Metaphor and Metonymy Related to the Concept of Anger in the Television Series Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles

Marleen Hermansson
Abstract

This study explores uses of metaphor and metonymy related to the concept of anger in the American television series *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles* from 2012. The theoretical framework of the study is Conceptual Metaphor Theory. The data consists of metaphors and metonymies in the verbal and the pictorial mode. The pictorial data are visual expressions of the type called pictorial runes. In both modes, the underlying conceptual metaphors are identified, and the results are then compared between modes. The main finding is that the verbal mode contains a greater variety of metaphorical expressions. Explanations suggested for differences found between modes are: different technical possibilities of the two modes; universality in the pictorial mode and language specific metaphors as well as universal ones in the verbal mode; a connection of pictorial and verbal data respectively to different genres within the series; and the different narrator roles between the two modes.

**Keywords:** Pictorial runes, visual metaphors, animated film, manga, multimodality
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1 Introduction

Conventional metaphorical and metonymical verbal and visual expressions may reflect our understanding of abstract concepts, such as emotions. What is directly available for study are the conventional metaphorical and metonymical expressions, which enable us to communicate about abstract concepts in certain ways with less effort than would otherwise be required. These expressions, or the conceptualisations they represent, may affect actions and relations between people, and this makes them an interesting area for research.

What this study contributes in relation to previous research on emotion metaphors and metonymies is a focus on both verbal and visual expressions within the same material. This study considers uses of metaphor and metonymy in an animated TV-series, a product of popular culture which presumably reaches a large and diverse group of viewers. There is not one separate English language for facts and one separate English language for fiction. Metaphors and metonymical relations found in fiction could be applicable also in life. Still, one should not make the simplification to suppose that fiction always reflects our reality. It may be enjoyed as an escape from reality or for the very absurdity of its expressions.

In his study “Visual Representations of the Idealized Cognitive Model of Anger in the Asterix Album La Zizanie”, Forceville (2005) gives two reasons for the choice to focus on anger rather than representations of some other emotion. Firstly, anger is the emotion that has been studied most in language from a Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) perspective, so there is theory and previous research in linguistics to connect research on visual metaphors to. Secondly, he observes that anger is the emotion most commonly portrayed in comics and cartoons. To focus on anger thus provides the most data. This line of reasoning is relevant to this study. The reasons Forceville identifies as to why there is more data on anger than on any other emotion in this type of material are the emotion’s connection to conflict, which drives the narrative, and its humorous potential (Forceville, 2005, p.74). Studies on anger metaphors in language have not used a defined corpus in a comparable way to studies of visual representations (Erdeen, 2009, p. 260). Since previous research on verbal anger metaphors has not considered the genre of the source material, any connections between verbal anger metaphors and
certain genres are not known. In this study, narrative factors of potential importance to metaphor use are discussed in relation to findings in both modes.
1.1 Aim
The aim of this study is to explore uses of emotion metaphor and metonymy related to the concept of anger in the American animated television series *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles* from 2012. The approach taken in the study is multimodal and will address uses of verbal and pictorial metaphor, with a focus on pictorial runes – pictorial elements which are more closely related to linguistic orthography than mimetic images are – within the imagery (Forceville, 2011, p. 876).

Conceptual metaphor theory (hereafter CMT) which is the guiding theoretical framework of this study provides possible explanations of how we understand metaphorical and metonymical elements, generally and concerning emotions.

The term *pictorial rune* was introduced by John M Kennedy in 1982 and defined as:

“… a graphic device used in a picture which is a modification of the literal depiction of an object, making some aspect of the object become easy to depict, that aspect of the object often being difficult for the literal depiction to convey.” (Kennedy, 1982, p. 600)

This type of graphic device was commonly found in comics and cartoons (Kennedy, 1982, p. 600). Later studies on visual representations of emotion in comics and animated films have connected pictorial runes to metaphors in language (Forceville 2005; Erdeen 2009; Shinohara and Matsunaka 2009).

Figure 1."Two variants of pressurized veins" This is an example of a common pictorial rune. It is typically placed on an angry character’s forehead, but it seems that it can appear anywhere on or near an angry character. (Shinohara and Matsunaka, 2009, p. 280)

1.2 Research Questions
Two initial questions will be posed to the material. The results from the investigation of them will then be used for comparison between modes in relation to the third question.
• What pictorial runes related to the concept of anger are used in the data, and through which conceptual metaphors and metonymies do they describe emotion?

• What verbal metaphorical and metonymical expressions related to the concept of anger are used in the data, and through which conceptual metaphors and metonymies do they describe emotion?

• What similarities and/or differences are there between the verbal and pictorial metaphorical and metonymical expressions, and how could similarities and/or differences be explained?
2 Theoretical Framework and Previous Research

Metaphor and metonymy are the two major types of figurative language. Metaphors are based on similarity and metonymies on contiguity. The focus of CMT is the everyday, usually not conscious, use of figurative expressions, but the terms metaphor and metonymy are also used about poetic and rhetorical language with the same types of constructions (Ungerer & Schmid, 2006, p.115). The relation in metaphor between the literal and figurative meanings of an expression is explained in terms of source concept, target concept and mapping scope, where the literal is the source, the figurative is the target, and what is brought over from target to source is the mapping (Ungerer & Schmid, 2006, p.119). If little is borrowed from source to target, the mapping is lean. A rich mapping, on the other hand, means that much has been carried over from target to source concept, and thus much information about the target is inferred from the source (Ungerer & Schmid 2006, p.126). As an example of metaphor, if writing an essay is conceptualised as a journey, the conceptualisation allows for expressions such as stray from the subject and arrive at conclusions in connection to this activity.

Metonymic expressions direct us to an appropriate conceptual context, and thereby highlight some aspects of a concept. The difference between metaphor and metonymy can be illustrated by this short and effective definition of the two concepts by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 36): “Metaphor is principally a way of conceiving of one thing in terms of another, and its primary function is understanding. Metonymy, on the other hand, has primarily a referential function, that is, it allows us to use one entity to stand for another.” Metonymies are often based on a correlation between part and whole, inside and outside, or cause and result (Ungerer & Schmid 2006, p. 131). These types of metonymies can be exemplified by the correlations between head and person, bottle and water, and between embarrassment and blush. Metonymies, in contrast to metaphors, can be reversed. The contiguity relation remains even if the direction is changed (Ungerer & Schmid, 2006, p.128).

2.1 Foundations of Conceptual Metaphor Theory

The first extensive work on metaphor as a cognitive phenomenon is Lakoff’s and Johnson’s Metaphors We Live By, which was published in 1980. The authors’ claim that
our ability to think about abstract concepts is dependent on cognitive use of metaphors is supported, with few exceptions, by linguistic evidence.

