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Metaphor across Languages, Cultures and Discourses

Guest Editors Aseel ZIBIN and Olga A. SOLOPOVA

Метафора в языке, культуре и дискурсе

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Metaphor across Languages, Cultures and Discourses

Метафора в языке, культуре и дискурсе

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Research article / Научная статья

Metaphors across languages, cultures and discourses: A research agenda

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Abstract

This special issue explores metaphor across languages, cultures, and discourses, bringing together papers that reflect the diversity and scope of this research area. The aim is to foster discussion and exchange ideas concerning the role of metaphor in conceptualization, persuasion, and the construction of meaning. In this introductory article, we focus on the two main themes: (1) the universality of metaphor versus cultural variations in its usage; (2) the communicative function of metaphor in discourse. Within these main themes, we discuss case studies that highlight specific domains, including universal and cross-cultural variation in metaphor usage, discursive and communicative aspects of metaphor, and multimodal metaphor. In this article, we provide a summary of the contributions of our authors that represent up-to-date research on issues involving metaphor from a wide scope of perspectives and manage to open up a methodological discussion within metaphor studies. Finally, we summarize the main results and suggest a brief avenue for further research.

Keywords: *metaphor, discourse, universality, lingua-cultural variation*

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Метафора в языке, культуре и дискурсе: исследовательская повестка дня

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Аннотация

В выпуске представлены статьи, посвященные вопросам изучения метафоры на фоне широкого лингвистического, культурного и дискурсивного контекстов. Цель специального выпуска – обсудить актуальные тенденции в исследовании природы метафоры и ее роли в концептуализации окружающей действительности и конструировании смыслов в различных языках, культурах и дискурсах. Проблематика вводной статьи затрагивает главным образом (1) вопросы универсальности и лингвокультурной специфики метафоры; (2) функции метафоры в различных типах дискурса. Мы охарактеризуем современные работы, объектом которых являются универсальные черты и кросс-культурные вариации концептуальных метафор, коммуникативный и дискурсивный аспекты процесса метафоризации, взаимодействие различных семиотических систем при метафорическом конструировании действительности. Далее мы дадим краткий обзор исследований авторов специального выпуска, отметим теоретический и методологический вклад, а также новизну каждой публикации. В заключительной части вводной статьи наметим перспективы исследований.

Ключевые слова: *метафора, дискурс, универсальность, лингвокультурная вариативность*

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1. Introduction

In the realm of language, culture and discourse, conceptual metaphors wield substantial influence as they extend beyond mere linguistic manifestations, firmly establishing themselves in our long-term memory as cognitive frameworks that shape our comprehension and the manner in which we conceptualize diverse facets of reality (see Benczes & SÁgvári 2018, Chudinov et al. 2023, Gibbs 2006, Kövecses 2005, Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Mussolf 2021, Schnell & Ervas 2022, Sharifian 2014, Sharifian et al. 2008 among others). Dolić (2021: 52) characterizes conceptual metaphor as a remarkable cognitive capacity to discern correspondences between distinct entities, facilitating a more profound comprehension of one in relation to another. It is this discernment ability that affords us command over our linguistic structures, granting us the ability to influence how our meaning is perceived by others (Thibodeau & Boroditsky 2013).

The far-reaching impact of metaphors has attracted substantial attention across diverse academic disciplines such as cognitive linguistics, discourse analysis,

semiotics, grammar, translation and interpretation, historical linguistics and others (see Chudinov et al. 2020, Goatly 2017, Guan & Sun 2023, Kappelhoff & Müller 2011, Khalifah & Zibin 2022, Kozlova 2020, Mussolf 2019, Musolff & Zinken 2009, Solopova et al. 2023, Zibin 2022 among others). The interdisciplinary nature of metaphor research underscores its significance as a dynamic and ever-evolving field of study. Thus, it has produced a wide array of research that delves into the effect of culture on metaphor production and interpretation, the function of metaphor in different types of discourse, metaphorical conceptualization of emotions, metaphor uses and interpretation in multimodal texts, the role of metaphor in creating lexical relations, and many more (see Boutet et al. 2016, Cienki & Müller 2008, Díaz-Vera & Caballero 2013, Leontovich, Kalinin & Ignatenko 2023, Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2021, Solopova & Kushneruk 2021, Trim 2015, Zykova 2023 among others).

As we embark on this special issue, we aim to explore the latest trends in metaphor research and their implications for our changing global society. The timeliness of our exploration, encompassing various languages, cultures, and an array of discourses, is underscored not only by the rapid advancements in technology and communication but also by the necessity of a historical perspective. On the one hand, the digital age has introduced novel modes of communication, necessitating a re-examination of metaphors from multiple angles and using new methods of analysis (see Kövecses et al. 2019). On the other hand, investigating how metaphor senses change over time is crucial, especially in the context of our rapidly evolving technological age. As new concepts emerge and existing ones evolve, so do the metaphors we use to describe and make sense of them (Allan 2008, Anderson 2017, Díaz-Vera 2015, Geeraerts 2015, Solopova & Chudinov 2018, Trim 2011, Zeng et al. 2021). The retrospective and diachronic study of metaphors provide a unique opportunity to observe how metaphor senses and connotations can be influenced by shifts in historical and societal contexts.

In language and culture, metaphors influence not only how we communicate ideas, express emotions, and shape our identities but also how people perceive certain issues across different forms of discourse, such as media, politics, legal, medicine, fiction, humor, and beyond (see Budaev 2017, Charteris-Black 2004, Gornostaeva 2018, Kondratjeva 2020, Leontovich 2017, Musolff 2016, Ponton 2021, 2023, Solopova & Koshkarova 2021, Sun et al. 2021, Trim 2022, Zibin 2020 among others). Investigating the adaptability and development of metaphors within these dynamic contexts offers valuable insights into the ever-changing realm of human expression and communication.

In our special issue, the importance of investigating metaphors across different languages, cultures and discourses cannot be overstated. In an increasingly interconnected world, where communication transcends geographical and cultural confines, understanding how metaphors function across linguistic and cultural diversity becomes crucial. Metaphors often carry layers of meaning deeply grounded in cultural contexts, and their interpretation can vary drastically between

languages and cultures (see Alazazmeh & Zibin 2022, Ervas 2017, Kiose 2023, Kilyeni & Silaški 2014, Kövecses 2005, Tran 2022 among others). By unravelling these complex interplays, we gain insights not only into language, culture and discourse, but also into the dynamics of cross-cultural interaction and the ways in which metaphorical expressions shape our perceptions.

From historical analysis to the sphere of metaphor power in computational terms, corpus analysis, political symbolism, cognitive models of emotions, functions of metaphors in various types of discourse, this collection of papers aims to offer a comprehensive exploration of the ways metaphor shapes our world. To this end, it is essential to first establish a theoretical foundation that highlights both the universal and culturally contingent dimensions of metaphor. Theories and approaches employed in the relevant literature to analyze functions of metaphor in different types of discourses are also explored.

2. Metaphor: Universality vs. cultural variation

Metaphor, as conceptualized by Lakoff & Johnson (1980), goes beyond the boundaries of verbal communication to reside at the heart of human thinking and cognition. As per the assertions of cognitive linguists regarding metaphor's presence in the mind, brain, and body, those acquainted with the perspective stemming from Lakoff and Johnson's seminal work, *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), often anticipate that what we refer to as "conceptual metaphors" are predominantly universal. Under Conceptual Metaphor Theory, our understanding of abstract concepts is often rooted in more concrete, sensorimotor experiences. This cognitive underpinning of metaphor suggests a universality that transcends linguistic and cultural boundaries. Thus, it has been argued that the universality of metaphors arises from shared human experiences and bodily sensations (Gibbs et al. 2004). Shared metaphorical extensions can show how speakers of different languages rely on similar cognitive processes to understand and create meaning (Bartsch 2009).

Metaphor is argued to encompass linguistic, conceptual, neural, bodily, and social dimensions simultaneously (Kövecses 2005). Metaphor emerges from neural processes, sensory-motor encounters, the physical constraints of the human body, and socio-cultural imagination (Kövecses 2005, Lakoff 1993). This has given rise to the notion of embodiment which refers to the concept that our physical experiences and interactions with the world shape our cognitive processes, including abstract thought and language (Gibbs 2006, Lakoff & Johnson 1999, Littlemore 2019, Kövecses 2000, Trim 2015).

Yet, work on embodiment (see Alazameh & Zibin 2022, Bilá & Ivanova 2020, Gibbs 2006, Lakoff & Johnson 1999, Sharifian 2017, Yu 2017 among others) has suggested that embodiment can be grounded in culture and in personal experience. The embodiment of a source domain within a conceptual metaphor is not an arbitrary motion; instead, it typically encompasses repeated patterns and mappings between form and meaning (Cienki & Müller 2008). This phenomenon extends to a wide array of verbal concepts, spanning the spectrum from concrete to abstract,

and often finds expression through gestures, especially metaphoric ones (Cienki & Müller 2008). As such, embodiment encompasses a collection of elements derived from human physiology, which are utilized in the process of conceptualizing abstract concepts like emotions through the use of metaphors.

Still, different languages, cultures and discourses may emphasize various components, resulting in metaphor variation. Firstly, it can be suggested that variation in metaphoric interpretations may stem from differences in experiential emphasis. This is because individuals residing in diverse geographical and social environments may be more attuned to specific aspects of their physical experience. That is, while bodily experiences serve as the universal basis for conceptual systems and their metaphorical mappings, the conceptual systems themselves are culturally acquired, transmitted, and mediated (Musolff 2015). As all human beings live in and through culture, diverse cultural backgrounds persist in influencing metaphorical language and discourse patterns. Notable examples that showcase cultural variation in metaphor include the origin of feelings: in the majority of languages feelings and emotions are usually associated with the heart (for instance, in English, Russian, Arabic, etc.); conversely, in other languages the liver is considered the originator of feelings and emotions (for example, in Malay) (Charteris-Black 2002: 129).

Secondly, the meanings a particular metaphor has are culture-based, society-based and situation-based, i.e., they are linked to specific cultural and discourse traditions and depend on a number of situational features. The conceptual metaphors used, for example, to frame migration exhibit variation reliant upon societal, historical, and cultural factors. Specifically, the identification of metaphors portraying migrants as a NATURAL DISASTER has been consistent across diverse Western contexts, encompassing Australia, Austria, France, Germany, Poland, Spain, and others (Pickering 2001, El Refaie 2001, van der Valk 2003, Petersson & Kainz 2017, Montagut & Moragas-Fernandez 2020, among others). Other negative source domains include INVADERS, CRIMINALS, GUESTS [UNWANTED], WEEDS, POLLUTANTS, PARASITES, etc. (Taylor 2021). Conversely, despite the existence of negative metaphors of refugees in different societal and situational contexts, there is still a positive regard for them. This positive depiction emerges in a Middle-Eastern context and is portrayed through source domains such as UNIT and ORGANISM, where both migrants and the host population are perceived as integral components of a unified entity or parts of the same societal body (Zibin 2020).

Finally, an examination of metaphors from a historical standpoint reveals both their deeply rooted and conventionalized nature and variations, influenced by historical epochs, events and social processes (see Anderson 2017, Chudinov et al. 2020, 2023, Diaz Vera 2015, Geeraerts 2015, Solopova et al. 2023, Trim 2011 among others). For instance, the metaphor MIGRANTS AS LIQUID has a historical root with a prevalence of favourable evaluations in the past, indicating a more positive perception of people who move. Yet, this metaphor has undergone a notable transformation in its evaluation over three distinct time periods in the UK (Taylor 2021). Remarkably, the earliest time period exhibited the highest number of

favourable evaluations, while the most recent time period showed a decline in favourable assessments. This suggests that a historical perspective is often needed to explain differences in metaphor interpretation and shifts in societal attitudes. Consequently, these distinctions can account for the diverse ways people from different socio-cultural background and historical time periods metaphorically convey ideas.

3. Metaphor: Its functions in discourse

Metaphor, as a powerful linguistic and persuasive tool, plays a multifaceted role in various types of discourse. In Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the examination of metaphor goes beyond its linguistic function to uncover deeper layers of meaning and ideology (Charteris-Black 2004, Martín de la Rosa 2023, Moody & Eslami 2020, Mussolf 2021, Solopova & Kushneruk 2021, Zappetini et al. 2021, Zibin 2020). It reveals how metaphors are employed to construct and reinforce particular identities, beliefs, and social hierarchies. Metaphor can serve as a strategic device in identity construction within discourse, shaping how individuals or groups position themselves and others. According to Santa Ana (2002: 43), “neither layperson nor expert is immune from the associative power of an apt and productive metaphor, since humans think in terms of metaphors”.

The communicative role of a metaphor entails presenting the reader with an alternative outlook on the subject it addresses. This function is distinct from the metaphor’s framing function, which is inherent in every conceptual structure formed through metaphor (Steen 2017). The function of altering perspectives purposefully redirects the reader’s attention. In such instances, the speaker may consciously employ a metaphor, whether it is conventionalized or novel, with the aim of shifting the reader’s viewpoint on the subject in question (Charteris-Black 2011, Chudinov et al. 2020, Kalinin & Ignatenko 2022, Mujagić 2022, Solopova et al. 2023, Steen 2017, Zibin 2020,). Metaphor often reflects and reinforces the cultural and ideological perspectives of the discourse’s producers, shedding light on power dynamics and the manipulation of language for persuasive ends (e.g., Fomin & Mona 2019, Ponton 2020, Semenova & Alekseeva 2023, Sun et al. 2021, Steen 2017). Through imaginative thinking, metaphors can enhance the persuasive impact of a message by framing issues in a particular light or by evoking emotional responses (Alnajjar & Altakhaineh 2023, Koptyaeva & Shustrova 2021, Ozyumenko & Larina 2021, Sporova & Zheltukhina 2022, Zappetini et al. 2021).

Metaphors in political discourse can also be strategic devices for persuasion and argumentation (Budaev 2017, Charteris-Black 2011, Chudinov et al. 2023, Kalinin & Ignatenko 2022, Mujagić 2022, van Poppel 2020, 2021, Wagemans 2016, Zappetini et al. 2021). They allow politicians to convey their opinions indirectly, framing their ideas in a way that resonates with their target audience. The strategic use of metaphors in political discourse is not arbitrary; it reflects a deliberate effort to mold public sentiment and sway opinion on these complex and sensitive issues. By critically examining these metaphors, we gain valuable insights

into the persuasive tactics employed by political actors, authors and other stakeholders and the underlying ideologies that shape public discourse.

Moreover, metaphors can possess explanatory power in scenarios related to complex topics. They provide a bridge between scientific or technical information and the general public by making abstract concepts more relatable through familiar concepts and language (Abdel-Raheem & Alkhamash 2022, Augé 2021, Charteris-Black 2021, Ervas et al. 2022, Silaški & Đurović 2022, Zibin 2022). This explanatory function of metaphor aids in simplifying complex ideas, making them more accessible and persuasive to a wider audience, and can influence public perception and decision-making in areas such as politics, immigration, vaccine discourse and others (e.g., Flusberg et al. 2017, Nisbet 2009, Schnell & Ervas 2022, van der Hel et al. 2018). Thus, metaphor in discourse does “not only explain the situation, but also steer behavioral change” (Abdel-Raheem & Alkhamash 2022: 24). This is also where multimodal metaphor proves influential: it wields significant power due to its ability to convey complex ideas and evoke emotions through a combination of sensory experiences and different modes of communication, such as language, images, gestures, and other non-verbal cues (Cienki & Müller 2008, Forceville & Urios-Aparisi 2009, Koptyaeva & Shustrova 2021, Zibin & Altakhaineh 2023).

4. Outline of contributions to the issue

The special issue focuses on metaphor as a field of study. It presents nine papers that reflect the diversity and scope of this research area and brings together a group of scholars from a wide range of theoretical and methodological backgrounds to explore universal and cross-cultural variation in metaphor usage, its discursive and communicative aspects, embodied cognition and others. The issue features the scholars’ efforts in developing, testing, and debating methodologies for the field, both by extending existing methods, and bringing in novel methodological approaches.

Two papers highly focus on a peculiar aspect of metaphor in a particular language. Javier E. Diaz-Vera underscores emotions and temperature as concepts closely related through embodied processes. He gives a detailed account of how exactly emotions may be processed in metaphor and metonymy understanding within a particular source domain. Specifically, employing cognitive semantic methodology the author scrutinizes the nature of HIGH BODY TEMPERATURE source domain on the basis of Old English texts. Diaz-Vera highlights that the use of the metaphorical expressions triggers a number of contrasts. He complements the growing body of literature on metaphor as the expression of emotions in a unique way, namely by showing the existence of positively loaded target-source pairings, explaining their origin and demonstrating the importance of socio-cultural factors underlying both lexical and conceptual choices made by Old English writers.

Oleg I. Kalinin and Alexander V. Ignatenko propose a new methodology for identifying metaphor power in Russian texts. They argue that metaphor power can best be described in computational terms that concretely outline the number of

metaphors per text (metaphor density index), the ratio of live and trite metaphors (metaphor intensity index), the ratio among orientational, ontological, and structural metaphors (functional typology index), and the effects metaphorical mappings achieve. In their research, the method of metaphor-driven discourse analysis (MDDA) is combined with a two-stage linguistic experiment to measure metaphor power in the data reflecting the writer's opinion and the reader's response. The empirical findings in this study provide a new understanding of the correlation between metaphor power and persuasion and can be further applied to different text types.

The second theme that emerges out of the contributions to this special issue is the significance of cultural framing that leads to variation in metaphors across different countries and cultures. Zoltán Kövecses, Réka Benczes, Anna Rommel and Veronika Széld, inspired by cognitive-linguistic work on conceptual metaphors for emotions, examine ANGER metaphors in three languages: American English, Hungarian and Russian. The scholars uncover peculiarities of two approaches applied to quantitative and qualitative investigation of conceptual metaphors: a lexical approach and a corpus-based approach. Specifically, they combine a type-based account and a token-based analysis together to show that the two methods offer complementary, yet different results. The authors argue that a combined methodology is highly effective in comparative research on metaphor, which provides future studies with the opportunity to fully grasp the dimensions of conceptual metaphors in terms of universality and cross-cultural variation.

Another example of how different cultures and unrelated languages utilize a presumably universal metaphoric concepts is offered by Aseel Zibin, Lama Khalifah and Abdel Rahman Mitib Altakhaineh. Drawing on the theory of Dynamic Conceptual Semantics, the paper provides essential anchoring points for reconstructing the structure of the conceptual domain MADNESS in Jordanian Arabic and American English. The authors propose that the nature of the conceptual domain behind the language patterns, involved in mapping new metaphorical senses of the polysemous complexes, can be pitched at experiential and theoretical levels of concept formation. Their analysis reveals a densely packed network of interconnected metaphors in the two languages. This is an important finding because it directly concerns the issue of universality of metaphorical conceptualization across different cultures.

Four contributions in the special issue focus on the role of metaphor in several discourse types. These articles discuss the versatile functions that metaphor can perform in discourse, which can be scrutinized from different positions. Richard Trim opens this section with a reflection on the role of symbolism in political debate and its interaction with conceptual metaphor in the context of the 2022 French presidency of the European Union and the national presidential election campaign. The author proposes that the core of political argumentation is based on national symbols and the conceptual mappings they embody. Trim's model of figurative language interpretation, with special attention to personal background, political context, cultural history, reference, conceptual metaphor and linguistic metaphor,

allows for analyzing the ways the context shapes symbols, metaphors, and their understanding within the framework of identity construction. The most important take-away point here is that extra-linguistic factors play a crucial role in decoding political symbols and metaphors used to frame them since both hide divergent pathways for their adequate interpretations.

Nadežda Silaški and Tatjana Đurović turn to metaphor use in Serbian vaccine-related discourse. The issue has grown in importance in light of recent anti-vaccine activism, false information and hesitancy regarding vaccination during the COVID-19 pandemic. Exploring conventional metaphor scenarios: COMBAT, CONTAINER and MOVEMENT, as the strategies for facilitating and promoting the pro-vaccine discourse, the authors convincingly show their explanatory potential and provide evidence that the three metaphor scenarios, their co-occurrence and interplay have been strategically used by medical experts to simplify scientific concepts to the general public. The findings highlight the idea that, being a plain model for thinking about sophisticated phenomena, metaphor gives a fundamentally different feel to the expert discourse as it strives to reduce its complexity.

Another paper focuses on the issue that has currently become an enduring feature of many societies. Mersina Mujagić's article offers insight into the ways the target domain POLITICS is structured in migration media discourse, what functions the metaphor fulfils and how it expresses underlying mental models and attitudes towards the problem. The author applies a three-dimensional model of metaphor analysis to the data of British and Bosnian-Herzegovinian migration discourse, providing an explicit and systematic study of the metaphor in a comparative perspective. Mujagić advocates a flexible interpretive approach to metaphor across three dimensions: those of indirectness, conventionality, and deliberateness. Her findings are significant in at least two major respects: firstly, the dominance of indirect metaphors in the two discourses conforms to universals in metaphor use, secondly, a complete difference in the source domains points to cross-cultural metaphor variation.

It is only logical that the special issue of the *Russian Journal of Linguistics* concludes with a synopsis that familiarizes the reader with current research on metaphor in Russia (2019–2023). Anatoly P. Chudinov and Elizaveta V. Shustrova critically reflect upon the key trends and the most prominent results achieved by Russian scholars who have metaphors and figurative language as their main object of investigation. The authors' outline firmly establishes that metaphor studies in Russia is an interdisciplinary field that encompasses diverse theories, approaches, and methods. Promising areas of research include exploring target and source domains in monolingual studies, metaphor universality and variation in comparative research, metaphor as a trope, roles and functions of metaphor in different types of texts, discourses, corpora, and polysemiotic communication.

The volume closes with two book reviews, written by Natalia N. Koshkarova and Veronika V. Katermina, that are in tune with the topics discussed in the special issue.

5. Conclusion

The field of metaphor studies is a vibrant and active research community, with steep progress in an ever-growing set of subfields. Despite more than forty years of Conceptual Metaphor Theory research (Lakoff & Johnson 1980), novel strategies that improve upon traditional methods are constantly being reported, as represented by the papers in the special issue. Our authors introduce new complementary methodologies to already existing approaches, thereby giving metaphor scholars the opportunity to tackle theoretical and empirical issues across different dimensions in metaphor research. The papers show that our field can benefit from scholars with different methodological expertise collaborating to get better answers to increasingly complex questions in metaphor studies.

The authors demonstrated the importance of further study of the nature, meaning, and function of metaphor as well as its use in varieties of languages, cultures and discourse contexts. The excellent work showcased in this special issue demonstrates that ‘thought’ on metaphor is highly creative, flexible, and culturally variable, which motivates us to end this introductory article with a call for more collaborative work among metaphor scholars of different subdisciplines, theories, methodologies, and countries.

We hope that this collection broadens our understanding of metaphorical mechanisms and enriches the debate on their cross-cultural and discursal importance.

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1. Введение

Концептуальные метафоры играют важную роль в языке, дискурсе и культуре, поскольку являются не только лингвистическим, но и когнитивным феноменом, теми структурами знания, которые хранятся в долговременной памяти человека и формируют способы восприятия и концептуализации действительности (см. Benczes & Ságvári 2018, Chudinov et al. 2023, Gibbs 2006, Kövecses 2005, Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Mussolf 2021, Schnell & Ervas 2022, Sharifian 2014, Sharifian et al. 2008 и др.). Концептуальная метафора представляет собой познавательную способность человека устанавливать аналогии между разными понятиями, что способствует более глубокому пониманию и осмыслению одного понятия через другое (Dolić 2021: 52). Эта способность дает возможность адресату выбирать определенные языковые структуры и

влиять на то, как транслируемые смыслы воспринимаются адресантом (Thibodeau & Boroditsky 2013).

Теория метафоры разрабатывается различными областями знания, среди них грамматика, диахроническая лингвистика, теория перевода и другие (см. Chudinov et al. 2020, Goatly 2017, Guan & Sun 2023, Kappelhoff & Müller 2011, Khalifah & Zibin 2022, Kozlova 2020, Mussolf 2019, Musolff & Zinken 2009, Solopova et al. 2023, Zibin 2022 и др.). Важной особенностью метафорологии как динамичной и постоянно развивающейся области является ее междисциплинарный характер, что приводит к появлению ряда работ, проблематикой которых являются влияние культуры на производство и восприятие метафоры, функции метафоры в различных типах дискурса, концептуализация эмоций, использование и интерпретация метафоры в мультимодальном тексте, роль метафоризации в развитии лексико-семантической системы языка и др. (см. Boutet et al. 2016, Cienki & Müller 2008, Díaz-Vera & Caballero 2013, Kövecses 2000, Leontovich, Kalinin & Ignatenko 2023, Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2021, Solopova & Kushneruk 2021, Trim 2015, Zyкова 2023 и др.).

Наш выпуск посвящен современным тенденциям в изучении метафоры и прикладной значимости таких исследований для информационного общества. Его актуальность видится, во-первых, в *стремительном развитии* информационно-коммуникационных технологий в современном мире, во-вторых, в необходимости анализа метафоры в исторической перспективе. С одной стороны, цифровая эпоха повлекла за собой появление новых способов коммуникации, что потребовало переосмысления феномена метафоры и использования новых методов ее анализа (Kövecses et al. 2019). С другой стороны, в условиях постоянно меняющегося мира не менее важным представляется изучение динамики метафор и факторов, обуславливающих их трансформацию: с возникновением новых и эволюцией существующих понятий и явлений изменяются и метафоры, которые используются для их концептуализации и интерпретации. Результаты ретроспективных и диахронических исследований метафоры показывают, что смыслы и коннотации метафор в целом предопределены историческим и социокультурным контекстом (Allan 2008, Anderson 2017, Díaz-Vera 2015, Geeraerts 2015, Solopova & Chudinov 2018, Trim 2011, Zeng et al. 2021).

В языке и культуре метафоры выполняют разнообразные функции, оказывая влияние на смыслопорождение, выражение эмоций, процесс формирования идентичности и на восприятие адресатом того или иного явления действительности в различных типах дискурса, включая медийный, политический, юридический, медицинский, художественный, юмористический и др. (см. Budaev 2017, Charteris-Black 2004, Gornostaeva 2018, Kondratjeva 2020, Leontovich 2017, Musolff 2016, Ponton 2021, 2023, Solopova & Koshkarova 2021, Sun et al. 2021, Trim 2022, Zibin 2020 и др.). Изучение особенностей функционирования метафор, доминирования одних моделей над другими и

их изменчивости в зависимости от типа дискурса свидетельствует о разнообразии и непрерывном развитии способов выражения метафоричности в различных сферах коммуникации.

Цель нашего специального выпуска – обсудить актуальные тенденции в исследовании природы метафоры и ее роли в концептуализации окружающей действительности и конструировании смыслов на фоне широкого лингвистического, культурного и дискурсивного контекстов. Поскольку коммуникация часто не ограничивается одной лингвокультурой и географическими границами государства, особую значимость приобретают такие характеристики концептуальной метафоры, как универсальность и вариативность (Alazazmeh & Zibin 2022, Ervas 2017, Kiose 2023, Kilyeni & Silaški 2014, Kövecses 2005, Tran 2022), которые позволяют получить представление не только о функционировании метафоры в определенных языке, культуре и дискурсе, но и о динамике межкультурного взаимодействия, о том, как метафора формирует наше восприятие действительности.

В этом номере читателю предложен разноаспектный взгляд на то, как концептуальная метафора структурирует наше восприятие окружающего мира. Авторы обращаются к широкому спектру вопросов, среди которых:

- ретроспективный анализ метафор;
- индексы метафоричности;
- метафора и символ;
- метафорическая концептуализация эмоций;
- корпусные исследования метафор;
- функции метафоры в различных типах дискурса.

Все эти вопросы рассматриваются в ракурсе универсальных и культурно специфических характеристик концептуальных метафор, а также их функций в различных типах дискурсов.

2. Метафора: универсальность vs лингвокультурная вариативность

Теория концептуальной метафоры, предложенная Дж. Лакоффом и М. Джонсоном (Lakoff & Johnson 1980), постулирует, что метафора является не только языковым феноменом: она лежит в основе человеческого мышления и познания в целом. Авторы этого ставшего классическим исследования утверждают, что концептуальные метафоры в большинстве своем универсальны (там же). Согласно теории концептуальной метафоры абстрактные концепты формируются на основе сенсомоторного опыта, универсального для всего человечества независимо от языка и культуры. Следовательно, во-первых, универсальность механизмов метафоризации обусловлена физическим опытом взаимодействия человека с окружающим миром (Gibbs et al. 2004), во-вторых, метафорические универсалии являются свидетельством

общности когнитивных механизмов, задействованных при порождении метафоры и ее интерпретации и до некоторой степени предопределяющих закономерности мышления носителей различных языков (Bartsch 2009).

Процесс метафоризации включает языковой, концептуальный, нейронный, физический и социокультурный аспекты (Kövecses 2005), то есть концептуальная метафора основана на единстве нейронных процессов, чувственного восприятия, телесного опыта и социокультурных представлений. Ключевым положением теории воплощенного сознания, разрабатываемой в трудах ученых (Gibbs 2006, Lakoff & Johnson 1999, Littlemore 2019, Kövecses 2000, Grim 2015), является то, что физический опыт взаимодействия с миром определяет когнитивную деятельность, включая абстрактное мышление и речевую деятельность, то есть одним из способов осмыслить нефизический (психологический, социальный) опыт является опыт физический.

Развитие этой теории позволило доказать, что воплощенное познание может основываться на культурно значимом и личном опыте (Alazameh & Zibin 2022, Bilá & Ivanova 2020, Gibbs 2006, Lakoff & Johnson 1999, Sharifian 2017, Yu 2017). Сфера-источник концептуальной метафоры не является случайной, напротив, она включает повторяющиеся паттерны и взаимные проекции формы и значения (Cienki & Müller 2008). Данное положение справедливо не только для процесса метафоризации конкретных и абстрактных понятий на вербальном уровне, но и для других семиотических систем: примером могут служить мультимодальные и жестовые метафоры. Таким образом, теория воплощенного познания рассматривает разум в его взаимосвязях с физическим телом и постулирует, что в основе метафоризации абстрактных понятий, например, эмоций, лежит эмпирический опыт человека.

Несмотря на наличие универсальных характеристик метафора обладает ярко выраженными специфическими чертами в каждом языке, культуре и дискурсе. Вариативность метафоры может объясняться особенностями опыта взаимодействия того или иного сообщества, проживающего в определенных географических и социальных условиях, с физическими объектами окружающего мира. Мотивированные телесным опытом человека метафоры опосредуются культурой, которая является механизмом, обеспечивающим преемственность метафор (Mussolf 2015). Например, культурная специфика проявляется в метафорических единицах, включающих «органы» чувств и эмоций: в большинстве языков (например, в английском, русском, арабском и т.д.) органом чувств и эмоций является сердце, в других языках (например, в малайском) их «источником» считается печень (Charteris-Black 2002: 129).

Помимо культурного контекста, метафорическая специфика может быть детерминирована ситуативным, дискурсивным, историческим контекстом. Например, вариативность, зависящая от социальных, исторических и этнокультурных факторов, прослеживается при анализе концептуальных метафор, используемых при репрезентации миграционных процессов. Так, в за-

падных культурах (Австралии, Австрии, Франции, Германии, Польше, Испании и др.) мигранты, как правило, концептуализируются в негативном ключе как «стихийное бедствие» (см. Pickering 2001, El Refaie 2001, Van der Valk 2003, Petersson & Kainz 2017, Montagut & Moragas-Fernandez 2020 и другие), «захватчики», «преступники», «(нежелательные) гости», «сорняки», «паразиты» и др. (Тейлор 2021). Тем не менее, в других социокультурных условиях, несмотря на наличие метафор с негативным потенциалом, фиксируются положительно окрашенные метафорические единицы. Например, на Ближнем Востоке образ мигранта моделируется с использованием механистических и физиологических метафор, в рамках которых мигранты и принимающее население репрезентируются как неотъемлемые компоненты единого целого (Zibin 2020).

Изучение исторической динамики метафор также позволяет, с одной стороны, выявить их глубоко укоренившуюся конвенциональную природу, с другой – свидетельствует о вариативности, обусловленной влиянием исторических эпох, событий и социальных процессов (см. Anderson 2017, Chudinov et al. 2020, 2023, Diaz Vera 2015, Geeraerts 2015, Solopova et al. 2023, Trim 2011 и другие). Например, для концептуализации мигрантов как «жидкости» исторически характерна положительная оценочность, указывающая на одобрительное восприятие переселенцев. Однако в Великобритании в течение трех различных исторических периодов оценка, заложенная в этой концептуальной метафоре, претерпевала значительные изменения: показательно, что для первого хронологического среза была типична положительная коннотация метафоры, для последнего – преобладание отрицательных оценок (Taylor 2021). Это говорит о том, что для объяснения различий в интерпретации метафор и восприятии окружающей действительности часто необходима историческая перспектива. Таким образом, развитие и вариативность системы концептуальных метафор детерминированы множественными факторами: социальными, культурными, историческими и иными.

3. Функции метафоры в дискурсе

Метафора, будучи широко востребованным средством убеждения, выполняет разнообразные функции в дискурсивных контекстах. В рамках критического дискурс-анализа акцентируется идеологическая функция метафоры: роль метафоры в конструировании идентичности, консолидации социальной солидарности или, напротив, интенсификации социального, этнического или иного неравенства, самопрезентации и формировании образа «другого» (Charteris-Black 2004, Martín de la Rosa 2023, Moody & Eslami 2020, Mussolf 2021, Solopova & Kushneruk 2021, Zappetini et al. 2021, Zibin 2020). Учитывая метафоричность человеческого мышления, нельзя недооценивать «уместную и эффективную» метафору как механизм воздействия на адресата (Santa Ana 2002: 43): она преобразует существующую в сознании адресата картину мира, структурирует знания и создает новые смыслы, вызывает

эмоции и оценки, часто предлагая альтернативный взгляд на явления окружающей действительности.

Функция фреймирования, или фрейминга, качественно отличается от того, что понимается под фреймовой структурой, свойственной каждой концептуальной метафоре (Steen 2017). Она связана с целенаправленным воздействием на адресата и формированием его мнения о предмете речи. В этом случае метафора служит для реализации прагматической установки автора, который использует ее намеренно, чтобы изменить точку зрения адресата, скорректировать его взгляд на обсуждаемую проблему (Charteris-Black 2011, Chudinov et al. 2020, Kalinin & Ignatenko 2022, Mujagić 2022, Solopova et al. 2023, Steen 2017, Zibin 2020). Воздействующая сила метафоры, ее роль в убеждении адресата и манипулировании им во многом зависят от культурных и идеологических предпочтений автора текста (Fomin & Mona 2019, Ponton 2020, Semenova & Alekseeva 2023, Sun et al. 2021, Steen 2017). Таким образом, метафора интенсифицирует степень речевого воздействия, репрезентируя события и явления окружающей действительности в нужном адресанту ключе и вызывая эмоционально-оценочные реакции аудитории (Alnajjar & Altakhaineh 2023, Koptyaeva & Shustrova 2021, Ozyumenko & Larina 2021, Sporova & Zheltukhina 2022, Zappettini et al. 2021).

В политическом дискурсе метафора выполняет все указанные функции, составляя основу убеждения, воздействия и аргументации (Budaev 2017, Charteris-Black 2011, Chudinov et al. 2023, Kalinin & Ignatenko 2022, Mujagić 2022, van Poppel 2020, 2021, Wagemans 2016, Zappettini et al. 2021). В мире политики метафора используется целенаправленно для преобразования существующей в сознании адресата политической картины мира, формирования необходимого адресанту эмоционального состояния, влияния на общественное мнение, создания требуемого отношения к рассматриваемым реалиям и побуждения аудитории к действиям. Метафора также помогает автору передавать информацию, которую тот не считает целесообразным обозначать при помощи прямых номинаций, часто сглаживая наиболее опасные политические высказывания, затрагивающие спорные политические вопросы.

В дискурсе, тематикой которого являются сложные или специфичные понятия и явления, на первое место выходит объяснительная функция метафоры. Она является ключом к пониманию научной и технической терминологии, репрезентируя сложные и абстрактные концепты с помощью известных и конкретных образов (Abdel-Raheem & Alkhamash 2022, Augé 2021, Charteris-Black 2021, Ervas et al. 2022, Silaški & Đurović 2022, Zibin 2022). Объяснительный потенциал метафоры позволяет адаптировать текст, ориентировать его на определенного адресата, передавать «сложное» и «абстрактное» в доступной и понятной форме, что оказывает непосредственное влияние как на формирование общественного мнения, так и на принятие решений в таких типах дискурса, как политический дискурс, иммиграционный дискурс, дискурс вакцинации в условиях пандемии и других (Flusberg et

al. 2017, Nisbet 2009, Schnell & Ervas 2022, van der Hel et al. 2018). Это говорит о способности метафоры «не только объяснять события и явления, но и влиять на поведение адресата»¹ (Abdel-Raheem & Alkhamash 2022: 24).

Эте же функции типичны и для мультимодальной метафоры, сфера-мишень и сфера-источник которой представлены различными модусами коммуникации и семиотическими системами: вербальными и невербальными (изображения, жесты и др.) (Cienki 2023, Cienki & Müller 2008, Forceville & Urios-Aparisi 2009, Koptyaeva & Shustrova 2021, Zibin & Altakhaineh 2023).

4. Краткое содержание выпуска журнала

Представленные в специальном выпуске статьи отражают разнообразие подходов современной метафорологии и рассматривают ряд сформулированных выше ключевых вопросов. Исследования имеют разные аналитические фокусы: воплощенное познание, универсальность и кросс-культурная вариативность метафоры, функционирование метафоры в различных типах дискурса. Авторы обращаются к изучению метафоры на материале одного языка или нескольких языков, используя различные методологические принципы – как существующие, так и новаторские.

Две статьи выпуска посвящены изучению метафоры на материале одного языка. В последние десятилетия большое внимание уделяется метафорической концептуализации эмоций в различных культурных контекстах. В работе Хавьер Э. Диас-Вера представлен когнитивно-семантический анализ области-источника “high body temperature” («высокая температура тела») на материале корпуса древнеанглийских текстов. Автор убедительно доказывает, что взаимосвязь между сферой-мишенью «эмоции» и сферой-источником является примером воплощенного познания. К.Э. Диас-Вера указывает на наличие не только отрицательно нагруженных образов, обусловленных семантикой сферы-источника, но и на существование единиц с положительными коннотациями, объясняя их этимологию и подчеркивая важное значение социокультурных факторов, лежащих в основе как лексического, так и концептуального выбора авторов (Diaz-Vera 2024).

О.И. Калинин и А.В. Игнатенко рассматривают на материале русского языка вопрос взаимосвязи между содержанием метафорического переноса и возможностью выявления речевого воздействия. Авторы предлагают новый эмпирический метод комплексного анализа метафоричности дискурса (МКАМД), который включает в себя вычисление индексов метафоричности: индекса плотности (количества метафор в тексте), индекса интенсивности (соотношения авторских и стертых метафор) и индекса функциональной типологии (соотношения ориентационных, онтологических и структурных метафор). При изучении взаимосвязи функционального потенциала метафоры с выражением и восприятием авторского мнения метод комплексного

¹ Здесь и далее перевод наш. *ОС*.

анализа метафоричности дискурса сочетается с двухэтапным лингвистическим экспериментом. В перспективе разработанный метод может быть применен к другим типам текстов для количественного выявления уровня метафорического речевого воздействия и последующей идентификации типа этого воздействия (Kalinin & Ignatenko 2024).

Следующая тема, к которой обращаются авторы данного выпуска – универсальность и вариативность концептуальной метафоры. Золтан Кевечеш, Река Бенцес, Анна Роммель и Вероника Селид исследуют метафоры со сферой-мишенью «гнев» (*anger / düh / gnev*) в сопоставительном ракурсе: на материале американского английского, венгерского и русского языков. Количественное и качественное изучение метафорики проводится в русле двух подходов: лексикографического и корпусного. Авторы показывают, что анализ словарных дефиниций и корпусных данных приводит к различным, но взаимодополняющим результатам и делают вывод о необходимости и эффективности использования комбинированной методологии для выявления универсальных и культурно-специфичных метафор при проведении компаративных исследований (Kövecses et al. 2024).

Еще один пример того, как разные культуры и неродственные языки используют универсальные метафорические концепты, предложен в работе Асиль Зибин, Ламы Халифа и Абделя Рахман Митиб Алтахайне. Опираясь на положения теории динамической концептуальной семантики, авторы проводят реконструкцию структуры концептуальной области «безумие» (*bidzannin / mad*) на материале иорданского диалекта арабского языка и американского варианта английского языка. Ученые считают, что природа концепта, объективированного в метафорических паттернах в каждом исследуемом языке, может быть раскрыта как на теоретическом, так и на эмпирическом уровнях. Проведенный анализ доказывает наличие однотипных метафорических смыслов, закрепленных за рассматриваемой концептуальной областью в арабском и английском языках, что является еще одним свидетельством универсальности метафорической концептуализации в разных языках и культурах (Zibin et al. 2024).

Три следующих статьи посвящены изучению роли метафоры в различных типах дискурса. Этот раздел открывает статья Ричарда Трима о роли политической символики и ее смысловом взаимодействии с концептуальной метафорой. Хронологические рамки исследования включают период председательства Франции в Совете Европейского Союза и выборов президента страны (2022 год). Автор считает, что ядро политической аргументации в дискурсе конструирования национальной идентичности составляют национальные символы и связанные с ними концептуальные метафоры. Ученый предлагает модель интерпретации образного языка политики, которая включает следующие параметры: личный опыт, политический контекст, историко-культурный контекст, референцию, концептуальную метафору и языковую

метафору. Автор приходит к выводу о том, что ключевую роль в интерпретации амбивалентных политических символов и метафор, которые стоят за ними, играют экстралингвистические факторы (Trim 2024).

В фокусе внимания Надежды Силашки и Татьяны Джурович – концептуальные метафоры в сербском дискурсе, тематикой которого является вакцинация. Актуальность исследования связана с обострением антивакцинных настроений, распространением ложной информации о прививках и, как следствие, нерешительностью в отношении вакцинации среди населения разных стран. Авторы изучают метафорические сценарии «войны», «контейнера» и «движения» как стратегии популяризации в про-вакцинном дискурсе, раскрывают их объяснительный потенциал и убедительно доказывают, что реализация каждого из названных метафорических сценариев по отдельности и их синтез позволяют довести до читателя узкоспециализированную информацию в доступной и понятной форме. Полученные результаты акцентируют способность концептуальной метафоры репрезентировать сложные и абстрактные концепты с помощью известных и конкретных образов (Silaški & Đurović 2024).

Статья Мерсины Мугягич посвящена проблеме, с которой в последние десятилетия столкнулись многие европейские страны. Автор рассматривает сферу-мишень «политика» (politics / politika) в дискурсе о миграционных процессах, выявляет функции концептуальной метафоры, ментальные модели, лежащие в ее основе, и формируемые образы. Анализ проводится в сопоставительном аспекте с привлечением данных масс-медийных дискурсов Великобритании и Боснии и Герцеговины с использованием трех критериев: имплицитного (косвенного) характера метафоры, конвенциональности метафорических выражений и преднамеренности употребления метафоры. Результаты исследования свидетельствуют как об универсальных для двух дискурсов чертах, а именно о доминировании имплицитных метафор, так и о кросс-культурной вариативности метафоры, проявляющейся в несовпадении сфер-источников метафорической экспансии (Mujagić 2024)

Завершается специальный выпуск обзорной статьей, подготовленной известными российским специалистами в области метафорологии А.П. Чудиновым и Е. В. Шустровой. Авторы знакомят читателя с современными работами в области российской метафорологии, основными тенденциями и результатами, полученными учеными (2019–2023), и указывают на междисциплинарный характер исследований, интегрирующих различные теории и подходы и выполненных на разных методологических основаниях. К перспективным направлениям авторы относят изучение сферы-источника и сферы-мишени концептуальной метафоры на материале одного языка, выявление универсальных и культурно-специфических особенностей метафоры в сопоставительном аспекте, исследование роли и функций метафоры в различных типах текстов, дискурсов, корпусов и мультимодальной коммуникации (Chudinov & Shustrova 2024).

Том завершается двумя рецензиями, написанными Н.Н. Кошкаровой и В.В. Катерминой, на книги, тематика которых созвучна обсуждаемой в специальном выпуске.

5. Заключение

Статьи в специальном выпуске являются еще одним свидетельством того, что метафорология представляет собой интенсивно развивающееся направление современной лингвистики. Исследование метафоры не теряет своей актуальности: теория концептуальной метафоры, предложенная Дж. Лакоффом и М. Джонсоном более сорока лет назад (Lakoff & Johnson 1980), развивается их последователями, прирастая новыми работами, достижениями и результатами. Авторы специального выпуска синтезируют существующие методы, предлагают новые эвристики и методики, которые позволяют решать теоретические и эмпирические задачи при изучении различных граней концептуальной метафоры, что вновь указывает на необходимость комплексного подхода при исследовании такого сложного феномена, как метафора.

Наши авторы считают перспективным дальнейшее изучение природы, смыслов и функций метафоры, ее использования в различных языках, культурах и дискурсах. В целом, работы, представленные в специальном выпуске, являются свидетельством того, что исследовательская «мысль» о метафоре – это творческий, разносторонний и культурно обусловленный процесс, поэтому позволим себе закончить вступительную статью приглашением к взаимодействию и сотрудничеству ученых разных стран, использующих дисциплинарные и междисциплинарные теоретико-методологические основы в постижении удивительных и часто непредсказуемых смыслов концептуальных метафор.

Мы надеемся, что работы, представленные в специальном выпуске, будут способствовать более глубокому осмыслению механизма метафоры и ее роли в языке, культуре и дискурсе.

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Old English EMOTION IS TEMPERATURE: Cultural influences on a universal experience

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Abstract

In recent years, the study of emotion metaphors and metonymies has broadened our understanding of how people conceptualise and verbalise their emotional experiences. While some emotion source domains appear to be culture-specific, others are widely employed to denominate the same emotion. One of these potentially universal source domains, TEMPERATURE, appears to be widely used by speakers from different areas to derive figurative expressions for positive and negative emotions. However, the systematic study of this emotion source domain remains uncharted territory, and numerous fundamental questions about the relations between emotions and temperature remain untouched. This study aims at approaching the question of whether, and to what extent, the motif EMOTION IS TEMPERATURE illustrates the existence of a universalist embodiment model or, on the contrary, it is a result of historical and cultural variation. With this aim, using cognitive semantic methodology, I will scrutinize the complete corpus of Old English texts (850–1100) to provide a fine-grained analysis of the expressions for positive emotions rooted in the source domain HIGH BODY TEMPERATURE used by Old English authors. Generally speaking, this source domain indicates negative experience, which is why it has normally been studied in the context of negative (and, in consequence, unpleasant) emotional experiences. However, as the findings of this study show, the existence in Old English of the conceptual mapping POSITIVE EMOTION IS HIGH BODY TEMPERATURE challenges our previous understanding of TEMPERATURE metaphors as a product of universal embodiment, thus contributing to the current debate on metaphors as culture loaded expressions.

Keywords: *emotion, Old English, metaphor, metonymy, temperature*

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Концептуальная метафора «ЭМОЦИИ – ЭТО ТЕМПЕРАТУРА» в древнеанглийском языке: культурная специфика и универсальный опыт

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Аннотация

В последние годы изучение метафорической и метонимической репрезентации эмоций расширило понимание того, как человек концептуализирует и вербализует эмоциональные переживания. Сферы-источники метафор, объективирующих эмоции, могут быть как культурно-специфичными, так и универсальными. ТЕМПЕРАТУРА является потенциально универсальной сферой-источником, использующейся в разных лингвокультурах для образного представления положительных и отрицательных эмоций. Тем не менее, в научной литературе отсутствуют системные исследования этой концептуальной метафоры, и многие фундаментальные вопросы о связи между эмоциями и температурой остаются нерешенными. Цель статьи – установить, является ли взаимосвязь между сферой-мишенью «эмоции» и сферой-источником «температура» примером воплощенного познания и универсального опыта, либо, наоборот, результатом исторических и культурных вариаций. Источником материала послужил корпус древнеанглийских текстов (850–1100 гг.). Анализ метафорических способов выражения положительных эмоций сферы-источника ВЫСОКАЯ ТЕМПЕРАТУРА ТЕЛА проводится с использованием когнитивно-семантической методологии. Рассматриваемый домен связан с негативным опытом и, как правило, изучается как сфера-источник отрицательных (и, как следствие, неприятных) эмоциональных переживаний. Однако, как показывают результаты проведенного исследования, наличие в древнеанглийском языке концептуальной метафоры ПОЛОЖИТЕЛЬНАЯ ЭМОЦИЯ – это ВЫСОКАЯ ТЕМПЕРАТУРА ТЕЛА опровергает прежнее представление о метафоре со сферой-источником ТЕМПЕРАТУРА как о продукте воплощенного познания и универсального опыта и является еще одним свидетельством культурной обусловленности метафор.

Ключевые слова: *эмоция, древнеанглийский язык, метафора, метонимия, температура*

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1. Introduction

It is nowadays widely admitted that, just like other linguistic units, figurative expressions are not universal and, in consequence, they are subject to linguistic variation and change (Grondelaers & Geeraerts 2003, Kövecses 2007). In fact, there exists an extraordinary variety of metaphorical conceptualizations across human languages and, very frequently, the resulting patterns of variation are highly illustrative of cultural differences (Ibarretxe-Antuñaño 2013); this is especially true in the case of variation in emotional expressions (Kövecses 2015, Díaz-Vera & Caballero 2013). Within this framework, various researchers have studied the relation between socio-cultural change and metaphor change in historical stages of

language. For example, in their studies on *shame* denominations in Old English and in Old Norse, Díaz-Vera (2014) and Díaz-Vera & Manrique-Antón (2015) draw a clear connection between the Christianization of Northern European peoples and dramatic changes in their linguistic expressions for this emotion. Broadly speaking, whereas pre-Christian texts tend to show a preference for figurative expressions that highlight the social aspects of shame (as corresponds to a collectivist society; Hofstede 1991), Christianity brought a progressive change towards a more psychologised understanding of this emotion in order to reflect the new moral standards.

The study of the conceptualization of temperature across languages and cultures, which has become one of the most prominent areas of research within the field of cognitive linguistics (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2015: 1), has confirmed that, while negative emotions like anger are typically associated with adverse assessments of the experience, perceptions of positive emotions like love as warmth emphasize their favourable psychosomatic impact on the perceiver.¹ Nonetheless, despite the apparent universality of these connections, such languages as Old English (850–1100) exhibit conceptual variation related to our understanding of positive emotions as strictly pleasing thermal sensation, confirming that metaphors are not necessarily universal.

With the aim of further illuminating the extent to which our figurative understanding of emotional experiences as temperatures is influenced by cultural factors, in this study I propose an analysis of different temperature expressions that, according to the lexicographic evidence available to us, were used by Old English writers. More specifically, I will describe and analyse the entire set of emotion expressions derived from the source domain TEMPERATURE, as recorded in a corpus of texts written in Old English. I am especially interested in identifying which emotions were construed as temperature changes, as well as in the reconstruction of the relation between positive emotions and high body temperature, which is the single example of embodied imagery in Old English expressions for positive emotions.

2. Data and methods

Instead of analysing of the changes affecting one specific target domain (i.e., EMOTIONS), in this research I am interested in the identification and in the description of the semantic extensions towards emotionally loaded meanings that affected one particular source domain, i.e., HIGH BODY TEMPERATURE. This research can be divided into two parts. In the first part, using dictionaries and thesauri of Old English, I will identify all the expressions of positive emotions derived from original *high temperature* words recorded in the bulk of texts written in Old English. The dictionaries used for this part are the *Dictionary of Old English* (hence

¹ For examples, Kövecses (2000) mentions the conceptual mappings ANGER IS FIRE and HAPPINESS IS WARM.

DOE), Bosworth and Toller's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (hence *BT*), the *Thesaurus of Old English* (hence *TOE*) and the *Oxford English Dictionary* (hence *OED*). Furthermore, I have used the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (hence *DOEC*) to extract my examples and to calculate the frequency of each adjective in the corpus.²

In order to identify these expressions, I will use a methodology derived from Stefanowitsch's (2006) *Metaphorical Pattern Analysis*, which entails systematically examining the corpus to locate every occurrence of a particular lexical item (e.g., an emotion word), to determine which conceptualizations are most strongly associated with the concept evoked by that lexical item. More exactly, I will locate all the occurrences of Old English literal and figurative denominations for positive emotions combined with words indicating temperature. Once all the expressions recorded in the *DOEC* have been identified, I will further classify them into emotion families. The classification of emotions used for this research is based on the well-known Geneva Emotion Wheel (hence *GEW*; Scherer 2005, Scherer et al. 2013). Thereafter, a list of entailments from the high-level metaphor EMOTION IS TEMPERATURE, as illustrated in Old English texts, can be proposed. I will pay special attention to the role of the source domain HIGH BODY TEMPERATURE, which indicates *negative hedonic experience*³ (e.g., burning sensation, fever, seething, and distress, all of which are normally experienced in relation with negative emotions), in the construal of verbal expressions for positive emotions in Old English. I will divide my analysis into three main sections, which correspond to the three *TOE* subcategories within number **03.01.09 Heat** with semantic extensions towards the domain of emotions.

