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SELECTED CONSTRUCTIONS WITH NOUNS DENOTING EMOTIONS AND METAPHORS OF EMOTIONS IN CZECH[1]

ABSTRACT: The paper explores the relationship between constructions that include emotion nouns and the metaphorical conceptualization of emotions in Czech. It focuses on selected nouns that denote negative emotions (anger: *vztek*, *zlost*, *hněv*, *amok*; fear: *strach*, *úzkost*, *panika*; dislike: *nelibost, nechuť*), verbs that take these nouns as subjects or objects (and to some extent on other types of verbal complementation). Similarities and differences were found in the preferred types of construction for the given emotions, in the repertoire of verbs in these constructions, and in associated metaphors. However, the results can only partially be explained by metaphorical processes and by semantic factors such as the intensity or "activity" of the emotion. The research uses valency theory and a cognitive approach to language and is based on data from the synchronic corpus of written Czech SYN2015.

KEYWORDS: cognitive linguistics, emotion nouns, metaphorical conceptualization, valency

KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA: čeština, substantiva označující emoce, kognitivní lingvistika, metaforická konceptualizace, valence

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: rzeczowniki emotywne, językoznawstwo kognitywne, konceptualizacja metaforyczna, walencja

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1. Introduction

The relationship between "form" (or "grammar") and meaning (or conceptualization) is one of the most important topics in the cognitive approach to language. Differences in grammatical form can reflect differences in meaning (e.g. Fillmore 1970), and the relationship between grammar and meaning can be iconic (e.g. Wierzbicka 1988). The relationship between "form" and meaning is important in valency (e.g. Balej, Tanacković Faletar 2011; Kyseľová, Ivanová 2013); semantics also plays a role in collocations of emotion nouns (Mostovaja 1998).

Here I combine a valency theory and a cognitive approach to language to analyse verbal constructions with a selection of emotion nouns in contemporary Czech. I have chosen several terms that denote anger, fear, and dislike, and, using data from the Czech National Corpus, I analyse constructions where these nouns function as subjects or objects (and to some extent also other types of verbal complementation, see 1.3). Due to the limited scope of this article, I leave aside other important types of constructions (e.g. with emotion nouns in the position of attributes or adjuncts).

I focus on the following questions: In which type of constructions do the selected nouns appear (2.1)? Which verbs take the given emotion nouns as subjects and which as objects (2.2–2.3)? What are the differences between metaphorical expressions with nouns which denote different types of emotion or with nouns which denote the same emotion (2.4)? My aim is to trace those differences that could be related to semantics and to the way speakers of Czech "understand" particular emotions. This is a complex topic, so I have largely limited the research to metaphors, a subject which is central to cognitive research concerning emotions (e.g. Kövecses 1986; 2000).

1.1. Emotions

Emotions are a complex phenomenon (e.g. Atkinsonová et al. 1985; Nakonečný 1995, pp. 18–29) interwoven with physical and psychological experience and influenced by culture. Kövecses (2000, pp. 186–189) suggests that the psychological and physical experience is probably universal, but there is some culturally determined content as well. Some theories suppose the existence of primary emotions, others are based on features or dimensions (e.g. Atkinsonová et al. 1995, p. 441; Nakonečný 1995, pp. 18–29; Wierzbicka 1992 in cognitive research; Belaj, Tanacković Faletar 2011 in verbal valency).

For the emotions I will be analysing (anger, fear, dislike), the following features are relevant:

a) positive or negative evaluation (the emotions analysed here are typically negative, but positive connotations may appear too; cf. Bednaříková 2003);
b) the ability to activate energy or deprive a person of it (anger typically "activates" energy, fear deprives of energy, dislike seems more neutral);
c) intensity (anger is typically strong, dislike is weaker, the strength of fear varies);
d) the temporal dimension (fear and anger may last for various lengths of time, frenzy and panic are typically short-lived, dislike does not usually appear in short bursts);
e) salience of the beginning and/or the end (e.g. sudden outbursts versus gradual growth).

In my analysis, I see the above mentioned features as qualities that could potentially influence the conceptualization of emotions and (consequently) their linguistic expression. I therefore look for the relationship between the above mentioned features of emotions and selected features of constructions which involve the corresponding emotion nouns. (For example, I seek to find out whether an emotion seen as "activating energy" tends to be linguistically constructed as a "subject", which is a position typical for "active" participants etc.; see e.g. 2.2; cf. e.g. Lakoff 1987, pp. 64–67). However, the above listed features represent an open set, and other features (cf. e.g. Wierzbicka 1992) may be relevant for the choice of a particular linguistic form as well. Analyses that seek to find correspondences between linguistic form and meaning, conceptualization or various extra-linguistic factors are not new within the cognitive approach to language (see above).

1.2. Emotion nouns

The vocabulary describing negative emotions is especially rich (cf. tens of examples in Klégr 2007), so I have limited my analysis to selected terms for anger (*zlost* – anger; *vztek* – rage, fury; *hněv* – anger, wrath; *amok* – frenzy), fear (*strach* – fear; *úzkost* – anxiety; *panika* – panic) and dislike (*nelibost* – displeasure; *nechuť* – dislike). Anger and fear are considered primary emotions; dislike can be seen as a weaker version of the primary emotion disgust (cf. Atkinsonová et al. 1995, p. 441). The chosen emotions differ in various respects (see 1.1), and I expect this fact to influence both the metaphors and the constructions in which the corresponding nouns participate.

