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Zoltán Kövecses: *Metaphor and Emotion: Language, Culture, and Body in Human Feeling*. Cambridge University Press & Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme Paris. 2003. 223 pp.

Before I take up a more detailed review of the book contents, let us notice that the review itself follows the second edition of the work originally published originally in 2000 by the same publisher. This may not be an unimportant piece of information, since it may give us a sense of the value the publisher puts on this, it turns out, invaluable piece of reference work which presents a rewarding and suggestive reading material not only for (cognitive) linguists, but for philosophers, psychologists and anyone eager to look in more detail at the relative place of language, body and culture in the constitution of human emotions.

The review itself might be introduced by a general impression about the structural coherence and self-discipline the author imposes upon himself, which is necessary in presenting such a complex subject matter in a straightforward and systematic manner. Structurally, what marks off this piece of cognitive writing from many others is its clear guidance through most important aspects of emotion and metaphor research Kövecses has undertaken. Essentially, this guidance refers to the Questions and Answers structure which the author thoroughly exploits in all the book's chapters and which steers the reader through the material in the form of an intriguing introduction structured around universally posed questions which prompted the author himself to the specific model of research described. What follows is a minutely constructed set of examples structured around the major topic of metaphorical mappings in the focus of the particular question supported by substantial analyses of all points at issue and finally the synthesis with the proposed answers which ensue from this research, and which, very frequently, remain open (e.g. on many occasions the author clashes with the question of universality of emotion metaphors and their dependence on different cultural contexts, the topic he takes up in chapters 8 and 9 of the book but which he exhaustively studied and presented in his most recent work *Metaphor in Culture: Universality and Variation* (2005)). Throughout the book, however, Kövecses holds firmly to his major goal which he himself formulates in the preface to this book in the following way:

... I want to bring together three threads of emotion research into a coherent whole that avoids the weaknesses of each pursued separately. The three threads include the research done on how the human body behaves in an emotional state, the research on how cultural and social factors influence and shape emotional experiences, and the research on emotional language from a cognitive linguistic perspective. In other words, my major goal is to provide a new synthesis in the study of emotion, that is, to bring together language, culture, and body in such a way that we get a relatively complete and integrated account of emotional phenomena in human beings. (Preface, xii)

Another specific aspect of Kövecses's work is the interdisciplinarity of his approach, which has become the standard in the current description of language as a unique mental tool for reflecting the abstract and elusive concepts such are, in the case of the work under scrutiny, emotions. Interdisciplinarity may be deemed the only acceptable approach to this highly complex topic since the expression of emotion, being a unique feature of human existence, especially when compared to non-human, animal communication and taking into account its *speaking* i.e. expressive component, may be traced as an essential link between disciplinary diverse scientific branches such are physiology, psychology, anthropology and last, but not least, linguistics. Though the book's emphasis is firmly on linguistic analysis, Zoltán Kövecses demonstrates how cultural aspects, metaphorical language, and human physiology are part of an integrated system which is the focal point of, essentially, cognitive linguistic research. This book challenges the simplistic division between the body and culture by stressing how human emotions are to a large extent construed from individuals' embodied experiences in different cultural settings and as such universally recognized and applied.

The essential element in the interdisciplinary approach Kövecses takes up in most of his works on emotions turns out to be metaphor, i.e. its elaboration as a highly productive cognitive mechanism which links the experiential basis of human existence with its highly intellectual spheres such as understanding and communicating the world around us. This book is a natural path leading from Kövecses's earlier accounts on metaphor and emotion (1986, 1991, and 2000) and, consequently, the most comprehensive one since it does respect almost all approaches dedicated to the study of emotion. The distinctive feature this book provides us with is its convincing network of cause-effect relationships emotion and metaphor establish in connecting basic experience of physical reactions of the human body and how they influence and shape the linguistic expression. The classic view of this linguistic expression is its figurative domain, which initially provided links to the domain of literature and poetic expression, but at the same time created a conceptual cage with its traditional and restrictive categories. However, the breaking point in the view of figurative language was the theory of

conceptual metaphor (Lakoff 1987), and Kövecses, being one of its founders (his study of anger, pride and love metaphors from 1986 and his cooperation with Lakoff on the case study of anger and lust in *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things* are the foundation stone for the series of equally successful studies of other aspects of emotion), most fervent advocates and most productive authors dealing with this subject, pressed the domain of figurative into the realm of everyday human communication, discovering, more specifically, its roots in the folk theory of emotions.