In the first section, I will focus on the use of FIRE (*TOE 03.01.09.02 Fire, flame*) as a source domain for the expression of positive emotion expressions. More specifically, I will analyse the 26 occurrences of the motif FIRE yielded by the *DOEC* in expressions for the emotions interest and love across three textual categories: verse, prose, and glosses. In the second section, I will deal with Old English expressions rooted in the conceptual understanding of emotions as UNPLEASANT HEAT (*TOE 03.01.09.01 Hotness*). My analysis will focus on the only positive emotion that is construed as HEAT by Old English authors, i.e., love (16 corpus occurrences). Finally, my third section will focus on the source domain A

² The *DOEC* comprises a total of 3.032.393 million running words in Old English, alongside over 750 thousand words from other languages, primarily Latin. It is divided into two main sections: prose (2.128.781 words in Old English) and poetry (177.480 words in Old English). Additionally, it encompasses all the interlinear glosses in the extant collection of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts (approximately 700 thousand words in Old English) and Old English translations of Latin terms recorded in Anglo-Saxon glossaries (around 27 thousand words). Consequently, the corpus utilized for this investigation encompasses the entirety of Old English vocabulary present in the bulk of surviving Anglo-Saxon texts and manuscripts.

³ The concept *negative hedonic experience* is used by Uchida and Kitayama (2009) in their study of the cultural model of HAPPINESS in American and in Japanese society. Broadly speaking, this cluster of meaning includes verbal and nonverbal expressions that construe the emotional experience as an unpleasant feeling or as physical or mental pain.

BOILING LIQUID (WITHIN THE BODY) (TOE **03.01.09.01.01 Boiling**) and its role in the development of new emotion expressions by Old English authors. More exactly, I will describe here the 11 corpus occurrences of the verb OE *weallan* ‘to boil’ to evoke interest, pride, or love.

3. Results

3.1. The conceptual mapping EMOTION IS FIRE in Old English

In her study of mental heat in Old English texts, Lockett (2011) affirms that heat can be considered “a prominent symptom of acutely aggressive states of mind (anger, cruelty, and illicit desires including lust), of prolonged intense suffering (sorrow and anxiety), and of energetic enthusiasms of a more positive nature (keenness for learning, love for god and other people)” (Lockett 2011: 92). In fact, based on the lexicographic data collected for this research, the source domain HIGH BODY TEMPERATURE is frequently used in Old English to derive figurative expressions for a wide variety of emotional experiences characterised by mental heat, regardless of whether they are positive or negative.

The metaphors and metonymies analysed in this section are rooted in the source domain FIRE, as well as in such fire-related processes as burning, maintaining, and extinguishing a flame. For example, the positive emotion concept INTEREST⁴ (situated in the positive valence and low control quadrant of the GEW) is evoked by the author of the poem *Saturn and Solomon* through the use of the verb OE *stigan* ‘to rise (in flames)’ in combination with the noun OE *forwytt* ‘interest, curiosity’, in reference to the physical sensation of cardiac heat caused by one’s eagerness for knowledge as cardiac heat.

- (1) *mec ðæs on worolde full oft fyrwīt frined, fus gewited, mod gemengeð [...]. Hwilum me bryne stigeð, hige heortan neah hædre wealleð* (MSol, 57–62)

Very often in the world **curiosity** asks me about this, eagerly reproaches, disturbs my mind [...] Sometimes a flame rises up in me, my mind **seethes** oppressively near my heart.

This description of the positive emotion concept INTEREST, in reference to Saturn’s intense eagerness for knowledge, is, in fact, unique, as nowhere else in the poetic corpus is this emotion conceptualised as FIRE within the subject’s body. Outside this poem, this understanding of INTEREST as FIRE is illustrated by Old English glosses to the noun L *ardor* ‘ardour’. According to the *DOE*, the noun OE *fyrwitt* ‘curiosity, inquisitiveness’ is used twice in the *Durham Hymnal* (hymns 8.2 and 14.2), and its synonym OE *fyrwitnes* ‘curiosity’ is used once by the glossist of Aldhem’s *De laude virginatis* (1300) to translate L *ardor* ‘ardour’.

A second positive emotion that is frequently evoked using expressions from the source domain FIRE in Old English texts is LOVE (which is situated in the

⁴ For a full characterization of INTEREST as a positive emotional experience, see Silvia (2008).

positive valence and high control quadrant of the GEW). In most cases, these figurative expressions illustrate the well-known conceptual mapping LOVE IS FIRE (Kövecses 1988); according to this emotion construal, the increase of the subjective body heat is to be considered a physiological effect of love, so that the metaphor LOVE IS FIRE emerges from the metonymy BODY HEAT STANDS FOR THE EMOTION, where body heat is specified as internal fire. The most frequently used expression within this group is the verb OE *byrnan* ‘to burn’ (6 occurrences), as in these examples:

- (2) *geopena heora heortan earan to þære halwendan lare, þæt hi þe anne lufian ... and mid **beornendre lufe** to þinum brydbedde becumen* (ÆLS [Agnes] 330)

open the ears of their hearts to your healing doctrine, so that they will love only you ... and come with **burning love** to your bridal bed.

- (3) *he wæs gepylidig and eadmod; and a seo godcunde **lufu** on hys heortan hat and **byrnende*** (LS 10.1 [Guth] 2.89).

he was patient and obedient, and divine **love** was always hot and **burning** in his heart.

As can be seen above, in these two occurrences of the verb OE *byrnan* ‘to burn’ in prose texts, LOVE is conceptualised as burning fire in the cardiac area. Most frequently (4 occurrences, out of 6), this verb appears in the collocation *byrnan on/mid lufu* ‘to burn with love’ (of God, of the world), as in the following examples:

- (4) *beo he eac onbryrd, and **byrnende on Godes lufe** swa swa fyr* (ÆCHom II, 3 24.174)

be he also stimulated and **burning** as fire **for love of God**.

- (5) *þa halgan apostolas ... innewardum heortum ecelice **burnon** þære Godes **lufan*** (HomS 47 48)

the holy apostles ... with their whole hearts were **burning** perpetually with God’s **love**.

Old English poets also show a strong preference for this verb, which always appears as a *love* denomination in the alliterative expression OE *byrnan on breostum* ‘to burn in the breast’ (4 occurrences) in order to specify the depth of this emotion within the individual’s body. In this sense, it should be remembered here that in Old English poetry, the mind is generally (but not exclusively) located in the cavity of the chest, so that the noun OE *breost* can be used to indicate not only the ‘breast’ but also the ‘mind’ (Mize 2006: 68).

- (6) *man ne cuðon don ne dreogan, ac him drihtnes wæs bam **on breostum byrnende lufu*** (GenA 189)

they did not know how to do or commit sin, as the love of the Lord was **burning in both their breasts**.

(7) *fela wearð todræfed gleawra godes ðeowa; þæt wæs gnornung micel þam þe on breostum wæg byrnende lufan metodes on mode* (DEdG 18)

many of the wise servants of God were driven out; that was a great lamentation for those who carried **in their breast** a burning **love** of the Creator in their minds.

As the above examples show, energy is the most relevant perceived resemblance between the source of the target in conceptual mapping LOVE IS FIRE: love is conceptualised here as an internal light-energy that guides the person affected by this emotion towards God. However, in other cases, this perceived resemblance between love and fire is based on such negative notions as destructive power and consumption: on such occasions, the energy produced by the fire damages the perceiver, so that the self becomes dysfunctional as a result of the extreme intensity of the emotional experience. This conceptualization of love is illustrated by the verb OE *forswælan* ‘to burn to destruction, to consume’, which is used to gloss L *concremare* ‘to kindle (with the ardour of love)’ in the *Durham Hymnal* (3 occurrences). In this case, God’s love is depicted not as an internal light-energy, but rather as an external force that burns to consumption one’s breast from the outside, producing a total loss of control on the side of the person affected by this emotion (who is conceptualised as a victim of burnt sacrifice that represents redemption).

(8) *onleoht nu breost & þinre lufe forswæl* (HyGI 2 33.2)

illuminate now our breast and consume it with the **ardour** of your love.

Apart from these two verbs, words meaning ‘love’ (either literally or metaphorically) can be used in combination with the nouns OE *blæse* ‘blaze, flame’ (5 occurrences), OE *fæcele* ‘torch’ (1 occurrence) and OE *bryne* ‘burning, fire’ (2 occurrences) to highlight the ardour produced by this emotion. The first two nouns are more frequent in glosses to L *facula* ‘flame’: whereas OE *blæse* ‘blaze, flame’ is used in four glosses to Aldhem’s prose treatise *De laude virginitatis*, to translate the metaphorical usage of L *facula* in clear reference to the ‘flame of love’⁵, OE *fæcele* ‘torch’ is used once in an Old English glossary included in MS Cotton Cleopatra A.III.⁶ Apart from these glosses, the corpus has yielded one more occurrence of OE *blæse* ‘blaze, flame’ as an emotional expression in Anglo-Saxon prose: in example (9), Pope Gregory feels ‘the blaze of true love’ for the English people. As indicated by Lockett (2011: 94), this is one of the few examples where the LOVE IS FIRE metaphor is not directly applied to love of God, but to love of another person (in this case, of the Anglo-Saxons, as soon as the Pope knew that they were in need of Christianization).

⁵ Namely, Aldhem’s *De laude virginitatis* 10, 22; 4, 39; 13.1, 976 (from 14, 243.15) and 13.1, 4427 (from 47, 300.24).

⁶ Probably from Aldhem’s *De laude virginitatis* 14, 243.15 “scintillante superni ardoris *facula* inflammantur”.

- (9) *he wearð æfter þysse æscan swa swiþe mid þære **blaesan** soþere lufe ontend þæt he swa wuldorfulle & Gode swa welweorþe leode geneosian & gefaran wolde* (RevMon 37)

after these questions, he became so strongly inflamed with the **blaze** of true love that he wanted to depart and visit those people, so glorious and so good and so esteemed.

Finally, OE *bryne* ‘burning, fire’ is used once to gloss L *ardor* ‘ardour’ (HyGl 3 8.2). In its second corpus occurrence, this verb appears in combination with OE *lufu* ‘love’ in the following example by Ælfric, where it describes the emotional manifestation of God’s love on believers.

- (10) *sume Godes þeowan ... mid þam micclan **bryne** þære heofonlican lufe oþre ontendað* (ÆCHom I, 24 375.140)

some servants of God ... are inflamed with the great **fire** of heavenly love.

The conceptual mapping LOVE IS FIRE is also illustrated by the figurative uses of the adjectives OE *brandhat* ‘burning hot’ (1 occurrence) and OE *fyrhat* ‘ardent’ (1 occurrence). These two occurrences correspond to Old English Christian poems, namely *Guthlac B* and *Elene*. In both cases, corporeal fire alters the mental state of the person affected by this emotion, and a vital change is produced by the faith within them.

- (11) *ac him dryhtnes lof born in breostum, **brondhat** lufu sigorfæst in sefan* (GuthB 963)

but love of the Lord burned in his breast, **burning-hot** love in his spirit.

- (12) *him wæs halig gast befofen fæste, **fyrhat** lufu, weallende gewitt* (El 935)

the Holy Spirit was firmly bestowed to him, **ardent** love and an ebullient intelligence.

As illustrated by the data above, which I summarize in *Table 1*, the FIRE metaphors for INTEREST and for LOVE analysed here show a very even textual distribution. To start with, the alliterative collocation OE *byrnan on breostum* and the adjectives OE *brandhat* and OE *fyrhat* are exclusively found in Anglo-Saxon verse. The same can be said about the two *interest* denominations described in example (1), namely OE *stigan* ‘to rise (in flames)’ and OE *weallan* ‘to seethe’. Further, as can be seen from the examples above, all the occurrences of these five positive emotion expressions convey the localization of the burning sensation caused by love in the enclosed body space within the chest cavity, where it produces pressure upon the organs and, eventually, seething, swelling, and boiling. These physiological symptoms clearly illustrate the well-known hydraulic model of mental activity, as manifested in Old English poetry (Lockett 2011: 6).

As for Anglo-Saxon prose, there is a strong preference for the expression OE *byrnan* ‘to burn’, which survives in homiletic prose (especially by Ælfric). When texts in prose explicitly refer to a specific body part as the locus of love, it is typically situated within the heart. Other love-denominators used in the prose

corpus are OE *blæse* ‘blaze, flame’ and OE *bryne* ‘burning, fire’; these nouns can be found in metaphoric expressions for LOVE both in glosses to Latin works (5 occurrences) and, less frequently, in Old English prose (2 occurrences).

Table 1. Lexicalizations of the metaphors INTEREST IS FIRE and LOVE IS FIRE across three textual types

| EXPRESSION | GLOSS | PROSE | VERSE | TOTAL |
|---|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| OE <i>fyrwitt</i> ‘ardour’ > ‘interest’ | 3 | - | - | 3 |
| OE <i>blæse</i> ‘blaze, flame’ > ‘love’ | 4 | 1 | - | 5 |
| OE <i>bryne</i> ‘burning, fire’ > ‘love’ and ‘interest’ | 1 | 2 | - | 3 |
| OE <i>forswælan</i> ‘to burn to destruction, to consume’ > ‘love’ | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| OE <i>fæcele</i> ‘torch’ > ‘love’ | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| OE <i>byrnan</i> ‘to burn’ > ‘love’ | 9 | 11 | - | 20 |
| OE <i>byrnan on breostum</i> ‘to burn in the breast’ > ‘love’ | - | - | 4 | 4 |
| OE <i>brandhat</i> ‘burning hot’ > ‘love’ | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| OE <i>fyrhat</i> ‘ardent’ > ‘love’ | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| OE <i>astigan</i> ‘to rise up (in flames)’ > ‘interest’ | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| TOTAL | 19 | 14 | 7 | 40 |

As can be seen in Table 1, the conceptual mapping POSITIVE EMOTION IS FIRE is illustrated by 10 different expressions. Based on their textual distribution, it can be confidently argued that Old English poets had a very specific emotion terminology at their disposal, which they used to highlight the physical sensation of internal burning triggered by interest or by love.

Broadly speaking, these poetic expressions indicate that the burning sensation, located in the chest area, is very intense and hard to control by the perceiver. In the case of interest, the source domain FIRE indicates two different aspects of the Old English cultural model of interest. On the one hand, since interest occupies the GEW quadrant that is next to anger, a certain degree of overlap in the way these two emotions are expressed figuratively by Old English authors is to be expected. On the other hand, given the fact that interest occupies the lower half of the GEW and, in consequence, is to be considered a low influence/control emotional experience, the conceptual mapping INTEREST IS FIRE (as illustrated by the expression OE *astigan* ‘to rise up in flames’) is highlighting this lack of control on the side of the perceiver of this emotion.⁷

In the case of love, three different expressions used by Old English poets to construe this emotional experience as FIRE have been identified in this study: OE *byrnan on breostum* ‘to burn in the breast’, OE *brandhart* ‘burning hot’, and OE *fyrhat* ‘ardent’. Based on the analysis of their occurrences in poetic texts, it can be argued that the conceptual mapping LOVE IS FIRE that emerges from these expressions denominate reverential love for God, considered a major source of

⁷ The feature *influence/control* refers to the perceiver’s control over the situation, that is, whether the perceivers believe that they can influence the situation to stop, maintain, or improve it if desired (upper half of the wheel) or not (lower half of the wheel; Sacharin, Schlegel & Scherer 2012: 4).

body heat and mental seething.⁸ As these occurrences show, God places his love, in the form of fire, within the chest of his followers, thus triggering in them an urging and uncontrollable need to adore him.⁹ Love, in fact, is construed as a reciprocal emotion; in this context, it is the perceiver's desire to increase the intensity of their love for God that provokes physical and mental unpleasantness. Rooted, in sum, in our powerlessness in the face of fire, the metaphor POSITIVE EMOTION IS FIRE highlights the uncontrollable character of two very specific positive emotional experiences: the need to satisfy one's eagerness for knowledge; on the other hand, the need to return the love deposited by God in someone's chest. The use of the alliterative expression OE *byrnan on breostu* 'to burn in the breast' as a *love* denomination demonstrates that this understanding of certain positive emotions as FIRE within the body should not be considered a mere borrowing from Latin but, rather, it existed in the folk psychology of the Anglo-Saxons and was reinforced (and maybe also re-elaborated) by the work of the educated elite that translated and disseminated Christian texts and beliefs across England. In this sense, it should be mentioned here that, unlike the flames and consumption elements highlighted by the emotional expressions used in many of the texts in prose analysed in this section (as in the case of OE *(on)baernan* 'to burn' and its derivate OE *forbaernan* 'to be consumed by fire'), the expression OE *byrnan on breostum* 'to burn in the breast' seems to refer to a less destructive and more enduring state of mind. Rather than as a force, this poetic expression conceptualizes fire as an internal light that, right from the middle of the human body, announces a divine presence in the same way as the sacred fire that continually burned on the altars (normally positioned on the centre) of ancient temples from different Mediterranean religions (Goudsblom 1994: 119). Consequently, this sacred fire is not only an expression of divine will (e.g., love or punishment), but also a means for personal communication with God.

Outside Old English verse, expressions illustrating the conceptual mapping POSITIVE EMOTION IS FIRE are especially frequent in glosses to Latin texts. Very obviously, these glosses do not represent the vernacular interpretation of these emotional experiences. However, as can be seen in Table 1, some of these Latinate expressions finally entered the literary language of Old English prose. This is the case of OE *bryne* 'burning, fire', used once by Ælfric as a *love* denomination. Furthermore, the single occurrence of the expression OE *blæse* 'blaze, fire' to evoke love in a text in prose (i.e., RevMon 37) construes Pope Gregory's ardent desire to convert the Anglo-Saxons. Finally, the verb OE *byrnan* 'to burn', which, as a *love* denomination, is frequent in of Ælfric, appears as the only expression used by

⁸ For a full description of the different types of love and, especially, of reverential love and passionate love (the two types discussed in this study), see Lomas (2017).

⁹ In Abrahamic religions, there is a strong tendency to identify God with fire. As noted by Charteris-Black (2017: 67), in these religions fire was created by a fire god and fire itself could be worshipped. Within this context, the love placed in the chest of his believers could be interpreted as a representation of God.

Old English authors to construe passionate love as FIRE. Broadly speaking, this expression, which results from the loss of the second element in the alliterative construction OE *byrnan on brestoum* ‘to burn in the breast’, construes marital love as a variety of reverential love, where the two lovers share the love placed by God in their hearts.

3.2. The conceptual mapping EMOTION IS UNPLEASANT HEAT in Old English

A second conceptual mapping identified in this study is INTENSITY OF EMOTION IS HEAT. Instead of highlighting the flames and consumption elements described for the metaphorical mapping EMOTION IS FIRE, the mapping EMOTION IS UNPLEASANT HEAT conceptualizes emotions as a hot humour that produces a relative increase in the body temperature of the affected person. Given this distinction, it can be argued that whereas FIRE metaphors indicate the highest degree of emotional intensity, HEAT metaphors cover a wider degree of emotional intensity; as Kövecses (2000: 76) puts it, “various degrees of heat correspond to various degrees of intensity of emotion and lack of heat corresponds to lack of emotion.”

Most of the Old English expressions analysed in this section are derived from the Proto-Germanic root **hætu* ‘high temperature, heat.’ These expressions are figuratively used in reference to four different emotion concepts in Old English texts. Only one of these emotion concepts, i.e., LOVE, is clearly positive; the other two i.e., SADNESS, EMOTIONAL DISTRESS, and ANGER, correspond to negative emotions.

The adjective OE *hat* ‘hot’, along with its derivatives (namely, the verbs OE *hatian* ‘to heat’ and OE *hætan* ‘to heat, warm’, and the adverbs OE *hate* and OE *hatlice*, both meaning ‘hotly, with heat’), can be used to describe such virtuous passions as love and affection and, especially, the love of God. This is especially frequent in glosses to Latin texts (7 occurrences) and prose translations of Latin texts, where *heat* words are recorded in combination with nouns evoking the concept LOVE in 7 occurrences, corresponding to five different texts: the anonymous lives of *Saint Guthlac* (1) and *Saint Martin* (1), Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* (2), Alfred’s *Pastoral Care* (1), and Æthelwold’s *Benedictine Rule* (2):

- (13) *ða sende Uitalius se papa Osweo Seaxna cyninge lufsumlic ærendgewrit, þa he onget his aarfæstnesse willan & his hate Godes lufan* (Bede 3 21.248.17)

Vitalis sent a loving letter to Oswio, King of the Saxons, as he understood his pious devotion and his **heated love for God**.

When the adjective OE *hat* ‘hot’ is used in Old English poetry to evoke the concept LOVE, it does within the alliterative idiom OE *hat æt heortan* ‘hot in the heart’ (2 occurrences). Once again, the metric rules of Anglo-Saxon poetry and, especially, the need of verse-internal alliteration, can be used to justify the prevalence of this idiom in poetry, but not in prose.

- (14) *þær wæs wopes hring, torne bitolden; wæs seo treowlufu **hat æt heortan**, <hreðer> innan weoll, beorn breostsefa* (ChristB 537)

there was the sound of weeping; that faithful love, bitterly oppressed, was **hot around the heart**; the chest swelled inwardly; the mind-in-the-breast burned.

However, the Old English poetic corpus also yields 1 occurrence of the adjective OE *hat* outside this alliterative idiom: in the following verse from *The Seafarer*, alliteration is based on the repetition of the phoneme /d/, so that the poet uses this adjective with an emotional sense, without making specific reference to the heart as the seat of affection:

- (1) *forþon me **hatran** sind dryhtnes dreamas þonne þis deade lif, læne on londe* (Sea 64)

Therefore, the joys of the Lord are **hotter** to me than this dead temporary life on land.

According to the DOE, this use of the comparative form OE *hatran* ‘hotter’ indicates ‘warms feelings of affection’, so that, differently to the expression OE *hat æt heortan* ‘hot in the heart’, it conveys a positive evaluation of cardiocentric heat triggered by love for God.

The results of this analysis are summarised in Table 2. As can be seen here, whereas the conceptual connection between LOVE and HEAT is marginal among Old English poets, its relevance in glosses and prose texts (most of which, as has been seen above, are translations from Latin) is much higher. Based on this textual distribution, it can be argued that the metaphor LOVE IS HEAT is a conceptual borrowing from Latin.

Table 2. Lexicalizations of the metaphors LOVE IS HEAT across three textual type

| EXPRESSION | GLOSS | PROSE | VERSE | TOTAL |
|------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| OE <i>hat</i> ‘hot’ > ‘love’ | 7 | 7 | 2 | 16 |

Regarding the three instances of this phrase in religious poems, it's noteworthy that only the two instances of OE *hat æt heortan* ‘hot in the heartr’ to evoke love which are influenced by the alliterative requirements of Old English poetry, imply that the poet is conceptualizing love as an unpleasant experience.

3.3. The conceptual mapping INTENSITY IS A BOILING LIQUID in Old English

The last part of my analysis will focus on the use of verbs meaning ‘to boil’ as expressions for positive emotions in Old English. According to these expressions, Old English authors could construe emotions as LIQUIDS within the body or a specific body part, and their physiological effects on the perceiver as changes in the temperature of these liquids. The idea of emotions as liquid substances boiling within the body is illustrated by the metaphorical uses of the verb OE *weallan* ‘to well, bubble from > to boil’. Differently to other emotion metaphors based on the

use of verbs meaning ‘to boil’ as source domains,¹⁰ the physiological reaction expressed by OE *weallan* can be associated in Old English texts both with negative emotions (such as wrath and anxiety) and with positive emotions (and, more specifically, interest, love, and pride).

As has been seen in example (1) above, the emotion interest is construed as A BOILING LIQUID in the Old English poem *Saturn and Solomon* (verses 57–62): as the liquid boils in the chest of the perceiver, it produces mental seething and oppression around the cardiac area. As in the case of the conceptual mapping INTEREST IS FIRE, the metaphor INTEREST IS A BOILING LIQUID highlights the fact that the perceiver has no control over the emotional experience.

The same can be said about the metaphor PRIDE IS A BOILING LIQUID, as illustrated by the following sentence from the sub-corpus of Old English poetry:

- (16) *Wæs ær godes engel, hwit on heofne, oð hine his hyge forspeon and his ofermetto ealra swiðost, þæt he ne wolde wereda drihtnes word wurðian. Weoll him on innan hyge ymb his heortan, hat wæs him utan wraðlic wite.* GenB, 349–356.

Before the angel of God, bright in heaven, until his **pride** seduced him and his greatest of all **arrogances**, so that he would not heed for any longer the word of the Lord of hosts. Inside him, **pride welled** around his heart. Outside was hot and the cruel torment.

The above sentence corresponds to the religious poem *Genesis B* (verses 349–353). In these verses, the noun OE *hyge* ‘pride’ appears twice in the poet’s narration of how Satan, chained in hell and unable to travel to Eden to coax Eve to eat the forbidden fruit, seduces an unnamed angel to fulfil this task. The first occurrence of this noun (verse 350) clearly illustrates the ‘pride’ reading of this expression, in reference to the pride and arrogance used by Satan to seduce the angel. As for the second occurrence (located in verse 355), the noun OE *hyge* ‘pride’ is accompanied by the verb OE *weallan* ‘to boil’ (a verb that strongly evokes the cardiocentric heat caused by a wide range of strong emotional experiences, not necessarily negative; Lockett 2011: 57). The boiling and seething expressed by this verb in combination with a *pride* denomination describes, on the one side, the feeling of satisfaction produced by Satan’s pride for having convinced the angel to disobey God and, on the other side, his unsatisfied pride caused by his impossibility to personally tempt Eve. According to the *DOE*, this is the single occurrence of the verb OE *weallan* ‘to boil’ in reference to pride.¹¹ Based on this interpretation, it can be assumed that this understanding of pride suggests that although Satan’s pride has been satisfied,

¹⁰ Such as, for example, OE *belgan* ‘to boil with anger’ (but also ‘to swell’; Geeraerts & Gevaert 2008: 337–338),

¹¹ The interpretation of this verse is still open. While Bradley (1987: 32) translates this as ‘ambition’, Daria Izdebska (“The semantic field of ANGER in Old English,” unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow 2015: 156) defines this inner welling as “some sort of grief.” Furthermore, Lockett (2011: 4) affirms that, “before Adam and Eve have succumbed to temptation, Satan broods with anger and jealousy.”

his satisfaction is little more than partial, in as much as he, securely fettered in hell, has not been able to accomplish his mission personally. It is precisely from these two opposite feelings, pride and frustration, that the sensation of cardiac seething emerges.

Furthermore, the verb OE *weallan* ‘to boil, seethe’ can also be used by Old English authors to evoke love. More exactly, this verb is combined with OE *lufu* ‘love’ to indicate seething caused by this emotional experience. This expression is used once in poetry, four times in religious prose, and four more times in glosses to L *fervidus* ‘burning, fiery, fervid’ or L *ferventis* ‘burning hot, glowing’.¹² According to this understanding of love, this emotional experience is construed either as one of the frequent psychosomatic symptoms triggered by love, or by one of the personal reactions with which it is conceptually linked. Within this context, love can be construed as production of HEAT/FIRE, indicating a rapid increase of emotional intensity. Episodes of cardiac heat are relatively frequent in the textual corpus. One of the most representative episodes of this portrayal of love as A BOILING LIQUID is found in the memorable narration of Beowulf’s departure from Denmark, where king Hrothgar kisses the hero lovingly and embraces him by the neck in tears, while he tries to cope secretly with intense feelings of sadness for the loss of his beloved friend.¹³

- (17) *gecyste þa cyning æþelum god, þeoden Scyldinga, ðegn betstan ond be healse genam; hruron him tearas, blondenfeaxum ... <wæs> him se man to þon leof þæt he þone breostwylm forberan ne mehte, ac him on hrepre hygebendum fæst æfter deorum men dyrne langað beorn wið blode. Beo 1870–1880.*

The noble king kissed the good noblemen, the Prince of the Scyldings, the best of thanes he took by the neck; tears flowed from him, grey-haired ... To him was that man so **beloved** that he could not restrain the **seething in his breast**, but a hidden longing for that dear man secured in his breast, a secret longing for the dear man burned against blood.

As this example shows, love among family members is not restricted to one’s relatives by blood relationship, but also to members of one’s community. The importance of community bonds in Anglo-Saxon society is especially evident in epic poetry, where the expression OE *lufu* ‘love’, frequently accompanied by descriptions of some of the physiological signals related to this emotional experience, are regularly used in the context of close friendship and fellowship.

The *love* expression OE *weallan* ‘to boil’ is also used in Old English prose. However, three of the four occurrences of this expression correspond to the

¹² More exactly, these four glosses correspond to the Durham Hymnal (3) and the *Regularis Concordia* (1).

¹³ The intensity of Hrothgar’s emotional reaction is so strong that, rather than as an example of friendly love, literary critics have interpreted this passage as a proof of homoerotic desire (Moray 1996).

collocation OE *weallendre lufe* ‘ardent love’, which is a literal translation of L *fervens amor*.¹⁴

- (18) *Se ðe ær glædlice mid godum weorcum hine sylfne geglengde. him gedafenað þæt he nu on ðisum dagum geornlicor mid weallendre lufe his godnysse gecyðe* (ÆCHom II, 7 B1.2.8)

To him who had previously adorned himself gladly with good works, it is fitting that he on these days more earnestly with **ardent love** show his goodness.

The fourth occurrence of this expression is a translation of L *divinae charitatis igne fervidus* ‘warmed the fire of divine charity’, found in the Old English version of Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History*:

- (19) *Wæs he ær eallum ðingum mid þy fyre godcundre lufan hat & weallende, & in geðylde mægene gemetfæst, ond in wilsumnesse haligra gebeda begneorð & geornful; & he wæs eallum gespræce ðam þe to him for intingan frofre comon* (Bede 4, 712)

Before all things he was **warm and fervent with the fire** of the godly love, modest with the virtue of patience, attentive and zealous in devotion to holy prayer; and he was affable to all who came to him for comfort.

The results of this part of the analysis are summarised in Table 3 below. As can be seen here, whereas the vernacular understanding of LOVE as A BOILING LIQUID is illustrated by the three occurrences of the love denomination OE *weallan* ‘to boil’ in Old English verse discussed above, the use of this expression in Old English glosses and prose is virtually restricted to glosses and translations and thus must be taken as a conceptual borrowing from Latin. Given the very limited distribution of these occurrences of the expression OE *weallan* ‘to boil’ as a *love* denomination in Old English prose, and the fact that they were exclusive of Latin translations, this understanding of LOVE as A BOILING LIQUID can be confidently described as exclusive of elite levels of learned discourse.

Table 3. Lexicalizations of the metaphors INTEREST IS A BOILING LIQUID, PRIDE IS A BOILING LIQUID, and LOVE IS A BOILING LIQUID across three textual types

| EXPRESSION | GLOSS | PROSE | VERSE | TOTAL |
|--|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| OE <i>weallan</i> ‘to boil’ > ‘interest’ | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| OE <i>weallan</i> ‘to boil’ > ‘pride’ | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| OE <i>weallan</i> ‘to boil’ > ‘love’ | 4 | 4 | 1 | 9 |
| TOTAL | 4 | 4 | 3 | 11 |

4. Discussion

Emotions in general as often construed as changes in bodily temperature. Whereas the source domain UNPLEASANT TEMPERATURE is preferred across world

¹⁴ The three occurrences of this expression correspond to Ælfric’s Homily *Dominica prima in quadragesima* (lines 32–37), Wulfstan *Homily LV* (line 105), and the Old English translation of Chrodegang of Metz’s *Regula Canonicorum* (line 37).

languages for the expression of negative emotional experiences (as in, for example, ANGER IS FIRE and FEAR IS COLD), there exists a very strong preference to construe positive emotions as PLEASANT TEMPERATURE (as in LOVE IS WARMTH; Kövecses 2000: 93). However, as has been seen in this analysis, positive emotions can also be conceptualised as HIGH BODY TEMPERATURE in Old English. Depending on how relevant these conceptualizations are in the cultural model of each positive emotional experience, I will argue here that some of the emotions considered positive in emotion literature (and, as such, included in the right half of the GEW) may have been considered negative in Anglo-Saxon culture.

In order to determine the role of cultural factors behind the use of the source domain HIGH BODY TEMPERATURE in the figurative construal of positive emotions in Old English, in the preceding pages I have analysed a total of 53 occurrences of expressions rooted in this general-level metaphor in the Old English textual corpus. These 53 occurrences correspond to three different positive emotions, namely:

1. INTEREST: Among the 42 instances of *interest* denominations (both literal and figurative) yielded by the DOEC, there are 6 occurrences of expressions (equivalent to 14.28%) that conceptualize this emotion in terms of TEMPERATURE.

2. PRIDE: Among the 1447 instances of *pride* denominations found in the corpus, only a single word, accounting for merely 0.07%, illustrates this conceptual connection.

3. LOVE: There are 46 sentences where love is construed as TEMPERATURE out of a total of 7037 instances of *love* denominations in the DOEC, making up approximately 0.65%.

As evident from the distribution of these occurrences in the DOEC, these expressions make up a minority when compared to literal, metonymic, and synesthetic denominations for these emotions, which strongly suggests that the utilization of temperature imagery to represent positive emotions is quite restricted in Old English. Even when compared to the non-embodied metaphorical motifs used by Old English authors to suggest these emotions (such as AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE, OBJECT, or MOTION), the embodied model, represented in the corpus solely by motif TEMPERATURE, is not more entrenched than the other metaphorical themes.¹⁵

As can be seen from the examples discussed in the preceding sections, there exist a series of elements that are apparently ubiquitous, namely:

1. Some positive emotions are contained within the body, generally in or near the heart; consequently, they suggest that the chest is the bodily seat of the mind.

¹⁵ This is especially true in the case of Old English metaphors of pride, where only one occurrence of the TEMPERATURE model has been found (out of 44 occurrences of metaphorical expressions). In the case of interest (8 metaphorical expressions) and love (5 metaphorical expressions), the source HIGH TEMPERATURE is found in around 50% of the total number of metaphors. Once again, this confirms the tendency for the pattern of Old English emotion metaphors evoking the physiological framework to display remarkably low levels of salience, a characteristic previously discussed by Geeraerts & Gevaert (2008) and Díaz-Vera (2011, 2014), among others.

2. Three of these positive emotions (namely interest, pride, and love) can produce an increase in temperature and pressure in the mind and in the internal organs located within the chest.

3. On some occasions, the heat and pressure triggered by these positive emotional experiences produce such unpleasant physiological reactions as seething, boiling, and swelling of the mind and of the internal organs located in this area.

Based on these elements, it has been affirmed that positive emotions can be construed as negative hedonic experiences, challenging conventional notions of pleasure. This construal, which very clearly challenges our understanding of positive emotions as pleasing states, is illustrated by very different expressions, depending on the textual genre.

For examples, as has been seen here, there seems to be a tendency for three source domains analysed in this study (i.e., FIRE, UNPLEASANT HEAT, and A BOILING LIQUID) to be more frequently used in glosses to Latin texts than in prose and, especially, in verse. However, though the fine-grained analysis of these expressions and their textual distribution, I have demonstrated here that this tendency applies exclusively to the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS HIGH BODY TEMPERATURE. In contrast with this, the conceptualization of the other two positive emotions discussed here, namely interest and pride, as HIGH BODY TEMPERATURE, is exclusive of Old English poems.

Based on the examples of Old English *love* denominations rooted in the source domains FIRE, UNPLEASANT HEAT, and A BOILING LIQUID), it can be argued that the metaphor LOVE IS HIGH BODY TEMPERATURE accentuates the heat aroused by the necessity to intensify the depth of affection one holds for God. This is especially true in the case of glosses and translated texts in prose, all of which have been described as occurrences of reverential love for God. Since God's love is unlimited and unsurpassable, the need to reciprocate it with human love triggers a feeling of impotence and anguish in the perceiver, which, following the Latin conceptualization of reverential love, is construed by Old English authors as mental seething and burning.

Differently to the depiction of love that emerges from glosses and prose, the expression OE *byrnan on bresotum* 'to burn in the breast' in Old English poems can also evoke friendly love (Beo 1870–1880). As has been seen here, the parting of Beowulf triggers a sensation of seething in Hrothgart's chest, where his love for his dear friend boils and produces a physical sensation of constriction around the heart. This construal of friendly love facilitated, in my view, the semantic extension of the verb OE *byrnan* 'to burn' to 'to burn with love for another person', which characterizes Ælfric's English and appears as the only figurative expression of passionate love as FIRE. According to this analysis of figurative *love* expressions, two different causes of negative hedonic experience triggered by this emotion can be identified in Old English texts: whereas in prose texts unpleasantness is caused by one's need to return God's love, love can also be construed in Old English poems

as loss of mental control and mental distress caused by the physical separation from the object of love.

The second positive emotion discussed here, i.e., interest, can be construed by Old English authors either as FIRE or as A BOILING LIQUID. In both cases, these source domains are highlighting the uncontrollable character of this emotional experience. As suggested by Dumitrescu (2018: 49), this understanding of interest as HIGH BODY TEMPERATURE could be based on the need to imprint feelings of ardour for learning on novices early in their education, indicating that this conceptual connection between interest and heat was rooted in monasticism and devotional literature, rather than in the folk Psychology of the Anglo-Saxons. This link, which is exclusive of the didactic poem *Saturn and Solomon*, could have been further reinforced by an erroneous decomposition of the noun *fyrwitt* ‘curiosity, inquisitiveness’ into OE *fyr* ‘fire’ and OE *wit* ‘wit, intelligence, understanding’, which would explain the preference by some Old English glossists for this expression to render L *ardour*.

Finally, the emotion pride is construed as HIGH BODY TEMPERATURE in the single occurrence of the *pride* expression of OE *weallan* ‘to boil’ (in GenB 349–356), in reference to Satan. As has been said above, this expression highlights that the positive emotion pride is being overcome by the strong sense of frustration that invades Satan’s mind, triggering in him as sensation of loss of control cardiac seething. Once again, this construal of a positive emotion as HIGH BODY TEMPERATURE implies that the perceiver cannot regulate the impact of the event on his mind, so that his strong sense of dissatisfaction is preventing him from fully rejoicing in his pride.

As indicated by these findings, the conceptual metaphor POSITIVE EMOTION IS HIGH BODY TEMPERATURE originates from two distinct sources in Old English. On one hand, the vernacular interpretation of this metaphor signifies the loss of control over the emotional experience by the perceiver, particularly evident in emotions characterized by a lack of control. For example, whereas the subject of interest may be carried away by eagerness to learn, the subject of pride may be invaded by feelings of dissatisfaction and partial accomplishment. More easily controllable emotions (and, more specifically, love) can also be construed as HIGH BODY TEMPERATURE. This is the case of Hrothgart’s mental seething at the depart of his friend Beowulf, where internal heat is caused by his mental efforts to regulate the emotional event. As this vernacular version of the conceptual mapping HIGH BODY TEMPERATURE STANDS FOR POSITIVE EMOTION shows, there existed in Anglo-Saxon culture an urging need to regulate one’s emotional reactions, which implies that low-control emotions tend to be construed as negative hedonic experiences and, in consequence, to be considered closer to negative emotions.¹⁶ On the other hand, the Christianization of Anglo-Saxon England brought with it, among many other

¹⁶ In a collectivist society (Hofstede 1991), loss of emotional control is considered a factor of social disruption, which explains the negative consideration of such positive emotional experiences as interest and pride in Pre-Christian England.

consequences, the arrival of a new understanding of the link between emotions and the body, which was profusely used by Christian authors in order to construe reverential love for God. Instead of highlighting the negative personal and social consequences of loss of control, these expressions construe love as intensity, so that the perceivers of divine love struggle to return the same amount of this pleasurable emotion to their emotional object (i.e., to God), which triggers mental heat and seething.

Drawing from the preceding information, it can be assumed that, within the cultural framework that emerges from Old English texts, the conceptualization of positive emotions as products of the embodied mind is not only peripheral, but also susceptible to changes triggered by cultural and historical factors. While Old English poets use physiological references to underscore the need to control and regulate one's reactions to positive emotional experiences, texts in prose (and, especially, glosses and translations from Latin) strongly suggest an emerging association between intensity and temperature, as corresponds to the underlying metaphor UP IS MORE (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). According to this new association, which is illustrated by Old English construals of love, the intensity of fire is likened to emotional intensity in a positive sense: more than an unpleasant bodily sensation, the examples examined here construe the emotional warmth and light of love as physical warmth and light (as in OE *blæse* 'blaze, flame').

Given the limited occurrence of the LOVE IS FIRE metaphor within the corpus, which is exclusively used in distinctly Latinate Old English texts, the interpretation of love by Old English authors through this lens can be confidently interpreted as a conceptual borrowing from Latin. In other words, the cultural impact of Latin not only led to the marginalization of the understanding of positive emotions as potentially unpleasant experiences, but also facilitated the transformation of the embodied model inherited from Germanic, which underscored the necessity to manage the perceiver's emotional reaction. Instead, this model was reconfigured to emphasize emotional intensity over emotional regulation, as corresponds to the construal of positive emotions that emerges from Latin texts, proving that our associations between universal physiological symptoms and specific emotional experiences is subject to cultural and historical variation and that, in sum, culture is a major meaning-making resource.

5. Closing remarks

The analysis presented in this paper, based on a corpus of Old English texts categorized into verse, prose, and glosses, reveals that despite the limited prevalence of the TEMPERATURE model and, particularly, the source domain of HIGH BODY TEMPERATURE in the representation of positive emotional experiences by Old English authors, the expressions examined in this study offer valuable insights into the distinct aspects of embodiment in the portrayal of emotions depicted in these texts. As demonstrated by my analysis, the conceptualization of positive emotions as HIGH BODY TEMPERATURE in Old English texts originates from two different

sources. On one hand, the Germanic interpretation associates low-control emotions with socially undesirable behaviours, as evidenced by the expressions of interest, pride, and uncontrollable love reactions. On the other hand, the Christian perspective depicts divine love as painful, emphasizing that human love cannot match the intensity of love received from God.

All in all, in this study I have shown that emotions described as pleasurable can also be construed as *negative hedonic experience*. Through the use of the expressions discussed here, many of which are shared with negative emotions, Old English speakers construed positive emotions as unpleasant sensations. More specifically, the perceiver's inability to control the emotional event or to reach a higher degree of emotional intensity can trigger drastic changes in body temperature. Furthermore, I have demonstrated here the importance of sociocultural factors in the lexical and conceptual choices performed by Old English authors. Whereas the feature loss of control is much more frequent in Old English poetry, glosses and prose tend to highlight the feature intensity of love. This echoes earlier studies on the construal of such negative emotions as fear (Díaz-Vera 2011) and shame (Díaz-Vera 2014, Díaz-Vera & Manrique-Antón 2015) in Old English texts, where the slow but steady social changes that affected Christian England, combined with the individual's attitudes towards the changing cultural and social environment, modified the way feelings were expressed and, very probably, felt by Anglo-Saxon speakers.

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Хавьер Э. ДИАС-ВЕРА – профессор, преподает историческую лингвистику (английский язык) и социолингвистику на факультете современных языков Университета Кастилья-Ла-Манча (Испания). В центре его внимания – изучение вариативности концептуальной метафоры и метонимии в русле диахронического, социолингвистического и диалектного подходов. Автор многочисленных публикаций о мультимодальном выражении эмоций, когниции и чувственном восприятии в исторических вариантах английского языка, в особенности в древнеанглийском языке. Его недавние исследования посвящены компаративному анализу языковых и визуальных репрезентаций эмоций в англосаксонских текстах и визуальных нарративах.

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Universality versus variation in the conceptualization of ANGER: A question of methodology

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Abstract

Cognitive linguistic investigations into the metaphorical conceptualization of ANGER suggest that languages are remarkably similar on a schematic level, with intensity and control as two, possibly universal dimensions underlying the metaphorical conceptualization of ANGER. These dimensions, however, can manifest themselves in language-specific metaphors. Yet arriving at a definitive answer to the question of universality versus variation is hindered by (a) a relatively limited number of systematic, contrastive analyses; and (b) varied methodologies, with some papers adopting a type-based account, while others following a token-based analysis. We take up both challenges in the present paper with the aim of offering a more definitive answer to the question of the universality and variation of ANGER metaphors. We investigate the ANGER metaphors of a type-based analysis, focusing on dictionary data of ANGER-related idioms, and a token-based analysis, focusing on data collected from online corpora, in three languages: (American) English (2,000 random instances of the lemma *anger* from the Corpus of Contemporary American English), Hungarian (1,000 instances of the lemma *düh* from the Hungarian National Corpus) and Russian (1,000 instances of the lemma *gnev* from the Russian National Corpus). The lexical data were analyzed with the well-established Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP). Our results indicate that there is a great deal of congruence relative to shared metaphors in both approaches, but this derives from specific-level metaphors in the lexical approach, whereas it derives from more schematic, generic-level metaphors in the corpus-based approach. The study shows that the full picture of the metaphorical conceptualization of a complex emotion concept such as ANGER can only emerge with the combination of the type- and token-based approach.

Keywords: *ANGER metaphors, universality, variation, American English, Hungarian, Russian*

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Универсальность и вариативность в концептуализации эмоции ГНЕВ: проблемы методологии

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Аннотация

В работах, выполненных в русле когнитивной методологии, неизменно отмечаются общие схематические черты, типичные для метафорической концептуализации гнева в различных языках, причем основу метафорических репрезентаций этой эмоции составляют два универсальных параметра – интенсивность и контроль. Тем не менее, те же параметры типичны и для метафор, специфичных для определенного языка. Решению вопроса об универсальности или вариативности метафор со сферой-мишенью ГНЕВ препятствуют: (а) относительно ограниченное количество сопоставительных работ; (б) использование различных методологических основ: типизации или токенизации. Цель работы – разъяснить вопрос об универсальности и вариативности метафорической концептуализации гнева, принимая во внимание обе проблемы. Исследование проводится на материале американского варианта английского языка, венгерского языка и русского языка с привлечением данных словарей (идиомы, связанные со сферой-мишенью ГНЕВ), и онлайн-корпусов: 2000 лемм *anger* из Корпуса современного американского языка (СОСА), 1000 лемм *düh* из Венгерского национального корпуса и 1000 лемм *гнев* из Национального корпуса русского языка. Для сбора и обработки материала исследования применяются процедуры случайной выборки и идентификации метафор (МФ) соответственно. В результате анализа лексикографических и корпусных данных выявлены общие метафоры со сферой-мишенью ГНЕВ; отмечено, что специфичные метафоры более характерны для идиоматической лексики, универсальные – для корпусных данных. Исследование показывает, что сочетание подходов, основанных на типизации и токенизации, позволяет получить более полное представление о метафорической концептуализации такой сложной эмоции как ГНЕВ.

Ключевые слова: метафорическая концептуализация, ГНЕВ, универсальность, вариативность, американский вариант английского языка, венгерский язык, русский язык

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1. Introduction and background

ANGER is one of the basic emotions of human emotional experience, informing and guiding many of our choices and actions; it has also played an evolutionary role for promoting survival (Williams 2017). As such, it has received considerable scholarly attention in a number of disciplines, such as cognitive and developmental psychology, psychopathology, neurobiology, psychiatry, etc. ANGER has also prompted research within cognitive linguistics; the very first exploration into the metaphorical basis of ANGER in American English by Lakoff and Kövecses (1987)

is now considered to be a classic study on how the cognitive model of ANGER is constructed through language. This paper has paved the way for a number of similar investigations in other languages (see, e.g., Alazazmeh & Zibin 2022, Kövecses et al. 2015, Maalej 2004, Matsuki 1995, Taylor & Mbense 1998, Tran 2022, to name but a few). Results suggest that languages are remarkably similar on a schematic level, with intensity and control as two, possibly universal, dimensions or aspects underlying the metaphorical conceptualization of ANGER. These dimensions, however, can manifest themselves in rather different – language-specific – metaphors.

Yet, arriving at a conclusive and definitive answer to the question of universality versus variation is hindered by a) a relatively limited number of contrastive analyses (with Alazazmeh & Zibin 2022, Kövecses et al. 2015, Tran 2022 as more recent exceptions); and b) the varied methodologies that have been applied in the literature, with some papers adopting a type-based account (e.g., Lakoff & Kövecses 1987) while others following a token-based analysis (e.g., Kövecses et al. 2015, Stefanowitsch 2004). We take up both challenges in the present paper by investigating the ANGER metaphors of a type-based *and* a token-based analysis, in three unrelated languages that, however, all belong to the Standard Average European *Sprachbund* (Haspelmath 2001)¹: (American) English (a Germanic language), Hungarian (a Uralic language) and Russian (a Slavic language). Based on previous research, we expect schematic similarities related to intensity and control across all the three languages, in both approaches. Nevertheless, due to the nature of the two different approaches that we adopt, we also expect differences in what language-specific metaphors will elaborate these schematic similarities. Such results would implicate that divergences among languages in the conceptualization of ANGER are only partially language-specific, as differences might be attributed to the methodology adopted. Our paper thus highlights the necessity of cross-cultural studies that rest on identical methodologies.

The structure of the paper is the following: Section two offers a discussion of our combined methodology that we adopted for the present investigation, which rests on both a lexical approach (working with dictionary data) and a corpus-based approach (working with data retrieved from online corpora). Section three sums up the language-specific findings in American English, Hungarian and Russian, respectively. Section four discusses the results of the language-specific investigations, comparing the results of the two methodologies that were used and their implications for our research question. The last, fifth section concludes the main findings.

¹ Note though that membership within the Standard Average European *Sprachbund* is gradient; all the three investigated languages in the present paper are considered as non-core members by Haspelmath (2001).

2. Lexical- and corpus-based approach – a combined methodology

Following Kövecses et al. (2019), we adopted a combined methodology of the so-called *lexical approach* and the *corpus-based approach* to the analysis of ANGER metaphors in all the three languages under investigation. In the following we will briefly explain both methods.

The lexical approach works with conventionalized expressions related to the concept under analysis, which can include synonyms, related words, idioms, phrases, collocations, etc. This information can be typically found in dictionaries or collections of words/phrases related to a concept (such as WordNet). We used several dictionaries in all three languages to acquire a type-based dataset.² The corpus-based approach, as the name suggests, works with corpora – i.e., large collections of texts typically stored on a computer and made accessible online (Deignan 2005). For all the three languages we selected the largest and most representative corpora available for the respective language: the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) for the American English data; the Hungarian National Corpus (HNC) for the Hungarian data; and the Russian National Corpus (RNC) for the Russian data. These corpora necessarily vary in terms of what sources they rely on (what genres the linguistic data come from), which might potentially influence to some degree the results as well. Nevertheless, it is not within the scope of the present paper to analyze the effect of different genres (in different languages) on the metaphorical conceptualization of ANGER. We then conducted a basic search for the respective keywords of ANGER, which resulted in the following: 2,000 random instances of the lemma *anger* in the American English chapter, 1,000 random instances of the lemma *düh* in the Hungarian chapter, and 1,000 random instances of the lemma *gnev* in the Russian chapter. This formed the basis of the token-based dataset. (Justification of the selected keywords can be found in the respective language chapters).

As a next step, the examples in both datasets were analyzed via the MIP procedure (Pragglejaz Group 2007) for metaphoric language, in order to establish a) what types realize the same conceptual metaphor; and b) what mappings the respective conceptual metaphors are based on. This was followed by establishing the *salience* of the identified metaphors in both approaches. As elaborated on in Kövecses et al. (2015), metaphorical salience can be measured on the basis of the following: 1) the number of mappings, or correspondences, in a conceptual metaphor; 2) the type frequency of linguistic expressions belonging to a conceptual metaphor; and 3) the token frequency of linguistic expressions belonging to a conceptual metaphor.

We thus established the salience of a particular ANGER metaphor on its aggregate value (Kövecses et al. 2015), which is the aggregate number of the types and mappings (in the lexical approach) and the aggregate number of the types,

² A *type* is understood as a lexeme or a phrase and a *token* is an instantiation of these (in various forms), as these occur in real texts. In other words, tokens are actual occurrences of types.

tokens and mappings (in the corpus-based account). The aggregate values allowed us to create a comparable order of metaphorical salience in both methods, in all the three languages. The exact figures are depicted in the individual tables of the *Appendix*, which can be freely accessed via the Open Science Framework.³

3. ANGER in American English, Hungarian and Russian: Language-specific results

In the following three subsections, we will sum up the main findings of the language-specific investigations of American English, Hungarian and Russian, respectively, in a near-identical format for easier comparison. We will first justify the keyword and the sources. Next, we will focus on how many metaphors the respective methods produced, and what the major differences among the top twenty metaphors of the type- and token-based account are. This will be ensued by a discussion of the differences in schematicity and dimension with respect to the two methodologies. Each language section concludes with an interim summary of results. The full list of metaphors for each language – based on the type- and token-based analyses – can be found in the *Appendix*.

3.1. American English

3.1.1. Keyword and data collection

The keywords we have selected for our study are the following: *anger* as noun, *anger* as verb (in two of its major senses), and the adjective *angry*. These are the most general words in (American) English that can cover the entire semantic area of the emotion of ANGER.

For the type-based, lexical approach we used three online dictionaries to collect idioms and phrases that include any of our keywords: *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*⁴; *Macmillan Dictionary*⁵; and *39 Angry Idioms and Phrases*⁶. The first two of these dictionaries are well-known, major sources, while the third one is simply a small but useful collection of American idioms related to ANGER.

As for the token-based analysis, we collected 2,000 random instances of the lemma *anger* as a noun from the *Corpus of Contemporary American English*. Examples were assessed following the MIP procedure (Pragglejaz Group 2007) for metaphoric language. A second coder was trained in the MIP procedure and evaluated 100 random examples; inter-coder agreement was 81% and all differences of opinion were resolved in discussion. In both methods, the salience of the metaphors and metonymies was calculated according to the procedure described in Section 2 of the present paper.

