"It is a long road from sorrow to joy": Metaphors of *happiness* and *sadness* in Late Modern English private correspondence

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the metaphorical conceptualisation of the two basic emotions of *happiness* and *sadness* in the private correspondence of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century men and women of letters. Grounded in the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, it exploits metaphorical pattern analysis (MPA) and the metaphor identification procedure (MIP) in a corpus-based analysis of Late Modern English letters. The aim is to identify metaphorical expressions in the corpus and illustrate the conceptual mappings involved. First, a set of lexical items belonging to the two target domains under investigation was retrieved and subsequently used for concordance analysis. Secondly, a sample of metaphorical expressions was examined and mapped according to the metaphorical mappings described in the literature. Additional mappings are proposed for the conceptualisations identified in the analysed sample. Findings confirm the effectiveness of MPA in the identification of metaphors in corpus-based investigations and offer insights into the use of metaphor in Late Modern English educated, non-literary discourse.

Keywords: metaphor, conceptual metaphor theory, metaphor mapping, emotion, corpus-based approach, Late Modern English, private correspondence.

1. Introduction

Metaphor has attracted considerable attention in cognitive linguistic scholarship since the publication of Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), a ground-breaking contribution to the study of metaphor.

The renowned monograph illustrates how, contrary to most people's beliefs, metaphor is not a device confined to poetry and rhetoric but a phenomenon pervading both our everyday language and thoughts. The authors dismiss the classical view of metaphor as a mere rhetorical device and state that "[o]ur ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (Lakoff – Johnson 1980: 3). By treating metaphor as a matter of concepts and language rather than language only, the aforementioned volume paved the way for Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), which played a significant role in the development of cognitive linguistics and is now a well-established framework in metaphor studies.

The theory of metaphor presented by Lakoff and Johnson is based on the assumption that "the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff – Johnson 1980: 5); in other words, metaphor involves the establishment of correspondences between two conceptual domains. These types of correspondence are usually called "mappings" in the literature: metaphors are the result of conceptual mappings from a source domain onto a target domain. For instance, the linguistic expression "your claims are *indefensible*" conceptualises ARGUMENT as WAR in that an argument is expressed by means of words belonging to the domain of war, implying a correspondence between the two domains. Other examples of mappings are TIME IS MONEY, IDEAS (OR MEANINGS) ARE OBJECTS, HAPPY IS UP, SAD IS DOWN.

New approaches to the study of metaphor have arisen over the years to complement and supersede the traditional introspective method of metaphor identification, "based on more-or-less explicit commonsensical intuitions of the part of the researcher" (Stefanowitsch 2006a: 10): procedures for the identification of metaphors based on empirical methods such as MIP and MIPVU have been developed (see Pragglejaz Group 2007; Steen et al. 2010) and corpus-based studies of metaphor are flourishing at the present time (cf. Deignan 2005; Semino 2017; Stefanowitsch – Gries 2006). The majority of metaphor investigations are based on Present-Day English (PDE) data; however, the increasing availability of electronic corpora and digitised editions of historical texts and dictionaries has allowed historical linguists to contribute to the discussion by means of a diachronic perspective (Allan 2009, Gevaert 2005, Hintikka 2007, Patterson 2018, Tissari 2006, among others).

This paper employs corpus methods to examine emotion metaphors in Late Modern English correspondence written by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century men and women of letters. Specifically, it presents a case study focusing on the conceptualisations of *happiness* and *sadness*.

Conceptual metaphors of emotion are a subclass of metaphors involving a correspondence between an emotion (the target domain) and a physical source domain. The pioneer of research on this type of metaphor is undoubtedly Kövecses, who carried out extensive studies of emotion concepts in PDE from a cognitive linguistic perspective (1986, 1990, 2000). His most comprehensive work on the subject is *Metaphor and Emotion*, in which he effectively illustrates "the role of figurative language in the conceptualization of emotion" (2000: 1). The study of emotion metaphor focuses on target domains related to the sphere of emotions, as illustrated by examples such as *boiling with anger* or *to be governed by anger,* in which ANGER is the target domain and the source domains are A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER and A SOCIAL SUPERIOR respectively. MetaNet,[1] a publicly accessible repository of conceptual metaphors relating to a wide range of domains and topics, offers a list of mappings including those that are most commonly involved in the metaphorical description of emotions, e.g. EMOTION IS A FORCE, EMOTION IS PRESSURE IN A CONTAINER, EMOTIONAL INTENSITY IS TEMPERATURE, EMOTIONS ARE OBJECTS, EMOTIONS ARE SUBSTANCES. Among the various types of emotion concepts, ANGER is one of the most extensively investigated from a cognitive perspective (Glynn 2002; Kövecses 1986, 1995a, 1995b; Lakoff – Kövecses 1987), alongside LOVE (Glynn 2002; Kövecses 1986, 1988; Tissari 2001) and HAPPINESS (Kövecses 1991; Stefanowitsch 2004), all of which represent basic emotions. It has been observed that "[s]peakers of a given language appear to feel that some of the emotion words are more basic than others" (Kövecses 2000: 3) in that they perceive them as more 'prototypical' (in the sense proposed by Rosch [1975, 1978]) within a taxonomical framework (Fehr – Russell 1984; Shaver et al. 1987). Ekman (1999) identified a set of basic emotions found in all cultures, which includes the two opposite concepts of *happiness* and *sadness*.

