaphor also occurs with sadness. The linguistic material collected for the current study provides evidence in favour of the view that sadness may be comprehended in terms of an occurrence in the head. For example:

- (309) I will think to myself "I haven't thought about my dad today" and in some respects it's nice not to have a *head full of* grief all-day every day (http://www.bbc.co.uk/essex/content/articles/2005/10/17/coping_with_death_feature.shtml. Accessed: 24.04.10.

The above metaphorical example is the linguistic manifestation of the underlying conceptual metaphor SADNESS IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER. Obviously, the container conveyed is the head. It was indicated earlier in this chapter that sadness is caused by some sort of loss. In the above-mentioned metaphor, the cause of sadness is the loss of an attachment figure, namely the father. Moreover, the next linguistic metaphor characterises sadness as a fluid and it portrays the head as a container.

- (310) I can close my eyes, knowing that the terrible memories of the things I've seen won't fill my *head with sorrow*... (http://www.distanthealer.co.uk/PTSD_war_trauma.htm. Accessed: 24.04.10).

This metaphorical example is the linguistic manifestation of the underlying metaphor SADNESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER. In it the cause of sadness is a traumatic event. The metaphor does not specify the event. Usually war events, car accidents, torture, natural disasters, etc., are experienced as traumatic happenings. Such occurrences involve a real or possible threat to life or health. Witnessing other people being exposed to such events may also instigate profound sadness.

At this point we know that the HEART metaphor is applicable to both anger and fear, in spite of the widespread assumption that the heart is more likely to be associated with such positive emotions as love and affection. Like anger and fear, sadness is perceived as a predominantly negative emotion in the folk theory. For example, this is evident from the fact that a range of specific source domains used in the conceptualisation of sadness focus on the negative evaluation aspect of the emotion under discussion (see, the previous paragraph). Therefore, it is necessary to find out whether or not the HEART metaphor is also applicable to sadness. Among the data collected for the present study there are some linguistic metaphors that portray sadness in terms of a substance and a liquid held in the heart-container. For example:

SADNESS IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER

- (311) Yesterday my heart was *full of sadness* (BNC).
(312) We write this with *much sadness in our hearts* (http://www.blacksunjournal.com/books/1416_prophets-daughter-response-parade-of-empty-ad-hominems_2008.html. Accessed: 24.04.10).

SADNESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER

- (313) The situation frustrated me and *filled* my heart with sadness (http://metapsychology.mentalhelp.net/poc/view_doc.php?type=book&id=1514. Accessed: 24.04.10).
(314) My heart *overflows with* sadness (<http://www.fallenheroesmemorial.com/oif/profiles/martinomichaeld.html>. Accessed: 24.04.10).

Like any other substance and fluid metaphors, the aforementioned conceptual constructions characterise the intensity of emotion (in this case, sadness) in terms of the quantity of the substance or fluid kept in the container.

Moreover, in the previous chapters it was mentioned that the voice-container metaphor occurs both with anger and fear. As it will be evident from the following discussion the same metaphor is also applicable to sadness. For instance:

SADNESS IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER

- (315) "We thought of that, sir," said the inspector, *a touch of melancholy in his voice* (BNC).
(316) "I know the value of these things," he says, *a hint of sorrow in his voice* (http://www.oregonlive.com/news/index.ssf/2009/02/collectors_in_oregon_trading_t.html. Accessed: 24.04.10).

SADNESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER

- (317) Evelyn's *voice* was so *filled with* despair that Kate felt rage again (BNC).
(318) Moore's *voice brims with* sweet melancholy (<http://digital.othermusic.com/search/full.php?UID=478561>. Accessed: 26. 04.10).

At this point of the discussion it would be appropriate to provide an historical example of the voice-container metaphor for sadness. The following linguistic metaphor dates back to 1842 and it was written by Margaret Fuller, an American author and journalist (see, http://www.archive.org/stream/tokenandatlanti01unkngoog/tokenandatlanti01unkngoog_djvu.txt. Accessed: 26.04.10).

(319) ...even while thou speakest of happiness, – is not thy *voice full of sadness?*

In the metaphor under discussion, sadness is conceptualised in the same way as in the metaphor SADNESS IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER mentioned above.

The metaphorical emotion expressions that will be presented next manifest the metaphor SADNESS IS A DANGEROUS SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER. In them the body is featured as a container for sadness. Such a conceptualisation passes a subjective negative judgment to sadness.

(320) There's a *corrosive sadness in her*, because of that (http://www.gladiatrix.info/newsletter/newsletter_1.htm. Accessed: 26.04.10).

(321) Tears help get the *poisonous grief out of your system* (<http://www.modmomsclub.com/content/desperately-searching-help>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

Like anger and fear, sadness may be understood metaphorically in terms of a colour. For instance:

SADNESS IS A COLOUR

(322) There was also a *tinge of sadness in Gerry Britton's voice* when he was asked about his old club (BNC).

(323) There was a *shade of sadness in the young man's voice...* (<http://www.classicreader.com/book/3247/1/>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

Obviously, the container portrayed here is the voice. The following metaphorical emotion expression was created in 1890 by the English author Jessie Weston. It also manifests the same metaphor. However, the container conveyed by it is the eyes.

(324) The large, magnificent brown *eyes, with a tinge of melancholy in their depths...* (<http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-WesKoMe-t1-body-d2.html>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

We now know that the voice-container metaphor applies to all the three emotions scrutinised in the present study. Moreover, in my previous work, I have demonstrated that the same metaphor also occurs with pride and hatred (see, Esenova, 2009a). This shows clearly that in the conceptual system of English there is a general metaphor VOICE IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS.

What is more, the linguistic material of the current study provides evidence that similar to anger and fear, the emotion of sadness may be conceived of as a foetus in the uterus. This gives rise to the container version of the metaphor SADNESS IS A CHILD. For example:

SADNESS IS A CHILD

(325) ...that is my favourite type of Pavement song. It's the one that's so *pregnant* with melancholy (<http://onavery.blogspot.com/2008/04/i-was-dressed-for-success.html>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

(326) Sorrow *breeds* in crevices of mind (<http://www.writerscafe.org/writing/LupusInferis/212456/>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

- (327) The grief was *conceived* the moment dad's doctor said, "Lou Gehrig's Disease is fatal" (<http://httpwww.helium.com/items/1055114-reflections-loss-of-a-parent>. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (328) *Giving birth to grief* (<http://www.worldmag.com/articles/14447>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

In the metaphor SADNESS IS A CHILD music is characterised as a source of sadness. The question that arises at this point is the following: is the link between music and emotion/sadness made in the above metaphor one of coincidence or are the two connected in reality? Findings in other scientific fields could help shed some light on this question.

Evidence from other fields. As is known each emotion is accompanied by a specific set of physiological reactions. For example, sadness is associated with the decrease in the pulse rate and increase in the blood pressure, etc. In a happy state breathing becomes faster. In an experimental research the physiological reactions of the study participants were measured while they were listening to music. The results showed that music evokes different emotions in people. For instance, music with a quick tempo and major key generated the physiological responses associated with happiness in the study participants. Slow tempo and minor key triggered the physical responses linked with sadness (see, Leutwyler, http://cogweb.ucla.edu/ep/Music_Leutwyler_01.html. Accessed: 05.05.10).

In another experimental study the brain activity of the subjects was measured while they were listening to music. Each subject was asked to choose one piece of music that typically evoked intensely pleasurable affective reactions in them, including chills. The participants stated that their emotional reactions were intrinsic to the music producing minimal personal associations and memories. During the experiment activity was registered in those parts of the brain that are responsible for reward and emotion (see, *ibid*). Thus, both studies show that the link between music and emotion is not incidental and has a biological basis.

In the metaphor under discussion another phenomenon that is viewed to be responsible for sadness is the fatal illness of an individual who is held dear. Since the end result of a fatal illness is the loss of life, it naturally evokes sadness in people. As in the case of anger and fear, the following linguistic burst metaphor may be considered as being at least partly motivated by the experience of birthing.

- (329) She's *bursting with* grief... (<http://www.classicreader.com/book/2935/25/>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

It is also important to emphasise that similar to the CHILD metaphors of anger and fear analysed in the preceding chapters, SADNESS IS A CHILD has two versions. Presented below are some metaphorical emotion expressions that are the linguistic manifestations of the non-container version of the SADNESS IS A CHILD metaphor.

- (330) The guy's always *nursing* sorrow for a dead wife or a dead child (<http://nymag.com/arts/theater/profiles/17390/>. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (331) War is the *mother* of grief (http://books.google.se/books?id=ub8iy5DY1Q4C&pg=PA129&lpg=PA129&dq=%22mother+of+grief%22&source=bl&ots=Bxi8fX0uMM&sig=m42yjh8kuk5Fps4pOCvmD1R6R5E&hl=sv&ei=68tHS57COYHY-Qam28Rf&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=9&ved=0CC4Q6AEwCA#v=onepage&q=%22mother%20of%20grief%22&f=false, p. 129. Accessed: 26.04.10).

In the above metaphor, there are two phenomena that are viewed to give rise to sadness, which are the death of loved ones and war. At this point we already know why these phenomena instigate sadness in people.

Finally, the fact that the CHILD source domain occurs with all the emotions scrutinised in this study provides proof that it is a more general source domain. It also shows that the basic human experience of pregnancy and giving birth as well as child-rearing has an important role in how we conceptualise our emotions.

6.3. Metaphors of Sadness with the PURE vs. MIXED SUBSTANCE Source Domains

As was mentioned in the introductory part of this chapter, A. Stefanowitsch's study has established that English speakers conceptualise sadness in terms of both pure and mixed substances. A set of metaphorical emotion expressions manifesting such a conceptualisation has been collected for the current study. For example, the linguistic metaphors clustered under the following conceptual metaphor describe sadness in terms of a pure substance:

SADNESS IS A PURE SUBSTANCE

- (332) ...her eyes were still *filled* with *pure* sadness (<http://www.buzzle.com/articles/i-cant-explain-it8.html>. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (333) Woman-like, she thought of him with *unmixed* sadness... (<http://www.cs.cmu.edu/~rgs/scarp-XV.html>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

In (332) the pure substance in the source domain is conceived of as being held in a container and the imagined container is the eyes. The linguistic data of the present study provides evidence that, similar to the cases of anger and fear, sadness and other emotions experienced simultaneously may be conceptualised in terms of the substances mixed together. Let me illustrate this idea by example:

- (334) *Mix* joy with sorrow (The AHDE in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/mix>. Accessed: 01.04.10).
- (335) ...but this time the sorrow was *mingled with* love and pride (BNC).
- (336) I held my breath as I watched, feeling a *mixture* of happiness and sadness (BNC).

Obviously, the above-mentioned metaphorical emotion expressions are the linguistic manifestations of the underlying conceptual metaphor COMPLEX EMOTIONS ARE MIXED SUBSTANCES. Moreover, sadness and other emotions sensed jointly may also be understood as various colour substances mingled together. For example:

- (337) ...*a tint of sorrow mixed with* anger in his voice (http://books.google.se/books?id=C-nUpXmggWMC&pg=PA427&lp=PA427&dq=%22tint+of+sorrow+mixed%22&source=bl&ots=ixn7bXHAh3&sig=pr-SVyNRxOIXixgnLRNjsq0zUx8&hl=sv&ei=0taQS5r4O8_Z-Qatv5ybBg&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CAYQ6AEwA A#v=onepage&q=%22tint%20of%20sorrow%20mixed%22&f=false, p. 427. Accessed: 26.04.10).

As is evident the above metaphorical emotion expression is the linguistic manifestation of the underlying metaphor COMPLEX EMOTIONS ARE MIXED COLOURS. In it the mixed colour substances are imagined to be held in a container. The container conveyed is the voice. The linguistic metaphor that will be presented next reflects the same conceptual metaphor. However, different from (337) it does not convey any container images.

- (338) *A tinge of melancholy mixed with euphoria*, though (<http://news.google.com/newspaper?s?id=1129&dat=20070219&id=howNAAAIAIBAJ&sjid=FHIDAAAIAIBAJ&pg=6495,3668124>). Accessed: 26.04.10).

