

Emotion Metaphors and Cross-Linguistic Conceptualization of Emotions

VALENTINA APRESJAN

University of Southern California
996 Meridian Ave # 70, San Jose, CA 95126
apr@ippi.ac.msk.su

ABSTRACT

While there exists plenty of research on emotion metaphors, monolingual, as well as cross-linguistic, there is still no answer to the question: why is it that certain emotion metaphors are the same across languages, while others display significant cross-linguistic variance? What triggers the conceptualization of emotions in language?

In this paper, I propose a tentative answer to this problem. On the basis of Russian and English data, I suggest that different emotions are linguistically conceptualized through different metaphorization mechanisms, and that linguistic and cross-linguistic behavior of an emotion metaphor depends on the metaphorization mechanism employed in its formation.

KEY WORDS: emotion metaphor, metaphorization mechanism, linguistic properties, cross-linguistic variance

RESUMEN

Si bien se ha investigado mucho sobre metáforas de emoción, tanto monolingües como translingüísticas, no se ha contestado aún a la pregunta de por qué ciertas metáforas de emoción son iguales en distintas lenguas, mientras que otras demuestran una variación trans-lingüística. ¿Qué es lo que estimula la conceptualización de las emociones en el lenguaje?

En el presente artículo, propongo una respuesta tentativa a este problema. Partiendo de datos del ruso y del inglés, sugiero que diferentes emociones son conceptualizadas lingüísticamente a través de diferentes mecanismos de metaforización, y que el comportamiento lingüístico y trans-lingüístico de una metáfora de emoción depende del mecanismo de metaforización empleado en su formación.

PALABRAS CLAVE: metáfora de emoción, mecanismo de metaforización, propiedades lingüísticas, variación trans-lingüística

I. INTRODUCTION

In this paper, I create a classification of language metaphors for emotions which aims at **description**, as well as **prediction** of the relevant linguistic and cross-linguistic properties of metaphoric expressions denoting emotions.

The cognitivists Lakoff and Johnson in their work of 1980, **Metaphors we live by**, as well as their later followers (e.g., Kovecsés 1990), have demonstrated the importance of the language metaphor for describing our mentality, our way of understanding and conceptualizing things (including emotions). However, in their account of emotion metaphors, they do not draw a distinction between different metaphor types. For instance, such intuitively different emotion metaphors as ANGER IS HEAT (stemming from a physiological similarity) and ANGER IS BURDEN (stemming from a cognitive similarity) do not receive a separate treatment within the cognitive framework (this problem is somewhat touched upon in Emanatian 1995).

My claim is that these metaphors have different source domains and employ different **metaphorization mechanisms**. Moreover, on the basis of Russian and English data, I claim that metaphors derived by different metaphorization mechanisms display different **linguistic** and **cross-linguistic properties**. Therefore, an adequate linguistic description should treat them differently.

All emotion metaphors have the same basic structure: they liken a certain **psychological** state (feeling) to a certain **physiological** state (sensation) or to another **material** phenomenon.

Emotion metaphors differ with respect to two factors: phenomena that form the source domain for the metaphorical mapping and the kind of mapping that takes place.

II. PHYSIOLOGICAL METAPHOR TYPE

It is appropriate to begin discussion by characterizing the emotion manifestations, as well as their linguistic expressions, which constitute the source domain for the physiological metaphor type.

II.1. SOURCE DOMAIN OF THE PHYSIOLOGICAL METAPHOR TYPE

The source domain of the physiological metaphor type is formed by different emotion manifestations. These emotion manifestations have to meet the following criteria:

(a) they are usually uncontrollable, **immediate physiological** reactions, physiological states, that are short-lasting in time; e.g., the Russian *trjastis' ot straxa* and its English correlate *to shake with fear*, but not *sognut'sja ot gorja* or its English correlate *to bend down with grief*);

(b) they are usually visible or otherwise easily perceptible to an observer: e.g., *krasnet', drozat'* (or their English correlates *to blush, to tremble*), but not *razryvat'sja' ot zalosti* (English *to be torn with pity*);

(c) they are specific to a given emotion or are, at least, its most salient manifestation; e.g., *krasnet' ot styda* (English *to blush with shame*), but not *plakat' ot radosti* (English *to weep with joy*).

Linguistic expressions denoting emotion manifestations in the physiological metaphor type are peculiar in the following way: they do not contain any positive or negative evaluation on the part of the speaker, they merely name their denotate. This criterion allows one to distinguish between such expressions as *pokrasnet'* (English *to blush*), on the one hand, and *pobagrovet'* (English *to turn scarlet*), on the other. *Pokrasnet'* is a mere denotation of a certain physiological state and can be associated with any emotion, whereas *pobagrovet'* bears a negative connotation and can be associated with negative emotions only. This phenomenon is described in Ju. D. Apresjan (1995:72-373).

11.2. MAPPING IN THE PHYSIOLOGICAL METAPHOR TYPE

Since, unlike the source domain, the target domain of emotion metaphors is in no way constrained, I will proceed by describing the peculiarities of the mapping between the source and the target domains in the physiological metaphor type.

In this type of emotion metaphors, the mapping is conditioned physiologically, i.e., the metaphors are based on certain physiological similarities. Indeed, *fear* is linguistically conceptualized as *cold* because the feeling 'fear' and the sensation 'cold' share the same physiological manifestations: the reaction of one's body to 'fear' is the same as the reaction of one's body to 'cold' (shaking, quaking, temporary paralysis, pallor, etc.). By a metaphorical shift, 'fear' becomes conceptualized as 'a feeling that has a certain effect on the mind and body of the experiencer, similar to the effect that cold usually has on the body of the experiencer.'