The choice of particular nouns was motivated by two factors: first, I wanted to include basic terms[2] for the given emotions, and then I added several more

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[2]   These terms should represent central (prototypical) members of the given categories and fulfil criteria typical for central members, such as productivity, the unified related image, the first meaning criterion, the fact that they are used to define other elements of the category etc. (cf. Mikołajczuk 1999, esp. pp. 61–65 and 58). Cf. Bednaříková (2003) or entries chosen by Klégr (2007).

specific and less prototypical examples for comparison[3]. *Zlost*, *hněv,* and *vztek* are central expressions for anger in Czech, but it is not easy to decide which is the basic one (cf. Bednaříková 2003). *Strach* and *úzkost* are basic expressions for fear. Psychology and psychiatry usually see fear and anxiety as different, but folk theories may conflate them (e.g. Saicová Římalová 2006). *Panika* and *amok* originate in scientific terminology, but they are also used for specific cases of anger (*amok*) or fear (*panika*) in everyday Czech. *Nelibost* and *nechuť* denote negative feelings, though they may sometimes be more like attitudes than typical emotions. The chosen nouns are abstract and are typically used in the singular; plural forms of *úzkost* and *strach* may appear, but with a modified meaning.

1.3. Data and methods

I limit my analysis to constructions where the given emotion nouns are the grammatical subject or object. I must admit that I use the term "object" relatively broadly, because I have decided to include not only typical objects, but also some less typical cases (e.g. constructions with verbs like *mít* 'to have' or *dostat* 'to get' where the verb loses part of its lexical meaning) or even adjuncts (e.g. *dostat se do amoku* 'to get into frenzy', *pramenit ze zlosti* 'to stem from anger') into the analysis. This decision is motivated by the fuzzy boundary between individual types of verbal complementation and by the fact that the metaphorical conceptualization forms a continuum in such cases[4]. For the lack of a more suitable short term, I still use the term "object" for this syntactically slightly heterogeneous group. I analyse constructions that describe emotions as they are experienced by the experiencer or as they are observed in others, predominantly with human experiencers and in the active voice.

The data for the analysis were retrieved from the SYN2015 corpus of the Czech National Corpus (Křen et al. 2015)[5], which contains the following numbers of instances of each lemma: *vztek* 3,375; *hněv* 2,280; *zlost* 1,270; *amok* 94; *strach* 16,154;[6] *úzkost* 2,721; *panika* 1,995; *nechuť* 753; *nelibost* 448. *Strach* is by far the most frequent. *Vztek* is the most frequent among the three candidates for

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[3]   Cf. possible prototype effects and potentially different behaviour of prototypical and less typical members of a category (e.g. Lakoff 1987, pp. 58–67).

[4]   Cf. the metaphorical understanding of emotions as objects and material, or containers and places, as well as examples such as *dostat amok* 'to get frenzy' or *dostat se do amoku* 'to get oneself into frenzy'.

[5]   SYN2015 is a representative referential corpus of contemporary written Czech. It contains 100 million words and is split equally between fiction, non-fiction, and journalistic texts.

[6]   This number is the result of a query type based on "lemma", the query type "basic" yields 16,351 instances.

basic expressions for anger. Within the dislike group, *nechuť* is more frequent than *nelibost*.

For a more detailed analysis, I used random samples of 200 instances of each noun; in the case of *amok*, all 94 instances were used. I am aware that the size of some samples (especially the sample for *strach*) is small in relation to the total number of instances in the corpus, and that a more extensive study would be necessary to support the validity of the presented analysis. As a tentative illustration of the overall picture, I have compared the results of my analysis (see below) with an overview of the behaviour of the given nouns as it is presented in the application *Word at a Glance*[7] from the Czech National Corpus. This comparison shows that my analysis is based on a repertoire of verbs that is much richer than the repertoire of the most important verbal collocations suggested by *Word at a Glance*, and that the analysis has captured all the important verbal collocation suggested by this application, with the exception of *vzplanout* in combination with *hněv* and *vybíjet* in combination with *zlost*[8]. *Word at a Glance* also indicates that for some nouns (e.g. *panika*), verbal collocations seem to be central, while other nouns may prefer collocations with other word classes (e.g. *úzkost* with nouns). This suggests that constructions with verbs may not be equally important for all the analysed nouns. Further analysis of other types of constructions is necessary.

In the next step, I eliminated those instances that were not suitable for the analysis (e.g. constructions where the noun functions as an adjunct or an attribute, or meta-communicative utterances; see 2.1). In the case of *strach* and *úzkost*, only constructions with singular forms were used. Then, the remaining constructions were analysed mostly qualitatively. I have focused on verbs and their semantics, as verbs are crucial elements of constructions[9]. The analysis of metaphors is based on the "classic" version of the conceptual metaphor theory (e.g. Lakoff, Johnson 1980), which sees linguistic metaphors as related to a metaphorical structure of human mind (Lakoff, Johnson 1980, p. 6). This approach accounts for all types of metaphors, including various lexicalized cases[10], because they all point towards the main metaphorical mapping process and towards

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[7]   Cf. https://www.korpus.cz/slovo-v-kostce/.