2.1.1 Ontological, Orientational and Structural Metaphors
The categories of conceptual metaphors described by Lakoff and Johnson in *Metaphors We Live By* are of three overlapping kinds: ontological, orientational and structural. The ontological metaphors are perhaps the most basic ones. They allow us to talk about abstract concepts as physical objects: as entities and substances, and thereby to possess, describe, measure and evaluate them, and to say something about where they came from and what we plan to do with them. For example, if thoughts are conceptualised as physical objects, they can be placed in physical space and be ascribed physical qualities. Within the category of ontological metaphors, the container metaphor is widely applied. Geographical areas, the visual field, events, emotional states and persons are examples of concepts sometimes described metaphorically as containers, with an inside and an outside (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, pp. 25–32).

Orientational metaphors allow us to speak of directions that are important to container metaphors, e.g., *in* and *out*, as well as other directions that facilitate other metaphorical expressions, for example, *front* and *back*, and *up* and *down*. *Up* and *down* are used for instance to describe increase and decrease, and also in several expressions that are evaluative in different ways (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, pp. 14–17).

Structural metaphors are not of a separate kind but instead the more elaborated metaphors that allow us to infer more information about the target concept from the source concept. What makes a metaphor structural is that it uses “one highly structured and clearly delineated concept to structure another”. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 61). When metaphors connect abstract concepts to specific and complex concrete objects, activities or events, they are structural. If, for example, the mind is conceptualised as a computer, we can infer more information about it from the source domain than if we think of the mind as just an object in general. In a personification metaphor, something abstract is conceptualized as a person who can perform conscious acts, and sometimes as a specified type of person, such as an adversary. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 33–34)

The different types of metaphors – ontological, orientational and structural – provide support for sorting the verbal metaphors of this study, which are too diverse to sort only according to their exact source domain.
2.1.2 The Function of Conceptual Metaphors

From the perspective of CMT, metaphors are necessary tools for understanding. There is no possibility to remove metaphors from our language, and neither is there any reason to. An awareness of the metaphors we use is important, since all metaphors highlight some aspects of a concept and hide others, and thereby can influence our perception of phenomena (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p.10).

2.2 Anger Metaphors and Metonymies

Physiological effects of an emotion can be used to metonymically refer to the emotion. These metonymies, in turn, can provide bases for metaphors on the emotion. If, for example, emotion causes increased temperature, that could both be experienced and be observed, for example, as a redder or darker skin tone, or as sweating, and those experiences and observable signs could in turn provide bases for metaphors involving heat related concepts, like boiling and fire, which we will return to in relation to the anger concept. Physiological effects are rarely unique to one emotion, nevertheless. Strong emotion and general physical agitation go together (Ungerer & Schmid, 2006, p. 135).

From linguistic metonymic expressions about anger, Kövecses forms a “folk theory of the physiological effects of anger”: “increased body heat, increased internal pressure (blood pressure, muscular pressure), agitation, and interference with accurate perception.” (Kövecses, 1986, p. 12.1). A common anger metaphor based on metonymy is ANGER IS HEAT, which has two more specified versions: ANGER IS FIRE and ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, slightly rephrased in a later version to ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER (Kövecses, 2003, p. 21). Different anger metaphors provide different scenarios for the emotion. The HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor is the most elaborate one: low level anger can be kept inside; some anger can be let out as steam; intense anger in a sealed container will cause the container to break; the fluid is cool when anger ceases, and so on. Apart from the heat aspect, this metaphor is also compatible with the metonymy of increased pressure. The agitation and interference

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1 The chapter on anger in this book corresponds very closely, if not completely, to the case study on anger in Lakoff’s book Women, Fire and Dangerous Things.
with accurate perception metonymies can be seen as the bases for the metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY (Kövecses 1986, pp. 13–21).

Two anger metaphors that are closely related to each other and not explicable by the physiologically based metonymies are ANGER IS AN OPPONENT and ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL. Expressions based on both of these two metaphors emphasize a struggle to control anger, but while the OPPONENT usually attacks the angry person, the DANGEROUS ANIMAL tries to break loose and attack others (Kövecses, 1986, pp. 22–23). In the general metaphor EXISTENCE IS PRESENCE, when something “goes away” it ceases to exist. It cannot be found in some other location. While this general metaphor sometimes applies to the anger concept, the DANGEROUS ANIMAL metaphor, which allows the emotion to run off from its owner, complicates things in the case of anger, so that if a temper is lost it has not ceased to exist (Kövecses, 1986, p. 25, Kövecses 2003, p. 41).

Additional anger metaphors mentioned in previous research are: AN ANGRY PERSON IS A FUNCTIONING MACHINE, ANGER IS A BURDEN, ANGRY BEHAVIOUR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR, THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS TRESPASSING, THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE, ANGER IS A NATURAL FORCE, and ANGER IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR (Kövecses, 2003, p. 21).

The data for this study are presented according to the metaphors they express. Anger metaphors found in previous research are used in the cases where they are useful for categorising the data. Some source domains not noted in previous research are added to account for the data for this study. In the verbal mode, some source domains connected by previous research to another basic emotion, sadness, are also used.

### 2.3 Visual Representations of Anger

concept of pictorial runes, and the distinction between iconic, indexical and symbolic signs made by semiotician Charles Peirce (Forceville, 2005, p. 73): The iconic signs are a realistic, or as realistic as possible, portrayal of what they refer to. Indexical signs do not show what they refer to but there is a natural connection between the signs and what they refer to. For example, smoke in a picture is taken to mean that there is a fire, and a hand in a picture is taken to mean that there is a person. The symbolic signs, finally, only have an arbitrary connection to what they refer to, as for example, the relation between words and what they refer to (Forceville, 2005, p. 73). Forceville makes an inventory of the indexical signs for anger in the Asterix album *La Zizanie*. These signs are then sorted into two different categories, one of them retaining the name indexical signs and the other termed pictorial runes, the concept introduced by Kennedy. In this categorisation, indexical signs correspond to metonymy and pictorial runes correspond to metaphor. The distinction between metonymy and metaphor is made by answering the question whether the signs are recognisable signs of anger from real life, although in sometimes absurdly exaggerated form, or not (Forceville, 2005, pp.75–77).

What is not specified by Forceville in the study from 2005, but seems to be implied, is that pictorial runes “constitute a limited repertory of elements” (Forceville, 2009, p. 875) which have “more or less fixed forms” (Forceville, 2011, p. 876). The pictorial runes identified by Forceville in the material of his study from 2005 are found to express, or at least be compatible with, the ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor. A similar result is reached by Erdeen in his study on two Asterix albums, two animated Asterix films, and handbooks on comics and animated film (Erdeen 2009). Shinohara and Matsunaka (2009) use the same approach as the two aforementioned studies on a selection of different Japanese comics. In contrast to the two other studies, Shinohara’s and Matsunaka’s study does not focus solely on anger, but on emotion representation generally. The authors find that the HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor is common in their material too, but they also emphasize metaphors with source domains of weather and other natural phenomena. A difference in what data was deemed as relevant in the different studies may have affected what metaphors were found. Shinohara and Matsunaka include a wider range of visual metaphorical elements referring to emotions, and as Erdeen (2009, p. 259) points out, more metaphorical
imagery may have been found in the material of the two other studies, if a more limited selection of data had not been made there.

