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Introduction: conceptual metaphor theory

Language is a powerful tool for the study of emotion. Scholars interested in how different languages express and represent affective experience have a variety of methods available to them. In this chapter I introduce one of the approaches frequently used in cognitive linguistics to study conceptual representation, including the representation of emotion concepts. The approach, Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), has been applied to the study of emotion since the early 1980s, generating a large number of studies in languages from all over the world.

CMT is based on the observation that much of what we say in everyday language is figurative and fairly systematic. It contends that regularities in the way we speak figuratively about a domain (e.g., time or emotion) inform us about the way the domain is conceptualized (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). For example, time is conventionally talked about in terms of space and motion (e.g., time flies, Christmas will be here soon, we can’t go back to those days), suggesting that space and motion are used in the conceptual representation of time—giving it shape and potentially constraining our reasoning about it. Cognitive linguists refer to such stable cross-domain mappings as conceptual metaphors.¹

Notice that the figurative expressions instantiating conceptual metaphors may be very conventional ways of speaking, but they are figurative nonetheless. For example, English speakers conventionally refer to their feelings for a partner as being “in love,” but love is hardly a physical thing one can be “in.” The existence of this and many other similar expressions indicates that we represent states (including emotional states) as “locations” or “containers” that we can occupy, go to, abandon, and even fall into or out of, as illustrated in the metaphorical expressions (1–4) below:

1. to be in a panic
2. to drive to despair
An increasingly large body of experimental evidence in psychology attests to the existence of these and other cross-domain associations uncovered by cognitive linguists, and to their influence on perception and reasoning. Additionally, there are other reasons why conceptual metaphor scholars claim that expressions like those in 1–4, above, are not mere accidents in language, but the manifestation of stable conceptual associations recurrently activated in thought. First, novel or colorful metaphorical expressions often reflect the same associations as the standard expressions (e.g., “exile oneself from love”). Second, patterns in polysemy and semantic evolution can be successfully explained through conceptual metaphor. Third, large metaphorical systems seem to govern our discourse in politics, advertising, economics, religion, and science. Finally, gestures, behavior, images, and the objects we create for everyday use also exhibit these conceptual patterns.

CMT is a well-established research paradigm in cognitive linguistics, with a wide range of applications. For example, conceptual metaphors have been used in the study of literature, grammar, specific discourses, and in second language teaching—where it has been argued that knowing the metaphor-based explanation for idiomatic and polysemic expressions can aid in their learning.

In the remainder of this paper I will illustrate the type of research done in the field, and its utility for the investigation of emotion—with examples from my own research and that of my collaborators on the conceptualization of (different types of) anger in English, Spanish, and Russian. In doing so I will address a number of relevant questions in CMT research:

- How can we know what conceptual metaphors underlie the representation of a particular emotional domain?
- What can we learn about the conceptualization of an emotion by looking at conceptual metaphors?
- Why is metaphor analysis useful in cross-linguistic emotion research?
- How is metaphor analysis useful for other disciplines?

**Identifying conceptual metaphors**

The question addressed in this part is mainly methodological: how do linguists identify the conceptual metaphors underlying the representation of a given emotion concept? The first works on emotion conceptual metaphor relied on introspection and dictionaries to collect examples of figurative language (e.g., Kövecses 1990). Contemporary research relies on large electronic corpora, i.e., collections of naturally occurring texts.
sampled from a number or written and oral sources to represent, to the extent possible, the nature of a given language. This kind of corpus can comprise hundreds of millions of words and is considered more comprehensive and accurate in “speaking for a language” than any one native speaker, however well trained.

Different methods can be used to probe a corpus for figurative expressions used to talk about emotion in a given language. One option is to focus on specific emotion words of the domain under scrutiny. For example, in order to study the domain of anger in English, one may select words like anger, irritation, fury, indignation, frustration or resentment. Once the target words are identified, we can retrieve from the corpus all the sentences in which those words are employed. This usually involves numbers too high for manual inspection, but a typical approach in the field is to analyze 1,000 of them randomly selected from the full list. The following are some examples for the word anger extracted from the British National Corpus (BNC):

5 Julius couldn’t remember when he had last been hit by such a wave of anger.
6 Anger was still simmering in him.
7 He was also formidable, demanding, difficult—and smoldering with anger.
8 Once out of his presence he vents his anger for his dead friend on nature.
9 His occasional outbursts of anger shocked those around him.

The researcher would then identify the metaphorical expressions and classify them according to the metaphor they instantiate. As analysis method, my colleagues and I employ Metaphorical Profile Analysis (Ogarkova and Soriano 2014b). This method entails the rephrasing of the observed metaphorical expressions as metaphorical patterns. A metaphorical pattern is “a multi-word expression from a given source domain into which a specific lexical item from a given target domain has been inserted” (Stefanowitsch 2006: 66). For example, the metaphorical patterns in sentences (5–9) are wave of [emotion], [emotion] simmer, smolder with [emotion], vent [emotion], and outbursts of [emotion]. Then the metaphorical patterns are grouped according to source domain (e.g., fire, hot fluid), and the number of expressions in each group is counted. The resulting list of conceptual metaphors and their degree of exploitation for a given word constitutes the word’s “metaphorical profile.”