[8]   *Word at a Glance* lists the following verbal collocations among the first ten collocations for each noun: *zlost – vylévat, vybíjet, vylít, vybít, popadnout; vztek – popadnout, lomcovat, vybít; hněv – vzplanout; amok – popadnout; strach – nahánět, nahnat, mít, překonat, dostat; úzkost – přepadnout, sevřít; panika – propadat, zachvátit, propadnout, zmocnit, zmocňovat, vypuknout, vyvolat, podlehnout; nelibost – vzbudit, vyvolat; nechuť – překonat, cítit.*

[9]   The analysed constructions often contain syntactic elements other than the subject, the object, and the verb (e.g. components expressing cause or target), but these were necessarily left out in this study.

[10]   Cf. some combinations with *mít* 'to have', *dostat* 'to get' or *přejít* 'to pass over' in the presented data.

"understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff, Johnson 1980, p. 5). The choice of source domains and metaphors for emotions draws on selected previous analyses of metaphors of emotion (especially Kövecses 2000, but also Bednaříková 2003; Lakoff 1987, pp. 380–415; Mikołajczuk 1999, pp. 219–240).

2. Results

I analysed the types of construction the given nouns participated in (2.1), and I observed whether the nouns exhibited any preference for the position of subject or object (2.2). In the analysed constructions, the nouns combine with a verbal repertoire of varying size (2.3), and are connected with a varying repertoire of metaphors (2.4).

2.1. Constructions with emotion nouns

In contemporary Czech, the given emotion nouns appear in various types of constructions and can fulfil several different syntactic functions: subject (e.g. *rostla v něm zlost* 'anger was growing inside him'), object (*cítil zlost* 'he felt anger'), various complements or adjuncts denoting the cause, effect or accompanying circumstances (e.g. *udělat něco ve zlosti* 'to do something in anger'). They are also attributes in noun phrases (e.g. *záchvat vzteku* 'a fit of anger') and they appear in meta-communicative functions (e.g. in various definitions of emotions). Each noun may "prefer" different types of constructions (see below).

The constructions can denote the emotion as experienced by the experiencer (*cítil vztek* 'he felt anger') or as observed in others (*viděl v jejích očích strach* 'he saw fear in her eyes'). The experiencer of the emotion can be constructed metonymically (e.g. a place for its inhabitants: *Město zachvátila panika* 'Panic has engulfed the city'), and the noun can also be used metonymically for various effects or consequences of the corresponding emotion (e.g. *panika* for panic or irrational behaviour). Emotion nouns can combine with various attributes that may differ in individual nouns (e.g. *hluboký* 'deep' is typical for anxiety, but it is not used with anger).

2.2. Constructions with emotion nouns as the subject or the object[11]

The analysed samples contained different numbers of constructions with the analysed emotion nouns in the subject or object position (Table 1).

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[11]   See 1.3 for a broad delimitation of "object".

Noun	Size of the random sample	Number of constructions with the noun as subject or object	Number of constructions with the noun as subject	Number of constructions with the noun as object
Zlost	200	95 (45.7%)	26	69 (60A, 3G, 5D, 1I)
Vztek	200	91 (45.5%)	28	63 (57A, 1G, 1D, 4I)
Hněv	200	108 (54.0%)	49	59 (47A, 3G, 5D, 4I)
Amok	94	50 (53.2%)	41	9 (6A, 2G, 1D)
Strach	200	123 (61.5%)	24	99 (97A, 1D, 1I)
Úzkost	200	71 (35.5%)	32	39 (32A, 1G, 3D, 3I)
Panika	200	115 (57.5%)	56	59 (40A, 1G, 18D)
Nelibost	200	59 (29.5%)	2	57 (51A, 3D, 3I)
Nechuť	200	102 (51.0%)	40	62 (55A, 4G, 1D, 2L)

Table 1. Types of construction (A = accusative, D = dative, G = genitive, L = locative, I = instrumental)

I am aware that the samples are limited in size and that they come from written texts only, so I consider the numbers in Table 1 to be no more than a tentative illustration. Nevertheless, they may indicate some tendencies in the usage of the words and in the conceptualization of the given emotions.

For example, *vztek*, *zlost*, *hněv*, *amok*, and *nechuť* appear in the subject or object position in approximately half of the random sample (45–55%, column three in Table 1), *úzkost* and *nelibost* are used less frequently in these positions (less than 45%), and *strach* and *panika* more frequently (more than 55%). If we consider subject and object positions as central to sentence structure, Table 1 may indicate that individual nouns prefer more or less "central" positions in a sentence structure. This behaviour could depend on whether the corresponding emotion is seen by speakers as an essential component or as a "mere" circumstance of the given situation. However, no noun seems to be used only or predominantly as the subject or the object.

There are also differences in "preferences" for the subject and object positions (columns four and five in Table 1). *Hněv*, *úzkost* and *panika* are distributed approximately equally between the subject and object (45–55% of the analysed constructions). Most nouns (*vztek*, *zlost*, *strach*, *nechuť*, *nelibost*) appeared more frequently in the object position. The preference for the object position was strong with *strach* and seems almost exclusive in *nelibost*. Only *amok* was used more frequently (almost exclusively) as the subject.

