

A Course in Pictorial and Multimodal Metaphor

Charles Forceville

Lecture 7. Structural pictorial and multimodal metaphor

Introduction

In the previous Lectures of this course, the metaphors investigated were all more or less novel ones: the metaphorical relation between target and source was created for the situation at hand rather than already-existing (see also Forceville *forthc.*). Of course there are degrees of creativity; and some creative metaphors strike us as more innovative than others. But even though we need to think of creative versus structural metaphors in terms of a continuum rather than a dichotomy, the distinction remains important.

The great merit of Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) was its demonstration that metaphors are typically not creative one-offs, but pervade language and thought. To recall: they claim that our language use reveals that one of the ways in which human beings make sense of their lives is by systematically coupling abstract and complex concepts with concrete ones in a metaphorical ABSTRACT A IS CONCRETE B format. (Other central cognitive principles are metonymy, prototype theory, and folk models.) Simply formulated, abstract and complex phenomena are not immediately accessible to the senses, whereas concrete phenomena are. "Concrete" here thus means "pertaining to typical actions the human body performs": perceiving and moving. We know things primarily by what we see, hear, touch, smell, taste – and by moving. We exploit our physical affordances to structure and conceptualize the abstract. Since we cannot see, hear, touch, smell, or taste concepts such as time, democracy, ideals, and emotions, we have developed systems of metaphors to come to grips with them. It is this central idea that underlies CMT catch-phrases such as "experientialism," "embodied cognition," and "embodiment," as well as the "super-metaphor" MIND IS BODY (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 248).

Language has always been the primary source of data to support the central CMT insight that we think metaphorically; that the metaphors "we live by" do not constitute random catalogues but are systematically related to each other by drawing on a limited number of source domains; and that these

source domains are typically “embodied.” Of course embodiment is not all there is to metaphor. Building on embodiment (“nature”), culture (“nurture”) in numerous ways qualifies and refines the embodied ways in which people deploy metaphors (e.g., Emanatian 1995, Yu 1998, Gibbs and Steen 1999, Kövecses 2005, 2010). Put differently, “a single, embodied correspondence between target and source is enough to trigger a wide range of further ‘cultural’ correspondences between target and source, and hence of inferences about the target” (Forceville et al. 2006: 107).

The many studies focusing on language have contributed enormously to insights pertaining to metaphor theory as well as illuminated how systematic research into entrenched metaphors can help reveal ideological and culturally determined structures (e.g., Charteris-Black 2004, Kövecses 2005). But CMT’s dependence on linguistic evidence also makes it vulnerable to criticism. Skeptics (e.g., Haser 2005) argue that the conceptual A IS B metaphors are just verbal metaphors written with small capitals, and reject the distinction between the surface manifestations of metaphors and the conceptual level of which they supposedly are the expressions. Critics may agree that CMT has done much to illuminate that many metaphors can be expressed verbally in numerous different ways, but still refute the conclusion that this is a reflection of metaphorical *thinking*. Verena Haser, for instance, claims that “an accurate analysis of metaphors and metonyms should relate to linguistic expressions, rather than putative metaphorical or metonymical concepts” (Haser 2005: 1-2).

For this reason it is essential to test the claims about embodied metaphors in non-verbal and not-purely-verbal discourse types. One important field within CMT studies that concerns itself with such research is the young discipline of gesture studies. Not only can gestures in combination with spoken language convey metaphors; they often do so systematically. A very interesting aspect of gesturing, moreover, is that people are usually unaware that they are doing it. Any demonstration that gestures partake in metaphors therefore further supports the claim that metaphor need not be restricted to the verbal realm, but is tied to the non-verbal or even pre-verbal, and thus to the conceptual realm. Gesture studies, including metaphorical dimensions, are a rapidly growing sub-discipline in the humanities, but fall outside the scope of the present author’s expertise (for discussion and references, see Cienki 1998, Mittelberg and Waugh 2009, Müller 2008, Müller and Cienki 2009).

In this Lecture the issue, then, is whether the audiovisual realm can be shown to manifest structural metaphors (as contrasted with the creative metaphors discussed in Lecture 6). A persuasive demonstration that this is

indeed the case would thus support the plausibility of CMT's claim that we think, not just talk or write, metaphorically; and conversely, an inability to show this would challenge the claim. In short, investigating the sense or nonsense of postulating pictorial and multimodal *conceptual* metaphors contributes essentially to CMT, and by extension to insight into cognition and evolutionary approaches to art and storytelling (see Boyd 2009).

Two conceptual metaphors will be addressed in this Lecture: **PURPOSIVE ACTIVITY IS MOVEMENT** and **EMOTIONS ARE FORCES**.

PURPOSIVE ACTIVITY IS MOVEMENT or LIFE IS A JOURNEY

Given the kind of bodies we have, our physical survival as a species depends on our ability to move. We have always had to move from where we are located at a given moment to somewhere else (decimeters or thousands of kilometers away) to acquire food and drink, to find protection against dangerous animals, or to build shelters against heat or cold – that is, to ensure physical survival. It thus makes sense that movement from A to B across a path – the embodied activity *par excellence* – is one of the richest source domains available for conceptualizing all manner of purposive activities: having a more or less successful relationship; getting a scholarship or a prize or a promotion; making a scientific discovery; finding your identity. The starting point of the journey maps “naturally” on the situation where the desired goal has been formulated but not yet realized; its end point maps onto the situation where the goal has been achieved. Anything that facilitates (or blocks) the journey from the starting point to the destination maps onto whatever helps (or hinders) the achievement of the goal. The passing of time is central to both. Just as it takes time to reach your destination, so it takes time to realize your goal. All this can be formulated as the metaphor **PURPOSIVE ACTIVITY IS MOVEMENT**.

An important type of purposive activity we humans indulge in is story-telling. Hence a good story, too, is a journey. In every successful story, whether artistic or not, there is a beginning, a middle, and an end (though not, as *Nouvelle Vague* film director Jean-Luc Godard famously quipped, necessarily in that order). But stories are a very special type of purposive activity, since most (all?) stories focus on persons or characters that, hopefully, arouse our interest because we care for (or abhor) their purposive activities – which I will call “quests.” Stories, that is, are purposive activities inasmuch they promise to lead an audience toward a resolution for problems facing the protagonist(s), and it is the narrator's job to so in a manner that is

gratifying to the audience. Stories thus pertain to quests in two ways: they are about persons and characters that are on some sort of quest; and they have to satisfy certain aesthetic expectations in how they present the protagonist's quest, or the conflicting quests of different protagonists. This latter criterion of satisfying an audience becomes particularly important when the story is not of the "telling your day" type people routinely share with their spouses or friends, but have artistic claims. For in this latter case, they must be worthwhile for audiences that expect to be entertained, or at least to be informed in an interesting way. In such a situation the stories are to be crafted more thoughtfully than in the expendable stories of the former type.