II.3. METAPHORS IN THE PHYSIOLOGICAL METAPHOR TYPE

This type comprises such metaphors as the Russian STRAX - XOLOD 'FEAR IS COLD,' OTVRASCENIE - TOSNOTA 'DISGUST IS FEELING SICK,' GNEV - ZAR 'ANGER - IS HEAT', as well as their close English correlates. Let us consider these metaphors in more detail.

The metaphor STRAX - XOLOD and its English correlate FEAR IS COLD is based on the following physiological fact: when one feels fear, one's body reacts to this emotion as it reacts to cold. This physiological phenomenon has spread to the understanding of the psychological nature of the feeling. The reaction of the mind to fear became conceptualized by language as the reaction of the body to cold. This conceptualization is reflected in numerous linguistic expressions.

Consider the following expressions as the primary designators of fear: the Russian *drozat' ot straxa* 'to tremble with fear,' *trjastis' ot uzasa* 'to shake with terror,' *ocepenet' <zastyt', poblednet', pokryt'sja muraskami> ot uzasa* 'to freeze <to become cold, to blanch. to have goose-flesh> with terror,' *byt' paralizovannym straxom* 'to become

paralyzed by fear,' *Ego dusa byla skovana straxom* 'His soul was bound by fear'; the English *to get cold feet, blood runs cold with fear. to freeze with terror, to shake with fear, to freeze one's blood, to chill one to the bones, to make one's flesh creep*¹ and the like².

Likewise, the metaphor OTVRASCENIE - TOSNOTA and the corresponding English metaphor DISGUST IS FEELING SICK have a physiological origin: real, physiological sickness is the reaction of one's body to the emotion of disgust. A metaphoric shift likens the feeling of disgust to this bodily sensation. Thus, disgust becomes linguistically and cognitively conceptualized as sickness.

Consider the following linguistic expressions. which confirm the Russian metaphor OTVRASCENIE - TOSNOTA: *tosnit ot orvrascenija* 'one feels sick with disgust,' *krivit'sja ot orvrascenija* 'to pull faces with disgust,' *plevat' ot orvrascenija* 'to spit with disgust,' *brezglivo <gadlivo> morscit'sja* 'to screw one's face with squeamishness <with strong disgust>.'

The English metaphor DISGUST IS FEELING SICK is reflected in such expressions as *to be sick with disgust, to feel nauseated with disgust, to throw up with disgust, to have one's stomach upset, to have one's stomach turned over* and the like.

The metaphor NEGODOVANIE - ZAR and its English correlate INDIGNATION IS HEAT stem from the following physiological fact: the bodily temperature goes up as a result of indignation.

The conceptualization of 'indignation' type emotions in the HEAT metaphor is reflected in such metaphoric expressions as the Russian *vskipet' <vzorvat'sja> ot negodovanija <gneva>* 'to boil <to blow up> with indignation <anger>' and the English *to boil with indignation, to explode with rage <indignation>, in the heat of rage*.

Because of space limitations, I will not proceed with a detailed discussion of this matter; however, I would like to give a representative sample of the metaphors in the physiological type. These include:

(a) 'Passion' metaphors:

Russian (here, I partly avail myself of the material collected in Babenko 1989: Appendix): STRAST' - LIXORADKA 'PASSION IS FEVER': *goret' strast'ju* 'to burn with passion,' *raspalit'sja <strast'ju>* 'to get inflamed <with passion>,' *soxnut' ot strasti* 'to dry out with passion'; STRAST' - OP'JANENIE 'PASSION IS INTOXICATION': *p'janet' ot strasti* 'to be drunk with passion,' *terjat' golovu ot strasti* 'to lose one's head with passion'; NEUTOLENNAJA STRAST' - GOLOD 'UNSATIATED PASSION IS HUNGER': *smotret' na kogo-libo golodnymi glazami* 'to look hungrily at somebody,' *oblizyvat'sja na kogo-libo* 'to lick one's lips at somebody,' etc.

English: PASSION IS FEVER: *to burn with passion <desire>, flaming <glowing, heated> passion*; PASSION IS INTOXICATION: *to be intoxicated with passion, to lose one's head with passion*; PASSION IS HUNGER: *to be hungry with desire, to be starved of passion*.

(b) 'Anger' metaphors:

Russian: GNEV - ZAR 'ANGER IS HEAT': *kipjatit'sja* 'to boil <with anger>,'³ *nakaljat'sja* 'to heat up.'

English: ANGER IS HEAT: *to boil <to seethe> with anger, to be burned up, to do something in hot blood, the heat of anger*. On ANGER IS HEAT metaphor see also Kovacsés

(1986:12-20) and Solomon (1981:31).

II.4. LINGUISTIC PROPERTIES OF THE METAPHORS IN THE PHYSIOLOGICAL METAPHOR TYPE

This "physiological" metaphorization mechanism has a certain impact on linguistic and cross-linguistic properties of the metaphors themselves and those of the corresponding non-metaphoric expressions for emotions.

(a) First of all, it results in the inclusion of certain semantic components into the semantic structure of the corresponding non-metaphoric expressions denoting emotions. If an emotion A is conceptualized in the linguistic metaphor A IS Y (where Y is a certain physiological state), then the linguistic expression X *feels* A (X stands for the experiencer) includes, among, others, the following components:

'1. X's mind experiences something similar to what X's body senses when X is in the physiological state Y;

2. X's body experiences the physiological state Y.'

Let us exemplify this definition with, e.g., the emotion of *disgust*.