If we seek to analyse the relationship between selected salient features of emotions (see 1.1), we could expect that features such as "active" would make an emotion (and the corresponding noun) a suitable candidate for the subject position; that is because Czech tends to see the active entity as an agent and to place the agent in the subject position. However, only one emotion (*amok*) out of those considered "active", "strong" or associated with energy (see 1.1 and 1.2) is almost exclusively constructed as the subject. Two emotions with similar characteristics (*hněv*, *panika*) are constructed as the subject in approximately half of the cases. *Vztek* and *zlost* (also representing "active" and "strong" emotions) tend to be used more frequently as the object. It may also be surprising that the frequency with which *úzkost* (which could be viewed as less active) appeared in the subject position is similar to that of *hněv* and *panika*[12]. There may be several reasons why emotion nouns only partly fulfil expectations concerning their usage in subject or object positions. One of these could be that emotions are not prototypical representatives of agents[13]; there may also be differences in preferred metaphorical conceptualization (2.4).

In the object position, the nouns are predominantly in the accusative; other cases (dative, genitive, locative, instrumental) are rare (column five in Table 1). Only *panika* is repeatedly used in the dative form, which is due to a relatively high frequency (14 cases) of combinations with the verbs *propadnout*, *propadat* ('to fall into, to forfeit'). Some studies (e.g. Balej, Tanacković Faletar 2011; Kyseľová, Ivanová 2013) seek possible semantic or conceptual motivation for the choice of the case form in similar constructions. As an illustration of this approach, I present a short sketch that applies Janda's (e.g. Janda 2002) cognitively based theory of case semantics to our data: The accusative case is the typical form of the direct object in Czech. Janda (2002, p. 45) associates it with the semantics of "destination". The given nouns seem to be treated as this "typical" kind of object. The group is not homogenous, however, and we can observe semantic variation based on different metaphors (cf. 2.4). The dative in *propadnout panice* and some other dative instances (e.g. *čelit hněvu* 'to face the anger'; *vzdorovat nelibosti* 'to resist the dislike') correspond to Janda's interpretation of dative as "a competitor" in combinations with words expressing matching forces, submission or domination (Janda 2002, p. 45). Most instances of the genitive case (e.g. *pramenit ze zlosti* 'to stem from anger', *zbavit se strachu* 'to get rid of fear') may be interpreted in accordance with Janda's interpretation of the genitive as a source (Janda 2002, p. 45). Some examples correspond to Janda's genitive of goal (*padat do hněvu* 'to fall into anger', closer to place than object). Emotion nouns in

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[12]   *Strach*, *nechuť* and *nelibost* are more frequently the object, which is in accordance with expectations based on qualities of the corresponding emotions.

[13]   Prototypical agents tend to be concrete, living, active, with their own will and energy, such as human beings (cf. Kyseľová 2017).

the instrumental case seem to be conceptualized either as "opponents" (*zápasit s nelibostí* 'to fight the dislike') or as something that fills the person (the metaphor of a liquid in a container, e.g. *naplňovat někoho úzkostí* 'to fill somebody with anxiety'). The example *trpět úzkostí* could be interpreted as a broadly defined instrumental of means. Locative forms are rare and are close to meta-comments (e.g. describing manifestations of emotion: *svědčit o nechuti* 'to indicate dislike').

2.3. The repertoire of verbs used with emotion nouns as subjects and objects[14]

The constructions with the analysed emotion nouns in the subject or object position contain a rich repertoire of verbs, but the size of the repertoire varies for each verb (see Table 2). Some nouns (e.g. *hněv*, *nechuť*, *vztek,* and *úzkost*) combine with a greater number of different verbs (sometimes sets of synonyms), while others (e.g. *amok*, *nelibost*, *strach*) appear with smaller sets of verbs.

Noun	Number of different verbs with the noun in the subject position	Number of different verbs with the noun in the object position	Total
Zlost	21	23	44
Vztek	27	30	57
Hněv	35	46	81
Amok	15	6	21
Strach	14	23	37
Úzkost	22	34	56
Panika	20	25	45
Nelibost	2	31	33
Nechuť	18	43	61

Table 2. Number of different verbs for each analysed noun in the subject and object position (perfective and imperfective verbs are counted as separate units)

Differences in the richness of the verbal repertoire can be interpreted in several ways. For example, some emotions may be more strongly conceptualized in a particular way, and this may lead to the tendency to combine them with a smaller set of verbs connected with this salient conceptualization. Some combinations can even be seen as idioms. A larger repertoire of verbs could mean the emotion

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14   See 1.3 for a broad delimitation of "object".

is conceptualized in a greater number of different ways, which causes a richer repertoire of verbs. The differences may be also related to other factors such as style (e.g. appearance in genres that require stylistic richness and creativity may stimulate greater use of synonyms).

Sometimes, the same verb can be used to construct a given emotion scenario (e.g. Kövecses 1986) from several perspectives. For example, a construction with *dostat*, *dostávat* 'to get' can refer to both the beginning and the final phases of the scenario: *dostat vztek* 'to become angry' versus *dostat ze sebe vztek* 'to get the anger out of oneself'. The verbs can also be causative (*zlost dostala někoho do nějaké situace* 'anger got somebody into some situation'). They construe most emotions as objects (see 2.4), but also (less frequently) as places (*dostat se do amoku* 'to get oneself into a frenzy'; typically not classified as objects).