Some of the conceptual metaphors in the metaphorical profile of anger are presented in Table 19.1, with examples of the metaphorical patterns that instantiate these metaphors, and the number of occurrences of them, in a random sample of 1,000 citations from the BNC.
What do conceptual metaphors tell us about emotion?

If emotions are represented conceptually in terms of more concrete domains like FIRE or ILLNESS, what does it tell us about the emotions themselves? A way to answer this question in a manner useful across disciplines is to resort to the notion of “semantic focus” originally proposed by Kövecses (2000: 40–6). Semantic foci are aspects of emotional experience foregrounded by metaphor. Kövecses mentions evaluation (i.e., the positive or negative axiology implied by many metaphors), intensity, and harm, among others. For example, emotions conceptualized as ILLNESS are represented as negative and harmful, and emotions conceptualized as FIRE are seen as intense. Other semantic foci are the self-regulation one may
exert on one’s feelings and/or their manifestation, the intrinsic controlla-
bility of the emotion, and its degree of expressivity (i.e., whether the
emotion is conceptualized as openly visible or, on the contrary, as inter-
nalized) (see Soriano 2013; Ogarkova and Soriano 2014b). A look at
semantic foci in the set of conceptual metaphors identified for the words
anger, irritation, fury, rage, frustration, indignation, and resentment in English
indicates that anger in this language is represented as being intense (e.g.,
fire, hot fluid), negative (e.g., opponent, insanity), harmful for the
person and others (e.g., illness, weapon), involving expressive behavior
(e.g., animal), and requiring regulation (e.g., opponent, pressurized
fluid), although the emotion is inherently difficult to control (e.g., force
of nature). This overall characterization is coherent with descriptions of
the category from psychology (e.g., Russell and Fehr 1994). But the
important thing in this case is that we can use these semantic foci to
compare different types of anger and the variants of the emotion in dif-
ferent languages, as will be shown next.

Why is metaphor analysis useful in cross-linguistic
emotion research?

The metaphorical profiles constitute a semantic profile of the words,
informing us of the ways the emotions designated by those words are con-
ceptualized. Words can be compared within and across languages, in
search for similarities and/or differences. For example, Spanish has two
salient terms to label the anger category. One of them, ira (“anger,” but
also “wrath”), is the term typically used in emotion psychology. The other,
rabia (“anger,” but also “rabies”), is a term more frequently used by lay
people to refer to the emotion.

An analysis of their metaphorical profiles using distributional statistics
reveals important differences: ira is significantly more associated with the
conceptual domains of fire, force of nature and weapon, while rabia is
more associated with illness. This suggests that the preferred term in psy-
chology refers to a more intense (fire), violent (force of nature) and
aggressive (weapon) emotion, while the more popular term is more sali-
tently associated with a disruption of normal body functioning.

Zooming onto the specific linguistic expressions that instantiate a con-
ceptual metaphor also provides important insights. For example, both in
English and Spanish anger is a pressurized fluid is a salient metaphor.
However, it is not elaborated linguistically in the same way. The metaphor
represents anger in both languages as a substance inside the body that
increases in quantity, thus rising in the container and exerting pressure on
it. In Spanish it is also conventional to express the idea that somebody is
accumulating anger inside by saying that they (or parts of their body, like
the nose) are “swelling” (10, see below). This is a possible inference
afforded by the logic of the metaphor in English as well, but the inference
has not given rise to any conventional expressions in this language. In
English people do not typically “swell with anger” (although they do with
pride).

10  Me estás hinchando las narices (Literally, “you are swelling my nose,” i.e.,
you are making me angry”).

We have also found that the different use of “swelling” expressions in
English and Spanish echoes a more general pattern: metaphors highlight-
ing “containment” in general are more salient in the representation of
anger in Spanish than in English (Ogarkova and Soriano 2014b). This, in
turn, may be linked to socio-cultural traits, as will be further described
below.

In sum, metaphorical profiles allow us to make useful distinctions
between words in the same language or close words in different languages.
This is undoubtedly useful for linguists and translators, but can metaphor
research be useful to other disciplines as well?

**How is metaphor analysis useful for other disciplines?**

A way in which metaphor research can be brought to bear on neighboring
disciplines is through the notion of semantic foci, earlier defined as
aspects of emotional experience foregrounded by metaphor. Some semantic foci resemble well-known constructs in emotion psychology, like
valence (akin to “evaluation”), and arousal (related to “intensity”) (Soriano 2013). The semantic foci may thus be used as common currency
by both disciplines. For example, cross-cultural psychology may be
informed about the valence/evaluation of an emotion by looking at the
axiology (positive versus negative) of its metaphorical expressions. In the
case of anger, for example, negativity seems to be more salient in Spanish
than in English (Ogarkova and Soriano 2014b).