1.1 Metaphors of *happiness* and *sadness*

Like other basic emotions, *happiness* and *sadness* have been the object of cognitive linguistic studies investigating metaphorical expressions in English and other languages. As a result, a considerable number of metaphorical mappings for these concepts are available in the literature.

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1   MetaNet is a repository of conceptual metaphors provided by the MetaNet Project. The list of conceptual mappings is available here: https://metaphor.icsi.berkeley.edu/pub/en/index.php/Category:Metaphor, accessed June 2022.

As far as metaphors involving the target domain HAPPINESS are concerned, Kövecses (2000: 24-25) provides the following list of mappings based on expressions occurring in the English language, drawn from Kövecses (1991) and Lakoff and Johnson (1980):

HAPPINESS/BEING HAPPY IS
    UP
    BEING OFF THE GROUND
    BEING IN HEAVEN
    LIGHT
    VITALITY
    WARM
    HEALTH
    A PLEASURABLE PHYSICAL SENSATION
    A FLUID IN A CONTAINER
    A CAPTIVE ANIMAL
    AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE
    A RAPTURE/HIGH
    INSANITY
    A NATURAL FORCE

A HAPPY PERSON IS
    AN ANIMAL THAT LIVES WELL

Additional patterns were identified by Stefanowitsch (2006b: 84), whose corpus-based investigations of metaphor proved effective in the retrieval of metaphorical expressions and the formulation of less frequent mappings:

HAPPINESS/BEING HAPPY IS
    HEAT/FIRE
    A LIQUID
    A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER (UNDER PRESSURE)
    A MIXED/PURE SUBSTANCE
    A DESTROYABLE OBJECT
    DISEASE
    AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR
    AN ORGANISM
    BLOOD
    A SHARP OBJECT

INTENSITY OF HAPPINESS IS
    DEPTH

According to Kövecses (2000: 26), metaphors for *sadness* involve some general source domains which are shared among emotion metaphors alongside some more specific ones. The latter "mostly have to do with negative evaluation of the concept of sadness and, as such, form the opposites of several of the source domains for happiness" (2000: 25-26). The following list of metaphorical mappings, provided by Kövecses (2000: 25-26), was drawn from Barcelona (1986) and partially modified by the author himself:

> SADNESS/BEING SAD IS
>> DOWN
>> DARK
>> A LACK OF HEAT
>> A LACK OF VITALITY
>> A FLUID IN A CONTAINER
>> A PHYSICAL FORCE
>> A NATURAL FORCE
>> AN ILLNESS
>> INSANITY
>> A BURDEN
>> A LIVING ORGANISM
>> A CAPTIVE ANIMAL
>> AN OPPONENT
>> A SOCIAL SUPERIOR

Additionally, Stefanowitsch (2006b: 88) identified the following metaphorical patterns:

> SADNESS/BEING SAD IS
>> A MIXED/PURE SUBSTANCE
>> DEPTH
>> A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER (UNDER PRESSURE)
>> A LIQUID
>> AN AURA
>> A SOUND
>> A WEATHER PHENOMENON
>> TASTE
>> HEAT

I chose the mappings proposed by Kövecses (2000) and Stefanowitsch (2006b) as representative of the results obtained in the investigation of

these emotion metaphors due to the different methods involved in their identification. On the one hand, Kövecses's studies are representative of the traditional introspective method; on the other hand, Stefanowitsch's innovative studies involving corpus-based methods can be considered as representative of corpus-based approaches to metaphor.

The metaphorical patterns presented above are all based on expressions occurring in PDE. By investigating the ways in which eighteenth- and nineteenth-century poets and writers conceptualised the two basic emotions of *happiness* and *sadness,* I intend to ascertain whether the metaphorical patterns described in the literature are mirrored in Late Modern English private writing and provide new insights into the conceptualisation of emotions that may possibly prove beneficial for diachronic comparison.

1.2 Late Modern English writing

The language used in Britain during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is generally referred to as Late Modern English. Unlike the preceding stages of the development of the English language, whose start is conventionally associated with significant external factors such as the Norman Conquest in 1066 (marking the beginning of the Middle English period) and the introduction of the printing press in 1476 (marking the beginning of the Early Modern English period), the boundaries of Late Modern English are undoubtedly more blurred. Nevertheless, it is conventionally said to have spanned between 1700 and 1900 (Mugglestone 2006, Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009).