In some cases, the same emotion can be seen from different perspectives with the help of different verbs. For example, someone feels *strach* 'fear' in constructions with *mít* ('to have'; *mít strach* 'to have fear'), while someone causes fear in others in constructions with *jít* ('to go'; *jde z něj strach* 'fear goes from him').

2.4. Metaphors

Many of the constructions with the given nouns in the subject or object position can be interpreted as metaphorical (see 1.3 as well). The repertoire of metaphors is relatively rich. Sometimes several metaphors merge in one construction (e.g. emotion as heat and as liquid in the construction with the verb *vřít* 'to boil'), and sometimes the boundary between metaphors is unclear. The analysis of metaphors is presented in two parts: the repertoire of salient metaphors identified in the data (2.4.1) and metaphors connected with repeated use of the same verb (2.4.2).

2.4.1. The repertoire of metaphors

The data contain examples of all the basic metaphors associated with negative emotions (e.g. Kövecses 1986; 2000): emotion conceptualized as liquid, heat or fire (e.g. *vylévá se* 'it pours out of', *vře* 'it boils'), as a living creature, including a plant or an animal (*roste* 'it grows', *budí se* 'it wakes up', *plodí* 'it gives fruit', *krotit* 'to tame'), an opponent or a force we fight with or which controls us (*popadl ho amok* 'a frenzy grabbed him'), or an illness or physical discomfort (*strach nám svírá hrdla* 'fear constricts our throats'). The data also contain metaphors of emotions as moving entities (*vkrádá se* 'it creeps in'), objects we can manipulate (*schovat* 'to hide') or places (*propadnout* 'to fall into'). Emotions are assigned various qualities, such as visibility (*spatřit* 'to see') or sound (*znít* 'to sound'). Metaphors found in the data are summarized in Table 3, together with selected examples of verbs.

	Metaphors with examples of verbs with the noun in the subject position	**Metaphors with examples of verbs with the noun in the object position**
Zlost	liquid, gas (*vzedmout se /e.g. v někom/, vypařit se*); heat (*kypět /e.g. v někom/*); living creature, plant, dangerous/harmful animal (*růst /e.g. v někom/, sžírat /někoho/, užírat /někoho/*); moving object (*přejít /někoho/, vjet /do někoho/, vkrádat se /e.g. do někoho, do něčích slov/*); active agent, opponent (*zapovídat /e.g. někomu něco/, popadnout /někoho/*)	liquid (*vylévat si /e.g. zlost na někom, něčem/*; place (?)) (*propadnout /e.g. propadl své zlosti/*); object (*mít, dostat*); source (*pramenit /ze zlosti/*); opponent, enemy (*ovládat, podlehnout*); electricity (*sršet /e.g. někdo sršel zlostí/*); visible (*spatřit /e.g. spatřil v jejích očích zlost/*)
Vztek	liquid, gas (*rozplynout se, vyprchat*); living creature, plant, human (*umřít, narůstat, mluvit /e.g. to z něj mluvil vztek/*); moving entity (*padnout /e.g. na někoho/, vjet /e.g. do někoho/, přecházet /e.g. někoho/*); active agent, opponent, force (*popadnout /někoho/, cloumat /někým/, lomcovat /někým/, zkřivit /e.g. někomu tvář/, dusit /někoho/, popohánět /někoho/, přemoct /někoho/*); accumulating (*hromadit se /v někom/*); with sound qualities (*zvonit, zasyčet /e.g. v něčím hlase/*)	liquid, gas (*ventilovat, přimíchávat*); hot liquid (*vřít /e.g. vřel vztekem/*); living creature (*živit; dusit*); object (*mít, dostat*); moving entity (*obrátit /e.g. obrátil svůj vztek na ni/*); enemy, force, opponent (*ovládnout, bojovat /se vztekem/, potlačovat, podněcovat, odrážet*); electricity (*vybíjet si /e.g. vztek na něčem/*); edible (*spolknout(?)*); visible (*vidět /e.g. vztek v něčí tváři/*)
Hněv	liquid, gas (*rozplynout se, šířit se*); heat, fire (*sálat /z někoho/; vzplanout /e.g. proti nim vzplane můj hněv/*); living creature (speaking: *pravit /e.g. tvůj hněv zas praví: „Vrať se!"/*); mental illness (*posednout /někoho/*); moving entity (*dopadat, dopadnout /e.g. na někoho/, obrátit se, otočit se /e.g. proti někomu/, vrátil se, odcházet, spadnout /e.g. z někoho/, ustoupit*); active agent, opponent, governor, force (*ovládnout /někoho/, zmocnit se /někoho/, svářet se /v někom s něčím/, převládnout /e.g. v něčím chování/, sílit /v někom/*); electricity (*sršet /e.g. z hlasu mu sršel spravedlivý hněv/*); qualities: dirty	heat, fire (*zchladit, roznítit, vzplanout /e.g. někdo vzplanul hněvem/*); (wild) animal (*krotit, chovat*); food (?) (*zažívat*); object (*uschovat, mít, skrýt*); moving entity (*obrátit /e.g. obrátit svůj hněv proti něčemu, někomu/; dát průchod /hněvu/*); force, opponent, partner (*potlačit, vyprovokovat, zvládnout, čelit /e.g. něčímu hněvu/, bát se /e.g. něčího hněvu/, (ne)setkat se /e.g. s něčím hněvem/, seznámit se /e.g. s něčím hněvem/*); hindrance (*vyhnout se /e.g. něčímu hněvu/*); electricity (*vybít si /e.g. vybít si hněv něčím/*); hearing (*vyvolat /e.g. něco vyvolalo v někom hněv/*)