A difference between these three studies and the part of this present study that deals with visual metaphor is that the nature of my material makes the indexical, or metonymical, signs less relevant than the two others types of imagery. In the material of this study, there is a clear distinction between what may be called a relatively realistic visual layer and a completely unrealistic visual layer, and these two layers can be seen as corresponding to iconic representation and pictorial runes.

### 2.4 The Experiential Basis and Variation between Languages and between Modes

The source domains of the conceptual metaphors are, according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), all grounded in our concrete experiences. Some conceptual metaphors are dependent on the culture and environment we live in while others are motivated by experiencing the world through a human body (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, pp. 56–57). The connection between human physiology and conceptual metaphors led to the hypothesis that some similar metaphors could be found in all languages. Later research on the area confirmed that anger metaphors based on CONTAINER, PRESSURE and HEAT were found in unrelated languages (Kövecses 2003, p. 156). Differences in these metaphors between languages may reflect how locally varying medical theories affect how people perceive their bodies. In Europe and America, the four humours theory\(^2\) may have affected the local details of the ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor (Kövecses, 2003, p. 167).

Erdeen notes that visual metaphors on anger occurring in comics and animated films are of the embodied kind, based on the experience of human physiology, and not of the behavioural kind, which is based on culturally dependent practices (2009, pp. 259–260). Thus, the metaphors occurring in the visual mode should be approximately the same ones that could be universally intelligible in language.

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\(^2\) “The humoral view maintains that the four fluids (phlegm, black bile, yellow bile, and blood) regulate the vital processes of the human body. They were also believed to determine personality types (such as sanguine and melancholy) and account for a number of medical problems, together with cures for them (such as bloodletting).” (Kövecses, 2007, p. 234)
3 Material and Method

3.1 Material

The data for this study are dialogue and pictorial runes from the television series *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles* from 2012. This material was chosen because it contains pictorial runes that are easily spotted against a visual background of computer animation with some detail and depth, and because it has English as its original language which should guarantee that the English is idiomatic. Due to time constraints for the study, only the first two seasons out of five have been included in my material.

The material was first approached by a tentative quantitative study of all emotion metaphor and metonymy occurrences in the first ten episodes, using a list of basic emotions to sort the data. The list used includes the emotion categories sadness, anger, disgust/hate, fear, joy/happiness, and desire/love (Ungerer & Schmid 2006, p. 139). The results indicated that anger was by far the most common basic emotion commented on in metaphorical and metonymical form. Desire/love was not far behind in the pictorial mode, but had fuzzier borders than anger. Desire/love overlapped considerably with physical sensations and with other emotions, which would make it complicated to work with in a small study. Furthermore, desire/love did not appear as a target domain in the verbal mode, which would make it less suitable as an object for a study in the English subject. Anger stands out as the most suitable object for investigation in a small study with a focus on the English language. Metaphors and metonymies relating to other emotions than anger in the material may in some cases be helpful in defining the types of metaphors and metonymies found on anger, by comparison or contrast.

The television series providing the data for this study is, to my knowledge, the third out of four animated television series about the ninja turtles. The imagery of the series is influenced by manga, an originally Japanese style of visual expression. The story centres on the four mutated turtle brothers and their mutated rat father, all human in behaviour, who live hidden in the sewers in New York but venture out to fight evil and to have fun. Judging from the merchandise accompanying the series it seems to target young children, boys mostly, or their parents who do the shopping and may often be at an age when they are potentially nostalgic about previous series. Some darker and
more absurd tones in this series suggest that it operates with dual target groups: the aforesaid and one consisting of older fans viewing it independently.

Conflicts which generate anger data in the material are on different levels. Within the family of the main characters, there is a sense of general competitiveness as well as genuine clashes of perspectives between the four turtle brothers, who have distinctly different personalities: Leonardo, who is guided by moral rules and honour; Raphael, who is impulsive and emotional; the analytical and rational Donatello; and Michelangelo, who usually acts the clown of the family. The introvert father is not directly involved in the conflicts, but acts as an advisor and tries to mediate. The mutant family is a remnant of a clan of ninjas, the Hamatos, who are in a feud with another clan, the Foot, since centuries back. The Foot, which has the ambition to annihilate all its enemies, still pursue the family. To complicate matters, both clans have stolen/rescued a baby from the other clan and brought it up as their own, and this has created some dual roles between characters. When representatives from the two clans meet, it is often in professed attempted murders that instead end up in conversation. Conflicts that generate anger data also arise in encounters with diverse characters in the city streets at night.

3.2 Method
The study is qualitative, although some quantification has been done along the way to get an idea of what types of expressions are frequent and thus more relevant to analyse. Ideally, all expressions of metaphor or metonymy related to anger in the material should be located and documented, but since figures are not needed to answer the research questions, too much time has not been spent in making sure every metaphorical and metonymical expression is documented. Covering more material has been a priority, since that is more helpful to finding the patterns that can point to important conceptual metaphors and metonymical relations.

In the results, data are sorted according to metaphors, but approaching the material just looking for the already familiar metaphors would have been limiting to perception. The instances of emotion metaphor and metonymy I have collected should be able to stand on their own in their mode — a verbal expression of anger should
constitute such in itself, and the same for a pictorial expression — but the context has still been noted and sometimes it has been important in deciding what to include as relevant to the anger concept. Literal mentions of anger and near synonyms as well as characters’ confrontational and negatively agitated behaviour have guided my attention to find relevant data. A list of basic emotions which includes the emotion categories sadness, anger, disgust/hate, fear, joy/happiness, and desire/love (Ungerer & Schmid, 2006, p. 139) has been consulted in deciding how the anger concept should be delimited, mainly towards the other three basic negative emotions: if the emotion represented is fear, sadness or disgust/hate it is not anger.

To enable comparisons between the verbal and the pictorial data they should ideally be treated in an equal way, but this presents some difficulties. Since results are presented in the verbal mode, pictorial runes have been named and described verbally. One illustration of each type of anger rune is also provided.

Pictorial runes have previously been defined both according to their function and to their form. They refer to abstract concepts (Kennedy, 1982, p. 600); they constitute visual metaphors (Forceville 2005; Erdeen 2009; Shinohara & Matsunaka 2009); they are a limited set of signs in fixed forms (Forceville, 2009, pp. 875–876); they lack mimetic qualities and cannot carry any information outside their context (Forceville, 2009, p. 876). The last criterion has not been applied in the data selection of this study. This criterion would have limited the data considerably and made the results less comparable to previous studies.

The relevant verbal data do not stand out as obviously as the pictorial data, which are easy to spot. Therefore, what I perceived to be literal mentions of anger and their immediate verbal context was noted at a first stage, and then looked at again before they could be excluded as being irrelevant in the perspective of metaphor and metonymy. As an example, I first noted “bursts of anger” as literal and then sorted it to the anger is hot fluid in a container metaphor. Transcription of the dialogue has been found online, and the transcribed text has been especially helpful in identifying some verbal anger expressions that appeared in a lighter mood and thus lacked contextual clues to anger data.