The metaphor for *disgust* is DISGUST IS FEELING SICK. Metaphoric expressions for *disgust* are *to be sick*, *to vomit*, *to throw up* and the like. The semantic structure of the lexeme *disgust* thus includes, besides certain other components, also the following:

'1. X's mind experiences something similar to what X's body senses when X is in the state of physiological sickness;

2. X experiences physiological sickness.'

(b) Furthermore, the metaphors of this type can be used metonymically, as the only designators of the emotions they describe. For instance, the Russian metaphors *drozat* 'to shake,' *trjastis* 'to quake,' *kipet* 'to boil,' *tosnit* 'one is sick'; the English metaphors *to get cold feet*, *to explode*, *to be nauseated* are metonymically used as independent designators of 'fear,' 'anger' and 'disgust,' respectively. Without any further clarification, they are **unmistakably** understood as the expressions of the respective emotions. This is a consequence of the following factor: the metaphors in the physiological type are based only on such symptomatic expressions that denote the most salient manifestations of emotions, such that by mentioning them, one can unambiguously identify the emotion.

(c) **Finally**, the metaphors in this type possess the following cross-linguistic property: they display **little** or no cross-linguistic variation. Indeed, it is easy to notice that the metaphors for 'fear,'⁴ 'anger'⁵ and 'disgust' are almost identical in English and Russian.

This property is a consequence of the fact that the metaphors in this type are not based on cultural links, which differ cross-linguistically, but rather on real-world links which often coincide for different cultures⁶.

III. CULTURAL METAPHOR TYPE

This second metaphor type contains metaphoric expressions formed by means of

cultural mapping. That is, the objects in the source domain are likened to the objects in the target domain on the basis of their culture-specific affinity; cf. Lakoff & Johnson (1990:404) on culture-specific metaphors. For instance, positive emotions can be likened to 'light.' since in certain cultures light is conceptualized as spiritual goodness; negative emotions can be likened to darkness, since darkness is conceptualized as spiritual evil.

111.1. SOURCE DOMAIN IN THE CULTURAL METAPHOR TYPE

The source domain of this metaphor type is not as homogeneous as that of the physiological; therefore, it is difficult to give a unified description of its content. The source domain of the second type contains the expressions for various sensations, color terms, terms for different kinds of light and many other semantic classes of expressions.

111.2. MAPPING IN THE CULTURAL METAPHOR TYPE

In this metaphor type, the mapping between the source domain and the target domain is determined by cultural factors. Namely, the objects in the target domain (feelings) are likened to such objects in the source domain with which they share a certain cultural connotation. The metaphors JOY IS LIGHT and ANGER IS DARKNESS illustrate this principle. They liken the feeling, the state of mind and soul, as well as its overt manifestations to the effects of, respectively, light and darkness. Among all emotion metaphors, the ones belonging to the cultural type are the most telling of the so-called **naive picture of the world** (Apresjan Ju.D., 1995:349-352), i.e. a certain system of seeing things, a certain specific mentality inherent in every given language.

III.3. METAPHORS IN THE CULTURAL METAPHOR TYPE

In this type of metaphorical expressions, the metaphoric parallels between the objects in the source domain and the objects in the target domain are usually not limited to one particular emotion. Unlike metaphors of the first type, those of the second can be used as an expression of many different emotions, since they are based not on emotion-specific symptoms, but on more general cultural associations. Thus, it is often the case that one object from the source domain corresponds to several objects in the target domain. Therefore, it is more convenient to present metaphors of this type not as it was done for the physiological type, emotion by emotion, but, rather, to consider larger groups of emotions, depending on what object in the source domain they correspond to.

I will begin discussion with the group of emotions conceptualized in the LIGHT metaphor (extensively discussed on the basis of Russian data in Ju. D. Apresjan, 1995:372-373).

Even though the range of emotions that fall under the LIGHT metaphor is rather wide, there is one general restriction on the type of the feeling. It has to be a feeling with

distinct overt manifestations, a feeling that shows itself in the appearance of the experiencer. Moreover, these manifestations must be of a particular kind; the symptoms of fear or disgust would not meet the requirements for the LIGHT metaphorization. The feeling must be manifested in the brightening of the color of the experiencer's eyes and / or face. This brightening gives the effect of light spreading from the experiencer onto the observers.

There are several subtypes within the FEELING IS LIGHT metaphorization type.

(a) The first subtype is presented with such metaphoric expressions as the Russian *svetit'sja X-om <ot X-a>* 'to shine with X <because of X>' (where X stands for the emotion), *sijat' X-om <ot X-a>* 'to shine, to beam. to be radiant with X <because of X>' and the English *to shine <to beam> with X, to be radiant with X, to light up with X*.

In this first subtype, the source domain expressions denote a bright, soft, warm, pleasant kind of light, which radiates quite strongly. Pragmatically, these expressions possess a positive connotation. They are normally used to denote the light, emanated by pleasant or friendly objects, such as the sun, stars, candles, lamps, etc.

Emotions that can be metaphorically described by means of these expressions have to meet the following requirements (besides the one formulated above):

- (a) these emotions have to be positive, warm, kind (*love*, but not *anger* or *hatred*);
- (b) these emotions have to be rather strong, able to spread from the experiencer to the observer (e.g., the strong emotion of *happiness*, but not the emotion of *pleasure*, which is not sufficiently strong).

The feelings that meet these requirements are *delight, happiness, love, tenderness, joy*, and the like, cf. the following Russian and English expressions *sijat' ot scastja <radosti, vostorga>* 'to beam with happiness <joy, delight>'; *svetit'sja neznost'ju <ljubov'ju>* 'to shine with tenderness <love>'; *to be radiant with happiness; to shine with love <tenderness>; to light up with joy; to beam with delight; to glow with joy; to look sunny* ('to be joyful'). The FEELING IS LIGHT metaphors are also used to describe the changes in the appearance of the experiencer's eyes and face, caused by such feelings; cf. the Russian *glaza sijajut <svetjatsja>* 'one's eyes are beaming <shining>'; *lico sijaet <svetitsja>* 'one's face beams <shines>' and the corresponding English expressions.