³ https://osf.io/gt8mb/?view_only=cd5d8b151bce419a878a918b43d51b58

⁴ <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/anger>

⁵ <https://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/american>

⁶ <https://englishbyday.com/angry-idioms/>

3.1.2. Differences in the number of conceptual metaphors

The full list of the metaphors of both approaches, with aggregate values, can be found in *Appendix 1* (lexical method) and *Appendix 2* (corpus-based method) – full discussion and elaboration of each metaphor can be found in Kövecses and Sullivan (to appear). The most obvious finding is in line with previous studies (e.g., Kövecses et al. 2015, Stefanowitsch 2007); namely, that corpus approaches to ANGER and other emotion concepts tend to produce more source domains for a given emotion than the lexical approach (see also Kövecses 2015, Kövecses et al. 2019). In particular, the present lexical approach produced 20 conceptual metaphors for ANGER in American English, whereas the corpus-based one found 53 distinct metaphors. However, there are also important qualitative differences between the approaches which we will address in more detail in the following sections.

3.1.3. Differences in the top twenty metaphors in the two approaches

All metaphors identified in the lexical approach can be found on the list of metaphors identified by the corpus approach, but many metaphors produced by the corpus approach are missing from the dictionary-based list. This is natural if we consider that the latter list contains 53 conceptual metaphors, whereas the former only 20. More interesting is the issue of which metaphors present on the top twenty corpus list are missing from the dictionary-based list. These include the metaphors ANGER IS AN OBJECT, STATES ARE LOCATIONS, ANGER IS A FLUID, STATES ARE CONTAINERS, ANGER IS A TOOL, CAUSES ARE CONTAINERS, ANGER IS AN OPPONENT, CAUSED CHANGE IS FORCED MOTION, ANGER IS A BURDEN, and ANGER IS A SUPERIOR. Of these, ANGER IS AN OBJECT, ANGER IS A TOOL, ANGER IS AN OPPONENT, ANGER IS A BURDEN, and ANGER IS A SUPERIOR are particularly noteworthy. For example, OBJECT is the most salient source domain for ANGER in the token-based corpus approach, but did not even occur on the list of metaphors produced by the type-based approach. The dimension of the “visibility/expression of ANGER”, which speakers tend to express by making use of the OBJECT metaphor, is instead captured by various SUBSTANCE metaphors in dictionaries. It is unclear why this should be the case. It may be that dictionaries, which are intended to provide access to a wide range of expressions, focus on exemplifying usages with a range of different SUBSTANCES, whereas actual speakers prefer simply to reuse the OBJECT metaphor for this purpose.

The source domain of TOOL also does not occur in the lexical dataset. This may have to do with the fact that tools are implements that are commonly used for a purpose, and ANGER does not typically have a purpose associated with it. However, in the corpus data, occasionally ANGER is conceptualized as useful or otherwise positive. Elsewhere in the corpus data, there are other instances of positive framing of ANGER, which are absent in the lexical data. In ANGER IS AN OBJECT, positive mappings such as representing ANGER as a “gift”, for which the recipient might be “grateful”, were also lacking in the lexical dataset. In ANGER IS A SUPERIOR, there

was an instance of ANGER as a “teacher” which was not found in the type-based analysis. The OPPONENT and BURDEN source domains for ANGER appear as principal metaphors in Lakoff and Kövecses (1987), but they do not show up in the lexical approach. Again, the question arises why this should be the case. We suggest that the reason may be that OPPONENT and BURDEN are general-purpose source domains in the conceptual system that are not specific to a particular concept (such as ANGER) or a small set of concepts. This is a phenomenon that Kövecses (2000a) called the “scope of metaphor.” In other words, OPPONENT and BURDEN have a wide scope as metaphorical source domains. The same explanation appears to hold for SUPERIOR. This concept, as a source for ANGER, was not noticed by Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) and was not found in the present lexical approach. However, it was discussed by Kövecses (2000b) as one of the principal source domains for many emotion concepts, including ANGER, and several other domains.

In sum, the token-based analysis of real-world usages suggests that speakers of American English prefer more general-purpose source domains, such as OBJECT and SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER, both of which map to numerous target domains related to the emotions, for example. When we look at the top-ranked metaphors in the type-based analysis, on the other hand, these consist mainly of source domains that are characteristic of (though not unique to) ANGER, or that are at least uncommon as source domains for other targets. For example, the most salient domain in the type-based analysis is DANGEROUS ANIMAL, which is ranked far lower in the token-based analysis.

3.1.4. Differences in the schematicity of metaphors in the two approaches

As we have seen, some of the conceptual metaphors that characterize ANGER are highly schematic generic metaphors. *Table 3.1* lists all the schematic metaphors among the 20 conceptual metaphors found in the type-based (lexical) approach and in the first 20 of the 53 conceptual metaphors in the corpus.

Table 3.1. Schematic metaphors in the first 20 metaphors in the two approaches

| Lexical approach | Corpus-based approach |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| INTENSITY IS HEAT | INTENSITY IS QUANTITY |
| INTENSITY IS QUANTITY | STATES ARE LOCATIONS |
| CONTROL IS POSSESSION | INTERNAL STATE IS SUBSTANCE OUTSIDE |
| INTERNAL STATE IS CONTAINER OUTSIDE | ATTRIBUTED STATES ARE POSSESSED OBJECTS |
| INTERNAL STATE IS SUBSTANCE INSIDE | STATES ARE CONTAINERS |
| EMOTION IS TOUCH | CAUSES ARE CONTAINERS |
| | CAUSED CHANGE IS FORCED MOTION |

Only one conceptual metaphor is shared by the two groups: INTENSITY IS QUANTITY. If we look at all of the conceptual metaphors discovered by the corpus-based approach, we find many more highly schematic metaphors than we obtained via the lexical method, such as INTENSITY IS BRIGHTNESS, MANNER OF ACTION IS WAY OF ACTION, INTENSITY IS HEAT, CAUSATION IS CONNECTION, etc. That is to say,

out of the 53 conceptual metaphors identified by the corpus method, roughly one-third ($n=18$) are generic metaphors, while the lexical method uncovered 7 generic metaphors (which is also roughly one-third of all metaphors in this group). What this difference in results produced by the two datasets (7 vs. 18 generic metaphors) tells us is that speakers rely on more, and more varied, generic metaphors in the course of natural discourse in real communicative situations than what the conventionalized but decontextualized *types* of the dictionary-based approach suggest. Speakers seem to creatively place the concept of ANGER in novel frames that are unconventional for ANGER, but at the same time they ensure that they are comprehended by their interlocutors with the help of shared context. This kind of creativity is made possible by the flexibility of their conceptual system and its interaction with context.

3.1.5. Dimensions of ANGER focused on in the two approaches

There are also differences in the dimensions of ANGER that the identified source domains of the two approaches focus on. The 20 source domains identified by the lexical method profile, or focus on, 15 dimensions of ANGER in American English, whereas the first 20 source domains (out of the 53) identified by the corpus-based method profile 18 dimensions of the concept. *Table 3.2* reveals the overlaps and absences of a particular dimension in the two datasets.

Table 3.2. Profiled dimensions of ANGER in the two approaches

| <i>Profiled dimensions of anger based on the lexical data</i> | <i>Profiled dimensions of anger based on the corpus data</i> |
|--|---|
| Danger to target | Danger to target |
| High degree of loss of control | Major loss of control |
| Expression / Visibility of anger | Expression / Visibility |
| Cause displeasing the self | X |
| Danger of anger | Danger of anger |
| Intensity of anger | Intensity |
| Lack of control over anger | X |
| Causing anger | Causing anger |
| Undesirability of anger | Undesirability |
| Loss of control | X |
| Dangerousness of angry person | Dangerousness of angry person |
| Existence of anger | Existence of anger |
| Experiencing anger | Experiencing anger |
| Tension of anger | X |
| Action | Action |
| X | Responsibility for anger |
| X | Spread of anger |
| X | Handling anger |
| X | Purpose of anger |
| X | Attempt to control anger |
| X | Anger as cause |
| X | Danger to angry person |

As can be seen, eleven of the dimensions are shared by the two datasets. Four of them identified in the lexical approach are absent from the corpus approach, and eight dimensions found by means of the corpus-based method are missing from the findings of the lexical method. Given these findings, it appears that speakers of American English flexibly add new dimensions to the concept of ANGER that cannot be found when we examine the concept by means of conventionalized lexical expressions alone.

3.1.6. Interim results: American English

We found that in American English the corpus-based approach revealed many more metaphors than the lexical approach did. Certain source domains and metaphors on the top twenty corpus list, such as OBJECT, STATES ARE LOCATIONS, FLUID, STATES ARE CONTAINERS, TOOL, CAUSES ARE CONTAINERS, OPPONENT, CAUSED CHANGE IS FORCED MOTION, BURDEN, and SUPERIOR, were not found on the top twenty dictionary-based list. The presence of more schematic metaphors seems to be more characteristic of the corpus-generated metaphors. Finally, the corpus approach also revealed more dimensions of the concept of ANGER than the lexical approach.

3.2. Hungarian

3.2.1. Keyword and data collection

The Hungarian keyword selected for the analysis of ANGER was *düh* and all its derivatives (e.g., *dühös*, *dühödt*, *dühít*). Although *harag*, a synonymous term, has more representations in the *Hungarian National Corpus* (*HNC*, *düh*: 13,379 hits, *harag*: 19,662 hits), *düh* was selected as the keyword for the reason that *düh* is a spontaneous emotion that can get highly intense, while *harag*, which can best be translated as ‘rage’, refers to a long-lasting negative emotion.

The type-based analysis relies on the latest, revised edition of the most comprehensive dictionary available for Hungarian (Pusztai 2003), an online Hungarian synonym dictionary (Tótfalusi 1997), and an idiom dictionary (Kövecses 2003). We collected 256 terms and idioms of the concept of DÜH from the dictionaries mentioned above.

The token-based analysis was mainly based on the *HNC* (Oravecz et al. 2014), which comprises over one billion words. In a randomized search, the first 750 fragments of texts were selected and analyzed from the genres of literature, press, official, scientific, personal forum, and spoken language. Further 250 text fragments were selected from *Arcanum Digitheca*, the largest Hungarian database containing scientific journals, encyclopedias, newspapers, and book series, and the *Corpus of the Academic Dictionary of Hungarian*. Linguistic examples in both datasets were assessed following the MIP procedure (Pragglejaz Group 2007) for metaphoric language.

As Hungarian is an agglutinative language, some crucial decisions had to be made in order to adapt MIP – that has been originally developed for the more analytic English language – to the Hungarian data. These issues include the demarcation of lexical units, the definition of basic meanings, and the comparison of contextual and basic meanings. To be able to make consistent decisions in these questions and adapt the MIP protocol to Hungarian, we relied heavily on the suggestions of Simon et al. (2019).

3.2.2. Differences in the number of conceptual metaphors

The full list of the metaphors of both approaches, with aggregate values, can be found in *Appendix 3* (lexical method) and *Appendix 4* (corpus-based method) – full discussion and elaboration of each metaphor can be found in Szelid and Szabó (to appear). The lexical and corpus-based analyses have uncovered that the Hungarian conceptualization of DÜH is built on a large number of metaphors (altogether 50), many of which (20 metaphors) can be detected in both approaches. The number of metaphors in the corpus-based approach – similarly to the American English results – was significantly higher than that in the lexical analysis; it produced 42 conceptual metaphors for the concept of DÜH in Hungarian, whereas the type-based one yielded 28 metaphors. In the following sections we will reflect on a few qualitative differences between the results of the two approaches.

3.2.3. Differences in the top twenty metaphors in the two approaches

Although a lot more metaphors were identified in the corpus-based data, interestingly enough, there are still a few source domains that are unique to the lexical dataset. In the top 20 metaphors of the salience list yielded by the type-based approach, five such metaphors can be discovered: CANONICAL LOCATION OF A NON-EMOTIONAL SELF IS INSIDE THE BODY CONTAINER, ANGRY PERSON IS A DEVICE, CAUSE OF DÜH IS AN ANNOYANCE, CAUSE OF DÜH IS A FORCEFUL MOTION, and ANGRY PERSON IS A VOLCANO. On the other hand, the number of metaphors (or source domains) that can only be identified in the corpus-based data amounts to eight, these being the following: ATTRIBUTED STATES ARE POSSESSED OBJECTS, HUMAN BEING, OBJECT, EXISTENCE IS PRESENCE HERE, CAUSES ARE FORCES, WEAPON, SOCIAL SUPERIOR, and TOOL.

One of the reasons for the fact that the lexical approach yields unique metaphors can be attributed to classification. Some of the source domains that we identified are at a more specific level in the sense of Kövecses (2020) than the metaphors in the token-based analysis. The CANONICAL LOCATION OF A NON-EMOTIONAL SELF IS INSIDE THE BODY CONTAINER is, for example, a specific instantiation of the STATES ARE LOCATIONS general metaphor, and the uniqueness of the expressions that belong under this metaphor lies in the fact that the mentioned location is specified in them as a container (e.g., *kikel magából* ‘hatch out of oneself’, *kihoz a béketűrésből* ‘bring somebody out of peace tolerance’). Similarly,

the CAUSE OF DÜH IS A FORCEFUL MOTION combines the CAUSES ARE FORCES and the CHANGE IS MOTION general-purpose metaphors (e.g., *magára vonja vki haragját* ‘incur someone’s anger’, *magára haragít* ‘enrage someone on oneself’). The DEVICE source domain can also be viewed as a specific instantiation of the OBJECT source domain, in which the focus is on making the device operational (e.g., *felhúzza magát* ‘wind up oneself’) or dysfunctional (e.g., *kiakad* ‘unhook / get angry’), and the ANGRY PERSON IS A VOLCANO is a type of the NATURAL FORCE source domain, which was also represented by several of its other types in the corpus research.

Nevertheless, the reason why the DÜH IS AN ANNOYANCE metaphor is missing from the corpus data is different, and might be related to the limitations of a corpus-based study in general. The terms classified here in the lexical research (e.g., *felborzolja az idegeit* ‘rough up one’s nerves’, *felpaprikázódik* ‘get peppered up’) do not include the lemma *düh*, which was, however, the keyword for the corpus research.

Regarding the token-based study, several source domains uniquely present in the top 20 metaphors are general metaphors that can also be used to describe a large set of concepts besides DÜH. Three of them have a general target domain and are referred to as “general-purpose metaphors”: ATTRIBUTED STATES ARE POSSESSED OBJECTS, EXISTENCE IS PRESENCE HERE, and CAUSES ARE FORCES. The OBJECT and HUMAN BEING source domains exhibit rich mapping systems (15 and 12) and cover most aspects of DÜH, but at the same time can be easily be applied to other concepts as well. The SOCIAL SUPERIOR source domain is a FORCE metaphor (Kövecses 2000b) and therefore it can provide access to the conceptualization of a number of emotions (e.g., *úrrá lett rajta a düh/a szenvedély* ‘anger/passion became a lord over him/her’, *düh/szeretet vezérelte* ‘he/she was driven by anger/love’), and the TOOL metaphor can also be used for a broad range of emotion concepts (e.g., *dühvel/büszkeséggel csinál valamit* ‘do something with anger/pride’). The WEAPON source domain is the only one that is more characteristic of DÜH, but it can also be applied to express a small set of other concepts, such as BAD INTENTIONS or CRITICISM (e.g., *ellene irányul a düh/kritika* ‘rage/bad intentions/criticism is/are directed against him/her’), or the FOCUS OF ATTENTION (e.g., *ráirányítja vkire dühét/figyelmét* ‘directs his/her anger/attention at someone’).

Overall, most metaphors in the type-based analysis are more specific to the concept of DÜH than in the token-based approach, and in line with this, general metaphors are more numerous and rank higher in the salience list in the corpus-based study than in the lexical analysis. For example, the source domains at the top of the salience list of the lexical approach, including (1) PRESSURIZED CONTAINER, (2) INSANITY, (3) DANGEROUS ANIMAL, (4) HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, and (5) FIRE, are all characteristic of ANGER, whereas most of the top 5 metaphors/source domains of the token-based approach, namely (1) INTERNAL STATES ARE SUBSTANCES INSIDE THE BODY, (2) ATTRIBUTED STATES ARE POSSESSED OBJECTS, (3) HUMAN BEING, (4) INTENSITY IS QUANTITY, and (5) PRESSURIZED CONTAINER, are general metaphors, and only the fifth is specific to the domain of ANGER.

3.2.4. Differences in the schematicity of metaphors in the two approaches

As pointed out in the previous section, many of the metaphors resulting from the research are not only used to construct the target domain of the Hungarian DÜH, but are general-purpose metaphors that contribute to the conceptualization of a wider spectrum of abstract target domains. In the type-based approach, there are ten of these in the total set of 28 metaphors (35.7%), and in the token-based approach there are seventeen out of the 42 metaphors (40.5%). *Table 3.3* provides an overview of the schematic metaphors out of the top twenty metaphors of both approaches.

Table 3.3. Schematic metaphors in the first 20 metaphors in the two approaches

| Lexical approach | Corpus-based approach |
|---|---|
| INTERNAL STATES ARE SUBSTANCES INSIDE THE BODY | INTERNAL STATES ARE SUBSTANCES INSIDE THE BODY |
| INTERNAL STATES ARE CONTAINERS OUTSIDE THE BODY | ATTRIBUTED STATES ARE POSSESSED OBJECTS |
| INTENSITY IS QUANTITY | INTENSITY IS QUANTITY |
| CAUSES ARE CONTAINERS | CAUSES ARE CONTAINERS |
| CANONICAL LOCATION OF NON-EMOTIONAL SELF IS INSIDE THE BODY CONTAINER | INTERNAL STATES ARE CONTAINERS OUTSIDE THE BODY |
| FUNCTIONALITY IS UP | EXISTENCE IS PRESENCE HERE |
| | FUNCTIONALITY IS UP |
| | CAUSES ARE FORCES |
| | INTERNAL STATES ARE SUBSTANCES OUTSIDE |

As can be seen in *Table 3.3*, among the top 20 metaphors we can find six general-purpose metaphors (metaphors with a more general and inclusive target domain than ANGER) in the lexical analysis and nine in the corpus-based study. Five of these metaphors are shared in both approaches, these being INTERNAL STATES ARE SUBSTANCES INSIDE THE BODY, INTERNAL STATES ARE CONTAINERS OUTSIDE THE BODY, INTENSITY IS QUANTITY, CAUSES ARE CONTAINERS, and FUNCTIONALITY IS UP. There is only one schematic metaphor among the top 20 metaphors of the lexical approach that was not detected in the corpus-based study at all, which is the CANONICAL LOCATION OF A NON-EMOTIONAL SELF IS INSIDE THE BODY CONTAINER (e.g., *kikel magából* ‘hatch out of oneself’, *egészen odavan* ‘be completely there/out of one’s mind’). On the other hand, in the token-based approach, there are four general-purpose metaphors that are missing from the top 20 metaphors in the lexical approach (ATTRIBUTED STATES ARE POSSESSED OBJECTS, EXISTENCE IS PRESENCE HERE, CAUSES ARE FORCES, INTERNAL STATES ARE SUBSTANCES OUTSIDE), and the first two are completely absent from the dictionary-based analysis. Among the less salient metaphors of the corpus-based approach there are a number of additional metaphors not identified in the type-based study. These include STATES ARE LOCATIONS, CAUSES ARE FOUNDATIONS, INTENSITY IS BLACK, INTENSITY IS HELL, MORAL IS BEAUTIFUL, and INTENSITY IS DRY.

In conclusion, Hungarian speakers rely more on schematic metaphors in their everyday language use than a lexical analysis would suggest, which means that in

addition to the metaphors specific to the DÜH target domain, they creatively develop more schematic metaphors to express this emotion concept. This may be the effect of the changed contextual factors (socio-cultural and/or environmental) that characterize our present-day environment.

3.2.5. Dimensions of DÜH focused on in the two approaches

In the two datasets, 18 dimensions can be identified in Hungarian, and 11 of these are profiled by both the lexical and the corpus data (see *Table 3.4*).

Table 3.4. Profiled dimensions of DÜH in the two approaches

| <i>Profiled dimensions of anger based on the lexical data</i> | <i>Profiled dimensions of anger based on the corpus data</i> |
|---|--|
| Cause of anger | Cause of anger |
| Cause displeasing the self | X |
| Onset of anger | Onset of anger |
| Existence | Existence |
| Experience | Experience |
| Intensity | Intensity |
| Control | Control |
| Lack of control | Lack of control |
| Loss of control | Loss of control |
| Anger leading to a reaction | Anger leading to a reaction |
| X | Anger as cause |
| Showing anger | Showing anger |
| X | Maintaining anger |
| Danger to target | Danger to target |
| X | Danger to the self |
| X | Utility and value of anger |
| X | Passing of anger |
| X | Revival of anger |

As can be seen in *Table 3.4*, the 28 metaphors identified in the type-based dataset focus on 12 dimensions of DÜH, and the 42 metaphors of the corpus-based data bring 17 dimensions of the concept to the fore. This also means that six of the identified aspects of ANGER are not profiled in the lexical analysis, and only one dimension is missing from the corpus data.

3.2.6. Interim results: Hungarian

In this research we investigated the metaphors of DÜH in Hungarian by means of two approaches, using dictionary and corpus data. In total, 50 anger metaphors were identified in the two studies, of which 20 were found in both approaches. The corpus research yielded more metaphors (n=42) than the type-based research (n=28), and the former approach resulted in a much higher number and salience of general-purpose metaphors. Furthermore, 18 dimensions of the concept of DÜH

were identified by the two analyses, 11 of which were detected by both approaches. The lexical method identified 11 dimensions, while the corpus method identified 17. In the corpus research, several source domains or metaphors were found that shed light on almost all aspects of the evolving script of DŪH: OBJECT, HUMAN BEING, INTERNAL STATES ARE SUBSTANCES INSIDE A CONTAINER. Some of these dimensions only constitute non-prototypical scenarios of ANGER. The results of the study confirm that the dictionary-based and the corpus-based approaches complement one another, shedding light on two partially different knowledge structures, the comparison of which can provide valuable information on complex abstract concepts.

3.3. Russian

3.3.1. Keyword and data collection

Гнев gnev ('anger') was selected as the keyword for examination in this study due to the fact that Russian literature in the field of psychology treats this term as a basic human emotion, as well as many English-Russian dictionaries gloss *anger* as *гнев gnev* (e.g., Falla et al. 1993).

The type-based analysis involved the collection of 199 metaphorical expressions from four online dictionaries: Thesaurus of the Russian language (*Словарь синонимов и сходных по смыслу выражений slovar' sinonimov i skhodnykh po smyslu vyrzhenii*⁷), Phraseological dictionary of the Russian language (*Фразеологический словарь русского языка Frazеologicheskii slovar' russkogo yazyka*⁸), Big explanatory dictionary of the Russian language (*Большой толковый словарь русского языка Bol'shoi tolkovyi slovar' russkogo yazyka*⁹) and Phraseological dictionary of expressions of feelings and emotions (*Фразеологический словарь выражений чувств и эмоций Frazеologicheskii slovar' vyrzhenii chuvstv i emocii*¹⁰).

The token-based analysis entailed selecting 1,000 random instances of the lemma *gnev* from the Russian National Corpus (*Национальный Корпус Русского Языка Natsional'nyi Korpus Russkogo Yazyka*) across diverse range of text genres, such as fiction, non-fiction, press, advertisements, spoken language and personal forums. The MIP procedure developed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007) was used to analyze the collected data. In adapting MIP for Russian, insights from works on Polish (Marhula & Rosiński 2019) and Serbian (Bogetic et al. 2019), two other Slavic languages, were considered. Given the linguistic similarities and shared history, some of the strategies employed for these languages were found applicable to Russian, particularly regarding morphology and syntactic constructions.

⁷ <http://slovari.ru>

⁸ <http://rus-yaz.niv.ru/doc/phraseological-dictionary>

⁹ <http://www.gramota.ru/slovari>

¹⁰ <https://psylist.net/slovar/aaa.html>

3.3.2. Differences in the number of conceptual metaphors

The full list of the metaphors of both approaches, with aggregate values, can be found in *Appendix 5* (lexical method) and *Appendix 6* (corpus-based method) – full discussion and elaboration of each metaphor can be found in Rommel (to appear). Based on our analysis, it is evident that the corpus-based approach produced a greater number of source domains for GNEV as compared to the lexical method. Our results show that the corpus-based analysis identified a total of 41 distinct conceptual metaphors for GNEV, whereas the lexical approach yielded only 28.

This finding is consistent with previous research studies, which have highlighted the benefits of corpus-based approaches in identifying a larger number of source domains for emotion concepts. In particular, studies by Kövecses and colleagues (2015, 2019) and Stefanowitsch (2007) have also shown that corpus-based approaches tend to reveal more source domains than lexical approaches. It is worth noting that the finding of a greater number of conceptual metaphors for GNEV using the corpus-based approach is consistent with the research in other languages, namely American English and Hungarian, as discussed in the present paper.

3.3.3. Differences in the top twenty metaphors in the two approaches

A more detailed comparison of the top 20 metaphors from the lexical and corpus-based approaches reveals significant differences as well as striking similarities, highlighting the benefits of utilizing both methodologies in the analysis of emotion concepts.

As demonstrated in *Table 3.5*, there are notable differences between the two approaches, particularly in the top five metaphors. While the lexical approach emphasizes a specific source domain (DANGEROUS ANIMAL), the corpus approach highlights a relatively general-purpose metaphor (OBJECT). Altogether, general-purpose metaphors outpace more specific ones in the corpus-based approach, as seen in the prominence of the CONTAINER metaphors.

Nonetheless, there are also striking similarities, as the FIRE and STATES ARE LOCATIONS source domains/metaphors rank second and third in both the type-based and the token-based analyses. These shared results suggest that these metaphors play a critical role in the conceptualization and expression of GNEV in Russian culture. Interestingly, the foci of these two metaphors differ in the two approaches. For instance, metaphorical expressions under the FIRE source domain in the lexical dataset highlight the intensity and dangerousness of ANGER, while the expressions from the corpus approach primarily focus on causation. In case of the STATES ARE LOCATIONS metaphor, the lexical approach focusses on “willingly entering the state of anger”, while the corpus data highlight causation.

Additionally, the absence of some metaphors in the top twenty list in the lexical approach that were present in the corpus-based approach is noteworthy. For instance, many schematic metaphors, such as ATTRIBUTED STATES ARE POSSESSED

OBJECTS, cannot be found in the top twenty metaphors in the lexical dataset but emerged as salient in the corpus-based approach. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the CANONICAL LOCATION OF A RATIONAL SELF IS INSIDE THE BODY CONTAINER, which ranked as the fifth most salient metaphor in the lexical dataset, was not among the top twenty identified in the corpus-based approach. Moreover, language-specific source domains such as SOUND and FRIGHTENING AGENT were not present in the type-based account.

Overall, there are fascinating similarities between the results of the two approaches. Although the corpus-based approach identifies more metaphors and establishes general metaphors to be more prominent than specific ones, the lexical approach and corpus-based approach do share some of the most salient metaphors, indicating that certain metaphors are particularly prevalent and significant in the conceptualization and expression of GNEV in Russian culture.

3.3.4. Differences in the schematicity of metaphors in the two approaches

As we delve into the analysis of conceptual metaphors that define the concept of GNEV, it becomes apparent in both the type-based and corpus-based analyses that some of these metaphors are highly schematic in nature (see *Table 3.5*).

Table 3.5. Schematic metaphors in the first 20 metaphors in the two approaches

| Lexical approach | Corpus-based approach |
|--|---|
| STATES ARE LOCATIONS | STATES ARE LOCATIONS |
| THE CANONICAL LOCATION OF A RATIONAL SELF IS INSIDE THE BODY CONTAINER | ATTRIBUTED STATES ARE POSSESSED OBJECTS |
| INTERNAL STATES ARE SUBSTANCES INSIDE THE BODY AS A CONTAINER | INTERNAL STATES ARE SUBSTANCES INSIDE THE BODY AS A CONTAINER |
| INTERNAL STATES ARE CONTAINERS OUTSIDE THE BODY | INTERNAL STATES ARE CONTAINERS OUTSIDE THE BODY |
| CONTROL IS POSSESSION | CAUSES ARE CONTAINERS |
| | INTENSITY IS QUANTITY |

It can be seen that both approaches identified certain shared schematic metaphors in the top twenty metaphor list, including STATES ARE LOCATIONS, INTERNAL STATES ARE SUBSTANCES INSIDE THE BODY AS A CONTAINER and INTERNAL STATES ARE CONTAINERS OUTSIDE THE BODY. At the same time, the top twenty metaphors of the corpus-based approach contain a further schematic metaphor: INTENSITY IS QUANTITY. Although the differences in schematicity may seem minor, it is important to note that the shared schematic metaphors ranked higher in the corpus-based approach.

However, upon examining the complete inventory of conceptual metaphors derived from both approaches, it can be concluded that the lexical approach contains four additional schematic metaphors, namely ATTRIBUTED STATES ARE POSSESSED OBJECTS, INTENSITY IS HARDNESS, CAUSES ARE CONTAINERS, and INTENSITY IS HEAT. On the other hand, the corpus-based approach incorporates eight additional schematic metaphors, specifically CAUSED CHANGE IS FORCED MOTION,

INTENSITY IS HEAT, INTENSITY IS HARDNESS, EMOTION IS TOUCH, BAD IS DARK, THE CANONICAL LOCATION OF A RATIONAL SELF IS INSIDE THE BODY CONTAINER, FUNCTIONALITY IS UP, and CAUSATION IS CONNECTION. This reveals that the corpus-based approach found a larger number of schematic metaphors (n=14) than the lexical approach (n=9), with the corpus-based method also producing a higher ranking for schematic metaphors. Overall, the corpus-based approach demonstrates a higher number of highly schematic metaphors compared to the lexical approach. This finding supports the claim made in the American English and Hungarian sections of the present paper (3.1.4, 3.2.4) and emphasizes that Russian speakers also employ diverse generic metaphors in actual discourse by conceptualizing the concept of GNEV in novel ways, while ensuring mutual comprehension with the help of the shared context. The findings also highlight the flexibility of the conceptual system and its interaction with context.

3.3.5. Dimensions of GNEV focused on in the two approaches

Table 3.6 demonstrates that there are 14 dimensions of GNEV that the identified metaphors of both approaches share. However, the corpus-based analysis does not identify three dimensions that were identified by the lexical approach, namely “cause displeasing the self”, “dangerousness of an angry person”, and “morality of ANGER”. Conversely, the lexical approach misses four dimensions that were identified by the corpus-based approach: “scarcity of ANGER”, “handling ANGER”, “purpose of ANGER”, and “danger to the angry person”. These differences in foci can be attributed to the different methods used by each approach. As a result, the corpus-based analysis is better suited for capturing dimensions that may not be explicitly defined in dictionaries or language resources, but are commonly used in natural language. On the other hand, the lexical approach is better suited for capturing dimensions that are well-defined and explicitly stated in language resources.

Table 3.6. Profiled dimensions of GNEV in the two approaches

| Profiled dimensions of anger based on the lexical data | Profiled dimensions of anger based on the corpus data |
|--|---|
| Danger to target | Danger to target |
| High degree of loss of control | High degree of loss of control |
| Expression / visibility of anger | Expression / visibility of anger |
| Cause displeasing the self | X |
| Danger of anger | Danger of anger |
| Intensity of anger | Intensity of anger |
| Lack of control over anger | Lack of control over anger |
| Causing anger | Causing anger |
| Loss of control | Loss of control |
| Internalization of anger | Internalization of anger |
| Dangerousness of angry person | X |
| Existence of anger | Existence of anger |

| Profiled dimensions of anger based on the lexical data | Profiled dimensions of anger based on the corpus data |
|--|---|
| X | Scarcity of anger |
| Action | Action |
| Responsibility for anger | Responsibility for anger |
| X | Handling anger |
| X | Purpose of anger |
| Attempt to control anger | Attempt to control anger |
| Anger as cause | Anger as cause |
| Morality of anger | X |
| X | Danger to angry person |

3.3.6. Interim results: Russian

The section examined the conceptualization of GNEV via two methods, the type-based and token-based approaches, and subsequently compared their results. In comparison to the lexical approach, the corpus analysis yielded a higher number of metaphors, which were more schematic by nature. On the other hand, the lexical approach identified more specific metaphors. The top metaphors in both approaches highlighted the importance of controlling anger in Russian culture. The top metaphor in the type-based approach, GNEV IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL, highlighted not only the nature of angry behavior but also its causes and lack of control. Meanwhile, the top metaphor in the token-based approach, GNEV IS AN OBJECT, emphasized the attempt to control the emotion and the visibility of ANGER. The differing rankings and foci of the top metaphors between the two approaches indicate the complexity and multi-dimensionality of the conceptualization of GNEV in Russian. It is important to note that the two knowledge structures derived from the two datasets do not reflect a unified coherent cultural model, but rather represent complex inclusive conceptualizations that have emerged in Russian culture. Overall, it is crucial to use both approaches in analyzing the conceptualization of emotions in a given culture, as they complement each other and offer a more holistic understanding of the complex nature of emotions.

4. General discussion

4.1. General results

The findings of the research show that the corpus-based approach tends to produce significantly more source domains for the concept of ANGER than the lexical approach in all the three languages. In case of American English, 20 metaphors were identified in the lexical dataset and 53 in the corpus-based one. In Hungarian, the type-based analysis yielded 28 metaphors, while 42 were found in the corpus-based approach. Regarding the Russian data, the number of metaphors amounts to 28 in the lexical analysis and 41 in the corpus-based one. These findings are in line with previous research results (e.g., Kövecses et al. 2015, Stefanowitsch 2007). However, a comparative qualitative approach to the metaphor types

identified in the lexical and corpus-based studies in the three languages has new and unexpected outcomes.

Interestingly enough, the corpus-based analysis, which is a data-driven approach and thus examines input from a wide range of text types drawing on real language use, yielded more schematic metaphors than the dictionary-based investigation in all the three languages. Among the top 20 metaphors, in the American English data there were 6 schematic metaphors that are only present in the lexical dataset and 7 that can only be found in the corpus. This number is 6 in the lexical dataset and 9 in the corpus-based study in the Hungarian research, and 5 in the type-based, and 6 in the token-based approach in the Russian investigation.

Furthermore, the higher number of metaphors in the corpus-based approach highlights more dimensions of ANGER than the metaphors of the type-based study (the number of dimensions are as follows: Am. English – lexical: 15, corpus: 18; Hungarian – lexical: 12, corpus: 17; Russian – lexical: 17, corpus: 18). There is one shared dimension that is profiled only by the metaphors revealed in the lexical approach in all the three languages: “cause displeasing the self”, and two dimensions highlighted only in the corpus-based approach across the three languages: “danger to the angry person” and “purpose/utility of anger”. This latter dimension refers to possible valuable effects of ANGER, which aspect is entirely absent from all the three type-based datasets.

If we compare the most salient metaphors as based on the lexical data, we find some remarkable similarities across the three languages. In particular, the DANGEROUS ANIMAL metaphor figures importantly in all three (1st in American English, 3rd in Hungarian, and 1st in Russian). The FIRE metaphor is second in Russian, fourth in American English, and fifth in Hungarian. The INSANITY source domain also occurs in all three (in 6th, 2nd, and 4th place, respectively). It is worth pointing out that the three source concepts are quite specific in terms of their genericness, which makes their presence in the three languages all the more noticeable. Two source domains rank high in the salience list of two languages (PRESSURIZED SUBSTANCE: 2nd in American English, and 1st in the Hungarian dataset; and HOT FLUID: 5th in American English, and 4th in the Hungarian data). In addition, there are very few source domains among the most salient metaphors that occur singly, that is, only in one language.

The corpus-based analysis reveals a different picture. There are two shared metaphors at the top of the salience list in the three languages: OBJECT and INTERNAL STATES ARE SUBSTANCES INSIDE THE BODY. Several can be found in two languages: ATTRIBUTED STATES ARE POSSESSED OBJECTS (Hungarian, Russian), INTENSITY IS QUANTITY (American English, Hungarian), DANGEROUS ANIMAL (American English, Russian). And some occur in high salience only in a single language: WEAPON, PRESSURIZED SUBSTANCE, OPPONENT, and STATES ARE LOCATIONS. What is remarkable here is that most of the metaphors that can be found in all the three or in two languages are highly generic ones (STATE IS AN OBJECT, INTERNAL STATES ARE SUBSTANCES IN THE BODY, ATTRIBUTED STATES ARE

POSSESSED OBJECTS, INTENSITY IS QUANTITY), whereas the metaphors that occur singly tend to be specific ones, such as WEAPON, PRESSURIZED SUBSTANCE, OPPONENT (except for STATES ARE LOCATIONS). This situation is the converse of the previous case, that of the results of the lexical analysis, where the shared source concepts at the top of the salience list were specific ones (DANGEROUS ANIMAL, FIRE, INSANITY).

In sum, taking into account the results of the two approaches, there seems to be a considerable degree of congruence across the three languages as regards the metaphors they share. One may wonder what the reason is for such degree of congruence. Clearly, it cannot be the language family (Hungarian is Uralic, not Indo-European). It cannot be the geographical location either: relatively speaking, Russian is geographically distant from English, and yet it shares many metaphors with it. No matter how trivial, the reasonable answer seems to be that the three languages belong to the same European cultural sphere that has been shaped historically in more or less the same way, the main contributing elements being Greek and Roman antiquity, the Judeo-Christian tradition, the humoral view of emotions, all the way to the Industrial Revolution and the Enlightenment. Most of the shared metaphors in the three languages can be accounted for by one or several of these historical factors. And even the more unique ones may be products of the same factors (FLUID IN A CONTAINER, WEAPON, OPPONENT). Some others, though, come directly from universal bodily experience (such as INTENSITY IS QUANTITY).

However, on the flip side of the coin there is also the complementary question of what accounts for the many, more detailed differences in the metaphorical conceptualization of ANGER in the three languages. To investigate this issue in a systematic way, one would have to examine all the context types and contextual factors (see Kövecses 2015) in metaphorical conceptualization and see how they apply to the conceptual metaphors in the three languages. For lack of space, this cannot be done in a study of the kind presented here.

4.2. Methodological implications for ANGER research

Finally, we take up the issue mentioned in the introduction of what role the two methodologies play in judging which conceptual metaphors figure most importantly in the three languages. We have seen that in the type-based lexical approach it was the DANGEROUS ANIMAL, FIRE, and INSANITY metaphors that are shared by all three and the PRESSURIZED CONTAINER and HOT FLUID metaphors by two languages. In the token- and corpus-based approach it was the OBJECT and INTERNAL STATES ARE SUBSTANCES INSIDE THE BODY metaphors that were found in all three languages, while ATTRIBUTED STATES ARE POSSESSED OBJECTS, INTENSITY IS QUANTITY, FIRE, and DANGEROUS ANIMAL were found in two. We can also observe that in the corpus-based approach the four generic metaphors (OBJECT, SUBSTANCE, POSSESSED OBJECT, QUANTITY) rank higher in their rank order placement than the more specific ones (FIRE and DANGEROUS ANIMAL). This indicates that we find a great deal of congruence relative to shared metaphors in

both approaches, but in the lexical approach the high degree of congruence derives from specific level metaphors, whereas in the corpus-based approach it derives from more schematic, generic-level metaphors. In other words, the overall congruence of metaphors is high in both approaches, but it is based on different types of metaphors (specific vs. generic).

What the comparative study of the two approaches across the three languages has thus revealed is that the metaphor systems that play a role in meaning-making are very different both quantitatively and qualitatively depending on the method applied. The list of metaphors uncovered by the corpus-based approach is not only substantially longer, but also different and more schematic in nature than the metaphors of the lexical study. This schematicity reveals the flexibility of the speaker's conceptualization insofar as they find novel, unconventional frames for ANGER, which are understood by their interlocutors based on the same shared general metaphors and the help of the context. With this strategy, different and more diverse dimensions of ANGER can be unveiled than by looking at conventionalized, idiomatic expressions solely.

On the whole, the results of the study confirm that the two approaches complement one another, insofar as they shed light on two partially different knowledge structures, the comparison of which can provide valuable information on complex abstract concepts. To put it simply, if we wish to explore the metaphor system specific to a certain concept, we should choose to work with the lexical method. If, however, we wish to examine the creative potential of metaphors, we should opt for a corpus-based analysis. Nevertheless, as the present study has demonstrated, the full picture of the metaphorical conceptualization of a complex emotion concept such as ANGER can only emerge with the combination of the type- and token-based approach.

5. Conclusions

This study is the first of its kind to offer a combined methodology of a lexical approach and a corpus-based approach to systematically compare the metaphorical conceptualization of ANGER across three unrelated languages. As there is a relatively limited number of contrastive analyses in the field of metaphor studies and the methodology applied in them is rather varied regarding the type- and token-based accounts of metaphors, we took up both of these challenges with the aim of offering a more definitive answer to the question of the universality and variation of ANGER metaphors. To this end, we have chosen to study three unrelated languages: a Germanic language (American English), a Uralic language (Hungarian), and a Slavic language (Russian). Based on previous research, we expected schematic similarities in the dimensions of “intensity” and “control” across all the three languages, in both approaches, and differences in what language-specific metaphors will elaborate these schematic similarities. However, our results have placed the emphasis elsewhere. The metaphors revealed by the two approaches are very different regarding both their quantity and quality. First, the

corpus-based approach provided access to a much larger set of metaphors in all the three languages than the lexical one. Second, in the token-based approach, schematic metaphors played a greater role in all the three investigated languages, as compared to the type-based account that yielded more metaphors specific to ANGER. Third, despite the fact that the majority of the dimensions – including “intensity” and “control” – of ANGER were shared by the metaphors in both of the approaches, there are a number of new dimensions that were revealed by only one of the methodologies.

Therefore, our major result is that the two methodologies offer different, yet complementary results. When it thus comes to the question of universality vs. variation, the outcome of any comparative research depends to a great extent on the kind of methodology that is employed: a type-based or a token-based approach.

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The role of metaphor in creating polysemy complexes in Jordanian Arabic and American English

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Abstract

Most papers written on polysemy focus on sense overlaps and lexical ambiguity, yet studies that explore the possibility of establishing a polysemic complex and explaining how the new interpretations arise through metaphor are almost non-existent in Arabic. This paper aims to explore how metaphor serves to create new concepts as part of polysemic complexes through adopting Dynamic Conceptual Semantics. The target words are *bidzannin* [make mad]¹ in Jordanian Arabic (JA) and *mad* in American English (AE). An online questionnaire containing 15 items was sent to forty participants (20 JA speakers and 20 AE speakers) where they were asked to provide the interpretations of the words *bidzannin* and *mad* in contextualized sentences. The AE contextualized instances of *mad* were collected from Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) which generated 5,168 tokens of *mad* (in the years 2015/2019). The questionnaire results were discussed in a semi-structured focus-group discussion involving 10 participants. We have demonstrated that when an expression is deemed suitable for all situations categorized under both the primary perspective of MADNESS and a related perspective involving exaggerated descriptions of entities, a concept (P) emerges that bears similarity or relevance to the polysemic complex (*bidzannin*/*mad*) to which the expression belongs. In such cases, we can consider the related perspective (P') as a member of the polysemic complex (*bidzannin*/*mad*). Thus, this study explains how the same metaphor can lead to a complex of multiple meanings in two different languages that are not necessarily related to each other.

Keywords: *metaphor, polysemy complexes, dynamic conceptual semantics, Jordanian Arabic, American English*

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¹ Although there is an adjective derived from the root *d3-n-n*, i.e. *mad3nu:n* ‘insane\mad’, it is used in certain, more restricted contexts to mainly describe a person as mentally ill, reckless, or extremely irrational. The scope of *bidzannin* is wider.


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Роль метафоры в формировании полисемантических структур в иорданском диалекте арабского языка и американском варианте английского языка

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Аннотация

В большинстве публикаций, посвященных полисемии, внимание исследователей сосредоточено на частичном совпадении значений и семантической неопределенности, в то время как работы, объектом которых становятся многозначные комплексы в арабском языке и возникновение новых смыслов на основе метафорического переноса, практически отсутствуют. Цель статьи – установить роль метафоризации в формировании новых значений как части многозначных комплексов на основе принципов динамической концептуальной семантики. Объектом исследования являются лексические единицы *bidzannin* в иорданском диалекте арабского языка и *mad* в американском варианте английского языка. Сорок участников (20 говорящих на иорданском диалекте арабского языка, 20 – на американском варианте английского языка) интерпретировали значения лексических единиц *bid'annin* и *mad* в 15 контекстах, предложенных в онлайн анкете. Контексты были отобраны из Корпуса современного американского английского языка (СОСА) – 5168 вхождений *mad* за период с 2015 г. по 2019 г. Результаты анкетирования обсудили 10 участников полуструктурированной фокус-группы. В ходе исследования было выявлено, что когда выражение (е) считается уместным для всех случаев в прямом значении «сумасшествие» или в иных связанных с ним значениях, включающих гиперболизацию, возникает значение (Р), близкое многозначному комплексу (*bidzannin* \ *mad*), к которому принадлежит выражение. Такое семантически связанное значение (Р') может быть включено в структуру многозначного комплекса (*bidzannin* \ *mad*). Проведенное исследование показывает, как одна и та же метафора приводит к появлению разнообразных значений в двух языках, не обязательно генетически родственных.

Ключевые слова: метафора, полисемантические структуры, динамическая концептуальная семантика, иорданский диалект арабского языка, американский вариант английского языка

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1. Introduction

The study compares the words *bidzannin* in JA and *mad* in AE. It reveals how a similar metaphor can lead to polysemy complexes in unrelated languages, offering insights into the universality of certain cognitive processes in language. The target JA word is formed from the Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) root *dz-n-n*, with the past tense of the verb in MSA being *dzunna*, which means ‘someone lost his mind’ (Almaany 2022). Similarly, the etymology of the word *mad*, based on the Oxford

English Dictionary (OED), can be traced back to Old English *gemæd* (second half of the 13th century and the first half of the 14th century), meaning ‘insane.’ By the 16th century, the word *mad* became the usual term for ‘insane’ (OED). The meanings listed under the Arabic root and its derivatives in MSA dictionaries are generally negative. However, *bidzannin* has not been investigated in a spoken dialect such as Jordanian Arabic, and *mad* has not been explored from the viewpoint of Dynamic Conceptual Semantics. Thus, examining the different interpretations of any word in a spoken dialect offers considerable insights into that dialect and the thought processes of its speakers. Additionally, understanding how metaphorical interpretations contribute to polysemy deepens our comprehension of language and the cognitive processes involved in meaning creation.

In general, the process of concept formation involves organizing increasing amounts of data, specifically satisfaction situations for expressions, according to similarity or association under different perspectives. This leads to the development of stabilizing sequences, which are quasi-concepts forming the basis of the fundamental experiential conceptual structure (see Bartsch 2002, Dirven & Pörings 2009, Kövecses 2010). These principles also contribute to the use of metaphoric or metonymic language, resulting in the creation of new concepts expressed through lexical forms. As the newly formed conceptual structure strives for stability, there is a natural tendency to expand these structures through metaphor and metonymy, particularly when encountering situations that do not fit into previously established concepts. Thus, incorporating metaphorical and metonymical uses of expressions into established concepts may destabilize those concepts.

Building on the above, Bartsch (2009) argues that metaphor and metonymy, as suggested by cognitive approaches (Lakoff & Johnson 2003), involve not only the transfer of certain entities or structures from the source domain to the target domain but also a shift in perspective is essential for transferring concepts from one domain to another. However, when concepts are broadened or narrowed, no perspective shift is needed since they generally occur within the same perspective, which may be more or less specific. A perspective consists of a selection of dimensions or similarity spaces that determine which aspects of concepts are part of that perspective compared to other concepts within the same perspective. Therefore, a perspective can be seen as a “second-order concept of a certain type, which is a concept of concepts” (Bartsch 2009: 57). The latter refers to a set of concepts that can be distinguished by selecting information provided by the perspective, which can be generated by a question or driven by a desire or interest. Subsequently, predicates are used to express the concepts, resulting in possible answers to the question or possible fulfillment of the desire or interest.

According to the Dynamic Conceptual Semantics model, polysemy—having multiple meanings—can be explained through the use of metaphor and metonymy to create new interpretations of expressions (Bartsch 2002, 2009). A polysemic complex is a group of first-order concepts, but its structure is different from that of a perspective. In a perspective, concepts are set up in opposition to one another, while in a polysemic complex, concepts are linked together through metaphorical

or metonymical relationships. Therefore, the formation of polysemic complexes relies on the relationships of similarity and/or contiguity between concepts from different perspectives (Bartsch 2009).

Using Dynamic Conceptual Semantics as a framework (as described by Dirven & Pörings 2009, Bartsch 2009), this study seeks to explore how both the assumption that utterances are truthful and general principles of concept formation can contribute to understanding and creating new interpretations of expressions. Essentially, the study aims to determine whether a particular expression can be considered a member of a group of expressions with multiple meanings, based on whether it satisfies certain conditions.

More specifically, if the expression *e* is considered satisfactory for all situations *s* categorized under one perspective (*P*) and also under a related perspective (*P'*), and if there is a concept (*P*) that is similar to or related to the polysemic complex (*X*) to which the expression belongs, then that related perspective (*P'*) can be considered a member of the polysemic complex (*X*). This will be accomplished through investigating the different interpretations of the word *bidzannin*, which is one of the commonly used words among Jordanian Arabic (JA) speakers, and *mad* as used informally in contemporary American English (AE). In particular, it aims to answer the following research questions:

1) How does metaphor function in the formation of novel concepts within polysemic complexes in JA and AE, as per the framework of Dynamic Conceptual Semantics by Bartsch (2009)?

2) What are the implications of mapping features from the source domain of MADNESS in generating metaphoric concepts within the polysemic complex of *bidzannin/mad*?

3) How does the relationship of similarity impact the inclusion of concepts ('P') into the Polysemic complex of *bidzannin/mad* when they are based on metaphoric associations?

Most papers written in this area study polysemy in terms of sense overlaps and lexical ambiguity. Generally, few studies focus on the possibility of establishing a polysemic complex and explain how the new interpretations arise through concept formation and understanding. There is also a scarcity of studies conducted on polysemy in the Arabic language. So, by focusing on the creation of polysemic complexes through metaphor, it fills a significant gap in the existing literature that tends to concentrate on sense overlaps and lexical ambiguity. The following section provides a background on polysemy, previous research done in the same field of study, polysemic complexes, and Dynamic Conceptual Semantics.

2. Background

2.1. What is polysemy?

Polysemy is the linguistic phenomenon where one word has different but etymologically and semantically related meanings. According to Kovács (2011), polysemy is very common in different human languages, and almost all words are,

to an extent, considered polysemous. Moreover, the most commonly used words are the most polysemous ones (Ravin & Leacock 2000). Polysemy has been a subject of extensive research and examination by numerous linguists, philosophers, and psychologists. Much emphasis has been placed on distinguishing between *homonymy* and *polysemy*, (e.g., Klepousniotou 2002, Bergenholtz & Agerbo 2014). The two sense relations were mainly studied in terms of the semantic relatedness of their meanings (e.g., Kovács 2011, Jaber et al. 2016) and etymology (e.g., Kovács 2011, Klepousniotou 2002), among other aspects of their semantic and historical characteristics.

Homonyms are words that have the same string of letters with different, unrelated meanings (Ravin & Leacock 2000). Conversely, a polysemous word refers to a single word that has many different senses, but they are related (Klepousniotou 2002). Therefore, in the dictionary, lexicographers list polysemous words under the same entry while homonyms are listed under separate entries. The difficulty lies in determining whether the meanings are related or not. So, even though the definitions of ‘homonymy’ and ‘polysemy’ seem simple, they are not clear-cut, and much research was devoted to differentiating between them.

Polysemy is considered pervasive in languages because almost every lexical item can be interpreted in many different ways, and therefore have different meanings (Klein & Murphy 2001). However, the number of senses differs for each word, and even different dictionaries have different senses of the same word. This indicates that there is little agreement by lexicographers on the degree of polysemy.

In a dictionary, polysemous words are listed within one entry, and each sense has subentries (Brown 2008), and even in mental lexicons, all senses of a single lexical item are stored under a single entry (Falkum 2015). According to Allerton (1979), different senses of a word must share a core meaning in order to be considered polysemous. In addition, polysemy is considered a productive phenomenon in language. New senses can always be added to the same words, and therefore, words will even be more polysemous as they are compositional and can be differently encoded or extended (Copestake & Briscoe 1995). For example, the main entry of the word ‘*reel*’ is a ‘*container*,’ but it can be used with another word to mean something completely different according to the context. A ‘reel of film,’ for example, refers to the film it contains (*ibid*: 30–31). Although polysemy poses some problems in semantics, lexicography, and translation, polysemy rarely causes problems for speakers while communicating, as they are able to understand the intended meaning easily and unconsciously due to having contextual cues (Kovács 2011). However, it can be used in humor and puns as it poses some ambiguity (Ravin & Leacock 2000). For example, a ‘whistle’ is regularly defined as ‘making a shrill clear sound by a rapid movement,’ but in another context, it might be referring to the sound produced by a whistle, intending the instrument or the device (Ravin & Leacock 2000: 2).

