Fire, Poison, and Black Tears : Metaphors of Emotion in Rebétiko

Smaragdi, Marianna

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Fire, poison, and black tears

Metaphors of Emotion in Rebétiko

Marianna Smaragdi

LUND UNIVERSITY

Centre for Languages and Literature

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To my parents

Ulla Johnsson-Smaragdi, med stor beundran och oändlig saknad

Φώτη Σμαραγδή, με απέραντη αγάπη κι ευγνωμοσύνη

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1 Introduction

1.1 Aims

> *"There is very little about the emotions that is not metaphorically conceived"*
> Zoltán Kövecses[1]

This dissertation is primarily a study of metaphors of emotion in rebétiko song texts.[2] Particular attention will be devoted to the interpretation of certain frequently recurring words and phrases (such as those signalled in the title: φαρμάκι 'poison', φωτιά 'fire', and δάκρυ 'tear') as literal or as metaphorical, or, in some contexts, as either. The metaphors of emotion in rebétiko will be examined in the light of the theories of conceptual metaphor developed by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson[3] from 1980 onward and subsequently elaborated in respect of emotion metaphors by Zoltán Kövecses.[4] This dissertation will thus test the applicability of these theories to metaphors of emotion commonly encountered in Greek, and specifically in rebétiko song texts.

Following a particular concern of Kövecses, the analysis will examine whether the various metaphors encountered are conventional or creative, and universal or culture-specific. The lyrics of rebétiko should *prima facie* be suitable texts for this purpose, given the enduring popularity and increasing pervasiveness of the genre among successive generations of Greek-speakers, which suggests that it expresses what might be termed 'the Greek spirit and Greek mentality' to a significant extent. However, despite the wealth of social and cultural evidence encoded in it, the language of rebétiko lyrics has received scant attention in the copious secondary literature about the genre (reviewed collectively in section *1.4* and incidentally in chapter 2 below), and metaphors are rarely mentioned.

The basic thesis advanced here is that metaphors of emotion are of crucial significance to the poetry of the emotionally charged genre which is rebétiko.[5] This dissertation will also explore the possibility that certain metaphors might be considered genre-specific and consequently serve as genre-markers to some extent. One might have expected an examination of figurative expression in rebétiko to be concerned primarily with those tropes which might be deemed the most salient genre-markers or at least peculiar to the genre. The most conspicuous candidates

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[1] Kövecses (2000:85).
[2] The terms 'rebétiko', 'metaphor' and 'metaphor of emotion' are defined for the purposes of this thesis in chapters 2 and 3.
[3] Lakoff & Johnson (1980/2003).
[4] Kövecses (2000, 2002, 2005).
[5] Cf. Tsounis (1995:95): "There is a long history of association between music, ethnic identity and emotion in Greek culture."

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for this role would be certain metaphors relating to hashish smoking, such as τεκές (*literally* 'dervish lodge'; *metaphorically* 'hashish den')[6] and ντερβίσης ('dervish' = 'hashish smoker'),[7] or the bouzouki, such as κουρντίστηκες στην πένα, στο καντίνι ('you're tuned with a plectrum, to the D-string' = 'you're all dolled up to the nines'). Also those embedded in the argot (called Λαϊκή in Greek) generally associated with rebétiko, e.g. χήνα (*literally* 'a goose'; *metaphorically* 'a 1000-drachma note', λαχανάδες ('cabbage-pickers' = 'pickpockets'), παντόφλες ('slippers' = 'wallets'), and κάνε τουμπεκί ('fix some tobacco' = 'keep quiet').[8] Yet this dissertation will instead seek to demonstrate that the figurative expression which typifies rebétiko is centred on the metaphor of emotion, which it does not monopolise among other song genres. *Prima facie* the metaphor of emotion may be less saliently distinctive, but analysis reveals it to be more broadly characteristic of the genre as represented in my corpus.

In order to examine the *genre-specificity* and the originality or conventionality of the metaphors in rebétiko in depth, a comprehensive comparison with other genres of Greek song would be needed, notably folk songs (*dimotiká*), other popular songs (*laiká*), songs of revue theatre (*επιθεωρησιακά*), as well as other types of popular literature (shadow theatre, brigand novels, etc.). Accordingly, this pilot study of metaphorical language in rebétiko, can only aspire to tentative findings regarding the conventionality of the metaphors in its corpus. The limited comparison with other genres in this study (*4.5.5 Similarities between Metaphors in the Corpus and those in Erotokritos and Folk Song*) is intended to be indicative of what a broadly based comparison might yield.[9]

1.2 Scope

The primary focus of this dissertation is restricted to the metaphors of emotion found in the corpus of texts compiled for this purpose. Accordingly, the runs in the concordance programme ConcappV4 (cf. *1.3 Method and Sources*) have been applied to the most prevalent words and combinations of words. The categories of metaphors of emotion will be explained below at *3.3.3 The force of emotion*.

The corpus comprises song texts composed between roughly the end of the 19th century and the middle of the 20th (from the 1880s to the 1960s; cf. *2.3 Definition*

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[6] Vasilis Tsitsanis's metaphor μέσα στον τεκέ της ψεύτρας της ζωής μας 'in the hashish den of our false life' (*Πριγκιπομαστούρηδες*) is a spectacular example of this type of image.

[7] Rebétiko metaphors relating to hashish smoking have been discussed by Thorsen (2001). She sensibly does not labour the rather implausible connection between rebétiko and Sufi cosmology on the basis of these words, but explores the analogy created between mangas culture and Muslim mysticism as "the ultimate provocation on part of the manges against a dominant discourse which sought to suppress any connection to Eastern culture," p. 12.

[8] Metaphors embedded in Greek urban argot have been enumerated among "dead or prosaic images" by Gauntlett (1978:90-92).

[9] Cf. also Gauntlett's comparison of metaphor in rebétiko and folk song (1985:325-331).

of rebétiko). As mentioned below, it has become conventional to divide the broad rebétiko genre into thematic subcategories (such as χασικλίδικα, ερωτικά, της φυλακής, του υπόκοσμου),[10] and some studies are restricted to one or more subcategories (e.g. Aulin & Vejleskov 1991). However, the various attempts at classification have been undermined by the facts that very often a single song text can belong to more than one category, that the thematic categories often overlap, and furthermore that some songs are thematically indefinable. As this dissertation is not restricted to subcategories, it suffices for current purposes to foreshadow the thematic scope of the material under analysis by listing the range of themes represented in the corpus (and in the metaphors it contains) in order of prevalence, as follows:

- love
    - unrequited love, jealousy, deceit, separation
    - gender relations, marriage
- society, life
    - poverty
    - imprisonment
    - crime
    - emigration
    - sorrow and pain
    - fantasy of exotic places and riches as escapism
- labour
    - military service
    - maritime trades
    - various other trades
- the lifestyle and values of Greek low-life
    - friendship
    - pride, dignity and honour
    - music and musical instruments
    - revelry: singing, dancing, drinking wine
    - rivalry
    - illegal life, gambling
- use/abuse of potent substances
    - hashish and other narcotics
    - alcohol
- illness, aging and death
- war and other historic events
    - the Asia Minor Disaster of 1922
    - the Population Exchange of 1923–1924

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[10] E.g. Petropoulos, I (1968/1979), Damianakos (1976/2001), and Kounadis (2000).

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the dictatorship of Metaxas 1936–1940
the Second World War
the German occupation of 1941–1944
the Resistance
the Civil war of 1944–1949
earthquakes and floods

- the mother figure
  (and rarely the father and other family figures)
- praise of localities or persons, and rarely divinities/religious personae
  (if not merely an exclamation or a formula)[11]

It must also be acknowledged that, while this dissertation confines its analysis to the song lyrics alone, rebétiko is in fact a complex artistic combination of verse, music, and dance which has arisen within definable social structures. However, the dissertation will not engage with the extensive, and at times rather inflamed, debate about the origins, cultural value or political dimensions of rebétiko unless these are inextricably involved with metaphorical expression in the lyrics. Although the focus of this dissertation is resolutely on the lyrics of rebétiko, one sociological observation that deserves to be made at the outset is that the range of composers and lyricists contributing to the genre is socially broad and diverse. It ranges from barely literate manual-labourers-turned-professional-musicians (such as Markos Vamvakaris and Michalis Yenitsaris), via paupers and 'drop-outs' (such as Yiorgos Mouflouzelis and Anestis Delias), to tertiary educated white-collar workers (such as Minos Matsas and Kostas Virvos). It also includes some individuals of average education but exceptionally developed literary talent (such as Vasilis Tsitsanis, Yiorgos Mitsakis and Eftichia Papayiannopoulou). The majority of the lyricists included in the corpus have written mostly rebétiko song texts; however, some have also written other kinds of laiká. The corpus analysed in this dissertation was produced by approximately 80 songwriters, some more prolific than others, but almost all of them now quite well-known in Greece as a result of the growing interest over the last forty years in the biography of 'rebétes'.[12]

As to the scope of metaphor in this study, the investigation is primarily of a linguistic nature, following the theories of conceptual metaphor mainly developed by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson[13] (cf. *3.2 Metaphor Theory*). However, the theory has not been applied in an exclusively Lakoff-Johnsonian manner, but is

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[11] Expressions like «Χριστέ και Παναγιά», «Θεέ μου» and «Χριστιανός κι ορθόδοξος» are most likely formulae, and do not constitute a substantial religious reference in the song texts of rebétiko. Most rebétiko song texts are distinctly secular, as are most Greek folk songs. Cf. Christianopoulos (1961).
[12] A list of the songwriters included in the study can be found in Appendix 2.
[13] Lakoff & Johnson (1980/2003).

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influenced by the complementary work of Zoltán Kövecses,[14] who has extensively honed the theory surrounding metaphors of emotion. Where appropriate, the analysis also encompasses and identifies examples of metonymy, personification, and simile as a part of figurative language, as the main concern of this dissertation is the meaning and function of the expressions, not a strict classification of tropes.

1.3 Method and Sources

The corpus of approximately 1350 rebétiko song texts analysed in this dissertation was compiled specifically for this purpose from sources representing various time periods and thematic subcategories.

The song texts are drawn from digital re-recordings of old rebétiko records, especially a series compiled by Kounadis,[15] and various anthologies of rebétiko dating from 1968 onwards. The most useful anthologies have been those of Petropoulos[16] and Schorelis,[17] which have both widely influenced subsequent works on rebétiko. Other anthologies consulted include Michael-Dede (2001) and Tsourakis (2000).

When song texts appearing in the anthologies have also been found in digital recordings they have been corrected in accordance with the recordings, which are usually the original source of the anthologist's transcriptions. All transcriptions from digital recordings, whether or not they also occur in an anthology, have been made with due care, but they may well contain errors due to the poor sound quality of early recordings and the transcriber's inevitable limitations as a listener.

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[14] Kövecses (2000, 2002, 2005).

[15] *Αρχείο Ελληνικής Δισκογραφίας*, compiled by the doyen of rebétiko collectors and commentators Panagiotis Kounadis, is a series of 50 CDs, each presenting 10 songs. The series was distributed as an insert in the Athenian newspaper *Το Βήμα* during the summer of 2008. In 2010-11 Kounadis produced an expanded version of this archive for *Τα Νέα,* another newspaper of the Lambrakis Press Group, this time comprising 20 books, each containing two CDs with 20 songs each (a total of 800 songs), together with his annotations and essays. Since the compilation of the corpus for this dissertation had already been completed and the computer analysis had commenced before it appeared, it was too late to switch to the new series, which in any case overlaps substantially with the previous one. However, Kounadis's new transcriptions and annotations have been taken into account. As Gauntlett (2001b) points out, researchers of rebétiko today are frequently confronted with the problem of keeping up with an oversupply of recorded material of uneven quality. All the digital re-recordings used as sources for the rebétiko corpus are listed under 'Digital recordings' in the bibliography.

[16] Petropoulos, I (1968/1979). This anthology and its various sequels (Petropoulos, I (1982/1990), together with Schorelis (1977–1981), see below), have been widely criticised as inaccurate and unmethodical, for giving rise to false conclusions in various derivative studies on the subject, and ultimately for obstructing the correct definition of the terms *rebétiko* and *rebétis*. Cf. Gauntlett (1982, 1991). The anthologies have been used with due caution in this dissertation.

[17] Schorelis (1977–1981).

Songs for which recordings have not been found have, where possible, been corrected by comparing the various anthologies. A further reservation regarding sources of texts arises from the difficulty of demarcating rebétiko from other kindred genres. The boundaries of the rebétiko genre are contested (cf. *2.3 Definition of rebétiko*), and some songs included in the corpus may be disputed, while other songs deemed important by some commentators may not have been found, or may have been judged to belong to another genre.[18] In particular, *neorebétika* and *archondorebétika* (cf. *2.3 Definition of rebétiko*) have been excluded from the corpus, not without reservations, but establishing the chronology of all the potentially eligible songs recorded after 1960 was simply not feasible within the time constraints.

Ultimately, it is to be hoped that the occasional and isolated mistake or disputed selection will not seriously undermine the overall validity of my thesis. The corpus of texts as compiled should yield a satisfactory indication of which metaphorical expressions are most common in the genre and the context in which they occur, and this will facilitate the identification and analysis of the main metaphors of emotion present in rebétiko. (The differences between metaphors of emotion and other metaphors are described at *3.3 Metaphors of Emotion*.)

To this end, the corpus of text will be run in the concordance programme ConcappV4, in order to extract the most prevalent words and combinations of words in all their contexts. As it is important to find all the versions of a word, including derivatives, the runs will be performed on the words' stem (or stems if a verb), with and without accent marks. This will capture different parts of speech in every inflection of a word and yield a more complete picture of metaphors used in various contexts.

The translations of the song texts into English are mine. Whenever possible, the metaphorical expressions have been translated into corresponding English expressions, except where a literal translation is needed to illustrate the usage of particular words. Translation of Greek slang in general, and rebétiko slang in particular, is problematic, and in many cases the English translations are only approximate and nuances are unfortunately lost. My experience confirms the conclusions of an article on translation of rebétiko lyrics by Gail Holst-Warhaft:

> Translating the slang-filled lyrics of the rebetika into another language, especially one like English, raises serious theoretical and practical problems […]. My conclusion is that any solutions we arrive at do little more than remind us that the language of the rebetika resists, among other things, translation.[19]

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[18] The early smyrnaic songs are particularly troublesome, as they are considered by some to be folk songs of Smyrna, and by others to be rebétika of the 'smyrnaic period', while Pennanen (2004) regards the whole 'smyrnaika' category as a Greek nationalist myth. It is also especially difficult to define the genre of certain songs by Babis Bakalis, Apostolos Kaldaras, Eftichia Papayiannopoulou and Kostas Virvos.

[19] Holst-Warhaft (1990:184).

The spelling of the song texts in Greek has been standardised to facilitate the search for words and expressions in the corpus. Finally, the transliteration of the names of Greek lyricists aims to reproduce the Greek phonetically for a reader of English.

1.3.1 Content Analysis

This study employs the techniques of content analysis,[20] as this method enables analysis of a large number of texts, as required here, and focuses on the frequency with which words or concepts occur in texts or across texts. In this manner it is possible to point to similarities and differences in the content of the song texts, as it can reveal messages in a text that are ordinarily difficult to see. A problem with content analysis is that it does not show that the same words used in different contexts can have very different meanings. One solution to this problem is to examine each context and to code the various connotations found. This method facilitates the study of cultural concepts, which are of particular interest to this dissertation.

Using the computer programme ConcappV4 for the analysis requires certain coding choices to be made as to the words, phrases, and concepts to be included in the study. Those choices pertain to level of analysis, handling of irrelevant information, creation of translation rules, level of implication of concepts, existence or frequency of the concepts, and the number of concepts.

Since this study is of an exploratory and descriptive nature, no specific results are pre-empted. Nor is there a single specific hypothesis to be verified or disproved, apart from a general assumption (based on informal observation) that the lyrics of rebétiko are both highly metaphorical and emotional (cf. *1.1 Aims*).

1.3.2 Coding Choices

For the *level of analysis* the choice is between coding single words and coding phrases. Coding single words facilitates the contrast of a specific type of text with general usage, which could be useful for current purposes. But since it is also necessary to analyse phrases in metaphorical expressions, some phrases have also been coded. Another choice relates to handling *irrelevant information* such as pro-nouns, prepositions, and other universal words, the options being to skip, delete or use them. In the case of this study, instances of the irrelevant information would include literal meanings of metaphors, but these cannot be detected by the computer programme.

The next choice is in the *creation of translation rules*, between using an existing thesaurus or a specially constructed thesaurus. With the former, the peculiarities of slang or double meaning might be lost, whereas a specially

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[20] The following methodological exposition on textual analysis is mainly based on Carley (1993).

constructed or special-purpose thesaurus is better suited to a particular socio-linguistic environment, and is based on the detailed analysis of a sample of text. The latter has naturally been preferred for current purposes.

The *level of implication of concepts* is another choice to be made. Meaning is always lost when only explicit (manifest) concepts are used. The use of implied (latent) concepts admits the comparison of underlying shared meanings and social knowledge in texts. In this study the use of implied concepts is significant, as knowledge of social meaning might enhance the analysis.

The next decision concerns coding *existence or frequency*. In this study a frequency-based comparison of the song text has been used, in order to describe similarities, differences, and patterns in the metaphorical expressions.

Finally, the *number of concepts* has to be determined. A number of 100 to 500 concepts is generally considered enough to code knowledge on any specific topic, and 250 concepts suffice to cover the plethora of words and phrases expressing emotion in the corpus, whatever their thematic range. The investigated concepts are listed and translated in Appendix 1.

1.3.3 Gathering, Saving, Coding and Analysing the Data

The concepts to be coded were identified by careful perusal of the corpus in search of words and phrases from the metaphorical source domains associated with emotion (cf. *3.3.3 The Force of Emotion*). Then using the computer programme (ConcappV4), these words and phrases were located in the text corpus. This process identified further concepts for consideration for the final analysis. An alphabetic list of the words and concepts, together with their immediate context, form a *concordance*, from which can be extracted, *inter alia*, the frequency with which each of the concepts was used, thereby facilitating content analysis. After extracting frequency counts of concepts from the texts, the textual analysis proceeded, using the concordance to focus on the number of concepts shared, as well as on the pattern of concepts shared across texts.

This study is of a qualitative nature, rather than quantitative nature, in that greater emphasis is placed on describing and discussing interesting cases. However, a quantitative method is used to illustrate the frequency and the metaphoricity of the various concepts.

To establish what constitutes the specific metaphorical language and socio-linguistic environment of the rebétiko culture in uncertain cases, an external point of reference is needed. For the comparison with prevalent Modern Greek usage, three substantial Greek dictionaries are used: Babiniotis (1998/2002), Kriaras (1995) and Triantafyllidis (1998). Selected metaphorical expressions found in the rebétiko corpus are also compared with corresponding expressions in Greek folk songs and in the Cretan verse romance *Erotokritos* by Vitsentzos Kornaros,

making use of Alexis Politis's anthologies of Greek folk song, [21] and the Philippides-Holton concordance of *Erotokritos*[22] respectively.

1.4 Previous Studies on Rebétiko

Rebétiko appeals primarily to large numbers of people in Greece and in Greek communities over the world (mainly in the USA, Australia, and Europe), and as one of the principal musical and cultural expressions of the Greek nation, it has inevitably become the subject of an enormous range of divergent opinion. [23] Moreover, the artistic complexity of the genre is reflected in the multiplicity of disciplines involved in its systematic study, including musicology, social science, history, and philology.

Kostas Faltaits was the first philologist to write about rebétiko (though not using that term); in 1929 he maintained that song texts now considered rebétiko merit serious study as poetry.[24] There has still not been much systematic research on rebétiko, whether as poetry or otherwise, although since the 1990s the amount of scholarly work on the subject has increased substantially. Most work on rebétiko continues to be conducted by amateurs.[25] The resultant publications are mostly articles or essays in newspapers and magazines or on the Internet, and are often argumentative in nature, but they also take the form of biographies of composers, songwriters, singers, and musicians.[26] As previously mentioned, there are also numerous anthologies of varying quality, with accompanying information on the song texts, the composers and their lifestyle. The most prolific Greek commentators on rebétiko include: Ilias Petropoulos, who published the first substantial anthology of rebétiko song texts (using the term in the title);[27] Tasos Schorelis, whose four-volume anthology of rebétiko songs and annotations has already been noted; and Panagiotis Kounadis, who owns an extensive and well-organised archive of old rebétiko records. Kounadis's published work includes two

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[21] Politis (1999a, 1999b).
[22] Philippides & Holton (1996–2001).
[23] Cf. Gauntlett (2001b:130): «Όντας […] στοιχείο του καθημερινού λαϊκού πολιτισμού, το ρεμπέτικο παραμένει θέμα για το οποίο πρέπει υποχρεωτικά να έχουν όλοι γνώμη και όλοι μπορούν δημοκρατικά να παριστάνουν την αυθεντία στη ρεμπετολογία, όπως στη ποδοσφαιρολογία».
[24] Faltaits (1929:152) «Τα τραγούδια […] αυτά είνε άξια κάποιας προσοχής. Έχουν ειλικρίνεια και αυθορμητισμό που εκπλήττει και γοητεύει. Και δεν είνε μόνον η ειλικρίνεια και ο αυθορμητισμός των, αλλά και η στιχουργική τέχνη των, που και μόνον αυτή επιβάλλει να τα προσέξουμε».
[25] Thus an *Institute of Rebetology* operates in England under the private management of the enthusiast Ed Emery and has been holding annual international conferences on rebétiko on the island of Hydra since 2001.
[26] See e.g. Georgiadis (2001), Papazoglou (2003), Papaioannou (1982), Tsitsanis (1979), Vamvakaris (1973), Virvos (1985), and Yenitsaris (1992).
[27] Petropoulos has also written several other works on subjects of the Greek underworld, to which he ascribes the rebétiko culture.

large volumes[28] assembling his extensive journalistic output and interviews with rebétiko performers, as well as annotated transcriptions of songs and discographies. Nearchos Georgiadis and Ilias Voliotis-Kapetanakis [29] have both produced a number of books on the politics and history of rebétiko.[30] One of the pioneers of rebétiko outside Greece was Gail Holst, [31] who first aroused the interest of the rest of the world in this music style with a book whose Greek translation also includes articles on rebétiko from the Greek press 1947–1976.

The scholarly studies on the subject are mostly articles and papers, but also a few dissertations. The first doctoral thesis was by Stathis Gauntlett,[32] on the song texts of rebétiko from a thematic, stylistic, prosodic, and linguistic point of view. Both in his thesis and elsewhere, Gauntlett has given much attention to the language of rebétiko, as well as to genre categorisation.[33] His work on rebétiko, accomplished over 40 years and addressing numerous aspects of the topic, is seminal. Other relevant dissertations are by Demeter Tsounis,[34] who "examines the contemporary significance of *rebetika* music in Adelaide, South Australia, by identifying the social and cultural processes which nurture the music in the Australian multicultural context,"[35] and Despina Michael,[36] on the image of the Modern Greek popular musician. These researchers are all active in Australia, and significantly most scholarly researchers of rebétiko actually live outside Greece. This may, as Gauntlett puts it, be due to the fact that "the social taboos which caused academics in Greece, with a few honourable exceptions, to abstain egregiously from even acknowledging the existence of the genre, did not apply in the English-speaking world."[37] Apart from the

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[28] Kounadis (2000, 2003).

[29] Georgiadis (1993, 1996, 1999, and 2001), Voliotis-Kapetanakis (1991, 1997, and 2007).

[30] Gauntlett (2001b) points out that the four authors mentioned above all lack documentation for many of their statements on events regarding rebétiko, and that they draw exaggerated and premature conclusions from the song texts. Cf. p. 163: "Η αξία των τραγουδιών στην τεκμηρίωση της επιστημονικής ιστοριογραφίας είναι πολύ πιο περίπλοκη υπόθεση απ' ό,τι φαίνεται να αντιλαμβάνονται οι αυτοδίδακτοι φιλόλογοι και ερασιτέχνες ιστοριογράφοι του ρεμπέτικου. Κυρίως ξεχνούν ότι η ποιητική του τραγουδιού το καθιστά τέχνη (art) και ως εκ τούτου επιτήδευση (artifice), δηλαδή κάθε άλλο παρά άμεσο, αδιαμεσολάβητο παρατηρητήριο μιας αντικειμενικής, εξωκειμενικής «πραγματικότητας». Also cf. Kotaridis (1996:23): «Οι στίχοι είναι μέρος του κόσμου τους, δεν είναι ο κόσμος τους σε άλλο επίπεδο – όσο και αν οι αναλύσεις μας διολισθαίνουν προς το να υποστασιοποιούν τις αναφορές για τον κόσμο, εκλαμβάνοντάς τες ως τον ίδιο τον κόσμο, σχεδόν ολόκληρο τον κόσμο και μάλιστα σε ενικό αριθμό».

[31] Holst (1977).

[32] Gauntlett (1985). Gauntlett's thesis was approved at Oxford University in 1978, but here the edited version published in 1985 is primarily used.

[33] See e.g. Gauntlett (1982).

[34] Tsounis (1997).

[35] The quotation is taken from the abstract for Tsounis (1997).

[36] Michael (1998).

[37] Gauntlett (2001a:50).

English-speaking world,[38] scholarly work on rebétiko has been pursued in France, mainly by expatriate Greeks,[39] by several researchers in Denmark,[40] in Finland and Sweden, mostly of a musicological nature,[41] and in Germany, Norway, Spain and Mexico[42] to mention but a few countries.

Somewhat belatedly Greece has produced some doctoral theses on the subject, notably Yiannis Zaïmakis's[43] sociological study of rebétiko music in Herakleion, Crete. Professor Nikos Kotaridis[44] has edited a volume of well documented papers presented at the graduate seminar in sociology at the Panteio University in Athens on the culture of rebétiko. One of the most prominent and meticulous independent researchers on rebétiko in Greece today is Kostas Vlisidis,[45] whose publications on the subject include a comprehensive bibliography,[46] and informative prefaces to or commentaries on various other works. Another careful researcher in Greece is the poet Dinos Christianopoulos,[47] who has been publishing studies of selected aspects of rebétiko since the 1950s.

This thesis aspires to contribute to knowledge of the language of rebétiko by detailed documentation and analysis of one relatively small but important aspect, the metaphor of emotion.

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[38] Further examples are Beaton (e.g. 1980, 1986) in the UK, Holst (1977) in Australia, Frangos (e.g. 1995–1996) in the USA, and Païvanás (1993) in Australia.

[39] E.g. Damianakos (1976/2001) and Petropoulos, I (1982/1990).

[40] E.g. Aulin & Vejleskov (1991), Smith (e.g. 1989, 1991 and 1995) and Torp (1991, 1993).

[41] E.g. Jouste (1997) and Pennanen (1999, 2004) in Finland, Einarsson (1991) in Sweden.

[42] E.g. Dietrich (1987), Thorsen (2001), Rincón (2004), and López (2005) respectively.

[43] Zaïmakis (1999).

[44] Kotaridis (1996).

[45] Vlisidis (e.g. 2001, 2002, 2004 and 2006).

[46] Vlisidis's bibliography (2002) provides an extensive coverage on studies of all sorts conducted on rebétiko.

[47] Christianopoulos (e.g. 1961 and 1999).

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2 Rebétiko

2.1 Background

Rebétiko is one of the most prevalent music styles in modern Greece, consisting mostly of melancholic songs full of sorrow, bitterness, disappointment, and misfortune, as well as passion and romance, but also – to some extent – of cheerful songs of revelry and a carefree attitude to life. It is a much debated subculture, and both its lyrics and, even more remarkably, its music have been subjected to censorship and prosecution, as well as praise and national celebration of its composers and exponents. It has been viewed by some as the most authentic Greek music and by others as an entirely oriental form of music with no connection to Greekness whatsoever.[48]

Rebétiko as a music style developed in the Greek-speaking world and its diaspora in the early twentieth century.[49] It consists of many interrelated music styles and subcategories. Its roots can be traced to mainland Greece, Asia Minor, and the Greek islands, but the musical form has been broadly influenced by many different cultures and other musical traditions. It is very difficult to define what rebétiko really is, though many attempts have been made by both scholars and amateurs. The boundaries are fluid as regards both time period and genre categorisation. In some sense it is easier to define what is *not* rebétiko, than what is. Most definitions have to do with the circumstances in which the songs emerged, and hence mainly treat the social environment and the lifestyle of the practitioners and their adherents (cf. *2.3 Definition of Rebétiko*). Rebétiko songs can be classified by the rhythm of their music and hence also by the dance style accompanying them. One way of categorising the songs is by dividing them into thematic subcategories with regard to the textual content, the main themes being love, emigration, imprisonment, labour, hashish, and society at large (cf. the list of themes at *1.2* above). There are also songs about historical events, which can be of great interest for the understanding of the Greek people's perception of these events in a sociological perspective. Songs written during troubled times in Greek history have gained the status of classic period-pieces, e.g. *Συννεφιασμένη*

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[48] For examples of the widely disparate opinions on rebétiko (and other related genres) from the beginning of the debate, see Vlisidis (2006), e.g. p. 34: «Τα τραγούδια αυτά είνε ένα κομμάτι από την ψυχή του λαού αυτού [των Μικρασιατών]. Βγαλμένα από τα ήθη τους, τα έθιμά τους, τους έρωτές τους» (Η Βραδινή, 12 Αυγούστου 1931); p. 59: «Τι τραγουδάει σήμερα ο Λαός μας στο δρόμο, στο σπίτι, στις γιορτές, στην ταβέρνα και στην εξοχή; Τραγουδάει τραγούδια που μας κατεβάζουν στις τελευταίες βαθμίδες του πολιτισμού. Τραγούδια αντάμικα, χασικλίδικα ξεπεσμένα, βρωμερά» (Πάνος Σπάλας, «Λαϊκά τραγούδια» in: *Χρονογράφος*, Πειραιάς, 24 Ιουνίου 1937).
[49] The following general remarks on rebétiko are considered axiomatic, as they are mostly based on a broad consensus of scholarly discourse on the subject; hence no single references are given for most of the specific statements below.

Κυριακή (Cloudy Sunday)[50] and *Κάποια μάνα αναστενάζει* (A mother sighs) by Vasilis Tsitsanis.

Rebétiko song texts have been condemned by political groups, both of the Right and the Left, as an expression of decadence. The Right blamed rebétiko for obstructing the Greek people's westernisation and for perpetuating an oriental mentality, whereas the Left accused the Right of disseminating the same songs with a view to demoralising the people and making them less willing to fight for their rights.[51] Many early song texts contain references to hashish and other narcotics, which led to censorship and criminalisation of the texts on more than one occasion. Interestingly enough, at a time when there was no censorship of songs about narcotics, but politically coloured texts were being censored, some songs with political content were allegedly disguised to appear to be about narcotics.[52]

Rebétiko has been called 'Greek blues' because of the similarities to American blues[53] in terms of the songs' themes, their passionate, plaintive melodies, and the socioeconomic context of their emergence. For the same reasons, there have also been comparisons of rebétiko with the Portuguese *fado*, as well as with *flamenco* and *tango* of Spain and Latin America,[54] and other music styles of France, Rumania, and Turkey. These culture and music styles have also been persecuted by the authorities as morally depraved.[55] Gauntlett[56] lists a number of similarities between rebétiko and blues which have led to this comparison and the appellation "Greek blues" since the 1970s. These include, in addition to the above-mentioned, that "their composers and performers tended to have very little to do with the fringe-dwellers that they were still writing and singing about," there is an overall use of colloquial language, the lyrics are "highly androcentric", and "the unadorned singing styles of both traditions are also a far cry from western *bel canto*."[57] Rebétiko and blues were actually also being recorded in the same studios in New York and Chicago in the 1920s.[58]

Rebétiko is commonly regarded as the music of the people in the sense that it forms part of Greek popular culture, as opposed to the high-brow, elite culture of educated Greeks; indeed it is said to have emerged and spread among people on the fringes of Greek society. It was originally viewed as the ordinary people's

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[50] In an article on suicide in rebétiko Gauntlett (2006) examines the claim that the origin of the lyrics of *Συννεφιασμένη Κυριακή* was the Hungarian 'suicide song' *Gloomy Sunday* of 1933.

[51] Cf. Gauntlett (1990).

[52] The song *Είμαι πρεζάκιας* (*I am a junkie*) by Emilios Savvidis is about the abuse of narcotics, but has recently been interpreted as a satire on the abuse of political power. Cf. Georgiadis (1993:50-53).

[53] Cf. e.g. Apergis (1988a, 1988b), *Avgí* (17/11/2001), Barbikas (1994), and Papadimitriou (1975).

[54] Cf. Dos Santos (1987) and Steingress (1998) respectively.

[55] Cf. Kounadis (1975).

[56] Gauntlett (2001a).

[57] Quotations from Gauntlett (2001a:44-45).

[58] Gauntlett (2001a:46).

music and means of expression, but it has evolved into a whole culture, at times unfortunately quite romanticised, and it is no longer, if it ever was, class-bound.[59] The music holds a prominent position on the Greek musical scene and with a broad spectrum of the Greek people; it is listened to by all age groups, at all social levels, and at all kinds of entertainment establishments, concerts, and taverns. Much of the music produced in Greece today is influenced by rebétiko. Composers and songwriters of rebétiko are among the best-known personalities of Greek musical history, e.g. Markos Vamvakaris, Vasilis Tsitsanis, Yiannis Papaioannou, and Apostolos Kaldaras, to mention but a few, as are the exponents of the genre, e.g. Roza Eskenazi, Rita Ambatzi, Stratos Payioumtzis, Prodromos Tsaousakis, Marika Ninou, and Sotiria Bellou. The music of the world-famous composers Mikis Theodorakis and Manos Chatzidakis[60] is strongly influenced by rebétiko, as were the singers Stelios Kazantzidis and Grigoris Bithikotsis, both of whom attained iconic status in post-war Greek popular culture. From a marginalised subculture rebétiko has become a national music genre which resonates through the global Greek diaspora – and beyond, since its appropriation to world music.[61]

2.2 The Origins and Evolution of Rebétiko

There are various theories on the origins and emergence of rebétiko. The issue concerns this dissertation only by way of context to the material under analysis, and it suffices to present succinctly the broad consensus version. According to this, rebétiko arose from a combination of music styles around the turn of the 20th century in the larger Greek-speaking cities of that time (such as Constantinople, Smyrna, Athens, and Piraeus) and the major ports of the Greek islands. It evolved mainly in the slum areas of seaports such as Piraeus, where great numbers of internal and overseas migrants from all around the Greek-speaking world settled. The numerous immigrants from Asia Minor brought with them to Greece a highly developed Ottoman musical style, including the *amanés,*[62] which repeatedly became a *casus belli* between westernising Greeks and 'traditionalists' from the first appearance of *Kafé Amán*[63] in Athens in the 1880s onwards.

Smyrna had long been a significant centre of Greek commerce and urban culture, and when the Asia Minor Disaster of 1922 and ensuing exchange of

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[59] On the issue whether rebétiko was ever a class-bound genre of the 'simple' people, see e.g. Gauntlett (2005a).

[60] Chatzidakis's introduction of rebétiko to the upper classes in 1949, in arrangements for the piano and the alluring voice of Melina Merkouri, contributed significantly to the broader dissemination of rebétiko as a music style.

[61] Cf. Gauntlett (2009).

[62] The *amanés* is an oriental-style song featuring the long and melismatic performance of plaintive tunes, over which a single couplet is stretched. It has no accompanying dance style.

[63] A *Kafé Amán* was a tavern or coffee-shop offering musical entertainment in the smyrnaic style, initially performed in Greece by musicians imported from Asia Minor, as was smyrnaic music.

religious minorities displaced its Christian population, the refugee musicians of Smyrna played an important role in developing an oriental alternative to the westernizing musical fashions dominating Greek popular music. Several musical ensembles from Smyrna and Constantinople became popular in Athens, adjusting their themes to their new circumstances and soon dominating the emergent recorded-sound industry. The instruments used by these professional musicians were primarily violin, the Anatolian *outi* or *ud, santouri* or *santur* (dulcimer), and *kanonaki* or *kanun*; 'Smyrna-style' vocalists were both women and men.

The *bouzouki* was not part of the *smyrnaic* ensemble. It was, however, popular among the urban working class of Greece and accompanied the *pireotic* song style which developed as an expression of their lifestyle, everyday struggles, and emotions. The *bouzouki* and its miniature version, the *baglamás*, were joined by the guitar to form the typical Piraeus-style ensemble, which also initially featured some rather gruff male vocalists.