	Metaphors with examples of verbs with the noun in the subject position	Metaphors with examples of verbs with the noun in the object position
	(*očistit* /e.g. *jako by mě ten prudký hněv očistil ode všeho zlého*), sound (*odeznít*), colour (*šednout* /e.g. *hněv zástupů šedne/*), visible (*zmizet*)	
Amok	(mental) illness (*postihnout* /*někoho/, posednout, posedat* /*někoho/*); moving entity (*vjet* /*do někoho/, sednout /na někoho/, přejít /někoho/*); active agent, governor (*popadnout, popadat* /*někoho/, chytit, chytnout /někoho/, zmocnit se /někoho/, pustit* /*někoho/*); temporal limit (*pominout*)	wild animal (*zkrotit*); object (*mít, dostat*); place (not typical objects: *dostat se /do amoku/; propadnout* /e.g. *propadli amoku/*)
Strach	moving entity (*jít /z někoho/; přecházet /někoho/, spadnout* /*na někoho/; vytrácet se* (?)); active agent, governor, opponent with negative effects on experiencer (*popadnout /někoho/, brzdit* /*někoho/, svírat /někoho/, objímat* /*někoho/, děsit /někoho/*); temporal limit (*pominout*); spatial qualities (*pojmout /někoho/, rozvinout se*)	liquid or solid material (*naplnit* /e.g. *podivná příhoda naplnila Vsetín strachem/*); living creature (*živit, budit*); place (*propadat* /e.g. *každou chvíli propadá strachu/*); object (*mít, dostat, dostávat, zdětit, osekat*); moving entity (*nahnat, nahánět* /e.g. *někdo, něco nahání strach někomu/, zahánět*); opponent, force (*potlačit, překonat, přemáhat, ovládat*); hearing (*vyvolávat* /e.g. *něco vyvolává strach v někom/*)
Úzkost	liquid, gas, solid material (*naplnit* /*někoho/, šířit se, vyplňovat* /e.g. *prázdno v někom/*); living creature (*růst*); moving entity (*motat se* /e.g. *okolo někoho/, stoupat /v někom/, vracet se, pronikat* /e.g. *do žil/*); hindrance (*postavit se* /e.g. *do cesty/*); active agent, opponent, harms the experiencer (*svírat, sevřít* /e.g. *někoho/, uchopit /e.g. něčí hrdlo/, zmocnit se /někoho/, zachvátit /někoho/, přepadnout* /*někoho/, zaplašit /něco/, vyštvat* /e.g. *někoho k počítači/, mučit* /*někoho/*, + illness: *sužovat*	liquid or solid material (*naplňovat* /e.g. *něco naplňuje někoho úzkostí/*); living creature (*vzbuzovat, rozumět* /e.g. *rozuměl téhle úzkosti/*); plant (*plodit*); suffering (*trpět /úzkostí/*); object (*oklepat, přenést, hníst, mít, zbavit se, zastírat*); food or experience (*zažívat, prožívat, zakusit*); moving entity (*zahnat*); opponent, hindrance, force (*čelit, překonat, umenšit* (?), *tlumit*); hearing (*vyvolat, vyvolávat*)

	Metaphors with examples of verbs with the noun in the subject position	Metaphors with examples of verbs with the noun in the object position
	/*někoho/*); heavy (*tížit /někoho/*); visibile (*zračit se /e.g. v něčích očích/*)	
Panika	liquid, gas (*zaplavovat /někoho/, rozlít se /e.g. do celého světa/, šířit se /e.g. panika se šíří/*); liquid in a container: *stoupat /e.g. v někom/*); moving entity (*ustoupit, prolétnout /někudy/*); active agent, force, governor, opponent, enemy, partner (*zmocnit se, zmocňovat se /někoho/, zachvátit* (?)*, zachvacovat* (?) */někoho/, přepadat, přepadnout /někoho/, donutit /e.g. někoho udělat něco/, zavládnout /e.g. někde/, přinést /někomu něco/, (ne)pomoci /e.g. panika nám nepomůže/*); sudden appearance (*vyhřeznout, propuknout, vypukat*); sound (*být slyšet /e.g. v něčím hlase/*)	liquid, gas (*šířit /paniku/*); living creature (*vzbudit*); evil (*zažehnat*); place (*propadat, propadnout /panice/*); object (*mít, dělat, vyrábět, vytvořit, zvýšit* (?)); enemy, opponent, force (*podléhat, podlehnout, působit, potlačit, zmírnit*); hindrance (*překonat*); engine (*nastartovat*); hearing (*vyvolat, vyvolávat*); sound (*rozpoznat* (?) */e.g. v něčím hlase paniku/*)
Nelibost	living creature (*probudit se*); sound qualities (*znít /e.g. v něčím hlase/*)	living creature (*vzbudit, vzbuzovat*); object (*zakrýt, pojmout* (?) */e.g. pojal vůči někomu nelibost/, sklidit*); moving entity (*dát průchod /nelibosti/*); hindrance (*vyhýbat se /nelibosti/*); enemy, opponent, partner, force (*zápasit /s nelibostí/, setkávat se /s nelibostí/, vzdorovat /nelibosti/, potlačit, zmírnit*); smell (*načichnout /nelibostí/*); hearing (*vyvolat, vyvolávat*); visible (*projevit, projevovat, dát najevo*)
Nechuť	liquid (*zaplavit /někoho/*); fire (*vzplát /v někom/*); living creature (*růst, vyvíjet se, soustředit se /na někoho, něco/, podepisovat se /na někom, něčem/, schovávat se /za něco/*); crystal material (*vykrystalizovat*); moving entity (*dostihnout /někoho/*); active agent, force, opponent,	liquid (*nasáknout /nechutí/*); living creature (*vzbuzovat, vzbudit*); plant (*vypěstovat si /e.g. vypěstoval si nechuť k něčemu/*); object (*mít, mívat, nést, skrývat*); place (not typical objects: *upadat /do nechuti/*); opponent (*pokořit*); hindrance (*překonat, narazit*