Falkum (2009) emphasizes that polysemy must not be studied in terms of the language system only, and it should be seen in terms of how communication works

between humans, taking into account the pragmatic inference. In other words, he argues that polysemous words emerge in a linguistic system "which is embedded in a pragmatic inferential capacity" (Falkum 2009: 51). According to the study conducted by Falkum (2015) to investigate whether polysemy words emerge from lexical-internal processes or pragmatic-inferential processes, he found that the 'pragmatic-inferential account' is the most promising basis to treat polysemous data. In other words, even though it is stated that linguistic knowledge has a key role in generating polysemous words, it is found that "polysemy arises mainly as a result of the operation of pragmatic processes over underspecified lexical meanings" (Falkum 2015: 97). In addition, it was argued that the pragmatic processes result in generating new senses based on the context, which are called 'occasion-specific senses' (Falkum 2015). That is, different contexts and the pragmatics of any word or the occasion the word was used on greatly affect what is meant by the word or the different interpretations it might refer to.

2.2. Previous studies

Ibarretxe-Antuñano (1999), using Cognitive Linguistics as a framework, conducted a cross-linguistic study on the analysis of polysemy of perception verbs in English, Basque, and Spanish. It is stated by Ibarretxe-Antuñano that, in Cognitive Linguistics, polysemy's main approach is that meanings are related in systematic ways, i.e., metaphorical and metonymic mappings, because they are what build our sense-related vocabulary. So, polysemy does not solely pertain to a word being associated with multiple senses. The researcher, accordingly, proposes a model for analyzing polysemy. The new model is composed of three stages of analysis: determining the bodily basis to which the semantic field belongs, establishing the conceptual polysemy, which means the different conceptual mappings of the senses a word has, and then establishing its gradable polysemy, which explains that these conceptual mappings are expressed using different lexical items in different languages. In addition, as the researcher analyzes data from three different languages, he emphasizes the idea that conceptual polysemy is universal as our experiences are based on the world around us and the way we view it.

Furthermore, Kjellmer (2007) studied the polysemous word *risk* and the ambiguity it might cause. The researcher firstly identifies the two senses of the word 'risk' and determines that the shared ground between them is that taking risks is for doing something worthy. However, both senses differ in that one is used for putting a valuable, pleasant thing in a hazardous situation (e.g., to risk his life), and the other is used for referring to an unpleasant object or unwanted consequence (e.g., to risk bankruptcy). In his analysis, the researcher focused mainly on the contextual information, but if it is not sufficiently informative, he relied on a less specific interpretation. Therefore, the researcher argues that there are cases where the word 'risk' is ambiguous, based on the reader's or the hearer's perspective, and the interpretations may differ accordingly. The study concludes by suggesting that if

the context is not informative enough, a default interpretation or a general interpretation are called for.

In his study, Alsalim (2017) investigated the Arabic verb *dʿaraba*, which means ‘hit,’ using cognitive grammar as a theoretical framework. His study focuses on identifying the related senses of the verb in various uses and contexts. Results show that the verb *dʿaraba* has a core, polysemous meaning that has many ‘discrete’ meanings, such as mixing, parables, appointments, records, deafening, disunion, among other meanings. However, these different meanings are related through meaning chains. In other words, all senses elaborate on the two attributes of the verb, mainly: changing or damaging by the point of contact; but they are used differently according to the different paths and domains.

Moreover, Alsaleem (2018) examined the multiple meanings of some words used in Jordanian Arabic, especially between the dictionary sense and the contextual uses. The sample of the study consists of 38 nouns used in spoken language in Al-Mafraq City, Jordan. She classified the uses of the nouns into two types: to encompass not only its conventional lexicographic signification but also diverse semantic differences (opposite meaning, polysemy, sarcasm, and metaphor). For example, the word *mʿallim*, which literally means ‘a teacher,’ has different meanings based on the context in which it is used. In a school, for example, *mʿallim* means a teacher, but in a garage, it means a mechanic. It also may be used to refer to an experienced worker or a handyman, or employees may refer to their boss using *mʿallim* (Alsaleem 2018: 50). The study concludes by arguing that polysemy is a main characteristic of most syntactic classes of human languages, and that different meanings depend on speakers and contexts, and possibly on different sociolinguistic factors such as age and gender.

In English, various studies have explored the means by which metaphor gives rise to polysemy. Lakoff and Johnson (2003) explained how the metaphor ARGUMENT AS WAR can give rise to the polysemy of the word *attack*, which can mean both physical assault and verbal criticism. Sweetser’s (1990) study focused on the MIND AS BODY metaphor, which can give rise to polysemy in English. The scholar argued that the metaphorical mapping between physical and mental experiences can explain why words related to physical sensations are used to describe mental states. For example, the word *grasp* can be used both to describe physical acts of holding onto objects and mental acts of understanding complex ideas. Sweetser suggested that this kind of polysemy arises from the metaphorical extension of our bodily experiences to abstract domains, and that it reflects the way our minds are embodied and grounded in physical experience (see also Kövecses 2000, 2010, Charteris-Black 2004, Zibin 2021).

Based on the above discussion, it appears that various theoretical frameworks or approaches have been employed in studying polysemy, yet none have applied Dynamic Conceptual Semantics to analyze this sense relation in both JA and AE. Therefore, further research is required to obtain a deeper understanding of the multiple interpretations a word can possess, as well as the influence of the context

on the sense interpretation. By exploring the mechanisms that underlie the generation of novel interpretations and senses, this research extends beyond the conventional boundaries of polysemy analysis. Consequently, it offers a fresh conceptual perspective and makes a contribution to the existing body of knowledge in this field. The following section provides a definition for polysemy complexes.

2.3. Polysemic complexes

According to Bartsch (2009: 58–59), unlike other concepts that can be categorized under the same perspective, once a concept has been stabilized under a particular perspective (P), it is possible for the concept to extend beyond the boundaries of P through word transfer in order to maintain the stability of the original concept. In cases where the transferred word does not fit *salva stabilitate*, the process is referred to as either metaphoric or metonymic transfer, which occurs through similarity or association.² The effect of metaphoric and metonymic transfer is that they assume an already established concept and a conventionalized use of the word for that concept, which can lead to the formation of new concepts. Bartsch (2009) provides a consistent definition for polysemic complexes based on this understanding:

If there exists a condition P' that is satisfied in all situations *s* where expression *e* is fulfilled, and there is a condition P belonging to the set of possible completions of *e* (POLCOMP(*e*)) that is either metonymically or metaphorically related to P', then P' also belongs to POLCOMP(*e*). When the expression (*e*) is used in the context of perspective (P), it conveys the property (P') that exists at the intersection of (P) and the polysemic complex to which the expression belongs (POLCOMP(*e*)). In other words, the intersection of (P) and POLCOMP(*e*) is equal to {P'}

(Bartsch 2009: 58–59)

In the process of forming concepts, the ordering of quasi-concepts on a realistic level can be similar to the ordering on an experiential level. Assuming that (P) is a quasi-concept that has been stabilized as a concept, the polysemic complex of concepts can be structured further by adding a newly created concept (P') that satisfies the following condition:

If for all situations (*s*) that fall under the concept (P') within the perspective (Pi), the expression (*e*) is considered to be satisfied by (*s*), and there exists a concept (P) belonging to or being a member of the polysemic complex of (*e*)

² The phrase *salva stabilitate* is Latin, and it can be translated to English as “with stability” or “while preserving stability.” Generally, it means that when a concept is stabilized or established within a particular perspective and the aim is to maintain its stability, incorporating cases of using the same word that do not fit or do not contribute to that stability should be avoided. In other words, it suggests maintaining the integrity and consistency of the established concept within that perspective without introducing elements that disrupt or undermine its stability.

such that (P') and (P) are related through either metonymy or metaphor, then (P') is a member of the polysemic complex of (e).

(Bartsch 2009: 58–59)

A starting concept, which is the initial established concept P expressed by expression e, is already in place. The second concept P' is then added if it satisfies condition 2'. Additional concepts can be added thereafter, either originating from the first or second concept (Bartsch 2009: 59–60). The question that will arise here is how polysemy can be generated on the experiential level. Thus, it is exemplified in the subsequent context:

Assuming that expression *e* is used truthfully in situation 2, and the situation *s* satisfies the conditions of perspective *P_i*, then we need to determine the concept expressed by *e* under *P_i* with respect to *s*, which could potentially be a member of the polysemic complex of *e*. The following process is used to identify such a concept, as outlined by Bartsch (2009: 59–60):

- First, we consider the set of previous satisfaction situations for *e* and create a new set $Se,i \cup \{s\}$ for *e* under *P_i*.

- We choose *Se,i* such that all situations in *Se,i* are identical to *s* under perspective *P_i*.

- We extend this set taking into account the new satisfaction situation *s* of *e* in a way that conforms to *P_i*-harmony and contradicts other *P_i*-properties.

- This results in a sequence of growing subsets up to $Se,i \cup \{s\}$ together with a converging decline containing the internal similarity degree that keeps intact contradiction under *P_i*.

- If it is not possible to construct $Se,i \cup \{s\}$ in this manner, then we need to delineate another corresponding set for *e* under *P_i* that fulfills these conditions and name it *Se,i*.

- This process results in a quasi-concept $Se,i \cup \{s\}$ that approximates a concept that is a construction of a property, which is a concept that is realized in *s*.

Having discussed polysemy complexes, we devote the following section to an overview of Dynamic Conceptual Semantics as envisaged by Bartsch (1998, 2009).

2.4. Dynamic Conceptual Semantics

The Dynamic Conceptual Semantics model (Bartsch 1998, 2009) provides a framework for understanding how metaphor and metonymy can be regarded as new ways of creating sequences of “satisfaction situations for an expression on the experiential level”. These cognitive operations involve selecting similarity and contiguity relations under specific perspectives (*P_s*) to form growing sets of data into similarity and contiguity sets (Bartsch 2009: 55). Metonymy involves a change in perspective to create contiguity relationships, such as *means-end*, *cause-effect*, *instrument-action*, and *action-result*. Conversely, metaphor involves a change in perspective to create similarity relationships. It is important to note that the source concept is already stabilized; thus, the integration of a new use of an expression into

the old concept under the previous perspective would result in the destabilization of the concept (Bartsch 2009: 55).

For young children in early developmental stages, the distinction between metaphoric or metonymic uses and normal language uses does not exist. They only have language use guided by similarity and contiguity under changing perspectives. The distinction between creative and standard uses of an expression occurs only when conceptual stability is reached (Bartsch 2009: 55). In metaphoric and metonymic languages uses, the process of concept formation encompasses the stabilization principle as well as the change of *P*, from a default to a context-dependent and locally introduced perspective. A relationship of similarity and contiguity is formed via subjective and local series of theories and experiences on both levels of thinking and understanding, as well as experiences generally made and stereotypes or theories adhered to in a certain speech community. The application of new perspectives, called the new *Ps*, can then be applied locally or globally to the established experiential and theoretical concepts. This is achieved by selecting the feature basis of a metaphor and enriching it with situational experiences and additional knowledge. As a result, a new concept is created through a combination of selection and enrichment (Bartsch 2009: 55).

The words analyzed in this study originate from a metaphorical use. Their literal meaning is ‘to drive one crazy,’ while they are usually used to refer to positive features and characteristics about something or someone. This study aims to explore the polysemy found in *bidzannin* and *mad* from the viewpoint of Dynamic Conceptual Semantics. The next section reviews some studies that have adopted different frameworks to study polysemy.

3. Methodology

Twenty Jordanian participants (14 females and 6 males), whose ages ranged between 20–35 years old and twenty native speakers of AE (13 females and 7 males) whose ages ranged between 25–39 old took part in this study. The age of the participants was crucial in this study since, as discussed before, participants should have reached conceptual stability. The participants were recruited through a convenient sampling procedure where the researchers chose a sample which is easily accessible to them (see Alazazmeh & Zibin 2022); they were friends, family members and acquaintances of the researchers who agreed to willingly take part in this study. The JA participants were all native speakers of Urban Jordanian Spoken Arabic, the dialect which is spoken mostly in Amman, the capital of Jordan, and the second group were all native speakers of American English. The data elicitation tool employed is an online questionnaire sent to the participants either through the email or social media platforms. Specifically, the participants were asked to provide the interpretations of the words *bidzannin* and ‘mad’ in contextualized sentences. The JA sentences were written in consultation with two linguists whose native language is JA. An illustration is provided below (translated from Arabic):

What is the interpretation of the word *bitdzannin* in the following context?
 You and your friend went on a trip to Aqaba (a coastal city in southern Jordan),
 you booked a room in a 5-stars hotel that has a nice view of the Red Sea, your
 friend said:

ʔilʔitʕla:leh bitdzannin (the view\scene makes you mad)

The meaning of *bitdzannin* is -----.

The AE examples were adapted from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) (see Goddard & Wierzbicka 2021, Goddard, Wierzbicka & Farese 2022).³ The researchers searched for the word *mad* as used in the period between 2015–2019, eliciting 5,168 tokens in total. The generated tokens were then filtered manually to find examples in which the word *mad* is used to describe an entity\human\behavior\action in different contexts similarly to the way *bitdzannin* is used in JA. The task was done separately by the three researchers; the total number of examples generated by the three researchers was 26, then it was narrowed down to 15 which is the total number of items that was included in the questionnaire. The participants were given a similar question to the one described above. The two words, i.e., *bidzannin* and *mad*, were chosen in particular because they are extensively used words among JA and AE speakers in different contexts based on the observation of two of the researchers whose native language is Urban Jordanian Spoken Arabic. As discussed below, it has several interpretations based on the context in which it occurs. In addition, the two words also have a literal meaning which could be different from their interpretation in context. The questionnaire also contained an open-ended question where the participants were asked to suggest other interpretations of the words *bidzannin* and *mad*.

To get more insight into the different interpretations of the target word and to triangulate our results, the results obtained from the online questionnaire were discussed in a focus-group discussion consisting of 10 speakers of JA and 10 native speakers of AE (see Zibin, Altakhaineh & Hussein 2020). The sample was chosen randomly using a simple random sampling technique. That is, one researcher approached students randomly at the University of Jordan and asked them to take part in the focus-group discussion; thus, any student at the university had a chance to be selected. Ten JA participants (6 females and 4 males) mean age 22 years old and 10 AE native-speaking participants (8 males and 2 females) mean age 25 years old agreed to take part in the discussion which took place at one of the rooms at the faculty of foreign languages and lasted for 60 minutes. The results are presented in the section below.

³ ‘Adapted’ here means modifying or changing the original sentences to better suit the task at hand. This involved a variety of changes, such as altering the grammatical structure, substituting words or phrases, or omitting parts of the sentence. The purpose of adapting sentences is usually to make them more relevant, accurate, or appropriate for the target task.

4. Data analysis

The researchers analyzed the answers provided by the participants in the questionnaire by calculating the frequency of each answer and then selecting the answers that received the highest percentages to be analyzed. These results were supported by the ones we obtained from the focus-group discussion. The results showed that the words *bidzannin* and *mad* were found to be generally used to positively describe an object, a situation, or a person taking into account that the context and other factors can influence the interpretation. In this regard, JA is different from MSA, where the senses are mainly negative. Examples discussed below show different interpretations of the word *bidzannin* based on different contexts and uses.

- (1) ?il-jaww bidzannin
DEF-weather make.mad-3SGM
'The weather is extremely nice [warm, rainy, foggy, snowy].'
- (2) It is mad cold outside today.

Using the word *bidzannin* to describe the weather is very common in JA. It may have different interpretations according to one's favorite season. For example, if one likes winter, they would describe windy, rainy, and foggy weather with the word *bidzannin*, but if one likes summer, s/he would describe sunny and hot weather as *bidzannin*. In AE, the matter is rather different because the speaker would normally explain the remark using an adjective after 'mad' as shown in example (2) (cf. Kjellmer 2007). Yet, saying something like "the weather is mad tonight" can have different interpretations based on the context, the speaker as well as other factors. The answers obtained from the participants on the questionnaire show that the weather is mainly described as *bidzannin* when it is clear and mild since the sentence in the questionnaire was about summer, and more than half the participants answered that warm and sunny weather is what they describe the most as *bidzannin*. In AE, the participants in general agreed that describing the weather as *mad* usually means very hot or very cold.

- (3) qma:ʃit-ha: bitdzannin
fabric-3SGF make.mad.3SGF
'The fabric is amazing [soft, stylish, beautiful].'
- (4) This dress is mad.

The words *bidzannin* and *mad* can be used to describe the fabric of a piece of clothing. Participants were asked to describe the best fabric\dress\suit they like, and it was indicated that the words *bidzannin* and *mad* are usually used to mean that the fabric\dress\suit is beautiful, impressive, stylish and others.

- (5) ?il-walad bidzannin
DEF-boy make.mad.3SGM
'The boy is extremely clever\handsome\nice\gentlemanly.'

- (6) hal-bint bitdzannin
 this-girlmake.mad.3SGF
 ‘This girl is extremely smart\beautiful\nice\funny’.

(7) She is mad smart.

Describing people with the word *bidzannin* may mean different things according to the context. In example (5), for instance, if the sentence was said in the context of school, it will mostly mean that the boy is clever and always outperforms his classmates. So, a student may be described as *bidzannin* because s/he is intelligent. However, in example (6), describing a lady in the context of marriage, the sentence will mean that she is beautiful and has good features to be a future wife. In AE, describing a person as mad is usually meant to be negative; however, if an adjective is added after *mad* which functions in this case as an adverb, then the interpretation would depend on the adjective that follows mad, e.g. in (7) “the guy is extremely smart”.

- (8) bitdzannini
 make.mad.2SGF
 ‘You are extremely gorgeous\captivating\kind.’

(9) That girl is mad gorgeous.

The word in example (8) is very commonly used by girls to complement each other. For example, girls commonly say *bitdzannini* to express how beautiful their friend looks or describe how kind a girl is. So, *bitdzannini* can also be used as a complement. In (9), again using *mad* accompanied by *gorgeous* means “that girl is extremely beautiful”.

- (10) ?il-?akil bidzannin
 DEF-food.3SGM make.mad.3SGM
 ‘The food is extremely tasty\appetizing\mouthwatering\scrumptious.’

(11) This is mad tasty.

Food, too, can be described as *bidzannin\mad*. In this case, it means that it is delicious. This sentence is mostly used to describe how good a specific restaurant is, or to complement food served at a feast. In general, it can be observed that both words function as adverbial modifiers of degree in 8–11.

- (12) kala:m-ak bidzannin
 Speech-2SGM make.mad.3SGM
 ‘You are absolutely right.’

When words or speech are described using *bidzannin*, they are absolutely correct, accurate, convincing, and precise to the one who is listening. This sense according to the participants is not used, with *mad*, in American English.

- (13) ?il-?utʕur bidzannin
 DEF-perfume.3SGM make.mad.3SGM
 ‘The perfume smells extremely appealing\exotic.’

(14) The perfume is mad.

Describing perfume as *bidzannin\mad* means that it is extremely appealing, and perfume is one of the things that is commonly described with *bidzannin* among Jordanian speakers, but not very often by American English speakers.

(15) ?il-dokto:r bidzannin
DEF-doctor.3SGM make.mad.3SGM
'The professor is extremely helpful\ kind\ lenient'.

(16) She is mad cool.

(17) ?il-lma:ddeh bitdzannin
DEF-course.3SGF make-mad.3SGF
'The course is extremely easy\beneficial\informative\enjoyable'

University students use the word *bidzannin* to describe a professor to mean how helpful and distinguished s/he is, and that s/he makes things clear and easy during classes. A course can be described using *bidzannin* as well, but in this case, it will mean that the course is easy, beneficial, informative or enjoyable. According to the AE native speakers who took part in the focus-group discussion, *mad* is not normally used in an academic context, yet it can be used to describe a person [even a professor] as in example (16), but with an informal connotation. The ability of the participants to infer the meaning of *mad* and *bidzannin* relying on the context and state that these words are suitable to be used in others [online language comprehension and production] provides support to pragmatic-inferential account proposed by Falkum (2015). Yet, explaining how the polysemy arises in these two words given that they belong to two different languages but used in similar ways may not be explainable by a pragmatic account alone (see Section 5).

(18) ?il-?aʕdeh/ ʕafleh/ dʒamʕa bitdzannin
DEF-visit\party\gathering.3SGF make.mad.3SGF
'The visit/the party/the gathering was extremely delightful\cool\nice\fun.'

(19) The hobby shop was mad fun.

The sentence in example (18) is commonly said at the end of the event to express how nice it was and how happy the guests are, and that they enjoyed themselves. The same applies to example (19), where a place can be described as extremely fun using *mad*.

(20) ?il-?itʕla:leh bitdzannin
DEF-view.3SGF make.mad.3SGF
'The view is extremely breathtaking\spectacular\striking.'

(21) This view is mad.

Views and scenery, in JA, are very commonly described with the word *bidzannin* to express how impressive and breathtaking they are. This sentence can be used to list the special features of a hotel room, a restaurant, or a new house with

a balcony, in order to mean that it has a very special view. In example (21), a beautiful view\scenery can be described as *mad* to convey how extremely beautiful it is according to the participants.

- (22) sʰu:tu bidzannin
 Voice.3SGM make.mad.3SGM
 ‘His voice is extremely captivating\melodious\ mellifluous.’

Someone’s voice can be described as *bidzannin* if it is engaging and melodious to listen to. The sentence in example (22) would be very commonly heard in a conversation between two people speaking about their favorite singer. Someone’s voice or vocals are not normally described as *mad* in AE.

- (23) ʔil-fuʃu:r bidzannin
 DEF-feeling.3SGM make.mad.3SGM
 ‘The feeling is extremely distinct\liberating.’

This sentence was said in the context in which a person was expressing how perfect it is to feel free after being very busy and overwhelmed with much work. However, the sentence may be used in various contexts to refer to different things. For example, one might say it to describe how great it is to get something after trying hard, to say that it is great to love and to be loved, or in the context of doing something to refresh you and re-energize you. It can also be used to express negative feelings such as anxiety, frustration and disappointment in certain contexts as in the following example:

- (24) halwadʔiʃ bidzanninak
 this.situation.3SGM make.mad.3SGM
 ‘This situation makes you extremely frustrated\angry\annoyed.’

Feeling *mad* in AE is usually used with negative connotations as in feeling extremely angry or annoyed as in:

- (25) The woman was mad angry by this.
 (26) I snapped. I get mad fast.

In addition, examples (27–29) show that the target words are not only used to describe entities\humans, it can also be used to describe actions, skills, and behaviors. Consider the following examples:

- (27) ʃuyluh bidzannin
 work.3SGM make.mad.3SGM
 ‘His work skills are extremely impressive\remarkable.’
- (28) He has mad skills.
- (29) tʰari:ʔit taʃa:ml-uh maʃ l-mawdu:ʃ bitdzannin
 way.3SGF dealing-3SGM with DEF-issue.3SG make.mad.3SGF
 ‘The way he dealt with the situation was extremely professional\
 competent\impressive\practical.’

In example (28), for instance, describing someone's skills as *mad* means that they are exceptional.

5. Discussion

Through the present discussion of some examples spoken regularly in JA and AE, it has been shown that the words *bidzannin*, along with its other conjugated forms, and *mad* have different interpretations according to the context in which they are used. Although used similarly, the scope of *bidzannin* is wider than that of *mad* as the latter is unacceptable in certain contexts. It is noticeable that the majority of interpretations are considered positive, and accordingly *bidzannin* and *mad* have relatively positive connotations in JA and AE.

All senses of a word should be in relation to the 'construction' in which it is found, considering the cultural and pragmatic contexts in which this interpretation is made (Okeke & Okeke 2017). Accordingly, from the perspective of Dynamic Conceptual Semantics, it can be argued that all senses of the words *bidzannin*/*mad* can be traced back to a metaphorical use responsible for its multiple related senses, as they all have related exaggerated senses. So, according to what is discussed above, a polysemous word should have semantically related interpretations, i.e., the majority of senses that *bidzannin*/*mad* [used as either adjectives or adverbs] convey are positive, exaggerated ones.

After providing the examples of the target words that were given by the participants, in the next section, we will demonstrate how metaphor contributes to the creation of new concepts that are included in polysemic complexes at both the experiential and theoretical levels of concept formation, by utilizing the Dynamic Conceptual Semantics approach (Bartsch 1998, 2002, 2009).

From the view point of Dynamic Conceptual Semantics (Bartsch 1998, 2009), the polysemy of *bidzannin*/*mad* can be explained as follows: on the experiential level of concept formation we have a person/people who established an analogy between the extremity that one experiences when being irrational (rather than being literally insane as in mentally ill) and to show extreme enthusiasm about a certain entity (clothes, food, weather), human, action or behavior so that such an entity is described as being extremely breathtaking, captivating, exceptional, beautiful, delectable, breathable, soft and so forth. The list of aspects/features being mapped from the source network and the source domain itself to be satisfied on the target are those related to the entity being described, i.e., if it was food, then it would be appetizing, if it was fabric, then it would be soft, beautiful, billowy, etc. depending on the context and individual preferences. Thus, what is being mapped from the domain of IRRATIONALITY and INSANITY is extremity. At first, speakers go through a series of previous experiences/situations where enthusiasm about an entity is described in terms of extremity established through similarity, in other words through metaphor. In these situations, speakers described certain entities, humans, actions or behaviors as *bidzannin*/*mad* but did not literally mean that entity \ human \ action \ behavior is making you actually mad or is driving you out

of your mind. The two speech communities, in our case, would notice that the word is used to convey extremity either positive (mostly) or negative about a certain entity\human\action\behavior. The perspective under which speakers of these communities perceive the mapped feature (extremity) from the domain of MADNESS\INSANITY, which is also the one under which they have to understand the metaphorical interpretation of *bidzannin\mad*, is the perspective of exaggerated description of appearance of an entity, action, behavior, etc. This perspective chooses the most common extreme aspect and other related exaggerated aspects in the experiential concept created by the situations of *bidzannin\mad*. It is typical as opposed to the description of entity, human, action or behavioral properties of normal unexaggerated situations experienced daily. Thus, speakers would use *bidzannin\mad* to describe entities in situations that are extremely [adjective] based on the context being experienced.

Under such perspective, speakers can continue selecting situations of *bidzannin\mad* by adding to these [salva stabilization] situations the experiences in which they need to express extreme enthusiasm about a certain entity, human, action or behavior, and finding a situation that fits as a continuation of these respective experiences. By doing so, they create a new concept of extreme enthusiasm that is situated under the perspective of exaggerated or extreme description of X, contrasting with other descriptive concepts. This concept can be applied not only to the entities mentioned above in appropriate situations, but also to other entities, behaviors, and actions. The primary or standard perspective under which *bidzannin\mad* falls is the perspective of insanity, madness or irrationality, while the secondary perspective under which the metaphoric use is created is the perspective of an exaggerated description of entity, human, behavior or action.

On a theoretical level of forming concepts, the expression *e* is a concept that is defined through language in a semantically unique syntagmatic field of the expression, as described by Bartsch (2009: 61). This field consists of a group of general sentences where *e* is used as a general term and is accepted as true. The context-specific sentences of the generalized *e* that are part of this set make up the semantically unique distribution of the term. Furthermore, the semantically distinctive predicates and conjunctions are included in this field, which form the characteristics of the concept in relation to how they are linguistically expressed. If a concept is explained in this manner, it is called a linguistically explained concept (Bartsch 2009). Choosing specific features and predicates that appear in a subset of true general sentences that form a coherent theory can result in the distinctive distribution of a term. Consequently, the concept represented by the term becomes a theoretical concept in relation to that theory. This selection of features and predicates can highlight the semantic difference between the term and other terms in the theory.

These features and predicates also constitute the semantic characteristic distribution that differentiate the concept expressed by the target term from other concepts that stand in contrast to this term. For instance, there are certain features

that are mapped from the primary concept\source domain of MADNESS\INSANITY onto a target, e.g., LOVE (as in LOVE IS MADNESS) which are different from those mapped from that same domain\perspective onto say an extremely well-done job. In the former, what is being mapped is the irrationality and impulsiveness of individuals who are in love which leads them to make stupid and impulsive decisions (see Zibin et al. 2022), while in the latter what is being mapped is extremity.

Based on the above discussion, it can be suggested that the case of the words *bidzannin* and *mad* can be viewed a polysemy complex. The effect of the metaphor taken from the domain of MADNESS is that it presupposes an already stabilized concept as well as a conventionalized use of the words for the said concept. Taking this into account, new concepts can be formed under that perspective:

Based on the assumption that P is a concept that has already been established, the polysemous complex of concepts is further structured by introducing a newly created P' . This is achieved by satisfying condition 2, which states that if an expression e is considered applicable to all situations s classified under the concept P' within perspective P_i , and there exists a concept P within the polysemous complex of e (POLCOMP(e)), which is metaphorically related to P' , then P' is also considered a member of the polysemous complex of e (POLCOMP(e)). This applies to expressions which were not provided by the participants, e.g. *sna:nak bidzanninu*: lit. your teeth drive us mad. ‘your teeth are extremely white\clean\shiny’ or *your vocals are mad [as in your signing voice is extremely impressive]*. That is, if the expression e [like the one above] is considered true in all situations classified under the primary perspective of MADNESS, as viewed through the secondary perspective of exaggerated description of an entity, and there exists a concept P that is part of the polysemic complex of *bidzannin\mad* based on a metaphoric relationship of similarity, then P' can also be considered a member of the polysemic complex of *bidzannin\mad*. This would also apply to other expressions that meet the above definition. What is rather interesting in this discussion is that the same set of experiences relying on mapping the same features from the same source domain [MADNESS] take place in two unrelated languages, which gives rise to relatively the same polysemic complex. This is in agreement with Ibarretxe-Antunano (1999) who through examining SEEING IS TOUCHING and SEEING IS EXPERIENCING metaphors, argued that metaphorical mappings involved in these two metaphors reflect basic embodied experiences, and that understanding the underlying conceptual structure of polysemous words can shed light on the nature of human cognition and the relationship between language and perception. The study has demonstrated that conceptual metaphors based on shared experiences can give rise to the same polysemy complex in two unrelated languages.

6. Conclusion and recommendations

Through the use of authentic examples of the words *bidzannin* and *mad*, this research has demonstrated how metaphor functions at both the experiential and

theoretical level of concept formation to generate novel concepts within polysemic complexes, based on the framework of Dynamic Conceptual Semantics by Bartsch (2009). The study has explained the role of perspectives in this process, which are shaped by the available situational or contextual information regarding a particular focus of attention. It has been shown how metaphor involves crossing between perspectives which select similarities or similar features or aspects as well as differences from each of the chosen perspectives. Through mapping features from the source domain of MADNESS, we have demonstrated that if for all situations (*s*) which are classified under the primary perspective of MADNESS under the secondary perspective of exaggerated description of an entity, an *e* is taken to be satisfied by *s*, and there is a concept *P* with *P* belonging to or being a member of the polysemic complex of *bidzannin\mad* so that the relationship is based on similarity, i.e. metaphoric, then *P'* would be a member of the polysemic complex of *bidzannin\mad*. The presence of a shared metaphorical source in two distinct languages may indicate that some metaphors are indeed shared across cultures. The mappings of this source domain gave rise to words that have evolved and acquired additional meanings over time. Thus, the shared metaphorical source has revealed how speakers of two different languages rely on similar cognitive processes to understand and create meaning. The analysis also contributes to the field of lexical semantics by illustrating how metaphors can play a significant role in creating polysemy.

Finally, it can be suggested that there is a scarcity of research on polysemy complexes in Arabic in general, and in Jordanian Spoken Arabic in particular. Hence, more research studies are needed to examine other polysemic complexes that are derived from metaphor and metonymy in Arabic. Future studies can also examine if the same metaphor can give rise to a polysemy complex in other unrelated languages.

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French political symbolism and identity construction

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Abstract

The present study examines how the language of political symbolism operates within the framework of identity construction. It focusses on the themes of sovereignty during the 2022 French presidency of the European Union and the national presidential election campaign. On the basis of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, it suggests that, apart from purely linguistic features, extra-linguistic factors are also essential in order to convey a global view of symbolic rhetoric. The analysis is conducted according to an overall 6-tier model of figurative origins involving the parameters of personal background, political context, cultural history, reference, conceptual metaphor and linguistic metaphor. By applying the parameters of the model, it is proposed that the core of political argumentation in the corpus analysis is based on national symbols and the conceptual mapping they embody. The basic hypothesis of the model assumes that a politician attempts to portray the symbolisation of unity in accordance with his or her political background and personal biography. A political narrative is thereby created within the current political context using predominant symbols in cultural history. An over-riding factor is the role of referential points which may determine divergence in conceptual mapping. These features then lead to the construction of conceptual metaphors which can take on a particularly hyperbolic structure in the ensuing linguistic metaphors. The implications of the study highlight the important role of symbolism in political debate, its interaction with conceptual metaphor, the relevance of extra-linguistic factors portrayed by the 6-tier model, the link between cultural history and hyperbolic linguistic structures and political divergence in similar symbols.

Keywords: *metaphor and symbolism, discourse analysis, figurative origins, identity construction, sovereignty, French politics*

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Французский политический символизм и конструирование идентичности

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Аннотация

Цель статьи – рассмотреть, как язык политического символизма функционирует в построении идентичности. Основное внимание уделяется теме суверенитета во время председательства Франции в Европейском Союзе в 2022 г. и национальной президентской избирательной кампании. На основании теории концептуальной метафоры высказывается мысль о том, что для глобального взгляда на символическую риторику, помимо чисто языковых особенностей, важны и экстралингвистические факторы. Анализ проводился с использованием шестиуровневой модели истоков образности, включающей следующие параметры: личные биографические данные, политический контекст, культурная принадлежность, референция, концептуальная метафора и языковая метафора. Применение данных параметров модели в корпусном анализе позволяет предположить, что суть политической аргументации опирается на национальные символы и воплощаемую ими концептуализацию. Согласно гипотезе, лежащей в основе модели, политик конструирует символы единства в соответствии с собственным политическим прошлым и личной биографией. Таким образом, политический нарратив создается в текущем политическом контексте с использованием символов, превалирующих в истории культуры. Главным фактором является роль опорных точек, которые могут определять расхождения в концептуальном картировании мира. Эти особенности затем приводят к построению концептуальных метафор, которые могут гиперболизироваться в последующих языковых метафорах. Результаты исследования указывают на важную роль символизма в политических дебатах, его взаимодействие с концептуальной метафорой, значимость экстралингвистических факторов, связь между историей культуры и гиперболизированными лингвистическими структурами, а также политические расхождения в сходных символах.

Ключевые слова: *метафора и символизм, дискурс-анализ, истоки образности, конструирование идентичности, суверенитет, французская политика*

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1. Introduction: Political symbolism and conceptual mapping

The role of politically-oriented symbolism is often considered to be the promotion of a unifying force in a nation. The waving of a flag by supporters at a football match is an illustration of how this effect is achieved. The colours and designs of national flags inspire a sense of belonging to the ideals of the country they represent. It can be seen that symbolism generally has this objective of identity construction and the role of unification. The questions which may be raised here are what cognitive processes are involved in the creation of symbolic discourse, where the origins are and how they are used to construct political identity.

Various attempts have been made at defining symbolism and its political implications. It has been suggested that a symbol itself may take on any form from a vast array of different concepts (Theiler 2017). They can include an object, a person, a word, a performance, or a gesture that represents a political institution, hierarchy, movement, belief or ideology. As a consequence, there are a number of implications from this extensive range. First, a symbol may simplify fairly complex political structures within one representation, as in the example of a national flag. Second, it can enhance the emotions as in pride, moral commitment or self-sacrifice. Third, it may promote a certain degree of cognitive cohesiveness by rallying the population, not only around a football team, but also around a particular political movement.

In conceptual mapping, and particularly with Conceptual Metaphor Theory in mind (Lakoff & Johnson 1980), a specific symbol therefore represents the target domain, and the source domain would incorporate any number of themes. In the example of the football match above, nation X is mapped onto symbol Y (the flag). In this study, the themes of political sovereignty and liberty will be analysed and how they are mapped onto conceptual metaphors with underlying national symbolism. As a result, the theme of liberty may also be mapped onto a symbol. The mapping can then produce any number of linguistic metaphors which are embodied in specific conceptual metaphors.

Studies in cognitive linguistics have suggested that symbols are often based on well-entrenched metaphors in culture and that the interpretation of symbols implies defining which conceptual metaphors can be created (Kövecses 2005: 172ff). An example of this definition is the symbol of the Statue of Liberty which represents the themes of liberty, knowledge and justice. A number of different symbolic aspects are embodied in the statue. Among these are the fact that it beckons immigrants into a land of liberty depicted by the Roman goddess, *Libertas*. The torch in her hand represents light symbolising knowledge and the broken shackle and chain at her feet stand for the abolition of slavery. Within the overall representation of the statue, there are thus mappings which relate to America's cultural history. The flood of immigration at the time the statue was erected can be seen in the notion of a woman beckoning to her children. The symbol of light, as in the Christian religion, depicts knowledge and the broken chain illustrates the history of slavery. As a result, symbolic mappings from source to target domains, with the use of capital letters as a standard formula in cognitive linguistics, may be interpreted as: a) LIBERTY IS THE GODDESS *LIBERTAS*; b) KNOWLEDGE IS A TORCH; and c) THE END OF SLAVERY IS A BROKEN CHAIN. The theme of liberty in this case is thereby mapped onto a goddess in the heritage of Western civilisation; knowledge is mapped onto the symbolic light of a torch and justice is mapped onto the end of slavery. The overall objective of the statue is to unite American values and ideas according to their culture.

The example above of the Statue of Liberty demonstrates the fact that there is a unifying force in symbolic mapping which appears to be unidirectional in identity

construction. The description of the statue portrays a unified identity of national ideals projected in the same direction. The following discussion also suggests that symbolic interpretation can be multidirectional. This may trigger alternative emotions in different people and, as a result, mappings diverge towards other conceptual directions. It has been suggested that multidimensional implications of symbolisation can mobilise antagonistic political factions (Gill & Angosto-Ferrandez 2018). As a result, they may lead just as much to power struggles as to political unity.

2. Theoretical foundation: Models of figurative origins

Many of the discussions centred on the creation of metaphor in the cognitive linguistic field have focussed primarily on the role of conceptual metaphor and their related linguistic metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1987). If the origins of figurative language are analysed in greater depth, it may be observed that there are other factors which play a part at the very beginning of figurative innovation, particularly with regard to extra-linguistic influence. Furthermore, the aspect of symbolism has tended to play a relatively minor role in cognitive linguistic studies.

A recent model of figurative origins suggests that there is a minimum 6-tier construct of parameters involved within a broader methodological approach (Trim 2022). Corpus studies in literary discourse analysis tend to bear this out. The present study suggests that political discourse corpora would appear to follow similar lines. Fig. 1 below visually represents an outline of the model with the different parameters involved. The arrows pointing downwards represent the direction of analysis when tracing the origins of figurative language from a given text. The arrows pointing upwards illustrate the direction of conceptual mapping starting out from the state of mind of the person who creates the figurative items. The process of creation may, of course, involve all steps at once but analytical reasoning suggests that the mind cognitively follows this direction. Without the political opinions based on the politician's experience, the rest can obviously not follow.

If figurative origins are traced back from the textual level, the hypothesis in this model is that items may first be identified as linguistic metaphors (level 1) from which mappings at the conceptual metaphor parameter (level 2) can be construed. The second parameter is open to a certain amount of flexible interpretation, but mappings become more precise when the additional parameters are taken into consideration. The third parameter (level 3) concerns the actual reference point of a mapping, without which the meaning of a metaphor is incomplete. Consequently, a mapping may be likened to a triangular pattern: point A refers to the source domain, point B to the target domain and point C to the mapping's reference. It usually relates to different conceptual entities such as people, objects, themes or events. The reference of the liberty mapping in the Statue of Liberty symbol above is the fact that America is depicted as a free society. Immigrants are able to escape from the restrictive measures in their own countries and find employment.

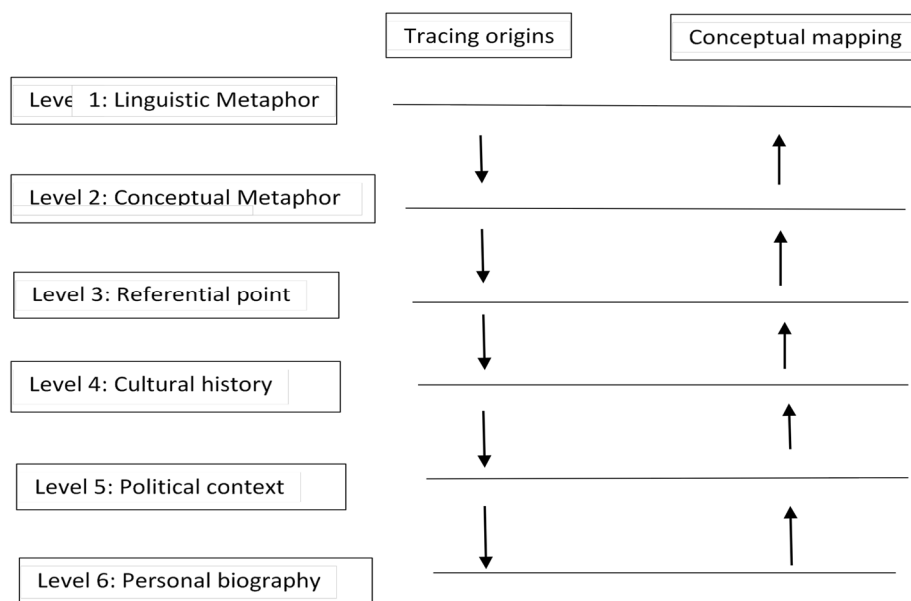


Figure 1. A 6-tier model of figurative origins (Trim 2022)

Reference is very often linked to extra-linguistic parameters, as in cultural history (level 4). The point in time is an important factor when a figurative item is innovated. The US Immigration Act of 1891, five years after the completion of the Statue of Liberty, introduced new immigration legislation which included, among other policies: “the deportation of immigrants present for less than a year if government authorities later found them excludable” (Baxter & Nowrasteh 2021). Continuing harsher restrictions of this kind during the first half of the 20th century undoubtedly changed the symbolic significance of the beckoning statue, at least in the eyes of the Bureau of Immigration.

Cultural history is closely associated with the political context (level 5) of the discourse which very often includes a specific narrative. Without the context, many metaphors may be difficult to interpret. This is particularly the case in literary discourse such as the framework of a novel, in which there is always a narrative or plot providing important contextual information in the interpretation of figurative language. In political discourse, there is usually an overall narrative which forms part of a message that a politician attempts to convey. Finally, the sixth parameter (level 6) concerns the biography of the person who creates figurative language. In literary discourse, personal biography can play an important part in interpretation or at least in understanding its use. This often appears to be the case for politicians, although some politicians may be simply citing the party or governmental line and this form of analysis may be more difficult. Some cognitivists have alluded to these features such as Kövecses (2005, 2006) who discusses cultural history (Kövecses 2005: 241), context in relation to the cross-cultural dimension (2005: 232–241) and personal history (2005: 242–243, 2006: 169–170).

The fact that there are indeed various extra-linguistic parameters in figurative origins which can change according to time and geographical space, as well as the diversified interpretation of symbols, contributes to the assumption that political symbolism must, *de facto*, lead to multidirectional conceptual mapping. This depends on which politician or political party is attempting to build up a notion of identity, regardless of the size of their public support. It implies that the same linguistic metaphors can have varying conceptual metaphors and, in turn, different referential points, cultural histories, narratives and personal biographies. Although not all parameters may necessarily play an equal role, or some may be excluded for lack of relevance or information according to the analysis in question, the following recent research of the “family” symbol in American and French political discourse may briefly illustrate the divergence of parameters within the same symbol and linguistic metaphor. Since Antiquity, this symbol has been used to link the concepts of family and politics within a patriarchal system, according to Aristotelian tradition (Hittinger 2013, Goodsell & Whiting 2016).

Ignoring the last parameter of personal biography at this stage, the first five parameters may be observed in the following example. In American and French presidential speeches, the same linguistic metaphor, family/*famille* in parameter (1) has often been employed but it appears that it stems from two sub-types of conceptual metaphor. In American English, its use is based primarily on a NATION IS A FAMILY metaphor and in French it is more generally adopted as a POLITICAL PARTY IS A FAMILY mapping in parameter (2) (Trim 2018: 87–104). On the basis of this research, it may also be suggested here that the family acts as a political symbol which embodies these two types of identity construction: nation-building in America and the cohesion of political party members in France. They are thereby construed according to differing conceptual metaphors within the same family symbol. The following examples of speeches, given by American and French presidents, point out the differences:

- (1) *That cancer is the budget deficit. Year after year, it mortgages the future of our children. **No family, no nation** can continue to do business the way the Federal Government has been operating and survive* (George H.W. Bush 1990).

The image of identity in a political party can be seen in the following French speech:

- (2) *I'm telling my friends and to all of you who are my family [...] Today you look like a united family [...] I would like to say you're like a faithful friend who honours our **political family*** (Nicolas Sarkozy 2007)¹.

¹ « Je le dis à mes amis, à vous tous qui êtes ma famille [...] Vous donnez aujourd'hui l'image d'une famille unie [...] Je voudrais dire que c'est un ami fidèle, qui fait honneur à notre famille politique ».

In the first example by George W. Bush, there is a direct connection between a family and a nation in the second line of the quote. In the second example, Nicolas Sarkozy makes a direct comparison between a united family and a political family when addressing his own political party. In American political speeches, in particular, members of a family are often used to reinforce the image of the nation as a family, as in the expression, “the future of our children”. This aspect is elaborated in speeches incorporating several generations such as:

- (3) *The only reason we are here is because generations of Americans were unafraid to do what was hard, to do what was needed even when success was uncertain, to do what it took to keep the dream of this Nation alive for **their children and their grandchildren*** (Barack Obama 2010).

Further developments in this research also suggest that the divergence in conceptual metaphor in the same symbol is thus supported by the additional parameters. Interpretation of varying referential points can be observed in the mappings of parameter (3): a nation versus a political party. Deeper analysis of the reasons for such divergence can be seen in parameter (4), the cultural history of the mappings. American presidential speeches using this symbol are largely based on the image of the Founding Fathers at the beginning of the American Constitution. As a result, American speeches address the nation as a whole, while the French speech above identifies with a particular party within the political spectrum. It is not fully clear how the latter has developed but there have been many fluctuations in identity with the French national motto, as outlined below.

Indeed, parameters such as cultural history naturally fluctuate through the time dimension. On the American side, in particular, the symbol had a stronger connection to religious influence in the past:

- (4) *We are all called upon by the highest obligations of duty to renew our thanks and our devotion to our **Heavenly Parent*** (John Tyler 1841).

French history involving the symbol tends to be more complex. One salient feature of cultural history in the family symbol is the notion of ‘brotherly’, or French *fraternel*, as in English ‘fraternal’:

- (5) *On 6 May, there was only one victory, France which did not want to die, which wanted order but also movement, progress but **fraternity**, efficiency but justice, identity but being open* (Nicolas Sarkozy 2007)².

However, the reference of fraternity in the symbolic expression is very often linked to the slogan introduced during the French Revolution: “liberty, equality, fraternity” (*liberté, égalité, fraternité*). These three words embody the following conceptual metaphors: LIBERTY IS A NATION, EQUALITY IS A NATION and

² « Le 6 mai, il n’y a eu qu’une seule victoire, celle de la France qui ne veut pas mourir, qui veut l’ordre mais qui veut aussi le mouvement, qui veut le progrès mais qui veut la fraternité, qui veut l’efficacité mais qui veut la justice, qui veut l’identité mais qui veut l’ouverture ».

FRATERNITY IS A NATION. The concepts of liberty, equality and fraternity are thus mapped onto the nation and represent the rejection of the preceding monarchy. Nevertheless, identity with these concepts have fluctuated throughout history. It seems likely the motto had religious connotations at its inception. The reason is that the fraternity image, as it appears in the Declaration of Human Rights (1793), resembles the biblical passage: “Do unto others as you would have others do unto you” (Luke 6: 31). This religious connotation led it to being rejected as national identity by French Free Masons such as Léon Gambetta and Jules Ferry (Zask 2011). The latter historical figures played an important role in the founding of the Third Republic in France.

In addition, the word ‘fraternity’ was actually erased from the motto by Philippe Pétain during the Vichy regime. The word was then re-introduced after the Second World War. The constant changing of identity also led to the word representing that of a smaller group than the nation, such as a political party in example (5) above. Fluctuations along the diachronic dimension thus change referential points and political narratives within cultural history.

Further analysis of origins regarding the context and possible political narratives in these examples, as in parameter (5), may be carried out in the following way. In example (1), the context of Bush’s speech is about Federal government spending and, in this particular case, the problem of a budget deficit. For this reason, he suggests there has to be a very strict procedure to deal with the problem. He therefore attempts to unite the nation behind this symbol and the relationship to family spending. However, the ensuing political narrative within this context may also be open to divergence. It has been suggested that two particular narratives have developed in the NATION IS A FAMILY conceptual metaphor of current American politics. One is the idea of a STRICT FATHER morality among conservatives and the other a NURTURANT PARENT model among liberals (Lakoff 2003, 2006).

The first implies three major aspects: i) morality – evil is all around and the basis of morality is self-reliance and self-discipline; ii) justice – people get what they deserve; iii) child development – children have to learn self-discipline and justice through rewards and punishment. In relation to these themes, the second views morality about understanding and respecting other people; justice is not perfect and many people do not seem to be rewarded for their hard work; child development depends on well-meaning parents. The reflection of these family ideals is to be seen, according to its proponents, in policies of the STRICT FATHER model such as the condemnation of abortion, military spending and intervention abroad, as well as a fixed-percentage income tax. The opposite is manifest in the NURTURANT PARENT model.

The question here is whether Bush’s speech follows the STRICT FATHER or NURTURANT PARENT models. Since Lakoff tends to adhere the former model to the Republicans and the latter to the Democrats, the narrative may be construed on different lines between examples (1) and (3), since Bush and Obama belong to the different respective parties. Be that as it may, it is possible that the conceptualisation of the symbol may also diverge accordingly within American politics.

On this basis, it may be therefore suggested that the methodological framework proposed above can help explain not only unity in political symbolism but also its trend towards divergence. The combination of some or all of the parameters outlined in this discussion appear to contribute to how the same symbols may be used to propose very different political agendas of identity. In order to examine the application of this model to identity construction, the aspect of divergence in conceptual mapping will be explored more fully in the following discussions regarding the French general election of 2022.

3. Data and methodology: Identity construction in French politics

The 2022 election involved a number of key political issues which were associated with the French presidency of the European Union during the first half of that year. Furthermore, there was considerable debate between the mainstream / non-mainstream media and social networks used by different candidates regarding political measures adopted at the time for the SARS-CoV-2 (severe acute respiratory syndrome), or Covid pandemic. Two types of national symbols will be discussed here in this connection: the national motto outlined above, and France's wartime hero, Charles de Gaulle. The latter figure is still an important referential point in French history, often being used as a guiding model in political discourse. At the time of writing, the French Prime Minister, Elisabeth Borne, cited De Gaulle's name as a symbol of democracy while putting pressure on the adoption of a pensions reform bill by using the controversial paragraph 49.3 in Constitutional law:

- (6) *The 49.3 is not the invention of a dictator but the profoundly democratic choice of **General De Gaulle** which was approved of by the French nation, (Elisabeth Borne 2023)³.*

The beginning of the symbolic appearance of De Gaulle may be dated to his speech on wartime resistance on 18 June 1940. The speech was not recorded and precise information in the text has been subject to debate. The French newspaper, *Le Monde*, however, claims that certain declarations in popular memory were not true, although others can be verified. The latter statements include:

- (7) *Whatever happens, the flame of French resistance must not be extinguished and will not go out, (Charles De Gaulle 1940)⁴.*

This paved the way to the beginning of the Resistance movement after the armistice signed by the two wartime figures, Philippe Pétain and Wilhelm Keitel, on 22 June 1940. The political events throughout and after the war led to De Gaulle becoming a national hero of freedom and independence. Consequently, the label of Gaullism was often used in political discourse to represent his form of politics.

³ « Le 49.3 n'est pas l'invention d'un dictateur, mais le choix profondément démocrate qu'a fait le général de Gaulle et qu'a approuvé le peuple français ».

⁴ « Quoi qu'il arrive, la flamme de la résistance française ne doit pas s'éteindre et ne s'éteindra pas ».

However, he was not always free of criticism. Some biographies suggest that, despite the construction of a myth after the war, De Gaulle was also seen as an opportunist in the same way as the Free Masons, Gambetta and Ferry, cited above, (Le Gall 2000, reviewing Agulhon 2000). Be that as it may, the symbol of Gaullism has traditionally embodied conceptual metaphors such as the predominant ones of LIBERTY IS FRANCE (A NATION), INDEPENDENCE IS FRANCE (A NATION), SOVEREIGNTY IS FRANCE (A NATION), etc. in political discourse right up until the present day.

The discourse of two very different types of political narratives with the same themes and symbolic images will now be analysed in the following discussion: a press conference by the current French president, Emmanuel Macron, on the one hand, and on the other, discourse in various media by the politician, Florian Philippot, and his followers.

During the first six months of 2022, the French president, Emmanuel Macron, also held the office of president for the European Union Council. In his press conference of 9 December 2021, one of the objectives for the presidency was European sovereignty (Macron 2021). This entailed the following issues on the political agenda: global warming; censorship of certain online data; work equality; a common military defence programme and a common economic policy regarding globalisation. The aims could therefore be construed as a common identity among membership states with regard to a broad number of political issues.