4 Results and Analysis

Visual and verbal results will be presented and analysed separately in Sections 4.1 – 4.2, and the findings from these sections will then be brought together and compared in Section 4.3.

4.1 Visual Results

The descriptions are based on 167 screenshots of potentially relevant imagery, taken from all episodes in season one and season two of the series, and, of course, on impressions from viewing the episodes. The pictures do not cover all the potentially interesting data that could be found within the material, but it is enough to identify distinct patterns.

When pictorial runes signalling specific emotions appear, they are attached to the four turtles. This pictorial focalisation seems to confirm the turtles’ status as main characters. Anger runes appear together with violence, with shouting, with demonstratively aggressive mimicry and posture, but also with quiet contemplation of a displeasing event, person or situation, which means that the pictorial runes provide viewers with information that is not necessarily always made available to them in other ways. Pictorial runes of a more general type than anger runes, that signal “surprise” or “reaction” either positive or negative, also occur attached to a few other characters, but with considerably lower frequency than the same pictorial runes attach to the turtles. The characters with general pictorial runes recurrently attached to them are two characters that are marginal to the category of main characters. General runes are also attached to a few animals that have minor, comical roles, and also once to a minor villain, then in the context of the turtles disagreeing whether they should bother to go after the local gang of criminals that this character belongs to or whether they should focus on the supervillains. The rune seems to help make sure that viewers know the correct answer to that question: a character with a pictorial rune is not dangerous and could not be worth pursuing. In a couple of cases, emotion runes seem to be made by a main character to describe another main character, but these cases are exceptions to a rule and should probably be taken as jokes based on viewers’ supposed knowledge of that rule. Based on these observations, it seems that the pictorial runes are added to the iconic imagery by an omniscient, external narrator who will usually give viewers
information about subjective experiences of main characters’ only, but is free to temporarily change focalisation in order to inform and to amuse.

4.1.1 Pressurized Vein: ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER

The pictorial rune (Figure 2) consists of three bold, red, curved lines, placed close together but still separate, with the curve pointing towards the centre of the pictorial rune and the ends pointing outwards. The rune is usually placed either so that it touches a character’s forehead, or above and separated from a character but not far from the character’s head. This pictorial rune is very common in family arguments.

Figure 2. Pressurized vein. Illustration by Jenny Hartman.

The metaphor expressed is ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER. Shinohara and Matsunaka traces this pictorial rune to its origin as an indexical sign, or metonymy, for anger in the form of an exaggerated pressurized vein on a person’s temple, showing the person to have high blood pressure – a physiological effect of anger (Shinohara & Matsunaka, 2009, p. 280). They describe how this sign has gained independence from its previous location and can now appear on places of a person’s body where it would be physically impossible for a pressurized vein to be seen, such as on a person’s hair, and also detached from a person, for example, in the air above, and in speech bubbles. Shinohara and Matsunaka argue that this flexibility in location proves the sign to be metaphorical and thus a pictorial rune (Shinohara & Matsunaka, 2009, pp. 282–283). The name pressurized vein is then slightly misleading, but in that I
rely on Shinohara´s and Matsunaka´s analyses, I have chosen to use their term. The increasing movability of the sign might even point to a possibility for the metaphorical sign to become arbitrary.

In the material of this study, the sign is placed on a pressurized container that does not completely coincide with the body, but is more like an invisible balloon surrounding the body, which suggests an abstract notion of a person.

On one occasion in the data, the pressurized vein rune does not appear in a conflict situation, but is instead accompanied by the bearer´s verbal expression of cognitive strain and general stress (The Mutation Situation).

4.1.2 Predator Eyes: ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL

In the visual expression that I have categorised as a pictorial rune and termed predator eyes (Figure 3), the usual, detailed and human-looking eyes of a character are replaced by eyes that are white and completely blank. The shape of the eyes varies, but is usually narrow.

![Figure 3. Predator eyes. Illustration by Jenny Hartman.](image)

The metaphor expressed is ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL. It is possible that the turtles´ eyes, although human looking in the light, could have the reflective quality of some animal eyes in the dark, but this does not provide enough explanation for the visual expression. The predator eyes appear irrespective of lighting. Characters next to each other with different attitudes can display different eyes; one character can have the predator eyes and another one the usual eyes, depending on, for example, whether they have spotted an approaching enemy or not.
The predator eyes rune is very common in battle against enemies, and also when noiselessly sneaking up on enemies and when waiting in ambush. In the latter kinds of usage, the rune usually disappears when a battle starts and the characters are seen by the opponents. The rune seems connected to stealth as much as to confrontation. In contrast to other runes, the predator eyes rune stays on for a comparably long time in the situations involving enemies. It also appears, but for shorter time periods, in conflicts with family and friends.

On one occasion a character with this rune attached to him is categorized as angry by another character and then denies this, saying instead that he is “determined to win” (The Good the Bad and Casey Jones), but this may be explained by values attached to different words rather than an effort to provide an accurate description, a factor that should always be considered in dealing with data in the verbal mode. Once, the predator eyes rune occurs when a character is getting ready to bake the ultimate pizza (Pizza Face). This usage supports the interpretation that the pictorial rune can signal focus on an important mission, which does not necessarily involve conflict. The predator eyes rune also appears on one of the rare occasions when a character by use of a pictorial rune narrates another character’s emotion, and it is on that occasion meant to provide a positively valued if exaggerated description of the other character fearlessly fighting evil to save innocent people.

The predator eyes pictorial rune, as I categorise it, very closely resembles some instances of the slanted eyes sign which is described as an indexical, metonymical, expression of anger by Shinohara and Matsunaka. According to their analysis, the slanted eyes visual expression is a facial expression recognizable from our experiences of anger in reality. In their description of this metonymical expression, the shape is the defining feature but “detailed parts of the eyes like the pupils are sometimes omitted” (Shinohara & Matsunaka 2009, p. 274). The reasons why I have not applied this interpretation to my data but instead chosen the DANGEROUS ANIMAL metaphor is the consistency in my material of the complete whiteness of the eyes, how they glow in the dark, and how the sign co-occurs with stealth and concentration more often than with agitation. It seems likely, nonetheless, that the slanted eyes and predator eyes are closely related and resemble dialectal variations in language. Just as with the pressurized vein rune discussed above, the boundary between metonymy and metaphor is not clear or
absolute. Differences in how a specific element of imagery is read can be caused both by differences in its exact appearance and by the context in which it appears. It may be relevant here to note that while the material of this study on the one hand is from a story world where violence is very often justified and required, the material in the study by Shinohara and Matsunaka, on the other hand, was taken from manga dealing with everyday life and conflict. The two clearly different genres probably require devices for different meanings to be carried across.