It is important to emphasise that in the metaphorical example (337) the two emotions experienced simultaneously are anger and sadness. Research in the field of psychology sheds some light on why these emotions occur jointly in human experience.

Evidence from other fields. C. Izard's emotion study demonstrates that sadness and anger closely interact in human experience (see, Izard, 1991: 196). The author claims, for example, that according to some observations, already by the age of four months children demonstrate the elements of both anger and sadness expressions in response to intense pain of inoculation. This shows clearly that one and the same cause may lie behind a joint experience of sadness and anger. The author further emphasises that sadness may be an innate activator of anger. Given such a close interaction between sadness and anger in our everyday experience, the way the two emotions are conceptualised in the above-mentioned metaphor is not surprising.

In both metaphorical emotion expressions presented above the amount of the colour in the source domain correlates with the intensity of the complex emotions in the target. In the following metaphor, sadness and other emotions occurring together are portrayed in terms of mixed food substances.

- (339) ...I experienced a *cocktail* of emotions – sadness, relief, excitement at being finally married... (<http://www.bridesmagazine.co.uk/blogs/wedding-fashion/091116-poolside-pleasure.aspx>). Accessed: 26.04.10).

As is evident the metaphorical expression at hand is the surface manifestation of the metaphor COMPLEX EMOTIONS ARE MIXED FOOD SUBSTANCES. In it sadness and other emotions experienced at the same time are conceptualised as mixed food substances (mixed drinks). The cause of such an emotional blend is the event of marriage.

The following linguistic metaphor was coined in the year 1829. It is taken from the *Edinburgh Literary Journal or Weekly Register of Criticism and Belles Lettres*.

- (340) Yet there was a *dash of sorrow in our cup of joy* (http://books.google.se/books?id=juFPAAAAMA AJ&pg=PA241&lpg=PA241&dq=%22a+dash+of+sorrow+in%22&source=bl&ots=Vvd5014AaR&sig=uEOZqoNBcL3aGVBDHbc3q44bEGA&hl=sv&ei=MA-RS5qeGMLX-QaOmYybBg&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=2&ved=0CA4Q6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=%22a%20dash%20of%20sorrow%20in%22&f=false). 241. Accessed: 26.04.10).

Clearly, the above linguistic metaphor is the linguistic manifestation of the metaphor COMPLEX EMOTIONS ARE MIXED FOOD SUBSTANCES. What this means is that even nearly two centuries ago, sadness and other emotions experienced simultaneously were conceptualised in the same way as they are conceptualised today.

Thus, at this point it was shown that the PURE SUBSTANCE and MIXED SUBSTANCE source domains systematically apply to all the three emotions analysed in the present study, namely anger, fear and sadness. A. Stefanowitsch's aforementioned work provides evidence that the same source domains also occur with happiness and disgust. The implications of this are that in folk belief emotions are understood as being sensed in two different ways: a) as uniform phenomena; b) as part of complex emotional experiences. Unfortunately, the uniformity/complexity aspect of emotion has largely been left out of account in cognitive linguistic

literature. Based on what has been said above, it can be concluded that the PURE SUBSTANCE and MIXED SUBSTANCE source domains are general source domains.

6.4. Metaphors of Sadness with the SUPERNATURAL BEING Source Domain

In Chapter 4 it was demonstrated that the source domain of SUPERNATURAL BEING is not specific to fear. It was pointed out that, apart from fear, the domain under consideration also applies to anger. Furthermore, there exists linguistic evidence for the presence of a conceptual mapping from the SUPERNATURAL BEING source domain onto the target domain of SADNESS. For instance:

SADNESS IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING

- (341) She is still *haunted* by the grief of her husband's death... (BNC).
- (342) Living in the *shadow* of the *ghosts* of your grief (<http://www.amazon.com/Living-Shadow-Ghosts-Your-Grief/dp/1879651513>. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (343) ...after the birth of her second child, the *spectre* of sadness came back to *haunt* her (<http://www.newsletter.co.uk/health-watch/Time-to-Rethink-mental-health.1980860.jp>. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (344) ...*Wrestling with the demon* of grief... (http://seattletimes.nwsources.com/html/thearts/2009801411_magical04.html. Accessed: 26.04.10).

It is important to point out that, among other things, the metaphor SADNESS IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING portrays sadness as a supernatural creature that needs to be wrestled with. It is for this reason that it overlaps with the metaphor SADNESS IS AN OPPONENT present in Z. Kövecses's list of sadness metaphors mentioned in the introductory part of this chapter. Moreover, in the supernatural belief system ghosts are imagined to be shadowy apparitions. In the source domain of the metaphor under consideration such an image is present. It is common knowledge that English speakers commonly think of melancholy in terms of a black dog. To illustrate this:

- (345) The *black dog* of melancholy follows the footsteps of any pilgrim (BNC).
- (346) A great relief from the *black dog* which would have worried me at home (OED).

These linguistic metaphors can be clustered under the conceptual metaphor SADNESS IS A BLACK DOG. In order to understand the conceptualisation of sadness in terms of a black dog, it is necessary to know how, in the English folk tradition, the image of the black dog was perceived throughout history. The Encyclopaedia of the OED characterises black dog as a symbol of the Devil (see, [http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/Black+dog+\(ghost\)](http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/Black+dog+(ghost)). Accessed: 05.05.10).

Folklore researchers describe such dogs as ghosts or demons (see, for example, Briggs, 1989: 74; Trubshaw, www.indigogroup.co.uk/edge/bdogfl.htm. Accessed: 05.05.10). In his above-mentioned work, B. Trubshaw demonstrates clearly and convincingly that English folklore abounds with the tales of phantom black dogs. It follows from his work that historically each region of Britain had its own legends of black dogs. For example, the name of the Irish version of the ghostly black dog was Pooka whereas in West Yorkshire it was labelled as

Guytrash. In Cornwall there were tales about Devil's Dandy, Barguest, Black Shag, Padfoot, etc. The author also argues that when creating the archetypal image of the death hound in *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, Arthur Conan Doyle took his inspiration from the folk tale of a phantom black dog on Dartmoor. It was believed that black dogs appear only at night and those who encountered them will die in the near future. In other words, black dogs were reckoned to be the portents of death and calamities. In addition, they are believed to haunt such places as churchyards, roads and bridges.

Thus, the metaphor SADNESS IS A BLACK DOG is motivated by the supernatural beliefs about ghostly black dogs. Especially this is evident from (345) which conveys the image of a black phantom dog haunting pilgrims. Moreover, sadness is an emotion that humans often associate with death and disaster. Since in folk belief black dogs symbolise death, it is not surprising that the source concept of BLACK DOG applies onto sadness. Taking into account the fact that in the English folk tradition the black dog was characterised as a supernatural creature, the SADNESS IS A BLACK DOG metaphor can be classified as a submetaphor of the general metaphor SADNESS IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING.

Finally, we have seen that the source domain of SUPERNATURAL BEING occurs with all the three emotions analysed in this thesis, namely anger, fear and sadness. This result runs contrary to the outcome of previous research where the source domain under discussion was characterised as being specific to fear (see, Kövecses, 2000: 40).

6.5. Metaphors of Sadness with the HIDDEN ENEMY and TORMENTOR Source Domains

In Chapter 4 of this thesis, we saw that the source domain of HIDDEN ENEMY applies to anger, despite the widespread belief in cognitive linguistics that the source domain under discussion is specific to fear. The linguistic material of the current study provides evidence that the same source domain occurs with sadness. This yields the metaphor SADNESS IS A HIDDEN ENEMY. For example:

SADNESS IS A HIDDEN ENEMY

- (347) That's when melancholy *crept up on* me (http://www.umbc.edu/blogs/fdc/2009/10/times_winged_chariot.html. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (348) We can still see, the sadness *lurking* behind the eyes of our citizens... (<http://www.riverfronttimes.com/2004-06-30/music/a-little-patience/>. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (349) Grief *hounded* Martin Luther upon the death of his children... (http://books.google.se/books?id=jLfnCvBqhYgC&pg=PA153&lpg=PA153&dq=%22grief+hounded%22&source=bl&ots=qPCK7V22oR&sig=RNwvi3h9Fo2SHqY4tZYar3v2iS0&hl=sv&ei=KeWXS4qYB8ry-QbCiHMCg&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=4&ved=0CBgQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q=%22grief%20hounded%22&f=false, p. 153. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (350) ...there is a *secret* sorrow which *preys upon* my heart... (http://books.google.se/books?id=GxyQvV7bHMgC&pg=PA30&lpg=PA30&dq=%22sorrow+which+preys%22&source=bl&ots=o7-zhcRHJ&sig=1TaAbcprlmpPKHxZX0dRGB6ah3I&hl=sv&ei=BVeSS4qZJYKl-AaA-eSaBg&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CAoQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=%22sorrow%20which%20preys%22&f=false, p. 30. Accessed: 26.04.10).

Obviously, apart from describing sadness as a hidden enemy, the metaphor highlights at least one cause of fear – the death of cherished relatives. Moreover, in Z. Kövecses’s list of sadness metaphors presented in the introduction of this chapter, there are no metaphors with the TORMENTOR source domain. However, there is linguistic evidence that the source domain under scrutiny is used in the conceptualisation of sadness. For example:

SADNESS IS A TORMENTOR

- (351) How, she wondered, could someone be so unhappy, so *tortured* by grief, and still not be mad, and still be alive (BNC).
- (352) *Endured the torment* of grief (<http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1O998-torment.html>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

Similar to the corresponding fear and anger metaphors, SADNESS IS A TORMENTOR portrays sadness as a person who afflicts the self with immense pain.

6.6. Metaphors of Sadness with the ANIMAL Source Domain

The list of Kövecses’s sadness metaphors presented above shows that there is a conceptual mapping between the source domain of CAPTIVE ANIMAL and the target domain of SADNESS. The resulting metaphor is SADNESS IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL. In the previous two chapters we saw that the CAPTIVE/DANGEROUS ANIMAL source domain has a range of subdomains which systematically apply to anger and fear. In what follows, I will demonstrate that most of those subdomains also occur with sadness.

The horse metaphor. In the conceptual construction that will be introduced next, the source domain of HORSE is mapped onto the target domain of SADNESS.

SADNESS IS A HORSE

- (353) However, I have met other prisoners in Wakefield whom I know to be innocent, and I have listened to their stories of ... *unbridled* sadness (<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1510281/Billie-Jo-was-lying-in-a-pool-of-blood-her-skull-cracked-open.-From-that-moment-my-life-changed-irreversibly.html>. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (354) He feared to *give rein* to grief (http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Moondyne/In_Search_of_His_Sorrow. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (355) ...he started smoking cannabis “like cigarettes” to *curb* his sadness (<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1516014/Has-George-Michael-written-off-his-career.html>. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (356) This one lets you know that what you are feeling is okay and don’t judge yourself what you are feeling when you *ride the dark horse* of grief (<http://www.amazon.com/Journal-Love-Healing-Transcending-Grief/dp/1561708089>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

In the metaphor SADNESS IS A HORSE one cause of sadness is highlighted, that is the loss of liberty. Now it is evident that the HORSE source domain is mapped onto all emotion concepts studied in this research. My earlier work provides linguistic evidence that the same source domain occurs with love, pride and arrogance. The latter is a specific form of pride (see, Esenova, 2009a). This shows clearly that the HORSE source domain is not specific to a particular emotion but is of a general nature.

The data of the current study gives proof that the HORSE metaphor of sadness has existed historically. For instance, in the following linguistic metaphor used by the 17th century poet John Milton in his poem *On the Death of a Fair Infant Dying of a Cough*, sadness is portrayed as a wild horse.

- (357) And wisely learn to *curb* thy sorrows *wild* (<http://infomotions.com/etexts/literature/english/1600-1699/milton-on-526.htm>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

At this point of the analysis it can be concluded that the source domain of HORSE gets mapped onto all the three emotions analysed in the present study. The perceived similarity between the source domain of HORSE and the target domain of EMOTION makes it possible for us to conceptualise the latter in terms of the former. For one thing the two domains have a shared aspect: in modern society, humans are believed to be responsible for controlling animals because of the danger that beasts may cause to people. In a parallel fashion, the folk theory of emotions holds people responsible for their emotions. In addition, the fact that horses are energetic animals also has a role for the conceptualisation of emotions in terms of horses. Since emotions are intense mental states they are understood in terms of an energetic animal.