(b) The second subtype comprises such metaphoric expressions as the Russian *goret' X-om <ot X-a>* 'to burn with X <because of X>' (where X stands for the emotion), *pylat' X-om <ot X-a>* 'to flame with X <because of X>', *sverkat' X-om <ot X-a>* 'to glare, to flash with X <because of X>' and the English *to flame with X, to blaze with X, to be afire with X, to flash with X*.

In this second subtype, the source domain expressions denote a bright, harsh, strong, hot light, possibly unpleasant for the eyes. These expressions are often used to denote the light of such unfriendly and dangerous objects as fire, lightning, etc. Due to this, these expressions are often negatively connoted.

Emotions that can be metaphorically described by means of these expressions have to meet the following requirements:

- (a) they have to be negative (*anger, hatred*, but not *happiness, love, tenderness*);
- (b) they have to be strong and possibly dangerous, leading to aggression (*hatred*, but not *dislike*).

Emotions that meet these requirements are *hatred, anger, rage* and the like, cf. the

following Russian and English expressions: *Glaza gorjat zloboj* 'One's eyes burn with spite'; *Glaza sverkajut <pylajut> ot gneva* 'One's eyes flash <flame> with anger'; *Glaza polyxajut ot gneva* 'One's eyes blaze with anger'; *Glaza mecut molnii* 'One's eyes throw lightning (implied: because of anger)'; *metat' grom i molnii* 'to be very angry; literally: to throw thunder and lightning'; *Glaza gorjat nenavist'ju* 'One's eyes burn with hatred'; *One's eyes flash with anger <hatred>*: *One's eyes blaze with anger*; *One's eyes burn with spite*.

(c) There is one more, smaller subtype within the FEELING IS LIGHT metaphorization type. It is presented with the following Russian and English expressions: *blestet' X-om <ot X-a>* 'to sparkle with X <because of X>' (where X stands for the emotion); *to glitter with X <because of X>*; *to sparkle with X <because of X>*.

In their primary, non-metaphorical meaning these expressions denote a rather weak, reflected light, unable to spread far from its source or to illuminate objects within its reach (unlike the light denoted by the expressions in the first and second subtypes). This type of light is neutral with respect to its possible friendliness or unfriendliness, it is neither necessarily pleasant nor necessarily unpleasant.

Emotions that can be metaphorically designated by the expressions denoting this type of light, have to satisfy the following criteria:

(a) they have to be either positive or neutral (*pleasure, joy or agitation*, but not *irritation*);

(b) they cannot be strong (e.g., *pleasure*, but not *happiness*).

The first requirement can be explained by the fact that in Russian and English linguistic mentalities light has an overall positive connotation, unless explicated otherwise.

The second requirement is trivially explained by the assumption that expressions for a weak light are used to denote weak emotions, just as in the first two subtypes, expressions for a strong light are used to describe strong emotions.

Emotions that meet these requirements are *content, pleasure, agitation* and the like. cf. the following Russian and English expressions: *Glaza blestjat ot udovol'stvija <volnenija>* 'One's eyes sparkle with pleasure <agitation>'; *Glaza blestjat ot umilenija* 'One's eyes sparkle with tender emotion'; *One's eyes sparkle with content <pleasure>*; *One's eyes glitter with agitation*.

The next group of emotions within the cultural metaphor type is associated with different color terms. Again, there are several emotion subtypes within the FEELING IS COLOR metaphorization type, with one common constraint: all emotions belonging to this subtype are (or can be) manifested in the change of facial color.

There are two oppositions within this type. One opposition is between light and dark shades of color. The other one spreads on the entire color scale and distinguishes between such colors as blue, green, red, black, white, gray, yellow, etc. as designators of different types of emotions.

The overall connotation of light in Russian and English cultures is positive, whereas the connotation of darkness is negative⁷. Due to this, light is often metaphorically mapped onto the domain of positive emotions, whereas darkness is associated with negative emotions. This opposition is valid for different shades of red facial color, as the lighter shades of red are associated with positive emotions (*joy, delight*), while the darker ones with negative emotions (*anger*) (Apresjan 1995:372-373). Moreover, this opposition is valid for such

universal designators of facial color changes as *to brighten*, *to clear up*, on the one hand, and *to darken*, on the other. Indeed, the Russian *posvetlet'*, *prosvetlet'* and their English correlates *to brighten*, *to clear up* refer to positive emotions; cf. *Ego lico prosvetlelo ot radosti* 'His face brightened up with joy,' whereas the Russian *potemnet'* and its English correlate *to darken* refer to negative emotions. cf. *On ves'potemnel ot zloby* 'He went dark with spite.'

However, this does not mean that all light facial colors are necessarily associated with positive emotions, although the assumption that dark facial colors necessarily signify negative emotions does hold. Because of the interference of other (e.g., physiological) factors, light facial colors are not always the designators of positive emotions. Indeed, the Russian *pobelet'* or the English *to whiten* signify the loss of facial color due to a strong shock; in other words, they denote an **abnormality**; thus, these expressions cannot refer to positive emotions. even though the color they denote is the lightest existing.

Besides, certain light colors possess a negative cultural connotation, if used with reference to facial color, e.g., the yellow color. Yellow color cannot signify a positive emotion, even though it is a light color. Thus, no generalization is possible and each of the colors requires a special comment as to what emotions it can designate. Below, I will present the remaining FEELING IS COLOR metaphors.

Overall, distinct and unusual facial colors are more often associated with negative emotions, since the change of facial color signifies a physiological abnormality. Only the overall lightening and brightening of the face, as well as different shades of pink color pertain to positive emotions. However, the culture-driven distribution of associations between negative emotions and different colors is interesting and deserves special attention.

