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MULTIMODAL CONSTRUCTION OF FEAR IN A TV SERIES – AMERICAN HORROR STORY: CULT – VERBAL AND VISUAL MODE

ABSTRACT

Conceptual Metaphor Theory assumes that metaphors go beyond language and shape our conceptual systems. Conceptual metaphors have been researched multimodally and found in the verbal, visual, gestural, and other modes. Lately, metaphors have been studied in multimodal sources of data, e.g. movies. This article examines how the emotion of fear is constructed in multimodal discourse looking at *American Horror Story: Cult* – a television series representing the genre of horror. The point of departure is Zoltán Kövecses' (1990, 2004) description of linguistic metaphors and metonymies of emotions. This paper aims to answer the question whether his findings are applicable to both the verbal and visual modes. Specifically, I looked at which fear metaphors and metonymies are present in both modes, and which are mode-specific. For the analysis of linguistic data the Metaphor Identification Procedure designed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007) has been employed, as well as keywords derived from Kövecses' list of metaphors. To analyze the moving image, the analytic tools developed for cinematic language by Edgar-Hunt, Marland and Rawle (2010) were used. The study has shown that Kövecses' core list of fear metaphors is applicable both to the verbal and the visual mode. New metaphors were also identified. Additionally, it was shown that the visual mode allows for more specificity, while the verbal mode allows for unconventional conceptualization in relation to particular discourse, here, political discourse.

Keywords

metaphor, metonymy, fear, audio-visual mode, multimodality

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1. INTRODUCTION

There are many ways of expressing meaning which tend to appear not separately, but in combination (Bezemer, Jewitt & O'Halloran 2016: 11-12). They

are called modes and are defined as culturally and socially shaped resources for making meaning (Kress 2010: 79). A mode could also be seen as a system of signs perceived by senses and thus interpreted. However, because of the complex nature of modes, a precise definition or a list of modes cannot be provided. Nevertheless, pictorial signs, written signs, spoken signs, gestures, sounds, music, smells, tastes, touch have been enumerated by Forceville (2009: 22-23) as some of the existing modes.

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) brought to light a new way of thinking about metaphor and human conceptual system. It is based on the assumption that metaphors, apart from being present in language, are also a part of human conceptual system which shapes our experience of the world (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 3, 4). Initially, conceptual metaphors were found in language, but current approaches acknowledge that metaphors can also be expressed visually and through other modes. Each mode may create specific metaphorical expressions (Kress 2010: 154-155), as has been shown in studies of metaphors in the verbal (Kövecses 1990, Yusuf 2016), visual (Forceville 2005, Shinohara & Matsunaka 2009) and gestural (Cienki & Müller 2008, Jelec 2014) modes.

The source of data for multimodal analysis of Conceptual Metaphor has shifted from still image, e.g. static advertisements, branding, logos, and comics (Forceville 2016a on car advertisements) to moving image, such as animated cartoons (Popa 2015) and feature films (Forceville 2015). Contemporary movies are a combination of image and sound which means that the study of metaphor needs to take into account both visual and auditory data. Such data has been analyzed in various ways, e.g. Forceville (2015) studies animated films focusing on the moving image and ignoring the verbal layer, while Popa (2015) analyzed animated political cartoons both in the verbal and visual mode, however, she treated the visual as still images. The most recent type of data for such investigations come from television advertisements (Forceville 2007) and movies (Forceville 2016b). It is vital to note that, while most of these studies focus on multimodal metaphors, therefore metaphors in which the source and target belong to different modes, it is also a common practice to analyze multimodal data with respect to metaphors constructed separately in each mode, e.g. the verbal and the gestural (Cienki & Müller 2008).

The present study follows the trend of studying multimodal sources including the verbal layer and the moving image by focusing on a so far relatively unexplored type of data – a television series. *American Horror Story: Cult*, apart from being an example of multimodal discourse, is the season of the series that portrays different dimensions of fear, namely fear typical for the horror genre, fear related to phobias, and fear induced in political contexts in order to control people. The analysis concerns the verbal and the visual mode on their own in order to investigate the meaning making potential of each of the two

modes, separately. The point of departure for the analysis are Kövecses' (1990, 2004) metaphors and metonymies of fear. Since Kövecses limited his insight to the verbal mode, I search for verbal and visual manifestations of metaphors and metonymies of fear, asking whether his theory is applicable to both modes. In particular, I look at which fear metaphors and metonymies are present both in the verbal and the visual mode, and which are mode-specific. Additionally, I check if they appear in both modes in the same scene or in different scenes.

The next section of the article contains lists of metaphors and metonymies of fear based on the work of Kövecses (1990, 2004). Section 3 discusses the choice of data and provides the methods of analysis. For analysing language the Metaphor Identification Procedure is used along with keywords derived from metaphorical expressions provided in Section 2. Visual metaphors are searched for on the basis of the description of cinematographic tools and their potential for meaning making (Edgar-Hunt, Marland & Rawle 2010). Section 4 contains the analysis of the material and presents the metaphors that were identified in the verbal and the visual mode. Section 5 includes a discussion of the findings and the conclusion of the paper.

2. VERBAL AND VISUAL METAPHORS AND METONYMIES OF FEAR

Fear as an abstract emotion concept was described by Zoltán Kövecses in *Emotion Concepts* (1990) where he analyzed studies of emotion and the *language of emotion*. The following list includes the metaphors of fear as proposed by Kövecses (1990: 74-78) along with selected example sentences and short explanations modeled on the ones provided by Kövecses:

(1) **FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER**

The sight filled her with fear.

This metaphor assumes that fear is a liquid existing inside a container; the container is the body of the person who experiences the emotion.

(2) **FEAR IS A VICIOUS ENEMY (HUMAN OR ANIMAL)**

The fear that things wouldn't work out continued to prey on her mind.

In this metaphor fear is a creature that threatens and even harms the experiencer.

(3) **FEAR IS A TORMENTOR**

They were tortured by the fear of what was going to happen to their son.

Here, fear is a person causing torture, pain.

(4) FEAR IS AN ILLNESS

I have recovered from the shock slowly.

Such metaphors conceptualize fear as causing or being an illness itself.

(5) FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING (GHOST, ETC.)