Eventually the imported smyrnaic and the local pireotic styles blended into what has come to be known as the rebétiko style, but this does not mean that rebétiko is stylistically homogenous. On the contrary, rebétiko includes both a blend of the two styles, and the two separate styles as they originally were. In addition, the rebétiko genre has, of course, evolved over time in contact with various other, mainly western, musical styles. The ascendancy of rebétiko into broad popularity commenced in the major Greek cities in the early 1930s.[64]

As regards the thematic characteristics of its song texts and many features of its music, rebétiko has been said to have its roots in the Greek folk songs and to be the continuation of their tradition.[65] Another indication of their origin in the folk songs is the fact that the majority of rebétiko songs are in fifteen-syllable verse, which is the primary metre of the Greek folk songs (though not, of course, confined to them). Other similarities are the mythological characters present in the texts (such as Charos, the personification of death), their secular (in the sense of non-religious character),[66] and the anonymity of the composers of the folk songs and of early rebétiko (which is arguably an artefact of collection and publishing practices). Of course there are also differences between the folk songs and rebétiko.[67] One explanation of the differences refers to their respective age and

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[64] For a more detailed account of the origins of rebétiko see e.g. Gauntlett (1985, 1991), Holst (1977) and Kounadis (2000, 2003).

[65] Cf. Anogianakis (1947), Christianopoulos (1961), Kounadis (1998a, 1998b), Voliotis-Kapetanakis (2007), and Vournas (1961).

[66] Cf. fn 11.

[67] One example of thematical differences is the references to historic events, which seems not to be a common theme of the Greek folk songs. Cf. Watts (1988:28): "In all the [folk] songs there appears to be scanty evidence of an attempt on the part of the folk singers to describe actual events of historic signification." Gauntlett (in personal communication), however, argues that also this is an artefact of collection and editorial practice, since folk songs of contemporary history are usually relegated to the "rimes" category and therefore rarely given much space.

mode of composition and transmission. It has been claimed that the polished folk song texts of several centuries' communal traditions are not to be compared to the much newer and rather crude rebétiko texts, which are usually the products of one person (or two), and which have not had the benefit of being refined by time. But, as Gauntlett[68] points out, "there are many rough-and-ready folksong verses and many finely crafted rebetika." Social and environmental differences have also been invoked in this regard; some folk songs are idealistically associated with a rural community in an idyllic setting, whereas rebétiko often sings of the misery of urban life.[69]

Generally, devotees of rebétiko have maintained that its roots are in the Greek folk songs, while its critics have claimed that rebétiko owes less to the folk songs than to the amanés[70] and other Ottoman songs.

Other features invoked in support of the theory of that rebétiko originated in the folk songs include their shared passion for life and their directness, which some critics have viewed as a vulgar strain evoking instinctual behaviour. Critics have also pointed to the absence of heroism and idealism from rebétiko[71] and some have deplored the contribution of the genre to a decline in the popularity of rural folk song in favour of urban song styles, which also include the western-influenced Heptanesian[72] and Athenian *kantada* (Italianate *bel canto* serenades), and the light-popular repertoire of the musical cafés called *Café Chantant* (often western melodies dubbed with Greek lyrics).

Byzantine (and even ancient Greek) roots have also been claimed for rebétiko, mainly based on comparisons with the modes of Byzantine and earlier music. This is a highly speculative field, but it seems not unlikely that rebétiko was to some extent influenced by the music of the Greek Orthodox Church, which its composers would have heard regularly.[73]

The role of the Greek islands in the development of rebétiko deserve particular mention, and especially the island of Syros, where the archetypical rebétis Markos Vamvakaris was born in 1905 and initiated as a child in the rich musical traditions of the Cyclades and the broader Aegean region. Although the commerce of its

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[68] Stathis Gauntlett, in personal communication.

[69] Kounadis (1998b) writes on the issue of rebétiko and the folk songs: «Η μετάβαση από το δημοτικό στο ρεμπέτικο τραγούδι αποτελεί – και θα αποτελέσει για πολύ καιρό ακόμη – ιδιαίτερο αντικείμενο της έρευνας πάνω στα δύο αυτά συγγενικά μουσικοποιητικά είδη, στο βαθμό που τόσο το σχετικό υλικό όσο και το γνωστικό πεδίο συμπληρώνονται και διευρύνονται» (My translation: "The transition from folk songs to rebétiko constitutes – and will yet for a long time constitute – a special subject of research on these two kindred musical-poetic genres, to the extent that both the relevant material and the field of knowledge are supplemented and broadened").

[70] For an exposition on the differences between the Greek and the Turkish amanés, see Schorelis (1977). He claims that there are substantial differences in melody, lyric and performance.

[71] Andriakena (1996).

[72] I.e. from the Ionian Isles.

[73] Cf e.g. Chatzidakis (1949), Kounadis (1998b), and Spanoudi (1952).

seaport was already in decline, Syros was at the beginning of the 20th century full of folk musicians and a crucible of musical styles, including the smyrnaic style which was duly blended with that of island folk songs, and spread throughout Greece. The geographical location of Syros facilitated this dissemination, and the island is further seen to have been a staging post for the dissemination of both hashish and chasiklídika – the rough hashish songs in the pireotic style on which Vamvakaris established his recording career.

The repeated mention of recordings in this brief account of the evolution of rebétiko is not accidental; the gramophone played a crucial role in the birth and development of the genre. The first recordings of rebétiko in Greece itself took place in 1920. Recordings had previously been made both in America and in Smyrna and Constantinople. The earliest use of the term 'rebétiko' on a record label dates from the eve of the First World War.

Recording served to popularize rebétiko, introducing the genre to new audiences from all social strata. But it also brought rebétiko to the attention of the authorities, with destructive consequences, notably in 1937, when the Metaxas dictatorship forbade the recording of songs of low-life content and of music in oriental modes. By this time many professional composers and exponents of popular song had become dependent on recording for income and status, and those inflexibly committed to the smyrnaic style did not recover from this setback. Censorship also constrained the composition of songs with social and political content in the post-war era; of particular interest here, is that this caused the more astute composers, such as Tsitsanis, to resort to allegory and metaphor rather than overt, literal expression.

A rebétiko revival movement began in the 1960s and gained momentum, partly for political reasons, under the military junta (1967-74), which disapproved of the genre. In its pursuit of pristine forms of the genre, this revival duly resurrected long neglected songs and exponents, giving particular pride of place to those connected with the lost homelands of Anatolia.

The origins and development of rebétiko are thus clearly a multifaceted issue, complicated by shared distribution paths and mutual influences between a variety of genres. All of which makes the definition and delimitation of the genre such an intricate undertaking. Kounadis broadly summarises the consensus view of the origins of rebétiko in the following sentences:

Όλες αυτές οι αλληλεπιδράσεις και χρήσεις, σ' αυτή την πρώτη περίοδο που δημιουργείται η ελληνική δισκογραφία, είναι κατά το μεγαλύτερο μέρος επιτρεπτές, αφού είναι φυσικό οι λαϊκοί συνθέτες, κινούμενοι σ' αυτούς τους χώρους, ν' αντλήσουν στοιχεία και να επηρεαστούν από τις προηγούμενες μορφές της λαϊκής παράδοσης, για να φτιάξουν το δικό τους έργο.

Οι λαϊκές μελωδίες του δημοτικού τραγουδιού, των τραγουδιών της Μικράς Ασίας, οι βυζαντινές εκκλησιαστικές μελωδίες, τα τραγούδια των μεταναστών, των ναυτικών, τα

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δίστιχα, της φυλακής και των τεκέδων, θ' αποτελέσουν την πρώτη ύλη των λαϊκών συνθετών της εποχής εκείνης. [74]

(All these mutual influences and uses [i.e. 'borrowings'], in this first period when Greek discography is being created, are largely permissible, since it is natural that the popular composers functioning in these domains should extract elements from and be influenced by previous forms of popular tradition, to create their own work.

The secular melodies of the folk songs, the songs of Asia Minor, the Byzantine church tunes, the songs of immigrants and seamen, the couplets, the songs of prison and hashish dens, comprise the source-material of the popular composers of that time.)

Regardless of its origin, rebétiko has had an undeniably profound impact on Greek culture, which is evident to this day. Rebétiko is in no sense an antiquated musical style. Certainly it was most productive as a musical form at the peak of its popularity (conventionally 1922–1952), but songs with the same rhythms, text themes, and emotional content are still produced. Nevertheless, this newer output is not commonly regarded as rebétiko, as the circumstances of its creation are not the same.

2.3 Definition of Rebétiko

Arriving at a valid definition of rebétiko is a complicated matter. It could be said that there are as many definitions of the genre as there are commentators on it, or even listeners to it. Moreover, 'rebétiko', is not the only term involved: various other labels[75] have periodically been applied to the subculture and music style, most of which pre-date the term 'rebétiko'. These terms all had – and still carry – varying degrees of good or bad connotations, as does the term 'rebétiko'. The earliest known Greek usage of the word 'rebétiko' occurs on a record label of c.1913, bearing the song *Tiki tiki tak*, which was possibly recorded in 1908.

Definition of the term is not greatly facilitated by reference to the etymology of the adjective rebétikos (ρεμπέτικος), from the noun rebétis (ρεμπέτης), which has not been entirely cleared up. There are several theories as to the origins of the word, e.g. a putative Turkish noun '*rebet' which is supposed to mean 'outlaw' or 'marginalised'.[76] The terms 'rebet' and 'rebenok' have also been claimed, but not documented, to denote 'rebel' in Serbian and amongst the Muslims of Kosovo, whence '*rebet' supposedly entered the Turkish language with the meaning 'disobedient to Turkish dominion', which can be assumed to have had a positive connotation amongst Greeks. A further theory involving (undocumented) Turkish

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[74] Kounadis (2000:385), from Dimitris Gionis's interview with Kounadis. The translation into English is mine.
[75] Gauntlett (1982:30-31) lists several terms related to the genre rebtiko, e.g. μάγκικα, μόρτικα, σερέτικα, τσαχπίνικα, καρίπικα, βλάμικα, κουτσαβάκικα and μουρμούρικα.
[76] Gauntlett (1982:29).

intermediary forms was first published by Manolis Karapótsoglou in the *Athens Academy Lexicographical Bulletin* in 1986 and places the ultimate origin of 'rebétis' in the Arabic *ribât*, meaning 'a small border fortification' and by extension, the bands of marauding soldiers who frequented them.[77] Another hypothesis is of an Italian etymology in 'ribelle', i.e. 'rebel'. Yet another suggestion for the etymology of the word is the Ancient Greek 'ῥέμβη', 'a wandering', and 'ῥέμβομαι', 'to rove, wander', whence also the Modern Greek 'ρέμβη', 'a daydream', and 'ρεμβάζω', 'to daydream', but this hypothesis is generally viewed as very unlikely.

The purposes of this dissertation, which focuses only on the genre itself, are best served by keeping to the word 'rebétiko' for the genre.[78] An obvious starting-point for establishing a working definition of 'rebétiko' is reference to the major lexica of Modern Greek and English. Extensive definitions of rebétis and rebétiko are given in Babiniotis's lexicon:

> **ρεμπέτης** (ο) […] **1.** […] (α) πρόσωπο που ακολουθούσε περιθωριακό τρόπο ζωής, απείθαρχη και αντισυμβατική συμπεριφορά και που συχνά σχετιζόταν με τον υπόκοσμο συμμετέχοντας σε παράνομες δραστηριότητες […] (β) πρόσωπο που ζούσε ανέμελα με γλέντια και καταχρήσεις […] **2.** ο συνθέτης ή/και ο εκτελεστής (τραγουδιστής, οργανοπαίκτης) ρεμπέτικων τραγουδιών **3.** […] ο ερμηνευτής ρεμπέτικων τραγουδιών σε ρεμπετάδικο. – **ρεμπέτισσα** (η).
> **ρεμπέτικος**, -η, -ο **1.** αυτός που σχετίζεται με τους ρεμπέτες: ~ *τραγούδι / ζωή* **2.** **ρεμπέτικο** (το) […] το ελληνικό λαϊκό αστικό τραγούδι των αρχών του αιώνα, που εξέφραζε την αντίληψη ζωής και τις εμπειρίες τού περιθωρίου των κατώτερων κοινωνικών τάξεων, κυρ. των εμπορικών και βιομηχανικών κέντρων.[79]

The Triantafyllidis Institute lexicon defines rebétikos and rebétis respectively as follows:

> **ρεμπέτικος -η -ο** […] **1.** για το είδος της λαϊκής αστικής μουσικής που δημιούργησαν και καλλιέργησαν οι ρεμπέτες […] (ως ουσ.) το *ρεμπέτικο*, το ρεμπέτικο τραγούδι […] **2.** που χαρακτηρίζει τους ρεμπέτες (τους μουσικούς ή τους ανθρώπους της πιάτσας) […]

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[77] Cited in Vlisidis (2002:107). Cf. Babiniotis (1998/2002).

[78] For a comprehensive discussion on rebétiko as a term, as well as on the etymology of the word, see Gauntlett (1982).

[79] Babiniotis (1998/2002). My translation: **rebétis** […] **1.** […] (a) a person who led a marginalised life, with undisciplined and unconventional behaviour, and who was often connected with the underworld by participating in illegal activities […] (b) a person who lived a carefree life with revelry and abuse […] **2.** the composer and/or performer (singer, instrumentalist) of rebétiko songs. **3.** […] the exponents of rebétiko songs at a rebétiko joint. – (fem.) rebétissa.
rebétikos, -i, -o **1.** associated with rebétes: ~ *song / life* **2.** **rebétiko** (neut.) […] the Greek urban popular song of the beginning of the [20th] century, which expressed the perception of life and experiences of the fringes of the lower social classes, espec. of the commercial and industrial centres.

ρεμπέτης ο […] θηλ. **ρεμπέτισσα** […] **1.** οργανοπαίκτης και τραγουδιστής που καλλιέργησε, κυρίως στις πόλεις της Μ. Ασίας, το 19ο και ως τις αρχές του 20ού αιώνα, ένα ιδιαίτερο είδος λαϊκού αστικού τραγουδιού της ταβέρνας […] **2.** άνθρωπος που κάνει μια ζωή ανέμελη και μάλλον περιθωριακή, αψηφώντας τις επίσημες ή κοινώς αναγνωρισμένες αξίες και τα ήθη της κοινωνίας.[80]

In Kriaras's dictionary we find the following, rather negative, definition:

ρεμπέτης, ο, θυλ. **-ισσα**, […] **1α.** άνθρωπος νωθρός, φυγόπονος, αχαΐρευτος· **β.** άνθρωπος του υπόκοσμου, αλήτης, μάγκας […] **2.** μουσικός που συμμετέχει σε ρεμπέτικο (βλ. λ.) συγκρότημα. […].
ρεμπέτικος, -η, -ο, […] **1.** που ανήκει ή αναφέρεται στους ρεμπέτες: *-ο τραγούδι* = είδος μικρού, απλού ερωτικού τραγουδιού με έντονο ανατολίτικο χαρακτήρα και μουσικά όργανα το βιολί, το ούτι, το σαντούρι και αργότερα το μπουζούκι και τον μπαγλαμά […] Το ουδ. ως ουσ. = ρεμπέτικο τραγούδι.[81]

The 2005 online version of the *Oxford English Dictionary*[82] defines the English usage of the term rebétiko, under the headword *rebetika*, as an 'oriental-style song of urban low-life', with the following further explanation:

A style of Greek popular song, characterised by lyrics depicting urban and underworld themes, a passionate vocal style, and an ensemble accompaniment played esp. on stringed instruments such as the violin, bouzouki, etc.; (with *pl.* concord) the songs themselves. Also (in form rebetiko): a song in this style.

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[80] Triantafyllidis (1998); (www.komvos.edu.gr/dictionaries/dictonline/DictOnLineTri.htm, 20/9/2009). My translation: **rebétikos** […] **1.** concerning the kind of urban popular music created and developed by the rebétes […] (as noun) *rebétiko*, rebétiko song […] **2.** characteristic of the rebétes (musicians or street-wise people**)** […]
rebétis […] fem. **rebétissa** […] **1.** instrumentalist and singer who developed a particular kind of urban popular song of the tavern, mainly in the cities of Asia Minor in the 19th and early 20th centuries […] **2.** person who leads a carefree and rather marginalised life, defying the formal and generally recognised values and morals of society.
[81] Kriaras (1995). My translation: **rebétis** […] fem. **-issa** […] **1a.** indolent, lazy, wretched man. **b.** man of the underworld, vagrant, street-urchin […] **2.** musician who participates in a rebétiko (see word) group […]
rebétikos […] **1.** belonging or referring to rebétes: *-o song* = kind of short, simple love song with strong oriental character and musical instruments such as the violin, the ud, the dulcimer and later the bouzouki and the baglamas […] In neut. as a noun = rebétiko song.
[82] Draft entry written by Stathis Gauntlett in 1996. The quoted version is from the 2005 online *Oxford English Dictionary* (www.oed.com, 20/9/2009).

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The dictionary notes that the term first appeared in English in an American record catalogue of 1928. [83] In the same dictionary the term *rebétis* is defined as 'vagabond', adding two further specifications:

1. In Greece: a member of a subculture comprising the lowest socioeconomic class; *spec.* a member of the underworld. Also (in extended use): a Bohemian or drop-out.
2. A singer of rebetika.

Another criterion for definition of the genre is the various time periods within which the composers and musicians were most active. Its peak is generally considered to be 1922–1952, and the traditional division of time periods of rebétiko is: a) the *smyrnaic* period 1922–1932, b) the *classical* period 1932–1940, and c) the *popular* (or *laikó*) period 1940–1952. [84] After 1952 some songs produced in rebétiko style are commonly called *archondorebétika* [85] or *neorebétika.*[86]

The main issue when defining rebétiko is drawing the line between this genre and the other numerous, and often mutually influencing or kindred, genres of Greek music, i.e. the folk songs, the old smyrnaic style, other *laiká*, archondo-rebétiko and neorebétiko, *éntechno laikó*, *pseudorebétiko*, *rebetogení*, and so on.[87]

Tsounis (1995) succinctly describes and defines rebétiko as follows:

Rebetika is a vocal, instrumental, and improvisatory dance music. Its early history can be traced back to the second half of the nineteenth century in the ports of Anatolian Greece (Asia Minor). By the 1920s, it spread into the port cities of the Aegean, Greece, and the United States of America via the travels of Greek Asia Minor emigrants. With the commercial recording activities of the twentieth century, this urban music peaked in popularity between the 1920s and the 1950s.[88]

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[83] *Numerical Catalog of Foreign Columbia Records (N.Y.)*, 56092F-12. Tournene, Rembetiko. L. Cavadias, Horodia.
[84] Cf. Petropoulos, I (1968/1979).
[85] This term usually denotes the output of songwriters who did not usually write rebétiko, produced at a time when rebétiko was allegedly in decline. Parallel recordings of these songs sometimes exist, one in rebétiko style and another in a more *bel canto* style, e.g. *Το τραμ το τελευταίο* by Michalis Souyioul and Alekos Sakellarios, and *Σβήσε με απ' το χάρτη* by Michalis Souyioul and Christos Yiannakopoulos. The term 'archondorebétiko' existed quite earlier though, cf. Vlisidis (2006:45) where it appears in an article dated 1936.
[86] This genre includes some very well-known songs with music by Stavros Xarchakos and lyrics by Nikos Gatsos the film *Rebetiko* of 1980 by Kostas Ferris, e.g. *Μάνα μου Ελλάς, Στου Θωμά το μαγαζί, Το δίχτυ*. Another example is the well-known song *Το μονοπάτι* by Giorgos Mouzakis and Alekos Sakellarios.
[87] *Laiká* is Greek popular song; *éntechno laikó* is 'art-popular' song; *pseudorebétiko* and *rebetogení* refer to songs perceived as not belonging to the genre rebétiko, but being very similar to them.
[88] Tsounis (1995:91).

The overarching themes of rebétiko are Love, Society, Labour, Historical Events, Death, the Mother, and the Life of a Rebétis.

Within the dominant theme – the theme of Love – there are various subcategories such as *Betrayal*, *Jealousy*, *Unrequited love*, *Separation*, and the behaviour of *Women* or the *Men*, as well as *Marriage*. The theme with the most subcategories is that of Society. It includes verses about *Poverty*, *Emigration*, *Narcotics* (especially hashish), *Prison*, *Crime*, *Pain and sorrow*, as well as *Fantasy and wealth*. The theme of Labour consists of subcategories with songs about *Fishing*, *the Ocean*, *Military service*, and *Other Specific Professions*. The theme of Historical Events can of course be categorised by the specific event evoked, whether military and political (such as the *Asia Minor Disaster* of 1922 and the *Population Exchange of 1923–1924*, the *Metaxas Dictatorship* of 1936–1940, the *Second World War*, the *German Occupation of Greece*, the *Resistance*, the *Civil War* of 1944–1949) or natural calamities (such as *Earthquakes and floods*). In the theme of Death, there are also verses about *Illness* and *Old Age*. The theme of the *Mother* does not present any specific subcategories even though it occurs in a very large group of verses. There are very few verses about the *Father*. The last major theme is the Life of a Rebétis. This theme has subcategories dealing with *Music*, *the Bouzouki and other musical instruments*, *Revelry*, *Songs and Wine*, *Friendship*, *Honour*, *Rivalry*, *Gambling* and *Illegal Behaviour*. Though characteristic of rebétiko, these themes are not exclusively monopolised by the genre.

To conclude this survey of options for definition of rebétiko, brief consideration must be given to the musical and dance styles that commentators such as Tsounis[89] deems to constitute rebétiko. Again, a wide range characterises the genre. Rhythms of all kinds are represented in the songs of the corpus and all of the dances involved pre-dated rebétiko music, even if they had never previously been gathered under the same generic heading. Indeed, rebétiko probably popularised many of these dances throughout the entire Greek-speaking world partly. The dance rhythms present in the corpus are divisible into three main groups: indigenous Greek, oriental, and western rhythms. The Greek group includes some dance rhythms of the Greek folk music, which are rather similar to those in other Balkan folk music, e.g. *sirtós*, *kalamatianós*, and *tsámikos*, but the primary, most frequent rhythms of this group are *chasápikos* (also called *sirtáki* in some variants), and *chasaposérvikos* (known in the west as 'Zorbas' dance'). The oriental rhythms are primarily *zeibékikos, tsiftetéli* (often called 'belly dance'),[90] and *karsilamás*. The song form called *amanés*, sometimes used in rebétiko, is oriental too, though

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[89] Tsounis (1995).

[90] The Greek *tsiftetéli dance* differs considerably from traditional *oriental belly dance*. The rhythms are the same, but the movements are quite different. Perhaps the globalisation of world music has caused the originally stricter and more modest Greek tsiftetéli to look more like oriental belly dancing.

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it is not a dance form. Western-influenced dance rhythms incorporated in the genre of rebétiko are e.g. *waltz*, *tango*, *mambo*, and *rumba*. Tsounis[91] lists the four dance forms that she has found to be the most widely used rhythms in rebétiko as zeibékikos, chasápikos, tsiftetéli, and chasaposérvikos, which include the oriental grouping.[92]

   In the light of all the above, the definition of rebétiko used for the purpose of this dissertation is broad; it includes songs from the prehistory and early period of rebétiko, before the Asia Minor Disaster of 1922, i.e. from around 1880, through to around 1960. The reason that songs from before 1922 are included is that they to a great extent consist of the same themes and rhythms, and they were composed in a social environment much like that of songs widely accepted as rebétiko. The concluding time-limit can only be roughly drawn at the beginning of the 1960s, because it is very difficult to establish a distinction between rebétiko and the rebétiko-derived popular music form of other *laiká*, although 1952 has repeatedly been set as the year marking the end of rebétiko music making. Personally, along with Panagiotis Kounadis and others,[93] I do not agree with this exact upper boundary and for present purposes i have opted for c.1960, as indicated. As the generic boundaries are not clear, there will inevitably be some overlap of music genres, and it is possible that some of the songs used here could be considered to belong to other genres. Furthermore, there is no overall consensus as to which music styles are genres of themselves and which are subcategories of other genres. Thus, specific smyrnaic songs could be considered a subcategory of rebétiko, while rebétiko itself is sometimes considered, not only the origin of laiká, but also a subcategory of it.[94] Moreover, rebétiko music and culture is widely considered to have sprung out of the Greek folk songs, initially as a commonplace oral tradition,[95] and served as the expression of people caught up in the transition from rural to urban society. In this sense rebétiko has been characterised as 'an urban folk song'. The cause of this confusion of genre categorisation is in part that one genre has sprung from another and has in turn given rise to other genres. These genres have further exerted influence on each other in the course of transmission by the same bearers, in addition to the influences from other genres, kindred or otherwise. Therefore the choice of songs included in the corpus constructed for the purpose of this dissertation is based on my own judgement and definition of

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[91] Tsounis (1995).
[92] The origins of the rhythms and dances are disputed. The following quotation from Petridis (1980:45) is indicative: "The tsiftetéli is believed to have ancient origins in women's fertility rites." For an overview of the dance styles of rebétiko, see Hunt (1999), Petrides (1980, 1991), and Tsounis (1995).
[93] Kounadis, personal conversation (June, 2007).
[94] Cf. Georgiadis (1993) and Kounadis (2000). Also see Michael (1996) on the terms rebétiko and laikó as applicable to the work of Vasilis Tsitsanis.
[95] On the oral tradition of Greek folk song cf. Beaton (1986). Cf. also Ong (1982), Eideneier (1983, 34:119-150), and Eideneier (1984:97-109).

rebétiko, as well as the judgement of the authors of the anthologies and the editors of the digital recordings used.

Songs with a great variety of rhythms and dance styles are included, as well as all categories of song text themes, as described above. They range from love songs to songs dealing with social issues; from oriental rhythms with violin and santouri, to the Piraeus-style chasápikos rhythm accompanied by bouzouki and baglamás, to western-influenced rhythms with drums and guitars accompanying the bouzouki. As Tsounis succinctly puts it

> The symbolic constructions of passion and expression in *rebetika* are neither homogeneous nor monolithic, but rather, are multi-layered and constantly undergoing negotiation for articulation and dominance.[96]

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[96] Tsounis (1995:99).

3 Metaphor

3.1 Definitions of Metaphor and Other Tropes

Metaphor is a figure of speech used to render language more descriptive and sometimes more vivid, but also able to express abstract notions in a more comprehensible way. Among the many different figures of speech, or *tropes*, metaphor is possibly the most common in literature and poetry. Metaphor describes an object or phenomenon in terms of the attributes of another. To use metaphor is to carry over[97] or transfer the meaning of one object to the context of another object. This we do in order to achieve a new meaning, whether wider or more specific, or special effect. Murray Knowles and Rosamund Moon explain metaphor as "the use of language to refer to something other than what it originally applied to, or what it 'literally' means, in order to suggest some resemblance or make a connection between the two things."[98]

The term metaphor is generally used for creative or novel metaphors. Some metaphors have become institutionalised as part of ordinary language, so that we do not think of them as metaphorical (cf. *3.2.4 Kinds of Metaphor*). These are called *dead*, or rather, *conventionalised* metaphors. In some cases conventionalised metaphors can appear as *idioms*, which are institutionalised metaphorical expressions, and in song texts sometimes become *formulae*. The term *idiosyncratic metaphorical expressions* is used to denote well-known but isolated instances of metaphorical concepts. They do not interact with other metaphors and are not used systematically in our language or thought: e.g. the expressions 'the *foot* of the mountain', 'the *head* of the cabbage', 'the *leg* of the table'. We use only part of the metaphor that speaks of a mountain as a person, as we normally do not speak of the *head* of a mountain.[99]

It is not always easy to determine whether a phrase is a metaphor or merely a literal statement, at least not out of its context, as in the example below.

> *Με παρέσυρε το ρέμα/* **μάνα μου, δεν είναι ψέμα**[100]

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[97] The Greek word μεταφορά derives from μετα-, which in compounds means 'across/over', and φέρειν 'to carry'. The compound verb μεταφέρειν means 'to transfer' in both the concrete and the abstract sense of the word.

[98] Knowles & Moon (2006:3).

[99] Lakoff & Johnson (1980/2003:55). On 'dead' metaphors in rebétiko cf. also Gauntlett (1978:90-92): "A substantial amount of the figurative expressions found in the verses of the 'Rebetiko' consists of everyday clichés and idioms […]. So trite are these figurative expressions that their models do not ordinarily recall their literal form, and they may be termed dead or prosaic images."

[100] The examples are taken from rebétiko song texts, and the translations are mine, as, of course, is the use of italics to denote metaphoricity. The verse quoted occurs in two songs, *Η πλημμύρα* (Markos Vamvakaris) and *Με παρέσυρε το ρέμα* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).

(*The stream swept me away*/ mother, it's not a lie)

There are other figures of speech that, though sometimes very close to metaphor, need to be distinguished from them. Terence Hawkes maintains that "metaphor is generally considered to manifest the basic pattern of transference involved and so can be thought of as the fundamental 'figure' of speech."[101]

Simile is akin to metaphor in the sense that it describes something in term of something else, but instead of saying that A *is* B, as metaphor does, simile says A *is like* B, or A *is as if* B. It proposes a resemblance or conformity, rather than complete identity as in the case of metaphor, and the comparison is explicit. An important philosophical distinction is that metaphor is literally impossible or untrue, while a simile is literally possible or true.[102] Furthermore we are always aware of the use of simile (as in the following examples, where the first word announces the trope), while the use of metaphor is less conscious:

Σαν απόκληρος γυρίζω/ στην κακούργα ξενιτιά[103]
(*As an outcast* I wander/ in cruel foreign lands)

Σα λουλούδι κάποιο χέρι/ θα μας κόψει μιαν αυγή[104]
(*Like a flower* some hand/ will pick us one dawn)

Synecdoche is a figure of speech where a part of a thing or an individual stands for the whole or a group at large, or vice versa, or the material of something stands for the object made of that material.[105]

Αγάπησα τα μάτια της/ τα χείλη, τα φιλιά της
μα μ' έκανε και μίσησα/ την άπιστη καρδιά της[106]
(I loved *her eyes*/ *her lips, her kisses*
but she made me hate/ *her unfaithful heart*)

Εσύ κι αν δε με θέλεις/ παντρεύομαι κι εγώ
και παίρνω μαύρα μάτια/ και παίζω και γελώ[107]
(Even if you don't want me/ I will get married
and I'll *take black eyes/* and have fun and laugh)

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[101] Hawkes (1972:2).
[102] Knowles & Moon (2006:8).
[103] *Ο Απόκληρος* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[104] *Δυο πόρτες έχει η ζωή* (Eftichia Papayiannopoulou).
[105] The Greek word συνεκδοχή i derives from the verb συνεκδέχεσθαι, meaning 'to take on oneself a share of'.
[106] *Αγάπησα και μίσησα* (Panayiotis Petsas).
[107] *Πάλι μεθυσμένος είσαι* (Markos Vamvakaris, from a traditional smyraic song).

Metonymy, as its Greek form μετωνυμία shows (meta- denotes *across/over* [in the sense of *change*] and onoma, *name*), literally involves transferring the name of one thing to something with which it is associated. Thus, words denoting containers are also often used to refer to the content, e.g. glass – drink three *glasses* a day; words for buildings often also refer to the relevant institutions, e.g. the *palace* was outraged by the news; the names of nations are used to refer to sport teams, armed forces, and so on.[108]

> **Αν εκτίμησες *παλάτια/ λίρες και στολίδια***
> **πέταξέ την την καρδιά σου/ μέσα στα σκουπίδια**[109]
> (If you valued *palaces/ golden coins and jewels*
> throw your heart away/ in the rubbish bin)

> **Θα προτιμήσω θάνατο/ το *μαύρο* δεν τ' αφήνω**
> **κι όπου θα βρίσκω αργιλέ/ τη τζούρα μου θα πίνω**[110]
> (I'd prefer death/ I won't give up the *black* [stuff]
> and wherever I'll find a nargileh/ I'll smoke my puff)

Synecdoche and metonymy are usually bundled together under the single term metonymy, and thus also in this study; metonymy denotes reference to the whole in terms of a part of it, or in terms of something associated with it.

The distinction between metaphor and metonymy is contested, as noted below by Knowles and Moon:

> While metaphors are literally impossible or untrue, metonyms are partially true. There is some observable, often physical, connection between the metonym and its meaning, whereas metaphors rely on comparisons of sort. For this reason, many linguists distinguish carefully between metaphor and metonymy, seeing them as complementary but quite separate. Some, however, see metaphor as a form of metonymy. Furthermore, individual phrases or stretches of figurative language can be both metaphorical and metonymic.[111]

The two figures can be said to have fundamentally different functions; metonymy is about referring; metaphor is about understanding and interpretation. A metaphor indicates identity between one entity and another (A is B), while a metonymy indicates closeness (contiguity), an integral part of the entity, or close connection

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[108] Knowles & Moon (2006:8).
[109] *Ο διαβολάκος* (Koulis Skarpelis).
[110] *Ο Χαρμάνης* (Markos Vamvakaris). In this verse *hashish* is metonymically referred to as μαύρο 'black'.
[111] Knowles & Moon (2006:9).

by association. *Symbols*, Lakoff and Johnson[112] state, are metonymic in nature; *idioms* are both metaphorical and metonymic. They argue that metonymy, just as metaphor, has an experiential basis.

In *personification* inanimate objects are treated as having human qualities or capable of human actions, and things or phenomena take on features and characteristics of human beings. *Apostrophe* can also be associated with personification, when an abstract or inanimate entity is addressed.

Αργιλέ μου, γιατί σβήνεις/ κι όλο τις φωτιές μου ρίχνεις;
Μήπως δεν τον φχαριστούσα/ κείνονε που αγαπούσα;
/Αργιλέ μου, πες τι φταίω/ που φουμάρω κι όλο κλαίω
Αχ, περήφανε λουλά μου/ γιάτρεψέ μου την καρδιά μου
/Πες κι εσύ, βρε μπαγλαμά μου/ που ακούς τα βάσανά μου
μίλα μου κι εσύ μπουζούκι/ ως που να 'ρθει το τσιμπούκι[113]
(*My nargileh, why do you burn out/ and [why do you] keep putting out my fire?*
Maybe I didn't please him/ the one that I loved
/My nargileh, tell me how am I to blame/ smoking and crying all day
Oh, *my proud hookah/ cure my heart for me*
/You too tell me, my dear baglamas/ you who hear my torments
and you too talk to me, bouzouki/ until the pipe comes)

Θάλασσα φαρμακωμένη/ την καρδιά μου 'χεις καμένη
Πήρες την παρηγοριά μου/ μέσα από την αγκαλιά μου[114]
(*Oh, poisoned sea/ you burnt my heart*
You took my comfort/ from my arms)

An *allegory* is a whole text, or an entire story, that is metaphorical in character. The following song text can be read in two ways; either as a tale of cats, or as it is meant to be understood, as a story of love and deceit in an interpersonal relationship. In this study the term *extended metaphor* will be sometimes used as well.

Έδιωξα και 'γώ μια γάτα/ που 'χε γαλανά τα μάτια
σαν κοιμόμουνα την νύχτα/ μου 'χωνε βαθιά τα νύχια
/Τόσους μήνες που την είχα/ μου ξηγιότανε στην τρίχα
τώρα έγινε από σόι/ και τα ψάρια δεν τα τρώει
/Τήνε διώχνω με γινάτι/ και την άλλη μέρα να τη
μου 'ρχεται με ποντικάκια/ και μου κάνει κορδελάκια
/Τώρα βρήκα άλλη γάτα/ πι' όμορφη και μαυρομάτα

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[112] Lakoff & Johnson (1980/2003:40).
[113] *Αργιλέ μου γιατί σβήνεις* (Stelios Chrisinis).
[114] *Θάλασσα λυπήσου* (Panayiotis Tountas, from a traditional song).

πονηρή κι αυτή σα γάτα/ μα τα σπάει κρυφά τα πιάτα[115]
(I chased away a cat/ that had blue eyes
while I slept at night/ she dug her claws deep into me
/All those months that I'd had her/ she was well behaved
but now she's got a pedigree/ and no longer eats fish
/I chase her away in spite/ and the next day she's back
she comes to me with mice/ and taunts me
/Now I've found another cat/ more beautiful and black eyed
she too is sly as a cat/ but she breaks the dishes secretly)

Metaphorical language, as above, is often used in order to achieve a double meaning (*double entendre*). This can also be accomplished with *polysemy*, the use of words with two or more senses. Many words have several senses, of which some have developed over time, often through figurative processes of metaphor and metonymy. These words usually have a basic meaning – a *core* meaning – which refers to something concrete or physical, from which a metaphorical meaning has subsequently developed.[116]

The distinctions between these different figures of speech are not sharp; in this account of metaphorical language I have chosen to include metonymy,[117] personification, and simile.

