The Use of Prepositions in Expressions of Emotions: an Interlingual Comparison

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(B.A. Thesis)

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyses the use of prepositions in expressions of the six basic emotions in English and Croatian. A number of common expressions is given and analysed in terms of image schemas employed. The two languages mostly agree on the perception and the linguistic expression of emotions. Negative emotions are seen as more important, based on the variety of prepositions used to describe them; negative emotions are seen mostly as containers, while positive emotions are seen as companions. English and Croatian differ in the number of prepositions used (English uses a larger number) and the intensity of linguistic expressions (Croatian tends to be more direct, while English is more polite). Furthermore, this paper explores the metaphorical nature of expressions of emotions in the two languages. Emotions are perceived as interacting with speakers; due to their abstract nature, speakers use metaphorical stretching to place emotions in their world. Finally, a chapter is dedicated to the relationship between language and culture. Once again, English and Croatian mostly agree on their perception of basic emotions. The two languages share many similarities in the use of prepositions with emotions, similar metaphors are used to describe emotions, and the two cultures perceive and consequently express emotions similarly.

CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

Basic emotions represent one of the most primitive human feelings. They are often considered to be separate from language, since they are 'felt' rather than 'expressed' in their basic form. However, looking at how emotions are expressed through language might offer valuable insight into the relationship between language and thought, and between language and the world. In this work, I will explore how emotions are expressed through spoken and written language. Other means of expression, such as body language, facial and hand gestures, are not considered, since the focus of the work is the linguistic expression of emotions.

Instead of looking at the basic expressions of emotions, such as "I am afraid", I will focus on the use of prepositions in these expressions. Prepositions establish a spatial relationship between two objects in the world; therefore, including them into the analysis will further help reveal how language and the world are interconnected.

The languages analysed will be English and Croatian. These languages were chosen since one is a Germanic, and the other a Slavic language: therefore, the two languages do not share many similarities in syntax and vocabulary. Furthermore, I will take a look at the cultural differences in expressing emotions between the two languages.

In the first chapter, expressions of basic emotions with prepositions will be analysed in terms of the relationship established between the speaker and the emotion, and of the image schemata that is perceived. Then, it will be shown to what degree language matches reality, i.e. actual experiences of emotions. The next chapter deals with the metaphorical nature of these expressions. Finally, I will take a look at the influence of culture on emotions and their expression.

The goals of this paper are: to analyse a number of expressions of emotions in terms of image schemata they use, to note the similarities and differences between English and Croatian, to establish the relationship between these expressions and the world, to see how metaphorical these emotional expressions are, and to explore how culture influences the perception and linguistic expression of emotion. I am starting with the supposition that English and Croatian will agree on most of the expressions of basic emotions, since basic emotions are universal; and that the expressions of emotions will be based on our reality.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

I have started with works examining human emotions. Ze'ev (2000) is concerned with the visual expression of emotions, while Frijda and Manstead (2000) explore the relationship between emotions and beliefs. When it comes to the relationship between language and emotions, most authors are concerned with the relationship between emotion and thought, i.e. they aim to find out whether language influences emotions, or if the opposite is true. In *The Language of Emotions: Conceptualization, Expression, and Theoretical Foundation*, Niemeier and Dirven (1997) have compiled works dealing with the conceptualization of emotions, as well as the way they are expressed through language, through the use of interjections, as well as prepositions. In *Dynamicity in Emotion Concepts* (2012), authors are concerned with the meaning of emotional expressions, and they compare differences in emotion conceptualisation between different cultures. The influence of cultures on emotions is further examined by Wierzbicka (1999), who compares English and Polish expressions of emotions. Wilce (2009) studies the influence language has on emotions, as well as on other cultural aspects. All of these works analyse the relationship between language and emotion through comparing expressions of emotions in different languages. Kovačević and Ramadanović (2016) focus on the Croatian language, and explore how basic emotions are expressed through Croatian idioms.

Works I have consulted regarding the examination of the relationship between language and the mind include *Language in Mind: Advances in the Study of Language and Thought* by Gentner and Goldin-Meadow (2003), and *Perspectives on Meaning: An introduction to Philosophical, Lexical and Cognitive Semantics* by Brala-Vukanović (2013).

The study of metaphors has produced many works. In *Metaphors We Live By,* Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have proposed the idea that everyday language is metaphorical in nature,

i.e. that everyday concepts are based on different, similar concepts. Further works by Lakoff and Johnson explore the theory in more detail; Lakoff (1987) is also concerned with the categorization of concepts. The theory of metaphorical language has been further explored by Charteris-Black (2004), Kuźniak, Libura and Szawerna (2014), Ortony (1993), et al.