She was haunted by the fear of death.

In this metaphor fear is a supernatural entity that causes mental struggle.

(6) FEAR IS AN OPPONENT

He was wrestling with his fear.

This metaphor treats fear as an opponent in a fight for taking back the control over one's emotions.

(7) FEAR (DANGER) IS A BURDEN

Fear weighed heavily on them as they heard the bombers overhead.

Fear in this metaphor is an unpleasant experience, while getting rid of fear is pleasant. It could be brought down to simpler terms – the fear might be a heavy object; disposing of it constitutes relief.

(8) FEAR IS A NATURAL FORCE (WIND, STORM, FLOOD, ETC.)

Fear swept over him.

When comparing fear to a natural force, we put the experiencer in a position undergoing the effects of an uncontrollable force.

(9) FEAR IS A SUPERIOR

Fear dominated his actions.

This metaphor puts the emotion and the experiencer in a relation of power in which the emotion makes one perform or prevents them from performing certain actions.

In a later work Kövecses (2004: 23) revised the list by changing some labels (FEAR IS A HIDDEN ENEMY, FEAR IS AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE and FEAR IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR) and adding two more metaphors:

(10) FEAR IS INSANITY

Jack was insane with fear.

To my mind this metaphor could be treated as a subordinate to the fear is an illness metaphor because insanity is roughly a synonym of mental illness.

(11) THE SUBJECT OF FEAR IS A DIVIDED SELF

I was beside myself with fear.

Here, the self that conventionally is located inside the body moves out of it when one loses control over their emotions.

Kövecses (2004: 23-24, 191) also discusses conceptual metonymy. Metonymies related to emotions are straightforwardly based on physiological aspects of reacting to a given emotion. While they are necessary for understanding the complex concepts of emotions, they are not sufficient. Metaphors, on the other hand, are more significant as they complement the understanding of fear by conceptualizing the causes and nature of fear, characteristics of one's relationship with fear, and feelings caused by the cessation of fear (Kövecses 1990: 76, 79). While conceptual metaphors are the main point of interest of the present study, considering some metonymies has proven to be helpful in the analysis of data. The following are fear metonymies as proposed by Kövecses (1990: 77-78): DROP IN BODY TEMPERATURE FOR FEAR, PHYSICAL AGITATION FOR FEAR, INCREASE IN HEARTBEAT FOR FEAR, BLOOD LEAVING FACE FOR FEAR, SKIN SHRINKING FOR FEAR, HAIR STRAIGHTENING OUT FOR FEAR, INABILITY TO MOVE FOR FEAR, INABILITY TO BREATHE FOR FEAR, INABILITY TO SPEAK FOR FEAR, (INVOLUNTARY) RELEASE OF BOWELS OR BLADDER FOR FEAR, SWEATING FOR FEAR, NERVOUSNESS IN THE STOMACH FOR FEAR, DRYNESS IN THE MOUTH FOR FEAR, SCREAMING FOR FEAR, WAYS OF LOOKING FOR FEAR, STARTLE FOR FEAR, FLIGHT FOR FEAR.

3. THE STUDY: CONSTRUCTING FEAR IN AMERICAN HORROR STORY: CULT

3.1 DATA

The study analyses *American Horror Story: Cult*. The series represents the genre of horror, which tries to scare both the characters and the audience. This is why it was selected as a source of data on metaphors and metonymies of fear. The tropes and themes used in the series are well-known, which suggests that the metaphors are culturally entrenched.

Season 7 of the series was selected for the analysis because fear plays a special role here: apart from the dimension of fear which can be generally expected from the genre of horror, it presents fear in terms of phobias and politics. 11 episodes (around 45 minutes per episode) tell a story of Alyson Mayfair-Richards who has to face her fears and phobias; and Kai Anderson

who starts a cult in order to gain political power, which shows that fear can be used to control people (Ferber 2017). This is why this season was expected to present a high number of various conceptualizations of fear.

3.2 METHODS

3.2.1 MIP

In order to find and analyze metaphorical linguistic expressions that are employed to express the conceptualization of fear, I adopted the MIP as introduced by the Pragglejaz Group (2007). MIP or “metaphor identification procedure” is a tool that allows for identification of metaphorically used words with respect to the given context in different types of spoken and written discourse. It offers more reliability than pure intuition (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 1-3). The procedure of identifying metaphors includes the following steps: going through a given text for general understanding; distinguishing particular lexical units in the text and resolving their meaning in the context; determining whether given lexical units could have a more basic meaning in a different context; and if it does so, marking the word as used metaphorically (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 3). I used MIP to analyze the utterances that concern fear.

3.2.2 KEYWORDS

In order to find linguistic manifestations of fear metaphors described in Section 3, I looked for specific keywords (Table 1) relating to those metaphors. I elicited the keywords from the example sentences provided by Kövecses (1990, 2004) for each metaphor, in which the words pointing to the given metaphor were written in italics. I allowed for variation of their grammatical form when locating them in the data.

Metaphor	Keywords	Table 1. Keywords cuing the use of metaphor
FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER	<i>rise in, fill, contain, full of</i>	
FEAR IS A VICIOUS (HIDDEN) ENEMY (HUMAN OR ANIMAL)	<i>lurk, creep up, choke, hound, prey on, harness</i>	
FEAR IS A TORMENTOR	<i>torture, torment</i>	
FEAR IS AN ILLNESS/DISEASE	<i>sick with, recover from, get over, plague</i>	
FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING (GHOST, ETC.)	<i>haunt, spooky, dark, ghostly</i>	
FEAR IS AN OPPONENT (IN A STRUGGLE)	<i>wrestle with, overcome, take hold of, grip, control, besiege, seize, suppress, struggle with, fight, win out, attack, in the clutch of, incapacitate, overtake</i>	
FEAR (DANGER) IS A BURDEN	<i>relieved, weigh (heavily) on, (sigh of) relief, alleviate, burden</i>	

FEAR IS A NATURAL FORCE (WIND, STORM, FLOOD, ETC.)	<i>sweep over, engulf, surge, flood, overwhelm, come over, carry away</i>
FEAR IS A (SOCIAL) SUPERIOR	<i>prevent from, drive, dictate, rule, dominate, reign</i>
FEAR IS INSANITY	<i>insane (with)</i>
THE SUBJECT OF FEAR IS A DIVIDED SELF	<i>beside (oneself)</i>

Some metaphors were expressed without the use of the suggested keywords, which required the use of MIP in other stretches of the dialogue list in order to identify the underlying conceptual metaphors. What is more, I did not exclude the possibility of encountering linguistic expressions that could rely on different metaphors than those suggested by Kövecses.