What is mapped from what Johnson (1987, 1993) calls the journey – but is perhaps more correctly labeled "movement" – to any type of purposive activity, is the source-path-goal schema. This source-path-goal (SPG) schema is an embodied knowledge structure we possess thanks to our typical manner and direction of movement: standing up on two legs; and forward in the horizontal plane.

As a movement-based and thus also time-based art, the medium film ("the *movies*") is well-suited to exploit the SPG schema in metaphors such as A STORY IS A JOURNEY and A QUEST IS A JOURNEY. Where such metaphors are particularly pertinent is in the subgenre of the *road movie* (see Cohan and Hark 1997): the hero moves from A to B (JOURNEY) to achieve a goal (QUEST), an enterprise that is presented in the form of a story. In Forceville (2006, in press) I discuss autobiographical documentary "road movies" to demonstrate that the structuring principle in all of them is the literal and metaphorical journey – rooted in the SPG schema. The documentaries' interpretations are on the one hand constrained by this schema, while the "natural" correspondences between movement, quest, and story on the other hand bestow on the films their aesthetically pleasing ambiguities. All five films discussed, however, are heavily dependent on language; more specifically on the voice-overs of their respective artist-directors. Thus, although the visuals and, sometimes, sound and music in all cases crucially contribute to the establishment of the conceptual metaphors – making them *multimodal* metaphors in the broad sense (see Eggertsson and Forceville 2009: 430-431) – language remains indispensable for the construal of the metaphor. Critics might therefore still object that these analyses do not prove that conceptual metaphors can be conveyed in non-verbal ways – and it is precisely such proofs that are needed to validate the claim that metaphorical *thinking* does not require language. For this reason, Marloes Jeulink and I (Forceville and Jeulink forthc.) decided to analyse the journey metaphor in

three short animation films whose interpretation does not rely on language: language is not, or hardly used in the films, and where it is used, such as in the titles, it is dispensable. Analysing animation films offers other interesting perspectives: since animation does not record a pre-existing reality in the manner that live-action film does, everything in animation is “man-made/selected,” including its sounds. On the one hand, inasmuch as animation films tell a story they need to convey pertinent narrative information by tapping into their audience’s knowledge about the world; on the other hand, animation can, and usually does, take liberties with reality as we know it by visually and aurally exaggerating, simplifying, transforming, metaphorizing, etc. to convey information deploying techniques that are not open to other media. Moreover, most animation is short, which allows for more completeness in discussions of metaphor (or any other thematic or stylistic aspect, for that matter) than feature films.

All these circumstances make the medium particularly suitable for investigating conceptual metaphors. In the next paragraphs I will briefly analyse three short animation films in light of the “journey” metaphor.

***Droga/The Road* (Miroslaw Kijowicz, Poland 1971, 4’23”)**

<http://www.animacjapolska.pl/film,7790,,Droga--.html>

A man, seen from the back, walks steadily forward on a straight, hilly road, until he arrives at a Y-crossing (figure 7.1). He hesitates, wondering whether he will go left or right. He begins going left, but quickly retraces his steps to turn right, then hesitates again. Then the man splits (is split?) into two, his left half taking the left road, his right half taking the right road. The film follows his right half. After a while his right half arrives at another Y-crossing. At first he decides to go right, but then realizes that by going left there is a chance that he will meet his left half again (figure 7.2) if he goes left. And indeed, he does. However, it turns out that his left half has grown taller than his right half. Nonetheless, the two unequal halves merge into a somewhat awkward whole again, and the man pursues his way.

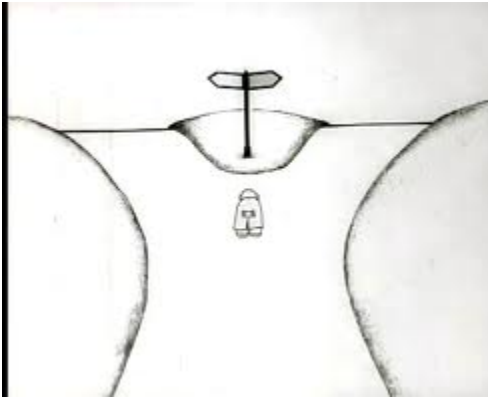


Figure 7.1. A man arriving at a Y-crossing hesitates whether he will take the left or the right road (*Droga*, Kijowicz, Poland).

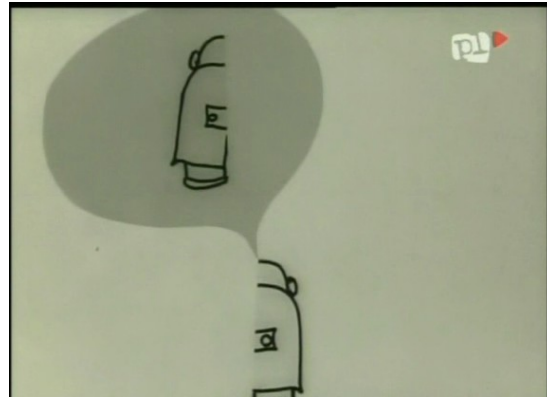


Figure 7.2. At the second Y-crossing the right-half man thinks he might meet with his left half again if he turns left (*Droga*, Kijowicz, Poland).

The animation's style is very sober: apart from the man, the hilly road, and the signpost, there are no visual elements in the scene. The man himself has very few characteristics – we never see his face, only the back of his head. This contributes to perceiving him not as a specific character, but rather as a kind of “Everyman.” Moreover, the audience is given no clue about the destination of the journey. This enhances the significance of the TIME IS SPACE metaphor: not only the man's destination is ahead of him; his unknown *future* is. In the absence of any spatial information about either his place of departure or his destination, the temporal dimensions of the man's journey thus gain prominence: his is a journey through time. This is important, since if we only, or primarily, saw the road as a literal “path,” there would not be much of a problem when the man is confronted with the Y-crossing: if he then should have realized he had taken the wrong road, he would simply have had to turn back and take the other road. But if the road is “temporal,” he has no such option. Time's arrow relentlessly goes one way only – and inexorably will end in death. Therefore, the decision which road to take is final, and cannot be undone. Indeed, *Droga* here is reminiscent of Robert Frost's famous “The road not taken”:

Two roads diverged in a yellow wood,
 And sorry I could not travel both
 And be one traveler, long I stood
 And looked down one as far as I could
 To where it bent in the undergrowth;

Then took the other ...