Thus, in Russian, *green* is associated with *envy* and with *fury*, cf. the Russian *pozelenet'* or *zavisti* <*zloby*> 'to turn green with envy <**fury**>'. In English, it is associated with *envy* and *jealousy*, cf. *to turn green with envy* <*jealousy*>. Consider also the following example from M. Mitchell's "Gone with the wind": - *Rhett, everybody will be pea-green when they see our house! - Is it very necessary that everyone shall be envious?*

In Russian, but not in English, *yellow* is associated with *envy*, cf. *pozeltet'* or *zavisti* 'to turn yellow with envy.'

Gray is associated with *fear* or *shock*, cf. the Russian *poseret'* or *straxa* 'to turn gray with fear.' Consider the following example from F. Iskander's "The man and his environment": *I vdrug ego xudoe, udlinennoe lico poserelo, i on zatravlenymi glazami ogljadel zastol'je* 'And suddenly his thin, elongated face turned gray and he looked at the feasting people with the eyes of a cornered animal' (the person described in the novel experienced a strong shock).

White is associated with a wide range of negative emotions, such as *fear*, *fury*, *nervousness*, *shock*, *anger* and other emotions of 'fear' and 'anger' types, cf. the Russian *pobelet'* or *straxa* <*jarosti, volnenija, potrjasenija, gneva*> 'to turn white with fear <**fury**, nervousness, shock, **anger**>' and their English correlates.

It must be noted that all of the above-discussed colors, namely, *green*, *yellow*, *gray* and *white* denote, when used in reference to facial color, general pallor of the face. In other words, when they are used in reference to facial color. they are used metaphorically and

refer to more or less the same coloring. That is, the real facial color is never green or yellow or gray or white; all these expressions are different metaphoric indications of the same denotate (pallor) and differ only pragmatically - in their cultural evaluation. Differences in their cultural conceptualization (and not in real physiology) determine the range of emotions these color terms can denote.

Before I turn to other considerations, I will briefly discuss two more metaphors - the FEELING IS WARMTH and FEELING IS COLD metaphors.

The first two metaphors are interrelated. In Russian and English, they are applied to emotions that necessarily have an object, such as *love*, *friendship*, *hatred*, but not *happiness* or *joy* (the latter have a cause, but not an object). In the FEELING IS WARMTH and FEELING IS COLD metaphors, the effect that a feeling has on the mind of its **object** (not its **experiencer**, as in all other metaphors examined so far) is likened to the effect that warmth and cold have on the body of a human being.

Positive, kind emotions, such as *love*, *friendship* are likened to warmth; negative, unfriendly emotions, such as *hostility*, *contempt* are likened to cold (see Searle 1990:324 on the metaphorization of unemotional as cold and emotional as hot. where Searle proves the cultural origin of these metaphors).

Indeed, consider the following Russian and English expressions: *ljubov' soгреvajer* 'love warms'; *gorjacaja družba* 'warm (literally: hot) friendship'; *xolodnaja neprijazn'* 'cold hostility'; *led prezrenija* 'ice of contempt'; *warm < cold > attitude*; *to talk to somebody warmly < coldly >* (= 'in a friendly' or 'unfriendly' way, respectively); *warm-hearted* (= 'kind-hearted'); colloquial *cold turkey* ('unemotional person'), *to give somebody the cold shoulder* ('treat somebody with contempt or neglect') and the like.

I would like to mention briefly some more of the metaphors in the cultural type.

(a) RAVNODUSNOE ILI PLOXOE OTNOSENIE - KAMENNOST' 'INDIFFERENCE OR BAD ATTITUDE IS STONYNESS': *kamennoe lico* 'stony <indifferent, untouchable > face', *kamennyj celovek* 'a person made of stone' and their English equivalents.

(b) RAVNODUSNOE ILI PLOXOE OTNOSENIE - SUXOST' 'INDIFFERENCE OR BAD ATTITUDE IS DRYNESS⁸': *suxo razgovarivar'* 'to speak dryly' and its English equivalent.

By themselves, the properties of being made of stone or being dry are neither bad nor good; they do not bear any cognitive evaluation; however, in Russian and English linguistic cultures they are conceptualized as negative and, therefore, associated with negative emotions.

III.4. LINGUISTIC PROPERTIES OF THE METAPHORS IN THE CULTURAL METAPHOR TYPE

Metaphors in this type are formed by the cultural metaphorization mechanism. This means that the associative connections between the source and the target domains are rather weak, since the mapping is determined arbitrarily, subjectively, not on the basis of any objective similarity. This calls forth the following linguistic and cross-linguistic properties

of the metaphors in the cultural type:

(a) The first linguistic peculiarity of metaphors of this type is the following: unlike metaphors of the physiological type, they are not included in the semantic definitions of the emotions they correspond to. The reason for this is weakness of associative connections between the emotion and the source domain object; these associative connections are insufficient to identify the emotion by merely mentioning the source domain object. Metaphors of the cultural type should be commented upon somewhere in the linguistic description of the corresponding emotions but not in their semantic definitions;

(b) linguistically, they usually cannot be used metonymically, i.e., the metaphoric expression of an emotion cannot be used as its independent denotation. For instance, the Russian expression *Serdce razryvaetsja* 'The heart is being torn,' used to describe the emotion *zalost'* 'pity,' if taken out of context, is an insufficient indication of this emotion: it does not imply that the emotion experienced is necessarily 'pity.' Likewise, *to tum black* does not, by itself, mean 'to experience anger'.

This property is not a strict rule (consider the counterexamples *to feel blue* as an independent indication of *sadness* and *to be green* as an indication of *envy*) but rather a strong tendency.

(c) Cross-linguistically, cultural metaphors display a large amount of variation and may differ from culture to culture, even to the point of incomprehensibility. For instance, the Russian metaphor PITY IS PAIN is incomprehensible to an English speaker; likewise, the English metaphorical expression for sadness, *to feel blue*, does not say anything to a speaker of Russian.