The Secretary of State for European Affairs, Clément Beaune, introduced various symbols at the press conference relating to European and French identity. One group of symbols associated with identity included a logo depicted as U>E, (*Union européenne*, European Union), in which an arrow is pasted on top of the two letters. The arrow symbolises progress. The letter U is filled with the stars of the European Union which represent the member states and their corresponding unity. The general design is completed with the specific national colours of France: the letter U is in blue and E in red on a white background to represent the three national colours of the French flag. The logo of the presidency is presented by the host as representing a “more sovereign, unified and democratic Europe” (Fig. 2).



Figure 2. Logo of the European Union under French presidency introduced at the French President's 2022 press conference

In addition, a new 2-euro coin was introduced at the press conference with a design on one side of the coin which incorporates the stars of the European Union in a new pattern. On the other side, the French motto is inserted into the design of an oak and an olive tree which are presented as being ecological symbols. The stars are inserted in the traditional circular pattern and the new coin symbolises the unity of a common currency among the nations of Europe, (Fig. 3).



Figure 3. Symbols of the 2-euro coin under French EU presidency, 2022 press conference

The overall theme of European sovereignty as represented in the two symbols thereby embodies a number of conceptual metaphors. It may be suggested that the logo incorporates the sub-mappings of PROGRESS IS AN ARROW, UNITY IS STARS and THE PRESIDENCY IS A TRICOLOUR. These are conceptualised within the particular theme of sovereignty, among others, outlined above. The coin represents UNITY IS A COMMON CURRENCY, ECOLOGY IS AN OAK/OLIVE TREE and the motto is transposed onto the European political agenda with LIBERTY IS THE EUROPEAN UNION, EQUALITY IS THE EUROPEAN UNION and FRATERNITY IS THE EUROPEAN UNION. This may be seen in some of the issues outlined above such as work equality and the independence of Europe in matters of defence policy. It may be concluded at this stage that the general theme of sovereignty represented by the French government is a future vision of SOVEREIGNTY IS THE EUROPEAN UNION. In other words, the referential point of the French motto in this case is Europe and a basic idea behind it could be construed as common European identity.

As suggested above, conceptual divergence can lead to different political messages and the following types of discourse will demonstrate an opposing political agenda using the same symbols. The parameter of reference thereby acts in this case as the origin for conceptual divergence in identity construction. A further innovation is the particular use of linguistic metaphors which may take on a more extreme hyperbolic form.

There are a number of political groups classified as being on the right-wing or extreme right-wing of the French political spectrum who support the ideal of French, rather than European, sovereignty. The overall concept of sovereignty is diverse, and its advocates are not only limited to the right-wing, but specific, related issues regarding the European Union, the monetary union, globalism and pandemic measures will be examined here. The groups tend to support political movements similar to BREXIT in the UK, called FREXIT in France, although other issues may not necessarily overlap. The result is that the conceptual mapping of sovereignty, with its associated symbols, changes its referential point to France rather than Europe. The overall mapping is SOVEREIGNTY IS FRANCE and not THE EUROPEAN UNION.

Among the right-wing politicians in France who have similar political objectives are Marine Le Pen, Marion Maréchal, Eric Zemmour, Florian Philippot and Nicolas Dupont-Aignan. The latter, whose political party is *Debout la France* – France: Stand up (Fig. 4) proposes liberty as the main theme of sovereignty for France by using the national motto described above. As an official candidate, he used the Twitter social network to convey this message during the election campaign:

- (8) *I take pleasure in revealing a preview of my official poster for the presidential election campaign. #Choose liberty for France to retrieve our national independence and liberty so the French can once again live in a country of equality and fraternity, (Dupont-Aignan 2022)*⁵.



Figure 4. Nicolas Dupont-Aignan, 2022 (TF1)

The conceptual mappings, based on the motto, may be summarised here as LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY IS FRANCE with a referential shift to the nation

⁵ « J’ai le plaisir de vous dévoiler, en avant-première mon affiche officielle de campagne pour cette campagne présidentielle. #Choisir la Liberté de la France pour retrouver notre indépendance nationale, liberté des Français pour revivre dans un pays d’égalité et de fraternité ».

within the Gaullist tradition. Indeed, Dupont-Aignan claims to be “a Gaullist candidate” and mappings reflect the Gaullist metaphors proposed above. Typical political programmes on the right-wing of the political spectrum in his manifesto include FREXIT or, failing that, a fundamental change to EU policies, as well as an exit from NATO. The rationale is then a move towards independence from external political affairs.

A methodological analysis thus includes a shift in reference which is tied to recent political issues linked to cultural history of the past and the consequent political narrative of today. In short, argumentation of this kind developed in France due to a number of mixed events which have taken place in recent years. The first was undoubtedly the outcome of the BREXIT campaign in the UK. The second was the rejection of recent pandemic measures introduced by the French government. A third factor is related to French involvement in the current Ukrainian crisis which started shortly before the French presidential campaign. All are considered to be anti-libertarian and therefore form part of the LIBERTY IS FRANCE mapping. This situation can be seen in another protagonist of the narrative, Florian Philippot. The language he uses in his political discourse is particularly rich in symbolic metaphor within the Gaullist tradition, although the choice of many linguistic and conceptual metaphors are personal ones. On the basis of the foregoing discussions, Philippot’s discourse offers a useful model for exploring figurative origins of identity construction within the overall, 6-tier parameter framework outlined above.



Figure 5. Florian Philippot (left) and Nicolas Dupont-Aignan 2022 (AFP)

So far, it has been seen that conceptual metaphor mappings can vary across cultures, time and within the same culture, according to the political programmes involved. The same themes involve different mappings of symbols according to viewpoints but may also imply diverse reference points with similar source-to-target mappings. Florian Philippot, politically associated with Dupont-Aignan,

(Fig. 5), formed his own political party, *Les Patriotes* (The Patriots). He was also a candidate during the 2022 French presidential campaign but, like Dupont-Aignan, was eliminated during the first round.

A useful text for analysis is the following which he posted on his party website, *Les Patriotes*. It concerns the anti-COVID measures introduced by the French government and his opposition to them:

- (9) *Join the Patriots, a free movement which I am leading for FREXIT, to resist oligarchies and for France. The homeland is in danger of **dying**, let us all fight to save it. These strong words were uttered 80 years ago, to the very day, by **Charles De Gaulle** in his famous appeal for resistance on 18 June 1940. (...) He was faced by those who have always been on the side of the enemy, collaboration and treachery. If they spend their time on giving the opposite message to **Charles De Gaulle's** mission, commemoration then becomes a dangerous scam which needs to be exposed. Today, our homeland again runs the risk of **dying**... (...) leading this political revolution in the **Gaullist** tradition since **Gaullism** has never been anything else than revolutionary. Revolutionary as opposed to conformity, as opposed to giving up, as opposed to despair (...). The **traitors** and **collaborators** today in 2020 have to be named. Today, the **traitors** and **collaborators** are those who left thousands of Frenchmen to die due to conflicts of interest and corruption with the pharmaceutical industry (...) they are those who slowly restricted our liberty (...), they are those who make **slaves** out of French men and women – **slaves of debt, slaves to banks, slaves to the golden fascism** that exists today (...) they are those who knowingly destroy the French nation by importing ethnic conflicts from the Anglo-American world ... **Charles De Gaulle** would be on our side ... he would fight for **a new Frank coin, a symbol of our unity**... Long live **General De Gaulle**, long live the Resistance and long live France!⁶*

(Florian Philippot 2022)

⁶ « Rejoignez les Patriotes, mouvement libre que je préside pour le FREXIT, pour la résistance face à l'oligarchie, pour la France. La patrie est en péril de mort – luttons tous pour la sauver. Ces mots énergiques ont été prononcés il y a 80 ans, jour pour jour, par Charles De Gaulle lors de son célèbre appel à la résistance du 18 juin 1940. (...) Face à ceux qui ont toujours été à côté de l'ennemi, de la collaboration et de la trahison. Passer son temps à faire l'inverse du message de la pensée, de l'œuvre de Charles De Gaulle, alors la commémoration devient une dangereuse escroquerie qu'il faut dénoncer. Aujourd'hui, notre patrie est de nouveau en péril de mort... (...) pour conduire cette révolution politique dans un esprit gaulliste parce que le gaullisme n'a jamais été autre chose que révolutionnaire. Révolutionnaire face au conformisme, face au renoncement, face à la désespérance (...) Il faut nommer les traîtres et les collaborateurs d'aujourd'hui en 2020. Aujourd'hui, les traîtres et les collaborateurs sont ceux qui ont laissé mourir des milliers de Français par conflits d'intérêts, par corruption, avec l'industrie pharmaceutique. (...) sont ceux qui restreignent progressivement toutes nos libertés (...) sont ceux qui mettent les Françaises et les Français en esclavage – esclaves de la dette, esclaves de la banque, esclaves de ce fascisme doré d'aujourd'hui (...) sont ceux qui détruisent sciemment la nation française, en important les conflits ethniques anglo-saxons... Charles de Gaulle serait de notre côté...il battra pour un nouveau franc, symbole de notre liberté... Vive le Général De Gaulle, vive la Résistance et vive la France ! »

4. Results: A 6-tier model of figurative parameters in political discourse

The results of the methodological analysis may begin with level 1 of the 6 parameters: linguistic metaphors. First and foremost, the over-riding figurative concept is the symbol, Charles De Gaulle and this symbol of unity is backed up by the proposition of a new Frank coin. A selection of prevalent linguistic metaphors includes: dying, traitors, collaborators and slaves.

The terms “traitors” and “collaborators” stem from the wartime Resistance movement. The last term is sub-divided into slaves of debt, slaves to banks and slaves to the metaphor “golden fascism”. The images of the latter therefore refer to money (golden) and a strict monetary system on the analogy with a political doctrine encompassing totalitarian measures (fascism). In many ways, terms such as “traitors”, “collaborators” and “golden fascism” are similar to the use of hyperbole as a means of emotionalisation in British political discourse on the BREXIT and COVID debates in the UK (Musolff 2021). In the first case, highly emotional figurative language in the form of hyperbole was used as a war of liberation against the EU as in, for example, the Daily Telegraph quotes: “Victory for Brussels is inevitable. In adopting Chequers, we have gone into battle waving the white flag”, or: “The EU are treating us with naked contempt – we must abandon this surrender of our country (Musolff 2021: 637). In the second case, Boris Johnson’s use of hyperbole implies a confrontation scenario (UK versus COVID) with superiority, and probably victory, for one side over the other: “[...] looking at it all, that we can turn the tide within the next 12 weeks, and I’m absolutely confident that we can send coronavirus packing in this country.” (Musolff 2021: 640).

The use of Philippot’s hyperboles are, indeed, very emotional since terms such as “collaboration” and “fascism” evoke painful memories of the wartime period. In today’s technology of social networks, the reaction to this type of rhetoric can often be seen in the comments or discussions below messages and announcements online. A perusal of such comments reveals how readers often react in line with the author’s intent and that the use of emotional language can have a considerable impact. This naturally depends on the media outlet but personal websites usually imply political followers and readers react according to the party line.

At the second level of analysis regarding conceptual metaphors, the main symbol with its associated symbols and linguistic metaphors in the passage embody the following mappings in the order found in the text. Symbols and conceptual metaphors may be listed as follows:

Symbols:

LIBERTY IS DE GAULLE

LIBERTY IS A NEW FRANK COIN

Embodied conceptual metaphors:

THE HOMELAND IS DEATH

THE PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY AND ITS AGENTS ARE TRAITORS

THE PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY AND ITS AGENTS ARE COLLABORATORS
VICTIMS OF THE PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY AND ITS AGENTS ARE SLAVES
VICTIMS OF BANKS ARE BANK SLAVES
VICTIMS OF BANKS ARE DEBT SLAVES
MONETARY POLICY OF COVID MEASURES IS GOLDEN FASCISM

As far as the actual mappings of symbols are concerned, the source domain of liberty is mapped onto the target domain symbols of Charles De Gaulle and the new frank coin referring to the currency in use before the euro was adopted. The latter is used to promote unity and therefore group identity. Within the classification of conceptual metaphors, there are a number of suggested mappings. One general mapping is clear in which France is portrayed as dying. The others may be construed as financial constraints regarding the pharmaceutical industry and the role of the banks. In each case, the general population is represented as being a victim of the latter on account of the pandemic measures introduced by the government. These underlying conceptual metaphors of the expressions in the text reinforce the emotional aspect of the rhetoric used.

The third level of referential points is relatively clear in these mappings but it would be useful to define the points as they are essential in comparative rhetoric and to ascertain which features figurative language refers to. The symbolic mappings of the first group clearly refer to France, in contrast to the European Union in the French presidency examples. Likewise, the first mapping in the second classification, which embodies death, also refers to France. With regard to the other mappings, traitors and collaborators refer to the people working in the pharmaceutical industry who produce vaccines and the government agencies who sign contracts with the major companies. The slaves are the general public who are paying for the vaccines and are indebted to the banks. The metaphor of fascism refers to the implied financial severity of the pandemic measures introduced by the government.

Level four involving cultural history relates to French developments during the Second World War and the symbol of De Gaulle in line with the events described above. Without these events, such symbolism could not be used. In addition, there was a certain section of the French general public who was against the measures, particularly during the lockdown period. Philippot himself, in the name of his political party, organised weekly demonstrations in Paris at this time against such measures.

Level five, with regard to the context of figurative language in this study, may be seen in the political narrative that Philippot conveyed, i.e., based on the aspect of liberty regarding the particular theme of anti-COVID measures. This was conducted in conjunction with political parties in other countries such as Italy. At the same time, anti-COVID protests formed part of a wider political agenda which included other policies outlined above such as the EU, monetary policy, NATO, immigration, and overall national sovereignty.

These aspects lead onto the sixth and final level of origins in figurative language and its influence on metaphoric creativity: the personal biography of a politician. Philippot attempts to build up national identity with symbolism based on essential referential points within a broad nationalistic framework. It represents a widespread political approach often adopted by populist rhetoric. How did he personally come to embrace these ideals? This is not always an easy task of investigation. In Philippot's case, however, he appears to be more individualistic and innovative in his language, rather than a politician quoting a party line. A few general indications will be given here to outline the general principle.

A brief summary of Philippot's background may be presented with regard to relevant points about political symbolism. His general political thinking appears to be strongly influenced by common activities within his family. This, in turn, reflects on the types of political adherence he followed during his studies and subsequent professional career. His parents, whose profession was in school education, were originally left-wing in their political beliefs. They voted, for example, for François Mitterand of the Socialist Party at the 1981 French presidential campaign. However, their political activities turned to the right afterwards and Florian Philippot's father, Daniel, was put forward as Director of a right-wing teachers' association, *Racine* (Root), by Marine Le Pen in 2015. His brother, Damien, became advisor to Marine Le Pen during her 2012 presidential campaign and later joined Florian Philippot's own political party, *Les Patriotes*.

The first point to be noted here is that several members of the Philippot family were involved in politics in the same way as Marine Le Pen's party, the *Front National*, founded by her father, Jean-Marie Le Pen. The former's niece and latter's grand-daughter, Marion Maréchal (née Le Pen), became a member of the same political party. The family background therefore appears to play an important part in a politician's political career. The symbolic notion of a political party being a family in France described above can thus represent reality and one conclusion regarding Philippot's career is that the family environment must have played a significant role in his political thinking.

All the features of national sovereignty described above become apparent in his studies and political activities. Among these may be included a dissertation he wrote during his business studies in Paris which focussed on how the Belgian federal model could eventually break up the European Union. He supported Charles Pasqua, (French Home Secretary: 1986–1988, 1993–1995), and his right-wing, sovereigntist party, *Rassemblement pour la France* (Assembly for France). He stated that his political model was De Gaulle and he had plans to found a Gaullist party. He joined the *Front National* and became Vice-President before forming the political party, *Les Patriotes*, as a base for his 2022 presidential campaign. This second point appears to reflect how his family background in politics influenced his career and consequently the type of discourse he created as illustrated in example (9) above.

5. Discussion: From initial ideas to linguistic rhetoric

On the basis of the preceding analysis, the origins of political symbolism, and its objectives in representing identity in specific social groups, become more apparent. It was stated above that cultural symbols embody conceptual metaphors. The structures of these mappings appear to depend on some, or all, of the parameters in the 6-tier model of origins outlined above. This may be seen in political discourse regarding the French presidency of the European Union and the national presidential campaign in 2022. By applying the different parameters, it is possible to see how the same symbols are used for different political agendas of identity construction.

The creative processes of linguistic metaphors used in the examples above may be more transparent if the order of analysis is reversed: in other words, the motivation behind the rhetoric used starts at level 6 with the initial ideas of the politician involved. The actual process of creativity often embodies all parameters simultaneously but the step-by-step analytical procedure defines the individual factors which influence the process. If Florian Philippot's text, (example 9), is taken into consideration, it is clear that he wishes to promote the ideas of liberty, sovereignty and unity for the French nation. These ideas are used with the aim of uniting the French people in favour of an independent France. It could be assumed that, given his family background briefly outlined above, these original ideas come from the political environment of his family members and their associates.

At the next level up, in this case the political context, Philippot proposes a FREXIT manoeuvre, similar to the British BREXIT, in which he uses a narrative that will support French liberty and sovereignty. In order to do so, he resorts to the next analytical step of national symbols embodied in cultural history. The primary symbol is Charles De Gaulle whose leadership involved liberty in the form of the wartime Resistance movement. In addition, currency is often seen as a unitary symbol and the euro depicts a form of dependence on the European Union. For this reason, he wishes to re-introduce a new franc coin as a symbol of unity.

An equally important parameter is the role of reference which indicates any conceptual divergence. Currency signifies unity for the two social groups of France and Europe, the first referring to Philippot's symbolism and the second to the French presidency of the European Union incorporating symbols from the national French motto into the new euro coin. In this way, an over-arching conceptual metaphor may be derived from the symbolic CURRENCY IS UNITY mapping with corresponding conceptual divergence.

This aspect leads onto the parameter of conceptual metaphors employed by Philippot in his Twitter message. Most are financial mappings relating to Covid measures adopted by the government such as 'bank slaves'. These are directly linked to the analogy of his political narrative based on the wartime Resistance movement. Consequently, the conceptual metaphors are used for his particular style of rhetoric which employs hyperboles based on the analogy with the wartime Resistance movement. The style increases the emotional content associated with

wartime suffering with regard to ‘traitors’ and ‘collaborators’. Particularly strong terms are used such as ‘golden fascism’, whereby the political concept is linked to financial management. Once again, the emotional content of such figurative expressions can be extrapolated from dictionary definitions of the political term, ‘fascism’: “a political philosophy, movement, or regime such as that of the Fascisti that exalts nation and often race above the individual and that stands for a centralized autocratic government headed by a dictatorial leader, severe economic and social regimentation, and forcible suppression of opposition” (Merriam Webster).

6. Conclusions: Implications of the study for political symbolism and identity construction

A number of implications for future research become apparent from the foregoing analysis. First, it may be concluded that the role of symbolism in general has a significant role to play in political debate and, in particular, within the theme of identity construction in the present study of French politics.

Second, the analysis highlights the types of interaction involved between symbols and conceptual metaphors, as proposed in the foregoing cognitive research on the Statue of Liberty. The symbols illustrated above create a considerable number of conceptual metaphors which develop into a vast array of linguistic metaphors at the textual level.

Third, it may also be deduced that actual origins in figurative creativity involve extra-linguistic factors outside the main core of cognitive linguistics. A model such as the 6-tier framework of figurative origins applied in this analysis suggest that they contribute to the steps leading to the types of linguistic metaphors relating to sovereignty and liberty. These extra-linguistic factors can be seen in the discourse of politicians such as Florian Philippot, ranging from his personal background to the cultural history of France.

Fourth, aspects such as cultural history play a role in the emotionalisation of rhetoric with the use of hyperbolic linguistic structures. National symbols of wartime resistance in France still have a profound effect on political thought, and these symbols are used to further particular political agendas in present-day politics.

Finally, it can be seen that the same symbols can lead to divergent political rhetoric, not only at the international level, as in the former studies of the American and French family metaphor, but at a more fundamental level regarding aims between political parties within the same country. This is emphasised in the present study concerning the sovereignty of France and of the European Union. National symbols in cultural history may be used for opposing political narratives as defined by the parameter of reference. The implication here is that political objectives in two types of discourse may both embody the idea of identity construction but for opposing political aims.

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The explanatory function of metaphor scenario in the Serbian pro-vaccine discourse

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Abstract

Metaphor has been established and extensively examined as one of the tools experts deploy to explain, simplify and transform complex scientific discourse into the knowledge suitable for the audience of non-experts. However, relatively little research has been conducted on metaphor scenario (Musolff 2006, 2016a) and its role in this process. Therefore, in this paper we explore how metaphor scenario is used to explain Covid-19 vaccines' safety and effectiveness to the population in an understandable manner in order to speed up the immunization process in Serbia. By analysing a data set gathered from various Serbian electronic news media sources (*NovaS, NI, Danas, Vreme, Večernje novosti, Mondo, Politika, Telegraf, Krug*) published from January to December 2021, we aim to explore (1) how the three metaphor scenarios, COMBAT, CONTAINER and MOVEMENT, may help simplify complex scientific concepts in the pro-vaccine discourse; and (2) how the conceptual elements of these scenarios and their interconnected relations are used for this purpose. The findings showed that these conventional scenarios manifest their explanatory potential by means of several sub-scenarios, whose conceptual elements establish useful mappings relying on rarely used components of source domains. The results confirm that metaphor scenarios may be used strategically by medical experts as an apt explanatory tool to simplify challengingly complex scientific concepts to the general public. The paper contributes to current research on the role that metaphor and other cognitive instruments play in science popularization.

Key words: *metaphor scenario, popular medical discourse, COVID-19 vaccination, explanatory function, Serbian*

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Объяснительная функция метафорического сценария в сербском дискурсе в поддержку вакцинации

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Аннотация

Метафора активно изучается как один из инструментов, используемых специалистами для объяснения, адаптации и преобразования сложного содержания научного текста в информацию, доступную широкой аудитории. Тем не менее, немногочисленные работы посвящены изучению метафорических сценариев (Musolff 2006, 2016a) и их роли в этом процессе. В статье рассматриваются особенности реализации метафорических сценариев для разъяснения вопросов о вакцинах против Covid-19, их безопасности и эффективности с целью ускорения процесса иммунизации в Сербии. Источником материала выступили новостные электронные медиа Сербии (*NovaS, NI, Danas, Vreme, Večernje novosti, Mondo, Politika, Telegraf, Krug*) за период с января 2021 г. по декабрь 2021 г. Цель работы – установить (1) как метафорические сценарии «ВОЙНА», «КОНТЕЙНЕР» и «ДВИЖЕНИЕ» помогают представить сложные научные понятия про-вакцинного дискурса в упрощенной форме; (2) как используются концептуальные элементы сценариев и их синтез для достижения этой цели. Результаты анализа показывают, что рассматриваемые конвенциональные сценарии реализуют свой объяснительный потенциал с помощью нескольких подсценариев, концептуальные элементы которых находятся в смысловых взаимосвязях, базирующихся на нечастотных компонентах сферисточников. Анализ подтверждает, что метафорические сценарии могут использоваться специалистами для упрощения сложных научных понятий и объяснения их массовому адресату. Статья вносит вклад в изучение роли, которую метафоры и когнитивные механизмы играют в популяризации научных знаний.

Ключевые слова: метафорический сценарий, массовый медицинский дискурс, вакцинация от COVID-19, объяснительная функция, сербский язык

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1. Introduction

Serbia was one of the first countries in Europe to offer its citizens the possibility to get a Covid-19 vaccine in January 2021, amid the still ongoing pandemic. However, until May 2021, only about 22% of Serbia's seven million inhabitants had been given two jabs, despite its President Vučić's expectations that Serbia would have vaccinated at least 55% of the country's population with one dose by the end of May.¹ Obviously, very soon after the initially successful vaccination campaign the Serbian Government faced a waning public interest in the vaccination process and increasing scepticism in this regard. This was, among other

¹ <https://www.euronews.com/2021/05/05/serbia-in-world-first-as-citizens-offered-25-to-have-covid-vaccine>

things, due to a very influential anti-vaccination lobby, who continually fuelled distrust in vaccination by touting dangerous anti-vaccine rhetoric not only in social media but also on some of the mainstream media. At the same time, the members of the Ministry of Health and the national Covid-19 crisis response team were heavily criticized for initially ignoring education at the expense of obtaining the vaccines as soon as possible and not promoting strongly enough their safety and effectiveness. Together with the doctors, scientists and health professionals critical of the Government and gathered around an informal association called “United Against COVID”, they urgently needed to fight the aggressive anti-vaccine rhetoric. In an attempt to combat misinformation and offer viable explanation to the population of the benefits of vaccination in an understandable manner and encourage the sceptics in order to speed up the immunization process, they exploited metaphors as one of the tools of simplifying and popularizing medical scientific discourse and its transformation into “‘everyday’ or ‘lay’ knowledge” (Calsamiglia & Van Dijk 2004: 370).

Popular science discourse, in which rigorous scientific knowledge is simplified for the benefit of lay audience, inevitably involves a close link between scientific experts, journalists and the general public. They take part in the three types of processes involved in transferring knowledge across different communication settings – *re-formulation*, *re-contextualization*, and *re-conceptualization* (Anesa 2016, Boginskaya 2020, Calsamiglia & Van Dijk 2004, Ciapuscio 2003, Gotti 2014). According to Ciapuscio (2003: 210), the production of a text which popularizes science involves “recontextualizing and reformulating one’s source in such a way that it is comprehensible and relevant for a different kind of addressee, in a discursive context that, though predictable, differs from that of the original source.” Thus, in the re-formulation process discourse i.e., language is redrafted or “remodelled to suit a new target audience” (Gotti 2014: 19). It is one of the explanatory strategies (Calsamiglia & Van Dijk 2004) whose main communicative goal is to convey specialized knowledge in a simplified manner. Re-contextualization refers to the process in which scientific knowledge, which was originally produced in specialized contexts not easily accessible to lay public, is transferred to a different context, mainly that of mass media (Calsamiglia & Van Dijk 2004: 370–371). More specifically, re-contextualization implies constructing knowledge first in a specialized context and then “recreating” it in a different communicative situation for the lay audience (Williams Camus 2009: 466). Finally, re-conceptualization means replacing a conceptual representation and its linguistic expression with another one “that is felt by the expert (scholar or professional mediator) to be more in line with the world of his/her intended addressees – semi-experts or the lay-audience” (Bondi, Cacchiani & Mazzi 2015: 9).

Medical discourse in particular is one of the specialized discourses that has received extensive attention from the scholars dealing with the topic of science popularization (Balteiro 2017, Boginskaya 2022, Ervas, Salis & Fanari 2020, Joffe & Haarhoff 2002, Maci 2014, Navarro i Ferrando 2021, Nerlich & Halliday 2007,

Williams Camus 2009). This topic is important as ordinary people are interested in becoming familiar with a discourse pertaining to their different medical conditions so as to make the right decisions or because they simply want to broaden their knowledge on certain matters affecting their physical or mental health. In addition, the emergence of increasingly frequent far-flung diseases, marked with huge mortality rates, prompts medical experts to transform their knowledge and tailor their communicative practices “for an audience of non-specialists” (Gotti 2014: 16) to enhance the prevention and the containment of the disease, and to initiate changes in people’s patterns of behaviour. Furthermore, the development of digital media has affected the traditional ways of disseminating information so that today’s lay public actively look for medical information online. This, in turn, further heightens the need to make this specialized discourse comprehensible to them (see e.g., Maier & Engberg 2023).

Since medical science operates with domains mostly unfamiliar to the laypeople, there is a need for simplification and explanation. Metaphor is one of the types of the discursive activity of explanation (Calsamiglia & Van Dijk 2004: 372), and explanatory and informative functions of metaphor particularly come to the fore in popular medical and health discourse. Due to their ability to establish a “common ground” between scientific and non-scientific discourses, metaphors are perhaps “the only way for nonprofessionals to understand abstract scientific issues [...] which, otherwise, would not have been successfully ‘popularized’, transmitted or translated to them” (Balteiro 2017: 212). Thus, focusing on discourse representation of different diseases such as Ebola (Balteiro 2017, Joffe & Haarhoff 2002), avian flu (Nerlich & Halliday 2007), foot and mouth disease (Nerlich, Hamilton & Rowe 2002), SARS (Wallis & Nerlich 2005), swine flu (Maci 2014), cancer (Sontag 1978, Williams Camus 2009), AIDS (Sontag 1989), scholars have pinpointed different roles that metaphor serves depending on the target audience, and at times on the intended purposes. This is attributed to its “bridging function” (Pramling & Säljö 2007: 277) – it bridges the gap between scientific and popular knowledge, between the discourse communities of medical experts and the lay audience.

The outbreak of a highly contagious Covid-19 viral disease in the Chinese city of Wuhan in December 2019, when the event stormed the media, also urged the need to enhance the communication between experts and the laypeople with the aim of explaining the ways of protecting against the virus during the pandemic. Even a brief look at media texts in the three-year period to come shows that the pandemic has also been heavily metaphorically represented. A number of studies investigating the metaphorical conceptualization of Covid-19 and its portrayal in various types of the media (Ervas et al. 2020, Pérez-Sobrino et al. 2022, Semino 2021, Silaški 2023, Silaški & Đurović 2022a, 2022b) carry important implications for the issue of simplifying scientific Covid-19 discourse.

Despite widespread and attested use of metaphor as one of the vehicles of explaining, simplifying and transforming scientific discourse into the knowledge

suitable for the general audience, relatively little research has been undertaken on metaphor scenario and its role in this process. Therefore, in this paper we investigate how *metaphor scenarios* (Musolff 2006, 2016a) were exploited as a tool of explanation in the Serbian pro-vaccine discourse to render complex scientific knowledge about vaccines in a more accessible manner to aid understanding. Analysing a data set gathered from several Serbian electronic news media sources, we focus on the ways “revitalized” (Ervás et al. 2020) and enriched conventional metaphor scenarios are used to help simplify complex medical knowledge and promote vaccine effectiveness. Our analysis shows that various metaphor scenarios were employed by medical experts in an attempt to depict several related aspects of the Covid-19 viral disease to the target audience in a more intelligible way. They refer to protecting our body health, i.e., our immune system; the functioning of the RNA and DNA; the benefits of the Covid-19 vaccine as a medical response to the virus, etc. These aspects are communicated through metaphor scenarios or “clusters of individual terms or concepts in the texts” (Koteyko, Brown & Crawford 2008: 245), thus providing a range of source material for conceptualizing the given topic. The source domains to which metaphor producers resort serve as explanatory or informative guidelines for the target concepts, the VIRUS, the VACCINE, or the PROCESS OF VACCINATION. It turned out that in addition to several fairly idiosyncratic metaphor scenarios (LIFE BELT, SEAT BELT, TRAFFIC LIGHTS, COOKING/FOOD), produced by individual health experts and scientists, the most notable ones in our data were conventional metaphor scenarios. In what follows we aim to address two research questions:

- (1) how do the three metaphor scenarios, COMBAT, CONTAINER and MOVEMENT, help simplify complex scientific concepts related to the Covid-19 vaccine?
- (2) how are the conceptual elements of the scenarios and their interconnected relations used for this purpose?

2. Theoretical framework

In the paper we rely on the tenets of Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) (Charteris-Black 2004, 2021, Musolff 2006, 2016a), whose developers hold that by using a specific metaphor discourse participants may reveal the motivation lying behind the choice of that metaphor over another, since by changing the metaphor we may change the way that we think and feel about a particular aspect of social or political life. Therefore, metaphors in this paper are regarded as discursive means which may aid in understanding certain social and political processes. They can thus be labelled *discourse metaphors*, those which are “conceptually grounded but whose meaning is also shaped by their use at a given time and in the context of a debate about a certain topic”, highlighting “salient aspects of a socially, culturally or politically relevant topic” (Koteyko & Ryazanova-Clarke 2009: 114), in this case the vaccination process in Serbia. They are regarded “as relatively stable metaphorical mappings that function as key framing devices within a particular discourse over a certain period of time” (Nerlich 2011: 116). Our analysis, however,

is predominantly informed by Musolff's (2006, 2016a) analytical tool of *metaphor scenario*, a discourse-based conceptual structure which contributes to the coherence of a particular discourse by offering "a pragmatically loaded perspective for inferences about the target topic" (Musolff 2016b: 64), here Covid-19 vaccination. Therefore, basing our analysis on the use of metaphor in a specific discourse through the prism of the analytical category of metaphor scenario allows us to connect discourse and cognitive approaches to metaphor (see e.g., Semino, Demjén & Demmen 2018).

Musolff (2006, 2016a) understands metaphor scenario as an apt means by which conceptual elements of source domains are combined to form mini-narratives with a very rich and complex conceptual structure. This mini-narrative offers "a whole little scene" (Musolff 2006: 27) specifying

"the characterization of the participants in terms of their roles, intentions, and states of minds, as well as the assessment of their actions in terms of chances of success, are in fact highly specified. The readers are not only provided with a general schematic frame to understand the order of events and a few causal links between them, but rather with a whole little scene, complete with the presumed "interests" and "biases" on the part of the participants and an evaluative interpretation." (Musolff 2006: 27)

The fact that metaphor scenario is characterized by some prototypical, densely distributed and highly context-sensitive elements of the source concepts such as participants, story lines or default outcomes adds to the coherence of a particular discourse, with those prototypical elements simultaneously being ethically evaluated, thus offering a particular characterization of the target topic (Musolff 2016a). They provide "focal points for conceptualizing the target topic" (Musolff 2006: 23). This means that "scenarios establish the different ways a source domain can be exploited depending on the metaphor users' evaluation of the topic" (Augé 2021: 5, see also Đurović & Silaški 2018 and Silaški & Đurović 2019). The inferences that are established in this way may not be binding in the cognitive or a logical sense. Rather, they are "a set of assumptions made by competent members of a discourse community" about those prototypical elements of the source concepts, which are grounded in "social attitudes and emotional stances prevalent in the respective discourse community" (Musolff 2016a: 64). Metaphor scenarios are therefore characterized by a coherent and interconnected structure of elements, which arises when lexical items exemplifying those scenarios are clustered and occur in close proximity with one another in the text. They

"enable the speakers to not only apply source to target concepts but to draw on them to build narrative frames for the conceptualisation and assessment of sociopolitical issues and to 'spin out' these narratives into emergent discourse traditions that are characteristic of their respective community." (Musolff 2006: 36)

Several studies center on the role of metaphor scenario in media discourses in order to determine what function a specific metaphor scenario then fulfills. Koteyko et al. (2008) and Nerlich (2011) not only show how the metaphor scenarios of WAR, HOUSE and JOURNEY are intertwined, which affords the formation of discursive metaphor clusters, but also how the prominence of a particular scenario changes commensurate with the perceived risk of the disease. More specifically, they demonstrate how the JOURNEY shifts to the WAR, i.e., to the FRONTLINE scenario to communicate the aspect of the immediate danger (Nerlich 2011) or how one specific scenario (e.g., that of JOURNEY) changes in terms of its narratives, depending on the perceived proximity of the virus (Koteyko et al. 2008). Primarily addressing the aspect of aptness of certain metaphors to talk and reason about the concept of Covid-19, Semino (2021) convincingly shows why the FIRE scenario and some of its narratives can be a more appropriate conceptual tool to structure and explain the target domain compared to the prevalent WAR frame. Focusing on the WAR metaphor and the three main aspects of the Covid-19 pandemic, body health, medical solutions, and the global impact of the pandemic, Augé (2021) adopts a metaphor scenario approach to argue that the way in which the various properties of the WAR source domain are exploited in scientific texts mainly serves to foster the ideological evaluations of the target topic. The ‘pedagogical’ role of this scenario, on the other hand, is exhibited in offering metaphorical explanations of scientific findings. Finally, exploring metaphors as a strategic communication instrument in the Serbian pandemic discourse, Silaški (2023) points out that every medical expert tends to deploy their own set of metaphor scenarios that they believe are the most apt for simplifying and popularizing medical scientific knowledge, which attests to metaphors’ great explanatory value in this kind of discourse. As “[c]itizens’ understanding of how vaccination works should be considered fundamental in institutional communication, especially during pandemic times” (Ervas et al. 2022: 2), metaphor scenario as a conceptual structure appears to be a very suitable and useful instrument of explanation in medical scientific discourse pertaining to vaccination as well.

3. Data and methodology

The data for our analysis was gathered from various electronic news media sources (*NovaS, NI, Danas, Vreme, Večernje novosti, Mondo, Politika, Telegraf, Krug*) published in Serbian in the period January-December 2021. The data were collected in this way: firstly, a Google search was conducted in which the queries were based on the following key words, assumed by the authors as the native speakers of Serbian to be most salient in the vaccination discourse: *koronavirus* (‘coronavirus’), *pandemija* (‘pandemic’), *kovid-19* (‘Covid-19’), *vakcina* (‘vaccine’), *vakcinacija* (‘vaccination’), *zdravlje* (‘health’). This enabled us to extract topically relevant texts for the analysis. Then, in a subsequent search, *koronavirus* (‘coronavirus’) and *vakcina* (‘vaccine’) were combined with the expressions *zamislite* (‘imagine’) and *zamislimo* (‘let’s imagine’), as these

discursive means, i.e., metaphor markers were also used in some examples to signal “potential cross-domain mappings” and serve to alert the language recipient that some form of comparison is at play (Steen et al. 2010: 40). This proved to be effective in rendering more lexical items exemplifying metaphor scenarios, especially those functioning as an explanatory tool.

The obtained texts, totalling around 30,000 words, were then read carefully in order to identify the source domains used to structure the VACCINE and the PROCESS OF VACCINATION target domains and form a mini-narrative. As far as metaphor identification method is concerned, we recognize the need for a discourse-oriented approach to the analysis of metaphors to be more liberal and loose when establishing the presence of metaphoricity (see Silaški & Đurović 2022a), especially compared to, for our qualitative analysis, perhaps not entirely suitable dictionary-based word-by-word analyses. Therefore, we employed a procedure for metaphor identification put forward by Pragglejaz Group (2007), which did not presuppose consulting the dictionaries for each lexical unit, but rather entailed focusing on words or phrases and even longer stretches of text metaphorically-used in the specific context in an authentic data set. This is in line with a discourse-oriented approach to metaphor analysis (see Cameron & Maslen 2010, Cameron et al. 2009, Semino 2008) which posits that “metaphoricity depends on the evolving discourse context, and that we can only understand metaphor in discourse by examining how it works in the flow of talk (or text)” (Cameron et al. 2009: 71).

Upon establishing the contextual meaning of lexical units,² deciding if it has a more basic contemporary meaning (defined as that which is more concrete, related to bodily action, more precise, as well as historically older), it was determined whether the contextual meaning contrasts the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it. If these questions were positively rated, in the last step the lexical unit was marked as metaphorical³ (see Pragglejaz Group 2007: 3, also Breeze 2017: 72–73). Upon deciding on the presence of metaphoricity, we identified the mini-narratives or scenarios, following the procedures in Musolff (2006, 2016a) and Breeze (2017), which consisted in searching for “recurring argumentative, narrative and stance-taking patterns” (Musolff 2016: 133) in the given data set.⁴

Finally, it should be noted that most examples of metaphor scenarios originated from interviews with doctors or scientists, or alternatively from opinion articles,

² A “lexical unit” refers not only to individual words but also to multiword expressions (Semino 2008: 12).

³ This process was also informed by the procedure for identifying linguistic metaphors in Serbian (Bogetić, Bročić & Rasulić 2019), as Serbian, similarly to other Slavic languages, exhibits a very complex morphological structure “with flexible word order and complex fusional inflectional morphology” (Bogetić et al. 2019: 204).

⁴ The same method of data collection and analysis has already been deployed in our previous research on metaphors in the Covid-19 discourse in Serbian (Silaški 2023, Silaški & Đurović 2022a, 2022b).

which may have affected the results of our analysis and slant them towards idiosyncrasy.

4. Findings and discussion

4.1. The COMBAT metaphor scenario

The COMBAT scenario remains the most familiar area of experience from which the transfer of conceptual elements and the relations between them occurs to explain the target domains in question. The selection of these elements from the combat source knowledge, however, is not random – rather, it is “a particular set of presuppositions that are chosen for specific argumentative purposes (e.g., with the aim of *declaring victory*)” (Musolff 2016a: 31). This has been attested by various battle-related lexical items in our data which not only contribute to explaining the complex scientific concept but also to imparting positive or negative evaluations of the concepts at play. A clearly delineated knowledge structure of the COMBAT scenario (Breeze 2017), in previous research most frequently referred to as the WAR metaphor (e.g., Balteiro 2017, Boginskaya 2022, Nerlich et al. 2002, Williams Camus 2009), or as a CONFRONTATION scenario (Musolff 2021: 640), makes it so prevalent in the field of popular medical discourse. The urgent need to explain how Covid-19 vaccines function necessitated the reliance on the stereotypical COMBAT scenario which maps the fight between two conflicting sides onto the conceptual space perceived as the battlefield. The territory over which the battle between the virus and the antibodies is fought is our body, i.e., our immune system, which reveals the co-occurrence of the scenarios of COMBAT and CONTAINER. The interconnectedness of these two scenarios is dealt with in more detail in the next sub-section (4.2.). As demonstrated in examples (1), (2), and (3), coronavirus is associated with aggressive, war-like expressions, while coping with the coronavirus disease is represented in terms of the default *victory-defeat* outcome of the COMBAT scenario. Yet, a fairytale-like portrayal of Covid-19 and vaccines via the image of the medieval battles and characters in example (1) helps to mitigate the belligerent character of the COMBAT theme.

- (1) *Zamoliću vas da malo napregnate maštu i zamislite svoj imuni sistem kao srednjovekovni zamak. Taj zamak opkolila je neprijateljska, nemilosrdna vojska korona virusa koja očajnički žele da se probije u njega. [...] Ako neutrališuća antitela u vašem telu uspeju da odbiju napade viralne armije, onda se telo nećete zaraziti. Ali ako se zidine sruše [...], onda je virus uspeo da uđe. Prodro je u zamak i vi ste sada inficirani. Ipak, još nije sve izgubljeno. I dalje ima vojske unutar utvrđenog uporišta u samom srcu zamka. To su vaše memorijske B i memorijske T ćelije. Poput vitezova na konjima, one mogu da okupe vojsku, povedu imunološki juriš i nateraju neprijateljske osvajače u beg. (BBC News na srpskom, 17 Nov 2021)*
 [‘I will ask you to stretch your imagination and picture your immune system as a medieval castle. That castle is surrounded by the merciless

coronavirus army of the enemy which desperately wants to break into it. [...] If the neutralizing antibodies in your body manage to ward off the attacks of the viral army, then your body won't get infected. But if the castle walls break down [...], then the virus managed to get in. It penetrated the castle and you are now infected. Still, all is not lost. There are still soldiers inside the enemy stronghold at the very heart of the castle. These are your memory B and memory T cells. Like white knights on horses, they can gather the army, lead an immunizing attack and make the enemy conquerors flee'.]

- (2) *Virusolog i mikrobiolog Veterinarskog instituta u Kraljevu Milanko Šekler za Nova.rs vakcinu slikovito poredi sa vojskom, a antitela sa "oružjem" kojim se puca na neprijatelja.*

"To vam je kao da je vakcina dala uzbunu vojsci u državi. Uzbuna znači da je izvršena mobilizacija vojnika i da umesto, na primer, 5.000 vojnika Srbija sada ima 50.000 vojnika. Oni znaju odakle neprijatelj napada i koji su mu planovi i svi su spremni – to znači vakcina. Organizam tada poznaje protivnika, zna kako izgleda, zna koje su mu slabe tačke, zna kako će da ga napada i sprema oružje za to. To oružje, to su antitela", objašnjava tako kao da se rat protiv virusa odvija pred našim očima. (NovaS, 27 Mar 2021)

[‘The virusologist and microbiologist of the Veterinary Institute in Kraljevo Milanko Šekler for Nova.rs vividly compares the vaccine to an army and antibodies to a “weapon” used to shoot at the enemy.

“This is as if the vaccine had given an alert to the army in the state. The alert means that the mobilization had now been completed and that, for example, instead of having 5,000 soldiers Serbia now had 50,000 soldiers. They know where the enemy attacks from and what it is planning, and everyone is ready – this is what the vaccine means. The organism knows who the enemy is, it knows what it looks like, it knows its weak points, it knows how the enemy will invade and prepares the weapons for that attack. Those weapons, those are antibodies”, he explains in such a way as if the war against the virus is happening before our own eyes’.]

- (3) *Virusi i vakcine – o čemu se radi i u čemu je razlika? Zamislite da je DNK neka knjiga recepata, a da je RNK samo jedan prepisan recept iz knjige recepata. Proteini su u tom slučaju jelo koje treba da se napravi po tom receptu. [...] Kakvu ulogu tu imaju vakcine? Vakcine, prema Babićevim rečima, uče imuni sistem da odmah prepozna napadača tako da – kada virus naleti – imuni sistem može odmah da reaguje, umesto da nedeljama proizvodi odgovor. (CINS, 15 Jan 2021)*

[‘Viruses and vaccines – what’s it all about and what is the difference between them? Imagine the DNA as a book of recipes and the RNA as just one recipe copied from this cookbook. Proteins, in this case, are a meal which needs to be cooked following this recipe. [...] What is the role of vaccines here? Vaccines, according to what Babić [a molecular biologist and neurobiologist] says, teach the immune system how to identify the invader so that – when the virus dashes forward – the immune system can react instantly, instead of producing the response for weeks’.]

The explanatory function of this scenario shows to be of dual nature – *an attacker* is being equated *both* with the virus *and* with our body (i.e., our immune system). The former carries negative overtones suggestive of the feelings of fear and despair, and invokes the image of people who, while defending their territory from the attacker, may potentially become victims. The latter reverses the previous scene into a positively-evaluated one, now depicting our body/immune system as *an attacker* who may win and destroy the invader. The conceptualization of the body’s successful “battle”, “war”, “warding off the attacks” with its own “army of soldiers” (the memory cells) against the “attacker”, the “invader”, the “conqueror” contributes to fathoming better the beneficial effects of the vaccine. The need to get vaccinated is also effectively explicated in example (3), in which vaccines and our immune system are endowed with human qualities thus making it possible to reason about them “in terms of a human action” (Navarro i Ferrando 2021: 159) – hence the personified vaccines “teach”, the immune system “identifies the invader” and “reacts”. Personification used within the COMBAT scenario thus serves the purpose of simplification and explanation, which makes it a useful tool in popular medical discourse.

In the COMBAT scenario, the antibodies and the Covid-19 vaccines are conceived of as a “weapon” (examples 4 and 5) that medical scientists use in “a counter-offensive” in order “to shoot at the enemy” (example 2):

- (4) *“Počinjemo kontraofanzivu, počinjemo borbu sa oružjem u ruci, a to je u ovom slučaju vakcina”, rekao je epidemiolog Predrag Kon 24. decembra prošle godine pošto je među prvima primio jednu od vakcina koje su u upotrebi u Srbiji. (BBC News na srpskom, 13 Jan 2021)*
 [“We are starting a counter-offensive, we are starting a battle with a weapon in our hands, and in this case it is the vaccine”, said the epidemiologist Predrag Kon on 24 December last year after being one of the first to get jabbed by one of the vaccines available in Serbia’.]
- (5) *Zato je vakcina idealno oružje, virus će polako gubiti svoju snagu, a mi ćemo povećavati svoju i na kraju kad se prilagodimo njemu on će postati jedan beznačajan virus kao, recimo virus svinjskog gripa. (KRUG portal, 4 Apr 2021)*
 [‘That’s why the vaccine is an ideal weapon, the virus will gradually lose its strength and we will increase ours and eventually, when we become adapted to it, it will end up being a meaningless virus such as, say, the swine flu virus’.]

Here, the effects of the vaccine are again viewed through the *victory-defeat* dichotomy, where the underlying idea is that we (i.e., our body) are now armed against a possible attack and can have an active role in this war against a virus. The use of inclusive ‘we’ in both examples ([4] and [5]), referring to medical scientists, adds to portraying them as warriors belonging to the same side in this war.

In addition, the efficacy of the vaccine is communicated by metaphor producers by means of the BULLETPROOF VEST sub-scenario (Nerlich 2011), part of the wider COMBAT scenario, as the example (6) illustrates:

- (6) *Vakcina vam je kao pancir u vojsci. Kad ste na frontu, pancir će vas sigurno zaštititi i od metka i od gelera. I ako idete na metak, bolje da idete s pancirom. A ako idete na virus, bolje da idete sa antitelima koja će vakcina stvoriti – poručio je nedavno doc. dr Udovičić. (Telegraf, 6 Oct 2021)*
[‘The vaccine is like a military bulletproof vest. When you are on the frontline, a bulletproof vest will surely protect you from both a bullet and a shrapnel. And even if you go against the bullet, you’d better wear a bulletproof vest. And if you go against the virus, you’d better do that with the antibodies which the vaccine will create – said recently assistant professor Dr. Udovičić.]

Unlike a rather conventional metaphorical representation of the vaccine (or, the antibodies) as a “weapon” in examples (2), (4) and (5) above, example (6) draws on our somewhat extended knowledge about wars and battles, which is based on the following image: people are on the frontline of the battle to stop the spreading of the virus perceived as “a bullet” and “a shrapnel”, thus resulting in the GETTING VACCINATED IS WEARING A BULLETPROOF VEST mapping. The BULLETPROOF VEST sub-scenario thus engages ‘open’ (Breeze 2017: 70), idiosyncratic expressions used in a non-specialist text which metaphor producers find apt to clarify the concept of vaccination. These creative extensions of conventional metaphorical themes refer to “exploiting a normally unused element of the source domain of a conventional conceptual metaphor” (Pérez-Sobrino et al. 2022: 129). A wider text in which the metaphorical lexical items are situated serves as a guideline for ‘reading’ the message conveyed by the experts, that the vaccine can take the blow even though it does not offer total protection. Example (6) is also indicative of the interrelations between the three scenarios, COMBAT, CONTAINER (by means of HUMAN BODY IS A CONTAINER) and MOVEMENT (the lexical choice “go against the virus”), which contributes to the overall explanatory potential of such conceptual patterns.

4.2. The CONTAINER metaphor scenario

In our data, the CONTAINER metaphor scenario (Musolff 2015, 2016a) is realized by means of the following sub-scenarios: the MEDIEVAL CASTLE, the MEDIEVAL TOWN and the HOUSE. This also invokes the notion of BUILDING, particularly in terms of the structural properties of a building as a solid, enclosed, impenetrable space. All the three sub-scenarios rest on the CONTAINER image schema and the notion of “a bounded area protecting what is within from external danger” (Charteris-Black 2006: 563). More specifically, elements, participants and actions belonging to these three sub-scenarios are mapped onto either a more abstract entity (the immune system or a cell, as in examples 1 and 7 respectively) or a more concrete entity, the body (the bounded space) (example 8) protected from the outside danger or the enemy (the virus).

Nerlich’s claim that “[t]he war scenario is in some sense a super-scenario that subsumes other scenarios or mini-narratives, which themselves can be connected to other scenarios and form discursive metaphor clusters” (Nerlich 2011: 118) is also corroborated by our data and the rooting of the vaccination concept in the MEDIEVAL CASTLE sub-scenario (example 1 above). The explanatory power of this sub-

scenario lies in the conceiving of our immune system (i.e., body) as an enclosed, bounded space, within another walled-city structure of the “medieval castle” “surrounded by” an enemy army that wants to “break into it”. The infection with the coronavirus is described as “breaking down the [castle] walls”, while the medical response to this attack via the Covid-19 vaccines is conceptualized as training the memory cells to react “inside the enemy stronghold at the very heart of the castle”. These expressions reveal that the previously described COMBAT is linked with the CONTAINER metaphor scenario realized by means of the MEDIEVAL CASTLE sub-scenario, which may contribute to CONTAINER becoming “negatively connoted against the context of “war”” (Koteyko et al. 2008: 247). Yet, this triggers other elements of the *attack-defence* interplay; when the overlapping between the COMBAT, CONTAINER and MOVEMENT scenarios, as shown in example (1) above and instantiated by “make the enemy conquerors flee”, renders a positive outcome – a defence of the body by means of a vaccine – the MEDIEVAL CASTLE sub-scenario usefully serves to map onto the target domain at play (IMMUNE SYSTEM), highlighting the notions of security and protection in a very vivid manner.

The explanatory potential of the CONTAINER scenario is also manifested in the MEDIEVAL TOWN sub-scenario (example 7).

- (7) *Ovoga puta malo o prvoj vakcini koja je izašla za bolest kovid 19. Prva je mRNA vakcina. Da krenemo prvo uopšte o tome šta je to RNA i DNA i gde se one nalaze. Radi lakšeg objašnjenja, zamislimo ćeliju kao srednjovekovni grad. Oko grada je veliki, neprobojni zid, a unutar tog zida se nalazi zamak. Između zamka i zida ima svega i svačega. Ima puno toga što nešto radi i proizvodi. U našem zamišljenom zamku se nalazi DNA (DNK). Svime komanduje DNA. (NovaS, 12 Jan 2021)*
 [‘This time a bit about the first Covid-19 vaccine. The first is an mRNA vaccine. Let’s start from what the RNA and the DNA are in the first place and where they actually exist. For the sake of an easy explanation, let us imagine a cell as a medieval town. There is a big, impenetrable wall around the town, while inside that wall there is a castle. Between the castle and the wall there are all sorts of things. A lot of them do something and produce something. In our imaginary castle lives the DNA. It is a commander-in-chief’.]