Another form of this specific integrational effort might be noticed in his linking to different tendencies in the cognitive theory of language, so that along with his major interest in the link between metaphor and emotion reflected in his early works (1986, in Lakoff 1987) and his writings on the metonymic background for metaphor and emotions (Kövecses & Radden 1998, Kövecses 2000), the frame within which he operates in this particular book is Talmy's theory of force dynamics. At that point he offers a fine-grained image of possible links between Lakoff's EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor and the pervading master metaphor EMOTION IS FORCE, which is basically inspired by Talmy's theory on force dynamics. This connection is at the same time crucial to understanding Kövecses's claim that this book is not a summary of his earlier work on metaphor and emotion, but a step forward in grasping the common denominator to particular emotion concepts and metaphors dealt with in his other accounts on this specific topic or, if taken as separate subjects, topics.

The thesis-antithesis approach is visible in his approach to folk theory and how it reflects the currents in studying emotions today, especially when opposed to some scholarly approaches such as psychological, psycholinguistic, anthropological etc. and is one important point of interest Kövecses takes up and perpetually follows throughout his book. It is an important prompt for examining the conceptualization of emotions as states, as done in chapter 4 where he compares his five stage cognitive model in the folk theory of emotions with the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor as proposed by Lakoff (1990) and examines how different aspects of conceptualizing emotions as states, events, actions and passions may be activated all at the same time because the folk theory model allows several different subcategorizations of metaphors based on the universal nature of physiological processes associated with emotional experiences. The synthesis of these points is offered in chapter 7 and is to be discussed below.

Among some of the links with earlier works on emotions Kövecses (p. 48) establishes one with Wierzbicka's "semantic primitives" concluding in the chapter on source domains for emotion metaphors (Chapter 3) that there is correspondence between her five basic categories of semantic primitives (mental

predicates; action, event, movement; existence, life; evaluators; and intensifier) and some of the emotion concepts presented as target domains which can be universally applied (except for “control”, “difficulty” and “harm” for which Kövecses suggest ascribing them the aura of Western/Anglo-Saxon emotion control as a sort of a damage control relationship). Another link can be seen in his response to Naomi Quinn’s claim that metaphors reflect cultural models is centred around the theory that metaphors, indeed, *constitute* the cultural model, the idea that is richly illustrated in chapter 7 which discusses different aspects of folk and expert theories of emotion.

The above mentioned structural coherence does not prevent the reader to explore each chapter individually, excerpting particular segments from a continuum minutely preserved by a major undertow of thought. Separate chapters present a chunk of the essential background information on each particular topic and at the same time bind well with every further point made in cohesion with the main topic of the relationship between metaphor and emotion. The contents comprise the following chapters: 1. Language and emotion concepts; 2. Metaphor of emotion; 3. Emotion metaphors: are they unique to the emotions?; 4. Events and emotions: the subcategorization of emotions; 5. The force of emotion; 6. Emotions and relationships; 7. Folk versus expert theories of emotion; 8. Universality in the conceptualization of emotion; 9. Cultural variation in the conceptualization of emotion; 10. Emotion language: a new synthesis, so we may as well attempt at presenting each chapter in turn with some of their essential ideas and conclusions.

The first chapter kicks off in a familiar Q&A style offering an overview of recent theories of emotion language including the relationship between the basic emotion terms and their figurative linguistic representation in the form of metaphors and metonymies. It presents us with some basic terminology essential in the study of emotion such are types of emotion language (expressive vs. descriptive; literal vs. figurative; within the literal realm the basic and nonbasic group are distinguished and metaphor and metonymy as the already mentioned figurative level). The other aspect of emotion metaphor research is the relationship of meaning and emotion so that several distinct scholarly views of this relationship are presented, e.g. the “Label” view, the “Core Meaning” view, one of the most intriguing and elaborated approaches, the so called “Prototypical” view with the most influential reconstruction in the form of scenarios or prototypical cognitive models associated with e.g. *anger, fear, love*. Closely connected to this one is the social-constructionist view of emotion concepts to which Kövecses opposes his “Embodied Cultural Prototype” view which blends the social and cultural environment and the physiological functioning of the human body. Further points elaborated later in the chapters that follow are the questions of universal-

ity and prototypicality of emotion concepts and corresponding metaphorical mappings as well as the opposition or suggested close connection between lay and scientific views of emotion concepts.

Chapter 2 offers an extensive overview of conceptual metaphors connected to some basic emotion concepts such as *anger, fear, happiness, sadness, love* etc. with lists of particular metaphorical mappings and linguistic expressions for each individual emotion (NB a very useful metaphor and metonymy index at the end of the book) and chapter 3 asks the question of whether there are any source domains unique to the conceptualization of the emotion domain. After a careful analysis of source domains and the emotions to which they apply, the author offers some clearly recognizable subgroups of those source domains which apply to *all* emotions (among which stand out e.g. *container* as a major source domain for conceptualizing the human body as the source of emotions and *natural and physical force* domains which served as a basis for the thematic core of force dynamic interpretation of emotion metaphors), source domains that apply to *some* emotions or to *one* individual emotion. Within the listed source domains certain elemental aspects of the domains were elicited, so that the highlighted functions were e.g. *existence, intensity, passivity, control* etc. which offer a partial sense of uniqueness of emotion domains, but with Kövecses's tentative answer that there are no emotion specific domains, which as an imminent consequence has the suggestion that there is a general notion of applying same domains to different levels and types of abstract concepts of which emotions are only a fragment.

The EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor of emotions is elaborated in the 4th chapter with its submetaphors as suggested by Lakoff (1990) e.g. STATES ARE LOCATIONS (*I'm in love*), DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOTION (*She's weighed down by her sadness*) etc. The established network of this master metaphor branches into several subsumed emotion metaphors and the ensuing sub-categorization of metaphors provides a conclusion that for an average user of English and probably all other languages ensues such a state of affairs that when we think and talk about emotions, we think and talk about them as states, events, actions and passion all at the same time.

In chapter 5 Kövecses demonstrates the coherent structure of the so called "lay view" or "folk model" of emotions exposing its internal structure as essentially consistent with Talmy's FORCE schema reshaping the central idea by which we view emotions as forces that turn a "rational" self into an "irrational" one or as antagonistic forces that strive to distort the balance within the rational self. The single master metaphor (namely, the metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FORCES) is the result of the converging submetaphors such AS EMOTION IS AN OPPONENT OR

EMOTION IS INSANITY. Stressing that the FORCE schema is one of the basic image schemas that structures the human conceptual system and using the basic factors in the schema, Kövecses successfully justifies the Agonist-Antagonist organization of emotion metaphors with the skeletal structure: cause of emotion → emotion → response.

The findings in chapter 5 are contrasted in the following one with the case of human relationships, such as love, marriage, and friendship and the “dramatic differences” are revealed in the sense that there is a set of simpler, nonabstract concepts as source domains, e.g. physical objects (one ‘*makes* friends/love’, ‘*holds/loses* friendship’), living organism (‘love/friendship can be *grown/can mature*’). This is an interesting finding since it establishes a relation between the rational self, which plays a very important role in the conceptualization of relationships, and the non-rational aspect of emotions. Relationships are, thus, recognized as a more complex form of human behaviour with a more rational handling of abstract concepts, and, consequently, the COMPLEX SYSTEMS metaphor of relationships can be established.

Chapter 7 discusses the nature of folk models that structure emotion concepts and argues that they are inherently metaphorical in the sense that their metaphorical character structures the specific cultural model of a particular society (culture). Another issue the same chapter deals with is how the folk models of emotion are related to expert or scientific theories of emotion. Examining the concept of love through its related metaphors, metonymies and “related concepts” (i.e. “...literal general knowledge based on our conception(s) of love.”) (p. 125) Kövecses contrasts them with certain philosophical, psychoanalytical and physiological theories on the emergence of emotions. The tentative conclusion is that some of the expert theories are very closely related to some version of folk psychology but a more detailed research into the development of both folk theory and diverse expert theories is necessary in order to track all the possible converging and diverging points.

The question whether the conceptualization of emotions is universal or culture-specific is revealed through a detailed investigation of metaphor corpora in several unrelated languages (English, Chinese, Japanese, Hungarian, Wolof, Zulu, etc.) in chapters 8 and 9. What emerged is that the actual physiology of the human body is the central issue around which the universality of emotion metaphors is organised. The linguistic material is a reflection of the profoundly experientially based conceptual material in all languages under study so that both of the features share a basic image-schematic structure, but the differences arise when the expressive part of the model is examined. This issue is taken up in chapter 9 which discusses the cross-linguistic variation where some interesting

findings are presented, so that, e.g. the Western model of Agonist-Antagonist schema of emotions as opponents imposing control over the experiencer is opposed to the Japanese and Chinese conceptual models which require a higher degree of control over emotions, which, on the other hand, reflect and construe the main distinguishing features of these cultures.

The final chapter concentrates around the question: “Why metaphor matters?” accentuating the strong link between the folk theory with certain expert emotional theories. The domains of emotion, morality and thought as three major faculties of mind are put into the foreground in order to show their coherent structure within a large metaphorical system: the FORCE SYSTEM. It offers a new synthesis, binding well with the general flavour of this book, namely, a highly integrative character of Kövecses’s approach to two such demanding topics such are metaphor and emotions.

One of the major merits that I see in *Metaphor and Emotion* is the fact that we are presented with a universally acceptable account of some of the key issues in the domain of emotion research, i.e. we have a quite detailed cross-linguistic study of the most essential aspects of how emotions are conceptualized across languages and cultures, so that a centralized Anglo-American and Western European character of the topic has been successfully avoided. Less than seldom can we find such an intricate network of such diverse issues where readers from all of walks of life can trace points of particular interest. This renders it more than an invaluable piece of current work in cognitive linguistics, a branch of linguistics which seems to be able to cover almost all intangible aspects of both human language and human existence in general.

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