Whereas Frost's literary protagonist has to choose one road, Kijowicz' animated one initially seems to have the luxury to travel both roads at once. But the choice is only apparent: the viewer understands the splitting into two not literally, but symbolically: the man has to cut his identity into two halves, and he is no longer a psychologically whole "single" person (here another embodied metaphor makes itself felt, which could be rendered as NORMAL IS BALANCED/SYMMETRICAL). And when his two halves meet and merge again, something has changed: time has left its mark on the two halves of the man's identity. The experiences of the two halves of his identity have been different, and even though he is whole again these different pasts will remain with him from now on. Interestingly, it is up to the viewer to decide whether the ending is a happy or an unhappy one. One could argue that failing to wholeheartedly choosing one future, simultaneously living another one, has caused him to become a mentally disfigured, handicapped person, who, however, will have to live with his choices. Alternatively, we could see him as courageously (?) having pursued two futures, which, though it has resulted in a form of disfigurement, has made him a more broad-minded person.

Since this is a story, the viewer expects some sort of resolution or "closure" (Bordwell and Thompson 1997: 477) at the end of the storytelling journey. Most viewers will presumably guess that the two halves are bound to meet again, particularly given the right-half man's thought balloon (figure 7.2) when he chooses the left road at the second crossing. A story needs to be structurally coherent, and there must be some sort of link between its beginning and its end. A somehow "circular" structure is always gratifying (it is strongly present in the three animation films discussed in Forceville and Jeulink forthc.), but such circularity should nevertheless never be perfect. Of course by definition it never is: even when a protagonist is in exactly the same situation as when the story began, time has passed and s/he has become older, thus diminishing the opportunities to achieve any goals in whatever of his/her life remains. But *short* stories may have to disrupt a perfect circular structure more strongly than that to be aesthetically satisfactory: viewers (or readers) will, paradoxically, expect to be rewarded with something unexpected at the end. In *Droga* we would be disappointed, I propose, if at the end of the journey the two halves would simply have seamlessly merged again. In short stories that are presented as aesthetically pleasing, therefore, the end (the "goal" in the SPG schema) is not supposed to be entirely predictable. It is for this reason that the "quest" and the "story" levels cannot be conflated. While in normal life the achievement of a goal

pursued is the reward itself, in short stories we somehow expect some *deviation* of that simplex goal. (I thank professor Alina Kwiatkowska for presenting me with the DVD containing this film.)

***Lalilonska Kula/The Tower of Lalilon* (Rastko Ćirić, Yugoslavia 1987, 4'22")** <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ES7hoavNfzE>

A man dressed in green pants only is seen in the process of falling from a tower – a descent that will last the entire film, and is continuously accompanied by a wheezing sound to remind us of this fact. A trowel is seen falling next to him. Perhaps he is a bricklayer working on the tower, and he fell off. His posture, though, is not one of desperation – rather of calm resignation – he hums softly to himself, twiddles his thumbs, and several times looks at the viewer while shrugging his shoulders (figure 7.3). We see other people falling along with him. He is not surprised, so this is apparently a normal event. He shows us a series of connected pictures (a *leporello*) of a great-great-grandfather, a great-grandfather ..., just as the man himself all depicted as falling from a tower, until we arrive at the picture of a man on whom the camera zooms in. The man meets a woman (also: falling down). There is a brief slowing down of the downward movement. They marry and get a son – and this son is the protagonist, which we infer from the fact that the boy also wears green pants (figure 7.4). The boy's parents grow older, and first his mother dies, and then his father (the father earlier has thrown away a trowel, suggesting he, too, was a bricklayer). The protagonist himself then sees a woman and tries to “brake” in mid-air, presumably to meet her – but in vain. He nonetheless appears to meet the woman and to have a child with her– but both are depicted in shadowy form and then disappear, which might suggest this is a fantasy. When he looks downward he sees what seems to be a shadow of himself approaching – he is nearing the ground. But instead of crashing, he falls into a creased cloth which, after a freeze frame, trampolines him back upwards. But then both he and the frame mysteriously turn over 180 degrees , so that he again falls downward.

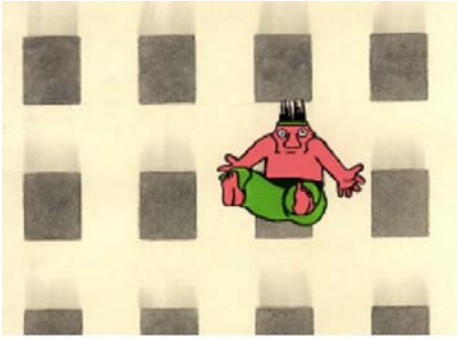


Figure 7.3 The protagonist falls down, looking at the viewer in a posture of resignation (*Lalilonska Kula* Ćirić, Yugoslavia).



Figure 7.4 The protagonist holds a picture featuring his parents and himself as a baby (*Lalilonska Kula* Ćirić, Yugoslavia).

Perhaps the idea of the film came from the belief that people who are about to die see their entire lives flash past. As in *Droga*, the movement of the protagonist here is a movement in time. Unusually, however, the progress of time is not delineated in the horizontal, but in the vertical plane. The past is above the various protagonists, and the future is beneath them. This orientation is retained in the *leporello*: the older generations are depicted above the younger ones. The slower speed at some moments suggests that these are significant moments in the protagonists' lives: the meeting of the parents, their death, the instant the son spots the woman who might become his wife.

It is not only the direction of movement that is significant in *Lalilonska Kula*, but also its manner. The protagonist falls down. Unlike climbing down, or hang-gliding down, or parachuting down, falling down connotes total lack of control. This lack of control is further reinforced by the fact that the protagonist tumbles over repeatedly in mid-air and in vain tries to slow down his descent by "braking."

The ending is enigmatic: contrary to expectations, the protagonist does not die, but is bounced back, seemingly defying "time's arrow" and miraculously surviving. Interestingly, the bouncing back is again something that happens to the protagonist despite himself, and is not something he can somehow claim having achieved himself. But with the turning around of the frame, the brief upwards movement quickly reverts to a downward one. However the double surprise at the end – a bounce rather than a crash, and then the reversal of the frame (a reprieve from seemingly certain death?) – is to be interpreted, it pivots on a reversal of the direction of movement, and thus invites an evaluation in the handling of time.

***The Life* (Jun-ki Kim, South Korea 2003, 9'45'')**

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=faArmZxwtT0>

A man is seen climbing a very tall totem pole-like tower, carrying a baby and a chest. The ascent is heavy, and the father has to fight fatigue as well as rain and snow. In one shot we see similar towers to his left and right: apparently other people are engaged in negotiating their own tower. During the journey upwards we see the baby growing into a young boy, now climbing on his own (figure 7.5), then into a young man. The two men take regular breaks during their long and strenuous journey (figure 7.6). The father ages and at one stage is too old to climb further. He remains behind, presumably to die. The young man turns into an adult, and is himself an old man by the time he reaches the top of the tower. He opens the chest, gets a neatly carved stone from it, which he carefully fits, like a piece from a jigsaw puzzle, into an open space on the top of the tower: he and his father have made their own little contribution to the tower whose building, we infer, is the achievement of generations – and which is never completed.