Metaphor analysis can also reveal aspects of emotion salient for the
speakers of a language, but potentially disregarded by emotion theorists.
Two examples are the association of anger with irrational behavior
(captured by the metaphor anger is insanity), and the damage it can
cause to the person him/herself (captured by anger is an illness)
(Soriano 2013). The first aspect is overshadowed in emotion psychology
by the tendency to emphasize the overall utility of emotions as adaptive
mechanisms that prepare the organism for optimal interaction with the
environment. And if anger prepares us to correct wrongs inflicted on our
person, how can it be irrational? Indeed, in an analysis of English (1) psy-
chology guides, and (2) websites, where lay people seek advice for their
psychological problems, Beger and Jäkel (2009) found that experts hardly talk about anger resorting to the insanity metaphor, while this strategy is common among lay people. Our folk-representation of the emotion, as suggested by language, invites a more nuanced view: anger may be rational overall, but it often results in irrational reactions nevertheless. The second aspect, often disregarded by psychology (except in clinical contexts), is the potential damage of the emotion to the person. It is common in psychology to refer to anger as a “negative” emotion because it feels unpleasant, it is caused by something negative, and it leads to confrontation. But nothing is typically said (when justifying the “negativity” of anger) about the possible negative effects of the emotion for one’s well-being. By contrast, metaphor highlights the “pain” inherent in anger, the disruption it causes to body functions, and its possible long-term negative effects. In sum, both aspects of the emotion (irrationality and damage) are present in expert theories of emotion to some extent, but a look at language can remind psychologists that these two factors are much more salient in the way lay people represent anger for everyday purposes.

Metaphorical profiles can also be relevant for cross-cultural studies. For example, Wierzbicka (1989) has observed that Russian “düša” (soul) and English “mind” are salient terms in their respective cultures to discuss intangible aspects of human life. Congruently with these observations, our analysis of metaphor across several terms revealed that when the body is conceptualized as a container for anger the emotion is more frequently associated with the soul and heart in Russian; and with the head and mind in English (Ogarkova and Soriano 2014a).

Another example of cultural specificity is the pattern observed for the semantic foci of expression (the visibility of the emotion) and regulation (the willing control of the feeling). Significantly, more expressions related to containment are found in Spanish than in English for the metaphor anger is a pressurized fluid. Additionally, more Spanish expressions are related to pressure. The latter is also true for Russian. By contrast, English compared to Russian has a significantly larger number of metaphors highlighting expression—the coming out of the anger-fluid. It has been suggested (Ogarkova and Soriano 2014b) that these patterns may reflect the more collectivistic nature of Spain and Russia, compared to English-speaking communities like the USA and the UK—which score high on individualism. Cross-cultural psychology suggests that collectivistic communities experience a greater urge to repress the overt manifestation of intense negative emotions for the sake of harmony within the group. This would explain the relevance of containment metaphorical expressions in Russian and Spanish. Individualistic communities, on the contrary, would have a comparatively more positive evaluation of the open manifestation of anger, seen as an affirmation of the self. This is coherent
with the comparatively greater number of expressions profiling the “coming out” of the anger-fluid in English.

**Conclusions**

The goal of this paper was to present and illustrate CMT, a popular approach to the study of conceptual representation in cognitive linguistics that can also be of use to the interdisciplinary field of the affective sciences. CMT is a theoretical framework in that it posits the existence in our minds of stable associations between different domains recursively employed to help us represent reality. CMT is also a methodology in the sense of proposing a way of looking at language to identify these stable associations. The theoretical paradigm introduced in the 1980s was applied from the very beginning to the study of emotion concepts, and continues to generate new studies all over the world. Cognitive psychology has also used metaphor research for the experimental investigation of embodied cognition. Furthermore, the paradigm has inspired cross-cultural and social psychology, which now advocate a “metaphor-enriched social cognition” (Landau et al. 2010).

In the middle of this interdisciplinary interest in metaphor, constructs like the semantic foci discussed here are particularly useful to compare findings across disciplinary domains. Another important development is the adoption of corpus-based quantitative approaches to metaphor analysis, which allow us to measure the relative significance of the observed patterns for different emotion concepts within and across languages. This has useful applications in linguistic research, but also in other disciplines. As illustrated in previous sections, patterns in metaphorical language use inform us of the way communities represent their emotional experiences and can reveal underlying cultural differences.

Emotion is a multifaceted phenomenon and its study requires a multidisciplinary approach. Linguistics, anthropology, and psychology look at it, respectively, from the standpoint of language, culture, and cognition. Conceptual metaphor research stands halfway between the three, providing a privileged vantage point on the phenomenon. This may be the greatest advantage of CMT for the affective sciences. The various disciplines involved in the study of emotion can communicate, quite literally, through metaphor.

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Notes

1 A conceptual metaphor comprises a target domain (i.e., the domain represented, like TIME) and a source domain (i.e., the domain invoked to represent the target, like SPACE). Their association is typically expressed in small capitals through the formula SOURCE IS TARGET (e.g., TIME IS SPACE). The label “metaphorical expression” is reserved for the specific linguistic instantiations of these conceptual patterns, like time flies or we are approaching Christmas. I follow the convention in CMT of writing concepts in small capitals and linguistic expressions in italics.

2 Due to space constraints only a few works in the metaphor literature concerning emotion can be mentioned. See Soriano (2012) for references on all these aspects and an overview of relevant research on conceptual metaphor in general.

References