More than any other emotion metaphors, the metaphors of this type reflect the naive picture of the world. They reflect naive ethics (cf. the Russian PITY IS PAIN metaphor and its absence in English-speaking cultures); naive religion (cf. the A GOOD FEELING IS LIGHT metaphor); naive psychology (FRIENDLY FEELING IS WARMTH), etc.

IV. COGNITIVE METAPHOR TYPE

The cognitive emotion metaphor type is represented by the following metaphors: GRIEF IS ILLNESS or the Russian GORE - TJAZEST' ('GRIEF IS BURDEN') and GORE - SMERT' ('GRIEF IS DEATH') metaphors, as well as by NADEZDA - VOSKRESENIE, ZIZN' 'HOPE IS RESURRECTION, LIFE' metaphor. The objects in the source domain and the objects in the target domain have a common semantic component (and not a pragmatic one, as in the case of cultural metaphors). For instance, grief and death share the component 'bad, sad occurrence'; hope and life share the component 'good, happy occurrence'. Thus, the likening of the target domain objects to the source domain objects is based on their cognitive affinity.

IV.1. SOURCE DOMAIN IN THE COGNITIVE METAPHOR TYPE

The source domain for the metaphors of this type consists of various physiological

sensations. However, it differs from the source domain of the first, physiological type (which is also constituted by physiological sensations). The difference is as follows: sensations in the first type are the **obligatory** physiological manifestations of the feelings to which they are metaphorically mapped; sensations in the third type are **arbitrarily** chosen and unrelated to the real manifestations of the corresponding feelings.

IV.2. MAPPING IN THE COGNITIVE METAPHOR TYPE

In some respects, the mapping in the cognitive type recalls that in the cultural. Namely, cognitive metaphors, as well as cultural metaphors, are not based on real, strong similarities between the objects in the source and the target domains, but on positive or negative evaluations of these objects. However, these evaluations are of a different nature. If in the second, cultural type these evaluations are determined by purely cultural factors and are often subjective and arbitrary, in the third type they are determined by what I call cognitive factors and are more objective and natural. Thus, in the third type, the mappings between domains are also more objective than those in the second.

In this objectiveness, cognitive metaphors come close to physiological metaphors. Indeed, the mapping between, e.g., 'grief' and 'burden' is not arbitrary: 'grief' is linguistically viewed as having the same effect on a person as 'burden' does. Namely, they both *bend* a person. cf. *On sognulsja pod tjazest'ju meska, kotoryj on nes* 'He was bent under the burden of the bag he was carrying' ("literal burden") and *On sognulsja pod tjazest'ju gorja* 'He was bent under the burden of his grief' ("metaphoric burden").

However, there is an essential difference between the mapping in the physiological and cognitive types.

First of all, in the cognitive type, one emotion can be mapped onto the source domain in many possible ways, as well as one expression from the source domain can be mapped onto many different emotions (same as in the cultural type). In the physiological type, the correlation between emotions and source domain objects is unambiguous.

Secondly (and this is even more decisive), in the first, physiological type, the similarity between the objects in source and target domains is much stronger than in the cognitive type. Let us consider the first type metaphor STRAX - XOLOD 'FEAR IS COLD.' It likens the effect that the feeling of 'fear' has on a person's mind to the effect that the sensation of 'cold' does on a person's body. In this respect, the mapping in the physiological type does not differ from that in the cognitive.

However, there is one more aspect in the metaphor FEAR IS COLD. Namely, this metaphor likens the effect that 'fear' has on the body of a person to the effect that 'cold' does. This effect is the same. One can physically *shake* both with 'fear' and with 'cold': the expression *to shake* is, thus, used literally in both cases. However, if we tried to apply the same strategy to the metaphors of the cognitive type, e.g., GRIEF IS BURDEN, we would fail. This is because 'grief' **does not have** the same effect on one's body as burden does. When we say that *a burden bends one down*, we use the expression *to bend* literally; when we say that *grief bends one down*, we use this expression figuratively. *Shaking* is a physiological symptom of 'fear' as well as a physiological symptom of 'cold'; *bending* is not

a physiological symptom of 'grief'; there is no literal similarity between *grief* and *burden*. 'Grief' is manifested in *rears, screaming, wailing*, but not *bending*. The metaphor GNEF IS BURDEN, thus, does not have a physiological foundation. Thus, the likening of the effect that 'grief' has on one's mind to the effect that 'burden' has on one's body is determined by cognitive factors, not by physiological ones.

IV.3. METAPHORS IN THE COGNITIVE METAPHOR TYPE

I will start the discussion with the metaphors conceptualizing *grief*.

These are the Russian GORE - TJAZEST' 'GNEF IS BURDEN,' GORE - BOLEZN' 'GNEF IS ILLNESS,' GORE - SMERT' 'GNEF IS DEATH' and the English GNEF IS BURDEN and GNEF IS A BLOW metaphors.

The GORE - TJAZEST' 'GNEF IS BURDEN' metaphor is the most prominent metaphor for 'grief' both in Russian and in English. It is represented by such expressions as the Russian *sognut'sja ot gorja* 'to be bent with grief'; *tjazest' gorja* 'the heaviness of grief'; *gore svalilos' na kogo-libo* 'grief fell on somebody'; *byt' razdavlennym gorem* 'to be crushed with grief' and the English *to shudder under the weight of one's grief*; *heavy-hearted*; *ro be crushed with grief*; *to be broken with grief*; *ro be cast-down*; *to be in heavy spirits*. This metaphor likens the feeling of 'grief' to the sensation of heaviness, of burden.

The association between 'grief' and 'burden' has a cognitive foundation: both concepts have an overall negative cognitive connotation. Both imply an unpleasant experience - emotional in the case of 'grief'; physiological in the case of 'burden.' Both deprive the experiencer of certain abilities - to think, to feel, to react adequately in the case of 'grief'; to move around freely in the case of 'burden.'