Snake metaphors. The following metaphorical emotion expressions demonstrate that there is a conceptual link between the source domain of SNAKE and the target domain of SADNESS.

- (358) He leaped to his feet and sadness, *curled like a snake* within him all his days, *struck at him and his fangs went deep* (http://www.tor.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=story&id=13879. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (359) ...I felt the *winding coil* of sadness *wrap around* my heart... (http://www.epinions.com/content_5095268484. Accessed: 26.04.10).

These examples manifest the underlying metaphor SADNESS IS A SNAKE. Furthermore, there is linguistic evidence that the snake conceptualisation of sadness existed in history. For instance, the metaphorical sadness expression that will be presented next is taken from the novel *The Moon* written by the German author Jean Paul Richter and translated into English by B.A. Richard Holcraft. The English translation of the novel was published in 1829.

- (360) Poor Rosamund, sorrow *coiled itself together, sprang serpent-like upon thy breast, and pressed its poisonous teeth within...* (http://books.google.se/books?id=wttk5Jk22boC&pg=PA203&lpg=PA203&dq=%22sorrow+coiled%22&source=bl&ots=iHjKy-tis2&sig=hj61KPo3zkqL9mgSYjYw3sk6Qzw&hl=sv&ei=rrbVSV6vACseNOKjD-N8N&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=2&ved=0CAsQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=%22sorrow%20coiled%22&f=false, p. 203. Accessed: 26.04.10).

Thus we have already seen that, similar to the HORSE source domain, the domain of SNAKE is not specific to any emotion. It applies to fear, anger and sadness. Moreover, the material of the study also provides evidence that English speakers conceptualise sadness in terms of an old snake skin. For instance:

- (361) Once the enervating *slough* of sadness *had been discarded* by the individual ... everyone wanted to speak with him or her (<http://arran.wordpress.com/2009/07/15/against-optimism-expanded>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

The above metaphorical expression reflects the underlying metaphor SADNESS IS AN OLD SNAKE SKIN. As has been mentioned previously, the OLD SNAKE SKIN metaphor

focuses on the undesirability aspect of an emotion. By conceptualising sadness in terms of an old outworn snake skin, the metaphor SADNESS IS AN OLD SNAKE SKIN puts sadness in the same line with anger and fear. Now we know that in the folk belief all the three emotions mentioned above are understood to be something unnecessary, something that we should get rid of and something that may endanger our emotional well-being if we preserve it.

Finally, in this study it was demonstrated that the OLD SNAKE SKIN source domain occurs with anger, fear and sadness. In addition, my above-mentioned article includes the metaphor SHAME IS AN OLD SNAKE SKIN where the same domain occurs with the target domain of SHAME (see, Esenova, 2009a). What this means is that the OLD SNAKE SKIN metaphor applies to several emotions and is not of a specific metaphor.

6.7. Metaphors of Sadness with the TASTE and SMELL Source Domains

At this point we know that English speakers conceptualise both anger and fear in terms of a bad smell and bad taste. As will be evident from the material that will be presented next, sadness may also be conceived of in terms of odours and tastes. The following two metaphors characterise the emotion under consideration in terms of a bad smell and bad taste. They are used in the conceptualisation of that form of sadness which is judged to be negative.

SADNESS IS A BAD SMELL

- (362) The battered beach at Rolling Bay still *reeks* of sadness (<http://www.theatlantic.com/past/issues/99jan/mud3.htm>. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (363) Yet even royals could not dodge the *toxic waft* of melancholy (<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,964495-3,00.html>. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (364) The *stale* grief... (<http://www.amazon.co.uk/review/R13B5OLN77EM7C>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

SADNESS IS A BAD TASTE

- (365) *Bitter* sorrow (The AHDE in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/bitter>. Accessed: 01.04.10).
- (366) Her pace slowed even more as she thought of the house dark and *sour* with grief (BNC).

It should be mentioned, however, that not all forms of sadness are conceptualised in terms of a bad taste. In the metaphorical emotion expression that will be introduced next, sadness is portrayed as a good taste.

- (367) A fan's *sweet* sorrow at the parting of a player... (<http://www.walesonline.co.uk/rugby/rugby-columnists/2009/12/05/do-not-go-gently-into-life-after-sporting-glory-91466-25324875/>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

The above linguistic expression manifests the metaphor SADNESS IS A GOOD TASTE. It has already been pointed out that sadness is predominantly conceptualised as a negative emotion. Even though this is true in most cases, the metaphor shows clearly that not all forms of sadness are understood to be unpleasant by English speakers. Sometimes, parting from

people we admire seems to evoke pleasant sorrow. The SADNESS IS A GOOD TASTE metaphor focuses on the positive evaluation aspect of sadness. Now, let us consider the next metaphorical expression.

- (368) The *perfume* of melancholy *exuded* especially by the large dark spaces in many pictures... (http://sitemaker.umich.edu/visualarchives/files/alf_powerful_images-ges_4_-fin.pdf, p. 6. Accessed: 26.04.10).

This linguistic example too can be viewed as the surface manifestation of the metaphor SADNESS IS A GOOD SMELL. Here the cause of melancholy is the large dark places in particular pictures. Now the question is whether or not the art works in which natural environment is pictured may evoke the emotion of melancholy in humans.

Evidence from other fields. The researchers E. Brady and A. Haapala have studied the interconnection between melancholy and art. According to the authors, melancholy is an aesthetic emotion and it has a role in our encounters with the pieces of art and it is also existent in some of our reactions to the natural environment (see, Brady & Haapala, 2003). Interestingly, even in the metaphorical example (325) which manifests the metaphor SADNESS IS A CHILD, melancholy is described as being caused by a song which is a piece of art.

The linguistic smell metaphor of sadness presented below describes the emotion under scrutiny with the help of a more neutral olfactory term *odour* which usually may be employed to refer to both pleasant and unpleasant smell.

- (369) An *odour* of sadness permeated the gathering (The AHDE in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/odour>. Accessed: 01.04.10).

Therefore, the above linguistic metaphorical emotion expression can be characterised as the surface manifestation of the metaphor SADNESS IS A SMELL.

6.8. Metaphors of Sadness with the PLANT Source Domain

As has been demonstrated previously there are systematic conceptual mappings between the source domains of PLANT, on the one hand, and the target domains of ANGER and FEAR, on the other. In the following conceptual metaphor, the same source domain occurs with the target domain of SADNESS. For example:

SADNESS IS A PLANT

- (370) His sadness *grew* (BNC).
- (371) Grief *flourished* at the death of Linda McCartney (<http://archive.yorkpress.co.uk/2004/2/26/251308.html>. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (372) ...personal sorrow *stems from* some form of personal loss (http://www.associatedcontent.com/article/2329260/what_the_bible_says_about_sorrow.html. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (373) The *seed* of sorrow *took root* at once and *bore a bitter fruit* (http://books.google.se/books?id=DCfRLw9ZDJsc&pg=PA73&lpg=PA73&dq=%22sorrow+took+root%22&source=bl&ots=ADiaX1fzsZ&sig=VwGrsk_u-HYgF5PZ-IE-E23VNfE&hl=sv&ei=BvRKSTSSOYHc-QbDleRL&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=2&ved=0CAoQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=%22sorrow%20took%20root%22&f=false, p. 73. Accessed: 26.04.10).

- (374) They do make our sorrows to *wither*... (http://books.google.se/books?id=40GqA71nhSUC&pg=PA123&lpg=PA123&dq=%22sorrows+to+wither%22&source=bl&ots=UqQ-SdV10n&sig=OZ1fbbs8tO6-UUbV6PqFBfSKYIk&hl=sv&ei=IsvVS-SdO8-LOJ38kIgO&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CAYQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=%22sorrows%20to%20wither%22&f=false, p. 123. Accessed: 26.04.10).

Clearly, in the above metaphor the highlighted causes of sadness are the death and loss. Furthermore, there is also linguistic evidence of the historical use of the SADNESS IS A PLANT metaphor. For example, the following metaphorical emotion expression was created several centuries ago by the English playwright William Rowley (1585-1642). It is contained in his comedy *A Shoemaker, A Gentleman* (see, http://books.google.se/books?id=Gz1n2Om71dAC&pg=PA99&lpg=PA99&dq=%22sorrows+wither+%22&source=bl&ots=ttAZNHPKmh&sig=eAz29o-THSNDveX4nQmOeImj93o&hl=sv&ei=IITQS9zWoc-KOOq0tccP&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=3&ved=0CBMQ6AEwAg#v=onepage&q=%22sorrows%20wither%20%22&f=false). Accessed: 26.04.10).

- (375) Our sorrows *wither* as our joys begin.

What has been said so far shows that the source domain of PLANT applies to all the three emotions analysed in this study. This is not surprising given the fact that agriculture is one of our most fundamental experiences and we have tremendous knowledge about plants. The perceived similarity between the PLANT and EMOTION domains is another factor that makes it possible for us to think and talk about emotions in terms of plants.

6.9. Conclusions

In scientific studies there is general agreement that the major cause of sadness is some sort of loss. The outcome of the present research confirms such a hypothesis. The great majority of the metaphors that highlight the cause aspect of sadness portray sadness as an emotion that is instigated by some sort of loss or the threat of loss through death, divorce, war, etc. In some metaphors sadness is characterised as resulting from music and art pictures. Research in other areas of knowledge provides evidence that such forms of art may evoke the feeling of sadness in humans. Moreover, the chapter gives proof that some conceptual metaphors of sadness that people use today also existed in history.

It was also found out that English speakers may apply the HEAD metaphor onto sadness. In the resultant metaphors the emotion under scrutiny is conceived of as fluids and other substances. This is additional evidence against the hypothesis that in Western culture the head is not conceptualised as a locus of emotion. Broadly speaking the HEAD metaphor applies to all the three emotions analysed in this study. Moreover, the outcome of the chapter demonstrates that the HEART metaphor commonly occurs with sadness. Such a result runs contrary to the assumption that in Western culture the heart is primarily associated with such positive emotions as love and affection.

Moreover, in some metaphors analysed in the present chapter, voice is conceptualised as a container for sadness. The voice-container metaphor is not a specific metaphor and apart from sadness, it occurs with fear and anger. In addition, there is linguistic evidence that it is also used in the conceptualisation of pride and hatred. This allows us to conclude that in the conceptual

system of English there is a general metaphor VOICE IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS.

It has further been established that there is a conceptual link between the source domain of CHILD and the target domain of SADNESS. This source domain, too, is a general domain and applicable to several emotion concepts. The analysis of the CHILD source domain shows that the fundamental experiences of pregnancy, giving birth and child rearing play a crucial role in the conceptualisation of emotion.

What is more, the study shows that, as in the cases of fear and anger, sadness may be conceptualised in terms of a pure substance. In addition, it may also be experienced and understood as part of a complex emotional experience. In such case, sadness and other emotions sensed simultaneously are conceived metaphorically as mixed substances. Broadly speaking, the PURE SUBSTANCE and MIXED SUBSTANCE source domains occur with a set of emotion domains analysed in this and previous studies. Due to this they can be characterised as general source domains. Furthermore, in the MIXED SUBSTANCE metaphor, sadness is characterised as occurring simultaneously with anger. Such a conceptualisation matches with what has been observed in psychological studies. The latter gives evidence that sadness and anger often interact in human experience.

It has further been found out that there is a conceptual link between the source domain of SUPERNATURAL BEING and the target domain of SADNESS. The same source domain also applies to fear and anger. This result runs contrary to the findings in previous research that the SUPERNATURAL BEING source domain is specific to fear. The current study shows that this domain has a much wider scope of application than it was initially assumed. The SADNESS IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING metaphor has one submetaphor, that is, SADNESS IS A BLACK DOG. Different from the former metaphor, it is specific to sadness.