This period of the history of English was chosen as the object of this study in view of "the increasing numbers of private letters that were produced" at the time (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009: 1), making it a suitable historical framework for a corpus-based investigation of private correspondence. Like the preceding ones, it can be considered from both a diachronic and synchronic perspective: the latter is adopted in this study, since the focus is on the use of metaphor on the part of a specific community of practice rather than on its development in time. Moreover, as observed by Patterson (2018: 60), texts dating from before 1900 are not subject to copyright and can be freely accessed, a matter that is worth considering when creating a corpus.

The focus on Late Modern English educated writing rather than on the 'purely non-literary language' of ordinary people aims to find a meeting point between metaphor viewed as "a device of the poetic imagination and the rhetorical flourish" and metaphor as "a matter of […] ordinary language"

(Lakoff – Johnson 1980: 3), i.e. the metaphorical conceptualisations observable in the language of everyday life. The purpose of this study is to emphasise the continuity between the two dimensions by providing insights into the ways in which men and women of letters, who were used to exploiting metaphor in poetic discourse, resorted to conceptual metaphors to communicate basic emotions in ordinary situations. Starting from the assumption that "details about the distribution, function, and effect of metaphor in literature versus outside literature need to be collected and examined by means of corpus-linguistic […] studies" (Semino – Steen 2008: 233), a corpus of letters was used to retrieve a set of metaphorical expressions involving the target domains HAPPINESS and SADNESS and to map them according to the patterns described in the literature. A target-domain oriented approach was chosen in view of the advantages it offers in the identification of metaphors on the basis of corpus data. As observed by Stefanowitsch (2006b: 66), "we can retrieve a large number of instances of a target domain item […] from a corpus and exhaustively identify the metaphorical patterns that it occurs with."

2. Data and methodology

This research is based on a non-annotated corpus consisting of a selection of letters drawn from the volume entitled *Selected English Letters (XV-XIX Centuries),* available via *Project Gutenberg.* The anthology, edited by M. Duckitt and H. W. Elgee, was published in 1913 and contains a selection of letters written by British intellectuals between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, grouped per author in chronological order. In line with the purpose of this study, only the authors whose letters were written during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were selected: as a result, the corpus consists of a total of 169 letters dating from between 1710 and 1852. These were written in varying numbers by 34 authors, namely writers, including Jonathan Swift and Walter Scott, and poets, including Thomas Gray and John Keats (see Appendix 1). The assembled corpus has a total of 109,600 words and 128,263 tokens.

By combining semi-automated corpus methods with qualitative analysis, examples of metaphorical expressions relating to the concepts of HAPPINESS and SADNESS were examined.

The procedure involved the following steps:
1. Retrieval of lexical items associated with the two emotion concepts;
2. Manual identification of metaphorical expressions;

3. Mapping of a sample of metaphorical expressions by recurring to mappings described in the literature or, if not available, design of new mappings.

The method used for the identification of metaphors in the corpus is metaphorical pattern analysis (MPA), a procedure developed by Stefanowitsch (2006b) to overcome the limits of the traditional introspective method in terms of data coverage. A metaphorical pattern is "a multi-word expression from a given source domain (SD) into which one or more specific lexical item from a given target domain (TD) have been inserted" and represents a fitting object of study for this research in view of the fact that MPA provides an ideal "basis for target-domain oriented studies on the basis of corpus data" (2006b: 66). Since emotion concepts manifest through groups of lexical items, the investigation of the words belonging to a target domain appears to be a productive procedure in corpus-based studies. A similar approach was adopted, for instance, by Tissari (2006), who made use of the term *shame* as a keyword for searches in diachronic corpora of English in order to understand how shame was conceptualised through time.

MPA allows us to identify potential metaphors by retrieving the occurrences of one or more words representing a target domain from a corpus. It consists in the following procedure:

> we choose a lexical item referring to the target domain under investigation and extract (a sample of) its occurrences in the corpus. In this sample, we then identify all metaphorical expressions that the search word is a part of and group them into coherent groups representing general mappings. (Stefanowitsch 2006b: 64)

Although it can only be used to identify metaphorical expressions containing target domain items, MPA proves effective to map out metaphors for a specific target domain. Moreover, the advantage of dealing with metaphorical patterns lies in the fact that the target domain is made explicit through the target domain lexis, whereas uncertainties may arise when tackling metaphorical expressions that do not contain lexical items associated with the target domain in question. For instance, it could be argued that the metaphorical expression "He fled from her advances", for which the target domain of LOVE was identified by Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 49), may involve different target domains such as LUST or DESIRE (Stefanowitsch 2006b: 66-67).