4.1.3 Flames: ANGER IS FIRE
The bottom of the pictorial rune (Figure 4) is rounded, and at the upper side there are three narrowing peaks striving upwards, the middle one the longest and the two at the sides approximately of the same length. The colour of the rune’s centre is yellow, and the frame consists of a red-orange line that is bolder at the top end. One of these flame images is placed in each eye of a character.

![Flames Illustration](image)

Figure 4. Flames. Illustration by Jenny Hartman.

The flames appear both in battles with enemies and in conflict between family members. The rune does not appear at the start of battle with enemies, but at intensification of it, which seems to suggest an increase of or change of quality in anger. The metaphor expressed is ANGER IS FIRE.

4.1.4 Steam: ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER
The pictorial rune (Figure 5) consists of three parallel, vertical, curved white lines above a character’s head.
In contrast to the other pictorial runes on anger, this one does not appear in the context of confrontation. Instead, this pictorial rune is typically placed on a character turning away from an offending character or situation, and thus seems less intense and/or more introvert. The steam rune also occurs when a character is angry with things too abstract to be confronted, like one’s own inability to operate a computer program (Operation Breakout), or the lack of discernible logic in the plot of a television series (Mazes and Mutants).

The metaphor expressed by this rune is ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER. An alternative interpretation is ANGER IS FIRE. Association to signs for hot coffee led the interpretation towards steam rather than smoke. The harmonious shape of the rune makes it seem more pleasant than smoke. Steam puffs the same shape as ones reported by Shinohara and Matsunaka (2009, pp. 278–279), which are distinctly different from the three curved lines of steam, also appear on at least one occasion in the material (I Think his Name is Baxter Stockman).

4.1.5 Electric Currents Meeting: ANGER IS ELECTRICITY
This is the only pictorial rune (Figure 6) found that is not attached to a single character but instead placed between two characters, expressing a mutual anger. This infrequent rune occurs in family arguments between two characters.
Jagged lines, in bright colours reflecting the colour of the mask of the turtle it comes from, emitted from the eyes of the two characters, meet half-ways and curl up around each other, and the curled centre of the pictorial rune in its turn emits flashes.
The metaphor expressed is ANGER IS ELECTRICITY. The pictorial rune could also be read as ANGER IS LIGHTNING. The unevenness of the lines suggests electricity rather than meteorological flashes. The scientific model of the nervous system could be a possible explanation for electricity occurring in folk models of emotion.

4.1.6 Signs that Have Not Been Included as Pictorial Runes for Anger
Signs that signal reaction in general, negative or positive, and signs of external influence such as hypnosis or drugs, as well as signs which signal expressive tone of voice, have not been considered in the study, even if these types of signs sometimes co-occur with aggressive behaviour. One sign, in the form of flashes above a character’s head, has a general negative meaning that includes physical pain, cognitive confusion, fear, and anger. Some signs are too unspecific in form to fit the category pictorial runes in my interpretation of it, i.e. changed backdrops and extreme changes in size of visual elements that are present in an original mimetic representation, but clearly do signal anger metaphorically. These less fixed anger signs use the source domains FIRE, PRESSURIZED CONTAINER and THUNDERSTORM.

4.1.7 Summary of Visual Results
The visual findings have been sorted into five different pictorial runes, each expressing a conceptual anger metaphor. The runes and the source domains of the metaphors expressed are: pressurized vein: HOT FLUID IN A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER; predator eyes: DANGEROUS ANIMAL; flames: FIRE; steam: HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER; electric currents meeting: ELECTRICITY.
4.2 Verbal Results

The verbal material consists mostly of dialogue. There are also a few monologues; a story of how the clan conflict which sets the conditions for present life was renewed in his younger years is repeatedly told by the father, and relations and emotions within this story change from telling to telling. In comparison to the pictorial data, the verbal data are more frequent in scenes with a slower tempo, but there is not an absolute division between types of scenes with verbal and pictorial expressions respectively.

The verbal data have a more complex relation to the reality, within the story world, which they describe than the pictorial runes have. Language provides the possibility for displacement – to talk about things that are distant in time and/or space (Yule, 2016, p. 13). Pictorial runes are tied to a specific situation. Moreover, while in the pictorial mode there was found to be an omniscient, external narrator (the characters do not seem to produce or place the pictorial runes on themselves, except for in a couple of exceptional cases), the verbal data is always in the voice of a character.

Once a metaphor has been introduced in a conversation in the data of this study, it is generally picked up by interlocutors. This consistency in metaphor use on a topic may reflect how a specific metaphorical conceptualisation is established and shared within a conversation or beyond, in real life as well as in fictional dialogue. The choices of metaphors are not insignificant in the data of this study. Sometimes metaphorical and metonymical expressions in the dialogue make the description of anger more humorous, and thereby lighten the mood or/and make it humiliating to be described as angry. If we look at the most common source domain, INSANITY, and the second most common source domain, ANIMATE BEING, it seems that the mapping from INSANITY usually highlights absurd and comical aspects of anger, and thus is suited to this type of humorous use. The ANIMATE BEING metaphor, in contrast, seems to map mostly danger and unpredictability from the physical presence of some other being, and thereby is usually more intimidating. Consistency in metaphor use in conversation is not an absolute rule, however: the only weather related metaphorical expression found (ANGER IS CLOUDY WEATHER) occurs right between two sentences based on the ANIMATE BEING metaphor, spoken by the same character.
The types of metaphor used to describe hostility and potentially deadly conflict (INANIMATE OBJECT, ANIMATE BEING, INSANITY, and MACHINE) are also used to describe conflict which is less serious.

Context was important in the selection of relevant data. The immediate verbal context, in the form of full sentences or near equivalents, is provided for all examples of verbal metonymy and metaphor, and some additional contextual information is in some cases given in comments to the examples.

4.2.1 Verbal Metonymies
The metonymies found are all of the cause-result type. The examples illustrate how metonymical relations allow for reversal: cause can stand for result just as result can stand for cause. In the table below, verbal metonymies are presented according to the direction of this metonymy and also to the relation between the specific concepts evoked.
Table 1: Verbal metonymies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal metonymies</th>
<th>RESULT FOR CAUSE</th>
<th>CAUSE FOR RESULT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tangle for anger</td>
<td>1. Don't get your shell-undies in a tangle Donnie. (The Mutation Situation)</td>
<td>anger (or near synonym) for causing injury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pressurized vein for anger</td>
<td>2. Dude, I can totally see Raph's forehead veins bulging from here. Check it out! His head's gonna pop. (Slash and Destroy)</td>
<td>3. You think you're tough enough to stand up to my hot nunchuck fury? (Rise of the Turtles 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. All right, guys, prepare to dish out the mighty wrath of justice. (Turtle Temper)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5. You will feel the fury of my powered battle...” (I Think his Name is Baxter Stockman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6. Oh, no! I got angry again didn't I? (TCRI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>anger for unsanctioned aggressive behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7. Sensei, he was the angriest, nastiest guy you ever met. (Turtle Temper)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8. What hit me? It was like Raph, only bigger and meaner. Angrier, but not quite as ugly. (Slash and Destroy)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 1 is a variant of the conventional expression involving knickers and twist. The meaning is that agitation will cause oneself trouble. Example 2, spoken by a character who stands on the roof of a tall building and looks down at people in the street, could be seen as a joke using the knowledge viewers should have about pictorial runes.
Examples 3, 4 and 5 are threats which may contain metaphorical language but mainly have the function to intimidate by informing about imminent violence. Example 6, in contrast, is spoken after a blackout of a complex kind, when seeing someone is hurt and expressing worry and regret about probably having caused it.