There is a large amount of literature on metaphor, in various fields of scholarship, including linguistics, poetics, literary studies in general, and rhetoric, to mention the most prominent, but not all writers agree on its importance to their field. Göran Hägg, for example, maintains that figures of speech have little or no significance in rhetoric, and hence the account of metaphor warrants no more than a few lines in his popular book *Praktisk retorik,*[118] which, however, is overloaded with vivid descriptions using metaphorical expressions at almost every turn. Another Swedish rhetorician, Kurt Johannesson, in his likewise popular *Retorik eller konsten att övertyga*, defines metaphor as a "figure of speech where one word is 'transferred' to something which it naturally does not belong to and therefore must be understood as an image."[119] And that is virtually all he has to say about this important subject.

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[115] *Η γάτα* (Nikos Mathesis).
[116] Knowles & Moon (2006:14-17).
[117] Including synecdoche, as explained above.
[118] Hägg (1998/2007).
[119] Johannesson (1998:282, my translation). The Swedish text reads: "Metafor (gr), en figur där ett ord «överförs» till något som det naturligen inte hör samman med och därför måste förstås som en bild."

3.2 Metaphor Theory

> *The most fundamental values in a culture will be coherent with the*
> *metaphorical structure of the most fundamental concepts in the culture*
> George Lakoff and Mark Johnson[120]

3.2.1 Approaches to Metaphor

The approach to metaphor taken in this dissertation is *text-based*, inasmuch as it deals with the analysis of metaphor in a body of authentic texts, rather than the construction of theory. The approach is also informed by corpus linguistics, which makes use of large quantities of computer-stored texts to analyse the words and grammar of a language. Words and phrases are collected from multiple contexts, in order to observe their typical behaviour.[121] The metaphorical expressions in rebétiko will be analysed mainly from a cognitive linguistic point of view and specifically using the theory of *conceptual metaphor* (cf. *3.2.2*).

The perceptions of metaphor have varied extensively through time, and the notion of conceptual metaphor adopted in this dissertation is perhaps better understood when seen against the background of key stages in their historical evolution. The various traditional views of metaphor are succinctly reviewed by Terence Hawkes.[122] Starting with the *Classical view* of metaphor, Hawkes gives an account of the Aristotelian disposition of the arts of language into the three distinct categories of *logic, poetry*, *and rhetoric*, which were all to be considered separate entities with different purposes. Aristotle declared that the standards of correctness are not the same in poetry as in political theory or any other art, and opined that metaphor is detachable from language. He thoroughly discussed metaphor in his work *Περί ποιητικῆς* as well as in *Περί τέχνης ῥητορικῆς*.[123] According to his theories the effect of metaphor when used properly is to adds charm and distinction to clarity by combining the familiar with the unfamiliar. Clarity comes from the familiar words; charm and distinction from the new resemblances noted in the metaphor. Metaphors must be appropriate for the purpose, they should not be too strained or strange, and should make use of words that are beautiful in themselves.[124]

Hawkes continues his historical survey of metaphor with the notion current in 16th century Western Europe,[125] where poets attempted to relate poetry to logic. The rhetorician and philosopher Peter Ramus (1515–1572) considered poetry to be

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[120] Lakoff & Johnson (1980/2003:22).
[121] Knowles & Moon (2006:74-76).
[122] Hawkes (1972).
[123] Aristotle's *Poetics* (Chapter 21-25) and *Rhetoric* (Book III) respectively.
[124] Hawkes (1972:6-15).
[125] The following historical account refers to the notion of metaphor in the western world.

grounded in logic, as is all reasonable discourse, and thus connected with thought. Hence there was no need to separate poetry and logic.[126]

A notion of metaphor prevalent in the 17th century separated content from form, and the logic of an argument from the decorum which served to make an utterance more beautiful, not more substantial. In the metaphorical words of Terence Hawkes metaphor "becomes a kind of fancy dress in which thoughts may from time to time be clothed; flowers culled from the garden of rhetoric with which a discourse might be decorated."[127]

An 18th century definition of metaphor seems to imply that it is an abuse of language. Metaphors were therefore to be used only in a manner that was generally and universally acceptable. In the resultant *Poetic Diction*, the metaphors were, again in Hawkes's words, "at their worst pre-packaged, pre-digested, finished products, unloaded strategically in the poem when triggered by taste."[128]

In contrast, the *Romantic view* of metaphor that arose in the 19th century stresses its 'organic' relation to language, as opposed to the Aristotelian division of poetry from reason, and places emphasis on metaphor's function as an expression of imagination. [129] The Romantic poets claimed to be following Plato in stating that to argue that poetic language differs from ordinary oral dialogue is to assert that ordinary speech lacks all the qualities inherent in poetry, e.g. rhythm, rhyme, and metaphorical language.

Traces of the Romantics' elimination of boundaries between language and the real world can be found in the discussion of the function of metaphor in language and society initiated in the 20th century by I. A. Richards, who argued that thought itself is metaphoric because it proceeds by comparisons.[130]

The *linguistic* approach to metaphor also sees common ground between poetic and standard language, Hawkes[131] asserts, suggesting that the problem with the linguistic approach to metaphor is that it does not take into consideration the full context involved. Context includes factors such as rhythm, rhyme, the position of the metaphor in the poem and in the line, as well as, in an extended meaning, the human voice. Moreover, he states, metaphor in many ways actually achieves confirmation of what we already know, more than deviation from it. He even implies that metaphors affirm as much as they challenge.

Another contemporary way of addressing metaphor is through the *anthropological* notion[132] which holds that culture and language are so intimately connected

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[126] Hawkes (1972:22-28).
[127] Ibid., 26.
[128] Ibid., 33.
[129] Ibid., 34-56.
[130] Ibid., 57-63. Cf. Richards (1936).
[131] Hawkes (1972:70-77).
[132] Ibid., 78-89.

that 'way of life' is in a sense always involved in 'way of speaking'. Each language, then, formulates experience in its own manner, and is not just a passive means of expressing it; the speaker of one language sees the world in a different way from the speaker of another language. Things and concepts can be differently classified and experienced by speakers of different languages, as language reflects the material aspects of its culture.

Traditional views of metaphor have also developed within *philosophy* and *semantics*. These disciplines have represented metaphor as a gap between sentence meaning and utterance meaning. There are, according to Knowles and Moon,[133] two approaches to metaphor in such theories. One views metaphor as substitution or transfer, and the other as comparison, which suggests a closer connection between simile and metaphor, and between the different meanings of words. In the field of *pragmatics*, Herbert Paul Grice introduced the *Cooperative Principle* to describe how people interact with one another. To this principle he later added a set of *maxims* to which we adhere in conversation: *Quantity* (giving an appropriate amount of information), *Quality* (being truthful), *Relation* (being relevant), and *Manner* (being clear).[134] Metaphorical language can be said to *breach* and *flout*, i.e. break and defy, these maxims. Raymond Gibbs's *psycholinguistic* view of metaphor proposes that

> Speakers can't help but employ tropes in everyday conversation because they conceptual-
> ize much of their experience through the figurative schemes of metaphor, metonymy,
> irony, and so on. Listeners find tropes easy to understand precisely because much of their
> thinking is constrained by figurative processes.[135]

His research suggests that "idioms are stored in the mental lexicon as complete linguistic units along with their meaning, and are not normally interpreted word by word."[136]

A modern conception of metaphor would, according to Hawkes,[137] be an extension of the Romantic view, with some developments involving the Classical view, which shows that the two extremes are not irrevocably opposed.

3.2.2 Conceptual Metaphor

The study of metaphor today mainly concentrates on other functions than that of being a simple ornament. Knowles and Moon assert that "metaphor is not just a kind of artistic embellishment, at the rarefied end of linguistic usage, divorced and isolated from everyday communication. It is instead a basic phenomenon that

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[133] Knowles & Moon (2006:66-67).
[134] Ibid., 68-69.
[135] Raymond Gibbs (1994:253, quoted in Knowles & Moon, 2006:70).
[136] Knowles & Moon (2006:71).
[137] Hawkes (1972:91).

occurs throughout the whole range of language activity."[138] They proceed to state that "metaphor is a basic process in the formation of individual words and word meanings" and that concepts are lexicalised through metaphor.[139] At a discourse level metaphor is important because of its functions, such as explaining, clarifying, describing, expressing, evaluating, and entertaining.[140] Knowles and Moon also argue that "by using metaphor, much more can be conveyed, through implication and connotation, than through straightforward, literal language."[141] What makes metaphor so powerful as a communicative device of emotion is its imprecision or fuzziness; meaning is conveyed in a less limited way. This can often actually facilitate and even mediate communication.[142]

To analyse and discuss metaphors we need to consider three factors: the *metaphor* (vehicle),[143] its *meaning itself* (topic/tenor), and the *similarity* or *connection* (grounds) between the two.

The theory of metaphor adopted a radical new approach in 1980 when George Lakoff and Mark Johnson published *Metaphors we live by*,[144] which gives an account of their cognitive linguistic view of metaphor and introduces the notion of *conceptual metaphor*. The work of Lakoff and his colleagues has been very influential, but their approach has also been criticised as dogmatic and unverifiable. Indisputably, they have created great interest in figurative language and drawn much attention to its centrality to the study of humanity. They argue that metaphor is an ordinary part of language and an essential part of human thought and action; it is a tool with which we think. In their theory metaphors exist as concepts, not merely as linguistic expressions. Our ordinary conceptual system, they state, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature. Metaphor is defined as understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain; the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another. They believe that conceptual metaphors are not based on similarities, but on the correlating elements in 'source' and 'target' domains.[145] *Source domain* is the term they use for the vehicle, i.e. the object or notion whose features are conferred on another object or notion, and *target domain* is their term for the topic or tenor, i.e.

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[138] Knowles & Moon (2006:2).
[139] Ibid., 4.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Ibid., 11.
[142] Ibid.
[143] The terms in parenthesis are those traditionally used in theories of metaphor.
[144] Lakoff & Johnson (1980/2003).
[145] Cf. in the discipline of comparative literature, the views of Soskice (1985) that 1. metaphors are not mental events; 2. physical objects are not metaphors; and 3. metaphor does not take a particular syntactic form. This notion corresponds to a great extent with Lakoff & Johnson (1980/2003) who list four fallacies about metaphorical thought in Western tradition since Aristotle. These are that 1. metaphor is a matter of words, not concepts; 2. metaphor is based on similarity (when it is actually perceived similarity); 3. all concepts are literal, not metaphorical; and 4. rational thought is in no way shaped by the nature of our brains and bodies.

the conceptual domain that is denoted by the metaphor, the meaning implied; or expressed in the way metaphorical expressions are usually written (in small capital letters): CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN (A) IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN (B). A principle of *unidirectionality* is involved in this; the metaphorical process typically goes from the more concrete source to the more abstract target, but not the other way around. Sometimes their functions can be reversed, but usually not without a certain stylistic shift in the value of the linguistic metaphors.

Lakoff and Johnson argue that metaphor unites reason and imagination:

> Reason, at the very least, involves categorization, entailment, and inference. Imagination, in one of its many aspects, involves seeing one kind of thing in terms of another kind of thing – what we have called metaphorical thought. Metaphor thus is *imaginative rationality*.[146]

The work of Michael Reddy[147] contributed to the development of this approach to metaphor. His analysis of the English language (unintentionally)[148] led to the theory of communication as a conduit. *The conduit metaphor* implies that:

1) language functions as a conduit
   ('Try to *get* your *thoughts across* better'; 'The *sentence was filled with emotion*')[149]
2) in writing and speaking, people insert their thoughts or feelings into words
   ('You have to *put* each *concept into words* very carefully'; 'Don't *force* your *meanings into* the *wrong words*')
3) words accomplish the transfer by containing the thoughts or feelings and conveying them to others
   ('None of Mary's *feelings came through to me* with any clarity'; 'That *thought is in* practically every other *word*')
4) in listening or reading, people extract the thoughts and feelings once again from the words
   ('Please *pay attention* to what's there *in the word*!'; 'You have to "*absorb*" Aristotle's *ideas* a little at a time').

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[146] Lakoff & Johnson (1980/2003:193).
[147] Reddy (1979).
[148] Ibid., 288: "[…] the conduit metaphor – would now lead us to the bizarre assertion that words have 'insides' and 'outsides'. […] Numerous expressions make it clear that English does view words as containing or failing to contain words, depending on the success or failure of the speaker's 'insertion' process. […] the listener's task must be one of extraction. He must find the meaning 'in the words' and take it out of them, so that it gets 'into his head'".
[149] The examples are taken from Reddy (1979:292).

According to Lakoff it is pointless to discuss truth or falsehood in relation to metaphor, and equally pointless to analyse metaphors in terms of the relationship between topics and vehicles. "The linguistic expression (i.e., ways of talking)," Knowles and Moon explain, "make explicit, or are manifestations of, the conceptual metaphors (i.e., ways of thinking). To put the same thing differently, it is the linguistic metaphorical expressions that reveal the existence of the conceptual metaphors."[150]

There has to be a similarity or correlation of some sort between the two entities denoted by the two linguistic expressions. This is a matter of motivation; metaphors cannot be predicted, but they can be motivated. Regarding motivation versus prediction, the Hungarian linguist Zoltán Kövecses maintains that "out of a large number of potential sources, we 'choose' the ones that 'make intuitive sense' – that is, the ones that emerge from human experience – either cognitive, physiological, cultural, biological, or whatever."[151]

This stands in contrast to traditional views, in which metaphor

a) is decorative and fancy speech
b) is a linguistic, and not a conceptual, phenomenon
c) has a similarity between the source domain and the target domain that
pre-exists and constrains the possible metaphors
d) is a linguistic expression that follows similarity[152]

The traditional view can explain many cases of metaphor but far from all of them, according to the advocates of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). Within cognitive linguistics the question is whether there is a limit to what can be a source domain for a particular target. In addition to pre-existing similarity, the cognitive linguistic view maintains that conceptual metaphors are based on a variety of human experience, including correlations in experience, non-objective similarities, as well as biological and cultural roots shared by the two concepts. Accordingly, metaphors are grounded in experience, i.e. they have an experiential basis or motivation. This approach stresses that correlations in *conceptual* metaphors are not de facto similarities, but perceived *structural* similarities; the source is seen as the root of the target, either biologically or culturally. Correlations in *image* metaphors (cf. *3.2.4 Kinds of Metaphor*) are on the other hand *material* similarities. *Primary metaphors* are generalisations of conceptual metaphors and are learnt in childhood.

Conceptual metaphor is not the only modern theory of metaphor; *discourse metaphors theory* is a useful refinement. Unlike *primary conceptual metaphors*,

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[150] Knowles & Moon (2006:6).
[151] Kövecses (2002:76).
[152] Ibid., 68.

that are considered universal and independent of time, *discourse metaphors* co-evolve with the culture in which they are used, and change with the ongoing discourses. Zinken et al., describe discourse metaphors as "relatively stable metaphorical mappings that function as a key framing device within a particular discourse over a certain period of time."[153] They proceed to argue that they are "communicative and cultural tools, and as such potentially more variable than the highly schematic mappings proposed by Conceptual Metaphor Theory."[154] While the source domains of primary conceptual metaphors are very abstract (e.g. ORGANISATION IS BEING ERECT), the source domains of discourse metaphors are material objects (e.g. A NATION-STATE IS A HOUSE, THE STATE IS A MACHINE). Furthermore, they claim that discourse metaphors have a social and cultural history, and that they influence social and cultural futures. Although they are stable over long periods of time, they evolve and adapt when social and political circumstances change. Zinken et al. emphasise three aspects of discourse metaphors: 1) they use knowledge associated with basic level concepts, 2) they evolve in social interaction, and 3) they are firmly linked to cultural scripts and stereotypes. Finally, the discourse metaphor approach gives an account of the so-called "dual grounding" of human cognition in both biology and culture. "A focus on embodiment," Zinken et al. suggest, "might therefore usefully be supplemented by a focus on *enculturation*."[155]

3.2.3 Common Source and Target Domains

Kövecses (2002) lists the most common source and target domains saying that "this is an extremely simplified world, but it is exactly the simplified nature of this world that enables us to make use of parts of it in creating more abstract ones."[156]

Most common source concepts:
- **The human body**: heart, hand, back, bones, head, face, legs, arms, shoulders: the *heart* of the problem; the *head* of the department
- **Health and illness**: a *healthy* society; a *sick* mind
- **Animals**: human beings are frequently understood in terms of assumed properties of animals: *a tiger, a dog, a bitch, a sly fox, a cow*. Sometimes body parts of animals are used: *tail, horn*
- **Plants**: *cultivate* a friendship; the *fruit* of one's labour
- **Buildings and construction**: *build* upon an idea, be *in ruins* financially

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[153] Zinken et al. (2008:363). For the notion of mapping, cf. *3.2.9 Mapping, Highlighting and Blending*.
[154] Ibid., 373.
[155] Ibid., 383. Cf. Zlatev (1997) and Kövecses's Body-based constructivism (BBC) in Kövecses (2000).
[156] Kövecses (2002:209). All the examples in these lists are taken from Kövecses.

- **Machines and tools**: both the machines and tools, and the activities related to them are used in metaphorical expressions: the *machine* of democracy; conceptual *tools*
- **Games and sport**: *play by the rules*; *toy* with an idea
- **Money and business**: *spend* time; *save* energy/time; *invest* in a relationship
- **Cooking and food**: *recipe* for success; *cook up* a story
- **Heat and cold**: extremely basic human experiences (heat, hot, fire, flame, burn, steamy, cold, ice, icy, frozen), used especially for conceptualisation of feelings like love, passion, desire, hatred, anger, rage, shame, fear, and so on: the *heat* of passion; a *cold* reception; a *warm* welcome
- **Light and darkness**: also basic human experiences, e.g. as weather conditions: *brighten* up, a *dark* mood; a *cloud* of suspicion
- **Forces**: (gravitational, magnetic, electric, mechanical): waves, wind, storm, fire, push, pull, drive: *sweep off one's feet*; *drive* somebody crazy; don't *push* me
- **Movement and direction**: involving a change of location or stationary: *go* crazy; solve a problem *step by step*

The most common target domains are abstract, diffuse, and have no clear definition. Certain sources are typically used to understand certain targets:
- **Emotion**: primarily understood by means of conceptual metaphors. The source domains typically involve forces: she was deeply *moved*; *burst* with joy; *burst* into tears
- **Desire**: force, both physical and physiological like hunger and thirst; heat: be *hungry* for knowledge; *starve* for affection; be *burning* to do something
- **Morality**: understood through economic transaction: *pay back* for something; forces: *resist* a temptation; light and dark: a *shady* character; up-down orientation: a *low* thing to do
- **Thought**: rational thought as work: *grind* out an idea; less active aspects of thought is often seen as perception: I *see* your point
- **Society/Nation**: often use source concepts of a person or family: *neighbouring* countries; a *friendly* nation; the founding *fathers* of the nation
- **Politics**: conceptualised as a physical force: they *forced* the opposition out of the House; games and sport: the President *plays hardball*; business; war: the *fight* erupted over abortion
- **Economy**: source domains: buildings, plants, journey: *build* a strong economy; the *growth* of the economy
- **Human relationships**: plants, machines, and buildings: their friendship is in *full flower*; *work* on a relationship; *build* a strong marriage

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- **Communication**: container: *put* too many ideas *into* a sentence; a *dense* paragraph; *give* a lot of information
- **Time**: difficult concept to understand, a usual metaphor is that of an object that moves: the time will *come* that…; time *flies*; in the *following* week…; time *goes by* fast
- **Life and death**: metaphorical in nature: life is viewed as a journey, a day, light, warmth: the baby *will arrive* soon; grandpa *is gone*; *pass away*
- **Religion**: involves our view of God and relationship to God, eternity, life after/before death. Similarly to the concepts of society and nation, God is conceptualised as a person: *Father*, *Shepherd*, *King* etc.
- **Events and actions**: often as movement or force; includes notions of change, purpose, means: she *turned* thirty last month; *drive* somebody nuts; *go* crazy; *reach* one's goals in life

These domains can be broadly classified as *psychological and mental states and events* (emotion, desire, morality, thought), *social groups and processes* (society, politics, economy, human relationships, communication), *and personal experiences and events* (time, life, death, religion).

3.2.4 Kinds of Metaphor

Metaphors can be classified according to their conventionality, function, nature, and level of generality of metaphor.

Conventionality involves the degree to which a metaphor is established in everyday use. The issue of conventionality concerns both conceptual metaphors and their linguistic manifestations. *Conventional conceptual metaphors* are deeply entrenched ways of **thinking** about an abstract domain, and *conventionalised metaphorical linguistic expressions* are well worn ways of **talking** about abstract domains. We distinguish between *conventional* metaphors, sometimes called *dead* metaphors on the one hand, and *creative*, or *novel*, metaphors on the other. It could be more useful, though, to make this distinction threefold; we would thus have a) creative metaphors, b) conventional metaphors, and c) dead metaphors. Conventional metaphors are often institutionalised in our language, we do not think of them as metaphorical, while creative metaphors can be very imaginative, and give us a new understanding of our experience. But as Kövecses argues, "the 'dead metaphor' account misses an important point; namely, that what is deeply entrenched, hardly noticed, and thus effortlessly used is most active in our thoughts. […] on the contrary, they [the so-called 'dead' metaphors] are 'alive' in the most important sense – they govern our thoughts – they are 'metaphors we live by'."[157] In the present study of metaphor in rebétiko no distinction will be made between conventional and creative metaphors in the examples from the songs as

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[157] Kövecses (2002:ix).

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regards the importance of the metaphorical expression. The reason for this is succinctly conveyed by Knowles and Moon, who declare that, although conventional metaphors may have a more fixed meaning than creative metaphors and they seem not to communicate in the same manner, their metaphorical content is interesting, since "the ideas, assumptions, and beliefs of a culture are present in its conventional metaphors, even if this is not apparent on the surface."[158]

In context, conventional metaphors can be *reliteralised*, which means that the literal meaning is re-claimed, or that it co-exists with the metaphorical meaning. One can use a conventional conceptual metaphor in an unconventional way, i.e. with a novel metaphorical expression, or in Kövecses's words:

> There are many creative speakers who can produce novel linguistic metaphors based on conventional conceptual metaphors. Some well-known categories of these speakers in English include sports journalists, politicians, (church) ministers, certain speakers of Black English, authentic users of slang, graffiti writers, writers of song lyrics, and others.[159]

The users of slang and the writers of song lyrics are the categories present in this examination. The interest of the present study lies in the collective output of the rebétiko (sub-)culture, rather than in the production of individual artists.

Lakoff and Johnson identify three categories of conceptual metaphors, each with different *functions*: structural, orientational, and ontological.[160] *Structural* metaphors are cases where "one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of others;"[161] source domains provide frameworks for target domains by means of conceptual mappings between elements of the source and the target. Structural metaphors provide the richest form of elaboration; to this category belong metaphors such as LIFE IS A JOURNEY and ARGUMENT IS WAR. *Ontological* metaphors provide much less structuring. They allow us to conceptualise and talk about things, experiences, and processes, even if they are very vague or abstract, as if they have physical properties. They give an ontological status to general categories of abstract target concepts and enable us to see more sharply delineated structure where there is very little or none. Thus we can understand experiences in terms of objects and substances: for example, we can view events, activities, emotions, and ideas as entities and substances. They are typically used to refer to, to quantify, and to identify aspects, e.g. conceiving fear as an object in order to be able to conceptualise it. It is the least noticeable form of conceptual metaphor. Personifications are ontological metaphors, and other examples are metaphors

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[158] Knowles & Moon (2006:12).
[159] Kövecses (2002:31).
[160] Lakoff & Johnson (1980/2003:14-21, 25-32, 77-86). Cf. Knowles & Moon (2006:39-41) and Kövecses (2002:32-6).
[161] Lakoff & Johnson (1980/2003:14).

from the master metaphor EMOTION IS FORCE (cf. *3.3.3 The force of emotion*). *Orientational* metaphors have even less conceptual structure; they organise whole systems of concepts with respect to one another. They usually involve spatial concepts such as UP/DOWN, FRONT/BACK, NEAR/FAR, IN/OUT, CENTRE/PERIPHERY, ON/OFF, and ACTIVE/PASSIVE. Many of these metaphors are universal. Naturally, there are overlaps between these three categories. This division was revised in the afterword of the second edition of Lakoff and Johnson's book, where they clarify that "all metaphors are structural (in that they map structures to structures); all are ontological (in that they create target domains); and many are orientational (in that they map orientational image-schemas)."[162]

The *nature* of metaphors may be based on both knowledge and image. With *image metaphors* two detailed images are compared using a *one-shot* mapping generated by two images that are corresponding by the superimposition of one image on to the other. They structure many of our abstract concepts metaphorically and they serve as the basis of other concepts.

The final classification is the level of generality of metaphor; conceptual metaphors can be specific-level or generic-level (cf. 3.3 Metaphors of Emotion).

3.2.5 Metaphor in Literature and Poetry

We can find metaphor in various forms in virtually any context. We see them in movies and acting, cartoons, drawings, sculptures and buildings, advertisement, symbols, myths, dream interpretation, interpretation of history, politics and social policy, morality, social institutions, social practices, and, of course, literature.[163]

In literature and poetry ordinary metaphors are often reworked by means of *extending, elaboration, questioning,* and *combining*. In *extending*, a conventional conceptual metaphor associated with certain conventionalised linguistic expressions is expressed by new linguistic means that is based on introducing a new conceptual element in the source domain. In *More than cool reason* Lakoff and Turner[164] demonstrate that metaphors in poetry are mostly extensions of conventional metaphors. *Elaboration* involves elaborating on an existing element in an unusual way. In *questioning*, common everyday metaphors are – as is evident from the term – questioned, at least partially. *Combining* entails the process of combining metaphors; and it can activate, and be based on, several everyday metaphors at the same time. Also usual in literature are *personification*, *image metaphors* (where two detailed images are compared), and *extended metaphors* (or *megametaphors*), in which some metaphors run through entire literary texts without surfacing; they are underlying metaphors as a base to other, smaller metaphors. In literature and poetry they form allegories.

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[162] Ibid., 264-5.
[163] Cf. Kövecses (2002:57-65).
[164] Lakoff & Turner (1989).

A source concept can characterise several distinct target domains. In some cases one cannot avoid using metaphorical words in characterising some targets. For example, *basis, support, stability*, and *structure* are all metaphorical in relation to abstract targets such as argument, mind, and economic systems.

3.2.6 Similarities and Differences between Metaphor and Metonymy

In metonymy we use one entity to indicate another entity to which it is related. Kövecses's term for the entity that directs attention to another entity is *vehicle entity*, but for reasons of clarity and simplicity the term *source* is used in this study also with reference to metonymy. The entity to which attention is directed is, as in metaphor, the *target*. The entities are close to each other in conceptual space, and according to Kövecses's definition of metonymy:

> Metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain, or idealized cognitive model (ICM).[165]

The focus of the difference between metaphor and metonymy mainly lies in the distinction between similarity and contiguity (closeness). If it is possible to alter the expression into a paraphrase with the words 'is like', then it is metaphor, otherwise it is metonymy. Metaphor involves two concepts that are distant from each other, two different domains; in metonymy there is, as mentioned above, a single domain or *ICM*, such as production, a whole entity, causation, control, institution, or action that involves several elements; these elements can stand metonymically for each other. The main function of metaphor is to understand one thing in the terms of another; the main function of metonymy is to provide mental, cognitive access to a target entity that is often abstract and less easily available. In metonymy there is a single mapping. It can be produced by a more varied set of entities (concepts, forms, and referents), belonging to different realms. Linguistic expressions containing the physiological and expressive responses to emotion are usually metonymies, not metaphors; EFFECTS OF A STATE STAND FOR THE STATE. Whereas a conceptual metaphor is described as A IS B, a conceptual metonymy can be described as A STANDS FOR B. Kövecses gives the example SEX STANDS FOR LOVE as in "They *made love*" as a conceptual metonymy.[166]

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[165] Kövecses (2002:145).

[166] Ibid. I do not agree with Kövecses on this point; in my opinion, the opposite applies, namely that LOVE STANDS FOR SEX in the expression "They *made* love". Perhaps Kövecses means that sex stands for love at a deeper level, as a way of expressing love, but linguistically it ought to be the other way around.

3.2.7 Metonymic Relationships, Idioms and Metaphor

Many conceptual metaphors derive from conceptual metonymies, or may have a metonymic basis or motivation. Some linguistic expressions are not always clearly either metaphors or metonymies. Often an expression is both; the two figures can blend in a single expression. There are cases that can be interpreted as *metaphor deriving from metonymy*, and there are expressions that are blends of *metonymy within metaphor*. An example of the former is the metaphor THE HEART IS AN EMOTION where the heart stands metonymically for the perceived location of emotion, which becomes the source domain in a metaphor for the emotion itself.

Idioms are linguistic expressions that can entail metaphors, metonymies, pairs of words, sayings, similes, phrasal verbs, and grammatical idioms among others. "Most traditional views of idioms agree that idioms consist of two or more words and that the overall meaning of these words cannot be predicted from the meanings of the constituent words," Kövecses[167] writes. He makes the generalisation that many, or most, idioms are motivated since they are products of our conceptual system and not only an arbitrary matter of language. He further states that the mechanisms involved in forming idioms are metaphor, metonymy, and conventional knowledge, i.e. shared everyday knowledge. The analysis of metaphors from the corpus of rebétiko will not take into consideration whether a metaphor is also an idiom (or slang), therefore idioms will not be treated separately.

3.2.8 Metaphor across Languages

Metaphorical ideas and concepts can cross language and culture barriers. Knowles and Moon remark that "where English has borrowed metaphorical items from other languages, it has frequently borrowed only the metaphorical meaning, and not any literal meanings which may have existed in the source language."[168] This is probably the case with most languages. Universal metaphors are mainly metaphors where the source domains are basic human experiences, e.g. orientational metaphors such as MORE/POWERFUL/SUCCESSFUL/ALIVE IS UP.

Concerning the interdependence of language and thought, Knowles and Moon[169] discuss whether the language of a culture is determined by the way in which that culture thinks, or if the thoughts of a culture are determined by its language. In the first case, a language evolves to reflect and express the experiences of its speakers. In the second case, a culture's experiences and its understanding of those experiences are constrained because they can only be expressed in the ways which its language allows. An extreme form of the latter

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[167] Kövecses (2002:199).
[168] Knowles & Moon (2006:18).
[169] Ibid., 87-89.

view is the *Sapir-Whorf hypothesis*,[170] according to which the differences between languages enforce differences in thought. In this view, speakers of different languages are likely to view the world and its phenomena very differently, and as there will not be enough shared ground, translation is not possible. Few people now support this extreme form of the hypothesis. We can relate conceptual metaphor to both arguments; metaphors both construct and constrain our understanding.

Sometimes different languages have corresponding metaphors, but they can differ in frequency or formality, so that another expression may be better used in translation. Some metaphors do not translate exactly, but use the same underlying concept. It might be important, especially in literary texts, to reproduce the metaphorical expressions of the original, in order to maintain the imagery of the text, rather than substituting with non-metaphorical expressions.

Conceptual metaphor is crucial to the understanding of *polysemy*, *historical semantics*, *grammar and grammatical constructions*, and *linguistic theorizing*. *Polysemy* involves words with a number of related senses that are often based on metaphorical or metonymic relationships, and it occurs when meaning extension takes place on the basis of conceptual metaphor or metonymy. The source domains hold the more central senses of the words, while metaphors and metonymy provide cognitive links to other, more distinct, senses of the words. In the field of *historical semantics* (the study of historical development of the senses of words) cognitive linguistics has been able to shed light on phenomena unaccounted for, by means of conceptual metaphor and metonymy. In *grammar* the shift of grammatical status of words and phrases, e.g. from nouns to verbs or adjectives or vice versa, may have a metaphorical or metonymic basis. The grammatical status of words and phrases can be altered where shared conventional knowledge exists based on conceptual meaning. Hence the meaning of the expression in its new part of speech is metaphorically or metonymically implied.[171] Metaphor can also be involved in larger *grammatical constructions* or syntax where a diversity of meaning can be achieved by the distance between the components of a sentence. The conceptual metaphor that functions in these cases is STRENGTH OF EFFECT IS CLOSENESS; linguistic form is understood in spatial terms: the closer in syntax, the stronger the effect.

Metaphor can give meaning to form in the sense that *more of a form is more of content*, as in the examples "he ran and ran and ran and ran", "he is very, very, very tall", and "he is bi-i-i-i-ig!" Many languages, including Greek, apply reduplication to indicate more, e.g. plural of nouns, continuation of verbs,

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[170] Ibid.

[171] This is called *functional shift* or *conversion* and it occurs especially where diminutive, the past tense suffix (in order to achieve counterfactuality), or a pragmatic softener (e.g. 'I wanted to ask you something') are used.

intensification of adjectives, and diminution. [172] The ME-FIRST *orientation metaphor*, as expounded by Lakoff and Johnson is another example of a kindred phenomenon, whereby the canonical person forms a conceptual reference point: UP, FRONT, ACTIVE, GOOD, HERE, NOW, and a normal word order would be 'up and down'; 'front and back'; 'good and bad', and so on. The metaphor at work here is NEAREST IS FIRST.

Finally, in all scientific theories metaphors are employed to enable us to conceptualise and comprehend abstract meanings, and *linguistic theories* are no exceptions. "No scientific discipline is imaginable without recourse to metaphor," Kövecses[173] asserts.

3.2.9 Mapping, Highlighting and Blending

Metaphorical structuring is partial, not total. If it were total, one concept would *be* the other. It is not the case that any element constituting B is applicable to any element of A. Linguistic expressions used metaphorically must conform to established *mappings*. Mappings are correspondences of constituent elements between source and target domains. This knowledge is unconscious in the sense that we do not actively think of it; nevertheless we are aware of it at some level. There is a certain systematicity to the mappings. A *single source domain* can correspond to *multiple target domains*, multiple source domains can correspond to a single target domain, and there can also be *many-to-many mappings* between the source and the target.

The main meaning focus (the major theme) of conceptual metaphor represents some basic knowledge concerning a source that is widely shared in the speech community, that can be found in most instances of the source, and that uniquely characterises the source. It is, in Kövecses words, "culturally agreed-on conceptual material associated with the source that it conceptually imparts to its targets."[174] Primary metaphors are generalisations of the constituent mapping; the mapping consists of submetaphors. Primary metaphors are learnt in childhood as part of our basic human experience and cognition. *A central mapping* is one from which other mappings derive and which maps the main meaning focus of the source onto the target. In other words, primary (or simple) metaphors constitute mappings in complex ones.[175]

Rich additional knowledge about a source mapped on to a target is called *meta-phorical entailment.* Full exploitation of metaphorical entailment would be accomplished if a source domain could map entirely on to a target domain. The *invariance principle* blocks the mapping of knowledge from the source that is not

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[172] Lakoff & Johnson (1980/2003:127-8).
[173] Kövecses (2002:224).
[174] Ibid., 118, following Grady et al. (1996:177-187).
[175] Cf. Grady et al. (1996:177-187).

coherent with the schematic or skeletal structure of the target concept. The invariance principle consists of two parts: the part that says what can be mapped from the source, and the part that says what cannot and why.

In metaphors, some aspects are highlighted, and others are hidden. These phenomena are consequently called *metaphorical highlighting* and *hiding*. Different metaphors highlight different aspects of the same target concept and at the same time hide its other aspects. In this manner we focus on certain properties that fit our purposes, and "every description will highlight, downplay, and hide," Lakoff and Johnson assert.[176] We make use of only some aspects of a source domain in order to understand a target. This phenomenon is called *metaphorical utilisation* and is partial as well. When we think and speak unconventionally, we can extend our conventional patterns of thought and language into unutilised parts of the source. Each source can structure only certain aspects of the target.