The adoption of MPA entails the identification of lexical items representing the target domain under investigation. In the case of HAPPINESS

and SADNESS, limiting the search to the words *happiness* and *sadness* in the corpus yielded a limited number of results. Therefore, since "each of these emotions has a set of semantically similar lexical items associated with it" (Stefanowitsch 2006b: 71), I decided to use a set of near synonyms as target domain items to verify if they participate in the same metaphorical mappings. In this respect, Stefanowitsch's findings suggest that near synonyms are generally associated with the same metaphors, since his investigation of the words *joy* and *happiness* produced similar results.

In order to search for near synonyms of *happiness* and *sadness* in the corpus, it was necessary to retrieve a reliable list of representative keywords. To this end, Wmatrix, a software tool for corpus analysis and comparison developed at Lancaster University (Rayson 2009), was used for the extraction of semantic domains and subsequent identification of keywords. By means of the UCREL[2] Semantic Analysis System (USAS) and Constituent Likelihood Automatic Word-tagging System (CLAWS) corpus annotation tools, the software offers the possibility to retrieve key semantic domains, as well as frequency lists and concordances. As explained by Koller et al., "semantic domain tagging can be used to identify instances of metaphorical expressions in a lengthy text or corpus with a greater recall than other methods that have previously been used", thus making it "possible to expand on the results of earlier analyses of metaphor in discourse" (2008: 141-142). Although Wmatrix is mostly designed to carry out quantitative analyses, its function of allocating semantic domain tags proved crucial in the identification of representative target domains items in the present investigation. Thanks to the USAS semantic annotations, Wmatrix is able to compare the frequency of these tags to subsets of the British National Corpus (BNC), the latter functioning as an external reference corpus to determine keyness based on statistical significance. Even though the BNC covers the late 20th century and is therefore not comparable to the corpus under investigation, the subset selected for the comparison, namely *BNC Sampler Written*,[3] proved beneficial in the identification of keywords for target domains. The software retrieved a series of USAS semantic domains included in the key concept EMOTION, among which the following ones were selected and considered as corresponding to the target domains under investigation:

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[2] UCREL is the acronym for the University Centre for Computer Corpus Research on Language based at Lancaster University. https://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/, accessed June 2022.

[3] See https://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/bnc2sampler/sampler.htm, accessed December 2023.

    i. E4.1 Happy
    ii. E4.1 Sad
    iii. E4.2 Content
    iv. E4.2 Discontent

The selected semantic domains provided a set of lexical items semantically associated with *happiness* and *sadness.* Given the high number of concordance lines to be analysed (over 200 in each of the two domains), I carried out a selection procedure in order to reduce the list of keywords provided by Wmatrix. First, I decided to focus on nouns and therefore discarded adjectives, adverbs, and verbs. Secondly, I removed all lexical items associated with concrete rather than abstract meanings (e.g. *smile, tears, howl, joke*) and those not in a relation of (near) synonymy with the emotions under investigation (e.g. *remorse, jealousy, frolic, frivolity, drollery, mourning, comedy, tragedy*). Finally, I manually extracted the words *anguish, enjoyment, dismay, distress*, which had not been identified by Wmatrix, and added them to the dataset. The selected keywords are listed in Table 1, which reports the lexical items in alphabetical order below the respective semantic domain.

Table 1. Selected keywords representing the target domains HAPPINESS and SADNESS in the corpus

HAPPINESS	SADNESS
Bliss	Anguish
Cheerfulness	Dejection
Delight(s)	Depression
Enjoyment	Despair
Exultation	Discontent
Fun	Dismay
Gaiety	Distress(es)
Happiness	Grief(s)
Jollity	Melancholy
Joy(s)	Misery(es)
Merriment	Pathos
Mirth	Regret(s)
Relief	Sadness
	Sorrow(s)
	Suffering(s)
	Unhappiness
	Woe

The selected words were used as keywords to perform searches in the corpus with the aid of the Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al. 2004, 2014), a tool designed for both corpus building and analysis. Specifically, concordance lines were manually examined by using the Key Word In Context (KWIC) concordance format in order to identify metaphorical expressions. For this purpose, the metaphor identification procedure (MIP) developed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007) was applied. According to this procedure, a lexical unit is considered to be used metaphorically if "it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context"

and "the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it" (2007: 3). In order to determine what the most basic meaning of a lexical unit is, a dictionary of contemporary language should be used. In our case, since the language under investigation is Late Modern English, dictionaries of current English focusing on present-day meanings prove inadequate. Hence, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), which tracks the semantic history of words since the earliest stages of the language, was consulted alongside two dictionaries that were published during the Late Modern period, namely Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) and Webster's *Complete Dictionary of the English Language* (1886).

The results obtained through the application of MPA and MIP led to the identification of metaphorical mappings specific to the emotion concepts under investigation. As illustrated in the following section, these were subsequently compared to those described in the literature.

3. Findings and discussion

Combination of MPA and MIP yielded a higher number of metaphorical occurrences associated to *sadness*. As illustrated in Table 2, out of the 103 metaphorical expressions identified, 63 (accounting for 61% of the total) are related to *sadness* and 40 (39%) to *happiness*.