The study provides evidence that the source domains of HIDDEN ENEMY and TORMENTOR get mapped onto the target domain of SADNESS. In cognitive linguistic literature the HIDDEN ENEMY source domain is reckoned to be specific to fear. The results of the current research do not support such a hypothesis. The HIDDEN ENEMY source domain occurs with all emotion concepts scrutinised in this thesis.

It has been established that at least two subcategories of the general source domain DANGEROUS ANIMAL get mapped onto the target domain of SADNESS. They are the HORSE and SNAKE domains. The resulting metaphors are SADNESS IS A HORSE and SADNESS IS A SNAKE. In addition, the OLD SNAKE SKIN source domain also occurs with sadness. Generally speaking, the aforementioned subdomains are not specific to a particular emotion because, apart from sadness, they also occur with fear and anger. In addition, according to the results of earlier research the HORSE source domain also applies to the concepts of love, pride and its specific instance – arrogance.

There is linguistic evidence that the concept of sadness may be understood in terms of smell and taste. Similar to anger and fear, sadness is conceptualised in terms of a bad smell and bad taste. The metaphors resulting from such a conceptualisation, namely SADNESS IS A BAD SMELL and SADNESS IS A BAD TASTE, pass negative judgment on sadness. However, the study also demonstrates that the emotion discussed may be conceived of in terms of a good taste. For example, the metaphor SADNESS IS A GOOD TASTE characterises the emotion under discussion as a positive phenomenon. There is also a case in which sadness is conceptualised

simply in terms of a smell without specifying whether that smell is good or bad. Broadly speaking, the current research shows that our bodily senses of taste and smell play a crucial role in how we conceptualise emotions. The majority of the taste and smell metaphors analysed in the study are not specific to a particular emotion.

Finally, it has been found out that, similar to anger and fear, sadness is comprehended in terms of a plant. The perceived similarity between the source domain of PLANT and the target domain of EMOTION makes it possible for us to apply this source domain onto different emotions including sadness. Broadly speaking, the majority of the source domains that have been scrutinised in this study are not specific to one particular emotion but apply to various emotion concepts. Only few source domains seem to be specific to certain emotion concepts. The metaphors presented in this chapter focus on the aspects of sadness such as intensity, cause, control, positive/negative evaluation, uniformity/complexity and the like.

Chapter 7

THE ISSUE OF METAPHOR SCOPE

7.1. Introduction

The major findings on metaphor scope generated by previous research have been described in the third chapter of this thesis. It was emphasised that most source domains that occur with emotions are not specific to emotions but they have a scope of application that stretches far beyond that domain. In the light of such findings it is important to examine whether the above-mentioned claim also holds true for the source domains of the emotion metaphors that have been identified and analysed in the present study. Therefore, the main objective of this chapter is to discover whether or not the source domains of the identified metaphors have an application beyond the target domains of ANGER, FEAR and SADNESS. Unfortunately, it is impossible within the framework of a single study such as this to investigate the application scope of all the source domains that apply to anger, fear and sadness. A special study is needed to carry out such a comprehensive task. Therefore, I will restrict myself to the analysis of the HORSE source domain only.

There are two major questions that need to be addressed here: a) are there any emotion concepts, besides anger, fear and sadness, which are characterised with the help of the HORSE source domain and b) are there any non-emotional target concepts onto which the HORSE source domain applies? The answer to the above questions will help us identify the range of the target domains onto which the HORSE source domain gets mapped. It will also enable us to confirm or refute the cognitive linguistic hypothesis that the majority of the source domains that are mapped onto emotions are not emotion specific. In what follows I will first scrutinise the application of the HORSE source domain onto emotions other than anger, fear and sadness. Then I will analyse its application onto non-emotional concepts. Finally, even though this is not the main objective of the chapter, some information concerning the conceptualisation of the target concepts will also be provided.

7.2. Application of the HORSE Source Domain onto Emotions Other Than Anger, Fear and Sadness

As it will be evident from the following description, the source domain of HORSE applies to the general target domain of EMOTION as well as to a wide range of its subdomains such as HAPPINESS, LOVE, LUST, PRIDE/ARROGANCE, SURPRISE, JEALOUSY, COURAGE, DISGUST, SHAME and GUILT. In the following metaphor, the source domain of HORSE occurs with the target domain of EMOTION.

EMOTIONS ARE HORSES

- (376) He deliberately gave his emotions *free rein* as he played the sonata (CALD, http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/free-rein#free-rein__1. Accessed: 01.04.10).
- (377) Tom Tedder *reined in* his emotion (BNC).
- (378) In learning what is and is not acceptable to parents, children come to know when and how to *harness* their feelings and impulses... (BNC).

Apart from portraying emotions in terms of horses, the metaphor under consideration also tells us a great deal about how in human society emotions are supposed to be expressed. It shows, for instance, that early in life children are urged to control their emotions. What this implies is that children are not always encouraged by their parents to express their emotions directly and that there are certain rules and norms for when and how emotions should be displayed. An important question which arises at this point is whether there is scientific evidence that confirms the existence of such emotion expression rules.

Evidence from other fields. The existence of the aforementioned rules is confirmed by the results of some psychological studies. For example, in their work P. Ekman and W.V. Friesen characterise such norms as *emotion display rules* (see, Ekman & Friesen, 1975). Among many other display rules the authors mention the fact that in the United States boys learn that “little men do not cry and look afraid”. What this means is that boys are encouraged to mask certain emotions such as sadness and fear which can be seen as a sign of weakness.

Moreover, the metaphor EMOTIONS ARE HORSES shows that there are some areas of human professional activity, in this case musical performance, where emotions play a significant role. In order for a musician to be able to successfully communicate emotions to the listeners, he or she needs to be emotionally engaged with the music he/she plays. In other words, the musician needs to live through the music. Obviously, such an activity is associated with intense emotions.

Furthermore, in the metaphor that will be presented next, the HORSE source domain is mapped onto the target domain of HAPPINESS.

HAPPINESS IS A HORSE

- (379) ...the tears were of *unbridled* happiness at the 2-0 victory over Germany (<http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1G1-88124005.html>. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (380) A huge joy *galloped* through me (http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_hb3549/is_2_40/ai_n29095555/pg_10/. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (381) ...Sheila must learn to *curb* her natural exuberance (BNC).

What is more, the source concept of HORSE also applies to the target concept of LOVE. For instance:

LOVE IS A HORSE

- (382) The call, it emerges, is to *unbridled* love, something that this sedate day-time society was not willing to permit (BNC).
- (383) Medea does not know how to *rein in* love... (http://www.mclennan.edu/departments/a&s/dram/dram_notes/medea/script.php. Accessed: 26.04.10).

The type of love described as “unbridled” in the above metaphor is very intense, such as when one is head over heels in love. Whilst not everybody would consider this form of love as

something negative, it is not uncommon in human society that such love is perceived as “irrational”. For instance, some intense forms of romantic love are viewed to be fantasy-based by some people. It is believed that the person experiencing romantic love is in love with the conjured up, idealistic image of the beloved and not with a real person. Hence, in this worldview, love is understood to be something that needs to be kept under strict control.

In the following linguistic metaphor love and lust are portrayed as a team of mismatched horses:

- (384) Lust and love *galloped* in him like a team of mismatched, *red-eyed horses* (http://books.google.se/books?id=MxVxOjkZMIYC&pg=PA79&lpg=PA79&dq=%22love+galloped%22&source=bl&ots=mCgETFaqs3&sig=9UQd0t7K75FK-z195hvT1-5pDXo&hl=v&ei=eciS5WeFIXJ-QapkI23Bg&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=2&ved=0CA0Q6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=%22love%20galloped%22&f=false, p. 79. Accessed: 26.04.10).

Apparently, this metaphorical expression characterises lust and love as mutually incompatible emotions. As such it can be classified as the surface manifestation of the underlying metaphor INCOMPATIBLE EMOTIONS ARE MISMATCHED HORSES. Such an opposite conceptualisation of love and lust may be based on the common folk view of the two emotions under discussion. In that view lust is an intense feeling directed at the satisfaction of the carnal desires, whereas love is a much more elevated emotion. In the folk view love is not a mere physical urge even though the physical attraction is involved. It is a physical, emotional and spiritual attraction to the beloved person.

In the metaphor below the emotion of pride is comprehended in terms of a horse:

PRIDE IS A HORSE

- (385) This so angered Henry II that he ordered his other sons to *curb* Richard’s pride (BNC).
(386) In this moralistic and didactic poem, Johnson portrays the dangers of *unbridled* pride... (http://enlightenment-revolution.org/index.php/Johnson_Samuel. Accessed: 26.04.10).

The linguistic data of the present study provides evidence for the existence of the horse metaphor of pride in historical texts. For instance, the following metaphorical emotion expression is taken from a song published by L. Dermott in 1764. L. Dermott was a Freemason and during the period between 1752 and 1771, he occupied the position of Grand Secretary of the Ancient Grand Lodge of England.

- (387) God bless King George long may he reign,
To *curb* the Pride of Foes that’s vain
(<http://www.rgle.org.uk/Masonic%20Songs%20used%20by%20the%20Regular%20Grand%20Lodge%20of%20England.pdf>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

Obviously, this 18th century poetic metaphorical expression is an instance of the same metaphor that has been presented above, that is PRIDE IS A HORSE.

As is known arrogance is a specific form of pride. There is linguistic proof that the source domain of HORSE also occurs with the target domain of ARROGANCE. For example:

ARROGANCE IS A HORSE

- (388) Is that not *unbridled* arrogance? (http://70.85.195.205/news/article.asp?ARTICLE_ID=29631. Accessed: 26.04.10).

In the metaphorical emotion expression that will be introduced next, surprise is conceived of as a horse.

- (389) Ohh. *Curb* my surprise (http://annapoliscapitalpunishment.blogspot.com/2009_01_11_archive.html. Accessed: 26.04.10).

This linguistic example reflects the underlying metaphor SURPRISE IS A HORSE. It was mentioned in 3.8. that, according to Z. Kövecses's findings, surprise and pride are conceptualised metaphorically only to a small degree. The results of this chapter show that not all source domains which apply onto pride and surprise have been identified in previous research. Further cognitive linguistic investigations into the conceptualisation of pride and surprise are needed in order to find out whether there are some other source domains which also get mapped onto the two emotion concepts.

In the following metaphors the source domain of HORSE is projected, respectively, onto the target domains of JEALOUSY, LUST, COURAGE, DISGUST, GUILT and SHAME.

JEALOUSY IS A HORSE

- (390) What if Desdemona was not the innocent victim of *unbridled* jealousy...? (<http://www.chapter.org/5406.html>. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (391) Try to *curb* your jealousy (<http://www.theunion.com/article/20091017/OPINION/910169977/1024/NONE>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

LUST IS A HORSE

- (392) *Unbridled* lust (CALD, <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/unbridled>. Accessed: 01.04.10).
- (393) That *wild horse* of lust – I have tried to *tame* it and have landed on my back in the dust (<http://www.gem-international.org/eby/a17.htm>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

COURAGE IS A HORSE

- (394) *Unbridled* courage (<http://articles.latimes.com/2006/may/01/sports/sp-matz1>. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (395) *Unbridled boldness* (in WRUD (1913) in dic.die.net. Accessed: 26.04.10).

DISGUST IS A HORSE

- (396) This might actually help *curb* my disgust for rats (<http://forums.cgsociety.org/archive/index.php/t-316444.html>. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (397) "Some people don't even take a shower at night," she said with *unbridled* disgust (<http://www.observer.com/node/47592>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

GUILT IS A HORSE

- (398) I'm so glad Ryan skipped this opportunity to *flog the dead horse* of "guilt over Jennifer" issue (<http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:f7bQ6Nzl3kkJ:forums.televisionwithoutpity.com/index.php%3Fshowtopic%3D3114507%26st%3D3455+%2Dhorse+of+guilt%22&cd=13&hl=sv&ct=clnk&gl=se>. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (399) I have what I perceive as *unbridled* guilt when I can help others but don't (<http://www.cyberrecovery.net/forums/showthread.php?t=20626&page=11>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

SHAME IS A HORSE

- (400) Try to *curb* your embarrassment (<http://ezinearticles.com/?Skiing-Beginners-Tips&id=1339172>. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (401) ...he nearly saved his country from an *unbridled* embarrassment (<http://www.sportsinferno.com/forums/showthread.php?p=558443>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

Thus, the current analysis shows clearly that the HORSE source domain has a very broad application scope within the general target domain of EMOTION. It occurs with all major emotion concepts.