Figure 7.5 The son climbs the totem-tower, following his father (*The Life*, Jun-ki Kim, South Korea).



Figure 7.6 Father and son, both grown older take a break during their climb (*The Life*, Jun-ki Kim, South Korea).

As in *Lalilonska Kula*, the movement takes place vertically, but this time the orientation of the time line goes upwards. That is, here the past is down, below the protagonists, and the future is up, above them. The manner of moving is climbing, and the kind of problems father and son have to negotiate are, say, finding protrusions all the time for their feet to stand on and for their hands to grip. Moreover, the two have burdens to carry – food, presumably, and the chest with the mysterious contents. Initially, moreover, the father has to carry his baby son, and there is sometimes heavy weather. All this requires physical energy and continuous alertness. These are all features that can potentially mapped onto father and son's quest – and they

differ from those that can be mapped in *Lalilonska Kula*. The protagonist of the latter had it easy, simply having to surrender to gravity. What was primarily mappable in that film was complete lack of control – an issue that is not the problem in *The Life*. Though difficult, the two protagonists have it in their power to determine and ensure their progress. Another difference is that the father and his son have a *goal* – to reach the top. Unlike the viewer, who does not learn until the very last moment of the film, they moreover know why they want to reach the top. Their quest is clear, while the falling bricklayer simply falls toward his death – the destination of his “journey,” but hardly a *goal*.

In *The Life*, as in the previous two films, the expectation of a twist at the end is fulfilled, although it is a minor one. The son, now an old man, places a stone, carried all this time upwards, first by his father and later by himself, to add another segment to the tower. This is interesting in itself: the metaphor PURPOSIVE ACTIVITY IS A JOURNEY merges with PURPOSIVE ACTIVITY IS MAKING SOMETHING.

LIFE IS A JOURNEY: some concluding remarks

The journey metaphor (itself as old as story-telling itself; cf. Campbell 2008) in animation deserves further research. Since what matters is which elements on the movement level can be metaphorically mapped onto the quest, time, and story levels, it is these that need to be first inventoried. Here is a provisional and non-exhaustive checklist that can aid extended explorations of the journey metaphor:

- Where in screen space is the movement’s starting point and where is its destination?
- In what direction is moved (right/left, up/down, back-front [or vice versa], in a circle, a zigzag pattern ...)?
- What means of transport is/are used (legs, bike, horse, camel, car, train, plane, stilts, toboggan ...)?
- What kind of obstacles/facilities does the path present (mountains, storms, lakes, snow, swamps, smooth flat roads, bridges, tunnels ...), as well as those travelling on it (helpers/antagonists)?
- If the protagonist is an animal or a humanoid rather than human, how does its body affect movement?
- How does manner of movement, specifically BALANCE, play a role in motion?

- How does sound cue spatially relevant effects?
- Are musical segments repeated? Does their key or tempo vary to reinforce, or contradict, visual information pertaining to movement?
- Does the type of material (drawn cels, cutouts, clay, sand ...) chosen for the animation affect type and manner of motion?

Subsequently, it is to be assessed if, and if so, how, these aspects of literal movement are exploited to structure QUEST and STORY (adapted from Forceville and Jeulink forthc.).

It is furthermore worthwhile to see which other domains besides that of the journey are systematically exploited to give structure to purposive activity. In *The Life* the journey metaphor was combined with the building metaphor (PURPOSIVE ACTIVITY IS MAKING A BUILDING). (I suspect that the building (or more generally: “making”) domain is also used independently of the journey metaphor, and although I have not yet systematically looked into this, I suspect that it is also often used in animation.) But other combinations of metaphors are possible. In an analysis of a Chinese state commercial promoting the economic future of China, Yu (2009) shows how the journey domain is combined with the “stage” domain to present purposive activity metaphorically.

A third arena for further research is that of the live-action road movie. A former student of mine investigated the question whether an European road movie is not a *contradictio in terminis* (Vissers 2003), and another researched the journey dimension in Westerns (Beerman 2008).

But inasmuch as solving puzzles also constitutes a journey toward a resolution, it is unsurprising that many computer games also lend themselves to analysis of the journey-cum-quest domain (Kromhout 2010).

EMOTIONS ARE PHYSICAL FORCES: the representation of emotions in comics

Another complex domain that has attracted sustained attention of CMT scholars is that of the emotions, the pioneer being Zoltán Kövecses (Kövecses 1986, 2000, 2008). On the basis of verbal expressions pertaining to various emotions, sampled from thesauri, Kövecses developed prototypical scenarios for these emotions. For “anger” – which has become the paradigmatic emotion for research within CMT – the following five stages can be distinguished: (1) offending event; (2) anger; (3) attempt at control; (4) loss of control; (5) act of retribution (Kövecses 1986: 28-29).

Kövecses goes on to propose a limited number of structural metaphors to which the manifold expressions pertaining to emotions can be traced. The primary metaphor Kövecses finds is ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER. The anger here is metaphorically compared to a fluid substance in a pot that slowly heats up, resulting in rising levels, steam, pressure on the pot and its lid. This leads to anger expressions such as “he is flipping his lid,” “the steam was coming out of his ears,” and “she nearly exploded.” Kövecses also finds evidence for other structural metaphors, such as ANGER IS INSANITY, ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL, and ANGER IS AN OPPONENT. Scholars in other languages have taken up Kövecses’ model and tested it in their own cultures (for an overview see Kövecses 2005: 193-200). As in the case of the journey metaphor, however, it is imperative that the data analysed are not restricted to language. Let me here summarize my own research in this area, review some work subsequently done (partly done by students of mine), and end with questions for further investigation.

Forceville (2002, 2005, 2011)

The task I set myself in Forceville (2005, expanding on Forceville 2002) was to inventory all the *visual* information that, within each panel of the Asterix album *La Zizanie [The Roman Agent]* (Gosciny and Uderzo 1970) alerts the viewer that a certain character is angry. Two types of information were distinguished: (1) facial expressions & bodily postures; and (2) pictorial runes (Kennedy 1982). In the former category, the following “pictorial markers” (Eerden 2009) were identified: (i) “bulging eyes” and their counterpart (ii) “tightly closed eyes”; (iii) “wide mouth” and its counterpart (iv) “tightly closed mouth”; (v) “pink/red face”; (vi) “arm/hand position”; and (vii) “shaking.” These were considered as (exaggerated) indexical signs since we recognize them as symptoms accompanying anger from our everyday experience. In the latter category, I distinguished the following: (i) “spirals”; (ii) “ex-mouth”; (iii) “smoke”; (iv) “bold face”; and (v) “jagged line” (see figures 7.7-7.8, first discussed in Forceville 2005). These runes, if perhaps not metaphorical in the strict sense, exemplify a visual “trope” in the sense that they do not literally occur in real life. If CMT is correct, it is plausible that runes are somehow rooted in “embodied” scenarios.