Mixed metaphors have a joint focus on more than one aspect of the target domain, e.g. AN ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY and AN ARGUMENT IS A CONTAINER as in the sentence "*At this point* our argument doesn't have *much content*." This is possible because these metaphors have shared entailments; there is an overlapping of purposes, and coherence between the metaphors. The various metaphorical structurings of a concept serve different purposes by highlighting different aspects of the content. *Shared metaphorical entailments* and *cross-metaphorical corres-pondences* arise when many metaphors partially structure a single concept. Thus, "when we discuss one concept, we use other concepts that are themselves understood in metaphorical terms, which leads to further overlapping of metaphors."[177]

When we process language we create a mental space that consists of all the pieces of information needed to comprehend the ideas contained in a message, including our conventional knowledge. The *blending theory* involves two *input domains* that yield a third, a counterfactual, so-called *blended space* from the source and the target of a metaphor, and a *generic space*, that comprises shared abstract structure from the two domains.[178]

3.2.10 Subsystems and Levels of Metaphors

There are, in Kövecses's view, different subcategories of metaphor. *The great chain of being metaphor* treats how *things* are conceptualised metaphorically.[179] Entities higher in the hierarchy are understood via entities lower in the same hierarchy. *The complex system metaphor* is a subsystem of the great chain metaphor, in which any kind of abstract complex system is understood in terms of

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[176] Lakoff & Johnson (1980/2003:163).
[177] Ibid., 97.
[178] Cf. Kövecses (2002:228-32) and Knowles & Moon (2006:73-74).
[179] Kövecses (2002:124-127).

the human body, buildings, machines, and plants. The *Event Structure metaphor* deal with how *events/relations* are conceptualised metaphorically. Events are conceptualised as physical location, force, and motion. They include *states, change, cause, purpose, means, difficulty, progress* etc. Things are coded as nouns, while events (state, cause, change), or relations, are coded in verbs, adjectives, prepositions, or conjunctions. There is a great deal of overlap in these complex systems; e.g. relationships and careers appear to be both "things" and "events". Emotions are conceptualised as *states*, *events*, *actions*, and *passion* by means of the Event Structure metaphor.

Kövecses discerns three levels of metaphor, the *supraindividual*, the *individual*, and the *subindividual*.[180] The *supraindividual* level of metaphor is based on the conventionalised metaphors of a certain language. Most linguistic cognitive research on metaphor is conducted at this level. Researchers collect metaphors from e.g. corpora, dictionaries, books, and newspaper and analyse them by grouping them into conceptual metaphors that can constitute large systems of metaphors. The supraindividual level is mainly based on the analysis of linguistic expressions.

The *individual* level is where metaphors exist in the mind of individual speakers. At this level speakers use the metaphors available to them at the supraindividual level in actual communicative situations, and here they also create new metaphors. All metaphors at this level are not available at the supraindividual level, just as all metaphors at the supraindividual level are not used at the individual level. This is partly due to individual as well as cultural and intracultural variation, and to individual use of mappings, highlighting, and hiding of a conceptual metaphor.

The *Subindividual* level "is the level at which the conceptualisation of a conceptual domain (the target) by means of another conceptual domain (the source) is made natural and motivated for speakers."[181] This level corresponds to the universal aspects of metaphor. Here two different kinds of experience are viewed as correlated to each other, often by means of human physiology and culture. Bodily experience in correlation to abstract, in the sense of 'less tangible', experiences gives rise to conceptual metaphors that we find natural and motivated. Several experiments have been conducted that show that abstract domains such as emotions often correlate with physiological changes in the body.[182] Other conceptual metaphors are motivated by "perceived structural similarity,"[183] or real, objective, and pre-existing similarity. These two types of motivation (correlation

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[180] Kövecses (2002:239-245). As this classification of the levels of metaphor is somewhat difficult to grasp, one could compare them to Freud's levels of the self, the supraindividual level being the *Superego*, the individual level being the *Ego*, and the subindividual level being the *Id* (as noted by linguist Jordan Zlatev in personal conversation).
[181] Ibid., 242.
[182] Kövecses (2002:243), referring to Ekman et al. (1983:1208-1210).
[183] Ibid., 243.

in experience and similarity) should, according to Kövecses be seen as complementary rather than mutually exclusive. The subindividual level of metaphor is only partially universal, due to the fact that people in different cultures may view an event or object as similar to different things.

3.3 Metaphors of Emotion

Metaphor pervades the language we use about emotions and is essential to the understanding of most aspects of the conceptualisation of emotion. We conceptualise the non-physical in terms of the physical, and therefore we think of emotions as if they have physical substance or presence. Our basic emotions are conventionally considered to be *anger, fear, happiness, sadness, love, lust, pride, shame*, and *surprise.*[184] Affection and love are often conceptualised in terms of heat and fire, and relationships in terms of physical proximity and connections.[185] A question that arises at this point is whether the emotion metaphors (the source domains) are unique to the emotions (the target domains). Most of the metaphorical source domains are shared by several emotion concepts (cf. *many–many-mappings*, section *3.2.9 Mapping, Highlighting and Blending*), but some appear to be specific to particular emotion concepts. The source domains that apply to most, but not all emotions tend to be more specific than the ones that apply to all.

When it comes to metaphorical expressions of emotions, Zoltán Kövecses, basically following Lakoff and Johnson's theory of conceptual metaphor, has further developed a theory on emotions being thought of as force. He has outlined a number of specific-level metaphors for the way we speak of emotions in everyday, as well as poetic language. There seems to be a single, underlying, and generic-level *master metaphor* behind a majority of metaphors of emotion, i.e. EMOTION IS FORCE. He claims that

> we can account for a large portion of the conceptualization of emotion in a coherent way if we assume the existence of the general-level EMOTION IS FORCE metaphor. Just as important, however, […] all of the specific-level metaphors instantiate the generic-level one in a different way, addressing several distinct aspects of emotion.[186]

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[184] Cf. Kövecses (2000:20). Cf. also Tomkins (1962–91). There are, according to the affect theory of Tomkins, within the discipline of psychology, nine basic affections, of which one is neutral: *surprise/startle*; two are positive: *enjoyment/joy* and *interest/excitement*: and six are negative: *anger/rage*, *disgust*, *dissmell* (reaction to bad smell), *distress/anguish*, *fear/terror*, and *shame/humiliation*.
[185] Knowles & Moon (2006:38).
[186] Kövecses (2000:64-65).

Kövecses further reasons that "emotional language will not be seen as a collection of literal words that categorize and refer to a preexisting emotional reality, but as language that can be figurative and that can define and even create emotional experiences for us."[187] In saying that emotions like anger are at the same time motivated by the human body and produced by a particular social and cultural environment, Kövecses tries to merge two contradictory views. In his view, "social constructions are given bodily basis and bodily motivation is given social-cultural substance."[188] Kövecses has in this theory developed a new synthesis regarding emotion in language, which he calls *Body-based constructivism*, or BBC.[189]

There are many theories about the emergence and structure of these concepts, but Kövecses views expert emotion theories in general as "merely 'dressed up' variants of folk or cultural models".[190] He further observes that "if there is a folk theory with salient feature (such as passivity for love), experts will tend to create scientific theories in contradiction to that feature."[191] To conclude, we can state that concepts of emotion arise mainly from metaphors and metonymies.

3.3.1 Universality and Cultural Variation

According to Kövecses's theory, conceptualisation of the emotions has near-*universal* aspects, though with considerable cultural variation. To investigate universality one would have to "check all the available linguistic evidence for the many figurative ways of talking about the emotions, including metaphors and metonymies, that characterize talk in presumably all cultures,"[192] something that is in reality impossible. As regards the universality of the conceptualisation of the emotions, it has been found that people seem to have very similar ideas about their bodies over many cultures. They view their body and body organs as containers.[193] They undergo the same physiological processes and they respond similarly. Thus we can at least state that there is a *universality of actual physiology*, as well as of shared human biology. Universal target domains for container metaphors, other than human physiology, are land areas, the visual field, events, actions, activities, and states.[194] Kövecses claims that there is also a potentially universal *metonymic conceptualisation* and that metaphorical conceptualisation is based on this metonymic conceptualisation. In short, we can state that in language we have a

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[187] Ibid., xii.
[188] Ibid., 14.
[189] Ibid., 182-186.
[190] Ibid., 137.
[191] Ibid., 123.
[192] Ibid., 139.
[193] Cf. Kövecses (2000:159), who observes that "conceptualized physiology (i.e. the conceptual metonymies) provides the cognitive motivation for people to conceptualize the angry person metaphorically as a PRESSURIZED CONTAINER."
[194] Cf. Lakoff & Johnson (1980/2003:29-32).

potentially *universal schematic conception* of intense emotion based on conceptual metaphors. The universal aspects of human physiology exist at a generic level. There can also be perceptual, cultural, and category-based correlations. Also Lakoff and Johnson[195] observe that objects that are metaphorically defined are products of human nature. The metaphors are based on natural kinds of experience, i.e. our bodies, our interaction with our physical environment, and our interaction with other people within our culture. Some of these are universal.

Of course, not all conceptual metaphors of emotion are universal. There is without doubt also a wide range of cultural variation. Within the limits imposed by universal physiology, people "can choose to conceptualize their emotions in many different ways."[196] Kövecses investigates universality and cultural variation of metaphor in depth in his work *Metaphor in Culture*,[197] in which he poses two major questions to be answered, namely: *To what extent do people share their metaphors?*, and more importantly: *To what extent do people around the world share their understanding of aspects of the world in which they live?* He claims that "given the universal experiences on which they are based, the metaphors *can* potentially be universal, but we should not expect them to show up in all languages."[198]

The cultural variation in conceptualisation can be of either *cross-cultural* or *intracultural* nature. Cross-cultural variation is mainly due to the *broader cultural context* and the *natural and physical environment* of the speakers of a certain language. A metaphor can be very similar cross-culturally at a generic level and very different at a specific level. Although most primary metaphors are very likely to be universal, the combination of primary metaphors, i.e. complex metaphors, may be culturally varying. Most cultural variation in conceptual metaphor occurs at the specific level.

One example is the generic-level conceptual metaphor EMOTION IS FORCE (cf. further below, *3.3.3 The force of emotion*). This particular primary metaphor can generate numerous highly divergent specific-level metaphors that may be very different in various cultures, and is manifested in a great variety of linguistic expressions:

> EMOTION IS INTERNAL PRESSURE INSIDE A CONTAINER 'He burst with anger'
> EMOTION IS AN OPPONENT 'She was struggling with her fear'
> EMOTION IS A WILD ANIMAL 'He couldn't hold back his feelings'
> EMOTION IS A SOCIAL FORCE 'His whole life is governed by passion'
> EMOTION IS A NATURAL FORCE 'I was overwhelmed by happiness'
> EMOTION IS A MENTAL FORCE 'His emotions deceived him'

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[195] Ibid., 117-119.
[196] Kövecses (2000:165).
[197] Kövecses (2005).
[198] Ibid., 35.

EMOTION IS INSANITY 'I am madly in love'
EMOTION IS FIRE/HEAT 'She is burning with desire'

Kövecses[199] lists potential sources of cross-cultural variation as follows:
1. the content of prototypical cultural models of emotion
2. the broader cultural context
3. the range of conceptual metaphors and metonymies
4. the specific elaboration of conceptual metaphors and metonymies
5. emphasis on metaphor versus metonymy

while the intracultural (or *within-culture*) variation is found to be based on:
1. alternative cultural models
2. social and individual factors
3. prototypes changing through time
4. emphasis on metaphor versus metonymy

3.3.2 Aspects of Emotion Concepts

The shared source domains of emotion metaphors focus on different aspects.[200] It is important to note that these aspects are not specific to emotions, but can apply to other target domains as well. Most emotion metaphors have as their main focus the *existence* of emotion. These metaphors are used also for other target domains than that of emotion and are in fact very widespread in our conceptual system. They are included in the Event Structure Metaphor, and specific metaphors are such as

EXISTENCE OF EMOTION IS PRESENCE HERE
EXISTENCE OF EMOTION IS BEING IN A BOUNDED SPACE
EXISTENCE OF EMOTION IS POSSESSING AN OBJECT
EXISTENCE OF EMOTION IS THE FUNCTIONING OF A MACHINE

Another aspect of emotion metaphors is *intensity*, since typical emotion concepts are viewed as highly intense states. The metaphorical source domains that focus on intensity are CONTAINER, HEAT/FIRE, LIVING ORGANISM, and NATURAL/PHYSICAL FORCE. Thus we get general metaphors that lead to the specific metaphors

INTENSITY OF EMOTION IS AMOUNT/QUALITY (THE SUBSTANCE IN ACONTAINER)
INTENSITY OF EMOTION IS HEAT
INCREASE IN INTENSITY OF EMOTION IS GROWTH
INTENSITY OF EMOTION IS STRENGTH OF EFFECT

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[199] Kövecses (2000:164-181).
[200] Ibid., 40-46.

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In the aspect of *passivity* the primary focus is the NATURAL/PHYSICAL FORCE metaphor. Emotions are seen as happening to us, which becomes evident in the specific metaphor

THE PASSIVITY OF EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCE IS THE PHYSICAL EFFECT OF NATURAL/PHYSICAL FORCES

A fourth aspect of emotion is *control*, which is divided into three subgroups that can overlap each other: *attempt at control*, *loss of control*, *and lack of control*. The source domains at work in this aspect include NATURAL/PHYSICAL FORCE, OPPONENT, CAPTIVE ANIMAL, FLUID IN A CONTAINER, INSANITY, MAGIC, SUPERIORITY, INCOMPLETE OBJECT, and RAPTURE/HIGH. These domains give rise to several generic-level and specific-level metaphors of emotion.

Further we have the aspect of *"positive-negative" evaluation*, which is the most general one. Common source domains in this aspect are ILLNESS/ HEALTH, UP/DOWN, LIGHT/DARK, WARM/COLD, and VALUABLE/NON-VALUABLE.[201]

There is the aspect of *difficult*, as many negative emotions are regarded as states of difficulty. The specific metaphor of difficulty is

EMOTIONAL DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS

The aspect of *desire/need* is often conceptualised as

EMOTIONAL DESIRE IS HUNGER

The conceptual metaphor of a non-physical unity is as uncomplicated as

NON-PHYSICAL UNITY IS PHYSICAL UNITY

JOURNEY is the main source domain of the aspect of progress and gives rise to the general metaphor

PROGRESS IS MOVEMENT TO A DESTINATION (IN A JOURNEY)

Finally, the aspect of *harm* is conceptualised by the following metaphor:

EMOTIONAL HARM IS PHYSICAL DAMAGE

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[201] I do not quite agree with Kövecses (2000:40-46), who asserts that *warm-cold, light-dark, up-down, vitality-lack of vitality* only apply to happiness and sadness. Cf. the Greek expression 'μαύρο βλέμμα' ('*black* look'), and the Swedish expressions '*mörk* i blicken av ilska' ('*dark* in the eyes of anger'); 'alldeles *varm* av stolthet' ('all *warm* with pride').

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3.3.3 The Force of Emotion

There are source domains that are more specific and unique to certain emotions and limited to the domain of emotion. The specificity of these source domains is due to the *cause* and the *effect* of the emotions. We can understand an emotion via its cause or effect, and conceptualise it "as causes that lead to certain behavioral responses."[202] The generic-level metaphor EMOTION IS FORCE sees metaphors of emotion as Cause and Response; a cause leads to emotion, and emotion leads to some response. The skeletal structure is Cause → Emotion → Response. This generic-level metaphor can be divided into specific-level metaphors of emotion.

The specific-level metaphors mainly focusing on "Emotion-Response" are:

EMOTION IS INTERNAL PRESSURE INSIDE A CONTAINER
EMOTION IS AN OPPONENT
EMOTION IS A WILD ANIMAL
EMOTION IS A SOCIAL FORCE (EMOTION IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR)
EMOTION IS A NATURAL FORCE
EMOTION IS A MENTAL FORCE
EMOTION IS INSANITY
EMOTION IS FIRE/HEAT

Metaphors focusing on both Cause and Response are:

EMOTION IS A PHYSIOLOGICAL FORCE (HUNGER, THIRST, ILLNESS, AGITATION, DIZZINESS)
EMOTION IS PHYSICAL AGITATION
EMOTION IS A BURDEN

Metaphors mainly focusing on the "Cause of emotion" are:

EMOTION IS A PHYSICAL FORCE (MECHANICAL, ELECTRIC, GRAVITATIONAL, MAGNETIC, LIGHT/ DARKNESS)

3.3.4 Emotions and Relationships

When conceptualising relationships such as friendship, love, and marriage we use much more moderate sources than those of the emotion concepts. While emotions, according to Kövecses, have the master metaphor (or generic-level metaphor) EMOTIONS ARE FORCES, relationships are conceptualised by the master metaphor RELATIONSHIPS ARE COMPLEX OBJECTS. The target of the metaphor is Complex systems, and the source is Complex objects. This master metaphor yields the specific metaphors

EXPERIENCES ARE OBJECTS

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[202] Kövecses (2000:61).

COMMUNICATION IS SHARING (EXPERIENCE) OBJECTS
PEOPLE ARE CONTAINERS (FOR EXPERIENCE OBJECTS)

Indirect sharing corresponds to communication in the conception of friendship. Communication is sending objects from one container to another along a conduit. This is aligned with Reddy's[203] conduit metaphor where

THE MIND IS A CONTAINER
MEANINGS ARE OBJECTS
COMMUNICATION IS SENDING

Relationship metaphors are, according to Kövecses[204] based on the "communication" system, the "emotion" system, the "state" metaphor system (which views a relationship as a possessed object, a bond or an economic exchange), the "complex systems" metaphor, and the "positive/negative evaluation" system (which sees relationships as a valuable commodity).

3.3.5 Concluding Remarks

Language is in a way a mirror of culture. This is a position that will be accounted for in the analysis of metaphorical language in the Greek musical style and cultural phenomenon rebétiko, in an attempt to contribute to scholarly work on rebétiko, as well as to research on metaphor in Greek literature. Both fields of research appear to have been neglected – cf. the dissertation of 2003 on metaphors in political language by Christos Pappas, who states that "the popularity that metaphor has enjoyed lately as a subject of study, particularly in the Anglo-Saxon, but also in the German, fields of scholarship, does not seem to have any correspondence in Greece."[205]

The Greek language is full of metaphors, and even more so Greek poetry and song texts. As Knowles and Moon point out

Rock and pop song lyrics are [a] good source of data. Their metaphors may be one-off creative metaphors, or clichéd; they may exploit and develop conventional metaphors or idioms; or whole songs may represent a single, extended metaphor, or realize conceptual metaphors such as LIFE IS A JOURNEY, LOVE IS HEAT and so on.[206]

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[203] Reddy (1979). Cf. exposition on the conduit metaphor above, under *3.2 Metaphor Theory*.
[204] Kövecses (2000:87-113).
[205] Pappas (2003:42), my translation. The Swedish text reads: "Den popularitet som metaforen har åtnjutit de senaste åren som undersökningstema framförallt i den anglosaxiska men även i den tyska vetenskapen tycks inte ha någon motsvarighet i Grekland."
[206] Knowles & Moon (2006:162).

This is of course true of Greek songwriting as well. What metaphors of emotion are there then in rebétiko song texts? It has been said numerous times that rebétiko song texts are very sad, depressing, and even destructive. This impression is due to the many songs of unrequited love, difficulties in life, and disappointments with society. Rebétiko developed as the music of the people at times when life was difficult both for individuals and for Greek society at large, and the genre may be seen as an expression of the feelings and sentiments of the people through its creators and performers. The most common metaphors of emotional content may be presumed to denote emotions such as love, desire, emotional pain, and bitterness.

4 Metaphors of Emotion in Rebétiko

4.1 Range of Emotions

There is a wide range of emotion in rebétiko, just as in all literature, poetry, and lyrics involving human sentiments and behaviour. First of all we can distinguish *emotion at large,* such as mental/emotional pain, and metaphorical expressions as 'be touched', 'be moved'. Further we can divide the emotions into positive, negative, and neutral. According to affect theory in the discipline of psychology, there are nine basic affections: one neutral, two positive, and six negative.[207] The positive affects are *enjoyment/joy*, *interest/excitement*; the neutral one is *surprise/startle*; and the negative are *anger/rage*, *disgust*, *dissmell* (reaction to bad smell), *distress/anguish*, *fear/terror*, and *shame/humiliation*. This categorisation does not entirely cover our material. A more detailed list is required here in order to examine fully the meaning of the metaphorical expressions. Some of the emotions investigated might rather be thought of as attitudes (e.g. neglect), but they are included in this study as belonging to a broader definition of the emotions in a wider perspective and range. The emotions, affects, and states of emotion that can be discerned in the song texts of the rebétiko corpus and might be expressed mainly by metaphorical expressions are the following:

Positive emotions:
- joy, happiness
- love
- hope
- admiration, adoration
- amusement
- compassion
- lust, pleasure
- pride
- interest
- '*kefi*' (= mood, high spirits, good humour; έχω κέφι = be in the mood)
- '*meraki*' (= sg. longing, yearning, ardent wish; pl. είμαι στα μεράκια = be in the mood, emotionally aroused)

Neutral emotions:
- astonishment, surprise

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[207] Tomkins (1962–91); cf. fn 184.

Negative emotions:
- sadness
- disappointment
- sorrow, grief
- depression
- bitterness
- melancholy
- anger, rage, fury
- irritation
- unspecified mental/emotional pain[208]
- jealousy, envy
- hatred
- shame, humiliation
- fear, horror
- guilt
- shyness, modesty
- despair
- burden, difficulty
- detestation, loathing, abomination, disgust
- neglect, disrespect

in the following sections, figurative expressions are listed in tables in order to give a better overview of the specific words and the distribution of their metaphorical and literal usage.[209] The expressions are listed in an alphabetic order; they are mostly verbs, adjectives, and nouns. Words and expressions that may be metaphorical in other circumstances, but are only literal in this corpus, have also been included (e.g. σεισμός 'earthquake'; πλημμύρα 'flood'). The metaphors, metonymies, and similes in question will be written in italics in the examples. The song texts are at times brimming with metaphorical language; several of the examples given contain many metaphors besides those exemplifying the matter at hand, and not all of then express emotion, so that not all of them will be discussed together. The examples given are words either with many occurrences or with other interesting features. The 'I' character in the song texts, i.e. the person speaking in the lyrics – not to be confused with the author of the song text, nor the singer – will in the analyses be called the *narrator*, or the *protagonist*, if he/she speaks of himself/herself; the term *protagonist* will be used also for a principal character other than the narrator.

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[208] Mainly expressed literally by the word πόνος.
[209] The percentage will be rounded off to whole numbers; therefore the sum will not always necessarily be at exactly 100%. Numbers will in the text be displayed in digits, as the scope of the numbers is rather large, and a mixture of digits and letters would be confusing.

4.2 Force as Source Domain in Rebétiko

Both the music and the lyrics of rebétiko are highly charged with emotion, and in the linguistic component emotion is largely expressed through metaphor. Most metaphorical expressions of emotion in rebétiko can be placed within the master metaphor EMOTION IS FORCE.[210] Force, as understood in this context, includes both constraint and restraint. In the corpus, most metaphors have been found to belong to this master metaphor, and all of the specific-level source domains listed above (at *3.3.3*) are represented, except for one. No instances of metaphorical expressions have been found from the source domain EMOTION IS A WILD ANIMAL. The source domain EMOTION IS AN ANIMAL constitutes a separate category in this examination, as do THE HUMAN BODY and THE MIND AND THE SOUL, and they are not included in the force metaphor. Also, LIGHT/DARKNESS has been separated from PHYSIOLOGICAL FORCE within the force master-metaphor. Furthermore a new source domain, not recognised by Kövecses, has been added to the force master-metaphor, namely EMOTION IS A POTENT SUBSTANCE, since metaphors with words like 'poison' are quite common in the present corpus.

The first group of categories treated will be the specific-level metaphors that according to Kövecses focus on "Emotion–Response" (sections *4.2.1–4.2.7*). Then follows the group with focus on "Both Cause and Emotion" (sections *4.2.8–4.2.10*), and finally the group focusing on the "Cause of Emotion" (sections *4.2.11–4.2.13*). As the source domain of NATURAL FORCE is listed first, its illustration will be much richer. Apart from those included in NATURAL FORCE, three frequent metaphorical expressions will be more thoroughly investigated and exemplified, as an illustration of the difficulty of delineating the focus (cause – response) of the metaphorical source domains definitively. The key words are φωτιά 'fire', δάκρυ 'tear', and φαρμάκι 'poison', and they have been chosen, not only because of their frequency, but also because while belonging to one group each, they illustrate all three groups.

4.2.1 Emotion is a Natural Force

The forces of nature are a principal source of expressions of emotion in rebétiko. Conceptions such as *drowning, freezing, melting*, and various forms of violence are represented, as well as various weather conditions such as *wind, rain, snow, ice, storms, hurricanes, thunder, lightning,* and *waves*. Most of the words refer to natural phenomena connected with the element of air, but there are also many

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[210] The source domains used for metaphorical expressions in this study are mainly based on Kövecses, and largely coincide with the source domains listed by Gauntlett in his dissertation on rebétiko (1978:93-109), where he notes: "Models for the imagery of the 'Rebetiko' are drawn from the natural world; human anatomy and behaviour; human society, its professions and their implements; history and mythology", p. 93.

words associated with the element of water, such as *sea* and *wave*. "The object affected by the natural force," Kövecses maintains, "can't help but undergo the impact of the force; in the same way, a person experiences emotion in a passive and helpless way. This is the single most important property of emotion in folk theory."[211] It might be difficult to distinguish features of NATURAL FORCE from those of PHYSICAL FORCE, such as heat and attraction of bodies (e.g. magnetism and gravity).

In the category NATURAL FORCE a total of 38 words have been examined, 11 of which are verbs, 25 nouns, and 2 adjectives, and there are 255 instances of their use in a metaphorical expression of emotion. This number is calculated by removing the instances of literal expressions as well as those of non-emotional metaphors from the total sum in the table. The metaphoricity regarding emotion of the investigated words in this source domain is high, 78 % constituting metaphorical expressions of emotion.

Table 1. Source domain: natural force[212]

Expression	literal	metaphor	other trope[213]	simile	literal/ metaphor	other[214]	total
αέρας	4 (50%)	4 (50%)					8
ανεμοβρόχι		1 (100%)					1
άνεμος	1 (25%)	2 (50%)			1 (25%)		4
αστραπή					1 (100%)		1
αστράφτω	1 (33%)					2 67%)	3
βρέχω (rain)	2 (20%)			2 (20%)	4 (40%)	2 (20%)	10
βοριάς	1 (33%)	2 (67%)					3
βροντή					2 (100%)		2
βροχερός		2 (100%)					2
βροχή	3 (14%)	2 (10%)		4 (24%)	11 (52%)		21
γκρεμ(ν)ός		10 (100%)					10
θάλασσα	3 (8%)	1 (3%)	12 (32%)	17 (45%)	1 (3%)	4 (11 %)	38
θαλασσοδέρνω				2 (100%)			2
καταιγίδα		2 (100%)					2

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[211] Kövecses (2002:72).

[212] Borderline cases in this category are words like αστέρι/άστρο 'star', βουνό 'mountain', γη 'earth', ήλιος 'sun', ουρανός 'heaven', φεγγάρι 'moon', and χώμα 'soil'. They are not included in this study as they are not actual forces, although they are important phenomena used as source domains from the natural sphere.

[213] Mostly metonymies, but also some personifications.

[214] E.g. metaphorical, formulaic, or idiomatic expressions of non-emotional character *or* belonging to another specific-level metaphor.

κεραυνός					1 (100%)		1
κύμα	7 (37%)	2 (11%)	1 (5%)	4 (21%)	2 (11%)	3 (16%)	19
λειώνω	1 (1%)	62 (84%)		5 (7%)		6 (8%)	74
μαραίνω/-ομαι	6 (17%)	24 (69%)		5 14%)			35
μπόρα	1 (7%)	10 (67%)		2 (13%)	2 (13%)		15
ξεροβόρι	1 (50%)				1 (50%)		2
ξεσπώ	1 (20%)	2 (40%)				2 (40%)	5
παγωνιά	1 (33%)				2 (67%)		3
παρασέρνω	1 (25%)	3 (75%)					4
πέλαγος	2 (40%)	1 (20%)			1 (20%)	1 (20%)	5
πλημμύρα	1 (100%)						1
πλημμυρίζω		1 (100%)					1
ποτάμι/ποταμός		4 (57%)				3 (43%)	7
πνίγομαι	2 (29%)	4 (57%)			1 (14%)		7
πνιχτός		1 (100%)					1
ρέμα	1 (14%)	6 (86%)					7
σεισμός	1 (100%)						1
συννεφιάζω		3 (60%)			2 (40%)		5
σύννεφο/συννεφιά		4 (67%)		1 (17%)	1 (17%)		6
φουρτούνα	1 (10%)	8 (90%)					9
φυτρώνω	2 (67%)	1 (33%)					3
χαλάζι		1 (50%)		1 (50%)			2
χιόνι	2 (50%)	1 (25%)				1 (25%)	4
ωκεανός	2 (50%)			1 (25%)		1 (25%)	4
total	48	**164**	**13**	**45**	**33**	25	328

sweep away (παρασέρνω)
Source: 'sweep away'; target: to be overwhelmed by emotion. This verb does not occur many times in the corpus, but it warrants illustration because it typifies this category and it also presents a noteworthy instance of rebétiko intertextuality involving metaphor. Of the 4 occurrences of 'sweep away', 3 are metaphorical. Of particular interest is the fact that exactly the same phraseology (Με παράσυρε το ρέμα, μάνα μου, δεν είναι ψέμα) occurs in two different songs. In the earlier composition (1 – dated 1935) the meaning is literal, but in the later text (2 – dated 1968) it is metaphorical and forms part of an extended metaphor of being subdued by 'nature' (i.e. by the emotion) which pervades the song. The phrase is not a conventional formula, and the borrowing might be seen as an applied intertextual allusion, whether as a form of *hommage* to Markos Vamvakaris, the archetypical

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rebétiko composer, at the time when his work was being rediscovered, or alternatively as a form of 'one-upmanship', inasmuch as Vamvakaris's literalism is being upstaged in Tsitsanis's more sophisticated metaphor. The last example (3), which is in the passive voice, is full of rather conventional metaphors, including 'being swept away'.

1. *Με παράσυρε το ρέμα βρε/ μάνα μου, δεν είναι ψέμα*
   Μεσ' στο ρέμα κολυμπούσα, βρε/ να το σώσω δεν μπορούσα[215]
   (*The stream swept me away*/ mother, it's no lie
   In the stream I kept swimming/ but I couldn't save it)

2. *Με παράσυρε το ρέμα/ μάνα μου, δεν είναι ψέμα*
   καίγομαι γι αυτή και λειώνω/ την αγαπώ[216]
   (*The stream swept me away*/ mother, it's no lie
   I'm burning and melting for her/ I love her)

3. *Ζαλίστηκα, ζαλίστηκα/ μια νύχτα παρασύρθηκα*
   Πώς δεν το συλλογίστηκα/ και σε γκρεμό γκρεμίστηκα[217]
   (I was dazed, I was dazed/ one night *I was swept away*
   Why didn't I think it through/ but was dashed down from a cliff)

be choked, strangled or drowned (πνίγομαι); stifled/hushed (πνιχτός)
Source: 'choked', 'strangled' or 'drowned'; target: to be overwhelmed by emotion, to be unable to deal with emotion, to be smothered. Of the 7 occurrences of this notion, 5 are metaphorical. It is important to note that only the passive voice of the Greek verb πνίγω, i.e. πνίγομαι, is used in the category natural force, as the protagonist of the song is the one experiencing the emotion and therefore the one drowning. This is a conventional metaphor and very common in everyday speech. When the active voice πνίγω is used, the metaphor belongs to the category EMOTION IS AN OPPONENT. In (4) the metaphorical expression θα πνιγώ lies very close to a literal sense, since the protagonist appeals to a boat to save her from drowning (herself) at sea, but in reality the appeal proposes salvation from heartache and regret. The expression να/θα πνιγώ in (3) and (4) could be interpreted as a reflexive passive, in which case the verses would be interpreted as a suicide threat, i.e. as a literal expression that would translate 'I'll drown myself'.

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[215] *Η πλημμύρα* (Markos Vamvakaris). This section of the song is about a little child drowning in a flood.
[216] *Με παρέσυρε το ρέμα* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[217] *Σανίδι σάπιο πάτησα* (Charalambos Vasiliadis).

1. **και δεν σου καίγεται καρφί/ για τον δικό μου πόνο**
   που κάθε μέρα *πνίγουμαι* και λειώνω[218]
   (and you don't give a damn/ about my pain
   as *I drown* and melt every day)

2. **τα παλιά σου γράμματα φιλώ, Χριστίνα μου/ και *πνίγομαι στο δάκρυ***[219]
   (I kiss your old letters, dear Christina/ and *I'm drowning in tears*)

3. **Κλείσ' το στόμα της μαμάς σου/ *μη με κάνεις να πνιγώ***
   βρε θα μείνεις εις το ράφι/ άκου που σου λέω εγώ[220]
   (Shut that mouth on your mother/ *don't make me choke*
   or you'll be left on the shelf/ listen to what I say)

4. **Τη ζωή μου δεν τη θέλω εγώ/ *πάρε με, βαπόρι, θα πνιγώ***
   Πάρε με, καλέ βαπόρι μου/ να με πας κοντά στ' αγόρι μου[221]
   (I don't want my life/ take me away, ship, *or I'll drown*
   Take me, good ship/ bring me close to my boy)

5. **Ύστερα με φεγγαράκι/ με βαρκούλα στ' ανοιχτά**
   αγαπούλα μου, θα παίρνω/ *τα φιλιά σου τα πνιχτά*[222]
   (Later in the moonlight/ in a boat on open waters
   my darling, I will take/ *your hushed kisses*)

burst/break out (ξεσπώ)
Source: 'break/burst out'; target: lack of control over emotion. There are 5 occurrences of 'ξεσπώ' in the corpus, out of which 2 are examples of in the specific-level metaphor EMOTION IS A NATURAL FORCE; the word also occurs in the metaphor EMOTION IS AN OPPONENT in the closely related sense of 'burst out'. In the category of natural force the verb only occurs in combination with a noun, whereas in the category of opponent the verb is usually used with a pronoun and hence refers to a person. The first example here is a combination of metaphor and simile; the second is an extended metaphor. The subjects in both instances are very similar: μπόρα 'downpour' and καταιγίδα 'storm'.

1. **αφού η γκρίνια *ξέσπασε σαν μπόρα***
   στον δρόμο αυτόν κι οι δυο θα δυστυχήσουμε[223]

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[218] *Στον Άγιο Κωνσταντίνο* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[219] *Χριστίνα* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[220] *Θέλω σπίτι και λεφτά* (Stratos Payioumtzis).
[221] *Έλα βαπόρι, πάρε με* (Kostas Roukounas).
[222] *Ρεμπέτες* (Apostolos Chatzichristos).
[223] *Τι σήμερα, τι αύριο, τι τώρα* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).

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(as nagging has *burst forth like a downpour*
on this path we'll both be miserable)

2. ***Ξέσπασε μια καταιγίδα/ μέσ' στην έρμη μου ψυχή***
   Χάλασε και συνεπήρε/ μια ολόκληρη ζωή[224]
   (*A storm has broken out*/ in my miserable soul
   It has ruined and swept away/ a whole life)

Since 'break out' in these texts is combined with 'storm' or 'downpour', these will be examined next.

storm (noun: καταιγίδα)
Source: 'storm'; target: difficulties in life. This word is used only twice, both times metaphorically. The example below includes much figurative language, and the 'storm' is just a part of a larger simile in which the narrator compares himself with a shipwrecked sailor.

1. **Αυτή τη μαύρη τη ζωή/ κανένας δεν θα τη χαρεί**
   παλεύω σαν το ναυαγό/ *στη μαύρη καταιγίδα*[225]
   (No one will enjoy/ this black life
   I struggle like a shipwrecked sailor/ *in the black storm*)

downpour, tempest (μπόρα)
Source: 'downpour', 'tempest'; target: difficulties in life. There are 15 occurrences of this word, of which 10 are metaphors and 2 are similes. Of the remainder only 1 is clearly literal in its sense and 2 of them are amenable to interpretation as either literal or conveying the metaphorical meaning of a general atmosphere of complaint. The examples below are metaphors; a simile has been seen above, under 'ξεσπώ'. Most of the verbs having the noun μπόρα as their subject denote violent physical force, such as 'hit', 'strike' or 'beat up' (1 and 2). This further indicates how thin the line is between natural and physical force. Other less assertive verbs, such as έρχομαι 'come', φεύγω 'leave', and περνώ 'pass' (3), show that μπόρα is something to be endured and overcome, the protagonist having no real power over the events and emotions described by this metaphor. Occasionally μπόρα is the object of verbs like περιμένω 'wait' and μαλώνω (με) 'fight (with)'. The first two examples contain noteworthy antitheses; the difficulties are first described as violent force, but the events/emotions are subsequently overcome. Examples (3) and (4) on the other hand elaborate on

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[224] *Κλάψτε, μάτια μου, απόψε* (Stavros Tzouanakos).
[225] *Συρματοπλέγματα βαριά* (Eftichia Papayiannopoulou).