7.3. Application of the HORSE Source Domain to Non-Emotional Concepts

The linguistic data of the current study provides evidence that the application scope of the HORSE source domain is not restricted to the target domain of EMOTION. It gets mapped to a broad range of concepts outside the EMOTION domain. They are the concepts that are related to such areas as humans and human traits, economy and the financial system, crime, violence and aggression and so forth. Therefore, the metaphors analysed in this section are grouped together under their general target domains.

7.3.1. Humans and Human Traits

In the metaphor that is presented below the HORSE source domain is mapped onto the target domain of HUMANS.

HUMANS ARE HORSES

- (402) I've got to try to *curb* myself because I don't want to be banned from a sport I love (BNC).
- (403) He'd always *give you free rein* (BNC).
- (404) My father always *kept* us on a *tight rein* (CALD, http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/free-rein#free-rein__1. Accessed: 01.04.10).

In the metaphor HUMANS ARE HORSES, human conduct and reactions in general are viewed to be subject to control. Moreover, the human traits that are considered to be harmful to the self and to others are conceptualised as horses in the following metaphors.

GREED IS A HORSE

- (405) "It is sheer, *unbridled greed* (BNC).
- (406) Nader says chance to *rein in* greed on Wall Street missed (<http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P2-19304490.html>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

LAZINESS IS A HORSE

- (407) What you can do to help *curb* laziness in a child (http://www.associatedcontent.com/article/162392/what_you_can_do_to_help_curb_lazinesshtml. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (408) Is it sheer, *unbridled* laziness? (<http://www.blastedmembers.com/tag/descriptions>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

GLUTTONY IS A HORSE

- (409) *Unbridled* gluttony (<http://www.columbiaspectator.com/2004/02/25/unbridled-gluttony>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

The following metaphorical emotion expression reflects the same conceptual metaphor. It was created in 1836 by Alessandro Manzoni.

- (410) Or was the Church to abstain from commanding all men to *keep a bridle on* gluttony... (http://books.google.se/books?id=HyF_qijXiNoC&pg=PA191&lpg=PA191&dq=%22bridle+on+gluttony%22&source=bl&ots=zQ43S8KSt6&sig=GFgxSki18bL-WHGhsiUy&clvNzo&hl=sv&ei=mJ0iS5-sD8Tk-, p. 191. Accessed: 26.04.10).

It is commonplace knowledge that in the context of Christian culture greed, laziness and gluttony are perceived to be extremely harmful human traits. Together with lust, which has been mentioned earlier, they are included in the category of *Deadly Sins* (see, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/deadly+sins>. Accessed: 05.05.10). In folk theory people are expected to keep such traits and impulses under a strict control. The above-mentioned metaphors reflect this folk view on the human traits that are hazardous.

7.3.2. Economy and Financial System

The study provides proof that the HORSE source domain applies to numerous target concepts within the general domains of ECONOMY and FINANCIAL SYSTEM. They are such concepts as money borrowing and spending, inflation and economic/financial costs, financial crisis, etc. For instance:

MONEY BORROWING IS A HORSE

- (411) “Consumers must *curb* borrowing,” says Osborne (<http://www.themoneystop.com.uk/062008/consumers-must-curb-borrowing-says-osborne.html>. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (412) So we will *rein in* Government borrowing (<http://www.labourmatters.com/the-labour-party/angela-eagle-mp-tories-have-no-coherent-answers-on-the-economy/>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

MONEY SPENDING IS A HORSE

- (413) High interest rates *put a curb* on spending (The AHDE in the ODET, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/curb>. Accessed: 01.04.10).
- (414) Reporters today suggest consumers are already *reining back* spending (CALD, http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/rein-sth-in_2#rein-sth-in_2_2. Accessed: 01.04.10).

These metaphors are motivated by our financial knowledge. In them uncontrolled money borrowing and spending are understood to be harmful. The danger of the two phenomena consists in the fact that they lead to financial disorder which may manifest itself in the form of high inflation. Therefore, banks regulate the borrowing and spending processes through interest rates. When the interest rates are high, people borrow less money from banks and, consequently, they also spend less. This is because the borrowing becomes expensive. When the interest rates are low and cheap money is made available, people tend to borrow and spend more. Our knowledge of how the money borrowing and spending processes work is reflected in the metaphor MONEY BORROWING IS A HORSE. Finally, the financial system is an area where control and regulations are necessary. Therefore it is not surprising that the HORSE source domain gets mapped onto the target concepts related to the financial system. In the metaphor below the source domain of HORSE applies to the target domain of INFLATION.

INFLATION IS A HORSE

- (415) *Galloping* inflation (CALD, <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/galloping>. Accessed: 01.04.10).

- (416) Vladimir Putin has promised to *rein in* inflation... (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/7389913.stm>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

It is common knowledge that uncontrolled inflation is dangerous in the sense that it lowers people's living standards. When inflation takes place prices increase and the purchasing power of money decreases. Due to its negative effect on people's economic situation, inflation is conceptualised as a dangerous force that needs to be restrained in the above metaphor. Moreover, the metaphor also shows that in modern society, national governments take measures to keep inflation under control. In the following metaphor economic or financial costs are conceived of as horses.

ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL COSTS ARE HORSES

- (417) ...auto makers need to *rein in* production costs to survive (<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB124147826509585063.html>. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (418) What are the reasons for such *galloping* costs? (<http://www.webpages.uidaho.edu/~mbolin/sens.html>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

In the market economy companies and organisations are expected to keep their economic/financial costs under control in order to be effective. Uncontrolled costs are a threat for them for the following reasons. Such costs lead to high prices of the products and services offered by companies and organisations. This in turn results in low profitability and in the long run it may even bring companies and organisations to bankruptcy. The HORSE source domain is suitable for the conceptualisation of economic/financial costs because of the above-mentioned reasons. The metaphor below maps the HORSE source domain onto the target domain of FINANCIAL CRISIS.

A FINANCIAL CRISIS IS A HORSE

- (419) ...investors just don't know how the *galloping* financial crisis will affect GE (http://money.cnn.com/2008/10/09/news/companies/colvin_ge_fortune/index2.htm. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (420) Now, we do consider the unprecedented measures taken by the US and European (including Swedish) governments to *rein in* the financial crisis... (<http://www.actionforex.com/long-term/long-term-forecasts/fx-forecast-update:-better-safe-than-sorry-2008101564424/>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

As is known a financial crisis is a hazardous phenomenon and there are multiple dangers associated with it. To illustrate two of them they are huge unemployment and the bankruptcy of companies. To keep such a dangerous phenomenon under some control the national governments take some economic measures. Our knowledge about it is mirrored in the metaphor A FINANCIAL CRISIS IS A HORSE. The metaphor shown below maps the source domain of HORSE onto the target domain of PRICE.

PRICES ARE HORSES

- (421) Edgy congress urges govt to *rein in* prices (<http://www.allbusiness.com/agriculture-forestry/agriculture-agricultural/14091389-1.html>. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (422) But what would happen if such *galloping* prices *were to slow*? (<http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G1-118587612.html>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

The danger of unrestrained prices consists in the fact that basic life necessities become unaffordable for many people. For this reason prices are conceived of as horses in the above metaphor. Finally, in the metaphor that will be introduced next an economic system is portrayed in terms of a horse.

AN ECONOMIC SYSTEM IS A HORSE

- (423) “*Unbridled* capitalism is one cause of crisis,” says Brown (<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/unbridled-capitalism-one-cause-of-crisis-says-brown-965776.html>. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (424) Republicans Want to *curb* Capitalism (<http://www.bluenc.com/republicans-want-to-curb-capitalism>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

In the metaphor AN ECONOMIC SYSTEM IS A HORSE an uncontrolled economic system is portrayed to be harmful because it is assumed to lead to an economic crisis. Since the HORSE metaphor captures the control aspect of the target phenomena it portrays it is suitable for the conceptualisation of an economic system.

7.3.3. *Crime, Violence, Aggression*

As it will be evident from the subsequent discussion the source domain of HORSE is typically encountered in the metaphorical conceptualisation of such dangerous phenomena as crime, violence and aggression. For example, in the metaphor below the target domain of CRIME is comprehended in terms of the source domain of HORSE.

A CRIME IS A HORSE

- (425) Violent crime *gallops* across Argentina’s Pampas (http://www.redorbit.com/news/health/185157/violent_crime_gallops_across_argentinas_pampas/index.html. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (426) How to *curb* fraud at financial institutions? (<http://www.georgewashington2.blogspot.com/2009/03/how-to-curb-fraud-at-financial.html>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

Generally speaking, in human society crime is viewed as a hazardous activity because it causes physical, mental or financial harm to the victim. Therefore, it is logical that crime is conceived of in terms of a horse in the above-mentioned metaphor. Violence involves the physical assault on another person or a group of people. In the metaphor that will be presented next it is conceptualised in terms of a horse.

VIOLENCE IS A HORSE

- (427) Haiti: *Unbridled* violence must end (http://www.amnesty.ca/resource_centre/news/view.php?load=arcview&article=1932&c=Resource+Centre+News. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (428) *Curbing* violence in Ohio... (<http://www.drc.ohio.gov/web/Articles/article12.htm>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

Aggression is a concept that is closely related to violence. However, different from violence, aggression manifests itself through many different guises: verbal, physical and psychological. Due to the fact that aggression causes both mental and physical injury to the victim it is understood to be a dangerous behaviour in the folk belief. In the metaphor below aggression is conceptualised in terms of a horse.

AGGRESSION IS A HORSE

- (429) A king should *rein in* the aggression of warriors, especially of young men... (BNC).
- (430) Can we *curb* aggression? (<http://www.discover.umn.edu/featuredDiscoveries/curbingAggression.php>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

7.3.4. Some Other Target Domains

The linguistic data of the current study provides evidence that a set of some other target concepts are also conceptualised in terms of horses. They are the following: ideas, power, hunger, enthusiasm, impatience and traffic. For instance:

IDEAS ARE HORSES

- (431) He waited to *harness* his thoughts (BNC).
- (432) Firmly he *reined in* his thoughts before they *went straying off in that direction again* (<http://chance.popullus.net/csishash/stories/unsaid.html>. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (433) Her thoughts *galloped like a panicked horse* (<http://labarker.com/Excerpts/stalker.html>. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (434) This would thus *curb* ideas of inferiority (<http://www.amazon.com/review/R35M7FNW W18P7Z>. Accessed: 26.04.10).
- (435) A *bridle on* my thoughts I would keep (<http://www.mindburp.com/xian/celticprayer/celtic1.html>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

As any other HORSE metaphors the above conceptual construction captures the control aspect of the target domain to which it applies. There may be many different reasons for why people might want use their ideas and thoughts in a controlled manner. For example, some ideas such as inferiority mentioned in the above metaphor may be dangerous because they may destroy our feeling of self-esteem or be harmful in some other ways. Moreover, uncontrolled thoughts may distract one's attention from what one is doing. Therefore, it is not surprising that ideas are conceived of as horses that need control in the above metaphor. In addition, it is commonly known that thinking is a very intensive process. Since horses show some intense reactions (galloping, etc.) the HORSE source domain becomes a perfect domain for the conceptualisation of such a process. In the metaphor below power is imagined to be a horse.

POWER IS A HORSE

- (436) The *taming and harnessing* of power is one of the tasks of protest (BNC).
- (437) The thought of all that dark, *unharnessed* power simply existing in the world (BNC).

In folk theory power is viewed to be subject to restraint. In this belief uncontrolled power is a dangerous force that corrupts people. The metaphor POWER IS A HORSE is motivated by this worldview. Now let us introduce the following metaphor.

TRAFFIC IS A HORSE

- (438) The scheme could help to *curb* traffic on Hong Kong's crowded roads... (BNC).
- (439) *Unbridled* traffic (<http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=437&dat=19981106&id=-EkdAAAAIABJ&sjid=cVUEAAAAIABJ&pg=5254,1795505>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

The danger of intense road traffic resides in the fact that it may lead to fatal accidents or cause people serious injuries. Due to its hazardous character traffic is conceptualised as a horse in the above metaphor. Presented below is a set of other target phenomena that are conceived of in terms of horses.