The structure and the functioning of a cell, which is important for understanding the issue of the viable medical treatment of Covid-19 in the form of the vaccine, are described by means of the following components of the MEDIEVAL TOWN sub-scenario: “a big, impenetrable wall around the town” (the cell membrane), “a castle inside the wall” (the nucleus), and the space “between the castle and the wall” (the cytoplasm). Further re-formulation and re-conceptualization of the concept of the DNA is achieved by emphasizing its vital role via the war-related expression “commander-in-chief”.

Finally, the aspect of the vaccine efficacy is emphasized with a fairly novel extension of the CONTAINER metaphor scenario in our data, that of “the well-built house” (example 8).

(8) *Da bi objasnila koliko je zaštita bitna, anesteziolog iz Kliničko-bolničkog centra Zvezdara dr Vladanka Stefanović je telo bez zaštite, odnosno antitela, poredila sa loše sagrađenom kućom. – Kad imate loše sagrađenu kuću i udari uragan, odneće je. Ako je kuća solidno napravljena, pa i ne mora da izgleda lepo, što vam je taj strah od vakcine, unutra nikome ništa ne fali. (Telegraf, 6 Oct 2021)*

[‘In order to explain the importance of protection, the anesthesiologist from the Zvezdara Clinical Hospital Centre Dr. Vladanka Stefanović compared the unprotected human body, i.e. the one without antibodies, to a poorly built house. – When you have a poorly built house and a hurricane strikes it will be blown away. If the house is well built, even if it doesn’t look nice, and this is that fear of the vaccine, everyone inside is just fine’.]

The following lexical items contained in the HOUSE sub-scenario and the HUMAN BODY IS A HOUSE metaphor – “a poorly built house” that can be “blown away” by “a hurricane” compared to a “well-built house” which may not look nice – serve to explicate the opposition between the people and the virus on the one hand, and between the people and the consequences of their reluctance to be vaccinated against the virus, on the other.

4.3. The MOVEMENT metaphor scenario

One of the most common structures emerging from our constant bodily functioning and the body’s movement in space is the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema, characterized by the progress of the trajectory from a starting point (SOURCE), along a trajectory (PATH) to a destination (GOAL) (Johnson 1987). In addition to manifesting itself in our literal physical movement, this schema, by resting on a number of mappings including particularly CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS (INTO OR OUT OF BOUNDED REGIONS), ACTIONS ARE SELF-PROPELLED MOVEMENTS and PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS (Lakoff 1993), also structures our understanding of any purposeful activity. As one of the most accessible human experiences, this embodied goal-oriented motion also appears to be a very productive source domain in the popular medical discourse.

The use of the MOVEMENT scenario, as evidenced in our data, corroborates the already established interrelationship between the scenarios, important for grasping the meaning of the target topics in question. It also appears to offer different interpretations of some metaphors in context. Generally, this scenario tends to impart positive connotations associated with moving forward and reaching the goal despite the difficulties on the path. However, the lexical choices in our data which instantiate the MOVEMENT scenario and more importantly, the relations the participants in this scenario engage in, reveal that metaphors are context-dependent, and that the apparently positively loaded metaphors may become negative (and vice versa). Thus, in the examples (1), (3) and (6) above, the MOVEMENT scenario, intersected with the COMBAT scenario and the MEDIEVAL CASTLE sub-scenario, may

render either a negative (examples 1 and 3) or a positive evaluation of MOVEMENT (examples 1 and 6). On the negative side, “the enemy” (the virus/the trajector) is depicted as “penetrating”, “breaking into” (example 1) “a castle” (our body), i.e., it reaches the destination and fulfills the goal of the self-propelling movement; other expressions include “get in” (example 1), “dash forward” (example 3). They all serve to explain the character of the actions or processes between the participants in this scenario: our body and the virus. Positive connotations of the lexical items belonging to this scenario, on the other hand, stem from the reverse action, i.e., what happens when the virus has reached its destination. This triggers some lexical choices which are more in line with the *defence* strategy associated with the concept of vaccination, which eventually leads to the victory. This is instantiated in our data by the images of “the conqueror” who “flees” (example 1) and disappears, or our body that “goes against the bullet” (example 6). Therefore, the lexical items constituting the MOVEMENT scenario, embedded in the relevant context, facilitate the proper “reading” of the text and reveal that the motion of the virus is not a one-way activity which ends when it has reached the destination. Due to the vaccination, the path on which the virus moves is a bi-directional one as it is now warded off by the neutralizing bodies in our immune system. In addition, the vaccine itself is conceptualized both as an offensive and a defensive “weapon” – it simultaneously attacks the virus and defends the body.

The interconnectedness and the intertwinement of the COMBAT, CONTAINER and MOVEMENT scenarios that appear in our data is presented in Figure 1.

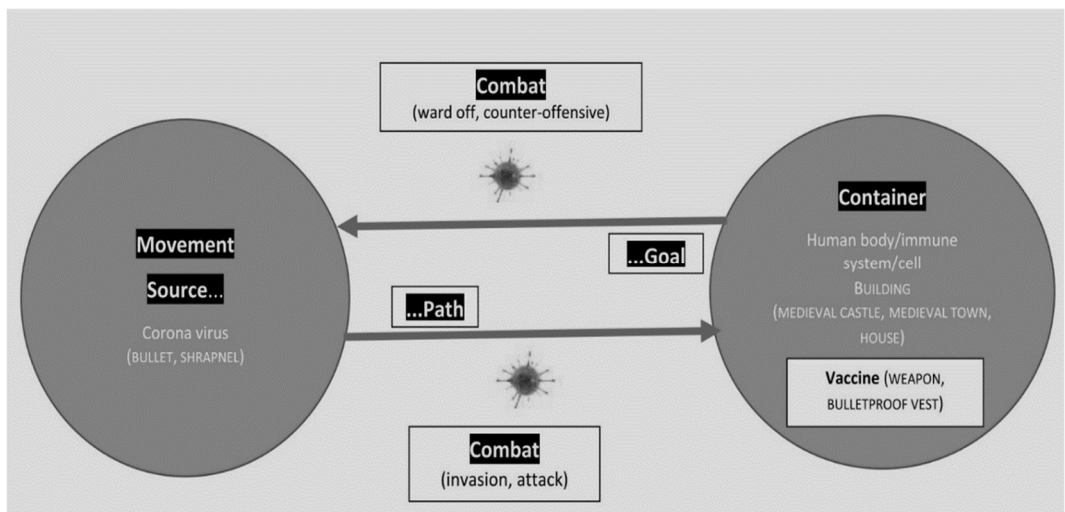


Figure 1. The interconnectedness of the COMBAT, CONTAINER and MOVEMENT scenarios

The above analysis has demonstrated that a number of metaphor scenarios help construct the concepts of VACCINE and the PROCESS OF VACCINATION and their related aspects by way of “interconnected narratives or scenarios with participants, interactions and purposes” (Kheovichai 2015: 161). Specifically, the findings of our

study show that a rigorous scientific discourse dealing with the issue of vaccines may be simplified by means of the COMBAT, CONTAINER and MOVEMENT scenarios and their several sub-scenarios (e.g., BULLETPROOF VEST, MEDIEVAL CASTLE, MEDIEVAL TOWN) whose role in aiding the lay audience to understand the concepts of the coronavirus and the Covid-19 vaccine thus comes to the fore. As further attested by the analysis, this particularly became prominent in the cases when the explored scenarios and their respective sub-scenarios were bound together, thus causing their intertwining and the expansion of one scenario onto the other. It also turns out that the co-occurrence of metaphor scenarios in the context-sensitive discourse may help metaphor creators, by means of the lexical choice made, to offer a particular evaluation of the source concepts (e.g., in the case when the CONTAINER scenario and the MEDIEVAL CASTLE sub-scenario may be negatively connoted when used against the context of the COMBAT), which may thus contribute to a better explication of the target concepts. The explanatory function of the metaphor scenarios and the related sub-scenarios was realized in our paper by a variety of lexical and phrasal items, some of them representing creative extensions of conventional metaphorical themes or the utilizing of some normally unused element of the source domain. This goes in line with Musolff's argument that different "lexical 'filling'" could be chosen to suit a particular scenario and sub-scenario (Musolff 2016a: 87), which thus serves to depict the target concepts in a more intelligible way.

5. Conclusion

In this paper an attempt was made to investigate the explanatory function of metaphor scenario in the Serbian pro-vaccine discourse in a very sensitive period during the Covid-19 pandemic when there was an urgent need to communicate and simplify complex scientific knowledge about the value of the vaccines to the general public who, after a very enthusiastic initial rollout response, exhibited a high level of vaccine hesitancy, caused, *inter alia*, by an anti-vaxxer fearmongering influence. We have shown that the metaphor scenarios of COMBAT, CONTAINER and MOVEMENT, represented and reflected by topically-related sets of lexical items, and particularly their co-occurrence in the given discourse, are used as discursive framing vehicles by medical scientists to communicate the target concepts in a more fathomable manner. In addition, each of the sub-scenarios involved as integral parts of a respective metaphor scenario appears to additionally inform the target concepts and ease the explanation of their many aspects. Using the metaphor scenarios and their constituent sub-scenarios in the pro-vaccine discourse may therefore be regarded as an effective strategy of explanation which may "help [...] to overcome the incomprehensibility of expert discourse" (Boginskaya 2022: 42). This, in turn, may aid in understanding of the risks of Covid-19 by the lay public and the effectiveness of vaccines as a way of protecting against those risks and possibly affect the lay public's future course of action. This goes in line with the role of

metaphors in this kind of discourse to “not only explain the situation, but also steer behavioral change” (Abdel-Raheem & Alkhamash 2022: 24).

Our paper confirms that metaphor scenarios may be used strategically by medical experts to explain and evaluate the complex scientific concepts to metaphor recipients, members of the lay audience, that would otherwise be inaccessible to them. It contributes to the existing body of research into the role of metaphor scenarios as one of the tools used in discursive strategies for the construction and negotiation of challenging topics, controversial issues and diverse social phenomena.

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POLITICS metaphor in British and Bosnian-Herzegovinian migration discourse

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Abstract

As the geopolitical situation changes, it is necessary to discuss how politics is structured by metaphor in the context of recent social phenomena, such as the European migrant crisis. This paper analyses the conceptual metaphors POLITICS AS WAR, POLITICS AS A GAME, POLITICS AS A TRADE, and POLITICS AS A THEATER in British and Bosnian-Herzegovinian newspapers. The goal of this study is to establish to what extent and in which situations journalists resort to figurative language to persuade the recipients to view politics in a desired way. The paper aims to reflect on the use of deliberate metaphor as a perspective-changing device by journalists striving to achieve their rhetorical goals and influence recipients' perception of the political situation. The corpus comprises 174 British and 307 Bosnian-Herzegovinian articles collected from August 2015 to March 2016 (247,912 words). Relying on Steen et al.'s (2010) model of metaphor analysis, the paper investigates the types of metaphor in the corpus, the deliberate use of POLITICS metaphors and their communicative function in migration discourse – discussing both the rhetorical goals of journalists and the rhetorical effects on recipients. It has been established that the analyzed set of metaphors has a divertive and persuasive function in migration discourse. Similar studies are encouraged to shed light on how deliberate metaphors related to politics may have diverging communicative functions in other types of discourse.

Keywords: *POLITICS metaphor, migration discourse, metaphor identification procedure, deliberate metaphor, British discourse, Bosnian-Herzegovinian discourse*

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Метафора со сферой-мишенью ПОЛИТИКА в миграционном дискурсе Великобритании и Боснии и Герцеговины

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Аннотация

Изменения геополитической ситуации требуют рассмотреть роль метафоры в структурировании политического дискурса об актуальных событиях в обществе, таких как европейский миграционный кризис. В статье представлен анализ концептуальных метафор «ПОЛИТИКА – это ВОЙНА», «ПОЛИТИКА – это ИГРА», «ПОЛИТИКА – это ТОРГОВЛЯ», «ПОЛИТИКА – это ТЕАТР» на материале британских и боснийско-герцеговинских печатных СМИ. Цель исследования – установить, в какой степени и в каких ситуациях журналисты используют образный язык для того, чтобы убедить реципиентов интерпретировать политические события в требуемом ключе. Автор исследует «преднамеренную» метафору как средство риторического воздействия, которое используется для того, чтобы оказать влияние на восприятие аудиторией политической ситуации. Источником материала послужили 174 британских и 307 боснийско-герцеговинских статей с августа 2015 по март 2016 (в общей сложности 247912 слов). Автор применяет модель анализа метафоры (Steen et al. 2010) для изучения типов метафор в корпусе, преднамеренного употребления метафоры со сферой-мишенью ПОЛИТИКА, ее коммуникативных функций в миграционном дискурсе, а также целей журналистов и способов воздействия на аудиторию. В результате анализа материала выявлено, что в миграционном дискурсе метафора выполняет отвлекающую и убеждающую функции. Перспективы исследования связаны с изучением коммуникативных функций метафоры рассмотренной сферы-мишени в других типах дискурса.

Ключевые слова: метафора со сферой-мишенью ПОЛИТИКА, миграционный дискурс, процедура идентификации метафоры, преднамеренная метафора, британский дискурс, дискурс Боснии и Герцеговины

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1. Introduction

The concept of POLITICS has long been studied within the traditional framework of cognitive linguistics (Lakoff 1992, 1996, 2008) and is listed among 10 most common target domains (Kövecses 2010: 23–24). Undoubtedly, the cross-language frequency of metaphors depends on cultural-historical facts and whether a concept (e.g. business, finance, theater) plays more or less dominant role in a society. Given that metaphorical thinking is “commonplace and inescapable” (Lakoff 1992: 1), people resort to a variety of source domains utilized in cross-domain mappings to highlight different aspects of a target domain. Thus, a concept may be structured by various conceptual metaphors. In the context of this research, politics is structured by the conceptual metaphors POLITICS AS WAR, POLITICS AS A

BUSINESS, POLITICS AS A JOURNEY, POLITICS AS A GAME, POLITICS AS A THEATER, etc. Previous studies reveal that each of these metaphors highlights some aspect of the concept POLITICS that is specific for that particular metaphor only. The THEATER metaphor structures our knowledge of political discussions, which are then structured using parts of the theatrical play (Stanojević 2009: 358). The POLITICS AS A BUSINESS metaphor equates efficient political management with efficient business management, highlighting a careful tally of costs and gains – positive actions are metaphorically seen as gains, negative actions are costs, risky actions are a financial risk, whereby one decides whether achieving objectives is worth the costs, etc. (Lakoff 1992).

As politics is mostly about exerting power, certain elements of the WAR domain, for instance, are exploited to conceptualize political power as physical force (Kövecses 2010: 24–25). With the POLITICS AS A WAR metaphor, different political groups tend to be seen as armies, political figures tend to be seen as army leaders, the ideologies and policies of the political groups are conceptualized as weapons, political moves are seen as a military action, political goals are war objectives, etc. This conceptual metaphor is closely related to our conceptualization of a NATION AS A PERSON (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 34, Musolff 2018) in a sense that neighboring countries tend to be seen as ‘neighbors,’ who can be friendly or hostile, weak or strong – whereby strength here corresponds to military strength (Kövecses 2010: 68). In this regard, when it comes to foreign politics and international relations, a country can be identified as strong and another as weak, leaving room to portraying one country as a villain, another as a victim, and yet a third country as a hero (Kövecses 2010: 69, 122–123). Politics has many additional aspects that are understood by means of other source domains, e.g. the GAME domain utilizes and highlights the existence of rules (cf. Kövecses 2010: 20). There are different types of games (sports games, board games, team or individual, etc.) which gives a variety of further elaborations and properties to be activated for metaphorical purposes. It is possible, though, that two conceptual metaphors highlight quite similar or the same aspect – e.g. Kövecses (2010: 294) points out that “WAR, SPORTS, and GAMES metaphors all focus on and highlight the notion of winning in relation to the activity to which they apply.” It can be claimed that, in a majority of cases, we opt for a conceptual metaphor that utilizes and activates a certain aspect of a source domain and helps us achieve a desired rhetorical goal. Kövecses (2010: 227) found that there is “a close correlation between personal history and the metaphors used by individuals.” This also means that our individual preferences influence our choice of metaphors, and given our personal experience we may more efficiently manipulate concepts in terms of choosing which aspects to hide or highlight. Dolić (2021: 52) describes the conceptual metaphor as an amazing ability of the mind to filter correspondences between different entities in order to better understand one in terms of another. It is precisely this ability to filter that enables us to control the shape of the message, and gives us the power to manipulate recipients’ perception. As there are many different types of warfare,

sports and games, journalists rely on their own knowledge of conventional and unconventional mappings underlying the entities constituting the topic of the discourse – and which they believe is shared by many of their readers (Kövecses 2010: 294). Depending on what journalists want to highlight, they opt for a particular conceptual domain – WAR, SPORTS, GAMES, GAMBLE, BUSINESS, THEATER, etc. In this regard, I want to identify examples when such choices are deliberate and what their communicative function is. With an emergence of new social phenomena, such as the European migrant crisis, the concept of politics needs to be re-analyzed in terms of its figurative use in the context of articles about newly formed foreign politics relations, national interests, ideologies, etc. Answering research questions such as whether journalists resort to the use of covert or overt metaphorical expressions in order to highlight the desired aspects of a concept, whether the selected linguistic expressions and the corresponding conceptual structures conventional or novel, or whether the identified perspective-changing devices have different communicative functions in this type of discourse will give us insight into both the rhetorical goals of journalists and the rhetorical effects on recipients. In sections that follow, I discuss the theoretical foundation of this paper, as well as the choice of the methodological framework ('The Data and Methods' section). I proceed with the analysis of metaphors across the three dimensions of indirectness, conventionality, and deliberateness ('The Corpus Analysis' section), and discuss the communicative function of the identified metaphors ('The Discussion' section). Following that, concluding remarks are offered in the final section.

2. Theoretical foundation

Gerard Steen has published extensively (2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2011a, 2011b, 2015, 2016, 2023a, 2023b) about the Deliberate Metaphor Theory (henceforth the DMT) and its main focus on determining “how metaphors in language, thought and communication are related to each other in specific situations of use” (Steen 2010b: 95). Thus, his model involves the three-level analysis of metaphor considering the criteria of indirectness (the linguistic level of analysis), conventionality (the conceptual level), and deliberateness (the communicative level). This implies that metaphor is “not only seen as a matter of conceptual structures (metaphor in thought) expressed in linguistic forms (metaphor in language), but also as a matter of communication between language users (metaphor in communication)” (Reijnierse et al. 2018: 132). Thus, linguistic level, conceptual level, and communicative level of metaphor analysis are distinguished.

At the linguistic level, linguistic metaphors, i.e. metaphorical linguistic expressions, are identified and further classified into indirect, direct, and implicit metaphors. Indirect metaphors imply the indirect use of language when we speak about one concept in terms of another, i.e. when we try to conceptualize one phenomenon in terms of another. Indirect metaphors are established by comparing and contrasting the basic and contextual meanings of potentially metaphorical

linguistic expressions whereby analysts rely on dictionaries for the sake of objectivity and reliability. The potentially metaphorical linguistic expression is looked up in dictionaries¹, and their contextual and basic meanings are considered for sufficient similarity and/or distinctness (Steen et al. 2010: 37). For instance, in the sentence:

- (1) He might not have survived long enough to *fight* a second general election. (*Collins*),

the expression *fight* is looked up in a dictionary. Its basic meaning is “If an army or group fights a battle with another army or group, they oppose each other with weapons. You can also say that two armies or groups fight a battle” (*Collins*), while its contextual meaning is “If you fight an election, you are a candidate in the election and try to win it” (*Collins*). Upon establishing that the expression is indeed metaphorical in the given context, analysts proceed with determining what type of metaphor it is at the linguistic level, which implies the application of MIPVU (Steen et al. 2010: 25–26). Thus, in the example sentence above, the expression *fight* is an example of indirect metaphor.

Direct metaphors, on the other hand, refer to the use of overt lexical units, which nevertheless activate cross-domain mapping. In the sentence:

- (2) Labour has accused Liz Truss’s government of acting *like* “gamblers in a casino” over the UK economy after the pound dropped to its lowest level against the dollar since decimalisation, following Friday’s unofficial budget. (*The Guardian*, September 26, 2022),

we witness direct metaphor use, where *like* is a signal for direct metaphor. The use of lexical items such as *like* and *as* in figurative language has been fairly controversial. However, in the light of the DMT findings, direct metaphors are identified when the basic meaning is sufficiently distinct from the contextual meaning for the latter to be seen as potentially participating in another semantic or conceptual domain. In other words, there is a comparison between A and B that triggers a mapping between the two contrastive domains (cf. Steen et al. 2010: 57–58). In such cases, A can hardly literally ‘be’ B – it is only ‘likened’ to B in some way. Steen et al. (2010: 94–95) claim that “the cross domain mapping occurs in conceptual structure, and is expressed directly at the level of linguistic form”, and offer an option to have such directly expressed metaphors that are explicitly signaled with *like*, *as*, *seem*, *appear*, etc. annotated as “potentially metaphorical *within* the simile”. As for the claims that similes are not actually metaphors and are less forceful than if they were e.g. found in A is B form, I follow Steen et al.’s (2010: 112) instructions about “including rather than excluding borderline cases of metaphoricity and adopting a general view on metaphor, which means that I assume

¹ In this case, Collins, Macmillan, Cambridge, Oxford, and Merriam Webster Online Dictionaries were consulted for English corpus. For B/C/S corpus, I consulted Anić (2003), Čedić et al. (2007), Halilović et al. (2010), Jahić (2010/2012), Hrvatski jezični portal (online database), and Vujančić (2007).

what would be metaphorical to a general reader. Furthermore, Steen et al. (2010: 19) have introduced the category WIDLII, ‘When In Doubt, Leave It In’, thus producing a three-category variable: clear metaphor-related words, metaphor-related words that are WIDLII, and words that are clearly not related to metaphors.

In the DMT, direct metaphors are identified as “local referent and topic shift” or “the incongruous expressions integrated within the overall referential and/or topical framework through comparison” (Steen et al. 2010: 38). Steen (2007: 10–11) argues that direct use of language is also considered metaphorical because it involves subsequent conceptual analysis to determine the meaning in the background of cross-domain mapping. According to Steen (2009a: 182), direct metaphor can be structured as *A is B* metaphor, *A is like B* metaphor, and extended metaphor. The example (2) contains direct metaphor with A IS LIKE B structure. Direct metaphors with *A is like B* structure imply the use of lexical markers that signal direct use of metaphorical language. Detailed protocol for direct metaphor identification is offered by Steen et al. (2010: 38), as well as an explanation on lexical signals of cross-domain mappings. The signals that draw the addressee’s attention to the mappings between domains are, for instance, *like*, *as*, and *as if*, while – according to Steen et al. (2010: 41) – more general lexical items like *kind of*, *sort of*, *something of* are not taken into account as it is not always clear whether these indicate metaphoricity and other aspects of discourse. The sentence in (3) is the example of extended metaphor,² where extended metaphorical comparisons are elaborated and stretched creatively within or between paragraphs:

- (3) She told Times Radio: “Instead of blaming everybody else, instead of *behaving like two gamblers in a casino chasing a losing run*, the chancellor and the prime minister should be mindful of the reaction not just on the financial markets but also of the public. (*The Guardian*, September 26, 2022)

Furthermore, the example (4) contains two cases of implicit metaphor use: the pronoun *it* semantically refers to the metaphorically used words identified in a sentence or paragraph. In other words, when a particular functional word (e.g. the pronoun *it*) is used as a cohesive device in a text, semantically referring to a full lexical word which is metaphorical in that segment of discourse, we label *it* as implicit metaphor. Steen et al. (2010: 39–40) have provided steps for finding implicit metaphor as well. Implicit metaphors (in my case the pronouns *it* in the example 4) are marked as metaphorical because of the semantic connection with linguistic expressions that were previously marked as metaphorical (*gambling*, in 4):

- (4) Financial markets are unimpressed, the British public are unimpressed and the chancellor and the prime minister need to take note because they’re not *gambling* with their own money, they’re *gambling* with all our money. *It’s* reckless and *it’s* irresponsible as well as being grossly unfair. (*The Guardian*, September 26, 2022)

² For extended metaphors cf. Steen (2008, 2009a)

Also, Steen et al. (2010: 26) suggest marking the expression as metaphorical in cases “when ellipsis occurs where words may be seen as missing,” as in the case of *should* in “If we agree that in that case women should be embraced by the liberty principle then so *should* children” (Herrmann 2013: 162) – where there is an “underlying cohesive link (grammatical and/or semantic) in the discourse which points to recoverable metaphorical material” (Steen et al. 2010: 15).

The criterion of conventionality refers to determining whether a metaphor is novel or conventional, and it is applied to both conceptual metaphors and their corresponding metaphorical linguistic expressions (i.e. linguistic metaphors). Unless its contextual meaning is recorded in a dictionary, a linguistic metaphor is labelled as novel; if both the basic and the contextual meanings are recorded in a dictionary, the metaphor is conventional. In case of *fight* in (1), its basic and contextual meanings are listed in dictionaries – thus, the metaphorical expression is conventional. Therefore, conventional metaphors are “deeply entrenched ways of thinking about or understanding an abstract domain, while conventional metaphorical linguistic expressions are well worn, clichéd ways of talking about abstract domains” (Kövecses 2010: 34).

On the other hand, novel metaphorical linguistic expressions are those that are not evidently clichéd through frequent use and whose contextual meanings are not listed in dictionaries. These are innovative and unconventional. For example, *door*, *doorstep*, and *foundation* are common metaphorical linguistic expressions from the domain of HOUSE that are clichéd through frequent use – unlike the novel metaphorical linguistic expression *doormat*. For the expression ‘otirač’/*doormat*, Mujagić (2022a: 35–36) has only identified the basic meaning in the B/C/S dictionaries, which means that the expression is unconventional in the context of use in migration discourse. Therefore, the metaphorical expression *doormat* is unconventional, but its corresponding conceptual domain (HOUSE) is conventional. This implies that conceptual metaphors (corresponding conceptual structures) may be conventional or novel, regardless of whether linguistic expressions themselves are labelled as conventional or novel.

We often witness how the use of conventional metaphors may prompt the emergence of novel, more innovative figurative language use in order to achieve certain rhetorical purpose. One such example is when the “car without reverse gear” image used by the former British Prime Minister Blair, inspired the BBC anchorman to remark:

- (5) But when you’re on the edge of a cliff, it is good to have a reverse gear.
(Kövecses 2010: 289).

Novel metaphors are automatically deliberate. As with the example (5), the metaphor is introduced to serve “the speaker’s interests in persuading others”; often the metaphor is slightly, but not less significantly, changed to be “turned against the original user” (Kövecses 2010: 289) – as it is often the case in political debates. This novel metaphor is used as a perspective-changing device, which is obviously the property of a deliberate metaphor.

Deliberate and nondeliberate metaphors are distinguished at the communicative level of analysis, where I applied the IdeM protocol outlined in Krennmayr (2011) in order to determine the instances of deliberate metaphor use in the corpus. While nondeliberate metaphors “stay ‘on topic’”, and “the recipient does not have to attend to the source domain of the metaphorical utterance”, deliberate metaphor “provides an alien perspective on the topic of utterance”, i.e. “introduces a new perspective on the target domain” (Reijnierse et al. 2018: 133–134). Steen (2015: 68) points out that “the addressee has to move away their attention momentarily from the target domain of the utterance or even phrase to the source domain that is evoked by the metaphor-related expression.” Direct metaphors and novel metaphors are automatically deliberate, as they have a communicative function of changing recipients’ perspective about a topic. Furthermore, deliberate metaphors may be signaled with either lexical items (e.g. *like*, *as*) or textual features (quotation marks, italics). Several metaphor studies discuss deliberate metaphor signals (Steen 2006, 2009b, Krennmayr 2011, Musolf 2011, Herrmann 2013). Darian’s research (2000) showed that quotation marks are the most common signals of deliberate metaphor use (another possibility being the use of italics, which is not recorded in my corpus of research).

According to Steen (2008: 222), deliberate use of metaphor involves the change of “addressee’s perspective on the referent or topic that is the target of the metaphor, by making the addressee look at it from a different conceptual domain or space”. My aim is to present cases where the power of deliberate metaphor is exploited by journalists to persuade readers to look at current politics the way they see it. Therefore, this paper is based on the DMT because I believe that this model will give a good interpretation of the results. Steen et al. (2010) designed the framework that stresses the importance of objectivity by relying on detailed protocols and dictionaries as objective descriptions of language. This well-thought out framework resolves the issues of inter-analyst disagreements, the status of borderline cases, etc. Its application gives us insight into how deliberate metaphors participate in building different aspects of migration discourse as they draw attention to the source domain.

3. The data and methods

In order to analyze metaphors in segments of real discourse, I rely on currently one of the most detailed models of metaphor analysis proposed by Steen (2007, 2008, 2015), whose main merits are objectivity, reliability, and a high degree of inter-analyst agreement. Potentially metaphorical expressions are identified by applying the MIPVU procedure devised by Steen et al. (2010). The MIPVU, the six-step procedure for identifying metaphorical linguistic expressions (i.e. linguistic metaphors at the first level of the aforementioned Steen’s three-dimensional model) is explained in detail in Steen et al. (2010: 25–26). Furthermore, the authors resolve dilemmas such as what comprises a lexical unit, how to establish contextual and basic meanings, how to achieve unanimous agreement during the annotation

process, and other operational issues. Therefore, the MIPVU procedure is a reliable tool to confirm whether the expression is indeed metaphorical, and serves as the basis for further analysis at the linguistic level. After establishing that the identified expression is indeed metaphorical, an analyst proceeds to determine whether it is indirect, direct, or implicit metaphor. The guidelines to determining the type of metaphor at the linguistic level are given in Steen et al. (2010: 33, 38–40) and Krennmayr (2011: 51–52, 58–60).

At the conventional level of analysis, annotators rely on dictionaries, which results in objectivity in decision-making, as well as the possibility of repetition and reproduction of the results. The linguistic and conceptual levels of metaphor analysis serve as a firm basis and meet the challenge of identifying a deliberate metaphor in communication (Steen 2007, 2008, 2011a, 2011b, Steen et al. 2010). At this level, the IDeM protocol (Krennmayr 2011: 154–155) is used. By applying several clearly defined steps to identify deliberate metaphor, we determine “whether the metaphorical expression that has been identified by MIP/MIPVU is meant to change the recipient’s perspective on the topic of the text” (Krennmayr 2011: 154). Deliberate metaphors imply the use of certain types of signals (quotation marks, direct metaphor signals) or innovative language (novel metaphors, and extended metaphors).³ The variety of signals and the types of cognitive devices leaves room for the manipulation of concepts and signals, using different discourse strategies to achieve the desired rhetorical effect. Journalists resort to different signals and creative language use in order to emphasize and elaborate concepts, which opens up the possibility to influence recipients’ reasoning and change of perspective.

The corpus comprises articles retrieved from the sections about ‘the European migrant crisis from August 2015 to March 2016 (247,912 words). English corpus contains 126,010 words from *The Guardian*, *Daily Mail*, and *Daily Express*. The corpus in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian⁴ contains 121,902 words from the newspapers *Faktor*, *Oslobođenje*, *Dnevni avaz*, *Buka*, *Nezavisne novine*, *Dnevni list*, *BH Dani*, *Večernji list*, *BH Magazin*, and *Glas Srpske*. This corpus is part of a comprehensive study presented in Mujagić (2022b), the book which focuses primarily on ANIMAL and DANGEROUS WATERS metaphors. This corpus was annotated by the book author, after which the agreement is reached with the two book reviewers. Once the linguistic expressions are labelled metaphorical (the linguistic level of analysis), they are grouped according to which conceptual domain they belong (the

³ For deliberate metaphor signaling see Steen (2009a, 2009b, 2010), Krennmayr (2011), Musolf (2011), and Herrmann (2013).

⁴ According to the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, there are three official languages of the country – Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian (henceforth, B/C/S). Consequently, the analysis includes texts from several different newspapers published across the country. Bosnia and Herzegovina is a complex media space, where clear and explicit territorial boundaries cannot be drawn regarding the use of one of the three official languages, i.e. it is impossible to determine the area where only one language is explicitly spoken and written. Thus, this paper analyses articles from several newspapers from all around the country.

conceptual level). From this broad corpus of metaphorical expressions, the specific set of metaphorical linguistic expressions is selected for discussion in this paper. In the book (Mujagić 2022b), these have only been identified as secondary metaphors (cf. Santa Ana 2002: 71). After identifying these 20 expressions as metaphorical, I attempt to shed light on their role in migration discourse.

4. The corpus analysis

In this section, I analyze metaphors across the three dimensions of indirectness, conventionality, and deliberateness. The statistical overview of metaphorical linguistic expressions and their corresponding conceptual domains in both English and B/C/S, as well as the types of metaphors according to the three-dimensional model are outlined in the Appendix, which provides accurate data on the representation of certain expressions and forms in the corpus. I proceed with the description of metaphors identified in the corpus by discussing each conceptual metaphor and the corresponding metaphorical linguistic expressions under separate heading (thus headings about politics as war, game, trade, and theater). The overview of the entire metaphorical framework of politics and the interrelatedness of the identified metaphors is given in ‘Discussion’.

The main focus of this research is not the frequency of concepts or metaphorical linguistic expressions about politics, which is a task that would demand a more focused and comprehensive study in itself, but the rhetorical goals and the effects of their exploitation once these are selected by journalists. The issue of frequency, though, is mentioned in some other sense in this paper and is relevant in a way that frequently used, i.e. overused and clichéd expressions will have their meanings already included in dictionaries and thus be recognized as conventional metaphors, while less used creative and innovative expressions will lack dictionary entries for contextual meanings and thus be labelled as novel metaphors during the annotation process. In that way, their effects on recipients are indeed revealed during the analysis as novel metaphors are said to function as deliberate metaphors at the communicative level.

4.1. POLITICS AS WAR

In political discourse, it is common for nations to be personified – as it is also evident in the examples included for this analysis. Thus, Russia is ‘thinking’, ‘pursuing’, ‘watching’, while the EU is ‘confronting’, etc. In the examples (1–3) the countries are presented as ‘enemies’ fighting a (political) war. The conceptual metaphor POLITICS AS WAR is made manifest by the metaphorical linguistic expressions *weaponising* and *weaponised*.

- (1) Russia has been accused of “*weaponising*” the refugee crisis as a way of destabilising Europe – a claim recently reinforced by Nato’s top commander in Europe. That assertion may well be disputed. What is beyond doubt is the continuing need to know what Russia is thinking, and

what goals it might pursue as it watches the EU confront multiple crises. (“Putin’s long game has been revealed, and the omens are bad for Europe”, *The Guardian*, March 18, 2016)

- (2) To say that Putin has “*weaponised*” the refugee crisis hands him too much control over events, for Russia didn’t start the crisis. But it has capitalised on a situation that has deepened Europe’s weaknesses and divisions. (“Putin’s long game has been revealed, and the omens are bad for Europe”, *The Guardian*, March 18, 2016)
- (3) Russia’s Vladimir Putin has also seen the opportunity to exacerbate Europe’s problems and has been accused of “*weaponising*” the crisis and ensuring the flow of migrants continues as they try to escape Russian bombing. (“European societies close to collapsing, warns Nick Ferrari”, *The Daily Express*, January 24, 2016)

The basic meaning of *weaponise* is “used as a weapon or made into a weapon” (*Collins*), while the contextual meaning is “use as a political weapon” (*Macmillan*). At the linguistic level, these are the examples of indirect metaphor use. Given that both meanings are listed in dictionaries, the metaphorical linguistic expression is conventional. Moreover, this metaphorical expression abounds in articles about the European migrant crisis and political relations between countries that resulted from it,⁵ which implies its entrenched and clichéd use. In other words, the conventional expression *weaponise* makes manifest the conventional conceptual metaphor POLITICS AS A WAR. The expression is signaled with quotation marks and thus labelled as a deliberate metaphor at the communicative level of analysis. In this context, the metaphor is used to build argumentation and shape discussion with the aim of changing the recipients’ perspective. In English corpus, the relationship of the EU and Russia is conceptualized using POLITICS AS WAR, manifesting itself in the use of the metaphorical expression *weaponise*, where it is evident that this metaphor is instrumentalized as a rhetorical tool in discussions where migration is seen as a political weapon. Similar conclusions were drawn by Solopova and Kushneruk (2021) about emotionally charged, negative images of Russia in foreign media discourse, namely British media. In B/C/S, the examples of POLITICS AS WAR metaphor are not identified. It can only be speculated at this point as to why this metaphor is not identified in the corpus. One can suppose that maybe it is ‘left’ for some other contexts such as discussing inner political issues that Bosnia and Herzegovina is dealing with – which is something that can be addressed by future studies.

⁵ See, e.g., articles “Who is ‘weaponising’ the Syrian refugees?” and “Migrant crisis: Russia and Syria ‘weaponising’ migration” available at: <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2016/03/weaponising-syrian-refugees-160313121135473.html> and <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35706238>; Accessed on April 15, 2023

4.2. POLITICS AS A GAME

In English, the relationship between the EU and Turkey, the countries seen as the ‘actors’ of the European migrant crisis, is conceptualized using POLITICS AS A GAME metaphor. It is made manifest through the use of the metaphorical linguistic expressions *gamechanger*, *play*, and *team up*. The basic meaning of *gamechanger* is “something or someone that affects the result of a game very much” (*Collins*), while its contextual meaning is “something that completely changes the way something is done, thought about, or made” (*Macmillan*).

- (4) The Turkish deputy foreign affairs minister, Ali Naci Korum, described the EU-Turkey deal on refugees as a *gamechanger*, saying the number travelling to the Greek islands was declining rapidly and such journeys would soon end. (“Half of \$12bn refugee fund pledged at London meeting not disbursed”, *The Guardian*, March 30, 2016)

In (5) and (6), Britain and Austria are portrayed as persons who will either play its role or team up with other players. The following examples describe political moves of countries – each looking from its own perspective what its best interests are:

- (5) By building on the work of previous conferences in Kuwait, I hope we can deliver billions of dollars more at the conference tomorrow than was raised in the entirety of last year. Britain will *play* its part. We are already the world’s second biggest bilateral donor to the region, and we will now more than double our total pledge to over £2.3bn – committing twice as much this year as last. (“Syrians want to go home and rebuild their country. I intend to help them”, *The Guardian*, February 3, 2016)
- (6) Athens on Thursday recalled its ambassador from Vienna, in effect accusing Austria of *teaming up* with other countries in the region to – in the words of the Greek migration minister – transform Greece into “Europe’s Lebanon.” (“The Guardian view on the EU and the refugee crisis: stop arguing, and fix it”, *The Guardian*, February 25, 2016)

The basic and contextual meanings of expressions *team up* and *play* are listed in dictionaries, which means these are conventional metaphorical expressions. At the linguistic level of analysis, these are indirect metaphors. Figuratively speaking, the countries are ‘teaming up’ to achieve a particular aim or a common goal, while ‘playing’ implies competing with someone for one’s own interest. The corpus analysis reveals that different types of GAME are exploited for metaphorical purposes: team sports and games, individual ones (like chess), gambling games, and sometimes their combinations within a single sentence (like *pawns* and *bargaining chips* in the example 8):

- (7) Today, Europe’s best *bet* against the mounting crisis seems to be to deploy the new regime in Turkey, the ruling Justice and Development party (AKP), with its mutating mixture of extreme nationalism,

- conservative religion, and militarisation. (“Syrian refugees in Turkey are *pawns* in a geopolitical *game*”, *The Guardian*, February 15, 2016)
- (8) Putting all the burden on the shoulders of Turkey seems a desirable option, but it is not viable, let alone fair. Turkey is already home to around 2.5 million Syrian refugees. The government is holding them *as bargaining chips* in its many negotiations with Europe. These people are not on any dignified path to citizenship. (“Syrian refugees in Turkey are *pawns* in a geopolitical *game*”, *The Guardian*, February 15, 2016)
- (9) Turkey’s government is trying to negotiate with the EU, using refugees *as bargaining chips*. This hardly brings the crisis closer to a resolution. (“Syrian refugees in Turkey are *pawns* in a geopolitical *game*”, *The Guardian*, February 15, 2016)

The basic meaning of *bet* is “an agreement in which you bet money on what will happen, or the amount of money that you bet” (*Macmillan*), while its contextual meaning is “a chance or opportunity” (*Cambridge*). On the other hand, the basic meaning of *chip* is “a small piece of plastic used instead of money when gambling (playing games for money)” (*Macmillan*), and in the context of the examples (8) and (9), the expression *bargaining chips* refers to “something that you can use to persuade someone to give you what you want” (*Macmillan*), i.e. “something that is used as leverage in a negotiation” (*Collins*), with the emphasis on using it to achieve one’s own advantage. These are the examples of conventional metaphorical expressions belonging to the conventional conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A GAME, or more specifically a gambling game. However, they differ at the linguistic level of analysis: *bet* is indirect, while *bargaining chips* is a direct metaphor with A AS B structure (refugees as bargaining chips) – which means it is deliberate at the communicative level. In addition, the expression *pawns* identified in the article headline in the examples (7–9) implies that migrants are likened to either chess pawns or board game pawns. It is a direct metaphor with A IS B structure, where the author draws recipients’ attention to a cross-domain mapping by creating a direct comparison between the two things. Direct metaphors are automatically deliberate, as they are intended to change recipients’ perspective of an issue.

In B/C/S corpus, only one expression from the GAME domain is identified:

- (10) Jedini način da izađemo iz ove *pat pozicije* jeste da prekoračimo pitanje tolerancije: drugima treba ponuditi ne samo poštovanje, već mogućnost udruživanja u zajedničkoj borbi jer problemi sa kojima se suočavamo su zajednički problemi. (“Norveška ne postoji”, *BH Magazin*, the column)
- [The only way to get out of this *stalemate* is to overstep the matter of tolerance: we should offer others not only respect, but the possibility of joining together in a common struggle because the problems we face are common problems.]

The basic meaning of the expression *pat pozicija* (English ‘stalemate’) originates from chess and implies a position “in which a player cannot make any move which is allowed by the rules, so that the game ends and no one wins”

(*Collins*), while its contextual meaning refers to “a situation in which two opposing forces find that further action is impossible or futile” (*Collins*). In the example (10), the metaphorical expression from the GAME domain is used for elaboration and explanation, i.e. to give opinion on possible actions of a state.

In this example, the original expression *pat pozicija* and its direct equivalent in English, *a stalemate*, evoke the same feeling to a general reader. After all, they are full translation equivalents, with a full match at the level of both form and content. In addition, both expressions are conventional (they have entries in dictionaries), which means that they are well-established, clichéd, and accepted in both languages. Apart from the issue of equivalence, the issue of dead metaphors is worth mentioning here. To some speakers, *stalemate* may intuitively sound like a dead metaphor which no longer feels metaphorical in English. Tracing and accounting for the decline of metaphor is a complex matter depending from a lot of different factors. Yet, one must consider the importance of the context in which such metaphors are used – if we have a text that abounds with metaphorical linguistic expressions from the GAME domain, these only intensify the metaphoricity and evoke a particular feeling to a general reader. Furthermore, Steen (2008: 231) claims that “the fact that dead metaphors can only be called metaphorical by looking at their polysemy in the history of the language does not make them less metaphorical to the metaphor researcher, even if it does to the metaphor researcher who is only interested in contemporary usage.”

4.3. POLITICS AS A TRADE

The metaphorical linguistic expressions belonging to the conventional conceptual metaphor POLITICS AS A TRADE are only identified in the articles in English. In (11), *to deliver* and *pick up the bill* imply that migrants are trade goods that can be delivered and billed for:

- (11) The UN high commissioner for refugees, visiting Athens this week, committed the UNHCR to increasing its involvement in reception operations in cooperation with the Greek government. He has *to deliver* on this as soon as possible. The European commission should do the only thing it does well: *pick up the bill*. It has a lot to lose if it *doesn't*. (“This racist backlash against refugees is the real crisis in Europe”, *The Guardian*, February 25, 2016)

These metaphors are indirect, which means that their effect is covert, but not less harmful for at least two reasons. First, migrants are dehumanized, i.e. portrayed as merely a commodity. Second, delivery for which a bill will be received means that entrusting goods or persons also implies removing responsibility and transferring it to someone else – as evident from this *Collins* entry: “If you deliver a person or thing into someone’s care, you give them responsibility for that person or thing.” In the example (11), *doesn't* is marked indirect, as it is related to the metaphorical segment *pick up the bill*.

4.4. POLITICS AS A THEATER

The THEATER metaphor is often exploited to talk about contemporary political matters in figurative terms (cf. Stanojević 2013, 2009, Blackburn 1987, Borčić 2010) – which means that POLITICS AS A THEATER is a conventional conceptual metaphor. In the example (12) in B/C/S, it is realized through the use of conventional metaphorical linguistic expressions *cirkusanti pod maskama* ('circus performers under masks'), *reditelj* ('director'), *scena* ('act'), *zaplet* ('plot'), and *čin* ('act').

- (12) Zar se ovakvi međunarodni skrbnici ne doimaju kao *cirkusanti pod maskama* kakve se, u pokladno vrijeme, mogu sresti i vidjeti na mostarskom, splitskom, dubrovačkom, kotorskom i svakom drugom mjestu koje njeguje karnevalske običaje? Nade u bolje dane ni na vidiku! Samo je sunce pravedno jer grije i jedne i druge – govorio je karizmatični kotorski svećenik don Branko Sbutega. Zemljama koje su se pod sretnim okolnostima izgradile i demokratizirale namijenjen je izbjeglički tsunami. Koja je svrha preseljenja naroda Bliskog istoka i sjeverne Afrike? Što je *prekooceanski redatelj* planirao? Teško je to domisliti! Europa je zbunjena. *Na sceni je prvi čin* i početak *zapleta*. Pred nama je proljeće. Pred nama su još masovniji izbjeglički valovi – pravi stampedo. Čelnici Europske unije pozivaju i spremaju se za alternativne mehanizme *obrane*. („Ži(v)čana Evropa“, *Večernji list*, the column, February 28, 2016)

[Don't these international guardians seem *like circus performers under masks*, the kind you can meet and see during carnival time in Mostar, Split, Dubrovnik, Kotor, and any other place that cherishes carnival customs? Hopes for better days are nowhere in sight! Only the sun is fair because it keeps both sides warm – as the charismatic priest from Kotor, Don Branko Sbutega, used to say. Countries that have been built and democratized under fortunate circumstances are destined for a refugee tsunami. What is the purpose of resettling the peoples of the Middle East and North Africa? What was *the overseas director* planning? It's hard to ascertain! Europe is confused. *The first act* and *the beginning of the plot* are *on stage*. Spring is upon us. Ahead of us are even more massive *waves* of refugees – a real stampedo. The leaders of the European Union are calling for and preparing for alternative defense mechanisms.]

This metaphor is, however, elaborated and creatively stretched within a single sentence or between paragraphs – which makes it a deliberate metaphor at the communicative level. In this entire paragraph, the European migrant crisis – a socio-political phenomenon bringing forth all the complex geopolitical relations – is figuratively presented as a theater performance. The very fact that the journalist mentions Mostar, Split, Dubrovnik, and Kotor⁶ as places that nurture carnival customs confirms the claim that the THEATER metaphor is culturally

⁶ These are the names of the cities in the Balkans.

conditioned and not possible to exploit in those cultures where there is no theater as we know it (cf. Stanojević 2009: 349). The THEATER metaphor is not identified in English corpus, probably due to the fact that journalists for one reason or the other resorted to the extensive use of the GAME metaphor.

5. Discussion

The corpus analysis reveals that the journalists indeed resort to the use of covert, conventional structures. The statistical overview shows that the ratio of different types of metaphors is as follows: 73.3% of indirect metaphors, 20% of direct, and 6.7% of implicit metaphors in English; 83.3% of indirect, 16.7% of direct, and 0 implicit metaphors in the B/ C/ S languages. The linguistic analysis reveals that the most frequent type of metaphors are indirect ones, which subtly influence our perception of an issue in a manner that may not be immediately noticeable but is not necessarily harmless. For instance, all the identified expressions from the WAR domain are indirect metaphors, thus covert – not attracting recipients' attention to cross-domain mappings by any type of lexical signal. In case an indirect metaphor is signaled by quotation marks, its use is deliberate on the part of the author. Direct metaphors, on the other hand, are overt and more striking. Implicit metaphors are a result of textual cohesion and as it turns out, are quite rare (cf. Mujagić 2022a, 2022b). All metaphorical linguistic expressions identified in the corpus are conventional, as well as their corresponding conceptual structures. This implies that the journalists resort to the manipulation of familiar concepts when creating “effective and easily memorable language, whereby listeners have no major difficulties in processing it, given that it is based on well-established concepts” (Berberović & Delibegović-Džanić 2014: 22). The journalists in both languages restricted themselves to the use of conventional expressions and cognitive structures possibly to facilitate comprehension of complex political situation to wider audience/ general readership.

However, the question of communicative functions of the identified deliberate metaphors deems more detailed elaboration. I analyzed the conceptual metaphors POLITICS AS A WAR, POLITICS AS A GAME, POLITICS AS A TRADE, and POLITICS AS A THEATER, focusing on the cases where the journalists exploit these metaphors as perspective-changing cognitive mechanisms. The WAR metaphor, identified in English texts only, has a persuasive function. Due to its emotive effect, the WAR metaphor is an apt instrument of persuasion. Skilled use of metaphorical expressions from this domain can have profound impact on recipients and persuade them to share the writer's point of view. The POLITICS AS A WAR metaphor is used to build argumentation and shape discussion when talking about the relationship of the EU and Russia, i.e. implying a (metaphorical) war between the two and their ever-shifting relations (cf. Solopova et al. 2003). Yet, the dominant metaphor in English is the GAME metaphor, which varies in expressions and structure. It is used to describe relations between nations, either striving to achieve common goals or competing for their own interests. By describing and explaining, journalists can

pursue different types of communicative goals (e.g. to persuade, propose a course of action, share information, and advance a hypothesis; cf. Macagno & Rossi 2021). This research identified examples when the journalists resorted to the direct language use when pursuing a persuasive goal, which presupposes supporting a viewpoint. The metaphorical expressions *a gamechanger* and *bargaining chips* are examples of direct use of metaphorical language, which means that their rhetorical effect is greatly strengthened as direct metaphors overtly ask recipients to draw connection between the source and target concepts. Another metaphor used in English only is the POLITICS AS A TRADE, which is used to describe the cooperation between the EU and Greece. The TRADE metaphors are high in the concreteness dimension of physicality (and low in the concreteness dimension of specificity), which makes it an apt conceptual tool for (1) elaboration of a complex topic on the part of the author, and (2) facilitation of recipients' understanding of a topic at hand.

The THEATER metaphor is identified in B/C/S only and used when giving opinion on the seriousness of the political situation between the relevant actors of the Crisis. It is creatively elaborated in a column to offer criticism of world leaders, America, and Europe. It may also be seen as an attempt to create empathy towards migrants and awaken moral consciousness of the issue of migration in general. Recruiting creative facets of the source concept produces more striking examples of figurative creativity, both linguistically and conceptually. This also contributes to achieving discourse coherence at intertextual and intratextual level. The expressions from these domains are successfully intertwined within texts in a well-established conceptual framework that helps recipients comprehend the contemporary socio-political issues leaving them hardly immune from its associative power (mostly of 'others' being 'enemies' or 'rivals'). Political discourse is packed with metaphors heightening emotional intensity (cf. Musolff 2021), but this study showed that the selection of linguistic and conceptual structures in migration-oriented political discourse is meticulous – this is implied by the dominant use of covert and conventional metaphors. However, conventional structures can easily be reiterated and creatively stretched producing instances of deliberate metaphor use. These cognitive devices are naturalized (even clichéd), and yet with a clear rhetorical message they leave a significant effect on the recipient in communication.

6. Conclusion

Metaphor is a multifaceted phenomenon. This paper paints the fuller picture about the use of deliberate metaphors from the POLITICS domain in migration-oriented media discourse. These cognitive devices are used as perspective-changing means by journalists to persuade, build argumentation and shape discussion. Furthermore, these are creatively elaborated when criticizing politicians and their migration policies. The communicative function of such linguistic and conceptual structures is to shift the addressee's perspective on migration and view current political relations in a desired way. Given that the concept of politics may be viewed

in relation to different social, economic, or cultural phenomena (not only migration), further research is encouraged to apply the same model of metaphor analysis to determine communicative functions of POLITICS metaphor in other types of discourse.