Table 2. Number of metaphorical expressions of *happiness* and *sadness* identified in the corpus

	N. of occurrences	%
Happiness	40	39%
Sadness	63	61%
Tot	103	100%

The analysis carried out on this sample unveiled patterns discussed in the literature, i.e. by Kövecses (2000) and Stefanowitsch (2006b) in particular (see section 1.1), and led to the identification of metaphors requiring the formulation of appropriate mappings.

The patterns emerging more frequently in the sample are conceptualisations of the emotions under investigation in terms of objects or substances that can be quantified or measured. These types of metaphor are based on a process by means of which we conceptualise abstract concepts as concrete objects or substances and can therefore be applied to a broad range of emotions: for a more comprehensive classification of these frequent

patterns, the MetaNet repository suggests the mappings EMOTIONS ARE OBJECTS and EMOTIONS ARE SUBSTANCES.

The examples below (1-6 representing HAPPINESS, 7-12 representing SADNESS) show that both *happiness* and *sadness* are often described by means of a plural form or adjectives, adverbs, and verbs expressing quantity (e.g. *great, some, little, to increase, to amount*), which imply the source domain A QUANTIFIABLE ENTITY. In particular, the use of the plural form emerged more frequently in the subset of metaphorical expressions manifesting *sadness*, where quantity is expressed by means of plural nouns such as *regrets* and *sorrows* (examples 9, 10).

(1)   … she is young, and her conversation would be a **great** *relief* to me…

(2)   … it has been a **great** *delight* to me to read Mr. Thackeray's work…

(3)   Dr. Johnson has **more** *fun* […] than almost anybody I ever saw…

(4)   I should think that in due time a memorial might get **some** *relief* in this part of the appointment…

(5)   I had **a great deal of** *fun* in the accomplishment of this task…

(6)   … and has as **little** *enjoyment* or pleasure in life at present as anybody in the world…

(7)   I had no pain, and so **little** *dejection* in this dreadful state…

(8)   … and, to **increase** my *misery*, the knaves are sure to find me at home…

(9)   So I will cease my *regrets*…

(10)   I must not bother you too much with my *sorrows*…

(11)   … and **small** *grief* at our parting…

(12)   Mine, you are to know is a white *Melancholy*, or rather Leucocholy for the most part; which, though it seldom laughs or dances, nor ever **amounts** to what one called *Joy* or Pleasure…

Example 12 deserves particular attention in that it represents an instance in which both concepts of *happiness* and *sadness* appear in the same metaphorical expression and it involves more than one metaphorical pattern.

Firstly, *melancholy,* an emotion associated with *sadness*, is conceptualised as a quantifiable entity: the author compares the amount of this emotion to that of *joy*, referred to by means of the same metaphorical mapping. Secondly, *melancholy* is referred to as a human being, capable of laughing and dancing, thus involving a personification metaphor expressed through both the capitalisation of the word and the choice of the verbs *to laugh* and *to dance*. Finally, the author conceptualises *melancholy* in terms of colour by specifying that the kind of emotion that he is experiencing is *white,* as opposed to the *black* one from which it differs considerably.[4] This distinction has its root in the humoral theory underpinning medicine from ancient times up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, on the basis of which it is possible to link this metaphorical pattern to a specific cultural phenomenon. According to the doctrine founded by Hippocrates, four humoral fluids regulate the human body, i.e. black bile, yellow bile, phlegm, and blood. These are responsible for health and disease, as well as for the four temperaments: melancholic, choleric, phlegmatic, and sanguine respectively. As a result, "the melancholic, gloomy and fearful, suffers from a constitutional excess of black bile" (Geeraerts – Grondelaers 2010: 156). Due to the influence of the traditional concept of the four humours, conceptualisation of melancholy in terms of colour was not unusual at the time: the corpus analysis of Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* carried out by Sandford from a cognitive linguistic perspective revealed considerable use of terms related to colour and vision, besides confirming that "[b]lackness is the key representative of melancholy, […] of sadness" (217).

The sample includes another metaphorical expression in which the two emotions appear together: example 13 (below) illustrates how the opposite emotions are conceptualised in terms of two distant locations connected by means of a road. More specifically, *sorrow* represents the point of departure of the journey undertaken along the road and *joy* the destination. The author

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4   The reported example is taken from Thomas Gray's letter addressed to Richard West, written on 27 May 1742, in which the distinction between white and black melancholy is presented: "Mine, you are to know is a white Melancholy, or rather Leucocholy for the most part; which, though it seldom laughs or dances, nor ever amounts to what one called Joy or Pleasure, yet is a good easy sort of a state, and *ça ne laisse que de s'amuser.* The only fault is its insipidity; which is apt now and then to give a sort of Ennui, which makes one form certain little wishes that signify nothing. But there is another sort, black indeed, which I have now and then felt, that has somewhat in it like Tertullian's rule of faith, *Credo quia impossibile est*; for it believes, nay, is sure of everything that is unlikely, so it be but frightful; and on the other hand excludes and shuts its eyes to the most possible hopes, and everything that is pleasurable; from this the Lord deliver us! for none but he and sunshiny weather can do it."