ENTHUSIASM IS A HORSE

- (440) *Unbridled* enthusiasm (CALD, <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/unbridled>. Accessed: 01.04.10).

- (441) Abou Diaby's learning how to *curb* his enthusiasm (<http://www.thisislondon.co.uk/standard-sport/football/article-23764162-diabys-learning-how-to-curb-his-enthusiasm.do>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

IMPATIENCE IS A HORSE

- (442) He settled down, trying to *curb* his impatience (BNC).
- (443) Damon Hill says Lewis Hamilton needs to *rein in* his "impatience"... (http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport2/mobile/motorsport/formula_one/7668299.stm. Accessed: 26.04.10).

HUNGER IS A HORSE

- (444) *Curb* your hunger (BNC).
- (445) This will also help you *rein in* your hunger (<http://www.articleslocate.com/starting-a-weight-maintaining-everyday-life-today/>. Accessed: 26.04.10).

7.4. Conclusions

Thus, there are two major outcomes of this chapter. Firstly, the application scope of the HORSE source domain is not restricted to the emotion concepts of anger, fear and sadness. Apart from these concepts the source domain under scrutiny applies to a wide range of other emotion concepts such as happiness, love, jealousy, lust, courage, disgust, surprise, guilt, and shame as well as pride and its specific form – arrogance. In addition, it also occurs with the general target domain of EMOTION. This brings us to the conclusion that the HORSE source domain has a broad scope of application within the general target domain of EMOTION. Secondly, the HORSE source domain is not either confined to the domain of EMOTION. It gets mapped onto a great number of non-emotional concepts characterising humans and human traits: economy and finance, crime, violence and aggression, ideas, power and so forth. This shows clearly that the HORSE source domain also has a very wide scope of application outside the domain of EMOTION. Given the fact that humans have vast knowledge of horses and horse behaviour, it is not surprising that they make use of the HORSE source domain in order to understand a variety of their abstract experiences.

Moreover, the metaphors analysed do not only portray particular target domains in terms of the HORSE source domain. They demonstrate that in human community there are certain norms and rules for the display of emotions and those norms are learned in early childhood. These findings are in line with the hypothesis on the emotion display rules put forward by researchers working within the field of psychology. In addition, the metaphors scrutinised mirror a variety of folk views and beliefs about emotions and non-emotional concepts. Furthermore, there is linguistic evidence that some emotion metaphors presented in this chapter have also existed historically. The acquired results cast doubt on the hypothesis that the concepts of pride and surprise are conceptualised metaphorically only to a small degree. It may be the case that not all the metaphorical mappings associated with pride and surprise might not have yet been fully revealed. Finally, it has been demonstrated that English speakers may view love and lust as opposite concepts.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSIONS

In this study, I have identified and analysed a range of emotion metaphors with the source domains of CONTAINER, ANIMAL, SUPERNATURAL BEING, HIDDEN ENEMY, TORMENTOR, SMELL, TASTE, PLANT, PURE SUBSTANCE and MIXED SUBSTANCE. The majority of such metaphors characterise anger, fear and sadness as uniform emotions without other emotional components being involved. The metaphors with the MIXED SUBSTANCE source domain and its subdomains are used to portray specific emotions (in our case, anger, fear and sadness) as part of a complex emotional experience. This shows clearly that emotions may be experienced in two different ways: a) as uniform mental phenomena and b) as part of a complex emotional experience. The findings in other fields of science such as psychology provide support for the view that emotions may be sensed in such a fashion.

As mentioned in 3.1., in the previous cognitive linguistic studies, it was established that emotions are not amorphous feelings but have a complex conceptual structure organised by the system of metaphors and metonyms. The existence of the systematic metaphorical mappings between the aforementioned source domains and the emotion domain provides support for such a view. Furthermore, this also provides partial proof for G. Lakoff's hypothesis that the human conceptual system is metaphorically structured and defined. Moreover, the majority of the source concepts present in the analysed emotion metaphors are more tangible and less intricate than the target concepts onto which they are mapped.

Furthermore, the two metaphor identification methods used in this study, namely, the source-domain-oriented approach and the Internet/corpus search method have shown to be effective. The former is easily applicable to the dictionary texts and it is less applicable to the Internet texts. The latter is suitable for the Internet texts as well as to other corpus texts. With the help of the two methods a large number of metaphorical emotion expressions have been retrieved from a variety of data sources and they were analysed under their conceptual metaphors. In what follows, I will provide a brief summary of the emotion metaphors analysed in the study.

Metaphors with the CONTAINER source domain. In the Western culture, there is a widespread belief according to which thinking and emotions are associated with different parts of the body, with the head and the heart, respectively. Due to this belief, researchers in previous studies assumed that in English, emotions may not be conceptualised metaphorically as occurrences in the head. For example, the view that whereas in Hungarian the head is conceived of as a container for anger, such a mode of conceptualisation is not characteristic of English (see, 3.7.) stems from such an assumption. The outcome of the present thesis does not provide support for such a hypothesis.

In some emotion metaphors that have been analysed, the head is imagined to be a container for anger and anger as a substance/fluid held in that container. In addition, there is enough

linguistic evidence to claim that even the two other emotions, namely, fear and sadness, may be conceived of as being held in the head-container. Hence, in English, the head can be viewed as a locus of emotion. In all fairness it should be admitted that the head metaphors for emotion may not be as common as the corresponding heart metaphors or other bodily metaphors. However, this is not a legitimate reason to leave out of account such conceptual constructions.

Furthermore, the results of the study do not either support the claim that in English, the heart is mainly associated with such positive emotions as love, affection and the like and not with negative ones. In a group of metaphors that have been scrutinised, the heart is conceptualised as a container for anger, fear and sadness. In the folk theory, these emotions are predominantly viewed to be negative. All this brings us to the conclusion that in English, the heart is perceived as a locus of both positive and negative emotions.

Generally speaking, in earlier research, it was surmised that the body and its parts are conceptualised metaphorically as containers for emotion. Therefore, it was assumed that in our conceptual system, there is the general conceptual metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS. The current research demonstrates that in a parallel fashion, voice is commonly conceived of as an emotion container in English. All the three emotions analysed in the study are imagined to be occurrences held in the voice. This gives rise to the general conceptual metaphor THE VOICE IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS. Similar to the corresponding body-container metaphors, the voice-container metaphors focus mainly on the intensity and control aspects of emotion. In some container metaphors, anger is understood in terms of a heated fluid kept in a container where the container corresponds to the voice. Generally speaking, the study shows that English conceptualises anger as a heated fluid contained in the head, the heart and the voice. In previous research, it was assumed that English locates anger in the whole body.

Moreover, research in psychology and other related disciplines provides evidence that there is a close relationship between voice and emotion. Physiologically, the emotions we experience affect the quality of our voice and we have the capacity to detect people's emotions from their voice. Such a correlation in experience between voice and emotion gives rise to various voice-container metaphors for emotion analysed in the study. It is worth mentioning that in previous research, it was found out that correlation in experience is one of the major reasons for why particular source domains occur with particular target domains (see, 3.5.).

Furthermore, different from the body container present in the metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS, the voice container in the metaphor THE VOICE IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS is not a usual three-dimensional container with an inside, outside and a boundary. We cannot place physical entities inside the voice and things do not emerge out of it. Nevertheless, we conceive of our voice as a three-dimensional container into which we can put things and out of which things can emerge. The human instinct for territoriality, the tendency to impose an imaginary boundary on different phenomena of reality seem to be the reasons for why voice that does not have any visible physical boundaries can be conceptualised as a container. Moreover, the voice production is a bodily experience. The fact that people use voice as a source for the metaphorical conceptualisation of various emotions provides evidence for the cognitive linguistic hypothesis that the metaphors we use are based on embodied experience.

Furthermore, in some emotion metaphors, anger, fear and sadness are conceptualised as dangerous, corrosive substances held in a container. In the DANGEROUS SUBSTANCE metaphors of anger, there are two container images: the body and the voice. In the corresponding fear and sadness metaphors, the imagined container is the body. Generally speaking, the DANGEROUS SUBSTANCE metaphor captures the negative evaluation aspect of emotion. Moreover, there is a specific dangerous substance in terms of which anger is comprehended in English. That is, sulphur. Such a conceptualisation is culturally motivated: in Western culture, sulphur is associated with the Hell and the devil.

What is more, the study provides evidence that in English, anger, fear and sadness are conceptualised metaphorically as a colour held in a container. The containers present in the source domain of the colour metaphors correspond to the eyes and the voice. There are two major reasons for why people conceptualise the emotions under consideration in terms of a colour. Firstly, there is a perceived resemblance between the source domain of COLOUR and the target domain of EMOTION. The two domains have some shared dimensions, those are vividness and intensity. In addition, there is a physiological link between emotions and colours: the colours we perceive evoke both positive and negative emotions in us. Such a correlation between colour and emotion makes it possible for us to map the COLOUR source domain onto the target domain of EMOTION.

Finally, all the three emotions scrutinised are conceptualised metaphorically in terms of a child held in the womb-container. As any other container metaphors, the CHILD metaphors of anger, fear and sadness capture the intensity, cause and control aspects of the emotions that they conceptualise. The CHILD metaphor also has a non-container version. The metaphor is motivated by the physiological experience of child containment. The existence of such a metaphor provides proof for the cognitive linguistic claim that conceptual metaphors are grounded in the human embodied experience.

Metaphors with the PURE vs. MIXED SUBSTANCE source domains. The metaphors of anger, fear and sadness with the PURE SUBSTANCE source domain are used to portray the emotions under consideration as discrete, inform emotions without other emotional components being involved. Apart from uniformity, such metaphors also highlight the intensity and cause aspects of the emotions that they conceptualise. The metaphors with the MIXED SUBSTANCE source domain are not specific to particular emotions. They are employed to characterise complex affective experiences where several emotional elements occur simultaneously. The metaphor COMPLEX EMOTIONS ARE MIXED SUBSTANCES highlights the complexity, cause and intensity aspects of the emotions occurring together. It has been established that the metaphor has at least two different submetaphors: COMPLEX EMOTIONS ARE MIXED COLOURS and COMPLEX EMOTIONS ARE MIXED FOOD SUBSTANCES. The MIXED SUBSTANCE metaphors are motivated by the human experience of mixing disparate substances. The PURE SUBSTANCE vs. MIXED SUBSTANCE metaphors show clearly that emotions may be experienced in two different ways: a) as discrete states; b) as part of a complex emotional experience. There are some psychological studies that provide proof for the existence of “compound” and “elementary” emotions.

In previous research, emotions were mainly characterised as discrete, isolated mental states. Complex emotional experiences were largely left out of account. Due to the restricted character of the present study, it is impossible to present all the metaphors associated with the aforementioned source domains. Therefore, future research is needed to study the subject matter in detail.

Metaphors with the SUPERNATURAL BEING source domain. The study has established that there is a conceptual link between the source domain of SUPERNATURAL BEING, on the one hand, and the target domains of ANGER and SADNESS, on the other. This contradicts the results of previous research, according to which the source domain under scrutiny is specific to fear (see, 3.4.). The SUPERNATURAL BEING domain has a much larger scope of application within the EMOTION domain than it was assumed previously.

Moreover, it was found out that there is a metaphorical mapping between the source domain of SUPERNATURAL BEING and the target domain of THE OBJECT/SOURCE OF FEAR. The perceived similarity between the source and target domains gives rise to the metaphor THE OBJECT/SOURCE OF FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING. In the supernatural belief system, such creatures as ogres, bugbears, bogeymen, bugaboos, goblins, demons, etc. are viewed as the objects of fear. Hence, they are mapped onto the objects and sources of fear in the natural world in the metaphor under discussion. The SADNESS IS A BLACK DOG metaphor that has been discussed is classified as a subcategory of the SADNESS IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING metaphor. The metaphor is specific to sadness. This is because the concept of BLACK DOG is based on people's supernatural beliefs. Finally, the concept of SUPERNATURAL BEING is an imaginary, concept. There is no scientific evidence for the existence of the supernatural. This shows clearly that even non-tangible, conjured up concepts may be mapped onto emotion concepts.