3.2.3 FILMIC TECHNIQUES

When analysing the moving image I was guided by Edgar-Hunt, Marland and Rawle's (2010) film theory. Table 2 lists the filmic techniques derived from the literature and possible metaphors that could be expressed by them.

Table 2. Filmic techniques and possible metaphors

Filmic techniques	Metaphor
Low/high angle shot	FEAR IS A (SOCIAL) SUPERIOR
A character appearing from outside the frame/a character looking at another character located outside the frame	FEAR IS HIDDEN ENEMY
Long shots (LS) / extreme long shots (XLS) (depicting landscape)	FEAR IS A NATURAL FORCE (WIND, STORM, FLOOD, ETC.)
Dolly/hand-held shot (depicting a chase/escape)	FEAR IS A TORMENTOR
Zoom (often used with villains in a fight)	FEAR IS AN OPPONENT (IN A STRUGGLE)
Low-key lighting (or darkness, night)	FEAR IS A HIDDEN ENEMY

Here, I also did not exclude the possibility of finding different metaphors of fear as portrayed by the listed and other filmic techniques, acting, and other elements constituting the visual layer of the data.

4. RESULTS: METAPHORS OF FEAR IN AMERICAN HORROR STORY: CULT

4.1 VERBAL METAPHORS

The first example of a metaphorical linguistic expression based on an underlying conceptual metaphor comes from the first episode of the series. In the

scene of interest, Kai Anderson interviews his sister Winter, which is a usual practice before accepting one to join his cult. One of the routine questions he asks concerns fear. In this scene Kai phrases it as follows: *Now, tell me, woman what fills your heart with dread?* As can be easily noticed, the phrase contains one of the keywords listed in Table 1, namely, the word *fills* which points to the FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor. The lexical unit *fills* in this context has the meaning of making a person feel an emotion, but it also has a more general meaning that is possible in a different context – to *fill* is to occupy a physical container by a physical substance. This confirms that the word is used metaphorically and the sentence expresses the metaphor FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER. What is more, there are other lexical units that are used metaphorically creating the mappings between the domain of fear and the domain of fluids in containers. The noun *dread* whose basic meaning is ‘intense fear’ becomes the liquid, while *heart* which is a label for ‘a human body organ’ becomes the container.

Kai Anderson gives many political speeches in which he talks about fear. In the first episode he says that fear is what humans love the most and further characterizes it as “The fear that over time we have honed and polished and built up, brick by brick, until it stands before us every day as tall as the Trump Tower”. In this sentence, Kai clearly speaks about fear in a metaphorical way. While he does not use any of the keywords from the reference lists, he clearly uses two metaphorical expressions. The words *hone* and *polish* create mappings between the domain of fear and something valuable, a treasure. Therefore, the metaphor here could be FEAR IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY OR FEAR IS TREASURE. The second metaphor is expressed with the use of the words: *build, brick, stands, tall* and *tower* which point to the domain of building. Therefore, the probable metaphor here is FEAR IS A BUILDING. In the same speech, Kai also says the following sentences: “Fear is currency. It has value.” The first one is actually formulated in a way we formulate conceptual metaphors, thus simply providing us with a new metaphorical mapping which has not been identified before, FEAR IS CURRENCY. The second sentence again describes fear, in more general terms, as a VALUABLE COMMODITY.

In episode four, during a conversation with one of his followers, Beverly Hope, the leader of the cult presents a different approach by saying that:

(...) the fear in a small town in Michigan can *infect* the country, the world in a few days. Now, fear, fear isn't like a *virus*. When fear finds more *hosts*, it gets stronger, scarier. The tiny fear in one woman turns into a *beast* that *swallows* the world by the time it *spreads* across the country. Great men and women have been *weaponizing* fear forever (...).

While he does not use any of the aforementioned keywords, the lexical units: *infect, virus, hosts, spreads* suggest the presence of the metaphor FEAR IS AN

ILLNESS, and: *beast*, *swallows* are motivated by FEAR IS A VICIOUS ENEMY (ANIMAL) or FEAR IS A TORMENTOR. What is more, the last sentence hints at a metaphor which was not identified in the sources discussed in Section 2 – FEAR IS A WEAPON.

Another character who often talks about fear is Ally Mayfair-Richards. In episode nine she uses the same metaphor as Kai did – FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER. This happens when she says: “But then, I realized that those fears were filling a hole I had inside me, and you can’t take those fears away without filling that hole with something else”. The keyword here is again *fill*. While fear is the fluid, the body is the container. The hole in the body which is filled with fear is probably some emotional need of the character.

In episode one, in a situation which is to be described in detail in the analysis of the visual mode, when Ally is really scared, her wife asks her: “Are you insane?” After some time Ally admits – “I think I’m going insane. I think I’m losing my mind”. The keyword *insane* as well as the expression *to lose one’s mind* point to the metaphor FEAR IS INSANITY or a more general one, namely, FEAR IS AN ILLNESS, as insanity is a synonym for mental illness which is a type of medical condition.

Earlier in the same episode, Ally talks to Ivy in their restaurant about the fact that her fears have been distracting her from work. Ally replies to the accusations made by her wife in the words: “I am so sorry, and I promise you I’m going to get this under control”. The lexical unit *control* is one of the keywords for the metaphor FEAR IS AN OPPONENT. The character intends to gain control over her opponent – fear. In the sentence the word *fear* is implied by the pronoun *this*. In episodes five and six, when her therapist talks to her about her fear, he says: “That is the first step to conquering any fear, because it’s up to you to pull yourself out” and “The fear, Allyson, don’t let it win.” He also uses the FEAR IS AN OPPONENT metaphor which is hinted at by the keyword *win* and the word *conquer* which is synonymous to it. During a news broadcast, in episode five, Beverly also employs the FEAR IS AN OPPONENT metaphor which she expresses through the utterance: “(...) reporting to you from a neighborhood gripped in terror”. *Terror* is a synonym of the word *fear*, while *gripped* is one of the keywords for the metaphor (*grip*).