describes a change of emotional state by referring to a movement from one place to another, hence instantiating the mapping CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION, recorded in the MetaNet repository. This is a metaphorical pattern that can be applied to a broad range of target domains including those related to emotions. Taking this example into account, it is possible to formulate a more specific mapping, HAPPINESS/SADNESS IS A LOCATION. This pattern can also be observed in example 14, where *despair* is referred to in terms of a location or point of departure of a path or trajectory leading to another location.

(13)   … it is a long **road** from *sorrow* to *joy*…

(14)   … there is **no middle way** between *despair* and the yielding up of the whole spirit unto the guidance of faith.

Another source domain extensively discussed in the literature that was identified in the sample is A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER. The verbs *to contain* and *to fill* in examples 15 and 16 and the word *fullness* in example 17 suggest that the emotions in question are treated as substances with which the author (or their heart, as illustrated in example 15) is filled, thus implying a reference to the metaphorical pattern BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS (as formulated in the MetaNet repository). Examples 15 and 16 show that the substances referred to through this type of metaphor can be measured or quantified. In addition, considering the sense "to carry as a burden" (Johnson's Dictionary) as the basic meaning of the verb *to bear*, we can observe how example 15 instantiates the mapping SADNESS IS A BURDEN.

(15)   It surprises me that the human heart is capable of **containing** and **bearing** so **much** *misery*.

(16)   … **has filled me with a degree of** *grief* and *dismay* which I cannot find words to express.

(17)   … I often shed tears in the motley Strand from **fullness of** *joy* at so much life.

I will now focus on the conceptualisation of *happiness* by considering the metaphors associated with this emotion. On the basis of the collected data, *happiness* seems to be predominantly conceptualised by means of patterns that are described in the literature, even though a few cases require the formulation of additional mappings.

(18)   … **enjoy** the *delights* of both city and country…

(19)   … giving myself **the highest** *bliss* I know on earth.

(20)   …We cannot arrive at **any portion of heavenly** *bliss* without in some measure imitating Christ…

(21)   … I had many, many hours of **pure** *happiness*.

(22)   … I know not what other **terrestrial** *happiness* would deserve **pursuit**.

(23)   They teach the youthful mind to sigh after beauty and *happiness* that never **existed**…

(24)   … describe *happiness* that man never **tastes**.

Being *happiness* perceived as a positive emotion, it is not surprising to find the metaphor HAPPINESS IS A PLEASURABLE PHYSICAL SENSATION manifesting through the verb *to enjoy* (example 18). Other metaphors specific to this emotion concept are HAPPINESS IS UP (or VERTICALITY, as formulated in the MetaNet repository), exemplified by the adjective *high* in example 19, and HAPPINESS IS BEING IN HEAVEN, observable in example 20, where the presence of the adjective *heavenly* points to a reference to God's abode. In addition, this example conceptualises *bliss* as a quantifiable entity that can be divisible in portions, instantiating a metaphorical pattern that is commonly applied to a wide variety of emotions. Another common pattern is that instantiated by example 21, in which *happiness* is described in terms of a substance; however, the adjective *pure* suggests the involvement of the more specific source domain A PURE SUBSTANCE (cf. Stefanowitsch's mapping HAPPINESS/BEING HAPPY IS A MIXED/PURE SUBSTANCE in section 1.1).

Personification metaphors constitute another recurring pattern in the sample. The noun *pursuit* found in example 22 possibly implies a personification of *happiness*, if we consider the basic meaning of the verb to *pursue* as exemplified by the sense "to chase; to follow in hostility" (Johnson's *Dictionary*). In addition, this example is particularly interesting in view of the presence of the adjective *terrestrial,* which suggests the involvement of a source domain that is opposite to that referred to in Kövecses's mapping HAPPINESS IS BEING IN HEAVEN (see section 1.1), observed in example 20. If we take into account the opposition between an earthly dimension and a celestial one, as suggested by the sense "earthly; not cœlestial" found below the headword *terrestrial* in Johnson's *Dictionary*, HAPPINESS IS BEING ON EARTH seems an appropriate mapping for this metaphorical expression.

Example 23 can be understood by means of the mapping HAPPINESS IS A REAL ENTITY due to the presence of the verb *to exist,* representing an action that can be attributed to both living beings and inanimate objects. Another metaphor requiring the formulation of a specific mapping is example 24, in which the verb *to taste* suggests the mapping HAPPINESS IS FOOD.