Example 7 is a response to criticism for attacking a stranger. The stranger’s anger is presented as an explanation for the attack. The word anger could be a guess of what that other character was feeling, but it seems more likely that it refers to his behaviour. Example 8 is from another situation where there was not likely any exchange of information about inner experiences.

4.2.2 Verbal Metaphors
Verbal metaphorical expressions concerning anger are presented in tables below according to their source domains. Source domains are sometimes specified at two levels, one more general and one more exact. Two adjacent lines from dialogue using the same metaphor are sometimes included in one example. The types of metaphor are commented on in the sections below each of the tables. Towards the end of the section on verbal results, some findings that cannot be unambiguously classified as anger metaphors are commented on.

4.2.3 ANGER IS AN INANIMATE OBJECT
Table 2: Verbal expressions reflecting the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS AN INANIMATE OBJECT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANGER IS AN INANIMATE OBJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. No hard feelings, Raph? (Rise of the Turtles 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Your grudge is with me. (Follow the Leader)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. I don't ever want to hold a grudge ever again. (Mutagen Man Unleashed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Raph just has to work on his insanely bad temper. (Slash and Destroy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Maybe I do have anger issues. (The Good the Bad and Casey Jones)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Anger issues? Who's got anger issues? I don't have anger issues. Maybe they have anger issues. (The Good the Bad and Casey Jones)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These are simple ontological metaphors, describing an emotion as having an owner, a location, or a physical quality. Not much can be inferred about the anger from these expressions. "Insanely" in example 4 is taken as a general intensifier, but can also be connected to the INSANITY source domain.

**Table 3:** Verbal expressions reflecting the conceptual metaphor ANGRY PERSON IS A MACHINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANGRY PERSON IS A MACHINE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>You like pushing buttons, don't you, Jones?</em> (Mutagen Man Unleashed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>I'm fine until those guys push my buttons.</em> (The Good the Bad and Casey Jones)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>He's a little cranky.</em> (Into Dimension X)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. <em>Yet I am stronger than ever, fuelled by anger, by rage.</em> (The Invasion Part 1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ANGRY PERSON IS A MACHINE is a structural ontological metaphor where more knowledge can be inferred about the target from the source than if the source was just an unspecified object. Example 3 is possibly related to *crank*. The buttons in examples 1 and 2 gives us information of who controls the machine, but in examples 3 and 4 it is not obvious who does.
### 4.2.4 ANGER IS AN ANIMATE BEING

**Table 4:** Verbal expressions reflecting the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS AN ANIMATE BEING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANGER IS AN ANIMATE BEING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Anger is self-destructive.  
*I always thought it was others-destructive.* (Turtle Temper) |
| 2. We could have stopped them, but thanks to your temper, the guy with the... (Turtle Temper) |
| 3. You gotta control your temper. (Turtle Temper) |
| 4. So what if I’ve got a temper? I’m still the best fighter we’ve got. In fact, if anything, my anger makes me a better fighter. (Turtle Temper) |
| 5. I lost my temper. (Turtle Temper) |
| 6. Our anger makes us strong. (Slash and Destroy) |
| 7. Uh-oh, he’s awoken the beast! (The Good the Bad and Casey Jones) |
| 8. Anger is a dangerous ally. (The Good the Bad and Casey Jones) |
| 9. You need to control it [anger] lest it controls you. (The Good the Bad and Casey Jones) |
| 10. I thought I had my anger under control. Turns out I didn't. But now I do, seriously.  
*He means for now.* (The Good the Bad and Casey Jones) |

To separate this metaphor from the ANGER IS AN INANIMATE OBJECT metaphor there needs to be signs of the anger being active. In HEAT metaphors of anger, the heat could be seen as an active force, but one that exists for a limited time. These expressions suggest a permanent if not always apparent presence. ANIMATE BEING metaphors can also be identified by signs of the anger having a mind and intentions of its own, typically not in agreement with the angry person’s wishes. The relation to the anger animal or person in the examples is usually one of wanting to exploit it without being influenced by it. This relation can be contrasted with the attitude towards the personification of fear. Fear can be faced and fought (Fungus Humongous), conquered and zapped into oblivion (Cockroach Terminator). Anger is instead kept.

Example 5 does not mean that temper ceased to exist, as in the EXISTENCE IS PRESENCE metaphor. The loss is instead loss of control of the temper. Example 1 does
not mean that anger destroys itself. While anger is the agent, the self must be the person with the anger.

4.2.5 ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A (PRESSURIZED) CONTAINER

Table 5: Verbal expressions reflecting the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A (PRESSURIZED) CONTAINER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A (PRESSURISED) CONTAINER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Cool off! (Panic in the Sewers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Dude, are you all right? 'Cause unmotivated bursts of anger are kind of my thing. (Parasitica)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Who can concentrate with Raph exploding all the time? (Slash and Destroy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Cooled off yet, man? (The Good the Bad and Casey Jones)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Hold on, hothead! (Newtralized)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ANGER IS HEAT metaphor can be specified as either ANGER IS FIRE or ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A (PRESSURIZED) CONTAINER, the latter combining force, substance and object in the source domain. In expressions where what is hot can be cooled, I have chosen the FLUID metaphor, since fire would not cool but cease to be. Bursts and explosions have also been connected to the container of the hot fluid no longer holding its contents, but both of these could be fire.

While the ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A (PRESSURIZED) CONTAINER metaphor has received much attention in previous research on verbal anger metaphors (Kövecses, 1986), and is also very commonly found in the pictorial mode in this study as well as in previous studies on visual metaphors (Forceville, 2005; Erdeen, 2009; Shinohara & Matsunaka, 2009), its position in the verbal data of this study is not very prominent.
4.2.6 ANGER IS UNCONTROLLED MOVEMENT IN PHYSICAL SPACE

Table 6: Verbal expressions reflecting the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS UNCONTROLLED MOVEMENT IN PHYSICAL SPACE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANGER IS UNCONTROLLED MOVEMENT IN PHYSICAL SPACE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anger is forced movement in physical space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>You annoy me to no end.</em> (The Lonely Mutation of Baxter Stockman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anger is disorientation in physical space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>You're making me loopy.</em> (Invasion of the Squirellanoids)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>Those guys are making me loopy.</em> (The Good the Bad and Casey Jones)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are orientationally based metaphors, using movement and direction as the concrete mapping for emotional processes.
4.2.7 ANGER IS TO BE SUBJECT ED TO PHYSICAL INJURY OR STRAIN