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Appendix: Statistical overview of metaphors in the corpus

Table 1. Source domains in English corpus

| Target domain | Source domain | Metaphorical linguistic expressions | total |
|---------------|---------------|---|-------|
| POLITICS | GAME | <i>gamechanger</i> (1), <i>play</i> (1), <i>team up</i> (1), <i>bet</i> (1), <i>bargaining chip</i> (2), <i>game</i> (2), <i>pawns</i> (1) | 9 |
| | WAR | ' <i>weaponising</i> ' (2), ' <i>weaponized</i> ' (1) | 3 |
| | TRADE | <i>to deliver</i> (1), <i>pick up the bill</i> (1) | 2 |
| | | | 14 |

Table II. Source domains in Bosnian/ Croatian/ Serbian corpus

| Target domain | Source domain | Metaphorical linguistic expressions | total |
|---------------|---------------|---|-------|
| POLITICS | GAME | <i>pat pozicija</i> (1) | 1 |
| | THEATER | <i>circusanti pod maskama, prekoceanski redatelj, na sceni, prvi čin, početak zapleta</i> | 5 |
| | | | 6 |

Table III. Overview of English metaphors according to the three-dimensional model

| Linguistic level | Examples from the corpus | total |
|------------------------|---|-------|
| Indirect metaphor | <i>“weaponising”</i> (2), <i>‘weaponized’</i> (1), <i>play</i> (1), <i>teaming up</i> (1), <i>best bet</i> (1), <i>to deliver</i> (1), <i>pick up the bill</i> (1), <i>game</i> (2), <i>pawns</i> (1) | 11 |
| Direct metaphor | <i>as a gamechanger</i> (1), <i>as bargaining chips</i> (2) | 3 |
| Implicit metaphor | <i>doesn’t</i> (=pick up the bill) | 1 |
| Conceptual level | | |
| Conventional metaphor | <i>“weaponising”</i> (2), <i>‘weaponized’</i> (1), <i>play</i> (1), <i>teaming up</i> (1), <i>best bet</i> (1), <i>to deliver</i> (1), <i>pick up the bill</i> (1), <i>bargaining chip</i> (2), <i>game</i> (2), <i>pawns</i> (1), <i>gamechanger</i> (1) | 14 |
| Novel metaphor | | 0 |
| Communicative level | | |
| Deliberate metaphor | <i>“weaponising”</i> (2), <i>‘weaponized’</i> (1), <i>as a gamechanger</i> , <i>as bargaining chips</i> (2) | 6 |
| Nondeliberate metaphor | <i>play</i> , <i>teaming up</i> , <i>best bet</i> , <i>to deliver</i> , <i>pick up the bill</i> , <i>game</i> (2), <i>pawns</i> | 8 |

Table IV. Overview of metaphors according to the three-dimensional model

| Linguistic level | Examples from the corpus | Total |
|------------------------|---|-------|
| Indirect metaphor | <i>pat pozicija, prekoceanski redatelj, čin, zaplet, scena</i> | 5 |
| Direct metaphor | <i>kao circusanti pod maskama</i> | 1 |
| Implicit metaphor | | |
| Conceptual level | | |
| Conventional metaphor | <i>pat pozicija, circusanti pod maskama, redatelj, scena, čin, zaplet</i> | 6 |
| Novel metaphor | | 0 |
| Communicative level | | |
| Deliberate metaphor | One creatively elaborated metaphor: Zar se ovakvi međunarodni skrbnici ne doimaju <i>kao circusanti pod maskama</i> kakve se, u pokladno vrijeme, mogu sresti i vidjeti na mostarskom, splitskom, dubrovačkom, kotorskom i svakom drugom mjestu koje njeguje karnevalske običaje? Nade u bolje dane ni na vidiku! Samo je sunce pravedno jer grije i jedne i druge – govorio je karizmatični kotorski svećenik don Branko Sbutega. Zemljama koje su se pod sretnim okolnostima izgradile i demokratizirale namijenjen je izbjeglički tsunami. Koja je svrha preseljenja naroda Bliskog istoka i sjeverne Afrike? Što je <i>prekoceanski redatelj</i> planirao? Teško je to domisliti! Europa je zbunjena. <i>Na sceni je prvi čin</i> i početak <i>zapleta</i> . | 1 |
| Nondeliberate metaphor | <i>pat pozicija</i> | 1 |

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Metaphor power in the context of the author's opinion expression and perception

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Abstract

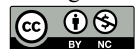
The article explores the relationship between the functional potential of metaphor and the expression and perception of the author's opinion. Metaphor is considered as a means of implicit speech impact exerted both from the positions of its generation and perception. This paper aims to identify the correlation between the author's opinion and various aspects of metaphor power, namely density (the number of metaphors per text), intensity (the ratio of new and conventional metaphors) and the metaphor projections typology (the ratio among orientational, ontological, and structural metaphors). The data for the study were obtained from a two-stage linguistic experiment. First, 20 experts in Russian Philology and Journalism composed three-part texts about Russia (its history, culture, and people), and were asked to summarise their personal opinion in the most relevant part. Then 180 respondents who were students of Moscow State Linguistics University identified the author's position in the composed essays. The latter were analysed using metaphor-driven discourse analysis (MDDA), which included the identification of metaphor density, their intensity, and functional typology indices. Next, the MDDA numerical values of indices were juxtaposed with the data reflecting the author's opinion expression and its perception by the respondents. The findings showed that metaphor intensity and density are related to the verbal message persuasion, since in 80% of the cases personal opinion was set forth in those text parts that contained the greatest number of the author's metaphors. The proven relationship between metaphor power and the author's opinion expression makes it possible to identify metaphorical speech impact, which reflects forms and degrees of speech impact in different types of texts. Thus, the results expand the theoretical and practical framework for the study of metaphorical speech persuasion.

Keywords: *metaphor, speech impact, metaphor density, metaphor intensity, metaphorical indices*

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Метафоричность и речевое воздействие в контексте выражения и восприятия мнения автора

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Аннотация

В статье рассматривается проблема взаимосвязи функционального потенциала метафоры с выражением и восприятием авторского мнения. Метафора рассматривается как средство имплицитного речевого воздействия одновременно с позиций порождения и восприятия высказывания. Цель статьи – выявить зависимость между авторским мнением и различными аспектами использования языковых метафор в тексте, а именно плотностью (количеством метафор на объем текста), интенсивностью (соотношением новых и конвенциональных метафор) и типом метафорических проекций (соотношением между ориентационными, онтологическими и структурными метафорами). Материал исследования был получен в результате двухэтапного лингвистического эксперимента. В эксперименте участвовали 180 студентов различных курсов МГЛУ. На первом этапе 20 экспертов составляли тексты, последовательно раскрывающие три смысловых компонента (Россия – это история, Россия – это культура, Россия – это народ), выделяя тот вариант, который соотносится с их личным мнением; на втором этапе 180 респондентов выявляли авторскую позицию. Полученные тексты были проанализированы с помощью метода комплексного анализа метафоричности дискурса (МКАМД), включающего выявление индексов плотности, интенсивности и функциональной типологии метафор. Далее числовые значения индексов были соотнесены с данными, отражающими выражение мнения автором и восприятие этого мнения респондентами. Результаты показали, что интенсивность и плотность метафор связана с убеждающе-суггестивной функцией речевого сообщения, так как в 80% случаев позиция автора текста была выражена в той части текста, где было использовано наибольшее количество авторских метафор. На основании доказанной взаимосвязи между функциональным потенциалом метафоры и выражением авторского мнения можно выявлять форму и степень метафорического речевого воздействия в различных типах текста. Таким образом, результаты расширяют теоретические и практические рамки исследования метафорического речевого воздействия.

Ключевые слова: *метафора, речевое воздействие, плотность метафор, интенсивность метафор, индексы метафоричности*

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1. Introduction

The initial contradictory status of metaphor, as well as the difference in specific functions in language and speech, has led to dispersion of research in the field of metaphor. Studies of metaphor are characterised by a considerable breadth of object and subject boundaries, which, according to Budaev and Chudinov, “reflects the

ambiguity of solving the problem of metaphor in modern science” (Budaev & Chudinov 2006: 12). As it is known, metaphor, being one of the favourite topics of modern linguistic research, is considered as a means of ‘ornamenting’ speech (Cheremisova 2019), manifestation of dynamics in the sphere of lexical semantics a way of word formation (Gak et al. 1988, Arutyunova 1990) a communicative phenomenon conditioned by context and author’s intention (Searle 1979, Gibbs, Tendahl & Okonski 2011), a means of emotional and expressive influence (Teliya 1988, Solopova & Kushneruk 2021), and a mechanism of structuring, transforming and creating new knowledge (Lakoff & Johnson 2004, Turner & Fauconnier 2003). Philosophers have consistently argued about the mythological and symbolic nature of human thinking which have been formed into the theory of conceptual (cognitive) metaphor, according to which “our conceptual system is largely metaphoric, since the way we think, the things we learn from experience, and the things we do every day have the most direct relation to metaphor” (Lakoff & Johnson 2004: 25). Metaphor, as a linguistic and cognitive phenomenon, is used to represent and create linguistic consciousness that reflects nation-specific and universal features of thinking characteristic of a certain linguistic and cultural group (Kövecses 2009, Winter & Matlock 2017, Guan & Sun 2023, Solopova & Saltykova 2019, Solopova et al. 2023, etc.). It is a way of organising human cultural experience and an integral cultural paradigm for speakers of any language.

The synthetic nature of metaphor as an intersection of language, thinking and culture, also implies a special role of metaphor in discourse, as any social processes require subjective interpretation by the participants of the discursive process. At the same time, the interpretation of the surrounding reality takes place through conceptualisation and categorisation, that include mechanisms of metaphorical transfer (Musolff 2019, Brugman, Burgers & Vis 2019). Thus, a wide range of approaches and views could not but draw attention to the need for a detailed study of metaphor as a means of speech effect, which is also considered from the perspective of different branches of linguistics.

In our opinion, in modern conditions of media communication development, when information becomes a key means of shaping public opinion, constructing and changing the image of public institutions, a marketing tool and a basis for the future economy development, the study of speech impact is especially relevant from the position of cognitive paradigm, as it is mediated by the interpretive function of language “as its special function with regard to the representation of knowledge about the world” (Boldyrev 2011: 11).

In this regard, taking into account Blakar’s thesis that it is impossible “to express oneself ‘neutrally’ as even informal conversation involves the ‘exercise of power’” (Blakar 1987: 91), we can speak of a permanent cognitive and speech impact that is, the influence on the perceiving and structuring of the world by another person, carried out by means of language and discourse. Thus, “the essence of speech impact consists in such use of language in discourse, in which new knowledge is introduced and/or existing knowledge is modified into the recipient’s

conceptual model of the world” (Kalinin 2021: 328). Thus, metaphor, which is based on the cognitive reinterpretation of one conceptual domain (target domain) through the conceptual features of another domain (source domain), presents itself as one of the most effective and accessible forms of cognitive-speech influence for research using linguistic methods.

The study of metaphorical speech impact (metaphor power), like any study of speech impact in general, faces several issues, the most problematic of which are:

1. What are the mechanisms of speech influence?

2. What is the relationship between metaphor power and the generation/perception of the influencing utterance?

This paper attempts to explore the mechanisms of metaphor power in the context of authorial expression and perception, thus extending the theoretical and practical scope of the study of metaphorical speech impact. The study is focused on the speech impact, which belongs to the category of non-intentional. In other words, the authors of the texts studied did not seek to influence the audience. These texts are essays-reflections on the topic: ‘What is Russia for you?’ and they represent the expression of the author’s opinion in response to the posed problem question. In this regard, the relevance of the study lies in the fact that metaphorical speech influence is considered as a means of implicit non-intentional speech influence both from the positions of utterance production and perception.

The aim of the article is to identify the correlation between speech influence (persuasiveness) and different aspects of language metaphors use in the text, namely density (the number of metaphors per text volume), intensity (the ratio of new and conventional metaphors) and type of metaphorical projections (the ratio between orientational, ontological and structural metaphors) in the context of expression and perception of the author’s opinion.

To achieve the goal of the study, we quantified metaphor power of texts expressing authorial opinion, identified the relationship between metaphor power of texts and the expression of the author’s opinion and then specified the relationship between the metaphor power of texts and the perception of the author’s opinion.

We hypothesize that authors non-intentionally use vivid structural metaphors in the parts of the text that reflect their opinion (a). Additionally, recipients of the speech message assume that those parts of the text containing the greatest number of vivid structural metaphors directly express the author’s opinion (b).

Achieving the research aim, accomplishing tasks and confirming the hypothesis will not only empirically lend credence to the supposed relationship between speech impact and metaphor power immediately in the context of utterance generation and perception, but also demonstrate which aspects of functional capacity, namely metaphor, density, intensity and typology, are most closely related to speech influence, which contributes to the development of metaphor theory.

2. Metaphor and speech impact

Based on the cognitive understanding of the nature of metaphor, we can argue that the use of metaphors in discourse will always have an impact at the cognitive level. As Teliya wrote (1988), “metaphorization is always a problematic cognitive-communicative situation, involving the goal-oriented intention of the subject of metaphorization, which sets the cognitive or pragmatic function of metaphor in communicative acts” (Teliya 1988: 29).

A number of scholars of metaphor point to the special role of metaphor in creating or enhancing the speech effect and persuasiveness of an utterance. The persuasiveness of metaphor in political discourse has been studied in a series of studies by Boroditsky and Thibodeau (2011, 2013). The authors are convinced that the special role of metaphor in persuasiveness is due to its frame character: “Metaphors in language reflect frame-consistent structures of knowledge and evoke structurally consistent inferences. Metaphors do not just flourish in rhetoric; they have a profound effect on how we conceptualize knowledge and act on important societal issues” (Thibodeau & Boroditsky 2011). Scholars point out that metaphors influence people’s reasoning even when there is a set of alternative solutions to compare and choose from. “Metaphors can influence not only which solution comes to mind first, but also which solution people think is best, even when they are given the opportunity to explicitly compare alternatives” (Thibodeau & Boroditsky 2013). The main reason for this persuasive effect of metaphorical projections in communication is believed to be the cognitive nature of metaphor. It is emphasized “that most recipients could not distinguish metaphor in the text or did not recognize metaphor as a linguistic means that influenced them in any way” (Thibodeau & Boroditsky 2013). Thus, metaphor in this study is defined as a means of “implicitly influencing decision-making” (Thibodeau & Boroditsky 2013).

Metaphor power is invariably related to metaphor perception and is based on the main theories and approaches to the study of metaphor in general: semantic, pragmatic and cognitive. Sopory (2006 :252) has analysed in detail views and concepts on the nature of functional metaphor, identifying 6 main mechanisms of metaphor impact: (1) Pleasure or Relief, (2) Communicator credibility, (3) Reduced counterarguments, (4) Resource-matching, (5) Stimulated elaboration, (6) Superior organization.

Pleasure or Relief assumes that three stages are involved in the perception of a metaphorical expression: the perception of ‘semantic error’ associated with the novelty of the metaphor, semantic conflict and conflict resolution, which dissipates the negative tension, leading to cognitive relief, and the resulting pleasure of the removal of semantic tension as if to reinforce the metaphorical meaning and the evaluation associated with it. By “Commutator Credibility” it is assumed that the speech messages containing metaphors are considered to be more credible than those expressed non-metaphorically. Reduced counterarguments means that the process of perceiving a metaphor leads to the formation of a large number of associations in the mind, which causes a kind of “overloading of the recipient’s

mental schema”, and as a result a greater agreement with the content of the speech message is achieved. Resource-matching assumes that when a metaphor is perceived, certain cognitive resources of the recipient are expended on its processing. In the perception of a conventional metaphor, already familiar and comprehensible to the recipient, minimal processing of the speech expression containing the metaphor is achieved and, thus, maximum understanding is achieved. Stimulated elaboration is represented in the greater number of semantic connections in a metaphor leads to the need for elaboration of the message content, which in turn leads to increased persuasiveness. Superior organization implies that metaphor helps to structure and organize the arguments of a message better than literal language. Metaphor evokes more semantic associations, and different arguments connect more logically through the many semantic paths available. To the 6 concepts listed above and presented in Sopory’s (2006) meta-analysis, Stee van (2018) further added “Attention”, which presupposes that a metaphorical message may initially attract attention or interest, which may lead to greater cognitive processing and consequent persuasion of the recipient, but the strength of the impact of this metaphorical expression may vary (Stee van 2018).

The study of Ottati and Renstrom (2010) presents another approach to explaining and classifying the reasons for the potential speech impact of metaphors. According to the researchers, “metaphor performs multiple functions in persuasion, and the relationship between metaphor and speech effects is potentially mediated by several psychological mechanisms” (Ottati & Renstrom 2010: 784). Ottati and Renstrom, based on previous theories, identify three main ideas among them:

1. “Metaphorical utterances can activate information that is directly related to the topic of communication and thereby have an impact on attitudes towards the topic of the speech message.

2. The use of metaphors can influence impressions about the author of a speech message and thus influence attitudes towards the topic of that message as well.

3. Metaphors can influence attitudes towards the topic of communication by affecting the direction or degree of elaboration that occurs when the recipient of a speech message perceives that message” (Ottati & Renstrom 2010: 785).

Thus, metaphorical speech impact is not a homogeneous phenomenon. Therefore, based on the studies of Sopory (2006) and Ottati and Renstrom (2010) the speech impact of metaphor can be divided into:

- 1) “releasing effect – the tension which arises from the violation of the semantic-cognitive links of the concepts and “dissipates” after the recipient decodes the speech message, and the pleasure of relieving semantic tension seems to lead to the strengthening of the metaphorical meaning and the evaluation associated with it;

- 2) credit standing effect – speech messages of communicators containing metaphors are considered to be more credible, which is historically linked to the special role of ‘colourful’ oratory in public communication;

3) dampening effect – the elaboration of metaphorical messages consumes more resources, it weakens the possible counterarguments of the recipient, which leads to an increase in the persuasiveness of the metaphorical utterance;

4) stimulating effect – the elaboration of the metaphor stimulates the evaluation of more cognitive information than the perception of literal information;

5) structuring effect – metaphor evokes more structural-semantic associations, and when these associations are consistent with metaphor, different arguments are connected more logically through the many semantic paths available” (Kalinin 2022b: 230).

The proposed subtypes of the metaphor cognitive impact correlate on a functional level with metaphor intensity. “Conventional metaphors have a dampening, structuring and credit-establishing cognitive impact, while novel metaphors have releasing, affective and stimulating cognitive impact” (Kalinin 2022b: 232), which together can be divided into rational-impacting and emotional-impacting (Leontovich, Kalinin & Ignatenko 2023, Ignatenko 2022, 2023). According to the proposed Metaphor Power Theory, considering metaphor as a semantic transfer, we can postulate that the persuasiveness of metaphor is also manifested on the level of semantics. By this, we mean that metaphor power arises due to the grammatical form and semantics of the source and target domains.

Oriental metaphors are verbally realized through lexemes reflecting either spatial position (top, bottom, front, back) or basic physiological and sensory sensations (heavy, light, hot), and are associated with the basic sensory experience, universal for any social community. Oriental metaphors are actually unrelated to speech exposure; this type of metaphor relies on the most stable type of conceptual worldview, so we can define the impact of orientational metaphors as representational. Ontological metaphors are used to identify and explain complex abstract concepts and are verbally realized through attributive (Adj + N) or verbal (V + N) constructions. Ontological metaphors expand semantics, and when used in discourse, they identify this new, expanded, and augmented semantic domain. Ontological metaphors have an identification effect on the recipient of a speech message. Structural metaphors, which are usually direct and constructed using lexical means of comparison and similarity (as if, like, similar to) or based on the model “A is B”, are used to structure one concept through another; they change the cognitive content of the target domain. Through direct cognitive-structural transfer, structural metaphors become a kind of purposeful disruption of semantic and cognitive connections in the mind of the recipient, leading to a transformation of the concept and its semantics. It can be said that structural metaphors perform a transformational function.

Thus, different types of metaphor power are comprehensively implemented in discourse at different levels. The cognitive level relates to cognitive effects, realized through the use of metaphors of different levels of intensity, which are based on different cognitive mechanisms. The linguistic level refers to the semantic speech impact, which is realized through the use of orientational, ontological, and

structural metaphors. These metaphors are based on different semantic transpositions and expressed in various grammatical forms. An analysis of these two levels of metaphor power in correlation with the expression and perception of authorial opinion will allow us to clarify earlier theoretical conclusions about the nature and mechanisms of the power of metaphor.

3. Data and research methods

The research data in our study is based on the results of a two-stage linguistic experiment. In the first stage, 20 experts created three-part texts. The criterion for selecting the experts was having a university degree in Russian Philology or Journalism. The age of the experts ranged between 28 and 60. The experts received the following task: “Write an essay on the topic ‘What is Russia for you?’ Structure your essays into three parts: ‘Russia is its history, ‘Russia is its people’, and ‘Russia is its culture’. Summarise your personal opinion on the topic in the part that you find most relevant for expressing your position”. Thus, the experts had to structure the text into three parts, each part had to be 300–400 words in length. The participation in the experiment was voluntary and all the texts written by the experts were accepted into the study as satisfying the set criteria. After the essays were written, the passages summarising the author's position (e.g. “Thus, Russia is first of all...”) were removed for the purpose of the following analysis.. In the written essays we calculated the metaphor power indices for each essay in general and for each part (culture, history, people) in particular, which allowed us to compare the manifestation of metaphor power with the expression of the author's opinion; the quantitative value of the metaphor power indices allowed us to determine the dominant type of speech impact.

The second stage of the experiment included the analysis of the perceived persuasiveness of the speech message. The 20 texts written by the experts were presented to 162 respondents to read and analyze the perceived author's position. The subjects had to “decode the message” and identify which position (Russia – culture/history/people) is closest to the author's position. The respondents were 3rd-4th year undergraduate students of the Translation Faculty of the “Moscow State Linguistic University”. The aim of this part of the study was to analyse the perceived implicit persuasiveness. We compared data on the density, intensity and types of metaphors in the original essay texts, data on the original author's position and the results of the perceived persuasiveness, and calculated the correlation between the number of metaphors and which parts of the text seemed most persuasive from the perspective of the recipients of the message.

Metaphor-driven discourse analysis (MDDA) was adopted as the research method, which is based on calculating certain indices related to the use of metaphors in the text: Metaphor Density Index (MDI), Metaphor Intensity Index (MII), and Metaphor Functional Typology Index (MFTI) (Sun et al. 2021, Kalinin & Ignatenko 2022).

Metaphor Density Index relies on the formula of the Metaphor Frequency Index developed by Landtsheer De (Landtsheer De 2009): MDI (Metaphor Density Index) = $nme \cdot 100 / nwords$, where nme – is the quantity of metaphors, and $nwords$ – the quantity of words in the text. This index represents the average number of metaphors per 100 words of text. This formula is fully identical to the MFI (Metaphor Frequency Index), but it seems appropriate to use the term “density” rather than “frequency”.

Metaphor intensity refers to the difference in emotional intensity that different types of metaphor evoke. In this regard, researchers often contrast conventional and authorial metaphors, pointing to differences in the cognitive mechanisms that determine different types of metaphor. These differences are clearly demonstrated in Bowdle and Gentner’s career theory of metaphor (Bowdle & Gentner 2005), where it is argued that metaphor seems to “live its life” from the new authorial one, which is based on comparison, to the conventional one, which is based on the categorization process. Metaphor intensity is an important indicator for analysing the metaphor power of text and discourse. The metaphor intensity index (MII) developed by C. de Landtsheer (Landtsheer De 2009) is considered appropriate for its calculation: $MII = (1 \cdot w + 2 \cdot a + 3 \cdot s) / nme$, where w – is a quantity of low-intensity (dead, conventional) metaphors, a – the number of medium-intensity metaphors, s – the number of high-intensity (vivid, authorial metaphors).

The metaphor functional typology index based on the classification of Lakoff and Johnson (2004), quantifies the average of all metaphorical functions in a text or discourse. Thus, it can serve as a method for conducting a comprehensive analysis of metaphor power. Calculating this index reflects the quantitative distribution of orientational, ontological and structural metaphors. The formula for the metaphor functional typology index appears as follows: $MfTI = (1 \cdot Or + 2 \cdot O + 3 \cdot St) / nme$, where Or – the quantity of orientational metaphors, O – the quantity of ontological metaphors, St – the quantity of structural metaphors, nme – the quantity of all the metaphors in the text.

Thus, calculating the index of metaphor density allows us to determine the overall metaphorical potency of the texts under study. The index of intensity enables us to assess the cognitive impact and discern the rational and emotional influence. The index of functional typology represents the impact at the semantic level and helps in defining it as representational, identificational, or structuring.

4. Results

4.1. Correlation between the density of metaphors and the expression/perception of authorial opinion

The study demonstrated that in 13 out of 20 cases the parts of the text which represented the author’s position were characterized by a higher metaphor density. At the same time, in 4 cases the author’s position coincided with those parts of the text which were characterized by medium metaphor density, and only in three cases

the author used the least number of metaphors among all the parts of his text to reflect a position close to his opinion. If the results are converted into percentages, in 65% of the cases the authors used metaphors to increase their texts with metaphors to increase the persuasiveness of their statements. However, the initial goal of the assignment was not to make their text persuasive or metaphorically rich. In other words, we can conclude that in 65% of the cases the author subconsciously chooses a higher metaphor density in those parts of his text that are close to his personal opinion when generating a statement.

Table 1. Correlation between the metaphor density and the expression of author’s opinion

| Text number | Text content | MDI | Opinion | Text number | Text content | MDI | Opinion |
|-------------|----------------|-------------|----------|-------------|----------------|-------------|----------|
| 1 | Culture | 8,9 | 0 | 11 | Culture | 3,3 | 0 |
| | History | 8,97 | 0 | | History | 5,5 | 1 |
| | People | 4,6 | 1 | | People | 4,34 | 0 |
| 2 | Culture | 3 | 0 | 12 | Culture | 3,75 | 0 |
| | History | 5,84 | 1 | | History | 6,5 | 1 |
| | People | 3,6 | 0 | | People | 4 | 0 |
| 3 | Culture | 4 | 1 | 13 | Culture | 5,33 | 0 |
| | History | 6,9 | 0 | | History | 5,5 | 1 |
| | People | 1 | 0 | | People | 5 | 0 |
| 4 | Culture | 6,5 | 0 | 14 | Culture | 6,97 | 0 |
| | History | 10 | 1 | | History | 5,66 | 0 |
| | People | 9,5 | 0 | | People | 6,6 | 1 |
| 5 | Culture | 2,8 | 0 | 15 | Culture | 4,3 | 0 |
| | History | 1,96 | 0 | | History | 4,1 | 1 |
| | People | 5,7 | 1 | | People | 1,5 | 0 |
| 6 | Culture | 5,6 | 1 | 16 | Culture | 8,64 | 0 |
| | History | 4,2 | 0 | | History | 5,33 | 0 |
| | People | 3,1 | 0 | | People | 5,33 | 1 |
| 7 | Culture | 12,7 | 1 | 17 | Culture | 2,43 | 0 |
| | History | 2,3 | 0 | | History | 6,8 | 1 |
| | People | 5,2 | 0 | | People | 5,88 | 0 |
| 8 | Culture | 6,25 | 0 | 18 | Culture | 2,5 | 1 |
| | History | 8,5 | 0 | | History | 4,4 | 0 |
| | People | 6,1 | 1 | | People | 3,2 | 0 |
| 9 | Culture | 5,9 | 0 | 19 | Culture | 12,6 | 1 |
| | History | 5,1 | 0 | | History | 6,1 | 0 |
| | People | 6,25 | 1 | | People | 9,87 | 0 |
| 10 | Culture | 5,1 | 1 | 20 | Culture | 2,47 | 0 |
| | History | 4,2 | 0 | | History | 2,45 | 0 |
| | People | 3 | 0 | | People | 3,43 | 1 |

We also analysed the perception of the utterance, which allowed us to identify the relationship between the metaphor density and the perception of the author’s opinion. When analysing the distribution of the respondents’ answers in relation to the perceived author’s opinion, it can be noted that the correlation with metaphor

density is not so obvious. In 8 texts the respondents selected as corresponding to the author’s opinion the part of the text that contained the highest number of metaphors. In other 10 texts the parts that were characterised by medium metaphor density were selected and in 2 texts the respondents identified that the author’s position was expressed in the least metaphor-rich texts.

Table 2. Correlation between metaphor density and the perception of author’s opinion

| Text number | Text content | MDI | Perceived opinion | Text number | Text content | MDI | Perceived opinion |
|-------------|----------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|-------------------|
| 1 | Culture | 8,9 | 18 | 11 | Culture | 3,3 | 31 |
| | History | 8,97 | 43 | | History | 5,5 | 37 |
| | People | 4,6 | 101 | | People | 4,34 | 38 |
| 2 | Culture | 3 | 60 | 12 | Culture | 3,75 | 26 |
| | History | 5,84 | 75 | | History | 6,5 | 54 |
| | People | 3,6 | 27 | | People | 4 | 26 |
| 3 | Culture | 4 | 72 | 13 | Culture | 5,33 | 25 |
| | History | 6,9 | 22 | | History | 5,5 | 46 |
| | People | 1 | 68 | | People | 5 | 34 |
| 4 | Culture | 6,5 | 20 | 14 | Culture | 6,97 | 32 |
| | History | 10 | 33 | | History | 5,66 | 32 |
| | People | 9,5 | 109 | | People | 6,6 | 42 |
| 5 | Culture | 2,8 | 66 | 15 | Culture | 4,3 | 16 |
| | History | 1,96 | 16 | | History | 4,1 | 59 |
| | People | 5,7 | 42 | | People | 1,5 | 31 |
| 6 | Culture | 5,6 | 38 | 16 | Culture | 8,64 | 42 |
| | History | 4,2 | 31 | | History | 5,33 | 24 |
| | People | 3,1 | 56 | | People | 5,33 | 40 |
| 7 | Culture | 12,7 | 54 | 17 | Culture | 2,43 | 23 |
| | History | 2,3 | 52 | | History | 6,8 | 29 |
| | People | 5,2 | 19 | | People | 5,88 | 54 |
| 8 | Culture | 6,25 | 15 | 18 | Culture | 2,5 | 44 |
| | History | 8,5 | 9 | | History | 4,4 | 20 |
| | People | 6,1 | 101 | | People | 3,2 | 42 |
| 9 | Culture | 5,9 | 26 | 19 | Culture | 12,6 | 40 |
| | History | 5,1 | 46 | | History | 6,1 | 32 |
| | People | 6,25 | 53 | | People | ,87 | 34 |
| 10 | Culture | 5,1 | 48 | 20 | Culture | 2,47 | 45 |
| | History | 4,2 | 39 | | History | 2,45 | 20 |
| | People | 3 | 38 | | People | 3,43 | 41 |

4.2. Correlation between the metaphor density and the expression/perception of authorial opinion

The intensity of metaphors was found to be the second criterion of metaphor power. The theoretical study shows that the use of vivid metaphors is closely connected with an increase in the emotionality of the utterance, which affects the speech impact, while the use of conventional metaphors reflects a rational impact,

as it conveys already established mental transfers. Thus, the results of the analysis of the relationship between the intensity of metaphors and the expression and perception of the author’s opinion are presented in Tables 3 and 4, respectively.

The results show that out of 20 texts, in 16 the authors used the most intense metaphors in those parts that represent their opinion. In 3 texts, however, we observe the opposite pattern, with the author’s opinion expressed in the least metaphoric part of the text in terms of intensity. We believe that the level of correlation of 80% still confirms a greater predisposition to use vivid metaphorical imagery to represent the author’s opinion.

Table 3. Results of the analysis of the correlation between metaphor intensity and the expression of author’s opinion

| Text number | Text content | MII | Opinion | Text number | Text content | MII | Opinion |
|-------------|----------------|-------------|----------|-------------|----------------|------------|----------|
| 1 | Culture | 1,2 | 0 | 11 | Culture | 1 | 0 |
| | History | 1 | 0 | | History | 1,33 | 1 |
| | People | 1,3 | 1 | | People | 1 | 0 |
| 2 | Culture | 1 | 0 | 12 | Culture | 1 | 0 |
| | History | 1,14 | 1 | | History | 1,2 | 1 |
| | People | 1 | 0 | | People | 1,25 | 0 |
| 3 | Culture | 2 | 1 | 13 | Culture | 1,33 | 0 |
| | History | 1 | 0 | | History | 1 | 1 |
| | People | 1 | 0 | | People | 1,2 | 0 |
| 4 | Culture | 1,7 | 0 | 14 | Culture | 1 | 0 |
| | History | 2,1 | 1 | | History | 1,2 | 0 |
| | People | 2 | 0 | | People | 1,3 | 1 |
| 5 | Culture | 2 | 0 | 15 | Culture | 1,25 | 0 |
| | History | 1 | 0 | | History | 1,5 | 1 |
| | People | 1 | 1 | | People | 1,1 | 0 |
| 6 | Culture | 1,2 | 1 | 16 | Culture | 1,42 | 0 |
| | History | 1 | 0 | | History | 1,5 | 0 |
| | People | 1 | 0 | | People | 2 | 1 |
| 7 | Culture | 1 | 1 | 17 | Culture | 1 | 0 |
| | History | 1,5 | 0 | | History | 1,2 | 1 |
| | People | 1,2 | 0 | | People | 1 | 0 |
| 8 | Culture | 1 | 0 | 18 | Culture | 2 | 1 |
| | History | 1 | 0 | | History | 1,7 | 0 |
| | People | 1,3 | 1 | | People | 1,9 | 0 |
| 9 | Culture | 1 | 0 | 19 | Culture | 2,5 | 1 |
| | History | 1 | 0 | | History | 2,3 | 0 |
| | People | 1,3 | 1 | | People | 2,2 | 0 |
| 10 | Culture | 1,1 | 1 | 20 | Culture | 1 | 0 |
| | History | 1 | 0 | | History | 1 | 0 |
| | People | 1 | 0 | | People | 1,2 | 1 |

In terms of the perception of the author’s opinion and its relationship to metaphor intensity, in 10 texts, respondents chose the part of the text with higher metaphor intensity as expressing the author’s opinion. In other 8 cases, a text section with a medium intensity of metaphors was chosen as expressing the author’s opinion.

Table 4. Results of the analysis of the correlation between the metaphor intensity and the perception of author’s opinion

| Text number | Text content | MII | Perceived opinion | Text number | Text content | MII | Perceived opinion |
|-------------|----------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------|----------------|------------|-------------------|
| 1 | Culture | 1,3 | 18 | 11 | Culture | 1 | 31 |
| | History | 1 | 43 | | History | 1,33 | 37 |
| | People | 1,2 | 101 | | People | 1 | 38 |
| 2 | Culture | 1 | 60 | 12 | Culture | 1 | 26 |
| | History | 1,14 | 75 | | History | 1,2 | 54 |
| | People | 1 | 27 | | People | 1,25 | 26 |
| 3 | Culture | 2 | 72 | 13 | Culture | 1,33 | 25 |
| | History | 1 | 22 | | History | 1 | 46 |
| | People | 1 | 68 | | People | 1,2 | 34 |
| 4 | Culture | 1,7 | 20 | 14 | Culture | 1 | 32 |
| | History | 2,1 | 33 | | History | 1,2 | 32 |
| | People | 2 | 109 | | People | 1,3 | 42 |
| 5 | Culture | 2 | 66 | 15 | Culture | 1,25 | 16 |
| | History | 1 | 16 | | History | 1,5 | 59 |
| | People | 1 | 42 | | People | 1,1 | 31 |
| 6 | Culture | 1,2 | 38 | 16 | Culture | 1,42 | 42 |
| | History | 1 | 31 | | History | 1,5 | 24 |
| | People | 1 | 56 | | People | 2 | 40 |
| 7 | Culture | 1 | 54 | 17 | Culture | 1 | 23 |
| | History | 1,5 | 52 | | History | 1,2 | 29 |
| | People | 1,2 | 19 | | People | 1 | 54 |
| 8 | Culture | 1 | 15 | 18 | Culture | 2 | 44 |
| | History | 1 | 9 | | History | 1,7 | 20 |
| | People | 1,3 | 101 | | People | 1,9 | 42 |
| 9 | Culture | 1 | 26 | 19 | Culture | 2,5 | 40 |
| | History | 1 | 46 | | History | 2,3 | 32 |
| | People | 1,3 | 53 | | People | 2,2 | 34 |
| 10 | Culture | 1,1 | 48 | 20 | Culture | 1 | 45 |
| | History | 1 | 39 | | History | 1 | 20 |
| | People | 1 | 38 | | People | 1,2 | 41 |

We would like to illustrate metaphors of different levels of intensity from the analysed texts with the following examples:

- (1) Родившись однажды в России, в нас навсегда *прорастает зерно «русскости»* и перманентного поиска ответа на вопрос «кто мы такие?»

[Once born in Russia, a seed of “Russianness” and of a permanent search for an answer to the question “who are we?” sprouts in us.]

In example (1), we find a set of metaphors: “the seed of Russianness sprouts” is a metaphor of medium intensity, as it is periodically found in texts of different stylistic orientation and is recorded in the Russian National Corpus (RNC), while the combinations “the seed of Russianness”, “the seed of search” are a development of this metaphor, reflects the novelty of the combination of conceptual features and therefore can be classified as a new metaphor.

- (2) Именно люди «пишут историю» и создают культуру.
[It is people who “write history” and create culture.]

In this example, we identify the sustained metaphorical expression “writing history”, which is a dead metaphor.

- (3) Жертвенность, *перерастающая* в великую силу – не-страх, *возможность превозмогать* боль и трудности аскетизма, в способность отдавать себя, *рождая новое*, а потому перерождаясь.
[Sacrifice, growing into a great power – non-fear, the ability to overcome pain and hardships of asceticism, the ability to give oneself, giving birth to the new and therefore being reborn.]

In example (3), we see the metaphor of “sacrifice, growing into a great power”, i.e., interpreting the quality of the people through the properties of the plant, which we believe to be a novel expressive author’s metaphor, as it is not recorded in dictionaries and RNC. The metaphor “the people give birth to the new” correlates with a metaphor of medium intensity, as “give birth to the new” is quite frequent in denoting “the emergence of new ideas”, but in combination with the people it acquires a certain novelty.

- (4) Простор на одну шестую суши дан нам как награда и наказание одновременно.
[The space of one-sixth of the land is given to us as a reward and punishment at the same time.]

The metaphor “expanse is given as a reward and a punishment” is clearly a new and authorial contextual metaphor, which is not recorded either in the corpus or in the RNC examples.

- (5) Наши предки, *положившие свои буйные головы* за неприкосновенность этого *географического размаха*, породили особый *исторический ген в крови* каждого русского человека – ген хтонической любви к родной земле, который на протяжении всех столетий существования нашего государства *играл набатом в крови*, когда нужно было встать с печки, надеть доспехи и выйти в чистое поле, чтобы *смотреть в глаза* неприятелю, и смерти, и победам, и поражениям, и свершениям, и воскрешению этого подвига.
[Our ancestors, who laid down their violent heads for the inviolability of this geographical scope, gave rise to a special historical gene in the blood

of every Russian – the gene of chthonic love for their native land, which has played a chime in the blood throughout the centuries of our nation’s existence, when it was necessary to rise from the stove, put on armor and go into a clear field to face the enemy, and death, and victory, and defeat, and accomplishments, and resurrection of this exploit.]

There are several striking metaphors in this excerpt from the essay text: the gene of chthonic love for their native land”, where patriotism is understood as a physiologically inseparable quality, “to face [...] and accomplishments and resurrection of this exploit”, where we observe strengthening of the conventional metaphor “face the death” through a successive layering of new meanings. In addition, “lay down violent heads” and “geographical scope” can be identified as conventional metaphors, which gain additional intensity through non-standard usage.

4.3. Correlation between the typology of metaphors and the expression/perception of the author’s opinion

The typology of metaphors reflects different forms of speech impact, so the analysis of their relationship with the expression and perception of opinion in reasoning was also the subject of our analysis. As we pointed out above, the index of the functional typology of metaphors reflects the distribution of metaphors according to their types: structural, ontological and orientational, where the greater value shows the predominance of structural metaphors that play a transformational function.

As a result of the analysis, we found that to express the opinion the authors used more structural metaphors in 15 texts out of 20, also in other 4 texts the author’s opinion was expressed in the second part in MfTi index. This shows that to a large extent, the authors used structural metaphors, which are considered to be the most influential, to express their opinions in 75% of the cases.

Table 4. Correlation between the typology of metaphors and the expression of authorial opinion

| Text number | Text content | MfTi | Opinion | Text number | Text content | MfTi | Opinion |
|-------------|----------------|-------------|----------|-------------|----------------|-------------|----------|
| 1 | Culture | 2 | 0 | 11 | Culture | 2 | 0 |
| | History | 2 | 0 | | History | 2,1 | 1 |
| | People | 2,2 | 1 | | People | 1,8 | 0 |
| 2 | Culture | 2 | 0 | 12 | Culture | 2 | 0 |
| | History | 2 | 1 | | History | 2 | 1 |
| | People | 2 | 0 | | People | 2 | 0 |
| 3 | Culture | 2 | 1 | 13 | Culture | 1,76 | 0 |
| | History | 1,88 | 0 | | History | 2,15 | 1 |
| | People | 2 | 0 | | People | 2 | 0 |
| 4 | Culture | 2 | 0 | 14 | Culture | 2 | 0 |
| | History | 2,12 | 1 | | History | 2 | 0 |
| | People | 2 | 0 | | People | 2,1 | 1 |

| Text number | Text content | MfTI | Opinion | Text number | Text content | MfTI | Opinion |
|-------------|----------------|-------------|----------|-------------|----------------|-------------|----------|
| 5 | Culture | 1,86 | 0 | 15 | Culture | 1,94 | 0 |
| | History | 2 | 0 | | History | 2,1 | 1 |
| | People | 2,2 | 1 | | People | 2 | 0 |
| 6 | Culture | 2 | 1 | 16 | Culture | 2,1 | 0 |
| | History | 1,8 | 0 | | History | 1,88 | 0 |
| | People | 2 | 0 | | People | 2,16 | 1 |
| 7 | Culture | 2,1 | 1 | 17 | Culture | 2 | 0 |
| | History | 2 | 0 | | History | 2,2 | 1 |
| | People | 1,9 | 0 | | People | 2,14 | 0 |
| 8 | Culture | 2 | 0 | 18 | Culture | 1,82 | 1 |
| | History | 1,86 | 0 | | History | 2 | 0 |
| | People | 2,1 | 1 | | People | 2 | 0 |
| 9 | Culture | 2,12 | 0 | 19 | Culture | 2,1 | 1 |
| | History | 1,76 | 0 | | History | 2 | 0 |
| | People | 2 | 1 | | People | 1,98 | 0 |
| 10 | Culture | 2,24 | 1 | 20 | Culture | 2 | 0 |
| | History | 2 | 0 | | History | 1,8 | 0 |
| | People | 2 | 0 | | People | 2 | 1 |

In 10 texts out of 20 the respondents chose the part of the text which has a high MfTI index, i.e. contains the largest number of structural metaphors, which reflect the author’s opinion. In 8 cases, the parts of the texts with average MfTI index scores were chosen, and in 2 cases – with the lowest MfTI index.

Table 5. Results of the analysis of the correlation between the typology of metaphors and the perception of authorial opinion

| Text number | Text content | MfTI | Perceived opinion | Text number | Text content | MfTI | Perceived opinion |
|-------------|---------------|------------|-------------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|-------------------|
| 1 | Culture | 2 | 18 | 11 | Culture | 2 | 31 |
| | History | 2 | 43 | | History | 2,1 | 37 |
| | People | 2,2 | 101 | | People | 1,8 | 38 |
| 2 | Culture | 2 | 60 | 12 | Culture | 2 | 26 |
| | History | 2 | 75 | | History | 2 | 54 |
| | People | 2 | 27 | | People | 2 | 26 |
| 3 | Culture | 2 | 72 | 13 | Culture | 1,76 | 25 |
| | History | 1,88 | 22 | | History | 2,15 | 46 |
| | People | 2 | 68 | | People | 2 | 34 |
| 4 | Culture | 2 | 20 | 14 | Culture | 2 | 32 |
| | History | 2,12 | 33 | | History | 2 | 32 |
| | People | 2 | 109 | | People | 2,1 | 42 |
| 5 | Culture | 1,86 | 66 | 15 | Culture | 1,94 | 16 |
| | History | 2 | 16 | | History | 2,1 | 59 |
| | People | 2,2 | 42 | | People | 2 | 31 |
| 6 | Culture | 2 | 38 | 16 | Culture | 2,1 | 42 |
| | History | 1,8 | 31 | | History | 1,88 | 24 |

| Text number | Text content | MfTI | Perceived opinion | Text number | Text content | MfTI | Perceived opinion |
|-------------|----------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------|----------------|------------|-------------------|
| | People | 2 | 56 | | People | 2,16 | 40 |
| 7 | Culture | 2,1 | 54 | 17 | Culture | 2 | 23 |
| | History | 2 | 52 | | History | 2,2 | 29 |
| | People | 1,9 | 19 | | People | 2,14 | 54 |
| 8 | Culture | 2 | 15 | 18 | Culture | 1,82 | 44 |
| | History | 1,86 | 9 | | History | 2 | 20 |
| | People | 2,1 | 101 | | People | 2 | 42 |
| 9 | Culture | 2 | 26 | 19 | Culture | 2,1 | 40 |
| | History | 1,76 | 46 | | History | 2 | 32 |
| | People | 2 | 53 | | People | 1,98 | 34 |
| 10 | Culture | 2,24 | 48 | 20 | Culture | 2 | 45 |
| | History | 2 | 39 | | History | 1,8 | 20 |
| | People | 2 | 38 | | People | 2 | 41 |

Here are some examples of different types of metaphors in the analysed texts:

- (6) *Люди* – самый ценный ресурс нашей страны.
 [People is the most valuable resource of our country.]

In this sentence, we identify the standard structural metaphor expressed by the model A is B, where there is a metaphorical understanding of the country’s population as a natural resource.

- (7) Европейцы говорят, что наш народ глупый и ленивый, смиренный и утопает в безысходности.
 [The Europeans say that our people are stupid and lazy, humble and drowning in despair.]

In this sentence, target domain “people”, used with “drowning in despair” acquires additional meaning, so this metaphor can be classified as ontological.

- (8) Но не теряется Россия, а только крепнет во всё повторяющемся ходе времени, проходя огонь и воду, преобразуется и пылает, встаёт как Феникс.
 [But Russia is not lost, but it only strengthens in the repeating flow of time, passing through fire and water, transforming and blazing, rising like Phoenix.]

This sentence is saturated with metaphors, among which we see a repetition of the ontological metaphor, allowing us to understand the country as a living person, which “does not get lost, strengthens, passes through fire and water”. We also consider the metaphor of the flow of time to be an orientation metaphor, as it is based on an underlying corporeal sense of time as a moving object.

- (9) Советская эпоха будто открыла фабрику по людям-роботам, а современная Россия оставляет за собой право самой ответить на вопрос национальной самоидентификации.

[The Soviet era seems to have opened a robot-man factory, while modern Russia reserves the right to answer the question of national self-identification itself.]

In example (9), the personification of the country through the verbs “to open, to reserve the right to itself”, which allows us to relate the metaphor used by the author to an ontological one.

(10) *History is a thread* linking the present and the past, it helps us not to make the mistakes of our ancestors.

[*История – это нить*, связывающая настоящее и прошлое, она помогает нам не совершать ошибки предков.]

In this example, we also see a structural metaphor, because it is made according to the model “A is B”.

(11) Russian culture is not a melting pot of the cultures of the peoples of Russia, but rather a field, wide and fertile, where any seed thrown grows into boundless expanses of golden ears of wheat, which spill out later in the rolling motifs of the music of Tchaikovsky and Mussorgsky, in the verbal weaves of Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky, in the broad strokes of the Russian avant-garde and in the ringing beauty of the monasteries on Valaam.

[*Русская культура – это не плавильный котел культур народов России, это скорее поле*, широкое и благодатное, где любое брошенное семя произрастает в бескрайние просторы золотистых колосьев пшеницы, что разливаются потом в раскатистых мотивах музыки Чайковского и Мусоргского, в словесных переплетениях Толстого и Достоевского, в широких мазках русского авангарда и в звенящей красоте монастырей на Валааме.]

In this example, we can identify the structural metaphor CULTURE IS A FIELD, which is then refined in its linguistic form by a number of ontological metaphors, revealing the conceptual attributes of the Russian culture.

5. Discussion

The study shows different degrees of correlation between different aspects of metaphor power in texts and the expression and perception of authorial opinion. For a detailed analysis and discussion of the results, we will present them in tables and figures.

The diagram shows in blue the cases of coincidence of the author’s expression and the density of metaphors. The grey colour shows, on the contrary, the lowest density index. Orange colour represents cases when the author’s opinion was expressed in the text passage where the metaphoricity indexes were the second highest.

Table 7. Correlation between different aspects of metaphor power in texts and the expression of authorial opinion

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Total, % |
|-----------|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|----|-----|-----|----------|
| | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | |
| density | – | + | –/+ | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | 65/20/15 |
| | + | + | + | –/+ | –/+ | –/+ | + | – | + | + | |
| intensity | + | + | + | + | – | + | – | + | + | + | 80/5/15 |
| | + | –/+ | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| typology | + | –/+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | –/+ | + | 75/20/5 |
| | + | –/+ | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | –/+ | |

Table 8. Correlation between different aspects of metaphor intensity in texts and the perception of authorial opinion

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Total, % |
|-----------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----------|
| | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | |
| density | –/+ | + | – | –/+ | –/+ | –/+ | + | –/+ | + | + | 40/50/10 |
| | –/+ | + | + | –/+ | –/+ | + | –/+ | – | + | –/+ | |
| intensity | –/+ | + | + | –/+ | + | –/+ | – | + | + | + | 50/40/10 |
| | –/+ | –/+ | – | + | + | –/+ | –/+ | + | + | –/+ | |
| typology | + | –/+ | –/+ | –/+ | – | + | + | + | –/+ | + | 50/40/10 |
| | – | –/+ | + | + | + | –/+ | –/+ | –/+ | + | + | |

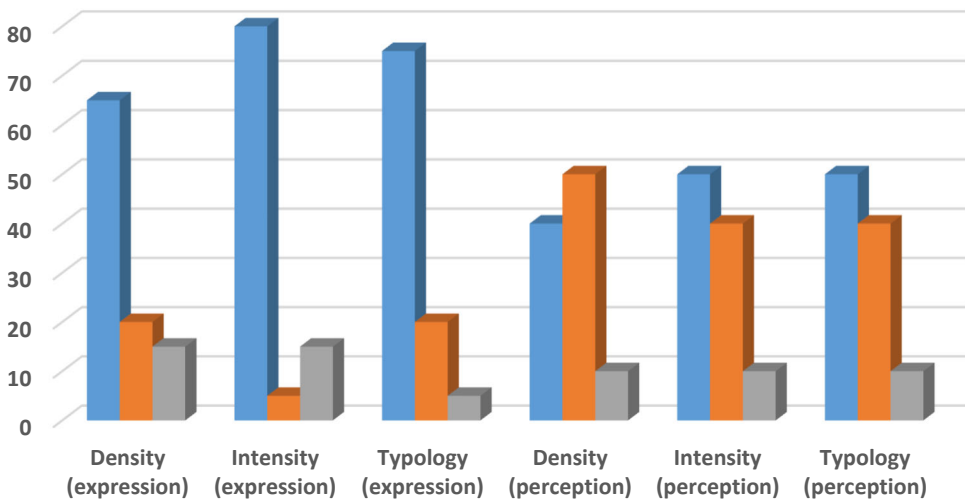


Figure 1. Correlation between different aspects of metaphor intensity in texts and the expression/perception of authorial opinion

In regard to utterance formation, in most cases the authors tend to use metaphors in those parts of the text that reflect their own opinion; this is particularly evident in the case of metaphor intensity. It should be noted that the experiment was developed to reveal a non-intentional speech effect, the authors of the texts were simply meant to express an opinion, not to convince the reader of anything. Therefore, we can conclude that even in the case of reasoning aimed at representing

one's opinion, metaphor is subconsciously chosen as a means of reinforcing the persuasiveness of one's statement. Separately, we note that the average index for the intensity of the texts analysed was 1.23. This indicator, according to the benchmark indices proposed by O. Kalinin, indicates the presence of rational and evaluative influence in these texts (Kalinin 2022b: 402). That is, the authors did not seek to influence the reader's emotions and the number of vivid authorial metaphors was relatively small, which generally correlates with the experimental target. At the same time, if we calculate the average intensity index for the parts of the text where the author's opinion was expressed, we get 1.45, which indicates the higher significance of the new metaphors, which carry an emotional and affective impact.

The high level of correlation between the expression of the author's opinion and the use of metaphors of different types, primarily structural and ontological, also deserves separate consideration. Previously, we pointed out that the abundance of structural metaphors indicates the realization of transformational impact, whereas ontological metaphors reflect more additional conceptual meanings, excited by metaphorical transpositions (Kalinin 2022b: 233). The analysis showed that only in one text the author's opinion was expressed in the part of the text where the index of functional typology of metaphor had the lowest index. In our opinion, this indicates the high importance of structural and ontological metaphors in the context of speech impact in particular when expressing one's own opinion. The average index of functional typology for all the texts analysed was 2, which, according to the reference values, correlates with a predominantly identification impact (Kalinin 2022b: 402). The authors of the text did not seek to restructure the content of the concepts represented in the texts, metaphors were used mainly to expand the semantics of the target sphere, which in this case was Russia. If we count the MfTI value only for those parts of the text which reflect the author's opinion, then the index increases to 2.12, which already indicates a weak level of transformational impact, as it shows a greater number of structural metaphors, which not only supplement, but also transform the conceptual content of the target domain. At the same time, the low, in fact, threshold index indicates that the level of this type of impact is still not high.

If we consider the perception of the utterance in relation to the manifestations of the different aspects of metaphor power, we note in Diagram 1 that the number of complete matches, that is, the cases where the majority of respondents perceived the authorial opinion expressed in the part of the text that has the highest value of the density, intensity and functional typology indices, is significantly lower than when the authorial opinion is expressed. Here we can note the increase in the so-called borderline cases, where the perceived authorial opinion coincided with the average value of the indices among the three within the same text, and the small number of cases where the perceived authorial opinion correlated with the least metaphorical in all parameters of the text segment. Note that for all indices this figure was only 10% each. Such numerical indices show that in the perception of opinion, excessive metaphor power, both in terms of metaphor density and in the case of the use of intense and structural metaphors, has the opposite effect. Such

statements may appear to be overloaded with metaphors, which prevents adequate cognitive processing of information.