The analysis of the verbal mode given above shows further support to most of the source domains identified by Kövecses (1990, 2004). Other source domains which were identified are: BUILDING, VALUABLE COMMODITY, or, more specifically, TREASURE / CURRENCY; and WEAPON. These metaphors seem to be less conventional and specific to the data which presents fear as a means for controlling people. Let’s now move on to the analysis of the visual mode.

4.2 VISUAL METAPHORS

The first scene with significant presence of metaphors in the visual mode appears in the first episode. The scene involves a couple having a picnic, and Twisty the clown, a character that has emerged in one of the previous seasons of the series. The scene is a case of intertextuality, as it is a depiction of a comic book read by Oz, one of the characters from the main plot. During the picnic the woman says that she feels as if someone was watching them. Her partner jokes that it might be Twisty the clown, which scares her. The joke, however, turns out to be true, and we see Twisty for the first time. The frame is occupied only by a part of his body: his stomach, the lower parts of his hands and the upper parts of his legs. Later, when the clown is approaching the couple, he is followed by the camera (a dolly shot) which shows the back of his head. The fact that we do not see the face of the approaching intruder, and that the camera follows his path, supports the presence of the metaphor *FEAR IS A HIDDEN ENEMY*. It is constructed on the principle of a basic metonymy: *THE PART FOR THE WHOLE* (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 36) as parts of the clown's body represent the entire clown. Simultaneously, this metonymy strengthens the *HIDDEN ENEMY* metaphor, as in this shot we do not see his face but other parts of the body partially covered by the undergrowth. The dolly shot, as mentioned before, can be related to the *FEAR IS A TORMENTOR* metaphor. When Twisty reaches the couple, the camera shows them from a high angle laying on the ground, and then it quickly shifts to a low angle shot to show the clown. Such use of camera angle introduces another metaphor: *FEAR IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR*. The woman starts breathing heavily and screaming out at the sight of the clown. These symptoms include the metonymies: *INABILITY TO BREATHE FOR FEAR* and *SCREAMING FOR FEAR*. Next, the man wants to defend himself and shoots the attacker multiple times. The bullets hit the clown but he does not suffer any damage. Such a reaction is not typical for a human being, therefore the metaphor here is *FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING*. In return, Twisty heavily abuses the man, which is a clear depiction of the *FEAR IS A TORMENTOR* metaphor. The entire scene of the fight also brings to mind the *OPPONENT* and *VICIOUS ENEMY* source domains. In the meantime, the woman begins to escape, while the camera follows her in a hand-held shaky shot. Soon the clown starts to follow her. This might depict the metaphor *FEAR IS A VICIOUS ENEMY* or a specification of it – *FEAR IS A PREDATOR*. This scene and the metaphor present in it are built upon the metonymy *FLIGHT FOR FEAR*. Later, the woman hides in the back of an old car, separated from the rest of the car with bars. Taking into consideration the fact that she cannot escape, because following the path which she used to get into the car would be too dangerous, and that she takes up almost the whole of the frame and looks as if trapped in a cage, it can be

identified as a representation of the metaphor: FEAR IS A TRAP which was not listed by Kövecses. The lighting in this part changes drastically, from a well-lit sunny outdoor surroundings to a dark, gloomy space with low-key lighting. This kind of lighting was predicted to signal the HIDDEN ENEMY metaphor (Table 2), however this scene brings to mind one more metaphor which is directly related to the change in lighting: FEAR IS DARKNESS. This metaphor was not proposed by Kövecses. Later, the woman looks in the direction of the space outside of the diegetic world and the clown jumps into the frame from this space, which together with the shadows formed by the low-key lighting again reinforces the metaphor FEAR IS A HIDDEN ENEMY. The fact that Twisty vigorously attacks her can be interpreted as another instance of the FEAR IS A TORMENTOR metaphor. In the described scenes Twisty as a whole stands for the source of fear but different aspects of the character create different metaphors. This kind of conceptualization seems to be based on the THE PART FOR THE WHOLE metonymy.

The next scene occurs later in the first episode. It takes place after Ally decides to forget about her fears and worries connected with the political situation in her country and plans a relaxing dinner with her wife at their restaurant. At the beginning, Ivy brings her a plate and when she opens it up, Ally's phobias come back – she sees blood spilling out of small holes in the food and then she sees a clown. At the beginning of the scene, we see Ally's head from behind and the camera slowly zooms in on her, which gives an impression of seeing through the eyes of an approaching entity. The fact that the entity is unknown creates a feeling of threat. Later, it turns out that it was Ivy bringing her the meal. This situation involves two metaphors. The first is FEAR IS A HIDDEN/VICIOUS ENEMY because the camera movement creates an impression of a hostile person unseen to the viewer approaching the character. This can be further supported by the fact that this part of the scene could be described in the words (with a slight modification as to the gender of the experiencer): *Fear slowly crept up on [her]* which is an example that Kövecses (1990: 75, 2004: 23) provides as a linguistic representation of the FEAR IS A HIDDEN/VICIOUS ENEMY metaphor. In the metaphor, Ally should be mapped as the victim of the approaching enemy, while the mapping of the hidden enemy goes first to the unknown entity and after the person is revealed, it can be ascribed to Ivy. The fact that the attacker turns out to be the person whom we would not expect, one that is considered to maintain a friendly relation with the object of the “attack”, brings to mind a metaphor that has not been mentioned in Kövecses' repertoire – FEAR IS AN UNEXPECTED/A DISGUISED PERSON. These metaphors are specifications of the FEAR IS A HIDDEN ENEMY metaphor. Later in that scene Ally takes the cover off her plate. What, as we later learn, is a regular dish, appears to her as having small holes with blood spilling out of them. Next, there is a quick zoom in

the direction of Ally's face, as if she was being attacked by an unseen force. In this frame, Ally starts breathing heavily (INABILITY TO BREATHE FOR FEAR metonymy) which strengthens the depiction of her fear. Further, Ally also notices a clown. The fact that Ally sees the holes in her food is caused by her tryphobia, the fear of small holes, one of the phobias she developed because of her fear connected to the changes in politics. She also has another phobia – a fear of clowns.