In order to avoid circular reasoning, two independent “anger” cues were used to decide that a specific character was angry: the verbal and narrative context (specifically the contents of the language in the text

balloons) and the green colour of many text balloons – a convention adopted by Goscinny and Uderzo specifically for this Asterix album (cf. figure 7.8).



Figure 7.7 Gaul. Anger signs: (tightly closed eyes; tightly closed mouth; spirals; red face; jagged line (*La Zizanie*)).



Figure 7.8. Roman senator. Anger signs: bulging eyes; wide mouth (emphasized by a red tongue); arm/hand position; spirals; bold face (*La Zizanie*).



Figure 7.9 Roman centurion. Anger signs: tightly closed eyes; arm/hand position; shaking; bold face (*La Zizanie*).

Looking back on this research project, a number of observations can be made. First, a rune or indexical sign is seldom used on its own: usually a *cluster* of them conveys anger. Second, no exhaustiveness can be claimed for either list: there may be both more indexical signs and more runes that help show anger. Moreover, I would now consider only the “spirals” and the “ex-mouth” *pictorial runes*. The other three cues originally discussed under this rubric are also non-literal cues, but I would label “smoke” a pictogram, and discuss “bold face” and “jagged line” (referring to the font in the balloon and the form of the balloon’s tail, respectively) separately as *balloonic* features contributing to the representation of emotion (see Forceville et al. 2010, for more discussion). Fourthly, while I still endorse the claim that both the findings cued by faces & body postures and those cued by the pictorial runes “are at least commensurate with Kövecses’ anger ICMs, particularly with the one he finds most prevalent in linguistic expressions: ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER” (Forceville 2005: 80) I would stress that one could invoke other anger metaphors identified by Kövecses to account for some anger markers, such as ANGER IS FIRE, ANGRY BEHAVIOUR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOR (Kövecses 1986: 19, 24). That is, I have become more doubtful about the extent to which given visual manifestations of anger can be unambiguously attributed to a specific conceptual metaphor. That being said, it appears that the EMOTIONS ARE PHYSICAL FORCES metaphor (see Kövecses 2008) captures most of the instances analyzed.

Partly because of these doubts, I decided in Forceville (2011) not to take the supposedly metaphorical character of the representation of emotions in comics as the leading thesis. Instead I made an inventory of all the pictorial runes in a single comics album, Hergé's *Tintin and the Picaros* (1976), with as the primary goal the assessment of the context-independent meaning (if any) of the runes. Several provisional conclusions were drawn: (1) even though runes are almost always used in combination with other information (both visual and verbal), they appear to have more or less specific meanings; (2) the meaning of runes is determined by three dimensions: their form, their location, and their orientation; (3) runes are used for two purposes: (i) to convey motion; (ii) to convey emotion and other mental states. Indeed the “twirl” (see table 7.1) is used both to indicate that a character literally moves, and to signal dizziness, confusion, or drunkenness. This is very interesting, since it suggests the metaphor EMOTION IS MOTION – which is an alternative formulation for Kövecses’ generic metaphor EMOTIONS ARE PHYSICAL FORCES.

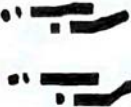

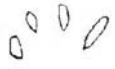



Pictorial rune	Name for rune	Typical location and orientation
	Speed lines	Behind or parallel to a person or object, often indicating direction.
	Three types of movement lines	In various orientations around or parallel to a body part or other object.
	Droplets	In multiples in halo-like fashion around a person's head.
	Spikes	In multiples in halo-like fashion around a person's head or other object.
	Spiral	Usually in multiples in halo-like fashion around a person's head, sometimes singly, parallel to a body part.
	Twirl	Usually single, appearing more or less horizontally behind an agent or vertically above a person's head.

Table 7.1. Stylized examples of pictorial runes used in *Tintin and the Picaros* (Forceville 2011).

Eerden (2004, 2009)

In Eerden (2009), building on Eerden (2004), the author expands the representation of emotions in comics in various ways. He analyzed two other Asterix albums, *Asterix Légionnaire* and *Asterix et Latraviata*, proffering two additional body postures for anger: “upright” and “stretching forward.” Moreover, Eerden finds support for Forceville’s and his own analyses in comics and animation handbooks that instruct budding artists how to signal certain emotions. Handbooks, too, insist on the importance of eyes to convey emotions, for instance, and sometimes differentiate between runes that can independently signal a certain emotion and runes that can do so only in combination with other cues.

In addition, Eerden takes a close look at another medium, namely animated (*Asterix*) movies. To what extent do animated movies draw on runes just as comics do? And does animation have other, medium-specific ways of conveying emotions? One of Eerden’s conclusions is that the *Asterix* animation films analyzed draw less on runes than the comics albums. This makes sense: while comics can deploy only two modalities to convey emotion (static visuals and language), the medium of animation can use moving images, spoken language, sound, and music as well, so it needs to rely less on runes. Conversely, body positions such as “upright” (figure 7.10) and “stretched forward” (figure 7.11) work better in animation than in comics. Other anger signs found in comics do appear in animation as well, but with some differences that, again, are due to the affordances of the medium. A novel cue is the typically cinematic devices of a “low camera angle” (figure 7.12, figures from Eerden 2009) to represent an angry character. But despite the differences, “the ‘eyes’ and ‘mouth’ signs, followed by ‘arm/hand’ are omnipresent in both comics and animated films” (2009: 258).



Figure 7.10. “Upright” as anger marker, *Asterix et la Surprise de César* (animation, original in colour).



Figure 7.11. “Stretched forward” as anger marker, *Asterix et la Surprise de César*.



Figure 7.12. “Low angle” as anger marker, *Asterix et la Surprise de César*.

In Eerden (2004) another emotion is considered in light of Kövecses (1986) prototype model, namely that of romantic love (figs 7.13-7.15; figures from Eerden 2004). An important finding is that anger and love to a considerable extent make use of the same runes, while the facial and postural information tends to differ (although a “red head” can cue both anger and infatuation).

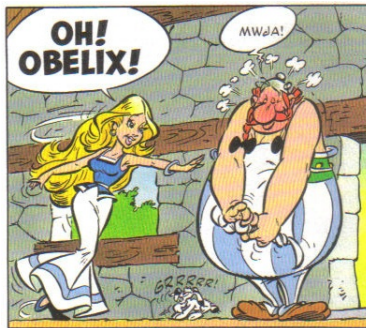


Fig. 7.13. Markers for love include arm/hand position, red head, and smoke puffs around head (*Asterix and Latraviata*).



Fig. 7.14. Markers for love include arm/hand position, half-closed eyes, heart pictograms around head (*Asterix and Latraviata*).