Table 7: Verbal expressions reflecting the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS TO BE SUBJECT ED TO PHYSICAL INJURY OR STRAIN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANGER IS TO BE SUBJECT ED TO PHYSICAL INJURY OR STRAIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the cause of anger is physical annoyance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. And no longer will he be an irritant to our dorsal regions. (Into Dimenson X!)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anger is nerve injury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Guess I struck a nerve. (New Girl in Town)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anger is disease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. I'm sick of suggestions. (Slash and Destroy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. I told you, I'm sick of sitting on the side-lines. (The Kraang Conspiracy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anger is tiredness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. I'm tired of you three. (Slash and Destroy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. I'm tired of this team. (Slash and Destroy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anger is to be forcibly fed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. But still, I got the sense she really is fed up with Shredder. (Enemy of my Enemy)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These examples seem to be related to the metonymies where anger and injury are connected, but with the role of the angry person reversed from perpetrator to victim. In the context of these examples of INJURY/STRAIN metaphors, the angry person is likely to take action to change the situation, even though considering some of the concrete source domains it could be expected that the angry person would be passive. When anger is conceptualised as an injury/strain caused by another person or other persons, no assistance or apologies seem to be expected. The source domains INJURY, SICKNESS and LACK OF VITALITY have been connected to sadness, not anger, by previous research (Kövecses, 2003, p. 25).
4.2.8 ANGER IS INSANITY

Table 8: Verbal expressions reflecting the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANGER IS INSANITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Dude, you should see your face right now, you look so mad! (Panic in the Sewers)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 2. I'm glad you're not mad.  
  - Who says I'm not mad? (The Alien Agenda) |
| 3. It's driving me crazy. (TCRI) |
| 4. Why is he so mad at us? (Cockroach Terminator) |
| 5. I don't think he's mad at us. I think he's mad at you. (Cockroach Terminator) |
| 6. He drives me crazy. (Enemy of my Enemy) |
| 7. You said he's driving you crazy.  
  -He drives me crazy because he's my father! (Enemy of my Enemy) |
| 8. You're not mad at us, are you, Leo? I'll give you Mutant Pus Monsters 23 if you're not mad.  
  - I'm not mad. (Follow the Leader) |
| 9. You still mad? (Slash and Destroy) |
| 10. It's my fault Raph's mad. (Slash and Destroy) |
| 11. Don't get mad at me! (The Legend of the Kuro Kabuto) |

The INSANITY metaphor could be related to the PHYSICAL INJURY/STRAIN metaphor, but the source domain may also be seen as abstract in itself; insanity could be conceptualised either as a physical disorder or as a state of mind without physical tangibility. Instances where someone is *driven* crazy (examples 3, 6 and 7) are also cases of UNCONTROLLED MOVEMENT IN PHYSICAL SPACE. Examples of the INSANITY metaphor used in the second person often occur in the context of trying to defuse a situation where another character is potentially angry with the speaker (examples 1, 2, 8, and 11) The same metaphor in the first person softens the impression of the speaker’s own anger (examples 3 and 6), or is at least expected to do so even if it can be misunderstood as expressing enmity (example 7).
4.2.9 ANGER IS CLOUDY WEATHER

Table 9: Verbal expressions reflecting the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS CLOUDY WEATHER (in relation to judgement)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANGER IS CLOUDY WEATHER (in relation to judgement)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. It [anger] clouds your judgment. (The Good the Bad and Casey Jones)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In example 1, anger is cloudy weather in the relation between the concepts anger and judgement. Anger may not necessarily be cloudy weather in relation to other concepts.

4.2.10 ANGRY PERSON IS A BABY

Table 10: Verbal expressions reflecting the conceptual metaphor ANGRY PERSON IS A BABY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANGRY PERSON IS A BABY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ah, let the big green baby go. (The Good the Bad and Casey Jones)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The mapping scope from the baby source domain in example 1 is lean, highlighting only one aspect of the target: loud expressions of discontent. On other occasions, other mapping from the same source domain is used: when mapped unto a car, the baby source domain highlights the speaker’s love for and concern for the wellbeing of the target (The Invasion Part 1).

4.2.11 Expressions that Have Not Been Included as Anger Metaphors or Metonymies

A few expressions that describe anger and may be metaphorical were left out of the analysis since their source domains could not be established. These expressions are:

- *Man, I'm just bummed.* (Fungus Humongous) *Bummed* could be related to *homeless, poor,* or possibly to *bottom.*

- *The guys will be ticked.* (Pizza Face) and *Guess Raph really ticked you off this time.* (Plan 10). The literal meaning of *ticked off* is to be marked on a list.

Other expressions found are metaphorical descriptions of emotion which have identifiable source domains and a connection to anger, but also have a connection to sadness that is not less significant than the connection to anger. Possibly the expressions belong to a higher level conceptual category including both anger and sadness.
Within the third version of the father’s story, an emotion scenario using the FIRE source domain for anger is integrated with an account of outer world events, and also integrated with sadness, or grief, as darkness caused by smoke from the fire: *Fury became flame, and flame darkened the world with smoke, and in that darkness, Shredder stole Miwa away.* (The Manhattan Project Part 1). In other words, as a result of an escalating conflict, which the speaker was involved in, a house was set on fire, and depressed after finding a family member dead after that fire, the speaker did not stop to look for another family member who had survived and would have needed his aid.

Another metaphorical expression which seems to comprise both anger and sadness is the squishy heart metaphor, which is used by one character from the middle of season two and onwards and is elicited by aggressive behaviour as well as passivity and avoidance. The metaphor relies on conventional conceptualisation of the heart as emotion, but it has an unusually rich mapping from the concrete source domain. The metaphor is introduced as follows: *The heart's a soft muscle, man. A soft muscle. Squish.* (Operation Break Out). The squishiness is not criticised, but presented as a fact that must be considered. On its introduction, this metaphor has no connection to anger, but it is later used in connection to an argument between two other characters, urging one of them to be more empathetic: *People have feelings, dude; real squishy feelings.* (Newtralized). These examples of overlaps between anger and sadness can be compared to the findings categorised as expressions of an *ANGER IS TO BE SUBJECTED TO PHYSICAL INJURY OR STRAIN* metaphor, which shares source domains with sadness.