Most of the works consulted do not focus on the use of prepositions in expressions of emotion, the focus is either on the relationship between emotion and the mind and culture, or on the prepositions themselves, used in a variety of settings (Lindstroberg, 2010).

3. EXPRESSING BASIC EMOTIONS (ANGER, DISGUST, FEAR, HAPPINESS, SADNESS, AND SURPRISE)

According to a study published in the Proceedings of National Academy of Sciences, there are 27 human emotions (Yasmin, 2017)[1]. However, analysing how English and Croatian express all of these emotions is beyond the scope of this work. That is why this paper focuses on the six basic human emotions, as defined by Paul Ekman – anger, disgust, fear, happiness, sadness, and surprise. All basic emotions are innate and universal; they are automatic, since their purpose is to protect us from danger (Burton, 2016). According to Ekman (1994), emotions are seen in other primates as well. In humans, they occur in similar contexts, despite individual and cultural differences (p. 16). These emotions will be explored in their most basic sense; their variations such as fury, joy, etc. will not be looked at. More specifically, this paper focuses on the use of prepositions in expressions of emotions. Studying the use of prepositions offers valuable insight into how speakers of different languages perceive the world around them by clearly establishing a position that an object, a subject etc. takes in the world, and its relationship with said world.

It is important to note that emotions are not physical objects that exist in our world; therefore, they cannot be perceived and expressed objectively. What is perceived and expressed is actually the concept of a specific emotion.

The table below shows a number of English and Croatian expressions including prepositions related to expressing and/or defining the six basic emotions. Both languages contain a larger number of expressions of this kind; however, I had decided to focus on the most common prepositions used. Below, these expressions are analysed in terms of image schemas that they follow.

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[1] The list is comprised of: admiration, adoration, aesthetic appreciation, amusement, anxiety, awe, awkwardness, boredom, calmness, confusion, craving, disgust, empathetic pain, entrancement, envy, excitement, fear, horror, interest, joy, nostalgia, romance, sadness, satisfaction, sexual desire, sympathy, and triumph.

PREPOSITIONS IN SENTENCES EXPRESSING EMOTIONS		
	ENGLISH	**CROATIAN**
ANGER	I am angry **at** you. I am angry **with** you. What are you angry **about**? I am angry **over** sth. I feel a lot of anger **towards** you. Go **into** a rage An outburst **of** anger	Ljutim se **na** tebe. Ljutim se **zbog** tvojeg ponašanja.
DIGUST	I was disgusted **at** the way you were treated. I am disgusted **by** your behaviour. I am disgusted **with** your decision. I walked out **in** disgust.	Slabo mi je **od** toga. Gnušam se **nad** njegovim postupkom.
FEAR	I am afraid **of** the dark. I am afraid **for** you. To scream **in** fear	Bojim se mraka. Živjeti **u** strahu **Bez** straha
HAPPINESS	I am happy **about** it. I am happy **for** you. I found happiness **with** him. I am feeling **up**.	Sretna sam **zbog** tebe. Neka vam je **sa** srećom.
SADNESS	I was saddened **by** the news. I feel sad **for** you. I am feeling **down**. A great sense **of** sadness **With** great sadness Her sadness **at** his death	Tužna sam **zbog** onoga što se dogodilo.
SURPRISE	I am surprised **at** you. I looked at him **with** a surprised expression on my face.	Iznenađena sam **zbog** toga.

Table 1: Prepositions in expressions of emotions

3.1.Anger

Croatian speakers express anger towards someone by saying, "Ljutim se *na* tebe", literally, "I am angry *on* you". It is very easy to imagine the speaker literally attacking the object, jumping on him/her in a rage. The emotion is expressed as a direct contact between the speaker and the object, i.e. as a burden schema. If we wished to say why we are angry, we could say, "Ljutim se *zbog* tvojeg ponašanja" (I am angry *because of* your behaviour.). Therefore, when we are angry at a person, we imagine the burden schema, and when we want to express the cause of our anger, we use the enablement force schema (behaviour enables anger). In the enablement force schema, the speaker is not the agent, the action is driven by the cause of anger.

English uses a larger number of prepositions to explain anger. The Croatian "I am angry *on* you" becomes "I am angry *at* you". This force schema shows a clear trajectory towards the target, i.e. object. According to Lindstromberg (2010), when *at* is used, it is difficult determining how far away from the object the subject is (p. 173). However, in order to be able to aim something towards someone, physical distance is required. Furthermore, English distinguishes between this and "I am angry *with* you", (link schema). Like Croatian speakers, English speakers can be angry *over* something, i.e. *because of* something.