6. Conclusion

Our study evolved around two research agendas: a) the relationship between non-intentional speech influence in the form of the expression of the author's opinion and different aspects of the manifestation of the functional potential of metaphors, and b) the relationship between non-intentional speech influence in the form of the perception of the author's opinion and different aspects of the manifestation of the functional potential of metaphors.

The study showed that in most cases, the authors nonintentionally use more vivid structural metaphors in the parts of the text that reflect their opinion (hypothesis A proved), and the recipients of a speech message sometimes assume those parts of the text that contain the greatest number of vivid structural metaphors to directly express the author's opinion (hypothesis B is partially confirmed). The findings also showed that the average metaphoric indices have a greater influence on the perceived authorial opinion. In other words, there is no need for an excessive saturation of the text with vivid images expressed by direct linguistic metaphors in order to create a persuasive speech effect.

Our results are largely consistent with earlier research on the so-called perceived appropriateness of metaphors (Boeynaems et al. 2017a, 2017b, Jones & Estes 2006, Thibodeau & Durgin 2011) which showed that metaphors are indeed an effective means of persuasion, but their use is limited by the principle of perceived aptness.

Thus, the study shows that metaphor is an important and effective means of implicit speech impact, manifesting itself at the cognitive and semantic levels in the form of various effects. At the same time, when using metaphors as a means of representing one's opinion, it is worth paying attention to the fact that excessive metaphor power does not necessarily affect the adequate perception of the author's intention. We believe that the perception of metaphorical transpositions represented in different linguistic forms is a promising area for future research. Understanding which specific conceptual metaphors are more influential for representatives of different linguacultures in different discursive contexts will be an effective tool for improving marketing strategies and propaganda tools.

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Review article / Обзорная статья

Modern metaphor research in Russia: Trends, schools and results

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Abstract

This article focuses on various trends and linguistic approaches to metaphor studies in Russia (2019–2023). The latter deal with different types of metaphors, process of metaphor formation and the use of metaphors in discourse. The basic methods of investigation include comparative, inductive, generalization and descriptive approaches. The article summarises new results in modern studies of metaphor on data from Slavic, Romance and Germanic languages. In the paper, we show the role of metaphor both as a trope and a cognitive operation in monolingual and comparative studies. Alongside these traditional areas, we discuss the results of metaphor studies in multimodal texts and corpora. Multimodal texts are frequently constructed on the intersection of mental, semiotic and semantic fields. Corpora, which have proved to be a convenient source of recent and reliable data, present another modern sphere of investigation of metaphoric potential in Russian studies. We discuss such important areas of metaphor studies as the interdisciplinary approach, pluralism of methods, critical attitudes to universalism, emphasis on cultural features of communication and discourse, and the blending of rhetorical and cognitive methods.

Keywords: *metaphor, modern Russian linguistics, cognitive linguistics, discourse, multimodality, corpus*

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Современные российские исследования метафоры: тенденции, школы, результаты

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Аннотация

В статье представлен обзор современных тенденций развития российской метафорологии (2019–2023), которые связаны с изучением разных видов метафоры, процессов их порождения и использования, а также с дискурсивным анализом метафоры. В работе применяются методы сравнительного и сопоставительного языкознания, индуктивный метод, метод обобщения и описательный метод. Обобщен опыт в области современных исследований метафоры на материале славянских, романских и германских языков. Отмечено, что сопоставительные исследования метафоры в России строятся как на теории тропов, так и на понимании метафоры как когнитивной операции. Наряду с традиционными подходами рассматривается опыт изучения метафоры в мультимодальных текстах и лингвистических корпусах. Мультимодальный текст выстраивается на пересечении когнитивных, семиотических и семантических пространств. Корпусы выступают как удобный инструмент для получения данных, в том числе и для изучения метафорического потенциала языка. Выделены ведущие принципы развития современной российской метафорологии, к числу которых отнесены междисциплинарность, методологический плюрализм, критика универсализма, акцентирование национально-культурной специфики коммуникации и ее дискурсивных характеристик, а также сближение риторической и когнитивной методологии.

Ключевые слова: метафора, современное российское языкознание, когнитивная лингвистика, дискурс, мультимодальность, корпусные исследования

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1. Introduction

Russian linguistics is notable both for its vast geography and great variety of research topics. The focus of this paper is on the investigation of metaphor which was carried out in 2019–2023. Due to the existence of numerous universities, research centres, and individual scholars, it is practically impossible to discuss the full scope of the research in detail. Therefore, our aim is to discuss the most important trends, methods and study results.

Russian metaphor studies is a rapidly developing interdisciplinary area of research. It embraces the concepts of cognitive linguistics, and the heuristics of political discourse and content analysis and traditional and modern rhetorical studies. It also employs the methodological innovations of other contemporary investigations which combine ideas of political philosophy, pragmatics, political

and social science, information technology and artificial intelligence studies. Every year thousands of works on various aspects of metaphor introduce new methods, develop procedures, and produce new knowledge. In the paper, we will discuss axiological studies of metaphor, metaphor as a tool and means in information and psychological warfare, metaphor in various types of discourse, and metaphor in comparative studies. The final parts present studies of metaphoric semantics and text characteristics of metaphor as a trope, as well as the role of metaphor in multimodal texts and corpora.

The material for the review was taken from leading Russian academic journals, various databases of article collections and conference proceedings. We have selected 62 works out of more than 20,000 publications on metaphor.

2. Axiological studies of metaphor

The main sphere of Russian scholars' interest is connected with metaphor as a cognitive operation. However, if in the previous decade the focus was on various metaphoric spheres in different types of discourse, today it has shifted to *the field of information and psychological combating, manipulation techniques and strategies*, where metaphor is considered to be a powerful tool.

The first important vector is axiological linguistic studies of the way one can influence the audience. Values and their interpretation in a particular culture are of crucial importance, and many of them are embedded in metaphor. Karasik (2023) analyses cultural subjects and plots, axiologically relevant situations, new value of legends and myths structured around metaphors and their impact. Linguacultural subjects are defined as authorial narrations of certain events, which are presented in an order which allows for reference to well-known stories and to transfer them to serve the purpose of either persuasion or the creation of a new pragmatic effect. Such techniques may easily be applied to produce the effect of defamation. This phenomenon is described in mass-media and network discourse from the point of metaphoric effects. Karasik (2022) concludes that modern Russian mass media and networks apply defamation to criticize local regional authorities and to convey this criticism in a metaphorical way (Karasik 2022).

Another sphere for the manifestation of defamation practices appeared during COVID-19. As we entered the pandemic with no vaccine, the speedy vaccination and its imposition on the population gave grounds for people to oppose its necessity and to exaggerate the risks associated with it. Their verbal manifestations are discussed in recent studies (Karasik 2022, Plotnikova & Tsyganov 2022) whose authors unanimously believe that, during the COVID period the local authorities became the main metaphoric target for criticism. They also discuss linguistic methods of forensic analysis. Part of their data is based on the radical discourse of marginalised figures like Father Sergiy (Romanov), who combined certain linguistic features typical of Orthodox Christianity with criminal subculture. The latter is considered a cultural group, which supports behaviour that is believed criminal in the society it belongs to. Any cultural group is thought to have certain

verbal behaviour, which makes it identifiable. Plotnikova & Tsyganov (2022) investigate the ways Father Sergiy played on these rhetorical features and how his aggressive anti-vaccination rhetoric found support with those opposed to vaccination. The authors argue that certain techniques of linguistic manipulation, including metaphoric images and defamation, were one of the reasons he became popular.

Defamation is closely connected with pragmatic effects and evaluation of events, whether intentional or unintentional, which are imposed on the public. Nedzelskaya and Boriskina (2021a) describe manipulative strategies in English-language media, which also involve a wide use of metaphor. The database consists of publications by the BBC, CNN, The Guardian, The Independent, The New York Times, The Washington Post, Twitter and Facebook¹. The authors dwell on the strategies of factual manipulation and ideological polarisation, which contribute to the misrepresentation of facts. They put special emphasis on the macrostrategies of discrediting and legitimation.

Nedzelskaya & Boriskina (2021b) also analyse the strategies of glorification and intentional transformation of the concept of war in detail. They discuss linguistic means, including metaphor, rhetorical techniques and manipulative strategies upon which Bush and Biden built their historical speeches about the war in Afghanistan. The authors conclude that despite the introduction of similar metaphoric images, their pragmatic effects vary. While Bush emphasises that it is “a part of our campaign against terrorism”, a highly effective “military operation” and a sacred battle between Good and Evil, Biden transforms it into a long-running and drawn out war. Similar manipulative strategies are analysed by Ozyumenko and Larina (2021). They focus on the words *threat* and *fear* and their possible pragmatics in their investigation of English-based media discourse in connection with Russia between 2018 and 2021. As a result, the transferred contextual semantics of fearmongering become apparent. Other works dealing with metaphor in political discourse include Solopova & Chudinov (2018), Sun et al. (2021), Leontovich et al. (2023) among others.

Another area of research that is worth mentioning deals with the linguistic aspects of information and psychological warfare (e.g., *Lingvistika*.... 2020, 2021). Budaev, Kushneruk & Kurochkina (2022) discuss mass protests, their communicative nature, and the creation and support of the events in Belorussia and the USA in 2020. The data were obtained from Telegram channels *Nexta* and *Nexta Live*². The analysis aimed to describe the role of metaphors as mental operations, intertexts and mental frames in producing and organizing mass protests. As a result, the following metaphoric models have been determined: AUTHORITIES ARE INSECTS, JOURNALISTS ARE MONGRELS, POLICE ARE ANIMALS, and PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS. The second part of the investigation was connected to the *Black Lives Matter (BLM)*

¹ The last two are blocked in Russia; they belong to social media company Meta, which has been found guilty of extremist activity and banned in Russia.

² Nexta & Nexta Live. Telegram. URL: https://t.me/s/nexta_live

movement and its coverage in US mass media. The authors argue that BLM as the target is associated with such source domains as GAME, SPORT, DISEASE, THEATRE and PLANTS. If we return to the beginning of our review, certain correlation with the studies by Karasik (2022, 2023), Nedzelskaya and Boriskina (2021a, 2021b), Plotnikova and Tsyganov (2022) will become evident.

Metaphorical creativity in the terminology of charity in modern Russian is discussed by Plotnikova (2021: 57–65) who analyses the process of lexical borrowings (mainly from English) and the spread of phraseological calques. Creative strategies are modified by colloquial speech patterns and words, precedent or case phenomena; they are presumably well-known to the recipients and are based on cognitive modelling. Metaphors here are of paramount importance. Graphic means and creative word-formation also play a significant role in the Russian names of charity organisations semantically connected with aid and life, charity and mercy, hope, happiness and future. Some of these include euphemistic nominations of people with special needs or metaphors of certain conditions. Another group of names is determined by the aims of charity organisations. The results suggest that if in the prior stages of their emergence, charity in modern Russia was connected with the idea of moral duty and donation, now it has grown to be one of the tools used to consolidate society. The use of creative linguistic strategies results in new forms of communicative and social interaction. The axiological value and pragmatic effect of such language units in modern Russian are seen as positive.

Finally in this section, we should address the phenomenon of fake news, viewed as a complicated research issue, which requires a complex approach. One such linguistic attempt is presented in Sharapkova & Merkulova (2023). The authors discuss the emergence of fake news within metaphoric contexts connected with historical knowledge.

Thus, axiological studies of metaphor are nowadays principally conducted in the sphere of mass-media and political discourse. The results show that there are definite correlations with mental mapping and pragmatic effects which have become typical of certain types of discourse. At the same time, new events and challenges make societies re-evaluate previous knowledge and introduce new metaphoric images.

3. Studies of source and target metaphoric domain

Another vector of research is still connected with both *source and target metaphor in discourse of various types*. One of the basic structural metaphors in English is TIME AS A VALUABLE RESOURCE. Konnova (2019) shows the diachronic changes, which the metaphor of time has undergone in Old, Middle and Modern English. The research is of interest because it presents a broad range of both lexicographical and textual data. It shows that the source domain of metaphoric mapping shifted gradually as society was changing and a new system of values was developing. There is no doubt that Christianity dominated the notion of time as God's creation and a gift of God that is typical of Saint Bede, Alcuinus and Ælfrić.

Conceptual metaphors *TIME IS A PERSONAL POSSESSION* and *TIME IS A COMMODITY*, which are much closer to modern perception, appeared only in the middle of the XVc. These models were the result of a desacralisation process and may be interpreted as a kind of “stormy petrel” for what was to come and what was actually happening in Britain. Shakespeare is well-known not for his creations alone but for the changes he introduced into English. His works undoubtedly mirror the process of change that the country, its social norms, religion, law and language were undergoing. Konnova (2019) believes that it was mainly Shakespeare who made the conceptual metaphor *TIME IS A RESOURCE* so widespread. As for the present time, the author introduces the idea of a technically-centred metaphoric image of time. In fact, we are witnessing the creation of a new conceptual metaphor *TIME IS A VIRTUAL ENTITY*. The peculiarity of modern perception of time is thought to be a loss of time and space limits, linear characteristics and a lack of certain future. This change can be observed both in our lifestyle and in technologies that stimulate investigations of new conceptual systems. One such article is devoted to metaphors of the digital age and the Black Box Problem (Leshkevich 2022). The author describes the processes similar to those noted by Konnova (2019) and singles out the conceptual metaphor of the hybrid world. This new phenomenon appears as a blend of the real, material world and digital reality. Leshkevich believes it is a paradox that our values, needs and goals are no longer future-oriented but belong to the “here and now” sphere. But if the previous study is only based on English, she takes Russian and English-language literature as her data and conducts a comparative study. The author also points out potential risks of Artificial Intelligence and its malicious use. Along with other consequences, it gives rise to new types of modern existence and knowledge consumerism. She analyses such metaphors as “face-to-screen” or “face-to-device” existence; “content viewer” and “prosumer” (i.e., those who simply scroll through pages or produce content that they themselves actively consume).

Yet another focus is on the specifics of digital rationality – “knowledge rent” and “convergence of subjectivity”. They may be useful in cases where the proper limits for borrowing are not understood, which may result in plagiarism. “Digital multitasking” (or media multitasking) may also present new challenges, especially in adolescence, as they constantly switch their goals and, in the end, find themselves fighting fatigue, multiple distractions and loss of their original goal. For our part, we would add, to the author’s discussion, that it gives rise to yet another new phenomenon – multiprocrastinating, when we are only pretending to be busy switching between different areas, pages and gadgets, and not really concentrating on anything. We suggest that the very possibility of the appearance of neologisms is also symbolic and should make us wary of a possible outcome. According to Leshkevich (ibid), the greatest degree of convergence, which may happen between modern society and digital technologies is realised in the conceptual metaphor *HOMOSOLUS* which denotes an individual who is too engrossed in the computer world, voluntarily preferring isolation, withdrawn socially and as a result not able

to comprehend real life interconnections. The idea of digital influence on the metaphoric worldview is further developed in a number of articles. The metaphoric typology of social network users as presented in Russian mass-media is offered in Kondratyeva (2020). It gives an overview of the procedure of metaphorical modelling and identification of source metaphors for the characterisation of social network users. Possible reasons for the metaphoric transference of meanings and specific nominations of new phenomena are also discussed. The research data were drawn from the Russian National Corpus and Russian mass-media (2015–2019) presented on *Mediology* (ENA, February 10, 2024)³ and *Integrum* platforms (ENA, February 10, 2024)⁴. The analysis of 1,700 metaphoric contexts revealed such oppositions as “activity vs. passivity”, “creativity vs. propensity to imitate”, “competence vs. incompetence”, “youth vs. maturity”, and “aggressor vs. victim”. It showed that the most frequent conceptual metaphors in Russian discourse dealing with social networks originated in English and were simply borrowed as loan translations with practically the same meaning. They are SOCIAL NETWORKS ARE A WEB, SOCIAL NETWORKS ARE A HOUSE, and SOCIAL NETWORKS ARE AN OCEAN (Kondratyeva 2020). The article provides examples of the use and discussion of more precise contextual meanings and implications typical of modern Russian society.

Another change is demonstrated in the example of previously implemented conceptual metaphors of the Soviet epoch, which may nowadays cease to produce the same pragmatic ideological effect (Kondratyeva & Malikova 2019). Such metaphors tend either to become replaced by some new phenomena and meanings or, having lost their former vividness and heat, to grow obsolete and incongruous, developing other negative semantic links. In modern Russian mass-media, the conceptual metaphor of revolution is intrinsically connected to destructive metaphorical models of acts of nature, heavy disease, or a rigid deity that requires sacrifices. The majority of metaphors implement semantics of open confrontation, bloodshed and potential death of participants (Kondratyeva & Malikova 2019). These authors demonstrate that such implications do not occur only as a result of new political trends and changes in the post-Soviet period, they are more connected to the waves of political protests and riots which became known as ‘colour revolutions’. As a result, such conceptual metaphors as REVOLUTIONS ARE LOCOMOTIVES OF HISTORY (Marx), REVOLUTION IS A CELEBRATION FOR THE OPPRESSED AND EXPLOITED (Lenin), RUSSIAN REVOLUTION IS A CHAIN OF BRIGHT AND JOYFUL EVENTS OF RATIONALITY (Gorky) cease to exist. Instead, they are replaced by meanings suggestive of ruthless, mindless destruction, mostly provoked by the USA. Among conceptual source domains for revolution Kondratyeva and Malikova (2019) analyse metaphors of physiology, which introduce images of different diseases, psychological disturbances, physical deviations and deformities, while describing social processes, political structures

³ <https://www.mlg.ru>

⁴ <https://sso.integrum.ru>

and events. Boiko and Solopova (2021) use the data of the US social service Quora to construct a possible image of Russia's future as seen by Americans. The authors demonstrate that the most frequent frames include “physiological actions”, “physiological organs”, “human body”, “body parts” with both negative and positive pragmatics. Metaphors of physiological actions and body parts tend to represent the allegedly imminent fall of the Russian economy and its governmental structures, the political degradation of the government, the transformation of Russia into something else, the break-up of the country. We would also add that such pragmatics develop as a result of the ideas and images being constantly pushed on US society by American mass-media. At the same time, the authors find a relatively small number of positive metaphorical vectors connected the image of Russian people, and such traits as perseverance, stamina and self-sacrifice. The image of Russia through animal metaphors in American media is discussed in Solopova et al (2023). Another field involves the study of professionally-based conceptual metaphors. The research by Katermina & Shiryaeva (2023) relates to English professional discourse in the sphere of the economy. 1,234 units were grouped into four basic domains of FINANCE, BUSINESS, MANAGEMENT, PRODUCTION. The main features observed by the authors in the domain of metaphor production are the ability to create new perspective, limit the production of new images, translate specific features of business life and its realities, rendering conceptual systems typical of a society and forming a specific worldview or ideology.

Another study is devoted to religious conceptual metaphors in sports' professional discourse in British press of 2015–2019 (Katermina & Solovyeva 2021). The authors conclude that religion as a source domain is introduced to form a ready-made evaluation of events. It also assists in the creation of new images, which simultaneously remind the reader of well-known truths and parallels. Yet another tendency, which seems to have formed in British mass-media, is the emergence of a new religion – the world of athletics and sports. The authors account for this in terms of the idea that in modernity time is no longer a religion, and traditional spheres are no longer sacred. In this case individuals are inclined to seek new values to fill in the void.

In our opinion, desacralisation of traditional spheres happens in the aftermath of certain tragic events, especially if we consider the history of conflicts and wars. Solopova and Koshkarova's (2021) research deals with source domains in the English-language media discourse of World War II. Although the authors claim that religion is their main sphere of interest, they nevertheless show a much wider perspective and describe various spheres of metaphoric production in those times (Solopova & Koshkarova). The aim of the study was to identify patterns of modelling images of war and peace in British, American and Australian media discourse (1939–1945). The authors used digitised archives of the UK, the USA and Australia. The target and source domains create binary axiological oppositions “good vs. evil” and “light vs. darkness”. The British discourse tends to be more metaphorically loaded. This tendency seems to be justified by extralinguistic

factors. As a more specific way to convey biblical undertones and religious parallels, the authors introduce such images as Hell and the Devil, the hounds of hell, the idea of God Almighty, lost paradise, and allies' crusades. Certain parallels may be of interest in Solopova & Chudinov (2018), Solopova & Kushneruk (2021), Solopova et al. (2023). War metaphors and their role in politics have formed a particular sphere. Budaev and Lavrinenko (2022) study the image of Donald Trump in Russian mass-media (2015–2019) and the function of the war metaphor. The data include 150 metaphors. The most widespread military images refer to topics like “war in general and its types”, “military actions”, “results of military actions”, “types of military constructions and camouflaging” and “army hierarchy”. These models have appeared as a result of pre-election and post-election scandals and confrontation between Donald Trump and the Democratic Party. We could add that the same tendency seems to be quite stable both in Russian and American mass-media but right now American press tends to use more metaphors of law, courts and trials, which are evidently provoked by the predicaments Donald Trump is facing.

Similar parallels are traced by Raevskaya et al. (2022). The authors describe metaphors of WAR, PATH and CONSTRUCTION found in the Christmas addresses of Juan Carlos I to his subjects during the long period between 1975 and 2013. The war metaphor is used to describe the problem of unemployment and terrorism as ENEMIES of Spanish society. The path metaphor is chosen to express the idea that the governmental route and its policies are appropriate and would lead to the prosperity of Spain. Construction and building as source domains accentuate the role of Spain in the European integration process and emphasise the common necessity to take part in the development of the motherland on the basis of democratic values and ideals (Raevskaya & Selivanova 2020). The interconnection between sports, especially football, and military spheres is described in Raevskaya & Peretiatko (2022). The authors analyse 50 football reports about Spanish teams from the period 2019–2021. The data were obtained from leading Spanish sports periodicals *Marca*, *As* (Madrid), *Mundo Deportivo*, *Sport* (Barcelona) and some online editions. Alongside the war source domain, the authors discuss the influence, frequency and cultural features of music, food as well as wildlife source metaphors.

The human body has been identified as one of the most typical metaphoric source domains. This type of metaphor, often referred to as a physiological or disease metaphor, has come to be considered an important part of propaganda. One of the recent studies by Zhura et al. (2021) focuses on secondary somatic nominations in media texts, in publications on economy, business and politics. The research data were taken from 200 online and printed publications in the Russian press of 2006–2020. Quantitative analysis showed that such metaphors are used in about 40% of Russian media texts on economics and business, and in approximately 33% of texts devoted to political issues, both domestic and international.

Understandably, the metaphoric references today include one of the most tragic epidemics in our history, a new virus. COVID has undoubtedly produced a profound effect in all spheres throughout the world. In addition to the publications already mentioned, we would like to present other colleagues and their research. The NATURE metaphor and its role in describing COVID-19 in American and British press in the period from January 2019 to May 2022 is discussed in Budaev et al. (2022). Since China was one of the first countries to experience this epidemic, the Chinese mass-media was among the first to introduce a metaphor for this new disease and its consequences. Kalinin (2020), discusses the COVID metaphor in Chinese mass-media, while Kalinin & Mavleeva (2020) provide a comparative study of Chinese and South Korean mass-media.

In Russian research, new metaphoric sources coexist with traditional areas of metaphor use, which are still of interest. Among them are those which are often thought to be basic axiological entities. The reasons for this may be connected both with their prominent value for a certain culture and language and their pragmatic effect, which makes them a convenient mechanism for hosting ideas needed in propaganda or other spheres of public persuasion. Zobotkina and Boyarskaya (2023) analyse the conceptual structure of the binary axiological metaphoric opposition “truth – vs. lie” in the English language. The authors describe lexicographic information of various types, idioms, set-expressions and mass-media texts. They determine certain event frames and the character of conceptual information they may convey. The truth can be treated as something that can be deformed, bent, stretched, shaded, fastened and loosened while a lie, a blatant event, may be turned into something that appears closer to the truth. Such new units as *alternative truth*, *post truth*, *counter-truth*, *counter-knowledge*, *alternative facts* assist in accomplishing the effect in English and at the same time are hard to render into Russian. The authors argue that the concept “truth” in English tends to code information about objective truth together with its subjective interpretation and hence provides a retranslation of basic values with additional characteristics. The authors conclude that the axiological metaphoric opposition “truth vs. lie” is turning into a blended space with the transitional zone of “neither true nor false”. It is this very zone that incorporates axiological paradoxes forming the ground for manipulation.

We may conclude that one of the tendencies here is the gradual shifting of a metaphoric axis. Beginning in one type of discourse, this change later starts to influence other types, turning from a trend into a stable characteristic. The changes in one metaphorical sphere leads to other semantic and cognitive links, sometimes resulting in the global transformation of metaphoric systems. On the one hand, the nature of metaphoric perception depends on social factors. In recent years these are basically conflicts, economic imbalance and epidemics. But on the other, metaphor in its turn creates new pragmatic effects, which determine a perception of new realities. These changes invariably form a very productive field for analysis.

4. Comparative studies of metaphor

Comparative linguistics is a traditional focus for Russian scholars. In this review we will limit our discussion to studies of phraseology and military doctrines. The former are of interest because phraseology has always been important for Russian linguistics, and the latter would bring us back to the beginning of this article, where works on psychological warfare have been presented.

Boldyrev and Beliaeva (2022) study Russian, English and French phraseological units and their metaphoric role in conflict-free communication. The authors compare units of the three languages and show what different cognitive mechanisms are involved in each. One of the most representative areas in idioms is connected with human beings: their general appearance, body parts, facial features, physiological characteristics, psychological parameters, social interconnections, vital processes, events happening in their lives.

Of particular interest are studies by Ignatenko, Kalinin and Khabarov (Ignatenko & Kalinin 2022, Kalinin 2021, Khabarov 2021). Kalinin, who studied functions of metaphor in the official, political and military discourse of Russia, China and the USA developed his own methodology based on calculating indices of metaphor density, intensity, and functionality in the text (Kalinin 2021). These are combined with external and internal metaphor structural indices (Ignatenko & Kalinin 2022). Psychological impact used in communicative strategies of Russia, China and the USA is discussed in Khabarov (2021). The modern realities of information warfare, where metaphor is one of the instruments, lead to a restructuring and reconceptualisation of the participants' worldview. Khabarov (2021) establishes contrastive destructive and constructive tendencies, which have appeared in the discourse practices of Russia, China and the USA. He names creolisation, secondary nomination, mental or cognitive mapping, polyphonic profiling, and polarisation among the most typical interdiscourse strategies, which produce the most powerful effects on the audience in the three countries. The contrastive features involve the cognitive asymmetry of discourse units, which is viewed as the basis for ideological influence realised by discourse strategies, tactics and techniques of argument, persuasion and manipulation.

It is worth mentioning that results of metaphor studies are also of importance for translation theory and practice. We conclude this section by mentioning Manerko (2021a), who discusses conceptual metaphor in English scientific discourse and the ways to render it into Russian. Her study highlights cultural differences and suggests certain ways of bridging them.

5. Semantic studies of metaphor

Metaphor as a vehicle for semantic changes, transferred meaning and as a trope continues to be of interest for Russian linguistics, which has an extensive history of semasiology and lexicography studies. We will mention only some works, which reflect the main trends in these spheres. Babenko compiled a *Thesaurus Dictionary*

of *Russian Emotive Vocabulary* (2021). Plotnikova (2020) devoted one of her recent articles to the so-called ‘ghost’ adjectives in modern Russian and the way they enter explanatory and ideographic dictionaries. Such lexico-semantic fields as physiological and daily needs, transport and equipment are found to be more abundant in the production of neologisms. At the same time, studies of evaluation, perception and emotion derivatives of this type are rare. Plotnikova explains this by reference to the greater polysemy of ‘social’ words, more complex links between adjectives and their bases, and metaphorical meanings acquired by the base noun and the derivative adjective. The author also discusses the problem of variability and paronymy in this sphere.

“Ghost” adjectives undoubtedly belong to the sphere of linguistic creativity and the potential of the Russian language. In her turn, Belyaevskaya (2022) discusses the limits of linguistic creativity and whether it is a violation of the language norm. The data are from modern English sources. The author concludes that linguistic creativity is possible only when the speaker is fully aware of the norms on which we rely when trying to be creative. Thus, we are not breaking the rules but, on the contrary, we make them serve us in a new, often metaphorical, way.

Comparative studies are also present in this group. Danilova and Dyachkovsky (2022) compare zoomorphic vocabulary and its metaphoric projections in Yakut, Kalmyk and Buryat phraseology. Drozdov (2022) describes the same lexico-semantic group and its metaphorical derivative potential in English-based Jamaican, Bahamian and Trinidado-Tobagonian creoles. But if Danilova and Dyachkovsky limit their investigation to images of a horse, cow, bull, and foal, Drozdov refers to a wide range of nominations for snakes, birds, insects and fish.

Leontyeva and her research group compiled a Dictionary of Actual Vocabulary of Unity and Enmity in the Russian language of the Early XXI Century (Leontyeva & Shchetinina 2021) and 1000 Words of Unity and Othering at the Beginning of the 21st Century: An Ideographic Dictionary (Shchetinina & Mokienko 2022). The results are also discussed in Leontyeva (2022). For these projects the group investigated a voluminous dataset of various Russian texts including official documents, public discourse and mass-media in 2000–2020. The main objective relates to the so-called social lexis, that is words nominating or otherwise connected with social phenomena. The authors are of the opinion that certain words, even in isolation, constitute expressive cultural signs, especially in times of change, including metaphoric meanings. Investigation of these metaphors and their potential is of value for the theory of pragmatics, manipulation and other PR-techniques.

The importance of metaphor as a trope and its new functions have been discussed by Mikhailova and Telegina (2020) in their analysis of the memorial media portrait of Jacques Chirac. Sergodeev presents new ways of analysis for various tropes, including metaphor in British, American, Canadian, Irish and Australian poetry in the period of XVIII–XX centuries (Sergodeev 2020).

Nagornaya discusses the authorial semantics of metaphors connected with sexual desire in prose by André Aciman (2022). German and Russian fairy tales and their metaphoric potential are analysed in Nechay & Poverennaya (2019). A common thread in these studies relates to potential semantic growth in metaphorical meanings. The data are variously drawn either from a single language or a group of languages.

6. Studies of multimodal metaphor

The role of metaphor in new blended semiotic systems constitutes a separate trend. Russian scholars are interested in political cartoons, advertisements and professional discourse. General features of such metaphors are discussed by Manerko (2021b) and Zykova (2022). In one of her most recent publications (Zykova 2023), Zykova explores the blended system of the novel *Extremely Loud & Incredibly Close* (2005) by Foer. The novel is built around the physical and psychological pain of the characters due to tragic historical events. The artistic means involve many polymodal or multimodal metaphoric strategies, including polymodal neologisms, which are described in Zykova (2023).

The negative image of Donald Trump in the American magazine *The New Yorker* (2019) was discussed by Balditsyn (2021). The author studied various graphic and verbal means, including metaphor. Pavlina discussed pragmatic metaphorical effects of British and American COVID-19 cartoons published in 2020–2021 on the web sites of *The Guardian* and *U.S. News & World Report*. Her research reveals certain oppositions such as “the British COVID-19 cartoons criticise the government’s policies, whereas the American ones do not only satirise but also create a positive image of those responsible for vaccination production” (Pavlina 2022). These oppositions often involve metaphor, both visual and verbal. Golubkova and Taymour (2021) analyse Russian road signs as possible vehicles of monomodal visual, multimodal verbal-visual, or mixed metaphors. The data include not traditional but creative road signs, which serve to produce an ironic effect, to warn or advocate, while they also criticise certain problems (Golubkova & Taymour 2021). This tendency is acquiring more potential because of the changes which metaphoric systems undergo. We are to expect more results in this sphere.

7. Corpora and their role in metaphor studies

The final part of our review concerns corpora and the study of their metaphorical capacities. Karasik and Kitanina (2023) discuss the linguacultural modelling of the “power” concept in Russia. This deals with the description of behavioural norms encoded in the concept of “power”, which are thought to be linguistically relevant for Russian speakers. The authors describe situational characteristics of power typical of media discourse and the metaphor *POWER IS AN IRRESISTIBLE FORCE* as found in fiction. With this purpose in mind, they addressed

data drawn from a wide range of dictionaries and reference books, examples from the National Corpus of the Russian Language, in both poetic and prose texts. The research argues that Russian speakers historically tend to accept power as the most important condition of social order and at the same time condemn excessive striving for power and its abuse.

Russian literature serves as a basis for extensive corpora. The necessity to organise material leads to new methods of study and new results. The summary of results connected with establishing dynamics and a trajectory of metaphors in Dostoyevsky's works may be found in Artemova & Kretov (2022). The number of languages studied with the use of corpus parametric vocabulary analysis is over 60. As a summary on metaphor potential in corpora, we would recommend the article by Kretov, Donina and Shilikhina (2022).

The Ural Federal State University also traditionally conducts studies of metaphor in Russian literature. Here we will mention the corpus-based research by Mukhin and his laboratory of computer linguistics (Mukhin & Mukhin 2021). The XIX century classical Russian prose, namely the works by Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Chekhov, Turgenyev and Goncharov, provide data for the context lexico-statistical comparison of bigrams, which contain words frequently used by the authors. It allows the scholars to illustrate theoretical principles of systematic interpretation for lexical compatibility. Yet another new example of the explanation of theoretical principles may be found in Mukhin (2022), where the author describes macrostructural, statistical, logical, semantic and psycholinguistic criteria for forming ideographic groups in lexicographical practice. As is well-known, such lexical groups are built on both direct and transferred meanings, and the results make it possible to compare metaphoric resources of nomination in the course of time over which literature developed. Corpora as the source of metaphoric data have become more popular in recent years, but they still remain a potential field for closer investigation.

8. Conclusion

In this review article, we aimed to give a more or less systematic description of the processes, objectives and possible perspectives of contemporary Russian studies of metaphor. As one of the basic trends, we highlight the interest for mass-media, positive and negative aspects of new communication forms, possibilities to change or influence the course of events. As another trend we would mention the studies of multimodal metaphors. At the same time, traditions are of vital importance and allow for the maintenance of a stable interconnection between past and present research in Russian linguistics.

A very important tendency in Russian linguistics and in the study of metaphor in particular is the increase in the criticism of universalism, on the one hand, and continuous and multiple attempts to describe cultural and ethnical specifics of metaphoric processes and products, on the other. Contemporary studies of metaphor, more frequently than ever, result in the discovery and definition of the

cultural features of metaphors, which previously seemed to belong to language universals.

Studies which combine the heuristics of cognitive linguistics and discourse analysis have become very popular. At the same time it is evident that recent years have presented a strong tendency to overcome the excessive differentiation between cognitive and rhetorical trends in metaphor studies. Methods of cognitive linguistics and discourse studies are increasingly influencing investigations of metaphor where the scholars involved declare their ostensible commitment to traditional approaches.

In conclusion, we would add that modern Russian studies of metaphor demonstrate the tendencies typical of modern linguistics in general. They are an interdisciplinary approach to the study of metaphor; the focus on the context of metaphor use, and the borrowing of methods and terminology from other research areas. Such pluralism of methods and approaches, proves that metaphor remains one of the most complex and controversial objects of investigation. The abundance of such studies on metaphor may show that an appreciation of its importance in discourse should be an obligatory condition for the further development of linguistics as a whole and Russian linguistics in particular.

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BOOK REVIEWS / РЕЦЕНЗИИ НА КНИГИ

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Anatoly P. Chudinov, Edward V. Budaev & Olga A. Solopova. 2023.
Political Metaphorology: Cognitive and Discursive Studies
政治隐喻学：认知-话语研究. Peking University Press

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Metaphor is among the most powerful cognitive techniques for conceptualization and categorization of the world, which forms the foundations of a conceptual system and facilitates comprehension of cultural peculiarities of a worldview.

The number of publications devoted to metaphors has increased since Lakoff and Johnson's book *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). Scholars identify the peculiarities of metaphorical images in various discourse types, address issues in diachronic political metaphor research, focus on innovative interpretative metaphor use that changes the default meaning of well-established figurative constructions, and examine the interconnection between metaphor novelty and persuasiveness in communication (e.g., Hanne 2015, Leontovich et al. 2023, Musolff 2019, 2021, Ponton 2020, Solopova & Chudinov 2018, Solopova et al. 2023, Sun et al. 2021, among many others).

The book by Chudinov, Budaev and Solopova *Political Metaphorology: Cognitive and Discursive Studies* / 政治隐喻学：认知-话语研究 bridges the gap in the investigation of political metaphors in Chinese linguistics. What makes this book both educational and entertaining is that it provides a real journey into the world of the political metaphor from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives, offering a systematic research of the traditions, current state, and future perspectives of the field. The book consists of three chapters.

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The first chapter entitled *Political Metaphor Studies: Traditions, Modern State and Perspectives* / 第一节 概念隐喻理论的认知和修辞渊源 analyzes the cognitive and rhetorical origins of conceptual metaphor, considers political metaphor studies as a distinguished scientific field, and deals with the state of political metaphor studies at the present stage (2010–2020). According to the authors, political metaphor studies proceed from two major linguistic areas: metaphor studies and political linguistics. The confluence of these two research areas is connected both with the boom of studies benchmarking political communication and with the reinterpretation of metaphor and its role in structuring mental processes. The authors emphasize that political metaphor is an efficient tool for understanding, modeling and evaluating political processes and explore how and why different types of metaphors appear, as well as to what extent they reflect social psychology, political processes, and personal qualities of the participants.

The authors further turn to the discussion of political metaphor studies as a strategic pathway in modern linguistics. They argue that the following ground rules should be taken into account in the process of interpreting political metaphors: (1) the primary role of the cognitive and discourse approach to studying metaphors; (2) the analysis of speech and language metaphors as a cohesive unity; (3) the examination of multimodal texts in which verbal and non-verbal components of communication interact; (4) the predominance of comparative studies when diverse metaphorical worldviews of different languages and cultures are analogized; (5) the explanatory character of modern metaphor studies, which means that political linguistics strives not only to fix the spot but to give them linguistic, political and discursive interpretations. The authors estimate the development of Russian political metaphor studies from 2010 up to 2020, singling out the cognitive, rhetorical, discursive, and semiotic trends as major approaches. In their thorough analysis, they suggest that the cognitive trend considers political metaphor to be a mental phenomenon that can be verbally represented in political texts; the rhetorical trend focuses on the analysis of political metaphor as a pragmatic tool of influence on the audience; the discursive trend involves the study of metaphor in a wide extralinguistic context in different political texts; and the semiotic trend studies metaphor as a sign in the political life of society.

In the second chapter, *Theory and Practice of Comparative Study of Political Metaphors* / 政治隐喻比较研究的理论与实践, the authors delve into the reflection of ethnic characteristics in the selection of metaphorical models in the process of describing and representing the world in various types of discourse. They emphasize the fact that any system of political metaphors is characterized, on the one hand, by a tendency to preserve its cultural identity, and on the other hand, by a tendency to interact with systems of political metaphors characteristic of other countries. As a result of their systematic investigation, the authors conclude that the four procedures of studying political metaphors comprise the analysis of a) metaphors with a common target domain, b) metaphors with a common source

domain, c) metaphors in the discourse of the addresser of communication; and d) cognitive structures at the general level of categorization.

The chapter contains an interesting analysis of zoomorphic metaphors in the US and Russian mass-media covering the conflict in Syria in 2015–2016. Its results show that the structures of Russian and US metaphorical models are mostly isomorphic, with the exception of the ANIMAL CARE slot, which was observed in Russian media texts but was not found in American media. However, the analysis of zoomorphic metaphors and their role in the categorization of the sides in the Syrian conflict indicates significant differences in the vision of the situation and latent intentions which are not explicitly demonstrated but become evident through metaphorical models.

The third chapter, *Theory and Practice of Studying Historical Changes of Political Metaphor Systems / 政治隐喻系统历史变迁研究的理论与实践*, deals with diachronic examination of political metaphors. The authors describe the evolution of political metaphors over time, elucidate the development of metaphorical systems, rationalize the establishment of a new approach, which scrutinizes models and scenarios of the future based on exploratory forecasts made in political texts. The authors focus on diachronic metaphor analysis, the regularities of metaphorical language development, and the influence of discursive factors on the formation and change of metaphor. They clarify the principles of using historical documents corpora, online archives and libraries as efficient tools for conducting a diachronic analysis of metaphors in political discourse, stating that diachronic research methods in the digital era play a vital role as they enable the detection of historical changes in metaphor evolution, clarification of the essence of political metaphors in cultural and historical contexts, and determination of the factors that influence the formation and change of metaphors over time. Interpreting metaphors within the historical and cultural contexts in which they unfolded, locating them in time and place and understanding the way those factors shaped them contribute to a deeper understanding and interpretation of changes in the metaphorical systems.

The part that focuses on the portrayal of the image of the USSR in World War II media discourses is of special importance, as nowadays many political actors are trying to revise the outcomes of historical events in the context of information and psychological war, which has not only social and political but also language consequences (Kopnina et al. 2021). The authors further explore metaphorical images of Russia's future, with a special focus on frequent metaphors that represent it and the senses deduced from them in Russian, American, and British discourses, as well as both best-case and worst-case metaphor scenarios. In fact, the problem they dwell upon is the role of metaphors in political forecasting. The authors emphasize that metaphor is a conceptual model that legislates and regulates our understanding of the future and convincingly prove that it often organizes the content of the political forecast both formally and conceptually. They elicit the discursive factors that shape the usage and senses of metaphors, demonstrate

the interdependence between metaphors and images they generate and emphasize the role of the historical context in the process. It should be highlighted that on the whole, the third chapter contributes to the theory and practice of linguistics by elaborating on the notion of the linguistic political prognostics which is an interdisciplinary scientific field that integrates the ideas of cognitive linguistics, forecasting, political science, and metaphor studies.

It is also worthwhile discussing some limitations of the book. In my opinion, the book would be more ambitious in its aims if more attention were paid to Chinese political discourse. I believe that the book published in Chinese needs a section addressing the system of political metaphors employed in this language, especially taking into account the fact that Chinese is a highly metaphorical language. The book would benefit from a section presenting cognitive and discursive portraits of Chinese political leaders, both national and regional.

To summarize, the book by Chudinov, Budaev and Solopova *Political Metaphorology: Cognitive and Discursive Studies* / 政治隐喻学：认知-话语研究 is worth reading for many reasons, among which is the topicality of the issues touched upon in this book. I would strongly recommend this book to anyone interested in political discourse, metaphor studies, and linguistics in general. A Chinese proverb says: “He who asks a question might be a fool for five minutes; he who doesn’t ask a question remains a fool forever”. The authors have posed quite a number of questions in this book and have provided substantial and sophisticated answers to those who might challenge the notion of political metaphor studies. Moreover, the book is an excellent conversation starter for Russian and Chinese linguists which I hope will be continued.

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Alleen Pace Nilsen and Don L.F. Nilsen. 2019.
***The Language of Humor*. Cambridge: CUP**

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Humor is an essential element in personal communication. While it is merely seen as a way to induce amusement, it also has a positive effect on the mental state of those using it and can improve their activity. Humor has therefore received a significant amount of attention from philosophers and researchers alike, covering fields as diverse as linguistics, psychology, and philosophy. If we can laugh at ourselves and take pleasure in life's absurdity, we tend to feel happier. We may forgive more readily, love more easily, feel more grateful, and have more fun. If we have a good sense of humor, we will have an overall feeling of peace because we are less likely to react with anger to everyday stresses and disappointments. If we could all laugh a little more, we would get along better.

The book under review is about various kinds of humor in today's communication. The authors, Alleen and Don Nilsen, make an attempt to understand this phenomenon in various academic areas. It consists of 25 chapters, and they follow one another logically. The authors use their own theory of "Features, functions and subjects of Humor" to analyze humor across all disciplines, as they provide a detailed account of the interaction of emotion, language play and jokes, culture and discourse. The book promotes an interdisciplinary and cross-cultural understanding of the complex issue of language of humor in different academic areas. It addresses the role and expression of humor across a wide variety of contexts, presents the reader with a balanced mix of theoretical and empirical discussions, and gives voice to researchers from various theoretical paradigms.

Each chapter closes with "Supplemental PowerPoints", which are available online, taking many of the insights from the chapters for further interactional discussions with the students. The first chapter "Introduction and overview"

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answers the question: “How can we determine a person’s “sense of humor”? It shows a well-designed and careful methodological approach, since it covers the features of humor, such as “ambiguity, exaggeration, understatement, hostility, incongruity, irony, or surprise of humor” (p. 15); the functions of humor – “to amuse, to tease, to test limits, to establish superiority or gain control” (p. 15); and the subjects of humor.

The part “Anthropology and Ethnic Studies” in Chapter 1 focuses on humor created by and about Native Americans, who are also referred to in the book with such terms as “First Nation” people and as “American Indians.” Humor differs from culture to culture and from individual to individual. On the one hand, it develops social cohesion, fosters positive relations, and increases the self-identification of the individual in relation to other ethnic groups; on the other hand, it functions as an acceptable and tolerated form of aggression in a particular society. The most common paradigms of humor in social discourse are ethnic jokes or cartoons that are often built on fixed ethnic/racial stereotypes leading to social categorization but also to fast and correct decoding of semantic information by an audience.

Chapter 3 “Art” represents Arthur Koestler’s (1964¹) descriptions of artistic originality, scientific discovery, and comic, as well as expressionism, minimalism, and the Dada movement. Other items include humorous architecture and a history of artists who have incorporated humor, irony, parody, and /or satire into their work. In Chapter 4 “Business” two kinds of humor are explored: the use of humor inside businesses and what businesses do “to develop positive feelings between themselves and their customers” (p. 18). Some activities are offered to create a better atmosphere inside a company, to get acquainted with employees and figure out ways to relate to them.

“Computer Science” (Chapter 5) focuses on how computers and other new technologies are revolutionizing the creation and distribution of humor and the way witticisms, as well as art and photographs, can be sent simultaneously to millions of people. The chapter also discusses the idea of “recycling” new words with the appearance of new concepts (e.g., “Godzillagram” meaning “huge packet”; “Munchkin” standing for “a teenage techie”; “Trojan Horse” denoting “a program that infiltrates a computer”; “Tree Killers” from J. R. R. Tolkien’s *Lord of the Rings*).

Chapter 6 “Education and Child Development” is devoted to what and how new kinds of information are taught to students from pre-schools to sophisticated graduate programs. Humorous content was found to have better results than non-humorous content in a learning paradigm. Studies advocate humorous techniques to be used in educational settings.

“Gender Studies” (Chapter 7) explores a vital issue of sexual harassment – some of it under the guise of humor – which recently became a huge political issue, and the idea of using “humorous cartoons and quips to bring up the subject” (p.20)

¹ Koestler, Arthur. 1964. *The Act of Creation*. New York, NY: Macmillan.

Patriarchy has always prevailed as a symbol of authority and power ... Social statuses and traditional cultural roles have played a significant part in determining the upper hand that males have over women. It is also important to note that all of the visual or literary evidence that is present corresponding to humour, is created by men either on women, or at the expense of women (Sanghavi 2019: 52).

In chapter 8 “Geography”, the authors discuss the formation of ideas by means of humor, the way they attain their meanings in various sociocultural situations. The research themes and approaches in the geographical studies of humor are relatively often entangled with sociopolitical problematics (Ridanpää 2014).

Chapter 9 “Gerontology” covers the question of humor about old age which is undergoing considerable changes. The therapeutic benefit of humor and laughter on the physical and psychological health of elderly people is of vital importance nowadays.

“History” (Chapter 10) describes the many recent developments in humor about minorities and the kinds of humor that became popular through television sitcoms and professional comedians. The authors refer to these jokes as an example of “survival humor”, because they relieve the tension that is part of everyday life, which includes becoming acquainted not only with different people but also with new customs and technologies. Humor in its broad sense, including irony, sarcasm, satire, and grotesque, is an important reflective and critical tool of culture, and therefore it is widely represented throughout history.

Chapter 11 “Journalism” focuses on the idea that the existence of social media covers all the news, but still local papers attempt to put some comic strips relying on both the kind of humor that grows out of daily life and out of national and world politics. From a communications approach, messages of humor often require individuals to have at least some prior knowledge of the subject matter being discussed. They are more readily accepted by those with shared knowledge and shared emotional constructs who can collectively decipher their meanings (Chiaro 1992, Oring 1992).

Chapter 12 “Law” talks about the genre of anti-lawyer jokes. They are popular because many people resent paying money to lawyers when they are already in some kind of trouble. Moreover, it reveals examples of reprinting of laws that are basically humorous.

In Chapter 13 “Linguistics” the authors focus on verbal humor, whether it is intentional or accidental. This section of the book is especially topical since linguists work with humor in many ways, because part of their training deals with learning about other languages and other cultures. This additional knowledge often lets them recognize the differences between accidental and purposely created humor and gives them more insight than most people have into the many meanings of sentences.

“Literature” (Chapter 14) shows different approaches to “literary humor” since there are as many different approaches to literature as there are people creating,

reading and interpreting literature. The authors give several examples of literary metaphor, literary allusions, gothic humor, ironic humor, Juvenalian satire, Horatian satire.

Chapter 15 “Medicine and Health” covers an important issue of using black humor as a form of coping behavior as well as paradoxical humor of medical discourse being a playful form of psychological resistance to the disease, particularly in critical situations. There exists a humour-health hypothesis according to which “there is a link between humour and health and currently that link is perceived to be a positive one which may occur by separate processes, giving rise to both direct and indirect relationships” (McCreddie & Wiggins 2008). Humour is “not about whether we can tell a joke or not: it is complex, challenging, context-dependent and an integral part of who we are and how we interact with others” (ibid.).

Chapter 16 “Music” continues the discussion of the idea of humor in professional discourse drawing the reader’s attention to the fact that many of the best comedians were first trained as musicians and continue using the skills they learned in their public performances. Even in serious and sad operas, composers often rely on music to provide comic relief.

In Chapter 17 “Names” the authors show how names can go through processes of generalization and/or specialization. They explore how the same name can have positive connotations for one person and negative connotations for someone else, proving the fact that proper names have national and cultural implications.

“The Performing Arts – Theater, Dance, and Music” (Chapter 18) continues speculating about the language of humor in this area. Artworks that make us smile and laugh are seen across galleries and art fairs. Laughing in front of an artwork can help, contributing to the joke of which the spectator can be the victim. Recognizing that humor and laughter are social activities also means acknowledging that they hold potential to break existing stereotypes.

Chapter 19 “Philosophy – Theories of Humor as a Philosophical Issue” focuses on varying philosophies about humor. The complexity of the problem makes philosophy an ideal locus for the study of humor. Philosophy is inherently interdisciplinary, since it is simply

the activity of critical reflection on what we know and on the meanings of the concepts we use. Philosophy serves as an incubator for theories of humor, working with input from all kinds of sources. Receptive to data of all kinds, philosophers critically examine and interpret what we learn in light of their particular reflections on some of the cognitive, emotional, and social aspects of being human (Bardon 2005: 462).

Chapter 20 “Physical Ed and Physical Humor” discusses the correlation between physical bodies and humor. The way our bodies move – clowns in circuses and cheerleaders and mascots at athletic events – make an audience smile or respond in some other positive way.

In Chapter 21 “Political Humor”, the focus then shifts to political communication that utilizes humor, offering cognitive and affective pleasures that often lead to laughter. This approach aims to enhance information dissemination, promote distinction, and evoke sympathetic political engagement with a specific ideological or distributive agenda, as opposed to the agenda of rivals. Political humor does not use political subjects primarily as means for amusement but rather is substantial political action conducted through amusing means (Basu & Zekavat 2021). Scholars stress the conservative ways in which political humor relies upon and redoubles existing shared expectations at the expense of errant targets, they also affirm the radical ways in which it can sponsor cognitive shifts and thereby liberate human energies (see Billig 2005, Lockyer & Pickering 2005).

“Psychology” (Chapter 22) centers around the personality of Sigmund Freud, the father of psychoanalysis, who came up with the idea that telling and responding to jokes looks like dreaming. A modern scholar, John Morreall, specialist in humor, talks about “Comic Vision” of life vs. “Tragic Vision” of life (Morreall 1999).

Chapter 23 “Religion” explains viewing religion and mythology in Western culture: with myths people feel free to create and enjoy humor, while with religion most people have ambivalent feelings and are not quite sure what territory is permissible for joking.

Chapter 24 ‘Rhetoric and Composition’ treats writing related to obituary and funeral humor, which is mostly found in the obituaries of celebrities. It also treats other kinds of humor that are related to religion and maybe to death.

Chapter 25 “Sociology” discusses the idea of humor as a quintessentially social phenomenon. Jokes and other humorous utterances are “a form of communication that is usually shared in social interaction. These humorous utterances are socially and culturally shaped, and often quite particular to a specific time and place. The topics and themes people joke about are generally central to the social, cultural, and moral order of a society or a social group” (Kuipers 2008).

The book is well-researched and covers the ground of language of humor at a very high level. In the 25 chapters, all the main issues revolving around the language of humor are carefully and vividly analyzed, always with reference to the relevant literature and with numerous examples. The book makes a strong contribution to the fields of pragmatics, philosophy, linguistics, mass media, gender studies, literature, political discourse, and intercultural communication. The topic is valuable, the research is admirable, and the authors’ knowledge is impressive.

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