The metaphor 'GNEF IS BURDEN' is found both in Russian and English. Another 'grief' metaphor these two languages share is the 'GNEF IS ILLNESS' metaphor.

The 'GRIEF IS ILLNESS' metaphor is presented by such expressions as the Russian *gore susit kogo-libo* 'grief dries one out,' *gore paralizuet kogo-libo* 'grief paralyzes one,' *gore iznurjaet kogo-libo* 'grief wears one out,' *zabolet' ot gorja* 'to fall ill with grief,' *zacaxnut' or gorja* 'to pine away with grief' or the English *to pine away with grief*, *to waste away with grief*, *to be ill from grief* and the like. The effect that *gore* 'grief' has on one's mind is likened to the effect that illness has on one's body. Again, this metaphor is not based on the symptomatics of 'grief,' since its symptomatics does not include being paralyzed or falling ill (at least, not literally), but on the cognitive closeness between 'grief' and 'illness.'

The remaining 'grief' metaphors are language-specific. They are presented below.

The Russian GORE - SMERT' 'GNEF IS DEATH' metaphor is presented by the expression *byt' ubitym gorem* 'to be killed with grief.' This metaphor likens the effects of 'grief' on one's mind to the effects of death on one's body. It should be noted, though, that death has many different aspects and the GNEF IS DEATH metaphor does not employ all of them. The physiological phenomenon of death can metaphorically refer to various psychological states, not only grief. Most frequently it is used to describe the state of spiritual emptiness, the end of spiritual activities. The metaphor *duxovnaja smert'* or *spiritual*

death is based on the following aspect of physiological death: death means the end of evolution, the end of development, the end of life.

The metaphor GRIEF IS DEATH is based on other aspects of death. When we say *byt' ubitym gorem* 'to be killed with one's grief,' we do not imply that one's spiritual life has stopped forever; it merely means that one is in a state of spiritual numbness (possibly temporary), that one is unable to feel anything but grief, unable to do anything but grieve. In other words, in this metaphor, 'death' is not understood as the end of life; rather, it is understood as inability to feel or to act.

The English GRIEF IS A BLOW metaphor is presented by such expressions as *to be hit by grief*, *to be grief-stricken*. This metaphor emphasizes the immediate effect of 'grief' on one's mind: it knocks one out as a sudden stroke.

To conclude the discussion of 'grief' metaphors, I would like to note that they can describe different stages of 'grief.' The GRIEF IS BURDEN metaphor can be equally applied to all stages of 'grief.' The GRIEF IS ILLNESS metaphor describes the long term effects of 'grief.' The GRIEF IS DEATH and GRIEF IS A BLOW metaphors describe the first, the strongest (and, perhaps, the shortest) stage of 'grief.'

Because of space limitations, I will not give any more detailed descriptions of cognitive emotion metaphors; however, I would like to briefly mention some more of them.

(a) 'Taste' metaphors.

1. UUBOV' / UDOVOL'STVIE - SLADOST' and its English correlate LOVE / PLEASURE IS SWEET: *sladost' ljubvi* 'the sweetness of love'; *sladkaja zenscina* 'sweet woman'; *sladostrnye momenty* 'sweet moments' ('the moments of pleasure or joy'); *sweet love*; *sweet* ('pleasant') *person*, *sweet dreams*, *to be sweet on somebody* ('to be in love with somebody'), etc.

2. RAZOCAROVANIE - GOREC' and the English 'DISAPPOINTMENT IS BITTER': *gorec' razocarovanija* 'bitterness of disappointment,' *gor'kie mysli* 'bitter thoughts' ('thoughts which lack hope or joy'); *bitter disappointment* < *disillusionment* >; *bitterperson* ('one who has lost hope and faith'), etc.

3. 'Sour' also forms cognitive emotion metaphors both in English and in Russian (of the form SOUR IS FEELING BAD). In Russian, *kislyj* 'sour' is metaphorically associated with bad mood, low spirits, pessimism; cf. *kisloe nastroenie* 'bad mood; literally: sour mood'. In English, *sour* refers to irritation, grudging, feeling offended; consider *to be sour on something* 'to be tired of something, disgusted with something.'

It is interesting that the last major taste - salty - does not form cognitive emotion metaphors, at least, not in the languages analyzed. There are no emotion metaphors based on 'salty' either in Russian or in English.

(b) 'Tactile' metaphors.

1. XOROSEE OTNOSENIE - MJAGKOST' 'GOOD ATTITUDE IS SOFTNESS': *mjagkaja ulybka* 'a soft smile,' *mjagko govorit'* 'to speak softly, gently.' The English correlates of this metaphor are, for example, *gentle attitude*, *to speak softly*, *to smile softly*. 'Softness' and 'good attitude' share a positive cognitive connotation: the former is pleasant physically and the latter - psychologically.

2. PLOXOE OTNOSENIE - ZESTKOST' 'BAD ATTITUDE IS HARDNESS': *zestkij celovek* 'hard person,' *zestkoe obrascenie* 'hard, harsh treatment' and their English correlates.

'Hardness' and 'bad attitude' share a negative cognitive connotation.

It is interesting that the lexeme *fverdyj* 'hard, firm,' which is semantically close to *zestkij* 'hard,' has a positive connotation; consider the positively connoted expressions *fverdyj celovek*, *tverdoe resenie* 'firm person,' 'firm decision.'

This difference is explained by the following: in its first, literal meaning, *fverdyj* 'hard, firm' means 'of solid structure.' The property of being of solid structure does not have anything negative in it; moreover, it may be considered as a positive one, since it implies reliability. Therefore, the lexeme *fverdyj* 'firm' is likely to be metaphorically associated with positively evaluated phenomena.