The subsequent quick approach of the camera could therefore be understood as an “attack” of fear which is motivated by the metaphor FEAR IS A VICIOUS ENEMY which could be specified as FEAR IS AN ATTACKER. Even though the linguistic examples for FEAR IS A VICIOUS ENEMY indicate the idea of approaching and also acting violently towards the patient, the FEAR IS AN ATTACKER metaphor would point more precisely to the abrupt attack expressed by the camera movement in this scene. Finally, the fact that the phobias caused by fear come back points to the metaphor FEAR IS INSANITY or FEAR IS AN ILLNESS, as suggested before. The metaphor FEAR IS INSANITY as expressed through the verbal mode in connection to this scene was described in the previous section.

The last scene that I am going to analyze comes from episode six. It takes place in the house of Sally Kefler, a new city council candidate who stood up to Kai. Ally comes to her to seek help. While the women are talking, they suddenly get scared because a window is smashed by an anonymous character from outside of the house. This action involves the FEAR IS A HIDDEN/VICIOUS ENEMY metaphor. People dressed as clowns, with masks making their faces unrecognizable, enter the frame. The interpretation of this scene is based on the aforementioned metaphor FEAR IS A DISGUISED PERSON which is a specification of FEAR IS A HIDDEN ENEMY. At the sight of the intruders, Ally immediately starts to escape (FLIGHT FOR FEAR metonymy). She runs through a corridor which, as opposed to the room, has no lights, and the camera follows her in a dolly shot with much shakiness. This scene depicts flight from the chasing fear in dark surroundings, which points to the metaphors: FEAR IS A PREDATOR, a specification of FEAR IS A VICIOUS ENEMY, and, again, FEAR IS DARKNESS. At the end of the corridor, Ally enters a door and falls to the ground as if weighted down by the fear, which illustrates the metaphor FEAR IS A BURDEN.

Meanwhile, in the room, before Sally gets shot, some interesting use of camera can be observed. Kai leans down over Sally who lies on the carpet. While his face is shown straight-on from an extremely low angle as if seen through Sally's eyes, Sally's face is shown in the opposite manner, which establishes a power relation with the use of the metaphor FEAR IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR. Sally acknowledges her inferior position in this situation and tries to alleviate Kai's superiority by spitting in his face. Later, after writing Sal-

ly's suicide note, Kai stands up and approaches the woman. At one point, a part of his body covers almost the entire frame, disenabling the viewers from seeing any of the other characters. This is an instance of the FEAR IS A HIDDEN ENEMY metaphor. When Sally is shot, for a brief moment we go back to Ally who screams out at the sound of the firing gun (SCREAMING FOR FEAR metonymy). Then, one of the clowns, who we later learn is Ivy, heads to the corridor, probably towards Ally's hideaway. The camera follows only her feet, which makes it seem as if she was a sneaking animal – FEAR IS A VICIOUS ENEMY (ANIMAL). The colors prevailing in the corridor and the bathroom, where Ally hides, are cold and bluish, and the material covering the walls and the floor of the bathroom is covered with cold-looking tiles. This points to another metaphor not identified before: FEAR IS COLDNESS.

The analysis of the visual mode also provides support for most of the source domains from Kövecses (1990, 2004). However, apart from those listed by Kövecses', the following source domains were found: PREDATOR, TRAP, DARKNESS, UNEXPECTED/DISGUISED PERSON, ATTACKER, COLDNESS.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Table 3 below presents a summary of the results of the analysis of the verbal and visual modes.

Table 3. Metaphors and metonymies of fear in American Horror Story: Cult

	Source domains and vehicles	Verbal expressions	Frequency in the verbal mode	Frequency in the visual mode
	VICIOUS (HIDDEN) ENEMY	<i>beast, swallows, control, win, conquer, grip</i>	5	9
	- OPPONENT (IN A STRUGGLE)	<i>control, win, conquer, grip</i>	4	1
	- ANIMAL	<i>beast, swallows</i>	1	1
	- TORMENTOR	<i>beast, swallows</i>	1	3
	- PREDATOR*	-	-	2
	- UNEXPECTED/DISGUISED PERSON*	-	-	2
	- ATTACKER*	-	-	1
	ILLNESS	<i>infest, virus, hosts, spreads, insane, lose one's mind</i>	3	1
	- INSANITY	<i>insane, lose one's mind</i>	2	1
	VALUABLE COMMODITY*	<i>hone, polish, currency, value</i>	3	-
	- TREASURE*	<i>hone, polish</i>	1	-

- CURRENCY*	<i>currency</i>	1	-
FLUID IN A CONTAINER	<i>fill</i>	2	-
BUILDING*	<i>built up, brick, stands, tall, tower</i>	1	-
WEAPON*	<i>weaponize</i>	1	-
(SOCIAL) SUPERIOR	-	-	2
DARKNESS*	-	-	2
SUPERNATURAL BEING	-	-	1
TRAP*	-	-	1
COLDNESS*	-	-	1
BURDEN	-	-	1
INABILITY TO BREATHE	-	-	2
SCREAMING	-	-	2
FLIGHT	-	-	1

The source domains marked with an asterisk were not mentioned in the list in Section 2.

The findings of this study show that in the verbal mode of *American Horror Story: Cult* we can find most of the metaphors suggested by Kövecses, such as: FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER which appeared twice; FEAR IS AN ILLNESS which appeared once or three times if we equal insanity with illness, otherwise FEAR IS INSANITY having two appearances; FEAR IS A VICIOUS ENEMY (ANIMAL); and FEAR IS A TORMENTOR. The most common one was FEAR IS AN OPPONENT which I identified four times. The prevalent use of this metaphor may imply that fear is something one can conquer and control. This is plausible because this metaphor, in most cases, concerned Ally – the main character who attended psychotherapy to fight with her fears. It may also be counted as an instance of a more general metaphor: FEAR IS A VICIOUS ENEMY, which gives this metaphor the frequency of five. The second most frequent metaphor, FEAR IS INSANITY, was also connected with her.