What all the English expressions have in common is that they are much more indirect than their Croatian counterparts. The preposition *on (na)* is very direct, there is a direct contact between the subject and the object. The preposition *at,* on the other hand, signifies distance; the relationship between two objects is not as direct, the object is seen as a target at which anger is aimed, as opposed to as an object that is directly burdened by the subject.

3.2.Disgust

As is the case with anger, Croatian uses less expressions with prepositions. The most common way to express disgust is to say "Slabo mi je *od* toga" (I feel sick *because of* that). In its most basic spatial sense, the preposition *od* signifies a starting point; in the case of disgust, the speaker is moving away from the cause of the negative emotion. One could also say "Gnušam se *nad* njegovim postupkom"; in this case, there is no direct contact between the speaker and the object, since the speaker is putting him/herself above the undesired object. The verticality schema puts the subject above the cause of disgust.

English uses a larger number of prepositions, all signalling different attitudes towards the object. In "I was disgusted *at* the way you were treated", the object is the target in the force schema; the subject maintains some distance. In "I am disgusted *by* your behaviour", the focus is on the cause of disgust. Here, the passive form is used - the object, not the subject, is the agent. This might suggest that English speakers see the cause of disgust as extremely dangerous, and that is why it is given agency. Finally, someone can walk out *in* disgust (containment schema); disgust completely encloses the subject.

English language still remains more indirect than Croatian, disgust can be aimed from a safe distance, or its cause can be seen as a dangerous starting point. Croatian, on the other hand, puts emphasis on the speaker's sense of superiority; the speaker can either move away from (*od*) the cause of disgust, or assume a higher (*nad*) position. Therefore, both languages see disgust and whatever is causing it as undesirable and speakers find it necessary to move away from the source of disgust even metaphorically, through language.

3.3.Fear

When expressing the cause of fear, Croatian uses no preposition, since the object uses the genitive case. However, one can live *in* fear ("živjeti *u* strahu"). Fear surrounds the speaker (containment schema). When an object (in this case an emotion) is perceived as a container, it "traps" another object (in this case the speaker). The speaker has no control, his/her entire current state is controlled by fear. The encouraging utterance "*bez* straha" further demonstrates the desire to move away from fear, i.e. the view of fear as an undesirable emotion. Unlike *with, without* signifies the lack of a literal or metaphorical accompaniment (Lindstromberg, 2010, p. 221). Therefore, *bez* signifies the desire to escape the container (fear).

In English, when we wish to express the object of our fear, we use the preposition *of. Of* is the only English preposition that does not have a spatial function; instead, its function can be integrative, meaning that the subject is connected to the object, but only partially (Lindstromberg, 2010, pp. 205-206). All other English examples use prepositions when fear is accompanied by an object, either direct or indirect; therefore, we have the prepositions *of, for, to*, etc. In "I am afraid *of* the dark", the cause of fear is explained, while the speaker maintains a safe distance from it. However, fear can also "imprison" the subject, "to live *in* fear" is the equivalent of the Croatian "živjeti *u* strahu". In both languages, the speaker is in a specific state (fear), other than acting against the source of the negative emotion.

Further examples of imagining fear, such as "flooded *with* fear", "fear sweeps *over* me", "eyes full of fear", etc. (Kuźniak, Libura, Szawerna, 2014, pp. 81-82), further demonstrate that fear is perceived in terms of the containment schema, the container can either be fear or the speaker him/herself. Returning to English and Croatian examples, it is noticeable that the

two languages agree in their perception of fear as something that sweeps over the speaker and completely encloses him/her.

3.4. Happiness

English and Croatian expressions relating to happiness see happiness as a companion ("I am happy *with* our plan" (link schema)). The preposition *with* is used to describe that the subject is near the object; however, the focus is on the two being part of an ensemble (Lindstromberg, 2010, p. 214). Components of an ensemble usually work together, which means that happines is not only next to the speaker, but in a way acting alongside him/her. This idea of happiness as a companion is further reintroduced through expressions with the preposition *for*. The English sentence "I am happy *for* you" includes another person into this desirable state. The Croatian equivalent, "Sretna sam *zbog* tebe" (enablement schema) can also mean "I am happy *because of* you". In this case, the function of *for* is support (Lindstromberg, 2010, p. 224). It is also possible to use the more general *about* to explain what the source of happiness is.

3.5. Sadness

English expressions "*with* great sadness" and "a great sense *of* sadness" create the image of sadness surrounding the speaker. Like happiness, sadness is seen as a companion; or, in the case of "sense *of* sadness" it is the defining quality of the speaker's current state. The preposition *of* tells us that the speaker is currently "shrouded" in sadness; like fear, sadness surrounds the speaker.