Metaphors with the HIDDEN ENEMY and TORMENTOR source domains. The linguistic data analysed provides evidence that the HIDDEN ENEMY source domain occurs with the target domains of ANGER and SADNESS. Such an outcome runs contrary to what previous research has concluded regarding the subject matter: that the HIDDEN ENEMY domain is specific to fear (see, 3.4.). Furthermore, the source domain of TORMENTOR also applies onto the target domains of ANGER and SADNESS. Prior studies give us proof that the same source domain occurs with the target domain of FEAR.

Metaphors with the ANIMAL source domain. Two subcategories of the general DANGEROUS ANIMAL source domain occur with all the three emotions analysed in this study. They are the HORSE and SNAKE domains. The resulting metaphors capture two different aspects of the emotions that they conceptualise: control and cause. The fact that the above-mentioned source domains apply to the emotions analysed does not come as a surprise. In human society, both animals and emotions are viewed to be dangerous and therefore subject to control. The perceived similarity between the source domains of HORSE and SNAKE, on the one hand, and the target domains of ANGER, FEAR and SADNESS, on the other, seems to be the major reason for why the former gets mapped onto the latter.

The emotion metaphors with the source domain of AN OLD SNAKE SKIN are not the subcategories of the DANGEROUS ANIMAL metaphor. This is because they focus on a different aspect of anger, fear and sadness. That is, undesirability. Even in this case, there is a perceived resemblance between the source domain of AN OLD SNAKE SKIN, on the one hand, and the target domains of ANGER, FEAR and SADNESS, on the other. An old necrotic snake skin is something that is useless and therefore undesirable. In a parallel fashion, according to the folk theory of emotions, anger, fear and sadness are also something undesirable that should be gotten rid of.

Moreover, the metaphor ANGRY BEHAVIOUR IS AGGRESSIVE HORSE BEHAVIOUR analysed in this thesis is a subcategory of the general metaphor ANGRY BEHAVIOUR IS

AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR identified in earlier research. The AGGRESSIVE HORSE BEHAVIOUR source domain does not occur with fear and sadness. That is, it seems to be specific to anger. What is more, another metaphor ANGRY SPEECH BEHAVIOUR IS AGGRESSIVE SNAKE BEHAVIOUR also instantiates the same general metaphor. This metaphor too applies to anger, but not onto fear and sadness.

Furthermore, it has been found out that the metaphor A FEARFUL PERSON IS A WHITE-FEATHERED GAME BIRD is specific to fear. The metaphor focuses on the undesirability aspect of fear. The metaphor is grounded in the English cultural tradition of cockfighting. What is more, many animal metaphors that have been analysed are deeply entrenched in the Western culture. There is linguistic evidence to support the view that their counterparts have existed historically.

Metaphors with the BAD SMELL and BAD TASTE source domains. The study has established that there is a conceptual link between the source domains of BAD SMELL and BAD TASTE and the three emotions that have been analysed. The resulting metaphors portray anger, fear and sadness in terms of an unpleasant, objectionable smell and taste. They capture the negative evaluation aspect of the emotions that they conceptualise. Even in this case, the metaphorical mapping is grounded in the perceived similarity. Bad smell and bad taste, on the one hand, and anger, fear and sadness, on the other, are understood to be unpleasant phenomena in the folk view. Studies in other fields of knowledge provide empirical evidence that there is a strong biological link between smell and emotion. This factor may also contribute to the fact that we understand emotions in terms of a smell. When it comes to fear, research in other scientific fields gives proof that humans have the physical ability to detect the smell of fear with the help of their olfactory organs. The aforementioned facts show clearly that the data acquired through olfactory and taste organs function as the bases for our metaphorical understanding of emotions. The study does not provide support for E. Sweetser's claim that the sense of smell has few abstract connotations in English.

Furthermore, another result of the study is that speakers of English may conceptualise the emotion of sadness in terms of a good taste. This gives rise to the metaphor SADNESS IS A GOOD TASTE. The metaphor characterises sadness as a positive emotion. It is evident from this example that sadness is not always experienced as a negative emotion. There is also a case in which sadness is conceived of as a taste without the quality of that taste being specified.

What is more, there is linguistic evidence to support the view that sadness may be conceptualised metaphorically in terms of a good smell. Such a conceptualisation also characterises the emotion under discussion as something enjoyable. Sadness evoked by the works of art like environmental pictures is an example of pleasant sadness. Studies in other fields of knowledge provide evidence that our encounters with the works of art as well as with the natural environment may evoke a specific form of sadness, which is melancholy.

Finally, since the SMELL and TASTE metaphors for emotion are based on the human experience of taste and smell perception, they can be classified as a) the taste perception metaphors; b) the smell perception metaphors. Furthermore, these two groups of emotion metaphors can be placed under what A. Barcelona refers to as perceptual metaphors (see, 3.6.).

Metaphors with the PLANT source domain. According to the results of the study, the concepts of anger, fear and sadness are commonly comprehended in terms of plants. The PLANT metaphors are motivated by our agricultural experience. They map different stages of plant growth

onto the stages of emotion development. They also highlight the intensity and cause aspects of the emotions they characterise. There is a perceived similarity between the source and target domains of such emotion metaphors. Both plants and emotions come into existence, develop and fade away. This makes it possible for us to map the PLANT source domain onto various emotions. Moreover, the PLANT metaphors analysed in the study share certain similarities with the CHILD metaphors. Such a resemblance is based on the fact that both plants and children are living organisms and they undergo the same stages of development.

There are many different reasons for why the source domains scrutinised in this study get mapped onto the target domains of ANGER, FEAR and SADNESS. The most important of them is the perceived similarity between the sources and the targets. In addition, correlation in experience is another crucial factor that gives rise to the emotion metaphors that have been presented. All in all, the emotion metaphors analysed highlight the following aspects of anger, fear and sadness: intensity, control, cause, desirability/undesirability, positive/negative evaluation, uniformity and complexity. Generally speaking, the great majority of the source domains that have been considered are general source domains. They apply to all of the emotions analysed in this study. Only few of them are specific to particular emotions. This result is in line with the findings of previous research.

Furthermore, the fear metaphors that have been scrutinised demonstrate that fear may be caused by a great variety of physical, mental and social etc. dangers. Each cause gives rise to a specific type of fear. The existence of those fears is supported by the findings of the studies in other scientific fields.

Finally, in 3.6., it was indicated with reference to previous cognitive linguistic studies that most conceptual metaphors for emotions are stable through time. The results of the current study support this hypothesis. The historical linguistic metaphors that have been presented in the study are the surface manifestations of the same conceptual emotion metaphors that have been analysed in the thesis.

The scope of the HORSE source domain. It has been found out that the application scope of the HORSE source domain is not restricted to the concepts of anger, fear and sadness. Apart from these target concepts, the HORSE source domain occurs with a great variety of other emotions such as happiness, love, jealousy, lust, courage, disgust, surprise, guilt, shame as well as pride and its specific form-arrogance. There is also a conceptual link between the HORSE source domain and the general target domain of EMOTION. In addition, the HORSE source domain also applies to such non-emotional concepts that are used to portray humans and human traits, economy and finance, crime, violence and aggression, ideas, power etc. Thus, the HORSE source domain has a very broad application both inside and outside the domain of EMOTION. This outcome supports Z. Kövecses's hypothesis that most source domains that occur with emotions are not specific to emotions but have a wider scope of application (see, 3.4.). Furthermore, humans have been breeding horses for centuries and they have vast knowledge about the creature. Therefore, it is not surprising that the HORSE source domain is employed to make sense of many different target concepts.

Appendix 1

METHOD DETAILS

Below, I demonstrate the steps taken to retrieve the metaphorical expressions that are presented in this study. For each metaphorical expression I indicate a search word or expression through which it has been found. Lexical items related to the source domains chosen for analysis in this study are used as search words to retrieve metaphorical expressions from dictionaries. Furthermore, the data sources from which the examples are retrieved are also shown.

Chapter 4: METAPHORICAL CONCEPTUALISATION OF ANGER⁴

The linguistic metaphor	Data source	The search expression
(99)	BNC	<i>exploded with</i>
(100)	Internet	<i>brain simmering</i>
(101)	Internet	<i>hot anger filled</i>
(102)	Internet	<i>heart filled with anger</i>
(103) through (108)	BNC	<i>voice</i>
(109)	Internet	<i>voice boils with</i>
(110)	Internet	<i>voice simmering with anger</i>
(111)	BNC	<i>voice</i>
(112)	Internet	<i>anger welling up in</i>
(113)	BNC	<i>voice</i>
(114)	Internet	<i>that caustic anger</i>
(115)	Internet	<i>sulphurous anger</i>
(116)	BNC	<i>sulphurous</i>
(117)	BNC	<i>voice</i>
(118)	BNC	<i>voice</i>
(119)	Internet	<i>tinge of anger in</i>
(120)	Internet	<i>with a tint of irritation</i>
(121)	BNC	<i>tinge of anger</i>

⁴The metaphorical example (130) taken from Robin Morgan was encountered in the process of reading the author's book. The same applies to (173), (189) and (190) taken from W. Shakespeare. These examples are not retrieved by using the metaphor identification methods presented in this study.

(122)	BNC	<i>tinged with</i>
(123)	Internet	<i>rage gestated</i>
(124)	Internet	<i>anger to gestate</i>
(125)	Internet	<i>pregnant with indignation</i>
(126)	Internet	<i>pregnant with rage</i>
(127)	Internet	<i>gives birth to anger</i>
(128)	Internet	<i>conceiving anger</i>
(129)	Internet	<i>resentment embryonic stage</i>
(131)	Internet	<i>swelled with anger</i>
(132)	Internet	<i>swelled with child</i>
(135)	Internet	<i>burst with child</i>
(136)	OED	<i>nurse</i>
(137)	The CED in the ODET	<i>nourish</i>
(138)	Internet	<i>nurtured that anger</i>
(139)	Internet	<i>pure wrath of</i>
(140)	Internet	<i>pure anger at</i>
(141)	Internet	<i>mixture of anger and</i>
(142)	Internet	<i>mixture of anger</i>
(143)	Internet	<i>alloyed with anger</i>
(144)	Internet	<i>amalgamation of anger</i>
(145)	Internet	<i>mixed with a tinge of anger</i>
(146)	Internet	<i>tinted with anger</i>
(147)	Internet	<i>cocktail of anger</i>
(148)	Internet	<i>concoction of anger</i>
(149)	Internet	<i>haunted by anger</i>
(150)	Internet	<i>rage has taken us</i>
(151)	Internet	<i>ghost of anger</i>
(152)	Internet	<i>anger lurking</i>
(153)	Internet	<i>rage creeps up on</i>
(154)	Internet	<i>rage tormented</i>
(155)	Internet	<i>anger tortured</i>
(162)	Internet	<i>violent anger among</i>
(165)	KEMD in the ODET	<i>back</i>

(166)	Thesaurus in the ODET	<i>bridle</i>
(167)	BNC	<i>curb</i>
(168)	AHDE in the ODET	<i>unbridled</i>
(169)	CALD	<i>curb</i>
(170)	CED in the ODET	<i>bridle</i>
(171)	BNC	<i>rein</i>
(172)	Internet	<i>harness anger</i>
(174)	Internet	<i>curb thy rages</i>
(175)	CALD	<i>bridle</i>
(176)	AHDE in the ODET	<i>bridle</i>
(177)	Internet	<i>anger coiled</i>
(178)	BNC	<i>coiled</i>
(179)	Internet	<i>snake of rage</i>
(180)	Internet	<i>snake of anger</i>
(181)	Internet	<i>like spitting cobras</i>
(182)	BNC	<i>spitting</i>
(183)	CALD	<i>spit</i>
(184)	BNC	<i>cobra</i>
(185)	Internet	<i>angry dripping</i>
(186)	Internet	<i>furious like a snake</i>
(187)	Internet	<i>shed the anger</i>
(188)	Internet	<i>sloughed off his rage</i>
(191)	CALD	<i>forked</i>
(192)	Internet	<i>reeked of anger</i>
(193)	Internet	<i>putrid anger</i>
(194)	CALD	<i>peppery</i>
(195)	CALD	<i>bitterness</i>
(196)	M-W dictionary	<i>vinegary</i>
(197)	DARE	<i>salty</i>
(198)	BNC	<i>seed</i>
(199)	Internet	<i>anger sprouted</i>
(200)	BNC	<i>root</i>
(201)	Internet	<i>blossomed into anger</i>