In the verbal mode I also found five metaphors which were not accounted for by Kövecses: FEAR IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY, FEAR IS TREASURE, FEAR IS CURRENCY, FEAR IS A BUILDING and FEAR IS A WEAPON. The CURRENCY and TREASURE metaphors can be generalized to the superordinate metaphor FEAR IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY, however they both have some distinct qualities. The fact that Kai used these unconventional metaphors in his political speeches emerges from his unusual approach to the concept of fear. While most metaphors treat fear as something negative, the politician and cult leader ascribed positive value to it, because he used fear for his personal profit (gaining power). On the other hand, the metaphors con-

nected with Ally as the victim of fear were more conventional, because in her case, fear was construed as a negative emotion. The FEAR IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY metaphor was mentioned by Koivisto-Alanko and Tissari (2006: 210), however, it concerned fear of god which probably does not encompass the distinct aspects of CURRENCY and TREASURE. A similar metaphor to FEAR IS A BUILDING was discussed by Ansah (2014). The keyword that she provided was *well-founded* and she labeled the metaphor as FEAR IS A CONSTRUCTION.

The metaphor that prevailed in the visual mode was FEAR IS A VICIOUS/HIDDEN ENEMY (9 times). It was mostly constructed by the use of camera movement and framing. I noticed many instances specifying this metaphor, i.e. FEAR IS A TORMENTOR (3) and FEAR IS AN OPPONENT (IN A STRUGGLE) (1) which were provided as separate metaphors in Kövecses' works, FEAR IS AN UNEXPECTED/DISGUISED PERSON (2), FEAR IS A PREDATOR (2), FEAR IS AN ATTACKER (1), and FEAR IS AN ANIMAL (1). The fact that the same metaphor which could be expressed verbally, when shown in the visual mode seems to be more specific, is an argument in favor of the potential of the visual mode to make metaphorical realizations more concrete and specific than is the case with the verbal mode.

Other metaphors in the visual mode were: FEAR IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR (2), FEAR IS DARKNESS (2), FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING (1), FEAR IS INSANITY/ILLNESS (1), FEAR IS COLDNESS (1), FEAR IS A BURDEN (1) and FEAR IS A TRAP (1). The FEAR IS A TRAP metaphor could be related to a more general metaphor: FEAR IS A CONTAINER which was also mentioned by Ansah (2014).

Two metaphors from Kövecses' list which were not present in the analyzed data are: FEAR IS A NATURAL FORCE and THE SUBJECT OF FEAR IS A DIVIDED SELF. The first metaphor did not occur, probably, because in a television series it is not common to show wide-shot depictions of nature. This is thus a genre-specific result. The second metaphor is generally not very frequent, as even Kövecses provides only one linguistic example of it.

The metaphor which occurred most often in both modes was the FEAR IS A HIDDEN/VICIOUS ENEMY metaphor along with its specifications. According to Stefanowitch's (2008: 78) comment to Kövecses' list of metaphors of fear: "it is not clear why FEAR IS A VICIOUS ENEMY and FEAR IS A TORMENTOR are posited as separate mappings rather than being subsumed under something like FEAR IS AN ENEMY, together with FEAR IS AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE". I agree with this stance, because, especially in the case of the visual mode, I experienced trouble determining which one of those metaphors was the basis for a given representation, and often, more than one metaphor seemed applicable. It is worth noting, however, that each of these metaphors has some distinct features. In fact, in the visual mode I identified further specifications: FEAR IS AN UNEXPECTED/A DISGUISED PERSON, FEAR IS A PREDATOR, FEAR IS AN ATTACKER. Another metaphor which could be found in both modes was

FEAR IS INSANITY, probably because it was related to one of the main themes of the analysed material. The scenes in which Ally experienced her phobias were portrayed visually, but oftentimes the illness was also discussed.

Some metaphors were found only in one of the two examined modes. The metaphors which were exclusive to the verbal mode were: FEAR IS A BUILDING (CONSTRUCTION), FEAR IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY (CURRENCY/TREASURE) and FEAR IS A WEAPON. All of them came from political speeches which are a verbal form of expression. The metaphors, therefore, were triggered by the particular discourse. Another verbal-only metaphor was FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, a highly abstract metaphor which often includes humans' internal organs, which possibly makes it hard to portray in the live action television series which is supposed to present situations resembling real life. The source domains which were found only in the visual mode are: SOCIAL SUPERIOR, TRAP (CONTAINER), BURDEN, DARKNESS, and COLDNESS. Most of them were conveyed by filmic tools: framing, angle, lighting, and colors. They are all related to the conventional representation of fear and concern scenes which are typical for the genre of horror, unlike the ones which were related to politics. The metaphor FEAR IS DARK was also discussed in a paper by Winter (2014) who analyzed metaphors of fear in horror movies. He inferred this metaphor from EVIL IS DARK, following the assumption that the domain of EVIL encompasses the domain of FEAR (Winter 2014: 152). Omori (2008) mentions the relation between emotions and temperature, and links the emotion of FEAR with the domain of COLDNESS. The existence of such metaphor was actually confirmed by Kövecses (2008) in a reply to Omori's paper. The scenes which were presented as containing visual metaphors, also included metonymies (INABILITY TO BREATHE, SCREAMING and FLIGHT FOR FEAR). It can, therefore, be assumed that especially in the visual mode metaphor and metonymy interact with each other to provide a more complex understanding of the emotion. What is more, most of the described scenes did not contain metaphors in both modes at the same time. The only one concerned Ivy asking Ally about her *insanity* when she was experiencing her phobias (FEAR IS INSANITY). In this scene the same metaphor was expressed in both modes.

To sum up, the findings reveal what metaphors were used to conceptualize fear in *American Horror Story: Cult*. The study has shown that Kövecses' core list of fear metaphors is also applicable to the visual mode and led to the identification of metaphors which were not present on the list. It was shown that the visual mode allows for more specificity, while unconventional conceptualization is possible in the verbal mode in relation to particular discourse, here, political discourse.

The scope of this paper allowed only for the analysis of metaphor and metonymy in the two major modes: the verbal and the visual, but the TV

series could be further analyzed with regard to the mode of music, and the use of image schemata, which could provide an even fuller picture of how the emotion of fear can be constructed multimodally. Further studies with relation to other emotions are also possible.