μπόρα with either an explanation of what the difficulties consist of (3), or an enhancement of the metaphor with another metaphor (4).

1. **Κι αν στην κοινωνία/ *μας χτυπούν αλύπητα οι μπόρες***
   μέσα στο τραγούδι/ φεύγουνε χαρούμενες οι ώρες[226]
   (And if in society/ *the downpours strike us hard*
   through singing/ the hours pass joyfully)

2. **και τώρα που *σε δέρνουνε/ οι μπόρες στη ζωή***
   εγώ θα σε γλιτώσω/ απ' την καταστροφή[227]
   (and now that *the tempests/ strike you in life*
   I will save you/ from disaster)

3. **Πολλά είδανε τα μάτια/ μου και *έχω περάσει μπόρες***
   μονάχος μου που γύριζα/ μέσα σε ξένες χώρες[228]

   (Much have my eyes seen/ and *I have been through tempests*
   as I wandered alone/ in foreign lands)

4. ***είμαστ' εμείς της μπόρας τα ναυάγια***
   και της ζωής καραβοτσακισμένοι[229]
   (*we are the shipwrecked of this tempest*
   and the castaways of life)

rain (noun: βροχή), rainy (adjective: βροχερός)
Source: 'rain'; target: sadness, difficulties, loneliness etc. This particular notion is used numerous times in both literal and figurative expressions; in the latter group either as metaphors or similes. Mostly, though, the word is used in such a way that both a literal and a metaphorical meaning can be extracted (1). The second example (2) is a simile, the conjunction (σαν) being implied. The simile develops into a metaphor that extends across two verses and also involves the verb συννεφιάζω 'cloud over'. In this way it constitutes a complete image of sorrow and sadness through two connected figurative expressions: a heart that clouds over and tears that fall like rain. The first part is quite creative, while the second part is conventional. Example (3) is a clear metaphor, and (4), also a metaphor, is from one of the most famous rebétiko songs, *Συννεφιασμένη Κυριακή* (Cloudy Sunday). There has been much discussion on whether the song alludes to the sorrow and

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[226] *Είμαστε αλάνια* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[227] *Εγώ θα σε γλιτώσω* (Yiannis Papaioannou).
[228] *Πολλά είδανε τα μάτια μου* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[229] *Τα ναυάγια* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).

grief of the German Occupation out of which it allegedly arose or whether that is merely a specious, retrospective interpretation.[230]

1. ***Ψιλή βροχή, ψιλή βροχή/ για σένα κλαίει μια ψυχή***
   να μπεις στο στρώμα βιάστηκες/ και μένα δεν με νοιάστηκες [231]
   (*light rain, light rain*/ a soul weeps for you
   you hurried to lie on the mattress/ and didn't care about me)

2. **Η καρδιά μου συννεφιάζει/ *τρέχουν τα δάκρυα βροχή***
   Σίγουρα θα πάμε, μια και φτάσαμε ως εκεί
   εσύ στο χώμα κι εγώ στη φυλακή[232]
   (My heart is clouding over/ *my tears fall [like] rain*
   Surely we will end up, the way we're going
   you in the ground and I in prison)

3. **Χίλιες φορές *με έσωσες/ από βροχή, χαλάζι***
   το σκέπτομαι και η καρδιά/ βαθιά αναστενάζει[233]
   (A thousand times *you've saved me/ from rain and hail*
   I think of it and my heart/ sighs deeply)

4. ***Όταν σε βλέπω βροχερή/ στιγμή δεν ησυχάζω***
   μαύρη μου κάνεις τη ζωή/ και βαριαναστενάζω[234]
   (*When I see you all rainy*/ I can't stay calm even for a moment
   you make my life black/ and I sigh heavily)

rain (verb: βρέχω)[235]
Source: 'rain, wet/moisten'; target: 'to express one's emotion of sadness or grief'. This word occurs 10 times in the sense of 'rain', 'wet with rain (drops)'; whereas the meaning 'wet with tears' will be discussed under the category PHYSIOLOGICAL FORCE. Only 2 are clearly literal, there are 2 similes (1), and 2 are non-emotional metaphors.[236] The remaining 4 are instances that can be interpreted both literally and metaphorically; i.e. while actual rain cannot be excluded, a sentiment of sadness or grief is also conveyed, as in (2).

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[230] For a more extensive analysis of the song, see Gauntlett (2006).
[231] *Ψιλή βροχή* (Eftichia Papayiannopoulou).
[232] *Ξημερώνει και βραδιάζει* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[233] *Φτωχό πανωφοράκι μου* (Spiros Peristeris).
[234] *Συννεφιασμένη Κυριακή* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[235] When βρέχω is used in the sense of the verb 'to rain', the third person singular is mostly used. For βρέχω as the verb 'to wet', see *3.2.8 Emotion is a physiological force*.
[236] Notably the idiomatic θα σου τις βρέξει 'she'll rain down blows on you' from the song *Φιγουρατζής* by Anestis Delias.

1. *Όπως οι στάλες της βροχής/ βρέχουνε το κορμί μου*
   και το πικρό το δάκρυ μου/ ποτίζει την ψυχή μου[237]
   (*Just as rain drops/ wet* my body
   so my bitter tear/ waters my soul)

2. **Στο φτωχικό μου *βρέξει, χιονίσει*/ πάντα μονάχος, πάντα φτωχός**
   ίσως μια μέρα μπορεί για μένα/ να γυρίσει ο τροχός[238]
   (At my humble home whether it's *raining* or snowing
   /I'm always alone, always poor
   maybe one day for me/ the wheel will turn)

precipice (γκρεμ(ν)ός)

Source: 'precipice, cliff'; target: disaster; impossibility. The noun γκρεμός occurs 10 times in the corpus and only as a metaphor of emotion. This usage is rather conventional, particularly in the idiomatic expression προς γκρεμός και πίσω ρέμα (corresponding to the English phrase "between the devil and the deep blue sea" – cf. examples 1 and 2, and 2 under 'stream'). The word's high metaphoricity may be explained by its dramatic potential; being thrown or throwing oneself off a cliff is the ultimate in despair or finality. Its comparative frequency reflects the melodramatic and somewhat fatalistic character of many rebétiko song texts. The first example could be interpreted as literal, i.e. as a reflexive passive, in the sense of a threat, except that the accumulation of threats (taking poison, falling off a cliff, or killing oneself/being killed) might be seen as too exaggerated to be taken literally; they are more plausible as metaphors for emotional death, i.e. desperation or deep sorrow (1). The first line of example (3) has the structure of traditional fairy-tale formulae. In most instances γκρεμός forms part of an adverbial phrase of place, often connected to the predicate πέφτω 'fall', but also to other predicates such as φέρνω (προς) 'bring (towards)', γκρεμίζομαι (σε)[239] 'tumble (down)', and περνώ (από) 'pass (through) (4)'.

1. **Ξενιτιά μαγκούφα, σκύλα μητριά/ πήρες την αγάπη μου από μένα μακριά**
   Αχ, βρε τι θα γίνω; Θα φαρμακωθώ,
   ***σε γκρεμό θα πέσω*, θε να σκοτωθώ**[240]
   (Miserable foreign lands, bitch of a stepmother/ you took my love away
   Oh, what will become of me? I'll take poison
   I'll fall off a cliff, I'll kill myself)

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[237] *Την πόρτα μη μου κλείνεις* (Yiorgos Lafkas).

[238] *Όλα τα παίρνει ο ποταμός* (Yiorgos Mitsakis). The expression βρέξει, χιονίσει is idiomatic and means 'what ever happens'. The 'wheel' is of course that of fortune.

[239] The phrase σε γκρεμό γκρεμίστηκα, which contains different parts of speech from the same etymological derivation, is an example of the rhetorical figure *figura etymologica*.

[240] *Ξενιτιά μαγκούφα* (Spiros Peristeris).

2. **Πες πως έχουμε μια νίκη/ και το μέλλον μας ανήκει**
   μπρος γκρεμνός και πίσω ρέμα/ μέσα στ' άλλα κι άλλο ψέμα[241]
   (Say we have a victory/ and the future belongs to us
   a cliff before and a stream behind/ one more lie among all the others)

3. **Δρόμο παίρνω, δρόμο αφήνω/ σε βουνά και σε γκρεμό**
   Κι όμως ζω να τυραννιέμαι/ στο δικό της τον καημό[242]
   (*I take a road, I leave a road*/ on mountains and *cliffs*
   But still I live a life of torment/ in my longing for her)

4. **Από γιαλό κι *από γκρεμό*/ κι από μεγάλο ποταμό**
   γιαλέλι, επέρασα για να σε βρω[243]
   (A seashore, *a cliff*/ and a great river
   I have crossed to find you)

stream (ρέμα)
Source: 'stream', 'current'; target: disaster, impossibility. Out of the 7 instances of the noun ρέμα 6 are metaphors of emotion; only 1 is a literal expression. Just as with the word 'precipice', 'stream' can be used in a quite dramatic way; in these songs someone is either 'dragged along/swept away by a stream or current', or stands before an impassable stream. Either way the stream has a negative connotation. In (1) the 'stream' is a dangerous location or a disaster of some sort in a more creative metaphor, and in (2) a conventional metaphor for impossibility or difficulty. In the corpus, ρέμα functions either as the subject of the verbs παρασέρνω or τραβώ 'drag', or in an adverbial phrase describing the verbs πηγαίνω 'go' or τραβώ (1).

1. **Με πικραίνεις, σαν ξένο με κοιτάς/ και *στο ρέμα με τραβάς***[244]
   (You embitter me, you look at me as a stranger
   and *you drag me to the stream*)

2. **Και τις δύο τις γουστάρω/ και δε ξέρω ποια να πάρω**
   Τα 'χασα, δεν είναι ψέμα/ μπρος γκρεμός *και πίσω ρέμα*[245]
   (I fancy both of them [the girls]/ and I don't know which to choose
   I'm at a loss, it's no lie/ a cliff before and *a stream behind*)

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[241] *Άκου, Ντούτσε μου, τα νέα* (variant version of *Βαρβάρα*, Panayiotis Tountas).
[242] *Για μια κόρη ξελογιάστρα* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[243] *Ψαράς θα γίνω στη στεριά* (Apostolos Kaldaras).
[244] *Πέφτεις σε λάθη* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[245] *Με τυλίξανε δυο φίνες* (Stelios Keromitis).

melt, wear out (λειώνω)

Source: 'melt', 'wear out'; target: to be destroyed by emotion or *to give in to an emotion; languish.* This metaphor could also belong to the source domain PHYSICAL FORCE, since melting normally requires the application of heat, but it has been categorised under NATURAL FORCE because in most song texts where the metaphor 'melt/wear out' occurs, there is no fire or heat involved, and because the emotion is experienced in a passive way.[246] Of the 74 instances of λειώνω only 1 is literal, as many as 62 are metaphors of emotion, 6 are non-emotional idiomatic expressions, and 5 are emotion-related similes, all 5 involving the phrase σαν το κερί (κεράκι) 'like a (little) candle' (examples 1 and 7). The metaphoricity of the word certainly is very high, as is the conventionality of the metaphor. Of the metaphorical instances 4 involve the likewise metaphorical phrase μέρα νύχτα, 'night and day' (2). It is noteworthy that the verb is used figuratively both in its transitive and its intransitive form and in all persons; any person can melt or make somebody melt as a result of an emotion. Intransitively, the subject in the majority of the cases is a person, but on rare occasions also a person's body or heart. Transitively, the most common subject is also a person (4 and 5), and occasionally also a person's lips, heart or eyes, or the abstract entities χωρισμός 'separation', ξενιτιά 'foreign lands', or αγωνία 'anguish', whereas the object in all cases is either a person or his/her body. Even though the target meaning of 'melt' is primarily negative, the word is often used as a measurement of the intensity of positive emotions, as love and desire (1-3). But in the sense of 'languish', it is usually meant solely to convey a negative connotation (6) and can also be used as a curse (4).

1. **Χωρίς να θέλω αγάπησα/ κι έχω βαθιά τον πόνο**
   για μια Δραπετσωνίτισσα/ *σαν το κεράκι λειώνω*[247]
   (Against my will I fell in love/ and my pain is deep
   for a girl from Drapetsona/ *I melt like a candle*)

2. **Έχω μεράκι, έχω νταλγκά/ έχω σεβντά και πόνο**
   με την πληγή που μ' άνοιξες/ μέρα και νύχτα λειώνω[248]
   (I have a yearning, I have a longing/ I have passion and pain
   because of the wound you gave me/ night and day *I melt*)

3. ***Με μια ματιά σου σαν μου ρίξεις, αχ πώς λειώνω***
   μαζί σου ξέρεις πως ξεχνάω τον κάθε πόνο[249]

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[246] Cf. Kövecses (2002:72).

[247] *Εγώ ρεμπέτης ήμουνα* (Stelios Chrisinis).

[248] *Δεν τόνε θέλω μάνα μου* (Markos Vamvakaris).

[249] *Σαν μαγεμένο το μυαλό μου* (Dimitris Gogos, alias "Bayianderas").

(*When you give me a single glance*, oh *how I melt*
with you, you know that I forget every single pain)

4. **Μάγισσες, *όπως μ' έλειωσε/ θέλω κι αυτή να λειώσει***
   και το κακό που μου 'κανε/ να τ' ακριβοπληρώσει[250]
   (Witches, *as she melted me/ I want her to melt*
   and for the evil she did me/ she should pay dearly)

5. **Γιατί για σένανε διώχνουν εμένανε και με κατηγορούνε**
   γιατί *με λειώνουνε*, με φαρμακώνουνε, για σε με συζητούνε[251]
   (Why do they chase me away and accuse me because of you
   why do *they melt me* and poison me, and talk about me on your account)

6. **Κρύβει μέσα στην καρδιά της/ κάποιο πόνο μυστικό**
   λειώνει κι οι γιατροί δε βρίσκουν/ πια κανένα γιατρικό[252]
   (She hides inside her heart/ some secret pain
   she languishes, but the doctors can't find/ a cure any more)

7. **Δεν είν' ζωή να σ' αγαπώ/ κι εσύ να με πληγώνεις**
   και το φτωχό μου το κορμί/ *σαν το κερί να λειώνεις*[253]
   (It's no way to live, with me loving you/ and you hurting me
   and making my poor body/ *melt away like a candle*)

wither/wilt (μαραίνω)
Source: 'wither'; target: fade away; be destroyed by emotion (heartache, grief).
The verb μαραίνω occurs 35 times in the corpus: there are 6 literal expressions, 24
metaphors of emotion and 5 similes of emotion. The similes are all comparisons
with plants and involve nouns such as ανθός and λουλούδι 'flower', and φύλλο
'leaf'. Apart from the specific-level metaphor EMOTION IS NATURAL FORCE, the
verb 'wither' is also a part of the specific-level metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS with
many mappings, especially involving 'flowers', that are very common in everyday
Greek, in folk tradition, and in folk-tales. One of the mappings of this metaphor is
'wither', which is usually used in a conventional way. The metaphor 'wither'
occurs about as often in the active as in the passive voice. The verb in the active
voice usually has a person as the subject, but also abstract entities are represented
denoting emotional pain or yearning (1), as well as death. The object is in most
instances a person (1), or a person's heart or life. In the passive voice the subject is
often a person (2) or his/her heart (3).

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[250] *Μάγισσες φέρτε βότανα* (Nikos Routsos).
[251] *Γιατί μικρούλα μου* (Stratos Payioumtzis).
[252] *Αληθινή αγάπη* (Panayiotis Tountas).
[253] *Δε θέλω πια να σ' αγαπώ* (Markos Vamvakaris).

1. **Πικρός καημός ο χωρισμός/ για πάντα με πικραίνει
   και τη δόλια μου καρδιά/ μερόνυχτα *μαραίνει*[254]**
   (Separation is bitter pain/ that always embitters me
   night and day it makes/ my poor heart *wither*)

2. **Στο 'πα και στο ξαναλέγω/ μην πικραίνεσαι
   τέτοια έμορφη κοπέλα που είσαι/ και *μαραίνεσαι*[255]**
   (I've told you and I tell you again/ don't let it embitter you
   you're such a beautiful girl/ and are *withering* from it)

3. ***Μαράθηκ' η καρδούλα μου/ μ' αυτήν την αδικία
   Παλιοζωή, ψεύτη ντουνιά/ και παλιοκοινωνία*[256]**
   (My heart *has withered*/ at this injustice
   You damned life, lying world/ and wicked society)

sea (θάλασσα, πέλαγος, ωκεανός)
Source: 'sea'; target: happiness, light-heartedness or *difficulties in life.* Θάλασσα most often appears as a simile or a personification. Of the 39 occurrences 18 are similes, 12 are personifications, 3 are literal, 4 non-emotional metaphors, only 1 is a clear metaphor of emotion, and 1 is interpretable both literally and meta-phorically. The word πέλαγος has 5 occurrences; 2 literal, 1 metaphorical, 1 literal/metaphorical, and 1 is a non-emotional metaphor. Ωκεανός occurs 4 times; 2 are literal expressions, 1 is a simile, and 1 a non-emotional metaphor. Expressions using notions of the sea (θάλασσα, ωκεανός, πέλαγος) are evidently very frequent in these song texts. The reason for this might be that the origin and development of rebétiko partly took place in seaports and on the islands. Of course, Greeks have also always depended greatly on the sea for their livelihood, and this is reflected in the array of literal and figurative expressions with words as 'sea', 'ocean', and 'wave' both in the corpus and generally in Greek poetry. For example, the Cretan verse romance *Erotokritos* by Vitsentzos Kornaros, one of the most popular Greek poems in both print and oral tradition over several centuries, is replete with maritime imagery. [257] The expressions are of both positive and negative import according to the aspects of the source domain that are either highlighted or hidden for various metaphorical purposes. Where there is a positive connotation, the sea or wave indicates happiness and light-heartedness; where the connotation is negative, the expressions present life's vexations. In (1) the sea is a metaphor for difficulties in life and in (2) it is a metaphor for the alleviation of these difficulties. The verses in (3) include a personification of the sea. Although

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[254] *Πικρός καημός* (Loukas Daralas).
[255] *Κουκλίτσα μου* (Panayiotis Tountas).
[256] *Παλιοζωή ψεύτη ντουνιά* (Apostolos Chatzichristos).
[257] Cf. Bakker & Philippides (1988:97).

the 'sea' is a conventional metaphor, it is sometimes used in a rather creative manner (1 and 2). In most cases the sea is the subject of the clause, and the action is described with a great variety of verbs – transitive and intransitive – such as δέρνω 'beat', βογκώ/μουγκρίζω 'groan/moan', πνίγω 'drown', αγριεύω 'bristle', λυπάμαι 'take pity' etc.

The sea can also be seen as a specific-level metaphor in itself, with its own entailments within the source domain NATURAL FORCE, e.g. κύμα 'wave' (cf. below), and with other entailments apart from the general-level source domain FORCES, such as λιμάνι 'harbour', βάρκα 'boat', and ναυαγός 'shipwrecked'. The metaphor 'harbour' is also one of the many entailments in the great mapping of the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY where a person getting through life is a boat, and where home, safety and comfort are conveyed as a harbour. All these different source domains have the target domain EMOTION in common. This is an example of a complex system of conceptual metaphors operating simultaneously. In (4) the 'harbour' has the extended meaning of love, in the sense that finding love is emotionally equal to notions such as finding safety and coming home.

1. *Στη μεγάλη θάλασσα που ζωή τη λέμε*
   μας χτυπούν τα βάσανα με απανθρωπιά[258]
   (*On the great sea* that we call life
   troubles strike us inhumanely)

2. **Να 'βρισκα** *ένα πέλαγος*/ **μια ξέρα να καθίσω**
   κι απ' τα πολλά μου βάσανα/ **λίγα να λησμονήσω**[259]
   (If only I could find *a sea*/ some dry land to sit down
   and forget a few/ of my many troubles)

3. **Μηχανικός στη μηχανή**/ **και ναύτης στο τιμόνι**
   κι ο θερμαστής στο στόκολο/ **μ' έξι φωτιές μαλώνει** […]
   Μα η φωτιά είναι φωτιά/ **μα η φωτιά είναι λάβρα**
   κι *η θάλασσα* **μου τα 'κανε**/ **τα σωθικά μου μαύρα**[260]
   (The mechanic is at the engine/ and the sailor at the wheel
   and the stoker at the stokehole/ struggling with six fires […]
   But fire is fire/ but fire is sweltering heat
   and *the sea*/ has blackened my innards)

4. **Εχτές αργά, αργά το δειλινό**/ **το σπίτι έμεινε, έμεινε ορφανό**
   εμάζεψες τα ρούχα σου και έφυγες μάνι μάνι/ **να βρεις αλλού** *λιμάνι*[261]

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[258] *Το καράβι* (Kostas Virvos).
[259] *Από τον κόσμο μακριά* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[260] *Ο θερμαστής* (Yiorgos Batis).
[261] *Εχτές αργά το δειλινό* (Kostas Manesis).

(Late yesterday, late in the evening/ the house was bereft
 you picked up your clothes and hurried off/ to find *a harbour* elsewhere)

wave (κύμα)

Source: 'wave'; target: hard blow, difficulties; benevolent natural entity. In the 7 instances where 'wave' is used literally, it has either a positive or a negative connotation depending on the situation of the protagonist. Where used metaphorically, 9 times involving emotion, the conventional negative meaning of difficulties is mostly denoted (1). In example (1) 'the waves' and other weather-features can be interpreted both literally and metaphorically. The second example (2) is a clear metaphor and again features a negative verb ('frighten' in (1) and 'hit' in (2)). Example (3) is also metaphorical, but this time presents a creative personification with positive connotations.

1. *Δεν με φοβίσαν κύματα/ χιόνια κι ανεμοβρόχια*
   όσο με φόβισες εσύ/ κατηραμένη φτώχεια[262]
   (*Waves*, snow and rainstorms/ have *never frightened me*
   as much as you have/ accursed poverty)

2. **Να με φυσάει ο άνεμος/** *να με κτυπάει το κύμα*
   έτσι να βασανίζομαι/ Θεέ μου, δεν είναι κρίμα[263]
   (Let the wind blow me/ *let the wave strike me*
   My God, isn't it a shame/ that I should be tortured thus)

3. **Και** *μας φώναζε το κύμα/* **το φιλί δεν είναι κρίμα**[264]
   (And *the wave shouted to us*/ a kiss is no shame)

Remarks

Natural force can be used to conceptualise many different emotions, but in rebétiko song texts they are mostly negative, such as despair, powerlessness, and desolation. The specific-level metaphor NATURAL FORCE presents a rich variety of expressions. Most of these expressions are conventional, which does not render them less vivid and expressive, but sometimes we come across new and creative metaphors. Most also seem to be potentially universal, rather than culture-bound to Greece.[265] A majority of the songs that contain metaphors from this source domain are love songs describing either mutual or unrequited love.

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[262] *Κατηραμένη φτώχεια* (Apostolos Chatzichristos).
[263] *Από τον κόσμο μακριά* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[264] *Πάμε για τη Βούλα* (Panayiotis Tountas).
[265] Potential for universality is proposed here, as in the following analyses and remarks, with due reservation, being based largely on my knowledge of Western European languages and cultures.

4.2.2 Emotion is Internal Pressure inside a Container

The metaphor EMOTION IS INTERNAL PRESSURE INSIDE A CONTAINER is, according to Kövecses,[266] the best known and most studied metaphor of emotion. This metaphor also implies further metaphors, PEOPLE ARE CONTAINERS and EMOTION IS A SUBSTANCE INSIDE A CONTAINER. In the metaphorical expressions from this source domain two different meanings emerge; either the emotions (usually understood as fluid or gas) prevail and the person (container) bursts or overflows, or the person (container) withstands the pressure and the emotions (fluid or gas) are restrained. In the first instance there is a clear response; in the latter a lack of response. Hence, the attempt to keep the substance within the container is an attempt to control emotional response. The most common emotion conceptualised as pressure within a container in English is, again according to Kövecses, anger. He maintains that "conceptualized physiology (i.e. the conceptual metonymies) provides the cognitive motivation for people to conceptualize the angry person metaphorically as a PRESSURIZED CONTAINER."[267] In the rebétiko corpus this metaphor mostly represents emotions such as jealousy, frustration, and more rarely surprise and amusement. Strangely for a genre often associated with the blunt expression of machismo and aggression there are few expressions of this specific-level metaphor, and none conceptualising anger.

In the category INTERNAL PRESSURE there are only 4 eligible words, all verbs. There are 14 instances of their involvement in a metaphorical expression of emotion. The relevant words constitute metaphorical expressions of emotion in 34 % of the total occurrences in the corpus, a rather low rate of emotion-related metaphoricity for this source domain.

Table 2. Source domain: internal pressure inside a container

Expression	literal	metaphor	other trope	simile	literal/ metaphor	other	total
βράζω	1 (33%)	1 (33%)				1 (33%)	3
σκάζω/σκάω	1 (3%)	10 (31%)				21 (66%)	32
ξεσπώ	1 (20%)	2 (40%)				2 (40%)	5
ξεχειλίζω		1 (100%)					1
total	3	**14**				24	41

boil (βράζω)
Source: 'boil'; target: count as worthless, 'to hell with...'. The word for 'boil' occurs three times; once literally and twice as a metaphor, but only once as a

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[266] Kövecses (2000:65).
[267] Kövecses (2002:173). Cf. also Lakoff & Kövecses (1987) and Soriano (2003:107-122).

metaphor of emotion. Boiling with rage (βράζω από το θυμό) seems not to be very common in Greek emotional language, unlike other European languages.[268] The example below is a conventional idiomatic metaphor in Greek: βρασ' το, literally 'boil it!', denotes 'to hell with it!' Perhaps this colloquialism reflects the low esteem accorded to boiled food in Greek cuisine and is arguably a culture-specific metaphor. This would accord with the contrast drawn in the example between the beguiling, 'crazy' delights of Plaka on the one hand and the insipid musical fare and other allures on the West ('only good for boiling') on the other.

1. **Μπρός στα Πλακιώτικα στενά/ με τις τρελές κιθάρες**
   βράσε τη ρούμπα, τα σουίγκ/ του Άιφελ τις χάρες[269]
   (Beside the back streets of Plaka/ with their crazy guitars
   To hell with the rumba, the swing/ and the Eiffel tower's charms)

burst (σκάζω/σκάω)

Source: 'burst', 'explode'; target: to be overwhelmed by emotion. The word for 'burst' in a metaphorical sense is used 10 times for various emotions in this corpus, including anger, jealousy, envy, frustration, surprise, and amusement: thus (1) expresses amusement, (2) envy, (3) jealousy, (4) frustration, and in (5) the prefix ξε-, denotes relief from frustration through carousal. Σκά(ζ)ω appears only once literally, and metaphorically for target domains other than emotion 21 times; in colloquial Greek it is commonly used for 'bursting' with either too much food or heat. All the examples below feature conventional metaphors.

1. **Μ' έχει λωλό το Ερηνάκι/ με το μουσμουλί γοβάκι**
   Βρε, του μιλάω δε μου ξηγιέται/ _σκάει απ' τα γέλια_ κι όλο κουνιέται[270]
   (Little Irini is driving me crazy/ with her loquat-coloured slippers
   I speak to her but she doesn't talk/ _she bursts out laughing_ and shakes about)

2. **Απόψε σε γλεντάω/ κι _ο κόσμος πάει να σκάσει_**
   κοντεύει _απ' τη ζήλια/ να τους φύγει το καφάσι_[271]
   (Tonight I'm partying with you/ and _people are about to burst_
   they're nearly blowing their tops/ with envy)

3. **Μόρτη μου, κακό θα πάθεις/ κι _απ' τη ζήλια σου θα σκάσεις_**
   στην Αμερική θα πάω/ για να παντρευτώ[272]

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[268] Cf. Kövecses (2000:65-68).
[269] _Βράσε τη ρούμπα, τα σουίγκ_ (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[270] _Το Ερηνάκι_ (variant version of _Φέρτε πρέζα να φουμάρω_, Panayiotis Tountas).
[271] _Απόψε κάνεις μπαμ_ (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[272] _Αεροπλάνο θα πάρω_ (Panayiotis Tountas).

(Rough guy, you're in for some trouble/ and *you'll burst with jealousy*
I shall go to America/ and get married)

4. **Πού να είσαι; Χάθηκες/ *να με σκάσεις βάλθηκες***
   έχω λίγες συμφορές/ θα μου φέρεις κι άλλες[273]
   (Where could you be? You've disappeared/ *you're intent on making me burst*
   I have a few troubles/ you'll bring me more)

5. **Κάθε μέρα θα γλεντάω/ στις ταβέρνες να μεθώ**
   ***θαν τα πίνω να ξεσκάω*/ το σεβντά σου να ξεχνώ**[274]
   (Every day I'll party/ in the taverns and get drunk
   I will drink to blow off steam/ to forget my yearning)

break out, burst out / erupt (ξεσπώ)
Source: 'break out', 'burst out'; target: vent, take one's frustration out on something or someone. Ξεσπώ occurs, as noted above (cf. *4.2.1 Emotion is a Natural Force*), 5 times in the corpus; it appears twice as the specific-level metaphor INTERNAL PRESSURE and refers to persons in both instances. Perhaps predictably the metaphor is conventional, although its literal sense is rare in everyday speech.

1. **Πίνω και μεθώ/ ωχ αμάν, μέρα-νύχτα τραγουδώ**
   και *το ντέρτι μου*/ ωχ αμάν, *στο μπουζούκι μου ξεσπώ*[275]
   (I drink and get drunk/ oh dear, night and day I sing
   and *my heartache*/ oh dear, *I take out on my bouzouki*)

brim over, overflow (ξεχειλίζω)
Source: 'brim over', 'overflow'; target: to be overwhelmed by emotion. This word is actually found only once and as part of a metaphor for an overwhelming feeling of bitterness and relentless harassment. In the example below the combination of the metaphor 'brim over' with the graphic image of swamped innards is visceral in the extreme and forms a somewhat creative metaphor in its complex totality.

1. **Όλα τα βάρη σου, ζωή/ τα φόρτωσες σ' ένα κορμί**
   τόσο φαρμάκι, βρε ζωή/ πού θέλεις να τα βάλω;
   ***Ξεχείλησαν τα σπλάχνα μου*/ και δεν χωράει άλλο**[276]

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[273] *Σιγανοψιχάλισμα* (Charalambos Vasiliadis).
[274] *Δεν σε θέλω* (Zacharias Kasimatis).
[275] *Πίνω και μεθώ* (Spiros Peristeris).
[276] *Συρματοπλέγματα βαριά* (Eftichia Papayiannopoulou). The 'innards' are a metonymy for intense emotion, being the perceived location of emotions.

(All your burdens, life/ you've loaded on to one body
so much poison, oh life/ where do you expect me to put it?
My innards overflow with it/ and there's no room for any more)

Remarks

The metaphors from this source domain are mainly conventional and to a large extent appear *prima facie* universal. They occur in various song themes, but most frequently love songs. Though limited in number and frequency the expressions in this source domain are noteworthy for the range of emotions conveyed.

4.2.3 Emotion is an Opponent

In the source domain OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE, the self, i.e. the person experiencing an emotion, and the emotion experienced are represented as opponents. The outcome in terms of the source domain is that one of them wins, and the outcome for the target is that the self either loses or maintains control. In this category 11 words/expressions occur, 6 verbs, 4 nouns, and one phrase consisting of a verb and a noun. These words generate 94 instances of metaphorical expression of emotion. The emotion-related metaphoricity of the investigated words in this source domain is quite high at 67 %. If there had been any examples from the source domain EMOTION IS A WILD ANIMAL – whose absence has already been mentioned as significant – they would have been included here, since that category could be viewed as a subcategory of that of the OPPONENT.

Table 3. Source domain: opponent in a struggle

Expression	literal	metaphor	other trope	simile	literal/ metaphor	other	total
αγώνας		2 (100%)					2
(κάνω) κομμάτια	1 (3%)	35 (92%)			1 (3%)	1 (3%)	38
νίκη	5 (100%)						5
παραδίνομαι		1 (100%)					1
παλεύω		7 (88%)		1 (13%)			8
πνίγω	3 (14%)	17 (81%)			1 (5%)		21
πόλεμος	3 (75%)	1 (25%)					4
πολεμώ	2 (67%)	1 (33%)					3
σκοτωμός	1 (100%)						1
σκοτώνω/ -ομαι	23 (72%)	9 (28%)					32
σφάζω	3 (14%)	17 (77%)			1 (5%)	1 (5%)	22
total	41	**90**		**1**	**3**	2	137

wrestle, struggle (παλεύω)
Source: 'wrestle', 'struggle'; target: to have, lose, or gain control over emotion or *trouble.* The verb παλεύω occurs 8 times as a metaphor of emotion. In one instance the metaphor contains a simile (2). The word παλεύω does not occur in its strictly literal meaning of 'to wrestle' in this corpus except when death (or risking death) is figuratively evoked as a wrestling bout with Charos, the Grim Reaper against whom the heroes of Modern Greek legend pit their prowess (3). The expression 'wrestle/struggle' is very common in metaphorical language in general and is encountered in master metaphors such as ARGUMENT IS WAR and LIFE IS A

STRUGGLE. Since emotions are a natural part of life these master metaphors are intertwined, and the same metaphors, e.g. παλεύω, are found in more than one category. The first example is a more creative metaphor, whereas the other two are conventional.

1. *Μες τις φουρτούνες της ζωής/ παλεύω απελπισμένος*
   γιατί καταδικάστηκα/ ερήμην ο καημένος[277]
   (*With the storms of life/ I struggle* desperately
   for I have been condemned/ in absentia, poor me)

2. *Παλεύω σαν τον ναυαγό/ στην μαύρη καταιγίδα*
   τον Χάρο με τα μάτια μου/ πολλές φορές τον είδα[278]
   (*I struggle like a shipwrecked sailor/* in the black storm
   Charos with my own eyes/ I've seen many times)

3. *Εγώ 'μαι μάγκας και νταής/ και θα 'ρθω να σε πάρω*
   Ξέρεις, για σένα επάλεψα/ εφτά φορές τον Χάρο[279]
   (I'm a tough guy and a thug/ and I'll come to take you
   You know, for you *I wrestled/* seven times *with Charos*)

strangle, choke, drown (πνίγω)
Source: 'strangle', 'choke', 'drown'; target: overcome or suppress emotion, be overcome or suppressed by emotion. Πνίγω in the active voice occurs only in this category (for metaphors with its passive voice see the specific-level metaphor NATURAL FORCE). There are 18 figurative uses of the active verb in the corpus, 17 metaphors, mostly conventional, and 1 simile. What the protagonist tries to choke or drown is usually emotional pain (πόνος, καημός, φαρμάκι), or desire and yearning (λαχτάρα), as in (1-3). Sometimes the subject and object are reversed, and the emotion (represented as a sigh, sin, loneliness, complaint or yearning) is choking or strangling a person (4) or a person's soul (5). The location or means of this strangulation is sometimes specified ('inside me' (3), 'with a sigh' and 'in drink' (1)).

1. **Μέσα στο πιοτό *θα πνίξω*/ τον δικό σου *τον καημό***
   θα σε βγάλω απ' την καρδιά μου/ μ' έναν αναστεναγμό[280]

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[277] *Την μοίρα μου την είδα και την ξέρω* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[278] *Συρματοπλέγματα βαριά* (Eftichia Papayiannopoulou).
[279] *Αν είσαι μάγκας* (Markos Vamvakaris). The reference to seven bouts with Charos, recalls the heroic folk song in which a young man beats Charos at wrestling nine times, only to be cheated by him in the tenth and fatal round. Cf. Petropoulos, D (1958:28).
[280] *Λαυριώτισσα* (Markos Vamvakaris).