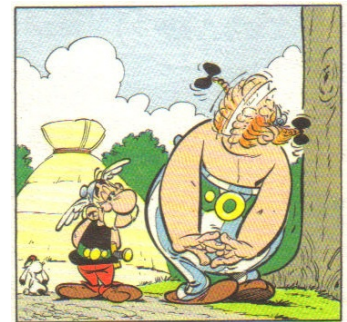


Fig. 7.15. Markers for love include arm/hand position, feet (against each other) and shaking (*Asterix and Latraviata*).

Van Eunen (2007)

In his MA thesis (written in Dutch), Van Eunen expands the research in the young representation-of-emotions-in-comics tradition in two ways. In the first place he adds two “new” emotions, namely fear and pride, to those of anger and love already researched by Forceville and Eerden – again taking Kövecses’ language-based blueprint of these emotions as a starting point. Secondly, he investigates not just *Asterix*, but also takes into account a different comics series: *Donald Duck* (as drawn by Carl Barker). This extension is an important new step. After all, if the claim that pictorial runes have a core meaning is correct, their depiction should not depend on the specific style of a particular artist. Moreover, it is possible that the fact that the characters in *Donald Duck* are animals rather than humans affects the way in which emotions are cued.

In addition, Van Eunen discusses information about the representation of emotion in comics from another source, Scott McCloud (2006), who in turn relies on Ekman and Friesen’s (1975) claim that there are six universal, and universally recognized, basic emotions: anger, disgust, fear, happiness, sadness and surprise.



Fig. 7.16. Fear markers include wide-open eyes, open mouth, white face, arm/hand position, “ex-mouth” (*Asterix and the Normans*).



Fig. 7.17. Fear markers include wide-open eyes, open mouth, white face, shaking, droplets (*Asterix and the Normans*).



Fig. 7.18. Fear markers include wide-open eyes, white face, arm/hand position, positions legs/feet, droplets (*Asterix and the Normans*).

Van Eunen finds that “droplets” are the most often occurring marker (in 51 out of 62 cases, 82%) for fear – probably as hyperbolic versions of “sweat.” Other markers that are used often are “white face” (58%) and a salient arm/hand position (56%).

Investigating the representation of “pride” in *Asterix*, Van Eunen concludes that several markers found for other emotions (e.g., “closed eyes,” leg/feet position, arm-hand position) also occur in the depiction of pride. But postures such as protruded chest, upward head, and a mouth which curls downwards are specific for this emotion. The only *runes* identified for pride are elongated droplets, and a “golden explosion” (occurring once).



Fig. 7.19. Pride markers include closed eyes, protruding chest, upward head, arm-hand position (*Asterix in Spain*).



Fig. 7.20. Pride markers include closed eyes, downward-curling mouth, upward head, arm-hand position; legs-feet position (*Asterix in Spain*).



Fig. 7.21. Pride markers include closed eyes, upward head, protruding chest, arm-hand position (*Asterix in Spain*).

Van Eunen concludes that there are fewer markers for pride than for instance anger. For pride, “closed eyes” (87% out of 55 proud characters display this feature), upward head (75%), arm-hand position (73%) and protruding chest (60%) are the most often occurring ones.

PICTORIAL MARKER	EMOTION	Anger	Love	Fear	Pride
Eyes wide open		46%	39%	19%	-
Eyes tightly shut		37%	16%	5%	87%
Mouth wide open		40%	12%	32%	-
Mouth tightly shut		13%	-	16%	-
Upward head		13%	-	-	75%
Red head/white head		17%	13%	58%	-
Position arm-hand (total)		50%	79%	56%	73%
Index finger pointing		25%	-	10%	13%
Clenched fist		13%	-	-	11%
Stretched arm		-	13%	5%	5%
Containing		16%	27%	-	16%
Slack		-	38%	2%	-
Positions legs-feet		-	-	19%	7%
Jumping/shaking		5%	14%	39%	-
Feathers (on helmets)		-	31%	-	7%
Ex-mouth		12%	-	3%	-
Lines/spirals emanating from head		44%	-	11%	9%
Explosion around character		-	5%	-	2%
Smoke		1%	8%	-	-
Letters text balloons		38%	13%	35%	-
Jagged line balloons		31%	32%	26%	-

Table 7.2. Markers and their frequency for the emotions anger (based on 103 angry characters), love (77 characters in love), fear (62 fearing characters) and pride (55 proud characters) as found in a selection of *Asterix* albums. The percentages indicate in how many of the panels in which a character affected by a specific emotion occurs (e.g. in 87% of all the appearances of a proud character, that character is depicted with tightly closed eyes). Moreover, Van Eunen has chosen to accommodate in the table only those markers that appeared in at least two emotions.

Taking into account the findings of Forceville (2002, 2005) and Eerden (2004), Van Eunen summarizes the markers (bodily postures &

facial expressions as well as pictorial runes and balloonic features) for the various emotions in *Asterix* in table 7.2. (Please note that due to reasons of space I cannot discuss the nature and significance of all markers; interested readers are referred to the original publications. Translations and minor adaptations in the descriptions are mine, ChF]. Van Eunen concludes that no less than ten markers are used for three of the four emotions investigated. Clearly, several markers have to be *combined* to reliably cue a specific emotion rather than another one. The fact that different emotions draw to a considerable extent on the same repertoire of markers is commensurate with Kövecses claim that the overarching metaphor is EMOTIONS ARE PHYSICAL FORCES.



Fig. 7.22. Anger markers include wide-open eyes, tightly closed mouth/beak, arm-hand position, droplets, capital letters in balloon (*Goede Voornemens*).



Fig. 7.23. Anger markers include wide-open eyes, wide-open mouth/beak, runes from head, capital letters in balloon (*De Kinderpsycholoog*).



Fig. 7.24. Anger markers include tightly closed eyes, tightly closed mouth/beak, red head, arm-hand position, runes from head, capital letters in balloon (*De Kinderpsycholoog*).

Van Eunen goes on to study a few stories from a different comics series, namely (the black-and-white) *Donald Duck*, as drawn by its most famous illustrator, Carl Barks, focusing on two emotions: anger and fear (he found love and pride to occur rather seldom). Without going into the details of the findings, it is worth reporting that about half of the markers found for both anger and fear occur both in *Asterix* and in *Donald Duck*. Perhaps the large percentage of non-shared features would disappear with a different (sub)categorization, but this is not the whole story. Van Eunen finds that *Asterix* is richer in emotion cues than *Donald Duck*. An interesting explanation for this Van Eunen proffers is that in *Donald Duck* the entire body is less often visible than in *Asterix*. He also observes that a *white* face (an important marker of fear in *Asterix*) is by definition impossible in black-and-white comics. Finally, he makes the point that the *Donald Duck* stories are considerably shorter than the *Asterix* stories. Barker has to portray actions, and their accompanying emotions, very quickly (i.e., in few panels),

and this may affect both the number and the complexity of the emotion cues. Apart from that, there are clearly artist-specific choices for the depiction of an emotion (e.g., “nail-biting” helps cue fear in *Asterix*, but not in *Donald Duck*). One of Van Eunen’s most striking overall conclusions is that there is not a single marker that is used in both *Asterix* and *Donald Duck* for every emotion, but that the eye-position and the arm-hand position are the most often used markers for the expression of emotions.