However, the trajectory schema is once again a possibility, one can be sad *at* something. Here, the speaker is in control, i.e. acting towards something from a safe distance. Finally, one can say "I am sad *for* you" (the subject is supporting the object).

Croatian uses only the preposition *zbog* (*because of*). *Zbog* does not signify a spatial relationship between the subject and the object; the focus is instead on the cause of the action, in this case the cause of sadness. As is the case with disgust, speakers want to point to whatever caused sadness in order to defend themselves. However, in the case of sadness, as well as other before mentioned emotions, this preposition serves more functions than only explaining the cause of sadness. "Sretna sam *zbog* tebe", for example, can be translated either as "I am happy *because of* you", or "I am happy *for* you".

3.6. Surprise

As is the case with anger and disgust, in the sentence "I am surprised *at* you" (force schema/trajectory), surprise is aimed at the target, the object. Surprise can also be seen as a companion ("to look at someone *with* a surprised expression on one's face"). Croatian speakers cannot be surprised *at* someone, they can be surprised *because of* someone ("Iznenađena sam *zbog* tebe"). Whereas English establishes a spatial relationship between the subject and the object, Croatian focuses on the unexpected cause of surprise. Distance is kept between the speaker and the cause of surprise, possibly because something surprising is new and unknown. The focus is therefore on the source, rather than on the speaker.

It is immediately noticeable that both languages use a larger number of prepositions when it comes to negative emotions: anger, disgust, fear, and sadness. The next chapter looks at the relationship between language and the world, and explains why negative emotions can be expressed in more ways than positive emotions. Furthemore, both languages see positive emotions as welcome companions (link schema), while sources of negative emotions are kept at a distance. Even in language, speakers try to stay away from unwelcome emotions. They also point to the source of a negative emotion in order to be prepared for defensive action. Of the six basic emotions, four are negative, because their purpose is to protect us, prepare us to fight or run away (Forgas, 2014, p. 4).

It was mentioned that English uses a larger number of prepositions than Croatian. It is possible that the reasoning behind that is staying indirect. For example, the Croatian "Ljutim se *na* tebe" is very direct. The speaker is in direct contact with the object of the sentence. English, on the other hand, uses *at, with*, and *towards* to express anger towards someone. Despite using more prepositions, all of them are more indirect than the Croatian *na*. A significant number of choices allows English speakers to remain polite even in distressing situations. Whereas Croatian expressions highlight the primitive nature of basic emotions, English expressions represent a "step up", where language is further separated from the world, and serves additional functions, such as communicating in a polite manner.

4. LANGUAGE AND THE WORLD

4.1.Anger

It is important to note that emotional expressions including prepositions differ than those without them. For example, "I am angry" does not tell us why the speaker is angry. The cause can be a person, an event etc. However, "I am angry *at* you" signifies who is to blame, the indirect object. Therefore, when we are talking about emotions and prepositions, we are not analysing how anger is perceived, but rather how the relationship between the speaker and the object that caused the anger is perceived. The force (trajectory) schema employed here shows that English speakers view anger as an emotion that has a target, it has to be aimed at someone or something, while keeping a distance from the target. The Croatian burden schema emphasises the force aspect of anger.

Anger is an emotion that is caused by another person's wrongdoing. Furthermore, people feel angry when they feel that they have been treated unjustly (Ben-Ze'ev, 2000, p. 380). Therefore, the Croatian expression "ljutiti se *na* nekoga" is understandable, one wishes to retaliate (Ben-Ze'ev, 2000, p. 381). English sees the cause of anger as a target; however, it also sees it as companion (*with*). Despite using many more prepositions than Croatian to express anger, English remains indirect, in certain cases, such as *with*, even promotes companionship and working towards a resolution with the person who is the cause of anger. According to Taylor (2016), mock politeness can be used to avoid "a potential face-threatening act" (p. 13). Furthermore, we use politeness to stop ourselves and others from embarrassment, and to communicate effectively (Fukushima, 2003, p. 27). Both languages see anger as having someone to blame for, both languages establish a spatial relationship between the subject and the cause, the only difference is the intensity of the contact.

4.2.Disgust

Disgust is an emotion generally not expressed or commented on. "This is disgusting" is usually substituted with an expression such as "Eww", accompanied by an appropriate facial expression. Disgust creates one of the most primitive reactions (Ben-Ze'ev, 2000, p. 387). It is important to keep in mind that the verbal expression of emotions represents a "step up", the expression is in a way detached from the actual experience of a certain emotion.