(In my drink *I will drown*/ *my longing* for you
I'll remove you from my heart/ with a sigh)

2. **Τώρα τα βραδάκια *πνίγω τα φαρμάκια*/ στο κρασί που πίνω να ξεχάσω**[281]
   (Now of an evening *I drown the poison*/ in the wine that I drink to forget)

3. **Δεν μπορώ, μικρή μου παιχνιδιάρα/ *πνίγω μέσα μου* για σε λαχτάρα**[282]
   (I can't stand it, my little teaser/ *I'm choking inside me my passion* for you)

4. **Έχω πολύ κουραστεί στη ζωή/ γι' αυτό *με πνίγουν βαθιά στεναγμοί***[283]
   (I've gotten so tired in life/ that's why *sighs choke me* deep down)

5. ***Τ' αμάρτημα που έκανα/ μου πνίγει την ψυχή μου***
   μ' αρνήθηκε με μίσησε/ κι αυτό πια το παιδί μου[284]
   (*The sin* that I've committed/ *is choking my soul*
   even my own child/ disowns me and detests me)

slaughter (σφάζω)
Source: 'slaughter'; target: inflict emotional hurt. The verb σφάζω is used metaphorically for emotions in 18 of its 22 occurrences in the corpus. Most of the instances are in the active voice and only two passive (4), which is consonant with the intensity of the emotion and the violence associated with this source domain. The subject of the verb σφάζω is not just a person, but more often a person's eyes, and the object can be not just a person, but a heart. The heart is also specified as the location of the slaughter (2 and 3) and 'sweet eyes' as the implement (4). The highlighted feature of the metaphor 'slaughter' is excruciating pain (cf. the colloquial term σφάχτης for a stabbing pain). In (1) the pain is in turn a metaphor for the unbearable emotions of yearning and desire evoked by a mere glance from the object of the narrator's desire. Example (2) is remarkable for depicting a positive emotion of pleasure through the image of unbearable pain, in a context of recreational drug-use. Overall, these examples from the corpus suggest that the metaphor 'slaughter' may be less unusual and harsh in Greek than in other languages.

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[281] *Όλα εδώ πληρώνονται* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[282] *Ξανθιά τρελή γαλανομάτα* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[283] *Έχω πολύ κουραστεί στη ζωή* (Michalis Yenitsaris).
[284] *Εγώ πονώ και συ γελάς* (Kostas Kaplanis).

1. *Τα δυο σου μαύρα μάτια/ που με κοιτάζουνε*
   χαμήλωσέ τα, φως μου/ γιατί με σφάζουνε[285]
   (*Those two black eyes of yours*/ that look at me
   lower them, my light/ because *they slaughter me*)

2. **Αργιλέ μου, σαν φουντώνεις/ την καρδούλα μου ματώνεις**
   αργιλέ μου, σαν ανάβεις/ *μέσα στην καρδιά με σφάζεις*[286]
   (Dear water pipe, when you flame up/ you make my poor heart bleed
   dear water pipe, when you light up/ *you slaughter my heart*)

3. *Μέσα στην καρδιά με σφάζεις/ όταν με κοιτάς*
   κάνεις πως αναστενάζεις/ και όλο με γελάς[287]
   (*You slaughter me right in the heart*/ when you look at me
   you pretend to be sighing/ but you keep fooling me)

4. **Έχει ματάκια λαμπερά/ όλο φωτιά και λάβρα**
   και *η καρδιά μου σφάζεται*/ για δυο μάτια μαύρα[288]
   (She has bright eyes/ all fire and flames
   and *my heart gets slaughtered*/ for two black eyes)

chop up/ cut to pieces (κάνω κομμάτια)
Source: 'chop up' 'cut/pull/tear/batter/break to pieces'; target: inflict emotional hurt. The expression appears 38 times, including 35 as metaphors of emotion and only once as a non-emotion metaphor. The literal sense also occurs once, and there is one instance where both a literal and a metaphorical interpretation are evoked (example 4, where a person wishes both a 'mirror' and the 'mind' to be shattered). The object that is 'cut to pieces' is usually either a person (1), or a person's heart (2). Sometimes the expression occurs in the passive form γίνομαι κομμάτια, 'be cut to/ fall to pieces' (5), but this is not nearly as common as κάνω κομμάτια (cf. σφάζω and σφάζομαι above). In some instances the verbs (κάνω 'make', γίνομαι 'become') are implied (3), and on one occasion a different verb, σπάω 'break', is used (4). A reason why expressions with κομμάτια are so common could be its potential to rhyme (as with γινάτια, 'spite' in (1) and (2)). It also fits in well metrically and is thus easily deployed in a strophe. As with σφάζω, κάνω κομμάτια is a very common expression in Greek whose usage might strike

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[285] *Είσαι μελαχρινό και νόστιμο* (Markos Vamvakaris). This verse is almost identical to (and probably largely inspired by) the verse "Τα μάτια σου τα μαύρα/ που με κοιτάζουνε/ χαμήλωσέ τα φως μου/ γιατί με σφάζουνε" in the earlier lyrics *Από λίγο λίγο* by Antonis Diamantidis, alias "Dalgas".
[286] *Μ' αργιλέ και μπαγλαμάδες* (Stellakis Perpiniadis).
[287] *Μάγκικο τα δυο σου μάτια* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[288] *Είναι δυο χρόνια π' αγαπώ* (Kostas Skarvelis).

outsiders as extreme and bizzare. This illustrates the potential for divergence in deeply embedded metaphorical language between different societies.

1. **Άφησε, μικρό μου, τα γινάτια/ πάψε πια που *μ' έκανες κομμάτια***
   Γιάνε μου, κυρά μου, την καρδιά μου
   να μου σβήσεις, φως μου, το σεβντά μου[289]
   (Put aside your spite, my dear/ stop it now, *you've cut me to pieces*
   Heal my heart for me, my lady/ and put out my yearnings for you, my light)

2. **Αχ, παιχνιδιάρα, πάψε τώρα τα γινάτια**
   και *μη μου κάνεις την καρδούλα μου κομμάτια*[290]
   (Oh, my little teaser, put aside that spite of yours
   and *don't tear my poor heart to pieces*)

3. **Λυπήσου μόνο *της καρδιάς μου τα κομμάτια***
   και πες μου λίγο τον φτωχό πως μ' αγαπάς[291]
   (Just have mercy on *the pieces of my heart*
   and tell me, poor thing, that you love me a little)

4. **Ένας καθρέφτης που άλλοι λένε λογισμό**
   μου ζωντανεύει ό,τι θέλω να ξεχάσω
   Αχ, να μπορούσα στο μεγάλο μου καημό
   σε *χίλια δυο κομμάτια να το σπάσω*[292]
   (A mirror that others call the mind/ brings back to me all that I want to forget
   Oh, that I could, in my great pain/ *break it into a thousand and two pieces*)

5. **Για σκέψου πιο καλύτερα/ μικρή μου μαυρομάτα**
   άδικα μου πικραίνεσαι/ και *γίνομαι κομμάτια*[293]
   (Think better of it/ my little black-eyed girl
   you're upsetting yourself for nothing/ and *I am torn to pieces*)

kill (σκοτώνω)
Source: 'kill'; target: inflict emotional hurt, cause suffering. The verb 'kill' is found 32 times in the corpus, including 9 metaphors. Most metaphorical instances involve the passive voice and are variations on 'I will get killed/ kill myself' in the sense 'I suffer because of you', whether the cause of the suffering is a negative emotion, e.g. deceit, or a positive emotion, e.g. desire. The subject of these passive

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[289] *Κάθε βράδυ θα σε περιμένω* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[290] *Σαν μαγεμένο το μυαλό μου* (Dimitris Gogos, alias "Bayianderas").
[291] *Λίγα ψίχουλα αγάπης σου γυρεύω* (Kostas Virvos).
[292] *Ο καθρέφτης* (Dimitris Gogos, alias "Bayianderas").
[293] *Τα χάνω σαν σε βλέπω* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).

clauses is always a person, on occasions combined with a prepositional object, also a person. In some instances σκοτώνω has the ambiguous meaning of metaphorical pain and literal threat (1). There are also instances where the active voice of 'kill' means 'put an end to', where the subject is a person and the object is love, whether αγάπη or έρωτας (2).

1. **πίνω να ζαλιστώ/ αχ, το ντέρτι να ξεχνώ**
   πο 'χω, βρε, στην καρδιά/ για μια άτιμη γενιά
   κι αν δεν την παντρευτώ/ *θε να σκοτωθώ*[294]
   (I drink to get dizzy/ oh, to forget the yearning
   that I have in my heart/ for a girl of dishonest stock
   and if don't marry her/ *I'll kill myself*)

2. **Κλαμένη μου 'ρθες μια βραδιά/ μες της ταβέρνας τη γωνιά**
   μα ήρθες αργά πολύ να ζωντανέψεις/ *τον έρωτα που σκότωσες*[295]
   (You came crying to me one evening/ in the corner of the tavern
   but you came much too late to bring back to life/ *the love that you killed*)

Remarks

The metaphors from this source domain are mainly conventional. They are mostly not culture-specific with the possible exception of the notable examples 'slaughter' and 'cut to pieces'. They occur in various song themes, but are most frequent in songs of (unrequited) love. The emotions and emotional states expressed in the struggle with the self through these metaphors are mainly emotional pain and suffering, sorrow, despair, and difficulties, but also to some extent yearnings and desire.

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[294] *Μπέκρος δεν είμαι* (Spiros Peristeris). The phrase θε να σκοτωθώ could here also be translated 'I'll die/ be wiped out'.
[295] *Κλαμένη μου 'ρθες μια βραδιά* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).

4.2.4 Emotion is a Social Force

In the category SOCIAL FORCE there are 14 words of which 3 are verbs, 10 are nouns, and 1 is an adjective. Altogether there are 103 instances where a specific word is involved in a metaphorical expression of emotion. The emotion-related metaphoricity of the investigated words in this source domain is high; the percentage constituting metaphorical expressions of emotion is 77 %. Words like 'slave', 'enslave', and 'palace' are quite frequent as metaphors, but other words, such as 'order' and 'command', do not occur metaphorically in the rebétiko corpus. The expressions in this category all have to do with superiority and submission. In SOCIAL FORCE, the emotion assumes control over the rational self, and "the social effect of the superior on the self is the emotional effect of the emotion on the self."[296]

Table 4. Source domain: social force[297]

Expression	literal	metaphor	other trope	simile	literal/ metaphor	other	total
αρχοντιά		2 (100%)					2
αρχοντικός		3 (100%)					3
αρχόντισσα	1 (17%)	3 (50%)		2 (33%)			6
αρχοντοπούλα		3 (100%)					3
βασιλιάς	1 (25%)	3 (75%)					4
βασίλισσα	1 (33%)	2 (67%)					3
διατάζω	10 (100%)						10
κάστρο	2 (40%)	2 (40%)	1 (20%)				5
κυβερνώ		1 (50%)				1 (50%)	2
παλάτι	2 (5%)	10 (26%)	16 (42%)		10 (26%)		38
πριγκίπισσα	2 (29%)	1 (14%)		4 (57%)			7
σκλαβιά		1 (100%)					1
σκλάβος/σκλάβα	5 (18%)	18 (64%)		2 (7%)		3 (11%)	28
σκλαβώνω		19 (86%)				3 (14%)	22
total	24	**68**	**17**	**8**	**10**	7	134

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[296] Kövecses (2000:71).

[297] The words αποκτώ, γλιτώνω, σώζω have not been included since they are borderline cases in this category, as it is quite difficult to separate the extended literal meaning of these words from their metaphorical meaning.

govern (κυβερνώ)

Source: 'govern'; target: rule over, control somebody's emotions. The verb κυβερνώ occurs only twice on the corpus, both times as metaphors, but there is only 1 instance of a metaphor of emotion. It is a conventional metaphor, but in this example it appears more original through its combination with the also metaphorical (metonymic) object 'heart'. This means that the originally conventional specific-level metaphor has been extended into a more creative, but still presumably universal, metaphor using the same source domain of control over another person. Indeed, the whole stanza is unusually replete with metaphors.

1. **Με τρώει κάποια μαύρη υποψία/ πως άλλος *την καρδιά σου κυβερνά***
   και αν αυτό είναι η αλήθεια/ δώσ' μου μαχαιριά στα στήθια
   πριν γκρεμίσουν τα όνειρά μου τα χρυσά[298]
   (A certain black suspicion is eating away at me
   that someone else *rules your heart*
   and if that is true/ give me a stab in the chest
   before my golden dreams crumble)

palace (παλάτι)

Source: 'palace'; target: a supremely valuable asset. Of the 39 instances only 2 are literal, 10 can be interpreted both literally and metaphorically, 10 are metaphors of emotion, and the remaining 16 are metonymies of emotion. Palaces are often used figuratively in the corpus for fabulous riches, extravagant living or something very precious. Different aspects of the source domain are highlighted to denote various target domains. In (1) the highlighted aspect of 'the oars [are] my palaces' is that of a *sumptuous and privileged home*, in combination with the phrase 'the boat is my throne'; by implication the narrator is king of his sea. This makes a creative specific-level metaphor whose mapping holds further entailments. In (2) and (3) the beauty of a woman, especially that of her eyes, is the supremely valuable asset. Example (4) transports us to the fantasy world of the orient as depicted in fairy tales; the promises of fabulous wealth are so blatantly implausible as to make the text almost a parody of a seduction song. However, one commentator with a heightened sense of political allegory, Nearchos Georgiadis,[299] discerns a covert agenda of subversion and class struggle behind Tsitsanis's resort to fairy-tale settings, whereby palaces and castles (see below) denote objects of contestation and hostility. This metaphor is unlikely to be indigenous to Greece; fairy tales are generally held to be among the least culture-bound of folklore genres, and palaces were introduced into modern Greece together with the institution of monarchy by representatives of the Western Great

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[298] *Της ταβέρνας το ρολόι* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[299] Georgiadis (2001:139-159).

Powers. However, the frequency of the nexus between palaces and seductive eyes is probably connected with the rhyme παλάτια/μάτια, so that this aspect of the metaphor at least is specific to Greek.

1. **Στην θάλασσα γεννήθηκα/ σ' αυτήν θε να πεθάνω […]**
   Την βάρκα έχω θρόνο μου/ και *τα κουπιά παλάτια*[300]
   (In the sea I was born/ in the sea I will die […]
   The boat is my throne/ and *the oars my palaces*)

2. **Θα πάρω μόνο προίκα μου/ για σπίτια και παλάτια**
   τη μαύρη την ελίτσα σου/ και τα γλυκά σου μάτια[301]
   (I'll only take by way of dowry/ as houses and *palaces*
   your black little mole/ and your sweet eyes)

3. **Αν σε απάτησε και σε τραυμάτισε**
   ο έρωτας που φωτίζει τα μάτια σου/ *τα πανάκριβα παλάτια σου*[302]
   (If it deceived you and hurt you
   the love that lights your eyes/ *your precious palaces*)

4. ***Παλάτια χρυσοστόλιστα/ χαρέμια με διαμάντια***
   θα χτίσω και θα κάθεσαι/ να σε κοιτώ στα μάτια[303]
   (*Gilded palaces*/ and diamond-encrusted harems
   I'll build for you to reside in/ so I can look into your eyes)

castle (κάστρο)
Source: 'castle'; target: impregnability. The noun κάστρο occurs 5 times; 2 of the instances are literal, 2 are metaphors of emotion, and 1 is a simile of emotion. Again the source domain is an impressive edifice, but in contrast to παλάτι, the target here is not opulence, but impregnability and the challenge of conquest. Again Georgiadis discerns a political dimension to the confrontation.[304] This example is set in a curiously hybrid orient: Arabia ruled by a Maharajah. Georgiadis[305] remarks that 'geographic collage' is commonplace in the dream-like world of fairy tales. The meaning of the metaphor is 'I'll do the impossible'.

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[300] *Θαλασσινό μεράκι* (Spiros Peristeris).
[301] *Σε παίρνω δίχως φράγκο* (Dimitris Semsis).
[302] *Αργοσβήνεις μόνη* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[303] *Χαρέμια με διαμάντια* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[304] Georgiadis (2001:157).
[305] Ibid., 156-159.

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1. ***Κάστρα θα γκρεμίσω, μα δε θα σ' αφήσω/ σκλάβα του μαχαραγιά***[306]
   (*I'll demolish castles*, but I won't leave you/ as a slave of the Maharajah)

enslave (σκλαβώνω)
Source: 'enslave'; target: control emotionally. The verb σκλαβώνω occurs 22 times, all of them are metaphors, and as many as 18 metaphors of emotion. This metaphor is rather conventional and not obviously culture-specific. It denotes total submission to an emotion, usually desire, admiration and/or devotion, as in the examples below. In some cases the subjects are abstract entities such as ξενιτιά 'foreign lands' and αγάπη 'love', as are some objects such as ζωή 'life', ψυχή 'soul', and νιάτα 'youth'. Among the more remarkable means of enslavement are the 'aristocratic adornments' of the object of the narrator's desire in (1). Again in (2) beauty is the implement.

1. **Μπροστά στ' αρχοντικά σου τα στολίδια**
   σκλαβώθηκαν για σένα ξένοι και Ρωμιοί[307]
   (Before your aristocratic adornments
   foreigners and Greeks *have become slaves for you*)

2. ***Έχω ιδεί πολλές σουλτάνες/ ξακουστές στην ομορφιά***
   μα εσύ σκλαβώνεις κόσμο/ κατσιβέλα μου γλυκιά[308]
   (I have seen many sultanas/ renowned for their beauty
   But *you enslave people*/ my sweet gipsy girl)

slave (σκλάβος/-α)
Source: 'slave'; target: emotional subjugation. The noun σκλάβος occurs 28 times in the corpus, including 18 metaphors of emotion, 2 similes of emotion, 3 non-emotion metaphors, and 5 literal expressions. The metaphorical 'slave' denotes a person who is subject to an emotion. Whilst a conventional and potentially universal metaphor, it can appear in more creative linguistic expressions (2). In (1) the antithesis in the second verse neatly illustrates the opposite extremes of the metaphorical social hierarchy of rebetiko: 'slavery' and 'palaces. The implement of emotional control in (1) is the eyes of the desired person; in (2) her enthralling kiss. The description of the eyes in (1) as ζηλιάρικα 'jealous' is bizarre; the cognate ζηλευτά 'enviable' would make more sense.

1. **Τα ζηλιάρικά σου μάτια/ μ' έχουν ξετρελάνει**
   δε λογάριασα παλάτια/ σκλάβο μ' έχουν κάνει[309]

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[306] *Ζαΐρα* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[307] *Αρχόντισσα* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[308] *Κατσιβέλα* (Yiorgos Mitsakis).
[309] *Τα ζηλιάρικά σου μάτια* (Markos Vamvakaris).

(Your jealous eyes/ have driven me crazy
I wasn't expecting palaces/ [but] *they've made me a slave*)

2. **Σκλάβος στο γλυκό της φιλί/ είμαι στο σεβντά της δεμένος**
   Κλαίω, νοσταλγώ και πονώ/ την Γκιουλμπαχάρ δεν ξεχνώ[310]
   (*A slave to her sweet kiss*/ I am *tied* to her passion
   I cry, I long and I hurt/ I never forget Gulbahar)

Remarks

The metaphorical expressions from the source domain SOCIAL FORCE do not convey emotions *per se*, but rather emotional states evoked by various abstract notions such as value, impregnability, superiority and subjection. Most of the metaphors are conventional, but there are occasional signs of creativity in the extensions of some conventional metaphors.

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[310] *Γκιουλμπαχάρ* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).

4.2.5 Emotion is a Mental Force

Using mental force as a metaphor of emotion is very common, as emotions are generally viewed as mentally incapacitating phenomena (cf. INSANITY below). Here we find words and expressions that have to do with magic, mystery, and seduction. The metaphor EMOTION IS A MAGICIAN (limited to romantic love), or EMOTION IS A TRICKSTER (for any emotion), consists of a source domain where a 'trickster deceives a normal (rational) person' and a target domain where 'emotion makes self irrational'.[311] Nine words are investigated in the corpus; 5 nouns, 2 verbs, and 2 adjectives. In the category MENTAL FORCE 85 instances are found where a specific word is involved in a metaphorical expression of emotion. The emotion-related metaphoricity of the investigated words in this source domain is high; the percentage of words constituting metaphorical expressions of emotion is 80 %.

Table 5. Source domain: mental force[312]

Expression	literal	metaphor	other trope	simile	literal/ metaphor	other	total
μάγια/(μαγεία)		8 (78%)			1 (22%)		9
μαγεύτρα		1 (100%)					1
μαγεύω		24 (96%)		1 (4%)			25
μαγικός		15 (83%)		1 (6%)	2 (11%)		18
μάγισσα		7 (41%)			10 (59%)		17
μυστήριο		3 (100%)					3
πλανεύτρα	7 (50%)	7 (50%)					14
πλανεύω	10 (71%)	4 (29%)					14
πλάνος	5 (83%)	1 (17%)					6
total	22	**70**		**2**	**13**		107

magic; spell, charm; witchcraft, sorcery (μάγια/μαγεία)
Source: 'magic'; 'spell, charm'; 'witchcraft, sorcery'; target: lack or loss of control over emotion. The noun μάγια occurs 9 times; 8 are instances of metaphors of emotion, and 1 can be interpreted both literally and as a metaphor. The metaphor does not appear to be culture-specific, and although there is some variety of linguistic expression, it is quite conventional. The narrator of the stanza below represents his troublesome emotions of desire and love as witchcraft. In the

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[311] Kövecses (2000:73).

[312] The words ξελογιάζω/ξελογιάστρα and ξεμυαλίζω/ξεμυαλίστρα are omitted from this study since they are not viewed as metaphors, and they are better translated into English as 'seduce/ seductress' rather than '(woman who) drives somebody mad'.

remainder of the song he hopes that the superior Arabian sorceress will turn the tables in his tormentor; the mental force appears to be reversible.

1. **Θα πάω εκεί στην Αραπιά/ γιατί μ' έχουν μιλήσει**
   για μια μεγάλη μάγισσα/ *τα μάγια να μου λύσει*[313]
   (I'll go there, to Arabia/ because I've been told
   about a great sorceress/ *to break my spell*)

cast a spell on (μαγεύω)
Source: 'cast a spell on', 'bewitch'; target: have/take control of someone's emotions. The 25 instances of μαγεύω are all figurative; there is 1 simile and the rest are metaphors of emotion. In the active voice of the verb, a person is the most usual subject and object of μαγεύω, but other subjects include μάτια 'eyes', τασχπινιά 'coquetry', or φουστανάκι 'little dress', and objects can be such as καρδιά 'heart' or ντουνιάς 'world'. The passive perfect participle μαγεμένος is also quite common, and the 'spellbound' victims vary from persons to their mind, eyes, and even beaches. Again, the metaphor μαγεύω appears conventional and not particularly culture-specific. In (1) the metaphor forms an alliteration and a *figura etymoligica* with the related metaphor μάγισσα, while in (2) it forms part of a threefold crescendo of powerful metaphors that culminates in a strangely anticlimactic, literal understatement.

1. *Με μάγεψε μια μάγισσα/ με τα γλυκά της λόγια*
   Με τύλιξε σαν μου 'ταξε/ ανώγεια και κατώγεια[314]
   (*A sorceress has cast a spell on me*/ with her sweet words
   She conned me as she promised me/ the moon and the stars)

2. **με γοητεύει, *με μαγεύει*, με παιδεύει**
   τον εσυμπάθησα, μανούλα μου, πολύ[315]
   (he charms me, *he casts a spell on me*, he torments me
   I like him, dear mother, a lot)

magical (μαγικός)
Source: 'magical'; target: wonderful, giving rise to positive emotions. There are in the corpus 18 instances of the adjective μαγικός, all of them figurative; 15 are metaphors of emotion, 1 is a simile and 2 can be understood both metaphorically

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[313] *Η μάγισσα της Αραπιάς* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).

[314] *Σιγά-σιγά πεθαίνω* (Markos Vamvakaris). The literal meaning of the expression *ανώγεια και κατώγεια* is 'upper floors and basements'.

[315] *Το χασαπάκι* (Markos Vamvakaris). The expression *μανούλα μου* is often used as an exclamation that is not directed to a mother, but in this case the protagonist is actually telling her mother about her love for the local butcher.

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and literally. The highlighted aspect of 'magical' is not defiance of the laws of nature, but rather the emotional exhilaration of an experience, which is particularly evident in (1). It seems to be a potentially universal metaphor, and probably a conventional one as well. The 'magical' entities range from abstractions like ομορφιά 'beauty' to the concrete or mundane, such as βοτάνι 'herb', μέρος 'place', σκέρτσο 'caprice' (2), πενιά 'plectrum-stroke', or βραδιά 'evening'. In (3) the subject is another metaphor, ζωγραφιά 'painting'.

1. **Κάποια *βραδιά μαγική*/ μέσα στο Μισίρι την είδα**
   Ήταν ξωτική ομορφιά/ η Γκιουλμπαχάρ η γλυκιά[316]
   (Some *magical evening*/ I saw her in Egypt
   She was an exotic beauty/ sweet Gulbahar)

2. ***Το σκέρτσο σου το μαγικό*/ κατάκαρδα με σφάζει**
   μικρή μου, όταν με φιλάς/ ξεχνώ κάθε μαράζι[317]
   (*Your magical caprice*/ slaughters me right in the heart
   my little one, when you kiss me/ I forget every heartache)

3. **Φελάχες γλυκές, *μαγικές* ζωγραφιές/ που σκορπούν παντού τον πόθο**[318]
   (Sweet Fellahin girls, *magical* paintings/ who spread desire everywhere)

sorceress (μάγισσα)
Source: 'sorceress'; target: woman with power over the emotions of others. The noun μάγισσα occurs 17 times, 7 of them as metaphors of emotion and 10 with a double meaning. Not surprisingly, there is no entirely literal instance (possibly except for example (1) under 'magic' (μάγια/μαγεία) above). In the example below the metaphor μάγισσα stands in parallel to αρχόντισσα, and highlights superiority and inapproachability. In example (1) under 'cast a spell on' (μαγεύω) above, there is a slightly less positive connotation of deceit in the word μάγισσα, as it suggests a more artful behaviour and broken promises. In general, μάγισσα has a more positive connotation in Greek than 'witch' in English. In keeping with this, Dionysis Savopoulos, a later 'singing poet', has emphatically insisted that the apostrophised subject is art, and the song a sort of invocation of the muse.[319]

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[316] *Γκιουλμπαχάρ* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[317] *Ναζιάρα σε φωνάζουνε* (Dimitris Gogos, alias "Bayianderas").
[318] *Γλυκές φελάχες* (Vasilis Tsitsanis). A *fellah*, pl. *fellahin*, is a peasant in Arabic-speaking countries, in English applied especially to those of Egypt (cf. *Oxford English Dictionary*, www.oed.com).
[319] Liveriadis (1997:12).

1. **Κουράστηκα για να σε αποκτήσω/ αρχόντισσά μου, *μάγισσα τρελή*
σαν θαλασσοδερμένος μες στο κύμα
παρηγοριά ζητούσα ο δόλιος στη ζωή**[320]
 (I toiled to attain you/ my lady, my *crazy sorceress*
like the storm-tossed prey of the waves
I searched for comfort, poor wretch, in life)

seductress (πλανεύτρα)

Source: 'seductress'; target: entity with power over the emotions of others. The noun πλανεύτρα occurs in 14 instances, 7 of them as metaphors of emotion and 7 in literal expressions. Compared to the previous expression, here the roles are reversed and the 'seductress', one of the entailments of the target domain above, serves as source domain. The target is an entity with the power to evoke emotions. A very diverse range of entities is described as 'seductress', including the heart, love, foreign lands, and in the following example, Tsitsanis's plectrum-stroke that captures the listener and evokes her emotions.

1. **και ν' ακούσεις του Τσιτσάνη/ *τη πλανεύτρα τη πενιά***[321]
   (and you'll hear Tsitsanis's/ *seductive plectrum-stroke*)

Remarks

The metaphorical expressions from the source domain MENTAL FORCE mainly express control or lack of control over emotion. The emotions conveyed are positive emotions of love, desire and infatuation, but also negative emotions such as deceit. The metaphors are largely conventional, but in some cases the various entailments of the metaphor involve some degree of creativity.

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[320] *Αρχόντισσα* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[321] *Η Μαρίτσα στο χαρέμι* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).

In the category INSANITY there are 242 instances of involvement in a metaphorical expression of emotion, divided between 9 notions; 5 are verbs, 2 are adjectives, 1 is a noun, and 1 an adverb. The emotion-related metaphoricity of the investigated words in this source domain is quite high; the percentage constituting metaphorical expressions of emotion is 82 %. As with MENTAL FORCE, the element of irrationality can be found in the metaphor INSANITY. But the main focus of this source domain is on the total lack (or loss) of control, resulting in insanity. A more exact formulation of the metaphor would be THE EFFECT OF AN INTENSE EMOTIONAL STATE IS INSANITY.[322] Unlike MENTAL FORCE, which can apply to any emotion, INSANITY is applied only to very intense emotions, such as anger, fear and love. A similarity between the two source domains is that the emotional states aimed at are not only seen as irrational, but also pleasant, where positive emotions are involved.

Table 6. Source domain: insanity

Expression	literal	metaphor	other trope	simile	literal/ metaphor	other	total
λωλαίνω/-ομαι		1 (100%)					1
λωλός		2 (100%)					2
παλαβώνω		2 (100%)					2
παραμιλώ		9 (82%)		1 (9%)	1 (9%)		11
τρέλα		17 (81%)			3 (14%)	1 (5%)	21
τρελά (adverb)		16 (84%)				3 (16%)	19
(ξε)τρελαίνω/-ομαι		96 (99%)				1 (1%)	97
τρελός		53 (44%)		22 (18%)	2 (2%)	44 (36%)	121
χάνω (το νου etc.)[323]		17 (68%)				3 (32%)	20
total		**213**		**23**	**6**	52	294

madness (τρέλα)
Source: 'madness'; target: loss of control over emotion; emotional (pleasurable) sensation. All 21 instances of the noun τρέλα are metaphorical, 17 are clear metaphors of emotion, 1 is a non-emotional metaphor, and 3 can be construed both metaphorically and literally. The metaphor is rather a commonplace cliché that denotes incapability to resist emotion, usually love and/or desire (1). The plural

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[322] Kövecses (2000:74).
[323] χάνω το λογισμό/ το μυαλό/ το νου μου, τα χάνω 'lose one's mind'.

τρέλες usually denotes passionate amorous activitiy, or revelry (2) (cf. 'rave' in English).

1. ***Τρέλα θα μου 'ρθει, δεν υποφέρω πια***
   Αχ, θα σε κλέψω μέσα απ' την Αραπιά[324]
   (*Madness will strike me*, I can't stand it anymore
   Oh, I will snatch you away from Arabia)

2. **Τώρα θάλασσες και πεύκο, *τρέλες* και φιλιά**
   και του έρωτα κορίτσια στην ακρογιαλιά[325]
   (Now it's seas and pine-trees, *madness* and kisses
   and girls for loving on the beach)

madly (τρελά)
Source: 'madly'; target: with no control over emotion; excessively. Metaphorical expressions with the adverb τρελά are rather common in the corpus as well as in everyday language. All 19 instances are metaphors, 16 concern emotion and 3 other target domains. Again the lack or loss of control over emotion is the cause. The actions described by this adverb are all connected to the emotion of love; the verb αγαπώ 'love' is used in the context of this metaphor 12 times, and various synonyms also occur. It is – as always, in Kövecses's terms – a potentially universal metaphor, and the conventionality of the metaphorical expressions appears to be high.

1. **Και τότε, πονηρή καρδιά/ αισθήματα πουλούσες**
   και μ' ορκιζόσουν πως κι εσύ/ *τρελά* με αγαπούσες[326]
   (And then, cunning heart/ you feigned affection
   and swore to me that you too/ were *madly* in love with me)

crazy (τρελός, λωλός)
Source: 'crazy'; target: crazy with emotion; intensity of emotion. There are 121 occurrences of the adjective τρελός and 2 of λωλός, none of them literal. The metaphoricity of the word is total in the corpus, and more than half of the metaphors concern emotion. It is a potentially universal and highly conventional specific-level metaphor, sprung from a likewise universal and conventional generic-level source domain. The more unusual λωλός is used only for the emotions love and desire (1), while the much more common τρελός occurs figuratively for a wider range of emotions, mainly positive, such as love, desire, and joy (2-4), but also some negative, such as rage and despair, as in the simile in

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[324] *Μισιρλού* (Michalis Patrinos/Nikos Roumbanis).
[325] *Φυσάει ο μπάτης* (Ioanna Yeorgakopoulou).
[326] *Τότε που τα 'χα τα λεφτά* (Markos Vamvakaris).

(5). In (3) 'crazy' has a more moderate connotation, as it denotes the whole concept of having a good time in describing the girls of the party as 'crazy'. The implications of the metaphor in this sense are that these girls excite emotions of joy, love and desire.

1. *Μ' έχει λωλό το Ερηνάκι/ με το μουσμουλί γοβάκι*
   (Little Irini *has driven me crazy*/ with her little loquat-coloured slippers)[327]

2. *Μ' έχουν τρελό τα χάδια σου/ έμορφη χαϊδεμένη*
   Αχ, Σμυρνιοπούλα μου γλυκιά/ και μικροπαντρεμένη[328]
   (*Your caresses have driven me crazy*/ pampered beauty
   Oh, girl from Smyrna, so sweet/ and married so young)

3. *Τρελές κοπέλες πεταχτές/ με χίλια-δυο μεράκια*
   μαζί σου θέλαν να βρεθούν/ να σπάσουνε κεφάκια[329]
   (*Crazy* and breezy *girls*/ with a thousand yearnings
   would want to be with you/ to go on a spree)

4. *Λόγια του κόσμου μην ακούς/ αχ, μην ακούς κανένα*
   γιατί εγώ, μικράκι μου, ψοφώ/ κι είμαι τρελός για σένα[330]
   (Don't listen to people's talk/ don't listen to anyone
   for *I*, my little one, *am* dying [with desire] for you/ and I'm *crazy about you*)

5. *Σ' έχασα και σαν τρελός ρωτώ/ τ' αστέρια, το φεγγάρι*
   μα όμως να μάθω δεν μπορώ, Χριστίνα μου/ ποιο δρόμο έχεις πάρει[331]
   (I've lost you and *like a madman* I ask/ the stars and the moon
   but I can't find out, dear Christina/ which road you've taken)

drive crazy (τρελαίνω, λωλαίνω, παλαβώνω)
Source: 'drive crazy'; target: drive crazy with emotion. The verbal phrase 'drive crazy' has 3 equivalents in the corpus, namely τρελαίνω, λωλαίνω and παλαβώνω. The most usual is of course τρελαίνω with 96 instances, all metaphors and only 1 with a target domain other than emotion. There is 1 occurrence of λωλαίνω and 2 of παλαβώνω, all 3 of them metaphors. What causes this insanity is either another person, the beauty of that person, or different parts of that person's body that stand metonymically for the person and/or his or her beauty. The entities driven crazy are in all instances persons, or notions that metonymically convey a person, such

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[327] *Το Ερηνάκι* (variant version of *Φέρτε πρέζα να φουμάρω*, Panayiotis Tountas).
[328] *Σμυρνιά* (anonymous, from a traditional song).
[329] *Στου Αλευρά τη μάντρα* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[330] *Όταν περνάς γιατί* (Panayiotis Tountas, from a traditional song).
[331] *Χριστίνα* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).

as the whole world, a city, or a village. In (1) it is the beauty of a person that has driven the narrator crazy, and in (2) the eyes (metonymic for beauty) have driven all Athens crazy. The frequency of the linguistic expressions using 'drive crazy' as a source domain is high, but the variety in the expressions is limited. Once again the metaphoricity is total, and this particular entailment of the specific-level metaphor INSANITY proves to be highly conventional and – according to conceptual metaphor theory – probably universal.

1. *Με τρέλαναν τα κάλλη σου/ και τ' όμορφο κεφάλι σου*
   στα μάτια μου στ' ορκίζομαι/ στα δύο πως χωρίζομαι[332]
   (*Your beauty and your lovely head/ have driven me crazy*
   I swear on my eyes/ that I'm breaking in two)

2. **Μελανουράκι μου σκερτσόζο/ μικρούλα μου και πεταχτή**
   με τα μαύρα σου τα μάτια/ έχει η Αθήνα τρελαθεί[333]
   (My coquettish brunette/ my little breezy one
   with your black eyes/ Athens has gone crazy)

lose one's mind (χάνω το μυαλό/νου/λογισμό μου, τα χάνω)
Source: 'lose one's mind'; target: be/become crazy with emotion. Compared to the above 'drive crazy', the expression 'lose one's mind' has a more active dimension. The emotion itself is the direct cause of 'losing one's mind', and the object of desire is merely the indirect cause. There are 19 instances[334] where the verb χάνω is combined with either of the nouns μυαλό, νους, or λογισμός 'mind', or the pronoun τα 'it' in the expression τα χάνω 'I'm losing it'. They are all metaphorical, and 13 of them concern emotion.