Fig. 7.25. Fear markers include: arm-hand position; droplets (*Het Geheim van het Oude Kasteel*).



Fig. 7.26. Fear markers include: wide-open eyes, wide-open mouth/beak, cap (*De Schrik van de Rivier*).



Fig. 7.27. Fear markers include: wide-open eyes straight hair, arm-hand position; droplets, shaking, capitals in balloon, form of balloon (*De Schrik van de Rivier*).

Shinohara and Matsunaka (2009)

Shinohara and Matsunaka (2009), who previously had applied Kövecses’ theory to Japanese to check how the “embodied” dimension of emotion-discourse is complemented by cultural factors (2003), here turn to Japanese manga to see how well Forceville’s (2005) model works for comics in a very different cultural tradition. Considering various emotions in present-day popular manga created by different authors, they conclude that by and large the same runes are used in manga as in *Asterix*, but they also find culturally-specific expressions of emotions. One rune widely used to convey anger in manga is the Y-shaped “popped-up vein” (see figures 7.28 and 7.29 – all figures in this section from Shinohara and Matsunaka 2009); another is the pervasive use of weather conditions to cue a character’s emotional state. While this feature is sometimes used in Western comics as well, it appears to be far more common in manga – a circumstance Shinohara and Matsunaka ascribe to deep-rooted cultural usage, for instance in traditional Japanese *waka* poems.

Shinohara and Matsunaka note that not only anger, but also love, happiness, surprise, disappointment and anxiety can be conveyed “meteorologically” and through natural backgrounds more generally (fig. 7.30.)



Figure 7.28. Various anger signals, incl. eye position, shaking, and the Y-shaped vein on cheek and forehead (Azuma, *Yotsubato* vol. 5).



Figure 7.29. Various anger signals, incl. the boy's arm position, steam/clouds above his head, and the Y-shaped vein on his forehead (Usui, *Crayon Shinchan* vol. 3).



Figure 7.30. “Stormy” background to indicate the girl's anger (Azuma, *Yotsubato* vol. 5). Please note that the scene takes place indoors.

Moes (2010)

Moes (2010) takes the next step in the budding field of the visual representation of emotion in comics by investigating an emotion hitherto untheorized within CMT: disgust. This is an interesting expansion, since disgust is considered to be a universal emotion (Ekman and Friesen 1975). After compiling a corpus of more than 5500 messages containing the word “disgust” or any of a series of synonyms on Twitter, Moes develops a prototype scenario of disgust in the spirit of Kövecses (1986, 2000), which he subsequently applies to a substantial sample of *Calvin and Hobbes* cartoons (Bill Watterson).

In line with findings by Eerden and Van Eunen, Moes discovers that several pictorial markers are used both for anger and for disgust (the latter, incidentally, occurring far less often in his data than the former). This holds for instance for “bulging eyes” – which is “the most found marker denoting disgust” (Moes 2010: 60); but again, tightly closed eyes also often help express both anger and disgust. A wide-open mouth or, by contrast, a tightly closed one, frequently helps cue both anger and disgust (figs. 7.31 and 7.32). This reinforces earlier findings that both eyes and mouths are heavily

deployed by comics artists to signal characters' emotions. However, in the case of disgust, as opposed to anger, there is often a tongue hanging out of the mouth, as if to indicate an inclination to vomit. Arm-hand position, too, is significant, but for anger there are nuances not reported with reference to *Asterix* or *Donald Duck*. For instance, Moes finds that sometimes Calvin holds an object in front of him while pursuing the person he is angry with. Moreover, an angry Calvin often has his hands on his hips. With regard to the arm-hand position of disgust, Moes observes that most arms/hands are "in front of a body part (eyes, nose, chest, stomach) as if to protect the body from the disgusting event (eyes, nose), or keeping the wellled up disgust inside the body (chest, stomach)" (Moes 2010: 64). Averting the body from the source of unpleasantness appears to be typical for disgust (fig. 7.33; all figures in this section from Moes 2010).



Fig 7.31. Anger markers include a V-shaped brow and a wide-open mouth (Watterson, *The Complete Calvin and Hobbes*).



Fig. 7.32. Disgust markers include open mouth with tongue hanging out, arm-hand position, bulging eyes, averting, shaking (Watterson, *The Complete Calvin and Hobbes*).



Fig 7.33. Disgust markers include wide-open mouth with tongue hanging out, arm-hand position, tightly closed eyes, bold, shaking (Watterson, *The Complete Calvin and Hobbes*).

EMOTIONS ARE FORCES: some concluding remarks

The research into the depiction of emotions in comics reported above is no more than a modest beginning, and it continues. Schempp (2011) implicitly confirms Van Eunen's findings by showing that in the Scott Pilgrim comic she analyzes "pride" involves expansion of the body. She moreover proposes the notion of a symmetric arrangement of characters for "romantic love," which could be seen as a rendering of Kövecses' LOVE IS UNITY. Abbott and

Forceville (submitted) discuss the loss of hands (sic) as denoting loss of emotional control (specifically anger) in Azuma's *Azumanga Daioh*. Let me cautiously end with some general conclusions and also make some suggestions for things to bear in mind in further research.

In the first place, it makes methodological sense to distinguish at least the following categories of visual information pertaining to the expression of emotions (and other relevant narrative information) in comics:

- (1) *Iconic information arising from facial expressions and body postures.* This is presumably hyperbolic information we recognize from "real life" (and perhaps some of this knowledge has over time become "frozen" in comics conventions). It is clear, though, that even this supposedly universally embodied source of information allows different artists to explore their own favourite ways of depiction (e.g. nail-biting versus white face for *fear*). Another consideration to be borne in mind here is that most comics discussed here are series, with the same recurring characters. In *Tintin*, for instance, the irascible Haddock is often angry, and so is the eponymous Donald Duck. It may be that the depiction of a specific emotion is to some extent reserved for a specific character. The "nature" of the character also may favour certain expressions of emotion over others. Donald Duck has a beak, not a mouth, and *Asterix'* male Gauls invariable have moustaches, hiding their mouths. Clearly such circumstances constitute both affordances and limitations to depict emotions.
- (2) *Pictorial runes.* Questions that need to be answered with regard to pictorial runes include: (a) Do runes constitute a closed set? (b) to what extent is there an artist/period/movement-independent catalogue of runes? (c) Are runes indicative of "emotion" in general, or are there emotion-specific runes – or does this depend on the artist studied? Ojha and Forceville (in prep.) are conducting experiments to help answer this latter question, but extensive historical research is called for as well.
- (3) *Balloon features.* Text and thought balloons can convey narratively salient information, including information pertaining to emotions, for instance by their form or the use of colour. Texts fonts used in balloons are also often used expressively (e.g., bold print for shouting). For more details, see Forceville et al. (2010).
- (4) *Pictograms.* Pictograms can be distinguished from runes by having a degree of context-independent meaning (e.g., skulls, hearts, thunder).