STRESZCZENIE

KONSTRUOWANIE STRACHU W SERIALU TELEWIZYJNYM *AMERICAN HORROR STORY: CULT* – MODALNOŚĆ WERBALNA I WIZUALNA

Komunikacja jest zjawiskiem multimodalnym – istnieje wiele systemów semiotycznych pozwalających na tworzenie komunikatów (Bezemer, Jewitt & O'Halloran 2016: 11-12). Systemy te są społecznie i kulturowo ukształtowane. Często występują jednocześnie w tym samym komunikacie (Kress 2010: 79). Teoria metafor pojęciowych (Conceptual Metaphor Theory, CMT) zakłada, że metafory istnieją nie tylko w języku, ale są częścią ludzkiego systemu konceptualnego i wpływają na to, jak postrzegamy świat (Lakoff & Johnson 2003). Początkowo metafory pojęciowe znajdowano w języku, ale obecnie wiadomo, że można je również wyrazić za pomocą m.in. obrazu i gestów (np. Forceville 2005, Shinohara & Matsunaka 2009, Cienki & Müller 2008, Jelec 2014).

Artykuł ten zajmuje się metaforami strachu obecnymi w serialu telewizyjnym *American Horror Story: Kult*. Analiza dotyczy przedstawienia emocji – strachu w sposób werbalny oraz wizualny. Wybrany serial jako źródło multimodalne pozwala na analizę mowy, jak i obrazu, a ponadto przedstawia różne wymiary strachu: strach typowy dla gatunku, jakim jest horror, strach związany z fobiami, a także strach w kontekście politycznym. Analiza opiera się na metaforach oraz metonimiach strachu przedstawionych przez Zoltána Kövecsesa (1990, 2004). Kövecses omawia metafory występujące jedynie w języku, a te badania sprawdzają, czy obecne są one również w warstwie wizualnej. Analiza poszukuje odpowiedzi na następujące pytania: (1) Czy metafory przedstawione są tylko werbalnie lub tylko wizualnie? (2) Które metafory mogą być wyrażone zarówno w języku jak i w obrazie? (3) Czy te same metafory występują w języku i obrazie w jednej scenie? (4) Czy w serialu pojawiają się metafory nieopisane wcześniej przez Kövecsesa?

W celu analizy dialogów pod kątem obecności metafor strachu użyłam metody identyfikacji metafory (Metaphor Identification Procedure, MIP), opracowanej przez Pragglejaz Group (2007). Aby zidentyfikować potencjalne

metafory, posłużyłam się słowami kluczowymi zaczerpniętymi z przykładów, które Kövecses podaje do każdej z omawianych przez niego metafor (Tabela 1). W celu odnalezienia metafor obecnych w obrazie, posłużyłam się teorią filmu Edgara-Hunta, Marlanda & Rawle'a (2010), co pozwoliło mi przewidzieć, w jaki sposób mogłyby zostać przedstawione poszczególne metafory (Tabela 2). Spodziewałam się również odnalezienia metafor innych niż te zaproponowane wcześniej przez innych badaczy.

Metafora	Słowa kluczowe	
STRACH TO PŁYN W POJEMNIKU	<i>rosnąć, wypełniać, opanować, pełen</i>	<i>Tabela 1. Słowa kluczowe wskazujące na użycie metafor</i>
STRACH TO AGRESYWNY (UKRYTY) WRÓG (CZŁOWIEK LUB ZWIERZĘ)	<i>czaić się, podkraadać się, dusić, prześladować, żerować na, ujarzmić</i>	
STRACH TO DRĘCZYCIEL	<i>torturować, dręczyć</i>	
STRACH TO CHOROBA	<i>chory, wyzdrowieć, dochodzić do siebie, nie dawać żyć</i>	
STRACH TO ISTOTA O CECHACH NADPRZYRODZONYCH (DUCH ITP.)	<i>nawiedzać, upiorny, mroczny, koszmarny</i>	
STRACH TO PRZECIWNIK (W WALCE)	<i>borykać się z, pokonać, panować nad, schwytać, kontrolować, oblegać, zawładnąć, stłumić, zmagać się z, walczyć, zwyciężyć, atakować, w uścisku, obezwładnić, ogarnąć</i>	
STRACH (NIEBEZPIECZEŃSTWO) TO CIĘŻAR	<i>odczuwać ulgę, obciążać, westchnąć z ulgą, ulżyć</i>	
STRACH TO SIŁA PRZYRODY (WIATR, BURZA, POWÓDŹ ITP.)	<i>ogarnąć, pochłaniać, fala, zalać, zasypać, porwać</i>	
STRACH TO OSOBA WYŻSZA RANGĄ	<i>powstrzymać przed, zmusić do, nakazywać, rządzić, dominować, panować</i>	
STRACH TO OBLĘD	<i>oszaleć</i>	
OSOBA DOŚWIADCZAJĄCA STRACHU TO ROZDWOJONA POSTAĆ	<i>wyjść z siebie</i>	
Techniki filmowe	Metafora	
„Ptasia”, „żabia” perspektywa (kamera skierowana w dół/w górę)	STRACH TO OSOBA WYŻSZA RANGĄ	<i>Tabela 2. Techniki filmowe i prawdopodobne metafory</i>
Postać wchodząca w kadr spoza niego/ postać spoglądająca na inną, znajdującą się poza kadrem	STRACH TO UKRYTY WRÓG	
Plan totalny	STRACH TO SIŁA PRZYRODY (WIATR, BURZA, POWÓDŹ, ITP.)	
Filmowanie „z ręki” (obrazujące pogoń/ ucieczkę)	STRACH TO DRĘCZYCIEL	

Zbliżenie (często używane w przypadku walki)

STRACH TO PRZECIWNIK (W WALCE)

Niski klucz oświetleniowy (low-key) (albo ciemność, noc)

STRACH TO UKRYTY WRÓG

Podsumowanie wyników analizy znajduje się w Tabeli 3.