(202)	Internet	<i>anger flourishes</i>
(203)	Internet	<i>deep-rooted anger</i>
(204)	Internet	<i>fruit of anger</i>
(205)	Internet	<i>anger stems</i>
(206)	Internet	<i>rage is withering</i>

Chapter 5: METAPHORICAL CONCEPTUALISATION OF FEAR

The linguistic metaphor	Data source	The search expression
(218)	Internet	<i>head was full of fears</i>
(219)	Internet	<i>her head full of fear</i>
(220)	Internet	<i>head with fear of</i>
(221)	Internet	<i>fears seep into</i>
(222)	BNC	<i>fear filled</i>
(223)	Internet	<i>still instil fear in the</i>
(224)	BNC	<i>burst with</i>
(225)	Internet	<i>not an ounce of fear in his</i>
(226)	BNC	<i>voice</i>
(227)	Internet	<i>not an ounce of panic in</i>
(228)	BNC	<i>voice</i>
(229)	BNC	<i>voice</i>
(230)	Internet	<i>tinge of dread in</i>
(231)	Internet	<i>tint of panic</i>
(232)	Internet	<i>faintest tinge of fear</i>
(233)	Internet	<i>fear colored</i>
(234)	Internet	<i>dread corrodes</i>
(235)	Internet	<i>newly conceived fear</i>
(236)	Internet	<i>pregnant with fear</i>
(237)	Internet	<i>fear gestating</i>
(238)	Internet	<i>gave birth to fear</i>
(239)	Internet	<i>fear is a child of</i>
(240)	Internet	<i>fostered fear</i>
(241)	Internet	<i>nourishes fear</i>

(242)	Internet	<i>gave birth to grief</i>
(243)	Internet	<i>felt pure fear</i>
(244)	Internet	<i>unmixed horror</i>
(245)	CALD	<i>amalgam</i>
(246)	BNC	<i>mixed with</i>
(247) (248)	<i>McGraw-Hill Dict.</i> in the ODET	<i>bundle of joy</i>
(249)	Internet	<i>cocktail of fear and</i>
(250)	Internet	<i>with a dollop of fear</i>
(251)	Internet	<i>mix of courage</i>
(252)	Internet	<i>sympathy tinged with</i>
(253)	CALD	<i>ogre</i>
(254)	AHDE in the ODET	<i>hobgoblin</i>
(255)	Internet	<i>bugbear to frighten</i>
(256)	Internet	<i>outsourcing bogeyman</i>
(257)	AHDE in the ODET	<i>bugaboo</i>
(258)	ODET	<i>nightmare</i>
(259)	CALD	<i>bogey</i>
(260)	Internet	<i>ferocious fear of</i>
(261)	Internet	<i>fierce fear</i>
(262)	Internet	<i>fear is unleashed</i>
(263)	Internet	<i>fierce fear</i>
(264)	Internet	<i>awakens fear</i>
(265)	Internet	<i>insatiable fear of</i>
(266)	BNC	<i>arouse</i>
(267)	Internet	<i>fear get out of hand</i>
(268)	Internet	<i>keep horses of fear</i>
(269)	BNC	<i>curb</i>
(270)	Internet	<i>unbridled fear</i>
(271)	Internet	<i>harness fear</i>
(272)	Internet	<i>rein in my fears</i>
(273)	Internet	<i>curb fear</i>
(274)	BNC	<i>slither</i>

(275)	Internet	<i>fear coiled</i>
(276)	Internet	<i>fear uncoil within</i>
(277)	Internet	<i>fear is sloughed off</i>
(278)	Internet	<i>shed his fear of</i>
(279)	BNC	<i>coiled</i>
(280)	OED	<i>feathered</i>
(281)	OED	<i>feather</i>
(282)	BNC	<i>stench</i>
(283)	Internet	<i>reeks of fear</i>
(284)	Internet	<i>rancid fear</i>
(285)	BNC	<i>seeds</i>
(286)	BNC	<i>root</i>
(287)	BNC	<i>blossomed</i>
(288)	Internet	<i>fear flourishes</i>
(289)	Internet	<i>deeply rooted fear of</i>
(290)	BNC	<i>root</i>
(291)	Internet	<i>fears stem</i>
(292)	BNC	<i>growing</i>
(293)	Internet	<i>fruits of fear</i>
(294)	Internet	<i>fear withered away</i>

Chapter 6: METAPHORICAL CONCEPTUALISATION OF SADNESS

The linguistic metaphor	Data source	The search expression
(309)	Internet	<i>head full of grief</i>
(310)	Internet	<i>head with sorrow</i>
(311)	BNC	<i>heart was full of</i>
(312)	Internet	<i>much sadness in</i>
(313)	Internet	<i>filled my heart with sadness</i>
(314)	Internet	<i>heart overflows with sadness</i>
(315)	BNC	<i>voice</i>
(316)	Internet	<i>hint of sorrow in</i>
(317)	BNC	<i>voice</i>

(318)	Internet	<i>voice brims with</i>
(319)	Internet	<i>thy voice full of sadness</i>
(320)	Internet	<i>corrosive sadness in</i>
(321)	Internet	<i>poisonous grief</i>
(322)	BNC	<i>voice</i>
(323)	Internet	<i>shade of sadness in</i>
(324)	Internet	<i>tint of melancholy in their</i>
(325)	Internet	<i>pregnant with melancholy</i>
(326)	Internet	<i>sorrow breeds in</i>
(327)	Internet	<i>grief was conceived</i>
(328)	Internet	<i>giving birth to grief</i>
(329)	Internet	<i>bursting with grief</i>
(330)	Internet	<i>nursing sorrow</i>
(331)	Internet	<i>mother of grief</i>
(332)	Internet	<i>with pure sadness</i>
(333)	Internet	<i>with unmixed sadness</i>
(334)	AHDE in the ODET	<i>mix</i>
(335)	BNC	<i>mingled with</i>
(336)	BNC	<i>mixture</i>
(337)	Internet	<i>tint of sorrow mixed</i>
(338)	Internet	<i>tint of melancholy mixed</i>
(339)	Internet	<i>cocktail of emotions sadness</i>
(340)	Internet	<i>dash of sorrow in</i>
(341)	BNC	<i>haunted</i>
(342)	Internet	<i>ghosts of your grief</i>
(343)	Internet	<i>spectre of sadness</i>
(344)	Internet	<i>demon of grief</i>
(345)	BNC	<i>dog</i>
(346)	OED	<i>dog</i>
(347)	Internet	<i>melancholy crept</i>
(348)	Internet	<i>sadness lurking</i>
(349)	Internet	<i>grief hounded</i>
(350)	Internet	<i>sorrow which preys</i>

(351)	BNC	<i>tortured</i>
(352)	Internet	<i>torment of grief</i>
(353)	Internet	<i>unbridled sadness</i>
(354)	Internet	<i>rein to grief</i>
(355)	Internet	<i>curb his sadness</i>
(356)	Internet	<i>horse of grief</i>
(357)	Internet	<i>curb thy sorrows</i>
(358)	Internet	<i>sadness curled</i>
(359)	Internet	<i>coil of sadness</i>
(360)	Internet	<i>sorrow coiled</i>
(361)	Internet	<i>slough of sadness</i>
(362)	Internet	<i>reeks of sadness</i>
(363)	Internet	<i>waft of melancholy</i>
(364)	Internet	<i>stale grief</i>
(365)	AHDE in the ODET	<i>bitter</i>
(366)	BNC	<i>sour</i>
(367)	Internet	<i>sweet sorrow</i>
(368)	Internet	<i>perfume of melancholy</i>
(369)	AHDE in the ODET	<i>odour</i>
(370)	BNC	<i>sadness grew</i>
(371)	Internet	<i>grief flourished</i>
(372)	Internet	<i>sorrow stems</i>
(373)	Internet	<i>sorrow took root</i>
(374)	Internet	<i>sorrows to wither</i>
(375)	Internet	<i>sorrows wither</i>

Chapter 7: THE ISSUE OF METAPHOR SCOPE

The linguistic metaphor	Data source	The search expression
(376)	CALD	<i>rein</i>
(377)	BNC	<i>reined</i>
(378)	BNC	<i>harness</i>
(379)	Internet	<i>unbridled happiness at</i>

(380)	Internet	<i>joy galloped</i>
(381)	BNC	<i>curb</i>
(382)	BNC	<i>unbridled</i>
(383)	Internet	<i>to rein in love</i>
(384)	Internet	<i>love galloped</i>
(385)	BNC	<i>curb</i>
(386)	Internet	<i>unbridled pride</i>
(387)	Internet	<i>curb the pride</i>
(388)	Internet	<i>unbridled arrogance</i>
(389)	Internet	<i>curb my surprise</i>
(390)	Internet	<i>unbridled jealousy</i>
(391)	Internet	<i>curb your jealousy</i>
(392)	CALD	<i>unbridled</i>
(393)	Internet	<i>horse of lust</i>
(394)	Internet	<i>unbridled courage</i>
(395)	WRUD (1913) in dic. die.net	<i>unbridled</i>
(396)	Internet	<i>curb my disgust</i>
(397)	Internet	<i>unbridled disgust</i>
(398)	Internet	<i>horse of guilt</i>
(399)	Internet	<i>unbridled guilt</i>
(400)	Internet	<i>curb your embarrassment</i>
(401)	Internet	<i>unbridled embarrassment</i>
(402)	BNC	<i>curb</i>
(403)	BNC	<i>rein</i>
(404)	CALD	<i>rein</i>
(405)	BNC	<i>unbridled</i>
(406)	Internet	<i>rein in greed</i>
(407)	Internet	<i>curb laziness</i>
(408)	Internet	<i>unbridled laziness</i>
(409)	Internet	<i>unbridled gluttony</i>
(410)	Internet	<i>bridle on gluttony</i>
(411)	Internet	<i>curb borrowing</i>
(412)	Internet	<i>rein in borrowing</i>

(413)	AHDE in the ODET	<i>curb</i>
(414)	CALD	<i>rein</i>
(415)	CALD	<i>galloping</i>
(416)	Internet	<i>rein in inflation</i>
(417)	Internet	<i>rein in production costs</i>
(418)	Internet	<i>galloping costs</i>
(419)	Internet	<i>galloping financial crisis</i>
(420)	Internet	<i>rein in the financial crisis</i>
(421)	Internet	<i>rein in prices</i>
(422)	Internet	<i>galloping prices</i>
(423)	Internet	<i>unbridled capitalism</i>
(424)	Internet	<i>curb capitalism</i>
(425)	Internet	<i>crime gallops</i>
(426)	Internet	<i>curb fraud</i>
(427)	Internet	<i>unbridled violence</i>
(428)	Internet	<i>curbing violence</i>
(429)	BNC	<i>rein</i>
(430)	Internet	<i>curb aggression</i>
(431)	BNC	<i>harness</i>
(432)	Internet	<i>reined in his thoughts</i>
(433)	Internet	<i>thoughts galloped</i>
(434)	Internet	<i>curb ideas</i>
(435)	Internet	<i>bridle on my thoughts</i>
(436)	BNC	<i>harnessing</i>
(437)	BNC	<i>unharnessed</i>
(438)	BNC	<i>curb</i>
(439)	Internet	<i>unbridled traffic</i>
(440)	CALD	<i>unbridled</i>
(441)	Internet	<i>curb his enthusiasm</i>
(442)	BNC	<i>curb</i>
(443)	Internet	<i>rein in his impatience</i>
(444)	BNC	<i>curb</i>
(445)	Internet	<i>rein in your hunger</i>

Appendix 2

THE SOURCES OF THE METAPHORICAL EXPRESSIONS TAKEN FROM THE INTERNET

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