	Metaphors with examples of verbs with the noun in the subject position	Metaphors with examples of verbs with the noun in the object position
	enemy (*zmocnit se /někoho/, zničit /e.g. manželství/, spojovat /e.g. spojovala nás nechuť studovat/, umožnit /něco/*); visible (*projevovat se* (?) */e.g. v něčem, vůči něčemu/, zmizet*)	*/na nechuť/*); visible (*projevit, projevovat, dát najevo*)

Table 3. Metaphors of emotions in constructions with emotion nouns in the subject and object position, with selected examples of verbs (information in slashes // gives more information about the context).

Table 3 demonstrates that the repertoire of metaphors is to a varying extent specific to each of the three types of emotion (anger, fear, dislike), but also characteristic to individual nouns within each group. This could signal how Czech speakers understand the given emotions. For example, the metaphor of heat (hot liquid, fire etc.) appeared in data for anger, but not for fear. This is an expected result, because anger tends to be seen as more "active" and is associated with energy (which corresponds well to the human experience of heat or fire), while fear is seen as an emotion that saps energy. However, within the group denoting anger, only *vztek*, *zlost*, and *hněv* are conceptualized on the basis of the metaphors of heat or fire. The absence of this type of metaphor for *amok* might signal that *amok* is seen as qualitatively different from "basic" types of anger. It may also be interesting to note that in the group for dislike, the heat metaphor was found in data for *nechuť* but not for *nelibost*. This could indicate that *nechuť* in Czech is seen as more active, associated with more energy than *nelibost*. Such an interpretation may be supported by the fact that only *nechuť* (and not *nelibost*) appear as the subject in constructions associated with the metaphor EMOTION IS AN ACTIVE AGENT in my data. *Nechuť* thus seems closer to anger than *nelibost*.

Varying manners of "motion" assigned to individual emotions (signalled e.g. by various verbs of motion) are also worth mentioning here. Emotion can "move" horizontally (it typically moves towards and then away from the experiencer) or vertically (it can "fall" on or from somebody). Emotion can move within a container (e.g. to rise inside somebody, to fill a person seen as a container) or spread from a source (which can be seen as motion in all dimensions). Experiencers may also move towards the emotion (e.g. "fall into" an emotion). Motion plays an especially important role with respect to the initial and final phases of an emotion. Emotions differ in the preferred type of motion assigned to them (for example,

more "active" emotions such as anger tend to be seen as more "mobile" and typically move horizontally).

Another important observation is that different metaphors may be involved depending whether the emotion noun functions as the subject or as the object. For example, the metaphor EMOTION IS AN ACTIVE AGENT is typical for emotion nouns in the subject position and the metaphors EMOTION IS AN OBJECT (something we can manipulate) and EMOTION IS A WILD ANIMAL (and one has to "tame" it) are typical for emotion nouns in the object position. This usage corresponds well with typical qualities of the subject and the agent (or the object and the patient) in Czech sentences.

Sometimes, the same metaphor can construe the situation from two different perspectives, and the emotion noun then appears in two different syntactic positions. For example, the metaphor EMOTION IS AN OPPONENT may construe the situation as though the emotion is doing something to the experiencer (e.g. taking control of them). The emotion noun is then typically in the subject position. It can also construe the situation as though the experiencer is attempting to oppose (control or supress) the emotion. The emotion noun is then typically in the object position.

We can also see that different phases of the emotion experience (emotion scenario, Kövecses 1986) can be conceptualized on the basis of different metaphors. For example, initial phases are connected with metaphors of growth or the loss of control. The motion in initial phases can be of several types and corresponds to a slow or fast beginning of the emotion (e.g. *vkrádat se* 'to creep in' versus *vjet* 'to ride in'). The metaphors of opponent and fight are typical for the phase when the experiencer seeks to control the emotion. Middle phases often use metaphors that see emotions as objects with certain qualities (borders, dimensions, size). In the final phases, metaphors of motion or of the dissipation of liquids can appear. We can also observe that the initial phase seems to be associated with the richest repertoire of metaphors, which could indicate its special importance for speakers of Czech. Limited attention paid to the final phases could correspond to the fact that the emotion experience sometimes does not have a clear or sudden end.

2.4.2. Metaphors and repeatedly used verbs

Certain verbs are used repeatedly in the data. Cases where the same verb appears four times or more in the sample are summarized in Table 4.