Here, English prepositions generally serve the purpose of explaining what is the cause of disgust. Different prepositions can be used. Once again, the force trajectory schema is present ("I was disgusted *at* the way you were treated"). Here the speaker is in control and is aiming his/her disgust at the target. Alternatively, one can be disgusted *with* something (link schema), *by* something (enablement schema), or walk out *in* disgust. Therefore, disgust is seen both as a container (*in*), an enabler (*by*), a target (*at*), and a companion (*with*).

On the other hand, Croatian knows two relationships. In the first one, disgust is an enabler (*od, zbog*), while the speaker is moving away from it; in the other, using the verticality schema (*nad*), the speaker is above whatever caused disgust. Therefore, as in English, Croatian speakers highlight either the undesired cause of disgust, or their superiority and antagonism towards it. Psychologists define disgust as an aversion to something that can contaminate us (Ben-Ze'ev, 2000, p. 387). Language "copies" that attitude and highlights the source, i.e. danger. Speakers themselves then put themselves above the undesired source through language.

It is interesting to note that both negative emotions, anger and disgust, are reactions to possible danger. Language matches reality. Firstly, prepositions can point to what caused these emotions; secondly, they can explain what the speaker intends to do in order to defend himself/herself.

4.3. Fear

Anger is seen as a state in which the speaker is in control, i.e. the speaker is the agent. Unlike anger, prepositions used with fear signify subordinance of the speaker. When we say "I am afraid *of* the dark", we are saying that *dark* is what is causing the action. One cannot be afraid *at* the dark, or *with* it. Generally speaking, the preposition *of* can signify origin or derivation; in this case, the dark is the origin of the fear, it is what is causing the action. The enablement schema puts the speaker in a submissive state to fear. Croatian does not use a preposition to explain the relationship between the speaker and the indirect object (one that is causing fear). However, in the sentence "Bojim se mraka", *mrak* (*the dark*) is the enabler. As was previously mentioned, in relation to negative emotions, speakers are powerless even in language; agency is given to the source of an emotion.

In the case of anger and fear, language matches reality; when we are angry, our muscles are tense, and our body temperature rises, which is not the case with fear (Kovačević, Ramadanović, 2016, p. 515). Therefore, English and Croatian match the real world and actual situations involving anger and fear. The English sentence "I am angry *at* you" signifies that the speaker is the one who is performing the action, and it is aimed against someone (the speaker is ready for action), while in the sentence "I am afraid *of* the dark", the speaker is subordinate to the object. When we are sad, we often feel hopeless, and language emphasizes this feeling by presenting fear as a container.

4.4.   Happiness

It is important to distinguish temporary happiness, caused by a specific event, message etc., from long-term happiness (happy life). In this paper, I focused on the former. This short-

term happiness is usually associated with the sense of freedom, security or inner peace (Kovačević, Ramadanović, 2016, p. 509).

English language sees happiness as a companion, a positive emotion that is shared with others ("to be happy *with* someone"), or experienced for someone ("I am happy *for* you"). In the sentence "Sretna sam *zbog* tebe", *zbog* can either introduce the cause of happiness, or explain that the speaker is happy *for* someone. Both languages recognise the source of happines; however, both focus more on happiness as a companion. "Happy *with*" and the Croatian "Neka vam je *sa* srećom" both use the link schema; unlike disgust or sadness, happiness is not a container, but a welcome companion. The sentence "I am happy *for* you" further highlights this aspect of sharing happiness with those around us.

Happiness is also usually associated with upness, one can feel *up* (Lakoff, Johnson, 1980, p. 14). Since happiness is a welcome feeling, it is seen as a companion, as something that is shared with others; seeing happiness as being *up* simply means that speakers connect the feeling of happiness with their physical world, one in which *up* is better than *down*. Interestingly, Croatian language does not use the prepositions *gore* or *dolje* to describe one's state. However, both languages agree on happiness being a welcome companion.

4.4. Sadness

Unlike anger expressions, we have seen that those relating to sadness see the speaker as being surrounded by sadness. The speaker is passive; that is because sadness is usually not associated with "putting up resistance but with passivity and resignation" (Ben-Ze'ev, 2000, p. 466). Sadness is frequently accompanied by a sense of hopelessness and inability to act. That

is why English uses expressions such as "*with* great sadness", "a sense *of* sadness". In one, sadness is a companion, the link schema sees the speaker sharing his/her space with sadness. In the other, sadness shrouds the speaker. These expressions do not express the source of sadness, sadness is seen as an abnormal state, the focus is rather on the effect it produces on the speaker. When there is a source, one can be sad *at* something; once again, there is a clear trajectory between the speaker and the object. The source of sadness is perceived as undesirable; therefore, in language, speakers act against it.