The lexeme *zestkij* 'hard,' however, means 'harder than is normal; harder than it was expected.' To be harder than expected, to be **hard**, while expected to be soft, is a negative property. Therefore, the lexeme *zestkij* is likely to be metaphorically associated with negatively evaluated phenomena.

(c) Pain metaphors.

1. SOVEST' - GRYZUSCAJA BOL' 'REMORSE IS GNAWING PAIN'. Consider the Russian expressions *sovest' gryzet* 'conscience bites one,' *sovest' terzaet* 'conscience tears one to pieces.' The English expressions are *pangs of conscience*, *conscience keeps gnawing*.

2. OBIDA - OSTRAJA VNEZAPNAJA BOL' 'OFFENCE IS SHARP SUDDEN PAIN'; consider the Russian expressions *ukol obidy* 'prick of offense,' *obida ujazvljaet* '<uscemijajet>' 'offense wounds <pinches>' and the English *to be wounded*, *to be hurt*.

IV.4. LINGUISTIC PROPERTIES OF THE METAPHORS IN THE COGNITIVE METAPHOR TYPE

Cognitive metaphors are an intermediate type between physiological and cultural metaphors. They are less arbitrary than cultural metaphors in that they are to a larger extent based on **similarities** between the target and the **source** domain objects. However, they do not **imply** as much **similarity** as physiological metaphors do. This determines their linguistic and cross-linguistic **properties**.

(a) Like the metaphors of the cultural type, they are not included in the semantic definitions of the emotions they correspond to. Metaphors of the cognitive type, like those of cultural should be commented upon somewhere in the linguistic description of the corresponding emotions but not in their semantic definitions;

(b) Next, they cannot **always** be used metonymically, cf. the impossibility of *'byt' razdavlennym* 'to be **crushed**' as a metonymic expression for 'grief'. However, **sometimes** it is possible; cf., the possibility of *ukolot' kogo-libo* 'to prick somebody' as a substitute for *obidet'* 'to offend.'

(c) Cross-linguistically, metaphors of the cognitive type can either display cross-linguistic variation or be invariant. Consider the invariance of the RAZOCAROVANIE - GOREC' and DISAPPOINTMENT IS BITTERNESS or WUBOV' - SLADOST' and LOVE IS SWEETNESS metaphors and the discrepancy in the 'grief' metaphors (e.g., absence of the 'GRIEF IS DEATH' metaphor in English and its **presence** in Russian). However, **unlike** cultural metaphors, cognitive metaphors are often intelligible for a speaker of the language

in which they are absent. If the English cultural metaphor *to feel blue* as an expression for *sadness* is totally uninformative for a speaker of Russian, the cognitive metaphor *byr' ubitym gorem* 'to be killed with grief' is quite comprehensible to a speaker of English. Thus, cognitive metaphors, even when they are not present in a given language, are still somewhat informative and understandable to the speakers of that language because they are based on cognitive connotations, shared by different languages.

NOTES

1. Note that all these metaphors are based on the visible, observable manifestations of 'fear'.
2. Consider also reports on the symptomatics of 'fear', recounted by the experiencers, in Scherer (1988:224-231): cold sweat; feeling cold; wet and cold hands; shaking; paralysis; goose pimples; trembling; pallor, loss of ability to talk; tension of muscles, etc.
3. This metaphor does not have a straight symptomatic basis, since the state of boiling cannot be experienced by a human being and, therefore, cannot be a symptom of emotion. This metaphor is formed in two steps: first, the physical manifestations of anger are likened to the physical state of a boiling liquid and then, the psychological state of the experiencer is likened to these manifestations.
4. This metaphor is found in other languages, as well; consider, e.g., the Greek *tromeros*, from *romeo*, meaning 'trembling' or 'fearful'; the verb *romeo* itself, meaning both 'to tremble' and, when used with an infinitive, 'to fear to do something'; *kruoëis*, meaning 'chilling', as an attribute of 'fear' (I owe these examples to the discussion with Roger Woodard). Note also that the etymological origin of the Russian word *strax* 'fear' is from the verb meaning 'to grow torpid, to freeze'. Its Lithuanian cognate is *stregti, stregiu*, meaning 'to freeze, to turn into ice' (Vasmer 1971:772).
5. Compare the Tok Pisin *belhat* (from the English 'belly hot'), meaning 'angry, impatient, furious, raging'.
6. Of course, real-world background greatly differs from culture to culture in what concerns artifacts, nature and other geography-dependent phenomena; however, human physiology, on which the emotion metaphors of this type are based, is not subject to cross-cultural variation (at least, nor to a great extent).
7. For Russian, this opposition is extremely important; the LIGHT IS GOOD and DARK IS BAD metaphors are very prominent in Russian culture. Consider, for example, the following metaphors (absent in English): LIGHT IS SPIRITUAL GOODNESS AND PURITY (*svetlyj celovek* 'pure, good, spiritual person', literally: 'lucid, radiant person'; *svetloe Kristovo Voskresenie* 'the radiant resurrection of Christ') and DARK IS SPIRITUAL EVIL (*temnyj celovek* 'bad, evil, sinful person'; literally: 'dark person'; *cernye dela* 'evil deeds'; literally 'black deeds').
8. Note, however, the positively connoted FIRMNESS IS RELIABILITY metaphor, reflected in the expression *to be firm as a rock*.
9. The following fact proves the arbitrary, cultural nature of this metaphor: the word *wer*, semantic opposite of *dry*, is not associated with good or interested attitude, as we would naturally expect, if this metaphor were motivated, but with **weakness, inability** to make up one's mind. In this respect, cognitive metaphors differ from cultural ones: the former are more motivated and, if a word A is associated with a property B, then the semantic opposite of A is normally associated with the semantic opposite of B, cf. GRIEF IS BURDEN and JOY IS LIGHTNESS metaphors.

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