While usually occurring outside balloons, they may also appear within them.

- (5) *Panel-form and lay-out*. Elements of form and colour that may inform balloons can also be used to enhance the narrative information of panels. But there are also elements that are specific for this central stylistic tool in comics, such as the order in which they are to be read, as well as nesting structures. We could perhaps see “camera angles” as used in animation films as belonging in this category, too.

Returning to facial expressions & body postures, it is clear that eyes, mouths, and arm-hand positions are strongly expressive of emotions. It will be important to check systematically to what extent this is commensurate with Kövecses’ findings of emotion-expressions in language. Kövecses does not pay much attention to gestures. Whether this is because he has “missed” verbal emotion expressions pertaining to gestures or because language as a medium has less opportunities to exploit arm-hand positions and gestures (but cf. Yu 2000, 2003) than the medium of comics (see Abbott and Forceville submitted) is an open question. In any case, it is obvious that it is the *combination* of pictorial markers and runes in comics that unequivocally suggests one emotion rather than another. (Interestingly, this need for more than one signal to cue an emotion unambiguously might reflect the fact that an emotion is associated with more than one facial muscle in real life: “often the combination of more than one muscle movement is necessary to signal a single emotion” (Ekman 1992: 551)). The detail with which emotions are expressed, incidentally, appears to vary from artist to artist, but may also have something to do with the length (i.e., number of panels) available to an artist to tell his/her story. However this may be, Hergé and Uderzo appear to use more cues to express the emotional state of a character than Barker and Watterson. Another issue for sustained research is to investigate how pictorial markers and runes used to express emotions are similar to, or different from, those of those to express pain.

An important question for the further theorization of CMT is to what extent individual expressions of emotions in comics’ characters can be unequivocally attributed to metaphors of the A IS B type favoured by Kövecses (1986, 2000). It sometimes seems strained to categorize visual expressions of anger as exemplifying one conceptual metaphor rather than another. Probably Kövecses is right to claim, though, that the overarching metaphor is EMOTIONS ARE FORCES (Kövecses 2008: 385), which would also cover, for instance, LOVE IS FIRE in the Chinese comic *Old Master Q* (Chang and Li 2006).

Whether all this is enough to convince CMT skeptics remains to be seen. How can we be sure that a certain phenomenon is best explicable by construing it as a conceptual metaphor without postulating that conceptual metaphor in the first place? The problem is that if indeed these metaphors are so deeply rooted in human beings' thinking as CMT claims they are, it is difficult to test the hypothesis, since there is no rival model to explain the patterns in human thinking that CMT demonstrates via conceptual metaphors. If that makes the claims at present unfalsifiable – so be it. For the time being CMT enthusiasts will have to live with that weakness. The burden is on the skeptics to come up with a better model to explain the systematicity in verbal and non-verbal expressions and phenomena that structure abstract semantic domains. In the mean time, CMT advocates need to be as explicit as possible about what they are doing, and thus hopefully come closer to making claims that *are* falsifiable.

General concluding remarks

In this lecture, two conceptual metaphors have been analyzed in (audio)visual media: PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS A JOURNEY and EMOTIONS ARE (PHYSICAL) FORCES. But these are only two, albeit important metaphors. Work in this area is now burgeoning. Comics, cartoons, and animation are excellent media for analysing multimodal conceptual metaphor (and for analysing multimodality in general). Bounegru and Forceville (forthc.) show that political newspaper cartoons satirizing the financial crisis that overwhelmed the world in October 2008 are rooted in a limited number of conceptual metaphors. Ying-Yu Lin and Chiang (2010) show how conceptual metaphors such AS TIME IS MOTION, LIFE IS A JOURNEY, LIFE IS A STAGE, and POLITICS IS A GAME inform ideological issues in political cartoons taking a stance vis-à-vis controversial US beef imports in Taiwan.

If CMT is right in its central claims, it should also be possible to demonstrate conceptual, or at least structural, metaphors in live-action film and other types of moving images. Forceville (1999) showed how the structural metaphor COLIN IS A CHILD is conveyed audiovisually in Paul Schrader's film *The Comfort of Strangers*. Rook et al. (2010) discuss the recurring multimodal metaphor PSYCHOANALYSIS IS OPENING DOORS in Hitchcock's *Spellbound*. Tag et al. (2010) demonstrate the multimodal expressions of the conceptual metaphors MORE IS UP and LESS IS DOWN, SUCCESS IS UP and FAILURE IS DOWN, and HAPPY IS UP and SAD IS DOWN in a German news programme on the financial crisis.

Fahlenbrach (2007, 2010) discusses emotion metaphors in live-action films (e.g., *Blade Runner* and *Das Boot*), which she sees as a primarily visual medium, and in TV programmes (advertising and news), which she considers a more sound-and-spoken-language-oriented medium. Renckens (2010) convincingly shows that lightness and darkness are used metaphorically, and often in a quite sophisticated manner, in live-action films (*Apocalypse Now*, *Bram Stoker's Dracula*, *Insomnia*, *The Lord of the Rings*, among others) to suggest GOOD IS LIGHT and BAD IS DARK, and more specific metaphors such as HOPE/LIFE/POSITIVE AFFECTIVE STATE IS LIGHT; DESPAIR/DEATH/NEGATIVE AFFECTIVE STATE IS DARK.

Let me end by stating that I expect the most illuminating work in the area of multimodal conceptual metaphor – and of multimodal discourse in general – to come from approaches that investigate data that belong to the same medium (e.g., comics, animation, photography, live-action film, painting ...) *and* the same genre (e.g., art, advertising, political cartoons, DVD manuals ...) *and* display the same combination of modalities (e.g., language + visuals; visuals + sound; “visuals + music + sound” ...). The rationale behind this is that each medium, genre, and modality (and combination of modalities) has its own affordances and limitations. We will learn most if we initially restrict ourselves to highly comparable data. Whether or not CMT's central tenets are eventually proven or disproven remains to be seen; but the focus on metaphor throughout this Course has forced me to be highly specific in deciding what relevant narrative or persuasive information is rendered in what modality, and how modalities interact in conveying the overall story or message. In this way, work on multimodal metaphor can contribute significantly to the more encompassing discipline of multimodal discourse.

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