Croatian uses the preposition *zbog* to show the source of sadness. There is no equivalent for the English "sad *at* something". Croatian speakers are even more passive when it comes to sadness, there are no expressions signifying that the speaker is acting towards the source of sadness. Sad people are quiet and less active in reality (Kovačević, Ramadanović, 2016, p. 513). As one can feel *up*, one can also feel *down*. Sad people are passive, the emotion can also be accompanied by a drooping posture (Lakoff, Johnson, 1980, p. 15). Sad speakers are aware of their powerlessness and of the inability to do anything about their current situation (Wierzbicka, 1999, p. 39).

4.6. Surprise

Studying the relationship between expressions of surprise and their conceptualisation is difficult, since surprise can be both a positive and a negative emotion. Cambridge Dictionary defines surprise simply as "an unexpected event". It is an emotion caused by a sudden and unexpected event. It is brief and rarely motivates action; however, it prepares us to deal with the unexpected event (Izard, 1977, pp. 277, 281). Therefore, surprise is an ambiguous emotion. As a result, its expressions are ambiguous as well; realising whether the

speaker is pleased or displeased is usually possible by noticing his/her facial expression, or tone of voice.

Whether the speaker is happy or not, surprise is seen as a companion in English. Alternatively, it can be targeted *at* someone ("I am surprised *at* you"). The speaker is actively aiming his/her surprise towards someone. Croatian is more passive, "Iznenađena sam *zbog toga*" only tells us that the speaker is surprised *because of* something. Here, focus is on the cause of the surprise, i.e. the surprising event is what is driving the emotion. Croatian speakers do not act towards the source like English speakers do, language highlights the unexpectedness of the situation.

This essay listed only a few expressions using prepositions; however, it is noticeable that both in English and in Croatian, negative emotions have a larger number of prepositions associated with them. Once again, language matches reality. First of all, we tend to focus more on and talk more about negative emotions (Ben-Ze'ev, 2000, p. 99); the reason there are so many ways to express anger is that it concerns us. Secondly, negative emotions pose a threat, while positive ones do not (Ben-Ze'ev, 2000, p. 100). Despite being a wonderful emotion, happiness is not perceived as being equally important as fear, since it cannot hurt us. Both English and Croatian expressions highlight the effect actual emotions have on speakers; anger sees the speaker retaliating against the cause, sadness sees the speaker as vulnerable and powerless, etc. In the case of basic emotions, language matches real-life experiences.

It was mentioned that English uses a larger number of prepositions than Croatian, while remaining more indirect. However, there are some similarities between the two languages. Both are focused on the source of an emotion, and use prepositions to point to it. Furthermore, when it comes to negative emotions, retaliation, i.e. the speaker acting to defend

oneself, is seen as important. When it comes to positive emotions, however, they are characterised as companions, positive states of mind that are shared with those around us. According to Kovačević and Radamanović (2016), many idioms are created as a reaction to the manifestation of emotions, which includes a physical reaction (p. 508). The same seems to be true for expressions with prepositions. It was shown how both in English and Croatian, language generally follows the world around us.

The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis states that language influences thought, i.e. our perception of reality (Brala-Vukanović, 2013. p. 142). This would mean that English and Croatian speakers see fear as they do because of the way fear is expressed in their languages. That would also mean that fear is often seen as a container simply because speakers say "I am *in* fear"/"*u* strahu". However, in the case of emotions, the examples given in this work suggest that the opposite is true. Expressions of emotions generally coincide with physical reactions that accompany these emotions. Spatial language follows our world, since we have to be able to talk about it (Gentner, Goldin-Meadow, 2003, p. 113). Prepositions such as *up, down, in*, etc. describe not only the position of objects in the world, but also their interaction with other objects, one that matches real-life.

5. THE METAPHORICAL NATURE OF EXPRESSING EMOTIONS WITH PREPOSITIONS

It is immediately apparent that clearly determining what is a "normal" expression and what is a metaphorical expression is very difficult; for example, one cannot actually walk out *in* disgust. Here, disgust is seen as a container for the affected person. Furthermore, one cannot be angry *on* someone, even *with* someone. Therefore, it is apparent that the way we imagine the relationship between our emotions and the world is metaphorical in its very nature.