Noun	Repeated verbs with the noun in the subject position	Repeated verbs with the noun in the object position
Zlost		*mít* (24) *cítit + pocítit* (7)
Vztek		*mít* (18) *dostat* (7) *cítit + pocítit* (4)
Hněv		
Amok	*popadnout + popadat* (13) *chytit + chytnout* (13) *posednout + posedat* (5)	
Strach	*jde* (*z*; 4)	*mít* (59) *nahnat + nahánět* (7) *dostat + dostávat* (5)
Úzkost	*sevřít + svírat* (5)	*pocítit + cítit* (5) *vyvolávat + vyvolat* (4)
Panika	*zmocnit se + zmocňovat se* (13) *zachvátit + zachvacovat* (10)	*vyvolat + vyvolávat* (11) *propadat + propadnout* (14)
Nelibost		*vzbudit + vzbuzovat* (8) *vyvolat + vyvolávat* (4) *projevit + projevovat* (5) *dát najevo* (5)
Nechuť		*mít + mívat* (7) *cítit + cítívat + pocítit + pociťovat* (7) *projevit + projevovat* (4) *překonat* (4)

Table 4. Frequent verbs (numbers indicate the number of instances in samples; perfective and imperfective forms are counted together, as are the forms *cítit, pocítit, pociťovat*)

Repeated usage of a certain verb can indicate preferred ways of conceptualization, again frequently related to metaphors. For example, the repeated usage of verbs of "feeling" (*cítit, pocítit, pociťovat*) can signal that the given emotions tend to be frequently conceptualized as feelings or other kinds of sensual experience. In our sample, *vztek, úzkost, nechuť* (and partly *strach*, with three instances of *cítit/pocítit*) seem largely to be conceptualized in this way. Other verbs are more "metaphoric", for example *popadnout, popadat* 'to grab', *chytit, chytnout* 'to catch', and *zmocnit se, zmocňovat se* 'to seize' conceptualize the emotion as an active agent that takes control over the experiencer. In our sample, *panika* and *amok* are seen in this way. *Mít* 'to have' and *dostat* 'to get' can construe the emotions as objects we can manipulate. *Zlost, vztek, strach,* and *nechuť* appear repeatedly with *mít*, but *vztek* and *strach* with *dostat*. *Nechuť* and *nelibost* appear

repeatedly with *projevit*, *projevovat* or *dát najevo* (all meaning 'to show'), which I interpret as a sign that showing or hiding one's distaste or dislike might be an important aspect of Czech culture. *Úzkost* combines repeatedly with *svírat*, *sevřít* 'to constrict', which corresponds well to its etymological relation to tightness (*úzký* means 'tight, narrow').

The differences between preferred verbs could also signal differences in the conceptualization of particular emotions. For example, *vztek* and *zlost* combine repeatedly with *mít* and *cítit*, but *hněv* (which tends to be considered similar to *vztek* and *zlost*) practically cannot combine with *mít* (*mít hněv) and does not show any preference for *cítit*. This could mean that *zlost* and *vztek* are seen by speakers more as feelings or things, while *hněv* is conceptualized in some other way.

Conclusion

The initial idea of this study was to find correspondences between the conceptualization of a selection of emotions and the form of verbal constructions in which nouns denoting these emotions tend to appear. I have focused on constructions with emotion nouns in the subject and "object" position and on metaphors. The analysis indicates that there are similarities and differences between the three types of emotion (anger, fear, dislike) and between individual nouns within each group. I have found some correspondences between the conceptualization of the given emotions and the preferred forms of construction, but also some behaviour that is contrary to expectation. I consider the results to be less convincing and less straightforward than I expected. It could be so for various reasons, including the influence of the chosen type of data, the method used in the analysis, and the fact that the analysed verbal constructions constitute only a fragment of the complex linguistic picture of emotions. Further research into the topic, including research based on other data and other methods, might find more precise and satisfactory answers.

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WYBRANE KONSTRUKCJE Z RZECZOWNIKAMI OZNACZAJĄCYMI EMOCJE I METAFORY EMOCJI W JĘZYKU CZESKIM

ABSTRAKT: Artykuł dotyczy relacji między formą konstrukcji, w której pojawiają się rzeczowniki oznaczające emocje, a konceptualizacją metaforyczną tych emocji w języku czeskim. Koncentruję się na wybranych rzeczownikach oznaczających emocje negatywne (*vztek* 'wściekłość', *zlost* 'złość', *hněv* 'gniew', *amok* 'amok', *strach* 'strach', *úzkost* 'niepokój', *panika* 'panika', *nelibost* 'uraza', *nechuť* 'niechęć') oraz na czasownikach, z którymi mogą być łączone w funkcji podmiotu lub dopełnienia (oraz marginalnie i innych typów). Zostały zidentyfikowane zgodności w preferowanych typach konstrukcji dla danych emocji, w repertuarze używanych czasowników oraz w metaforach powiązanych. Jednak wyniki można wyjaśnić za pomocą procesów metaforycznych lub czynników semantycznych, takich jak intensywność lub „aktywność" emocji tylko częściowo. Artykuł łączy teorię walencyjną z kognitywnym podejściem do języka i jest oparty na danych z synchronicznego korpusu pisanego języka czeskiego SYN2015.