Tabela 3.
Metafory i metonimie strachu
w American
Horror Story:
Kult

Domeny źródłowe i nośniki metonimii	Wyrażenia	Frekwencja – kod werbalny	Frekwencja – kod wizualny
AGRESYWNY (UKRYTY) WRÓG	<i>bestia, połykać, kontrolować, wygrać, pokonać, schwytać</i>	5	9
- STRACH TO PRZECIWNIK (W WALCE)	<i>kontrolować, wygrać, pokonać, schwytać</i>	4	1
- ZWIERZĘ	<i>bestia, połykać</i>	1	1
- DRĘCZYCIEL	<i>bestia, połykać</i>	1	3
- DRAPIEŻNIK*	-	-	2
- NIESPODZIEWANA/ ZAMASKOWANA OSOBA*	-	-	2
- AGRESOR*	-	-	1
CHOROBA	<i>zarazić, wirus, nosiciel, rozprzestrzeniać się, oszaleć, postradać zmysły</i>	3	1
- OBŁĘD	<i>oszaleć, postradać zmysły</i>	2	1
CENNY TOWAR*	<i>szlifować, polerować, waluta, wartość</i>	3	-
- SKARB*	<i>szlifować, polerować</i>	1	-
- WALUTA*	<i>waluta</i>	1	-
PŁYN W POJEMNIKU	<i>wypełniać</i>	2	-
BUDOWLA*	<i>budować, cegła, stać, wysoki, wieża</i>	1	-
BRÓŃ*	<i>używać jako broń</i>	1	-
OSOBA WYŻSZA RANGĄ	-	-	2
CIEMNOŚĆ*	-	-	2
ISTOTA O CECHACH NADPRZYRODZONYCH	-	-	1
PUŁAPKA*	-	-	1
ZIMNO*	-	-	1
CIĘŻAR	-	-	1

PROBLEMY Z ODDYCHANIE	-	-	2
KRZYK	-	-	2
UCIECZKA	-	-	1

Domeny źródłowe zaznaczone gwiazdką nie zostały wspomniane przez Kövecsesa.

Wyniki badania pokazują, że w dialogach w *American Horror Story: Kult* występuje większość metafor z listy Kövecsesa: STRACH TO PŁYN W POJEMNIKU, STRACH TO CHOROBA, STRACH TO OBŁĘD, STRACH TO PRZECIWNIK W WALCE, STRACH TO AGRESYWNY WRÓG. Dwie najczęstsze metafory to: STRACH TO PRZECIWNIK W WALCE I STRACH TO OBŁĘD. Ta pierwsza wskazywałaby, że strach można pokonać i kontrolować. Co ciekawe, obie te metafory dotyczyły jednej z głównych postaci – Alyson Mayfair-Richards, która zmagала się ze strachem i fobiami. W dialogach znalazłam także pięć metafor, które nie zostały opisane przez Kövecsesa: STRACH TO CENNY TOWAR, STRACH TO SKARB, STRACH TO WALUTA, STRACH TO BUDOWLA, STRACH TO BROŃ. Wszystkie te metafory zostały użyte przez Kaia Andersona, który wykorzystał je w swoich przemowach politycznych. W odróżnieniu od konwencjonalnego podejścia do strachu, czyli traktowania go jako czegoś negatywnego, ten bohater nadawał strachowi cechy pozytywne, ponieważ używał go, aby osiągnąć własne cele. Świadczy to o tym, że w przypadku konkretnego dyskursu, możemy natknąć się na nietypowe metafory.

W przypadku kodu wizualnego zidentyfikowane metafory to: STRACH TO AGRESYWNY/UKRYTY WRÓG oraz metafory podobne, ale bardziej szczegółowe, tj. STRACH TO DRĘCZYCIEL, STRACH TO PRZECIWNIK W WALCE, STRACH TO NIESPODZIEWANA/ZAMASKOWANA OSOBA, STRACH TO DRAPIEŻNIK, STRACH TO AGRESOR, STRACH TO ZWIERZĘ. Wnioskować można zatem, że metafory, które występują także w języku, przedstawione w formie wizualnej mogą być bardziej konkretne i szczegółowe. W warstwie wizualnej znalazłam również następujące metafory: STRACH TO OSOBA WYŻSZA RANGĄ, STRACH TO CIEMNOŚĆ, STRACH TO ISTOTA O CECHACH NADPRZYRODZONYCH, STRACH TO CHOROBA/OBŁĘD, STRACH TO ZIMNO, STRACH TO CIĘŻAR oraz STRACH TO PUŁAPKA.

Metafory, które opisane zostały przez Kövecsesa, a nie zostały zidentyfikowane w analizowanym materiale to: STRACH TO SIŁA PRZYRODY oraz OSOBA DOŚWIADCZAJĄCA STRACHU TO ROZDWOJONA POSTAĆ. Metafory, która występowała zarówno w obrazie, jak i w dialogach to: STRACH TO UKRYTY/AGRESYWNY WRÓG oraz podobne, szczegółowe metafory, a także STRACH TO OBŁĘD, czyli metafora, która powiązana była z jednym

z głównych wątków serialu. Metafory realizowane jedynie w kodzie werbalnym to wymienione wcześniej metafory związane z dyskursem politycznym. Pojawiły się tam prawdopodobnie dlatego, że wiązały się z przemowami będącymi formą ekspresji werbalnej. Jedynie werbalna postać miała także metafora STRACH TO PŁYN W POJEMNIKU. Metafory przedstawione tylko w kodzie wizualnym to: STRACH TO OSOBA WYŻSZA RANGĄ, STRACH TO PUŁAPKA, STRACH TO CIĘŻAR, STRACH TO CIEMNOŚĆ I STRACH TO ZIMNO. Wiązały się one z konwencjonalnym przedstawieniem strachu typowym dla gatunku horroru, a większość z nich oparta była na pracy kamery i na grze światel i kolorów. Metaforom przedstawionym w warstwie wizualnej towarzyszyły także metonimie: PROBLEMY Z ODDYCHANIEM, KRZYK oraz UCIECZKA ZA STRACH, co pokazuje, że szczególnie w przypadku obrazu metafory i metonimie wchodzi w interakcję i tworzą bardziej złożone przedstawienie emocji. Tylko jedna metafora – STRACH TO OBŁĘD obecna była w jednej scenie zarówno w formie werbalnej, jak i wizualnej.

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