Expressions analysed above do not describe emotions factually, the only truly objective way to do that would be to describe the facial expression of a person experiencing a certain emotion, to note the physiological changes, etc. What these expressions do describe is the speakers' attitude towards a specific emotion. In English and Croatian, fear is seen as a container. Of course, fear is not a container in reality, simply because it does not exist as a tangible object. Therefore, speakers perceive fear as a container, even though they are aware that it is not one. Expressing emotions means expressing something that is usually very difficult to explain because it is not tangible; therefore, speakers make sense of emotions by placing them in their physical world, and giving them certain human qualities (ex. being an agent or a companion). Lakoff (1987) uses the term experiential "realism" that includes recognising that "reality places constraints on concepts" (Preface XV). Charteris-Black (2004) links the subjectivity of metaphors with the subjectivity of emotions. According to him, emotions are dependent on various factors, such as situations or language. Metaphor is able to arouse those emotions (p. 19). Speaking more generally, language "does not offer us exact maps of the experiences"; rather than representing ideas, it evokes them (Clark, 2003, p.17). Understanding and expressing emotions is difficult due to their abstract nature. However, through the use of prepositions and metaphorical stretching, English and Croatian speakers

are able to establish relationships between emotions and themselves. As a result, anger is often portrayed as a container, fire, or an opponent, while fear is accompanied by an increased heart rate, as a container et al. (Kövecses, 1990, p. 82).

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the human conceptual system is "fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (p. 3). This means that we understand concepts in terms of relating them to different concepts that exists in our lives. Metaphors influence our way of thinking, speaking, and acting (Lakoff, Johnson, 1980, p. 453). Metaphor is concerned with "forming a coherent view of reality" (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 28). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) use the ARGUMENT IS WAR example; we see arguments as battles that can be either won or lost (p. 4). Furthermore, the majority of our basic concepts are organized in terms of spatialisation metaphors (Lakoff, Johnson, 1980, p. 17). Returning to the topic of this paper, we see that using prepositions (in their most literal sense signifying the relationship between different objects in physical space) means connecting emotions with the world, i.e. establishing the relationship between an emotion and the speaker as if the former was an actual object, or a person, in the world.

All of the examples listed in this work fall into the category of orientational metaphors. Most of these metaphors describe spatial orientation, such as *in, out, up, down, on, off* (Lakoff, Johnson, 1980, pp.461-462). This means that these metaphors place concepts into the world and establish their relationships with other concepts. These spatial concepts, such as *up*, are the ones that are understood most directly, since they are "inspired" by the world around us. When it comes to the conceptual structure for emotions, our emotional functioning is not the only source; emotional concepts arise from our emotions and our sensory-motor experiences; the two form orientational metaphorical concepts (Lakoff, Johnson, 1980, p. 476-477). The examples analysed in this work confirm this idea. Even though emotions can be described as companions, containers, etc., the relationships established between them and the speaker still

correspond to the actual feeling of a specific emotion. Fear is not a container, but feeling afraid often makes the person who is afraid feel trapped. Language could describe fear as a surface or a target, but it instead describes it as a container, in order to match reality. Furthermore, many metaphors about fear match physical characteristics that accompany it: increased heart rate, the inability to move or speak, sweating, dryness of the mouth, et al. (Kövecses, 1990, pp. 70-72).

Descriptions of emotions produce significantly more metaphors than descriptions of actions (Wilson, Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 2012, p. 22). This coincides with the abstract nature of emotions; since they do not physically exist, speakers can be much freer with their interpretations of the place of emotions in the world. However, as was said above, the metaphorical relationships actually correspond with reality.

6. LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

When it comes to expressing the six basic emotions, English and Croatian mostly agree on their perception, meaning that the speakers of the two languages similarly interpret the world around them when it comes to emotions. However, there are differences, such as English speakers seeing the object of anger as a target or a companion, while Croatian speakers see it as a surface burdened by the speaker. This example shows us that English and Croatian speakers conceptualise anger differently, furthermore, they conceptualise the relationship between emotions, themselves and their world differently. Since emotions are innate feelings characteristic to all human beings, the reason for this discrepancy is not that the emotions experienced are different, but that these emotions are perceived differently because of a belief system that is disconnected from the body. In order to gain a wider perspective on the relationship between language and emotions, it is useful to take culture, i.e. a system of beliefs and customs of a specific group, into account.

As was mentioned, expressions of emotions with prepositions do not look at the speaker in isolation; instead, they tell us how the relationship between the speaker and the emotion, and between the speaker and another person responsible for creating the emotion, is perceived. Therefore, in this context, cultural differences will not influence how emotions are experienced, but how different languages and cultures perceive the relationship between emotions and their world.