1. *Το νου μου χάνω, καίγομαι/ σαν λούλουδο μαραίνομαι*
   για σένα πεισματάρικο/ μικρό και παιχνιδιάρικο[335]
   (*I lose my mind*, I'm burning/ I wither like a flower
   for you, you wilful one/ so little and playful)

rave, be delirious (παραμιλώ)
Source: 'rave, be delirious'; target: be crazy with/ affected by emotion. There are 11 occurrences of the verb παραμιλώ, 9 of them are metaphors, 1 is a simile, and 1 has a double meaning, all emotion-related. In addition to the sense of insanity that is inherent in all the expressions in this domain, the verb 'rave' also has the

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[332] *Για σένα μαυρομάτα μου* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[333] *Μελανούρι* (Antonis Diamantidis, alias "Dalgas").
[334] The verb χάνω 'lose' (in active form) occurs 113 times in total, sometimes in a literal sense, and other times in a metaphorical, often in the form of idioms.
[335] *Πεισματάρικο* (Iakovos Montanaris).

connotation of frenzied behaviour, a symptom of incapacitating insanity and/or illness. The protagonist of (1) is so afflicted with love that he is delirious, and all to no avail in the event, as his emotions appear unrequited. Example (2) is extraordinary in (ironically) presenting the misfortune (συμφορά) which occasioned the delirium as a joy (χαρά); the remainder of the song portrays the misfortune as an emancipation.

1. **Καρδιοχτυπάς, *παραμιλάς*/ μπρος στο παράθυρό της
   και με παράπονο πικρό της τραγουδάς/ το σκοπό της**[336]
   (Your heart is beating [for her], *you're delirious*/ in front of her window
   and with bitter complaint you sing to her/ her melody)

2. **Βαδίζω και *παραμιλώ*/ μ' αυτή τη συμφορά μου
   Χωρίσαμε και έχω βρει/ ο δόλιος τη χαρά μου**[337]
   (I walk and *rave*/ because of this misfortune of mine
   We split up and I've found/ my joy again, poor me)

Remarks

The metaphorical expressions from the source domain INSANITY are very uniform. There is no great variation in expression, and there are many instances of most of the words. The metaphoricity of the words used in the source domain is strikingly high, and the metaphors are presumably universal. They all pertain to being, becoming, or driving someone irrational with emotion, and the target domain hence is concerned with maintenance, loss or lack of control over emotion, or making others lose control over emotion.

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[336] *Το κουρασμένο βήμα σου* (Kostas Virvos).
[337] *Βαδίζω και παραμιλώ* (Yiannis Papaioannou).

4.2.7 Emotion is Fire/Heat

One of the most common source domains in rebétiko is FIRE. The emotions involved with FIRE are mainly desire and love, but it also, to some extent, refers to other causes of trouble. The number of metaphorical expressions used is limited, but they are very frequent. Out of the 16 notions investigated 10 are expressed as nouns, 4 as verbs, and 2 as adjectives. In the category FIRE/HEAT there are 382 instances of metaphorical expression of emotion. The emotion-related metaphoricity of the investigated words in this source domain is very high; the percentage constituting metaphorical expressions of emotion is 84 %.

Specific-level metaphors like LIFE IS A FIRE, LIFE IS A FLAME and LIFE IS HEAT are very common in everyday language. They originate from basic human experiences and usually have extensive mappings with many entailments. The metaphor DESIRE IS FIRE, e.g., highlights the aspects 'to light', 'to flare up', 'to burn', and 'to extinguish'. The metaphor consists of an agonist that struggles to remain unchanged, and an antagonist, the emotion, that forces the agonist to undergo the effects of the emotion. The source domains 'fire' and 'heat' denote intense emotions, such as love, desire and anger. Accordingly, "various degrees of heat correspond to various degrees of intensity of emotion and lack of heat corresponds to lack of emotion".[338] The force of fire and heat is capable of causing damage not only to the entity burning (the one feeling the emotion), but also to another object (another person).

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[338] Kövecses (2000:76).

Table 7. Source domain: fire/heat

Expression	literal	metaphor	other trope	simile	literal/ metaphor	other	total
ανάβω	25 (28%)	62 (71%)			1 (1%)		88
αναπτήρας		1 (100%)					1
γιαγκίνι	2 (50%)	2 (50%)					4
καίω/καίγομαι	5 (4%)	99 (89%)				7 (6%)	111
καμίνι		1 (50%)		1 (50%)			2
κάψα		1 (100%)					1
λάβρα		3 (10%)					3
λυχνάρι		1 (100%)					1
πυρκαγιά		1 (100%)					1
σβήνω	6 (9%)	95 (81%)	1 (1%)	4 (3%)	3 (3%)	5 (4%)	114
φλόγα		20 (100%)					20
φλογερός		5 (100%)					5
φλογισμένος		2 (100%)					2
φουντώνω	3 (50%)	3 (50%)					6
φούντωση		1 (100%)					1
φωτιά	13 (14%)	72 (80%)		2 (2%)	1 (1%)	2 (2%)	90
total	54	**369**	**1**	**7**	**5**	14	450

fire (φωτιά, φλόγα, γιαγκίνι, πυρκαγιά, λάβρα)
Source: 'fire'; target: intense emotion (love, desire). The noun φωτιά is commonly used as a metaphor of emotion in the corpus. Of 91 occurrences, 13 are clearly literal, 2 are metaphorical but unrelated to emotion, 2 are similes, and 1 could be literal and/or metaphorical. That leaves 73 instances of clearly emotion-related metaphorical use of the word φωτιά (which is 80 %). In most cases 'fire' is used as a metaphor for love and/or desire for a person, sometimes unrequited, but on occasions the metaphor stands for life's difficulties, as in example (8). Also in example (9) 'fire' is a metaphor for difficulties, but the sustained development of the metaphor throughout the entire song makes it rather an allegory. In example (7), the first occurrence of the word is literal, while the second is a metaphor. The location of the 'fire' is sometimes specified, usually within the body (thus (μέσα) στην καρδιά 'in the heart', στο στήθος 'in the chest', στα μάτια 'in the eyes') but also 'in life' at large (στη ζωή)).

The metaphor *φωτιά* can denote the *Cause* of emotion, or the *Response* to emotion, or both *Cause* and *Response*, as illustrated in the following recurrent expressions:

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- **ανάβω, βάζω, πετώ φωτιά, ρίχνω στη φωτιά**
  with a focus on the *Cause* of the 'fire', which is often a person (1-4)
- **είναι/ γίνεται φωτιά**
  with a focus on the subject or event that turns into 'fire', i.e. *Response* (5)
- **έχω φωτιά, παίρνω φωτιά, είμαι στη φωτιά, πέφτω στη φωτιά, είμαι γεμάτος φωτιά, καίγομαι στη φωτιά**
  with a focus on the person feeling the emotion described as a form of 'fire', i.e. *Response* (6)[339]
- **αντέχω τη φωτιά, σβήνω (τη) φωτιά**
  with a focus on handling the emotion described as a form of 'fire', i.e. both *Cause and Response* (3) and (7-8)
- **φωτιά να κάψει, καίνε φωτιές, μια φωτιά φουντώνει/ανάβει**
  literal or metaphorical 'fire' as an actor in expressions of emotion, i.e. both *Cause and Response* (5), (7) and (9)

1. **Μου 'χεις ανάψει μια φωτιά/ και ντέρτι στο κεφάλι**
   και μια πληγή που δεν μπορεί/ να γίνει πιο μεγάλη[340]
   (*You have lit a fire* in me/ and a sorrow in my head
   and a wound that couldn't/ get any bigger)

2. **Α, Σμυρνιοπούλα, μ' άναψες/ φωτιά μ' αυτά τα μάτια**
   Σμυρνιοπούλα μου, θα με πεθάνεις/ το φτωχό, μικρούλα μου[341]
   (Oh, girl from Smyrna, *you've lit/ a fire in me* with those eyes
   Girl from Smyrna, you'll kill me/ poor me, my little one)

3. **Αν θέλεις βρ' Αθηναίισσα/ μαζί μου για να ζήσεις**
   και τη φωτιά που μ' άναψες/ φρόντισε να τη σβήσεις[342]
   (If you want, Athenian girl/ to live with me
   be sure *to put it out*/ the *fire that you've lit in me*)

4. **Πετούν τα μάτια σου φωτιές/ και μαραζώνεις τις καρδιές**[343]
   (*Your eyes shoot fire*/ and you make hearts wither)

5. **Με πλήγωσες και δεν ξεχνώ/ που τόσο έχω κλάψει**
   να γίνει η κατάρα μου/ φωτιά και να σε κάψει[344]

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[339] In the phrase 'την φωτιά σου', the meaning 'την φωτιά που έχεις' is understood.
[340] *Πασαλιμανιώτισσα* (Panayiotis Tountas).
[341] *Τα μάτια της Σμυρνιάς* (Panayiotis Tountas).
[342] *Αθηναίισσα* (Anestis Delias).
[343] *Ωραία Θεσσαλονικιά* (Michalis Yenitsaris).
[344] *Γεννήθηκα για να πονώ* (Kostas Virvos).

(You've hurt me and I can't forget/ how much I've cried
may my curse/ *turn into fire and burn you*)

6. **Σαν τη φλογερή ματιά σου/ που προδίδει *την φωτιά σου***
βρε δεν έχει ξαναγίνει/ *τέτοιο φλογερό καμίνι*[345]
(The likes of your *fiery* glance/ that betrays *your fire*
has never been seen before/ such a *fiery furnace*)

7. ***Έχω για γλέντι τις φωτιές*/ σαν είμαι στο καράβι**
μα δεν αντέχω στη φωτιά/ που στην καρδιά μ' ανάβει[346]
(*I have fun with the fires*/ when I'm on the ship
But *I can't stand the fire*/ *that kindles* in my heart)

8. **Από τις θάλασσες κι *απ' τις φωτιές*/ έχω γλιτώσει χιλιάδες φορές**
μα απ' τη κατάρα σου τη φοβερή/ για να με σώσει κανείς δε μπορεί[347]
(From seas and *from fires*/ *I've escaped* thousands of times
but from your terrible curse/ nobody can save me)

9. **Αφ' ότου εγεννήθηκα/ *φωτιά με τριγυρίζει***
***αν μ' έκαιγε θα γλίτωνα*/ *μ' αυτή με βασανίζει*[348]**
(From the day I was born/ *a fire has stalked me*
if it burnt me I'd be free of it/ but it *keeps torturing me*)

Although φωτιά is the usual word for 'fire', other less common words occur in quite well-known songs, such as φούντωση and φλόγα (example 11), λάβρα, and (καρα)γιαγκίνι (example 12). A plethora of words from the source domain is used in example (13) to form a playful allegory replete with figurative expressions of combustion denoting love and desire.

11. ***Μια φούντωση, μια φλόγα*/ έχω μέσα στην καρδιά[349]**
(*A blaze and a flame*/ I have in my heart)

12. **Μη με ρωτάτε βλάμηδες/ γιατί είμαι λυπημένη**
***Καραγιαγκίνι μες στην καρδιά*/ έχω και με μαραίνει[350]**
(Don't ask me, my friends/ why I'm sad
a fierce fire in the heart/ is what I have and it withers me)

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[345] *Ο αναπτήρας* (Stratos Payioumtzis).
[346] *Δουλεύω χρόνια θερμαστής* (Yiannis Dragatsis).
[347] *Από τις θάλασσες κι απ' τις φωτιές* (Babis Bakalis).
[348] *Αφ' ότου εγεννήθηκα* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[349] *Φραγκοσυριανή* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[350] *Φέρτε πρέζα να πρεζάρω* (Panayiotis Tountas).

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13. *Αναπτήρας με φιτίλι*/ είναι τα δικά σου χείλη
σπίρτο είναι λες μονάχο/ τέτοιον *αναπτήρα* να 'χω
τσαφ και έπαιρνε φωτιά/ *τσουφ και σπίθα* στην καρδιά
/*Αναπτήρας με βενζίνα*/ είσαι κούκλα μου τσαχπίνα
σαν *ανάβεις* με γλυκαίνεις/ και μες στην καρδιά μου μπαίνεις
τσαφ και έπαιρνε φωτιά/ με την πρώτη τη ματιά
/*Σαν τη φλογερή ματιά σου*/ που προδίδει *την φωτιά σου*
βρε δεν έχει ξαναγίνει/ *τέτοιο φλογερό καμίνι*
τσαφ και πήρε πυρκαγιά/ ήταν ατσίδα, βρε παιδιά
/*Αναπτήρας με την πέτρα*/ είσαι πονηρή και ψεύτρα
είσαι στα ναζάκια μάνα/ και *η σπίθα πάει διάνα*
τσαφ και έπαιρνε φωτιά/ *τσουφ και κάηκε* η καρδιά[351]
A lighter with a wick/ is what your two lips are
It is very *smart*, you say/ to have a *lighter* like that
pop! and it was well alight/ *snap! and there'd be a spark* in my heart
/*A lighter with petrol*/ you are, my doll, my saucy thing
when *you light* you cajole me/ and you get into my heart
pop! and it was well alight/ with the very first glance
/The likes of your *fiery* glance/ that betrays *your fire*
has never been seen before/ such a *fiery furnace*
pop! and it was well ablaze/ she was a smart one, lads
/*A lighter with a flint*/ you are cunning and a liar
you're a past master at coquettry/ and *the spark* hits the mark
pop! and it was well alight/ snap! and my heart *got scorched*)

light, turn on (ανάβω)

Source: 'light', 'ignite', 'turn on'; target: evoke an emotion; incite an emotion/ event. The verb ανάβω is found in 88 instances, of which 25 are literal, 62 are metaphors of emotion, and 1 is a double entendre. Ανάβω is used both transitively and intransitively. It occurs intransitively with subjects such as various persons (2), 'eyes', 'fire', 'hearts', and 'lust'. In its transitive form, its most common subjects are persons (1), but other abstract or concrete entities also appear as subjects, such as κάλλη 'beauty', μάτια 'eyes' and κορμί 'body'. The most common objects are by far φωτιά 'fire' (1) and φλόγα 'flame', but there are also instances of objects concerning yearning and metaphorical pain, and more unusual objects as πληγή 'wound' and γλέντι 'party' (3). The most common site of combustion is στο στήθος 'in the chest' and στην καρδιά 'in the heart'. As both of them essentially

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[351] *Ο αναπτήρας* (Stratos Payioumtzis). The phrase *είναι σπίρτο μοναχό* is idiomatic and means 'he's as sharp as a needle'. The literal meaning of σπίρτο is 'match' or 'distilled, inflammable spirit' and in this song σπίρτο alludes to fire just as the many other metaphors here, but this double meaning cannot readily be translated into English.

denote the same place the variation is probably due to considerations of metre and rhyme. Although it is certainly its most common use, ανάβω is not exclusively a metaphor for love and lust (1), but can also appear in metaphors for other emotions, like rage (2), or even for instigation of revelry (3), which is its least conventional usage.

1. **Στην Αθήνα μια μικρούλα/ όμορφη και νοστιμούλα**
   με τα μάτια της τα μαύρα/ *μ' άναψε φωτιά και λάβρα*[352]
   (In Athens a young girl/ pretty and delicious
   with her black eyes/ *she lit in me* a fire and sweltering heat)

2. **Κι αν είμαι ζόρικος που λες/ εσύ τα φταις και μόνο**
   Όταν σε βλέπω μ' άλλονε/ *ανάβω και φουντώνω*[353]
   (And if I'm stroppy, you know/ it's all your own fault
   When I see you with another man/ *I catch fire and flare up*)

3. **Θα κατέβω στου Τσελεπή/ μες τον Πειραιά**
   και *θ' ανάψω φίνο γλέντι*/ σ' όλη τη μαγκιά[354]
   (I'll go down to Tselepi wharf/ in Piraeus
   and *I'll stoke up a fine party*/ for all the machos)

extinguish, turn off (σβήνω)
Source: 'put out', 'extinguish'; 'turn off'; target: take away an emotion; destroy; stem a desire. The verb σβήνω occurs 114 times in the corpus; 95 of the instances involve clear metaphors of emotion, and only 6 are literal expressions. As a metaphor it has several senses; one sense, to 'extinguish' (obliterate an emotion), highlights relief from emotion (1-2). These emotions are mainly negative, such as rage and sorrow. Another sense, to 'extinguish/be extinguished' (by emotion or circumstances in life), highlights destruction (3) and has the same meaning as λειώνω 'melt/wear down' from the source domain NATURAL FORCE. A third sense foregrounds the gratification of an emotion, usually the satisfaction of a desire (4). The metaphor occurs in both intransitive (3) and transitive (4) form. Though various persons are the most common subjects in both forms, a great variety of entities are the subjects especially of the intransitive form, where various words denoting 'fire', 'yearnings' and emotional 'pain' are frequent (1). The objects of the transitive form vary too, from abstractions like emotions (2) to metaphorical entities that usually stand for emotion – positive or negative. Σβήνω has many senses in common usage, which can have different connotations in translations into other languages (to judge from English and Swedish), and it is difficult to

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[352] *Στην Αθήνα μια μικρούλα* (Yiovan Tsaous).
[353] *Ο ζόρικος* (Apostolos Chatzichristos).
[354] *Με ζουρνάδες και νταούλια* (Panayiotis Tountas).

derive a uniform notion of the metaphor. This might be an indication of the culture-specific nature of the metaphor.

1. **Είναι φίνα και μ' αρέσει/ η μποέμικη ζωή**
   σαν μεθώ και κάνω κέφι/ τότε *σβήνουν οι καημοί* [355]
   (It is nice and I like it/ this bohemian life
   as I get drunk and get in the mood/ then *all sorrows are put out*)

2. **λιγάκι, άνθρωπε μου, λογικέψου/ και *σβήσε πια του μίσους την οργή*** [356]
   (come to your senses a bit, my friend/ and at last *put out the rage of hate*)

3. ***Σβήνω απ' τον πόθο/ μ' άλλον σαν σε νοιώθω/***
   αχ, Ζαΐρα μου γλυκιά [357]
   (*I perish from desire*/ when I feel you're with someone else/
   oh, my sweet Zaira)

4. **Τέτοια γούστα, τέτοια γλύκα/ αχ, σε άλλη δεν τα βρήκα**
   να χορεύει και να πίνει/ και *τη φλόγα μου να σβήνει* [358]
   (Such fancies, such sweetness/ oh, I've found them in no other
   as she dances and she drinks/ and *puts out my fire*)

burn (καίω, καίγομαι)
Source: 'burn'; target: destroy, consume. The verb καίω is a frequently used metaphor in rebétiko; 99 of the 111 instances are metaphors of emotion, 7 are metaphors from other source domains, and 5 are literal expressions. The active voice, καίω, has a transitive meaning, and the passive voice, καίγομαι, is usually used without an agent. The subject in the phrases with καίω can be either a person that 'burns' another entity or person (1), or an emotion that 'burns' the protagonist. The latter applies to (2) and (3), although in (3) it takes the form of a curse. Persons as objects are quite often denoted metonymically by the part of the body where emotion is usually perceived to be felt, i.e. by words like καρδιά 'heart' and σωθικά 'innards' (4). This specific metaphor might occur frequently in other languages as well, but it is doubtful whether it is as widely spread universally as it is in Greek, where it constitutes a highly conventionalised metaphor.

1. **Αμάν Αννίτσα, *μ' έκαψες*, κουκλίτσα/ δεν αντέχω, φως μου, πια**
   αμάν ανάβω, όμορφο κουκλί μου/ μου πληγώνεις την καρδιά [359]

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[355] *Δυο μεράκια στην καρδιά μου* (Dimitris Semsis).
[356] *Ο θάνατός μου είναι η ζωή σου* (Prodromos Tsaousakis).
[357] *Ζαΐρα* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[358] *Είδα κι έπαθα, κυρά μου* (Stavros Pantelidis).
[359] *Αμάν Αννίτσα* (Stavros Pantelidis).

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(Oh, little Anna, *you've burnt me*, my beauty/ I can't take anymore, my light
oh, I'm on fire, my beautiful doll/ you're wounding my heart)

2. **Μου 'χεις ανάψει μια φωτιά/ και *καίγουμ'* ολοένα**
   Τα έρημά μου τα σωθικά/ μου τα 'χεις πληγωμένα[360]
   (You've lit a fire in me/ and *I'm* constantly *burning*
   My poor innards/ you've injured them)

3. **Με πλήγωσες και δεν ξεχνώ/ που τόσο έχω κλάψει**
   να γίνει η κατάρα μου/ φωτιά και *να σε κάψει*[361]
   (You've hurt me and I can't forget/ how much I've cried
   may my curse turn/ into fire and *burn you*)

4. **Με τα φρύδια τα σμιχτά/ τα ματάκια τα σβηστά**
   ***μου 'χεις κάψει* την καρδιά μου/ και πονούν τα σωθικά μου**[362]
   (With your joined eyebrows/ and your sultry eyes
   you've burnt my heart/ and my innards hurt)

Remarks

The metaphor FIRE/HEAT seems obviously universal, and several of the meta-
phorical expressions in the corpus are rather conventional in Greek. Few of these
specific-level metaphors appear original or culture-specific. More impressive is
the frequency of metaphors from this source domain in rebétiko, especially those
involving the verbs ανάβω, σβήνω and καίω.

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[360] *Τα μαγεμένα μάτια σου* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[361] *Γεννήθηκα για να πονώ* (Kostas Virvos).
[362] *Ελενίτσα μου* (Yiannis Dragatsis, alias "Ogdontakis").

4.2.8 Emotion is a Physiological Force

The specific-level metaphor EMOTION IS A PHYSIOLOGICAL FORCE is the first encountered thus far in the corpus to focus on both cause and response, as listed by Kövecses. 36 words are involved; 19 verbs, 15 nouns, and 2 adjectives. In the category PHYSIOLOGICAL FORCE there are 451 instances where one of the specified words is involved in a metaphorical expression of emotion. The emotion-related metaphoricity of the investigated words in this source domain is high; the percentage constituting metaphorical expressions of emotion is 65 %. In Kövecses's original notion of physiological forces only hunger, thirst, illness and agitation are included, but for the purposes of this study it is also expedient to include metaphors with source domains concerning other bodily functions and reactions. Hence, in addition to notions like 'healing', 'illness' and 'thirst', expressions with words such as 'bleed', 'tears' and 'die' have been included. Many of these expressions are metonymical since an actual bodily change often occurs as a result of an emotional state.

Table 8. Source domain: physiological force

Expression	literal	metaphor	other trope	simile	literal/ metaphor	other	total
αγιάτρευτος		5 (100%)					5
αίμα	3 (12 %)	16 (67%)				5 (21%)	24
(βαρι)αναστενάζω	3 (10%)	1 (4%)	19 (66%)		6 (21%)		29
(ανα)στεναγμός		2 (14%)	9 (64%)		3 (22%)		14
αρρωσταίνω	2 (15%)	8 (62%)			3 (23%)		13
αρρώστια	1 (100%)						1
άρρωστος	2 (50%)	1 (25%)				1 (25%)	4
βρέχω (wet)	1 (11%)	1 (11%)	1 (11%)		3 (33%)	3 (33%)	9
γέλιο	2 (14%)		9 (64%)		3 (21%)		14
γελώ (opp. κλαίω)	9 (17%)		20 (37%)		20 (38%)	4 (8%)	53
γιαίνω	9 (23%)	30 (78%)					39
γιατρεύω	1 (6%)	16 (94%)					17
γιατρειά	1 (14%)	6 (86%)					7
γιατρικό	4 (67%)	2 (33%)					6
γιατρός	16 (80%)	4 (20%)					20
δάκρυ	1 (2%)	11 (19%)	45 (78%)	1 (2%)			58
δακρύζω			23 (100%)				23
διψώ	1 (25%)	2 (50%)		1 (25%)			4
ζάλη	6 (60%)	2 (20%)			2 (20%)		10
ζαλίζω/-ομαι	4 (19%)	10 (48%)			3 (14%)	4 (19%)	21

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θαμπώνω		4 (100%)					4
θάνατος	10 (77%)				3 (23%)		13
ιδρώτας					3(100%)		3
ιδρώνω					1(100%)		1
καρδιοχτύπι		3 (100%)					3
καρδιοχτυπώ		9 (100%)					9
ματώνω		12 (100%)					12
ξεψυχώ	13 (81%)	3 (19%)					16
πεθαίνω	51 (49%)	38 (36%)			13 (12%)	3 (3%)	105
πείνα	7 (100%)						7
πεινώ	1 (100%)						1
τρώω	6 (15%)	18 (44%)				17 (41%)	41
χαμόγελο			3 (100%)				3
χαμογελώ	1 (13%)		3 (38%)		4 (50%)		8
χάνομαι	24 (35%)	39 (57%)			3 (4%)	3 (4%)	69
Χάρος[363]	15 (45%)	3 (9%)	8 (24%)			7 (21%)	33
total	194	**246**	**140**	**2**	**63**	54	699

heal ([υ]γιαίνω)

Source: 'heal'; target: make happy, take away sorrow; intransitively: *enjoy, recover health.* Out of the 40 instances of the verb (υ)γιαίνω, 31 are metaphors of emotion and 9 are literal expressions. The verb γιαίνω stands metaphorically for either gratification of positive emotion or removal/reduction of negative emotion. It is used both transitively (1) and intransitively (2). The entities seeking to be healed are usually persons (2) or their hearts (1), and (more rarely) a metaphorical wound or yearning and emotional pain, while the proposed agents of healing are other persons – usually the object of unrequited love – and their kisses or words (1), or less frequently drinking, music or sorceresses and their herbal remedies. In Greek this metaphor is commonplace and conventional, but even though it occurs in other languages as well, the high frequency with which it is used in Greek, and in particular in rebétiko song texts, is noteworthy.

1. **Πες μου γλυκά λογάκια/ και δω' γλυκά φιλάκια**
   να γιάνεις την καρδιά μου/ μονάκριβη κυρά μου[364]

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[363] The notion Χάρος/Χάροντας is of course already a metaphor for death.

[364] *Με τις μυρωδιές σου* (Markos Vamvakaris). Kounadis (2005:183) transcribes και *δυο γλυκά φιλάκια* (and *two* sweet kisses), but it I hear δω', a non-standard form of δώσε/δώσ' (imperative of 'give').

(Tell me sweet little words/ and give sweet kisses
to heal my heart/ my one and only lady)

2. **Μη με πληγώνεις και πονώ/ άσε με *για να γιάνω***
   Καθημερινώς αισθάνομαι/ πως τη ζωή μου χάνω[365]
   (Don't wound me, because I hurt/ *let me heal*
   Every day I feel/ I'm losing my life)

cure (γιατρεύω)
Source: 'cure'; target: make happy, take away sorrow. There are 17 occurrences of the verb γιατρεύω, only 1 of which is literal and the remaining 16 all metaphors of emotion. Γιατρεύω is partly synonymous with the above γιαίνω, but with an additional connotation of medical cure, as it derives from the noun γιατρός (<ιατρός) 'doctor'. Unlike γιαίνω, γιατρεύω is found also in the imperfect aspect, which means that the verb is used in almost all tenses. It occurs in both active and passive voice. As with γιαίνω, the recipients of the treatment are usually persons seeking a cure (2), their hearts (1), or metonymically their heartaches and yearnings. The agents of healing are again usually the objects of unrequited love or their kisses (2) or words, and occasionally wine, hookahs (1) or love in the abstract.

1. **Αργιλέ μου, πες τι φταίω/ που φουμάρω κι όλο κλαίω**
   Αχ, περήφανε λουλά μου/ *γιάτρεψέ μου την καρδιά μου*[366]
   (My nargileh, tell me how am I to blame/ smoking and crying all day
   Oh, my proud hookah/ *cure my heart for me*)

2. **Ένα γλυκό φιλάκι σου/ βγάλε απ' το στοματάκι σου**
   μη θες να με παιδεύεις
   εσύ για μένα είσαι γιατρός/ εσύ θα με γιατρέψεις[367]
   (One sweet little kiss of yours/ give me from your little mouth
   don't wish to torment me
   to me you are a doctor/ you're the one that'll cure me)

cure (γιατρειά)
Source: 'cure', 'remedy'; target: deliverance from negative emotion/event. There is 1 literal expression with the noun γιατρειά in the corpus, and 6 metaphors of emotion. 'Cure' or 'remedy' is a common source domain for either 'deliverance from negative emotion' (1) or 'gratification of positive emotion' (2) in the corpus,

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[365] *Μη με πληγώνεις και πονώ* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[366] *Αργιλέ μου γιατί σβήνεις* (Stelios Chrisinis).
[367] *Μάγκικο μελαχρινό* (Markos Vamvakaris).

and a conventional metaphor deeply entrenched in Greek conceptual language. It is always a person that seeks the cure, in most cases for sorrow and unrequited love (1 and 2).

1. **Τα ματάκια της, τα φρυδάκια της/ τα σγουρά μαύρα μαλλάκια της**
    μ' έχουν κάψει την καρδιά μου/ και *δεν βρίσκω πια τη γιατρειά μου*[368]
    (Her sweet eyes, her sweet eyebrows/ and her curly black hair
    they've burnt my heart/ and *I can find no cure any more*)

2. **κι όλο λειώνω απ' την αγάπη που 'χω στην καρδιά**
    και χωρίς αυτήν *ποτέ δε θα 'βρω γιατρειά*[369]
    (and I keep melting from the love I have in my heart
    and without her *I'll never find a cure*)

make dizzy (ζαλίζω)
Source: 'make dizzy'; target: be overwhelmed by emotion; lose one's balance. The verb ζαλίζω is used both in active and in passive voice. There are 4 literal instances, 4 metaphorical expressions from other source domains, 10 clear metaphors of emotion, and 3 expressions with more or less double meaning. The expressions with ζαλίζω denote both positive emotions – desire/love in (1) – and negative– anger and jealousy in (2). Different aspects are highlighted accordingly; with positive emotions the metaphor highlights the notion of being mesmerised – by a person, or his/her beauty, caresses, or dancing *inter alia* –, whereas with negative emotions, as in the single instance in (1), the feeling of being blinded by emotion is conveyed.

1. **Ένας μαγνήτης είναι η ματιά σου/ *ζαλίζει*, ξεμυαλίζει σαν κοιτάς**
    μα μένα χρόνια τώρα βασανίζεις
    με κοροϊδεύεις κι όλο λες πως μ' αγαπάς[370]
    (Your glance is a magnet/ it *bewilders*, it seduces when you look
    but for years you've been tormenting me
    you fool me saying that you love me)

2. **Έμαθα πολλά μικρό μου/ που *ζαλίζουν* το μυαλό μου**[371]
    (I've learned a lot, my dear/ that *stuns* my mind)

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[368] *Ταταυλιανή τσαχπίνα* (Antonis Diamantidis, alias "Dalgas").
[369] *Μες στις Αθήνας τις ομορφιές* (Panayiotis Tountas).
[370] *Μποέμισσα* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[371] *Έμαθα πολλά μικρό μου* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).

fall/make ill (αρρωσταίνω)

Source: 'fall/ make ill'; target: feel/cause emotional pain. The verb αρρωσταίνω occurs in its literal sense in only 2 instances, as a metaphor of emotion in 8 instances, and as double entendre 3 times. It is used both intransitively (1) and transitively (2), in the latter case with persons or their hearts as objects. The causes of illness are other persons, their eyes and their spitefulness. This is a conventional metaphor that can be used to depict positive emotions such as desire and love, as well as negative emotions such as sorrow and disappointment. Often it is difficult to distinguish between the instances of depiction of positive and negative emotions, since the emotional disposition depends on the outcome of the events and the attitudes of the subject and/or object of the emotions.

1. **Τα ματάκια σου τα δυο/ δεν τα βλέπω κι *αρρωστώ***
   σαν τα βλέπω με τρελαίνουν/ και στον Άδη με πηγαίνουν[372]
   (Those two eyes of yours/ when I don't see them *I fall ill*
   when I see them they drive me crazy/ and they take me to Hades)

2. **Μη με κοιτάς στα μάτια/ γιατί ζαλίζομαι […]**
   /Γιατί με *αρρωσταίνεις*/ μικρή, στ' ορκίζομαι[373]
   (Don't look me in the eyes/ because I get dizzy […]
   /Because you *make me ill*/ my dear, I swear to you)

[make] bleed (ματώνω)

Source: 'bleed'; target: hurt, feel emotional pain. The verb ματώνω is a very common metaphor for emotional pain caused by any of the more intense emotions, both positive and negative. It occurs 12 times in the corpus, and only as a metaphor for emotional pain caused by grief, sorrow and disappointment. It is a reasonable assumption that 'bleed' is a potentially universal metaphor, in Kövecses's view, since it is encountered in many languages. It is also a quite conventional one, although possibly more elaborated in some languages, among them Greek, than in others. The location of the bleeding is occasionally specified as the heart or chest. The causes include other people, poverty, and in isolated instances a hookah, an evocative moslem call-to-prayer fraught with personal associations (1), and a metaphorical cloudy Sunday (2).

1. **Σαν βγαίνει ο χότζας στο τζαμί/ αργά σαν σουρουπώνει**
   όταν θα πει το Μπιρ Αλλάχ, Μπιρ Αλλάχ/ το στήθος μου ματώνει[374]

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[372] *Ελενίτσα μου* (Yiannis Dragatsis, alias "Ogdontakis"). In this verse the verb appears in the non-standard form αρρωστώ, which is probably used here for reasons of metre and rhyme.
[373] *Έλα-έλα* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[374] *Μπιρ Αλλάχ* (Ioannis Stamoulis).

(When the hodja comes out at the mosque/ late at twilight
and when he calls out 'Bir Allah'/ *my chest bleeds*)

2. **Είσαι μια μέρα σαν κι αυτή/ που 'χασα την χαρά μου**
   Συννεφιασμένη Κυριακή/ *ματώνεις την καρδιά μου*[375]
   (You are a day like the one/ when I lost my joy
   Cloudy Sunday/ you *make* my heart *bleed*)

blood (αίμα)
Source: 'blood'; target: emotional pain. Of the 24 instances of αίμα, 16 are metaphors of emotion, 5 are other metaphorical expressions, and 3 are literal. In the metaphorical expressions of emotion αίμα is commonly combined with a variety of verbs; as a subject of στάζω 'drip' (1) and as an object of χύνω 'shed', βάφω 'paint', πίνω 'drink', and πληρώνω (με αίμα) 'pay (with blood)' (2). 'Blood' is likely to be a conventional, and also potentially universal, metaphor with many target domains other than emotion, but emotion is by far the most common target in the rebétiko corpus.

1. **Αυτή η καρδιά που πλήγωσες/ *στάζει ακόμα αίμα***
   κι έβαψα το μαντίλι μου/ και το 'στειλα σε σένα[376]
   (This heart that you hurt/ *is* still *dripping blood*
   and I've dyed my scarf/ and sent it to you)

2. **Τη ζωή μου έπαιξα με σένα/ τη ζημιά σου *πλήρωσα με αίμα***[377]
   (I gambled my life on you/ *I paid* for the damage you did *with blood*)

be lost (χάνομαι)
Source: 'be/get lost', 'perish'; target: be confused, be out of control and/or power; feel grief, despair. There are as many as 69 occurrences of the notion in the corpus, 39 of them are metaphors of emotion, 3 are other metaphorical expressions, 24 are literal, and 3 are ambiguous. The passive voice, χάνομαι, denotes being lost or perishing, and is used metaphorically for loss/lack of control, or the feeling of grief and despair. The active voice χάνω (το νου etc.) is found in the source domain of INSANITY. Χάνομαι is commonly combined with one or more other verbs that literally or metaphorically reinforce its the meaning as illustrated below.

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[375] *Συννεφιασμένη Κυριακή* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[376] *Το κόκκινο μαντίλι* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[377] *Παίξτε μπουζούκια, παίξτε βιολιά* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).