The metaphorical mappings of HAPPINESS identified in the sample are summarised in Table 3.

Table 3. Metaphorical mappings of HAPPINESS identified in the sample

HAPPINESS/BEING HAPPY IS
A LOCATION
A PERSON
A PLEASURABLE PHYSICAL SENSATION
A PURE SUBSTANCE
A QUANTIFIABLE ENTITY
A REAL ENTITY
A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER
AN OBJECT
BEING IN HEAVEN
BEING ON EARTH
FOOD
UP/VERTICALITY

I turn now to the conceptualisation of *sadness.* Besides being expressed through a higher number of metaphors in the corpus, it was found to be described metaphorically through a wider variety of mappings.

(25)   So I will cease my *regrets*, or **lay them by to be taken up and used** as arguments of comfort…

(26)   But in your absence the **tide** of *melancholy* **rushed in** again…

(27)   To save me from that horrid situation of at any time **going down** […] to *misery*…

(28)   … in **gloomy** *discontent* or **importunate** *distress*.

(29)   … which premature hour arises, I suppose, from *sorrow* being **hungry** as well as **thirsty**.

(30)   I will endeavour to **bear** my *miseries* patiently.

(31)   … but *despair* **is forced upon me** as a habit.

(32)   … after an interval of several months, during which **my flesh wasted from me with** sickness and *melancholy*.

(33)   … or the cold and brief compliments, with the **warm** *regrets*, of the Quarterly?

(34)   No *misery* is **to be seen** here…

(35)   … the comfort and blessing that literature can prove in **seasons of** sickness and *sorrow*…

(36)   I **opened** to him all my *distresses*…

(37)   … her *anguish* is as **sharp** as yours…

Example 25 is possibly the one which best represents the pattern SADNESS IS AN OBJECT: *regrets* are described by the author as objects or tools to be laid by or "taken up and used". On the other hand, example 26 appears as a representative instance of the mapping SADNESS IS A NATURAL FORCE, a pattern commonly applied to emotion concepts: by referring to the sea when the tide is rising, the author effectively describes the recurrence of *melancholy*. Furthermore, in view of the presence of the verb *to rush,* which usually refers to an action carried out by human beings, the same example includes a personification metaphor.

Examples 27 and 28 show metaphors that are typically used to refer to *sadness*: SADNESS IS DOWN, which represents the opposite of HAPPINESS IS UP, and SADNESS IS DARK. The mapping SADNESS IS A LIVING ORGANISM is exemplified by the metaphor identified in example 29, where *sorrow* is described as a hungry and thirsty living being. Other patterns that are common in *sadness* metaphors are illustrated in example 30, 31, 32, which instantiate the mappings SADNESS IS A BURDEN, SADNESS IS A PHYSICAL FORCE, and SADNESS IS AN ILLNESS respectively. Example 33 is particularly interesting in that it instantiates the mapping SADNESS IS HEAT, which involves a source domain that is more commonly found in happiness metaphors. Considering Kövecses's mapping SADNESS IS A LACK OF HEAT (see section 1.1), we would expect to find lexical items associated with cold in the *sadness* subset. However, this is not the case. In addition, due to the presence of a plural form (i.e. *regrets*), this example involves a conceptualisation of *sadness* in terms of a quantifiable entity.

Infrequent mappings, found only once in the sample, are illustrated in examples 34, 35, 36, 37. Examples 34 and 35 suggest involvement of the source domains A VISIBLE ENTITY and A PERIOD OF THE YEAR respectively. Interestingly, example 36 involves the source domain A CONTAINER, usually found in the mapping BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS (MetaNet repository). The source domain A SHARP OBJECT, illustrated in example 37, was found to be associated with *happiness* by Stefanowitsch (2006b) but is here used to describe *sadness*, which suggest its association with both emotion concepts.

The metaphorical mappings of SADNESS identified in the sample are summarised in Table 4.

The mappings identified in this study confirm Stefanowitsch's findings suggesting that "the emotions referred to by *happiness* and *sadness* are not primarily understood as opposites, but […] each of them is conceptualised (and presumably experienced) on its own terms" (2006b: 102). Besides the prototypical opposition between HAPPINESS IS UP and SADNESS IS DOWN, the metaphorical expressions found in the corpus show how, notwithstanding the semantic opposition between the two, these emotions manifest the general patterns that are common to a wide variety of emotions (A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER, A QUANTIFIABLE ENTITY, AN OBJECT, etc.) and some specific mappings (e.g. HAPPINESS IS BEING IN HEAVEN, SADNESS IS A BURDEN).