### 4.2.12 Summary of Verbal Results

The verbal expressions have been sorted according to the conceptual metaphors which they express. In some cases the categorisation is in two levels, with both a more specific and a more general conceptual metaphor stated. Source domains represented on the more general level are: INANIMATE OBJECT, ANIMATE BEING, HOT FLUID IN A (PRESSURIZED) CONTAINER, UNCONTROLLED MOVEMENT IN PHYSICAL SPACE, PHYSICAL INJURY OR STRAIN, INSANITY, CLOUDY WEATHER, MACHINE and BABY.
5 Comparison between Modes and Discussion

The main differences between the results found in the pictorial mode and in the verbal mode are that the verbal mode contains a considerably greater number of different metaphorical and metonymical expressions related to anger, reflecting also a greater number of underlying conceptual metaphors. At the same time, the verbal expressions do not exclusively refer to anger, but overlap with descriptions of negative physical states and with a different basic emotion: sadness. The pictorial expressions of anger, on the other hand, seem to refer exclusively to anger, with subcategories of different qualities of anger. Explanations for these differences between modes can be of four different kinds: different technical possibilities of the two modes; universality in the pictorial mode and language specific metaphors as well as universal in the verbal mode; a connection of pictorial and verbal data respectively to different genres within the series; and the different narrator roles between the two modes.

While no pictorial runes and only a handful of verbal expressions are categorised as metonymy, metonymy is often indirectly present in metaphors by the role which metonymies can play in the creation of metaphors.

5.1.1 Summary of Conceptual Metaphors found in the Respective Modes

Metaphors found in pictorial runes for anger are:
ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A (PRESSURIZED) CONTAINER.
ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL.
ANGER IS FIRE.
ANGER IS ELECTRICITY.

Thus, there are four source domains within the pictorial mode, all concrete. While HOT FLUID IN A (PRESSURIZED) CONTAINER and DANGEROUS ANIMAL are frequent source domains in the pictorial mode, FIRE and ELECTRICITY are rarer. The use of HOT FLUID IN A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER and FIRE metaphors of anger reflects what has been found in previous research, on both verbal and visual metaphors. The use of the DANGEROUS ANIMAL source domain in the pictorial mode will be commented on below, in comparison with its use in the verbal mode.

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3 Subcategories of anger could be expressed, for example, with words such as “annoyance”, “rage”, etc., but the pictorial runes have not been sorted into any such subcategories in this study.
Metaphors found in the verbal mode are:
ANGER IS AN INANIMATE OBJECT
ANGER IS AN ANIMATE BEING
ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A (PRESSURIZED) CONTAINER
ANGER IS UNCONTROLLED MOVEMENT IN PHYSICAL SPACE
ANGER IS TO BE SUBJECTED TO PHYSICAL INJURY OR STRAIN
ANGER IS INSANITY
ANGER IS CLOUDY WEATHER
ANGRY PERSON IS A MACHINE
ANGRY PERSON IS A BABY

Accordingly, there are at least nine source domains reflected in verbal expressions of anger. Some of the source domains listed could be further divided. There is one source domain that could be described as abstract: INSANITY.

In the verbal data of this study, the most frequently used source domain for anger is INSANITY, followed by ANIMATE BEING. The third most commonly found source domain is INJURY/STRAIN. Interestingly, previous research connects a group of source domains corresponding to INJURY/STRAIN to a different basic emotion: sadness (Kövecses, 2003, p. 25). The shared concrete source domains between anger and sadness do not seem to be unique to the data of this study but instead to be conventionalized in language use. A difference between the conceptualisations of anger and of sadness may be in if and how any cause or solution is conceptualised.

Metaphors appearing in both modes are thus:
ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A (PRESSURIZED) CONTAINER and ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL, in the verbal mode as part of the ANGER IS AN ANIMATE BEING metaphor.

5.1.2 Differing Presentations or Conceptualisations of the DANGEROUS ANIMAL/ANIMATE BEING in the Respective Modes
In previous research on the DANGEROUS ANIMAL metaphor, that investigates verbal expressions in the English language, the DANGEROUS ANIMAL is not found to be conceptualised as embodied but as separate from the angry person. This separation between angry person and dangerous animal is reflected in the verbal data of this study. In the version of the DANGEROUS ANIMAL metaphor which appears in the pictorial mode in the data of this study it can be argued that the DANGEROUS ANIMAL is
embodied. It is not immediately obvious that the metaphor in its embodied form is derived from the physiological effects of anger included in Kövecses’ (1986) account of the folk model of the anger concept, but it is compatible with those physiological effects. The blood- and muscular pressure aspect could be the animal’s readiness for physical action, and the interference with accurate perception could be a sort of tunnel vision, which focuses the prey and blurs everything else.

It is not possible to conclude from the data of this study whether personified emotions could be expressed within the pictorial mode or not. A near equivalent in the visual mode would perhaps be the angel and devil on characters’ shoulders which can be seen in some comics and animated films, and which are too complex to constitute pictorial runes under the definition applied in this study.

Possible technical limitations of the pictorial mode aside, an alternative explanation for the differences in how the source domain DANGEROUS ANIMAL is expressed within the pictorial and the verbal modes respectively is that different conceptualisations may be expressed in the two modes. The conceptualisations reflected in the pictorial mode would be the ones that are more easily understood irrespective of a viewer’s language. Language in different versions of a television series can be adapted to different audiences, by dubbing or subtitling, but the visual expressions are not changed.

5.1.3 Factors that Possibly Affect Metaphor Use in Fiction: Genre and Narrator Function

It should be kept in mind that this study does not investigate metaphors in pictures and in the English language at large, but uses a fictional work as data in which metaphors may be related to narrative considerations.

The expressions for anger found in the pictorial mode do not overlap with physical states, or with other emotions. By using signs that do not coincide with signs for any realistic changes in bodies, such as can be caused by illness, injury or tiredness, the pictorial mode presents conceptualisations of anger that are at the same time more abstract, or psychological, and more positive than conceptualisations of anger reflected in the verbal expressions. One possible way to explain this is that the pictorial runes, which are more frequent in scenes with a faster tempo, belong to a genre emphasising
action and humour. This genre could possess expert knowledge in expressing nuances of anger. The scenes with more verbal data could, in turn, belong to a more serious genre with slower tempo, which, on the other hand, could allow for the representation of more complex experiences of emotional and physical reality.

The greater variation of metaphorical and metonymical expressions within the verbal mode could also be connected to the factor that the verbal data is expressed in the subjective voices of different characters. Pictorial runes have the function to inform and amuse viewers. Characters’ speech is, moreover, a narrative means of expressing different personalities of characters. Metaphor use is one aspect of characters’ speech, and conceptualisations are characteristics that could be presented through it. Even so, any intended differences in conceptualisations between characters are not easily measurable, since in communication between characters one metaphor on the topic discussed is agreed on. In addition, talk of anger is usually connected to attempts to make other characters change their behaviour, so the aim of emotion talk may not always primarily be to give a truthful account of inner experiences.

5.1.4 Limitations of this Study: Interaction between Modes
While this study provides an account of metaphorical and metonymical expressions in both the verbal and the pictorial mode of the two seasons of the television series, it does not say anything about how the modes interact with each other in the viewing, and listening, or how they interact with possible metaphors and metonymies in other modes, for example, in sound effects or in iconic imagery. Probably nothing could have been concluded about any such interaction from the data of this study alone. Individual factors such as age, familiarity with different genres and with the language spoken, and general style of perception, favouring visual or auditory impressions, may lead to differences in how a multimodal presentation is perceived.
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