Many scholars see language and culture as interconnected. Furthermore, they apply this idea to emotions as well. According to Prinz (quoted in Engelen, 2012), "no lexicalized emotion is biologically basic", the content of emotions is influenced by learning (p.62). Returning to our earlier point about language matching reality, this would mean that conceptualising fear as something that incapacitates the speaker is not only a matter of

"copying" reality, but of seeing it that way as a result of our ideas about fear, depictions of fear on television, etc. Wierzbicka (1999) stresses the importance of studying words in order to go beyond them, i.e. to learn about another culture. For her, emotion words such as anger are "no more than the cultural artifacts of one particular language". Words such as anger pass on cultural models, while these models pass on values of the society within which they have developed (Wierzbicka, 1999, pp. 28-29, 32).

Certain scholars go one step further, suggesting that, apart from influencing how emotions are perceived, culture also influences how emotions are experienced. The "cognitive emotion theory" sees emotions as a result of beliefs; this idea is further proposed through the "appraisal theory", which states that an individual's belief system influences their emotions (Frijda, Manstead, Bem, 2000, p. 1). According to Wierzbicka (1999), all cultures offer "not only a linguistically embodied grid for the conceptualization of emotions, but also a set of "scripts" suggesting to people how to feel, how to express their feelings" (p. 240). This is interesting considering that emotions are one of the most primitive reactions; it would therefore be expected to see them as universal, in the sense that they are not culture-specific. Certain basic emotions are indeed more universal than emotions such as guilt or pride, emotions that are developed later in our life (Wilson, Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 2012, p. 17). Research by Zhu, Ho, and Bonanno (2013) suggests that Americans and the Hong Kong Chinese experience the same emotions in the same conditions; the only difference is that the Hong Kong Chinese tend to underreport their emotions (p. 265).

The answer probably lies somewhere in the middle; emotions and language are shaped by culture to a degree, and the opposite is true as well. The "human physical-physiological setup" is more universal, but behaviour patterns, beliefs, and "the structure of linguistic discourses" are shared to a certain degree (Wilson, Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 2012, p. 17).

In this work expressions of basic emotions were analysed. Basic emotions are primitive and innate to all human beings. Therefore, it is not surprising that English and Croatian mostly agree on their perception and on their linguistic expression. However, some differences in placing these emotions in the world offer insight into how the two cultures approach these emotions, moreover, how they approach other speakers. For example, the Croatian "Ljutim se *na* tebe"sees the speaker burdening the person responsible for causing anger. The speaker is attacking the other person, anger is a fight, whether a literal or a linguistic one. On the other hand, the English "I am angry *at* you" sees the speaker as aiming his/her anger at someone, rather than directly contacting the other person. Even though aiming something at someone is not a positive action, the act still requires distance. Furthermore, "I am angry *with* you" actually establishes a companionship between the two people, opening a way to resolve the conflict.

In expressing the five remaining basic emotions, the two languages agree, with a few exceptions. Croatian tends to be more direct, but both languages perceive and express positive emotions as welcome companions, while negative emotions are containers. The two cultures experience these primitive emotions similarly, and as a result, they express them through language similarly. In order to find more differences between the two cultures, more emotions should be researched. Degrees of basic emotions, such as happiness, joy and contentment, would allow to enquire whether English and Croatian speakers perceive these feelings differently and to what degree.

7. CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have analysed a number of English and Croatian expressions of basic emotions with prepositions. All of the expressions establish a connection between the speaker and the world, through a specific image schema. Emotions are generally viewed as agents, containers, and companions. The key similarity between English and Croatian is the agreement on perceiving positive emotions as companions and negative emotions as agents and enablers. The key differences include a larger number of prepositions used in English, and directness in Croatian. The two languages follow reality, emotions are mostly imagined on the basis of their actual experience by people. It is also apparent that expressions in both languages are metaphorical, and that this metaphorical stretching allows for the placement of emotions into the real world. Finally, I have looked at approaches to the relationship between language and culture, and emotion and culture. When it comes to English and Croatian, there are no major differences in perceiving and expressing basic emotions; the most notable differences are level of directness and politeness (Croatian is more direct, and less polite than English).

Returning to my supposition that English and Croatian will agree on most of the expressions of basic emotions, and that these expressions will be based on reality, we can conclude that this is true to a degree. Even though the relationship between the speaker and the emotion is similar in the two languages, there are significant differences in the level of directness and politeness. However, the linguistic expressions of emotions do reflect reality. Furthermore, emotions (abstract concepts) are incorporated into our world through metaphorical stretching.

Further research should take a larger number of emotions into account. This would allow for the study of differences between similar emotions (happiness, joy, contentment), as

well as between culture-specific emotions. The relationship between language and the world could be further studied through an analysis of metaphorical expressions of emotions. Finally, taking a larger number of languages, i.e. cultures, into account, would allow us to look for instances in which culture heavily shapes language and the conceptualisation of emotions.

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