Table 4. Metaphorical mappings of SADNESS identified in the sample

SADNESS/BEING SAD IS
A BURDEN
A CONTAINER
A LIVING ORGANISM
A LOCATION
A NATURAL FORCE
A PERIOD OF THE YEAR
A PERSON
A PHYSICAL FORCE
A QUANTIFIABLE ENTITY
A SHARP OBJECT
A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER
A VISIBLE ENTITY
AN ILLNESS
AN OBJECT
DARK
DOWN
HEAT
WHITE/BLACK

The analysis presented above revealed that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century poets and writers recurred to metaphor to refer to the concepts of *happiness* and *sadness* not only when producing literary works but also in their private correspondence. In order to do so, they exploited common mappings still observable in PDE non-literary discourse (i.e. HAPPINESS IS UP, SADNESS IS DOWN), as well as infrequent mappings that are not recorded in the literature, possibly more likely to be found in literary discourse (i.e. HAPPINESS/SADNESS IS A LOCATION, HAPPINESS IS FOOD, SADNESS IS A PERIOD OF THE YEAR).

4. Conclusion

This investigation of metaphorical expressions involving the target domains HAPPINESS and SADNESS in a corpus of Late Modern English private correspondence has firstly confirmed the effectiveness of MPA as a method for metaphor identification in corpus-based studies, especially in the study of emotion concepts. Such target-domain oriented approach, which allows us

to identify metaphors via a set of lexical items belonging to the target domain in question, proved effective in terms of results and less time-consuming if compared to the traditional introspective method. In this regard, the adoption of Wmatrix to allocate semantic domain tags and subsequently to select a set of representative lexical items has proved essential for the identification of potentially metaphorical expressions associated with the emotions under investigation. The sample of metaphors found in the corpus as a result of the use of the aforementioned lexical items as keywords to perform concordance searches has confirmed Stefanowitsch's claim that "near synonyms will broadly be associated with the same metaphors (and thus, that *it is possible to investigate emotion concepts via individual lexical items*)" (2006b: 101-102, italics mine).

Secondly, the analysis carried out on the selected sample of metaphorical expressions identified in the corpus by means of MIP has led to results that confirm Kövecses's (2000) and Stefanowitsch's (2006b) findings concerning the conceptualisation of these basic emotions and to the formulation of additional mappings that are specific to the metaphorical expressions found in this corpus. Further investigation and a larger dataset may reveal additional mappings and possibly shed light on the frequency of occurrence of such metaphorical patterns in Late Modern English educated discourse related to private contexts. Moreover, the application of quantitative analyses may provide results concerning the most significant patterns and the (basic and non-basic) emotion concepts that are most represented in the corpus.

Even though a larger amount of data is required to obtain better results, the analysis of both target domains, usually conceptualised by means of antonyms, has proved beneficial in finding commonalities and divergences in the metaphorical expressions used to describe these opposite emotions. It was illustrated how Late Modern English authors resorted to source domains that are common to a wide range of emotion metaphors (i.e. A QUANTIFIABLE ENTITY, A (VALUABLE) OBJECT, A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER) as well as to a variety of domains that are specific to the emotions under investigation, in some cases unveiling mappings that are not described in the literature. These findings confirm that *happiness* and *sadness* "do not fall into pairs of opposing metaphors" (Stefanowitsch 2006b: 102).

The study shows how eighteenth- and nineteenth-century men and women of letters made extensive use of metaphor not only in their literary work but also in their private correspondence, confirming both the pervasive nature of metaphor pointed out by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and "the *continuity* between metaphor in literature and metaphor in non-literary

language" (Semino & Steen 2008: 233). As suggested by the metaphorical expressions identified in the corpus, these two dimensions converge in the private correspondence of educated speakers. Moreover, the adoption of MIP disclosed a higher tendency to conceptualise *sadness* by resorting to metaphor as opposed to *happiness*.

Undoubtedly, the historical, cultural, and literary context in which these letters were produced played a role in shaping the ways in which poets and writers interacted with their emotions and imagination, calling for further discussion on the relationship between Romanticism and the conceptualisation of emotions in Late Modern English.

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APPENDIX

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SIR RICHARD STEELE	7
JOHN GAY	1
ALEXANDER POPE	5
SAMUEL RICHARDSON	1
LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU	6
PHILIP DORMER STANHOPE, EARL OF CHESTERFIELD	6
SAMUEL JOHNSON	7
LAURENCE STERNE	3
THOMAS GRAY	7
HORACE WALPOLE	10
OLIVER GOLDSMITH	4

WILLIAM COWPER	11
EDMUND BURKE	4
EDWARD GIBBON	2
FRANCES D'ARBLAY	3
GEORGE CRABBE	2
WILLIAM BLAKE	4
MARY LEADBEATER	2
ROBERT BURNS	3
WILLIAM WORDSWORTH	4
SIR WALTER SCOTT	10
SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE	6
ROBERT SOUTHEY	4
CHARLES LAMB	10
WILLIAM HAZLITT	3
LEIGH HUNT	5
GEORGE GORDON NOEL, LORD BYRON	8
PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY	6
JOHN KEATS	4
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