1. **Όταν σου 'λεγα με πόνο/ *χάνομαι* για σένα λειώνω**
   έριχνες τα μάτια σου μικρή μου χαμηλά
   κοίταζες να πάρεις κάποιου άλλου τα φιλιά[378]
   (When I used to tell you in my pain/ that *I'm lost* because of you, I'm melting
   you would lower your eyes/ and sought to gain someone else's kisses)

2. ***Χάνομαι*, σβήνω, δε ξέρω τι θα γίνω**
   Γυρνώ πια απελπισμένος, στιγμή δεν σε ξεχνώ[379]
   (*I perish*, I'm consumed, I don't know what'll become of me
   I wander in despair, I can't forget you for a moment)

3. **Έλα, κούκλα μου, ξανθούλα/ πια να σε χαρώ**
   ***χάνομαι*, πεθαίνω, λειώνω/ φως μου, δε βαστώ**[380]
   (Come on, my beauty, little blondie/ let me enjoy you
   I'm lost, I'm dying, I'm melting/ I can't bear it anymore, my light)

4. **Με μάρανε, μανούλα μου/ *χάνομαι*, δεν θα ζήσω**
   και με πικρό παράπονο/ τα μάτια μου θα κλείσω[381]
   (He's made me wither, dear mother/ *I'm lost*, I will not live
   and with a bitter complaint/ I will close my eyes)

5. **Αχ, πεθαίνω για το λάγνο σου φιλί**
   χάθηκα, τρελάθηκα, στον ερωτά σου βάλθηκα[382]
   (Oh, I'm dying for your lustful kiss
   I'm lost, I've gone crazy, I'm entangled in your love)

die [kill] (πεθαίνω)
Source: 'die'; target: feeling grief, despair; be destroyed by emotion (heartache, grief, despair). Most of the 105 instances of πεθαίνω are literal, but 38 are metaphorical expressions of emotion, 13 have a double meaning, and 3 are metaphors with other target domains. In the present tense the verb πεθαίνω is mostly used metaphorically, while in the past sense it is used almost exclusively literally. Remarkably the verb is often used transitively in colloquial Greek in apparent defiance of its literal meaning, as in (2).[383] In (1) πεθαίνω depicts the negative

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[378] *Μη μου λες γιατί ξεχνάω* (Kostas Skarvelis).
[379] *Ζητώ παντού ο καημένος* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[380] *Σε μια ξανθούλα* (Stellakis Perpiniadis).
[381] *Μ' έδωκες σε πλούσιο* (Kostas Skarvelis). Once again μανούλα μου is used literally, even though in most cases it is merely an exclamation that is not directed to a mother (cf. fn 315).
[382] *Χάθηκα τρελάθηκα* (Panayiotis Tountas).
[383] Cf. the transitive use in colloquial Greek of γελώ, normally intransitive 'I laugh', but with a direct object 'I deceive' (thus in the corpus: Χαρικλάκι, πώς με γέλασες). Sometimes such colloquial usage is ironic: τον αυτοκτόνησε η αστυνομία, 'the police suicided him', cf. Mackridge (1985:94-95).

emotion of disappointment and sorrow, whereas in (2) the notion has an oddly positive connotation of admiration and excitement.

1. **Κάτι κρύβεις μέσα στην καρδιά σου/ το διαβάζω, το βλέπω στη ματιά σου**
   Μήπως με βαρέθηκες, να φύγω/ *μη με κάνεις να πεθαίνω λίγο-λίγο*[384]
   (You're hiding something in your heart/ I read it, I can see it in your eyes
   Perhaps you're bored with me, shall I leave/ *don't make me die* little by little)

2. **Με τρελαίνεις, *με πεθαίνεις*/ με τον όμορφο χορό**
   σπάσ' τα όλα, σπάσ' τα όλα/ και θα τα πληρώσω εγώ[385]
   (You drive me crazy, *you're killing me*/ with your lovely dance
   break it all, break it all/ I'll pay for it)

eat (τρώω)
Source: 'eat', 'gnaw'; target: ruin, wear down, bother. The verb τρώω is frequently used in colloquial Greek in the same way as 'gnaw' or 'eat away at' is in English, and not always in expressions concerning emotion. Of the 41 instances in the corpus only 6 are literal, 18 are metaphors of emotion, and 17 are metaphors with other target domains. The agent in the metaphors is rarely a person, but more often an abstraction denoting emotional pain (ντέρτι, βάσανο, σεκλέτι, μαράζι, σαράκι, μεράκι, πόνος) as in (1) and (3), or other negative emotions like jealousy or suspicion (2). The objects of the metaphor are in most cases persons, and on some occasions life, a heart or innards (1).

1. **Γιατί, γιατί μου το 'κρυψες/ το ντέρτι της καρδιάς σου**
   που μάρανε τα νιάτα σου/ και *τρώει τα σωθικά σου*;[386]
   (Why, why did you hide it from me/ the longing of your heart
   that has withered your youth/ and *eats away at your innards*?)

2. **Με *τρώει* κάποια μαύρη υποψία/ πως άλλος την καρδιά σου κυβερνά**
   και αν αυτό είναι η αλήθεια/ δώσ' μου μαχαιριά στα στήθια
   πριν γκρεμίσουν τα όνειρά μου τα χρυσά[387]
   (A certain black suspicion *is eating away at me*
   that someone else rules your heart
   and if that is true/ give me a stab in the chest
   before my golden dreams crumble)

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[384] *Κάθε βράδυ πάντα λυπημένη* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[385] *Παλαμάκια-παλαμάκια* (Yiorgos Mitsakis). The phrase *τα σπάω (όλα)*, 'break it (all)', is idiomatic and means 'to party', 'to go on a spree'.
[386] *Γιατί, γιατί μου το 'κρυψες* (Nontas Yiannakas).
[387] *Της ταβέρνας το ρολόι* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).

3. **Λαβωματιές με γέμισες/ και *μ' έφαγαν* οι πόνοι**
   και στη φωτιά που μ' έριξες/ τίποτα δε με σώνει[388]
   (You covered me in wounds/ and the pains *have eaten away at me*
   and from the fire you cast me into/ there's nothing that can save me)

laugh (γελώ)
Source: 'laugh'; target: feel joy/ happiness. The 40 instances of emotion-related figurative use of the verb γελώ are mainly metonymical; there are as many as 20 occurrences of clear metonymies, and 20 of the examples can be interpreted both literally and figuratively. That leaves 9 clearly literal instances and 4 metaphorical expressions with target domains other than emotion. In the metaphors/metonymies of emotion, laughter denotes joy and can be located not just in the face (specifically the lips), but also the heart. In the example below, γελώ could be interpreted both literally and figuratively; a metonymic sense would not exclude a literal meaning, but would mainly focus on the lack of joy.

1. **Τα χείλη μου *δε γέλασαν* μια μέρα/ δε βρήκα πουθενά παρηγοριά**
   τα βάσανα, οι πίκρες και οι πόνοι/ μου πλήγωσαν για πάντα την καρδιά[389]
   (My lips *haven't laughed* one single day/ I found comfort nowhere
   torments, grief and pains/ have wounded my heart forever)

sigh (αναστενάζω)
Source: 'sigh'; target: feel despair, sorrow, resignation; yearn, long for. The verb αναστενάζω is a common metonymy in everyday Greek. It occurs in 19 metonymical expressions of emotion in the corpus. This compares with just one metaphor, 3 literal uses, and 6 instances that can be interpreted either literally or figuratively. There are echoes of folk song expression in some of this usage (cf. *4.5.5 Similarities between Metaphors in the Corpus and those in Erotokritos and Greek Folk Song*). In (1) αναστενάζω denotes the pain of unrequited love. By contrast, in (2), it stands for despair bordering on madness, at defeat in war, undignified behaviour for an emperor. Both instances are expressions denoting emotion through bodily reaction, where the bodily reaction itself cannot be excluded.

1. **Ως πότε δεν θα μ' αγαπάς/ και δεν θα με κοιτάζεις**
   και γι' άλλονε, μικρούλα μου/ θα κλαις, θα *αναστενάζεις*[390]
   (How long will you not love me/ and not look at me
   and over someone else, my little one/ will you cry and *sigh*)

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[388] *Αντιλαλούνε τα βουνά* (Eftichia Papayiannopoulou).
[389] *Σε ποιον να πω τον πόνο μου* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[390] *Θα σε πλανέψω μια φορά* (Kostas Skarvelis).

2. **Ο Χιροχίτο *αναστενάζει*/ Χίτλερ, Μουσολίνι, κράζει**
   πα' η νίκη, πα' η δόξα/ σίγουρα θα μου 'ρθει λόξα[391]
   (Hirohito *sighs*/ Hitler, Mussolini, he cries
   gone is victory, gone is glory/ I'm surely going crazy)

moisten (βρέχω)

Source: 'moisten'; target: manifest (negative) emotion (such as sorrow, grief).
There are in the corpus only 9 instances of the verb βρέχω in the sense of
'moisten' (cf. 'rain' under NATURAL FORCE). 3 of those instances concern target
domains other than emotion, 3 are ambiguous as to metaphoricity, 1 is literal, 1 is
a metaphor and 1 a metonymy of emotion. In the instances of metaphor/metonymy
of emotion the moistened objects include a bouzouki (1), a plectrum, or eyes wet
with either tears or blood. The following example could be interpreted metaphori-
cally, literally, or as a double entendre.

1. **Απόψε το μπουζούκι μου/ *με δάκρυα θα βρέξω***
   θυμήθηκα τα νιάτα μου/ και κάθισα να παίξω[392]
   (Tonight *I will wet*/ my bouzouki *with tears*
   I remembered my youth/ and sat down to play)

tear (δάκρυ)

Source: 'tear'; target: grief, sorrow, and dejection. The noun δάκρυ occurs 59
times; the verb δακρύζω and the participle δακρυσμένος a further 23 times.
Regarding the word *δάκρυ*, it is much more difficult to distinguish its figurative
use in the expression of grief, sorrow, and dejection from its literal use. Sometimes
it is clearly figurative (11 instances, see example 1), while in one instance the
literal meaning is intended and actual tears are involved (10). There is also one
emotion-related simile. In the vast majority of cases, δάκρυ is actually a meto-
nymy for the emotion of 'sorrow, dejection, and/or disappointment', where we can
neither exclude nor take for granted the literal meaning of the tears (46 instances).
Furthermore, these expressions often involve the word μαύρο (7 times) and other
words describing negative emotions as e.g. darkness. When used figuratively,
δάκρυ can also denote concern for a person, as in example (9). The metaphor
δάκρυ can denote either the *Cause* of emotion, the *Response* to emotion, or both
Cause and *Response*, as illustrated in the following recurrent expressions:

- **φέρνω δάκρυ, ποτίζω με δάκρυ, πνίγω/-ομαι στο δάκρυ**
  with a focus on the *Cause* of the emotion, the 'tears', which is often a
  person (1-2)

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[391] *Η μπόμπα* (Kostas Roukounas). In this verse the unusual noun λόξα for madness is surely used
because it rhymes with δόξα.
[392] *Απόψε το μπουζούκι μου* (Michalis Yenitsaris).

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- **χύνω δάκρυ, κλαίω με (μαύρο) δάκρυ, πίνω δάκρυ, βρέχω με δάκρυα**
  with a focus on both *Cause and Response*, i.e. the person feeling the emotion (3-6)
- **πνίγω το δάκρυ, διώχνω το δάκρυ, στέρεψαν τα δάκρυα**
  with a focus on *Response*, i.e. handling the emotion (7)
- **τρέχει το δάκρυ, (αργο)κυλά το δάκρυ, στάζει το δάκρυ, χύνεται το δάκρυ, το δάκρυ ποτάμι/βροχή, με πνίγει το δάκρυ**
  literal or figurative 'tears' as an actor in expressions of emotion (8-10); (8) and (10) focus on *Response*, while (9) focuses on *Cause*.

1. **τα παλιά σου γράμματα φιλώ, Χριστίνα μου/ και *πνίγομαι στο δάκρυ***[393]
   (I kiss your old letters, dear Christina/ and *I'm drowning in tears*)

2. **Σ' ένα κλαδί του μενεξέ/ κρέμασα την ελπίδα**
   ***την πότιζα με δάκρυα*/ και προκοπή δεν είδα**[394]
   (On a sprig of violet/ I hung my hope
   I watered it with tears/ but I've seen no benefit)

3. **Εγώ αντί να πιω κρασί/ *πίνω τα δάκρυά μου***
   και με μεθούνε οι καημοί/ που έχω στην καρδιά μου[395]
   (Instead of drinking wine/ *I drink my tears*
   and the sorrows of my heart/ are getting me drunk)

4. ***Λέω με δάκρυα* και καημό/ κι έναν πικρό αναστεναγμό**[396]
   (*I say with tears* and sorrow/ and a bitter sigh)

5. **Μες στης ταβέρνας τη γωνιά για σένα πίνω**
   για την αγάπη σου *ποτάμια δάκρυα χύνω*[397]
   (In a corner of the tavern I drink for you
   for your love *I shed rivers of tears*)

6. **Τη μάνα μου θυμόμουνα/ και *έχυνα μαύρο δάκρυ***
   στην έρημή μου ξενιτιά/ ποτέ δε βρήκα άκρη[398]
   (I would remember my mother/ and *shed black tears*
   in my miserable exile/ I never found a way out)

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[393] *Χριστίνα* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[394] *Θε να σε κάνω μενεξέ* (Panayiotis Tountas/Yiannis Bernidakis).
[395] *Από τα πολλά φαρμάκια* (Stelios Chrisinis).
[396] *Μ' έναν πικρό αναστεναγμό* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[397] *Σαν μαγεμένο το μυαλό μου* (Dimitris Gogos, alias "Bayianderas").
[398] *Πολλά είδανε τα μάτια μου* (Markos Vamvakaris).

7. **δεν σ' αντέχει η καρδιά μου/ *στέρεψαν τα δάκρυά μου*
   *έπαψα για σένα να πονώ***[399]
   (my heart can't stand you/ *my tears have dried up*
   I've stopped hurting for you)

8. **Η καρδιά μου συννεφιάζει/ *τρέχουν τα δάκρυα βροχή***[400]
   (My heart is clouding over/ *the tears fall like rain*)

9. **Μανούλας *δάκρυ δεν έχει στάξει*/ μες στο χλομό μου το πρόσωπο**[401]
   (A mother's *tear has never fallen*/ on my pale face)

10. **Τι όμορφη που είσαι όταν κλαις/ *το δάκρυ σαν διαμάντι αργοκυλάει***[402]
    (How beautiful you are when you cry/ *the tear* like a diamond, *falls slowly*)

Remarks

Many of the figurative expressions belonging to the source domain PHYSIOLOGICAL FORCE are conventional, as reflected in their frequency in the corpus. The majority might also be plausibly supposed to be universal. The conventionality of the metaphors in this category is not quite as high as in those preceding. A wide range of emotions is expressed by metaphors from this source domain, both positive and negative, from sorrow, grief, despair, resignation, irritation, to yearning, happiness and joy, as well as emotional pain and deliverance from it.

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[399] *Σκλάβα δική σου δεν θα γίνω εγώ ποτέ* (Prodromos Tsaousakis).
[400] *Ξημερώνει και βραδιάζει* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[401] *Φτωχή καρδιά πώς δε λυγίζεις* (Prodromos Tsaousakis).
[402] *Τι όμορφη που είσαι όταν κλαις* (Christos Kolokotronis).

4.2.9 Emotion is Physical Agitation

Physical agitation generally stands for fear, but occasionally also for other emotions like shyness. There are 4 noteworthy words from the corpus for present purposes, 3 verbs and 1 noun. PHYSICAL AGITATION is very similar to PHYSIOLOGICAL FORCE, except that AGITATION also exercises a form of incapacitating influence, bodily or mental, that renders its victims unable to act normally. In the category PHYSICAL AGITATION there are 11 instances where a specific word is involved in a metaphorical expression of emotion. The emotion-related metaphoricity of the investigated words in this source domain is very high, the percentage being 92 %.

Table 9. Source domain: physical agitation

Expression	literal	metaphor	other trope	simile	literal/ metaphor	other	total
κοκκινίζω					1 (100%)		1
τρεμοσβήνω	1 (100%)						1
τρεμούλα		1 (50%)			1 (50%)		2
τρέμω		7 (88%)		1 (12%)			8
total	1	**8**		**1**	**2**		12

tremble (τρέμω)

Source: 'tremble'; target: feel fear; feel excited, affected. The verb 'tremble' is found 8 times, 1 in its literal sense and 7 in a metaphorical sense. In (1) the target is the emotion fear, the conventional target meaning of the metaphor. The verb here is transitive and it has the emotion 'rage' as an object. The metaphor in (2) is somewhat novel, using the conventional and universal primary metaphor to form the creative specific-level metaphor TREMBLING IS EXCITEMENT. The verb is used intransitively in (2), and has, as is usual, a person as its subject. Both target domains use the same mapping, and the highlighted aspect is the physical result of the experienced emotions.

1. **Κλαίνε στα χαρέμια οι σκλάβες/ *τρέμουν την οργή του πασά***
   Κλαίνε στο σαράι οι αγάδες/ ποθούσαν της Σεράχ την ομορφιά[403]
   (The slave girls in the harems are crying/ *trembling at the pasha's rage*
   The agas are crying in the seraglio/ yearning for the beauty of Serah)

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[403] *Η Σεράχ* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).

2. **Τρέμω απ' την αγάπη σου, κυρά μου**
   σβήσε μου, ξανθούλα, τη φωτιά μου[404]
   (I tremble with love for you, my lady
   little blondie, put out my fire)

redden (κοκκινίζω)
Source: 'redden', 'blush/ flush; target: feel shy; excited/affected by emotion (love).
There is only 1 occurrence of this verb in the corpus, and it can be construed as
both literal and figurative; the cheeks in the verse below might literally blush, but
there is also a connotation of excitement and/or shyness inherent in this
conventional and universal metonymy of a bodily reaction for an emotional state.

1. **Τα μάγουλά του *κοκκινίζουν* και με σφάζουν**
   η ομορφιά του μ' έχει κάνει σαν τρελή[405]
   (His cheeks *blush* and they slaughter me
   his beauty has made me like a madwoman)

Remarks

The source domain PHYSICAL AGITATION is a very small category with few
expressions and few instances, but with a very high metaphoricity. The high
metaphoricity is consistent with the conventionality, as well as the presumable
universality, of the metaphors. The metaphors deal with various emotions, both
positive and negative.

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[404] *Σε μια ξανθούλα* (Stellakis Perpiniadis).
[405] *Το χασαπάκι* (Markos Vamvakaris).

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4.2.10 Emotion is a Burden

This is quite a small category with few specific source-domain expressions found in the corpus, but a more substantial number of instances. There are 8 words; 4 verbs, 1 noun, 2 adjectives, and 1 adverb. In the category BURDEN there are 52 instances of their use in a metaphorical expression of emotion. The emotion-related metaphoricity of the investigated words in this source domain is quite high; the percentage being 66 %. 'Burden' is a source domain commonly used to describe emotional stress and difficulty, and the conceptual metaphor DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS is highly conventional and most likely universal.[406] The difficulty of finding a literal word for the target domain designated by this source domain shows how deeply embedded the conceptual primary metaphor DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS is in our thought. There seems to be no way to express the verbal action of this emotion without using metaphorical expressions.

Table 10. Source domain: burden

Expression	literal	metaphor	other trope	simile	literal/ metaphor	other	total
βαραίνω		1 (100%)					1
βάρος		1 (50%)				1 (50%)	2
βαριά (adverb)	1 (5%)	15 (75%)				4 (20%)	20
βαρύς	4 (11%)	25 (62%)				10 (27%)	39
ελαφρύς						1 (100%)	1
(ξ)αλαφρώνω		3 (100%)					3
σκεπάζω	1 (33%)	2 (67%)					3
φορτώνω	3 (30%)	5 (50%)				2 (20%)	10
total	9	**52**				18	79

heavy (βαρύς)

Source: 'heavy'; target: harsh, severe, difficult. The adjective βαρύς occurs 39 times in the corpus, of which only 4 instances have a literal meaning, 25 are metaphorical expressions of emotion, and 10 are metaphorical expressions from other source domains. The entities qualified by the adjective 'heavy' vary extensively; of the 21 different entities, 'pain' (variously expressed) is the most frequent (1), while others consist of more elaborate noun phrases such as του χωρισμού η ώρα 'the hour of parting' (2), and τα ξένα χέρια 'the hands of strangers'. This metaphor is highly conventional in Greek and most probably common in other languages as well.

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[406] Cf. Sjöblad (2009:25-26).

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1. **Κρύβω** *τον πόνο το βαρύ*/ **μες της καρδιάς τα βάθη**
   Γιατί το ξέρω θα χαρεί/ ο κόσμος αν το μάθει[407]
   (I hide *the heavy pain*/ in the depths of my heart
   For I know that people/ will be glad to hear of it)

2. *Είναι βαριά κι αβάσταχτη*/ **του χωρισμού η ώρα**
   στο βίο μου το σκοτεινό/ έχω το μαύρο ουρανό
   για συντροφιά μου τώρα[408]
   (*Heavy and unbearable*/ is the hour of parting
   in this dark life of mine/ I now have the black sky
   as my companion)

heavily (βαριά)
Source: 'heavily'; target: harshly, severely, with difficulty. 15 of the 20 instances of the adverb βαριά are metaphors of emotion, 4 are other metaphorical expressions, and 1 is literal. The adverb is often compounded with the verb (ανα)στενάζω (2), but also with other verbs, to express various emotionally burdensome situations and events, or difficulties in life. 'Heavily' does not have the same connotation in English as in Greek, and another adverb, such as 'harshly' or 'severely', is often required to denote the burdensome emotions or actions involved (1). The extensive use of the conventional metaphorical expression βαριά in Greek might indicate culture-specificity, even though the source domain BURDEN seems to be universal.

1. **Να με γελάς κουράστηκα/** *βαριά σε καταράστηκα*
   Απ' τη ζωή μου πέρασες/ με τσάκισες, με γέρασες[409]
   (I'm tired of your deceiving me/ I've cursed you *harshly*
   You passed through my life/ you broke me, you aged me)

2. **Κλαίγω και** *βαριαστενάζω*/ **και τη θάλασσα κοιτάζω**
   για δυο μάτια ζαχαρένια/ που μου λείπουνε στα ξένα[410]
   (I cry and *I sigh heavily*/ and I look out to sea
   for two sugar sweet eyes/ that have left me for foreign lands)

load, weigh down (φορτώνω)
Source: 'load', 'weigh down'; target: emotionally burden, oppress. There are 10 occurrences of the verb φορτώνω, 5 are metaphors of emotion, 2 are other metaphors, and 3 are expressions in their literal sense. Metaphorically, 'load' can be

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[407] *Κι αν γελάω είναι ψέμα* (Evangelos Atraidis).
[408] *Θέλω να είναι Κυριακή* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[409] *Γιατί με ξύπνησες πρωί* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[410] *Θάλασσα λυπήσου* (Panayiotis Tountas).

used also in its passive voice with an indirect object, and denote 'being a burden to someone' (2). As all metaphorical expressions in the specific-level source domain EMOTION IS A BURDEN, 'load' is exclusively applied to negative emotions.

1. **Όλα τα βάρη σου, ζωή/ τα *φόρτωσες* σ' ένα κορμί**
   τόσο φαρμάκι, βρε ζωή/ πού θέλεις να τα βάλω[411]
   (All your burdens, life/ you've *loaded* on to one body
   so much poison, oh life/ where do you expect me to put it)

2. **Πάψε πια να με ζαλίζεις/ και μη μου *φορτώνεσαι***
   γιατί σ' έχω καταλάβει/ αχ, πως δεν συμμορφώνεσαι[412]
   (Stop befuddling me at last/ and don't *keep bothering* me
   because I've got you figured out/ oh, that you won't be brought into line)

Remarks

Metaphors from this source domain exclusively treat negative emotions concerning difficulties and oppression of various sorts and degrees. The metaphorical expressions are almost exclusively conventional, and there is reason to believe that this specific-level source domain is potentially universal.

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[411] *Συρματοπλέγματα βαριά* (Eftichia Papayiannopoulou).
[412] *Τα δικά σου σφάλματα* (Zacharias Kasimatis). Μη μου φορτώνεσαι would literally mean 'don't load yourself on to me'.

4.2.11 Emotion is a Physical Force

Metaphors focusing on the *Cause of emotion* mainly deal with the way emotions arise. One such cause is the physical effect of e.g. mechanical, electric, gravitational, or magnetic force. Here we find verbs like 'hit', 'drag' and 'beat', but also quite specific nouns such as 'magnet', 'machine' and 'knife'. The dividing lines between PHYSICAL FORCE and NATURAL FORCE are fluid (cf. *3.2.1. Emotion is a natural force*), as are those between PHYSICAL FORCE and FIRE/HEAT, especially regarding words such as 'warm' and 'hot', and naturally also those between PHYSICAL FORCE and LIGHT AND DARKNESS. In this category 33 words are examined; 16 nouns, 13 verbs, 3 adjectives, and 1 adverb. These words are involved in 222 instances of metaphorical expression of emotion. The emotion-related metaphoricity of the investigated words in this source domain is medium, the percentage constituting metaphorical expressions of emotion being 53 %.

Table 11. Source domain: physical force

Expression	literal	metaphor	other trope	simile	literal/ metaphor	other	total
ανηφόρα	2 (67%)	1 (33%)					3
βασανιστήριο		1 (100%)					1
δέρνω	6 (23%)	19 (73%)		1 (4%)			26
ζέστη	1 (100%)						1
ζεστός	1 (33%)	2 (67%)					3
ζεσταίνω/-ομαι	2 (67%)				1 (33%)		3
ζώνω		6 (100%)					6
θερμός		16 (100%)					16
θερμαίνω		1 (100%)					1
κατηφόρα	1 (20%)	4 (80%)					5
κρύο	4 (67%)				2 (33%)		6
κρύος	2 (67%)				1 (33%)		3
κρυώνω	1 (50%)				1 (50%)		2
λαβωματιά	1 (100%)						1
μαγνητεύω		1 (50%)		1 (50%)			2
μαγνήτης		3 (33%)		6 (67%)			9
μαστιγώνω		1 (100%)					1
μαχαίρι/μαχαίρα	18 (60%)	7 (23%)		1 (3%)	2 (7%)	2 (7%)	30
μαχαιριά	3 (25%)	7 (58%)			1 (8%)	1 (8%)	12
μαχαιρώνω	1 (100%)						1
μηχανή	4 (31%)	9 (69%)					13
μηχανικά		3 (100%)					3
πληγή	4 (22%)	13 (72%)			1 (6%)		18
πληγώνω/-ομαι	4 (8%)	47 (92%)					51
ραγίζω		7 (100%)					7
σίδερο	4 (20%)	2 (10%)		1 (5%)		13 (65%)	20
σύρμα	2 (33%)	3 (50%)			1 (17%)		6
συρματόπλεγμα	1 (100%)						1
τράβηγμα		3 (100%)					3
τραβώ/-ιέμαι	18 (16%)	22 (20%)		4 (3%)		68 (61%)	112
τραυματίας	1 (100%)						1
τραυματίζω		2 (100%)					2
χτυπώ/-ιέμαι	33 (65%)	17 (33%)		1 (2%)			51
total	114	**197**		**15**	**10**	84	420

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warm/hot (θερμός, ζεστός)

Source: 'warm/hot'; target: affectionate, loving, lustful. Two synonymous verbs and the corresponding adjectives in this category are used in a rather different way; θερμαίνω/θερμός is used exclusively as a metaphor (16 instances), while ζεσταίνω/ζεστός is used both metaphorically (2 instances) and literally (1 instance). Θερμός, the more common word in the corpus, occurs together with αγκαλιά 'embrace'/'arms' (1) as many as 14 out of 16 times, and the two remaining occurrences are with the word φιλιά 'kisses' and καλοριφέρ 'heater' (2).

1. **Το πλούτος για τα μένανε είναι τα δυο σου μάτια**
   και η *θερμή* σου αγκαλιά βασιλικά παλάτια[413]
   (Riches for me are those two eyes of yours
   and your *warm* embrace, royal palaces)

2. ***το πιο θερμό* καλοριφέρ είν' τα φιλιά**
   σαν θα κοιμόμαστε, κουκλίτσα μου, αγκαλιά[414]
   (*the hottest* heater are our kisses
   as we'll sleep, my little doll, in each other's arms)

3. **κι όταν το τζάκι μένει σπίτι μας σβηστό**
   θα με *θερμαίνει* το φιλί σου το *ζεστό*[415]
   (and when the fireplace at home remains unlit
   your *warm* kiss will *keep me warm*)

encircle, gird (ζώνω)

Source: 'encircle, gird'; target: inflict/impose negative emotion (from which escape is not possible). The verb ζώνω in encountered 6 times in the corpus, and all instances are metaphors of emotion. It is a conventional metaphor in Greek (derived from the noun ζώνη 'belt', and very common in idiomatic phrases like με ζώσανε τα μάυρα φίδια 'black snakes have encircled me'. The emotions evoked using the verb 'gird' are depicted through various abstract or concrete entities such as pain/longing (1), snakes, poison, and barbed wire (2); the entities that cannot escape the emotions are mainly persons (1), but also a person's body or heart (2).

1. **Σαν συλλογιούμαι τα βράδια δεν κοιμούμαι**
   γιατί *με ζώσανε οι καημοί* καθ' ώρα και στιγμή[416]

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[413] *Ο κόσμος πλούτη λαχταρά* (Kostas Skarvelis).
[414] *Μπήκε ο χειμώνας* (Panayiois Tountas).
[415] *Μπήκε ο χειμώνας* (Panayiois Tountas).
[416] *Τα βάσανά μου* (Markos Vamvakaris).

(When I'm thinking I can't sleep at night
for *yearnings have encircled me* every hour and moment)

2. **Συρματοπλέγματα βαριά/ *ζώνουν* τη δόλια μου καρδιά**[417]
(Heavy barbed wire/ *is coiled around* my poor heart)

magnet (μαγνήτης)
Source: 'magnet'; target: object/event exerting emotional attraction. The noun μαγνήτης is found in 9 instances in the corpus, all figurative expressions of emotion, and they may be divided into 3 metaphors (1) and 6 similes (2). The entities compared to magnets in the similes and described as magnets in the metaphors are in most cases eyes (1), but occasionally also a person (2), or abstractions such as love, profligacy, and yearnings. The verbs connected with the noun 'magnet' (functioning either as a subject or an object of the verbs) are mainly the also metaphorical verbs 'draw' (2) and 'magnetise' from the source domain PHYSICAL FORCE, and the literal 'resemble'. The entities attracted by the magnets are in all cases persons. The reason why there are twice as many similes as metaphors for this source might be simply metrical or may reflect reluctance to make a complete identification of the target with magnetic force, as in a metaphor.

1. *Ένας μαγνήτης είναι η ματιά σου/ ζαλίζει, ξεμυαλίζει σαν κοιτάς*
   μα μένα χρόνια τώρα βασανίζεις
   με κοροϊδεύεις κι όλο λες πως μ' αγαπάς[418]
   (Your glance is *a magnet*/ it bewilders, it seduces when you look
   but for years you've been tormenting me
   you fool me always saying that you love me)

2. *Σαν το μαγνήτη με τραβά μέσα στη γειτονιά της*
   τα μάτια μου δε φεύγουνε απ' τα παράθυρά της[419]
   (*Like a magnet* she draws me to her quarter
   my eyes never leave her windows)

machine (μηχανή)
Source: 'machine'; target: trickery, scheme (e.g. στήνω μηχανή σε κάποιον = set someone up). Of the 13 occurrences of μηχανή, 4 are literal and 9 are metaphors of emotion, all denoting some sort of trickery or deceit. The noun is combined with a great variety of verbs that all have to do with managing, understanding, setting up (1), or giving up on the scheme in question. Μηχανή occurs both in the singular and in the plural with the same meaning. This metaphor is part of the rebétiko

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[417] *Συρματοπλέγματα βαριά* (Eftichia Papayiannopoulou).
[418] *Μποέμισσα* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[419] *Για μια μικρή μελαχρινή* (Grigoris Asikis).

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argot and is rather conventional in colloquial Greek. It highlights the ingenuity behind a machine and transfers it to the cleverness of a scheme.

1. **Τρεις μέρες βασανίζομαι/ με τον Αμερικάνο**
    για να του στήσω μηχανή/ το κόλπο να του κάνω[420]
    (Three days I've been working hard/ on the American
    to set him up/ to pull my stunt on him)

knife (μαχαίρι)
Source: 'knife'; target: cause of emotional pain; deceit. The noun μαχαίρι occurs in 30 instances, most of them literal (18), but some figurative. Among the figurative expressions of emotion there are 7 metaphors and 1 simile (3). There are also 2 instances of double entendre and 2 instances of metaphor from source domains other than emotion. In (1) the emotions conveyed are bitterness at deceit, their expression being heightened by inclusion of φαρμάκι 'poison' in the same line. The 'little knives' in (2) denote a more general emotional pain caused by indifference and rejection by the object of the narrator's desire. The simile in (3) brings forth emotional suffering caused by desire and possibly also unrequited love. The function of the noun μαχαίρι varies, and so do the verbs that it accompanies; as a subject the 'knife' can *sparkle* or *slaughter* and *hurt* someone, as an object it can be *thrown* or *given* as a remembrance, and as a complement (following verbs such as είμαι 'be', γίνομαι 'become' etc.) it can refer to love, callous words, or the hands of strangers i.e. treatment by non-kin).

The synonymous κάμα, 'dagger' (4), is not used figuratively, but in a threat that serves as a marker of intensity of emotion (love, desire, jealousy, disappointment or fear).

1. **Φαρμάκι και *μαχαίρι*/ ενθύμιο μ' αφήνεις**[421]
    (Poison and a *knife*/ you leave me as a momento)

2. **Σα μου πεις πως δε με θέλεις/ πως δε μ' αγαπάς**
    ***μαχαιράκια* είναι τα λόγια/ κούκλα, που πετάς**[422]
    (When you say that you don't want me/ that you don't love me
    the words are *little knives*/ my doll, that you throw)

3. **Τα μάτια σου που λάμπουνε/ σαν τ' ουρανού τ' αστέρια**
    όποιος τα δει τον σφάζουνε, μικρούλα μου/ *σαν κοφτερά μαχαίρια*[423]

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[420] *Το παιχνίδι του Αμερικάνου* (Kostas Skarvelis).
[421] *Φαρμάκι και μαχαίρι* (Babis Bakalis).
[422] *Τα παιδιά της γειτονιάς σου* (lyrics: unknown, of smyrnaic origin).
[423] *Εσύ 'σαι τρελοκόριτσο* (Dimitris Semsis).

(Those eyes of yours that sparkle/ like the stars in the sky
they slaughter whoever looks at them, my dear/ *like sharp knives*)

4. **Και μη μου γλιστράς σαν χέλι/ αφού ξέρεις πως μπορώ**
   με *την κάμα μου* στο χέρι/ να ’ρθω πάλι να σε βρω[424]
   (And don’t you slip away from me like an eel/ you know that I’m capable
   of coming and finding you again/ with *my dagger* in my hand)

crack (ραγίζω)
Source: ‘crack’; target: emotionally burst. The verb ραγίζω occurs 7 times and is
used only metaphorically. It occurs both transitively and intransitively, and the
things that ‘crack’ or ‘break’ are exclusively mountains or hearts. Thus, the
mountain that cracks in (1) symbolises, and is metaphorically caused by, the
narrator’s pain, and the unbroken hearts in (2) stand for society’s indifference, i.e.
lack of emotion, at the death of a vagrant.

1. **Απάνω στο βουνό θα μείνω/ κι από τον κόσμο μακριά**
   θα κλαίω μόνος, θα πονώ/ και *θα ραγίζει το βουνό*[425]
   (Up there on the mountain I will stay/ away from the world
   I’ll cry alone, I’ll hurt/ and the mountain *will crack*)

2. **Ένας αλήτης πέθανε/ στου πάρκου την πλατεία**
   μα ούτε μάτια εδάκρυσαν/ ούτε καρδιές *εράγισαν*
   άραγε ποιος να ’ναι αιτία/ αχ, κακούργα κοινωνία[426]
   (A vagrant died/ in the square of the park
   but neither did eyes shed tears/ nor did hearts *crack*
   who might be the cause / oh, cruel society)

hurt (πληγώνω)
Source: ‘to hurt, to wound’; target: emotional damage. The verb πληγώνω is used
in a literal sense only 4 times out of 51; interestingly 3 of these 4 instances are
participles (πληγωμένος), which might indicate that the participle formed from this
verb is not used as extensively in its metaphorical sense as the finite forms of the
verb with their 47 instances of metaphors of emotion. The metaphorical use of
‘hurt’ regarding emotions is the predominant way to describe emotional damage
caused by negative behaviour such as deceit. Thus it is quite possible that the
metaphor ‘hurt’ is both conventional and potentially universal. Although the verb
usually occurs in an intransitive form when the subject is the one feeling the pain,
it can in colloquial Greek occur intransitively also when the subject is the one

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[424] *Αερόπλανο θα πάρω* (Panayotis Tountas).
[425] *Το βουνό* (Loukas Daralas).
[426] *Ένας αλήτης πέθανε* (Kostas Manesis).

causing the pain, as in (1). The entities that hurt, in transitive phrases, are either persons, other entities that stand metaphorically or metonymically for persons (2), such as the words or the eyes of a person, or the emotional pain itself in different words.

1. **Δεν είναι πόνος να πονεί/ μαχαίρι *να πληγώνει*
   είναι φωτιά ο χωρισμός/ σε καίει και σε λειώνει**[427]
   (It isn't a pain to hurt/ a knife *to wound*
   but parting is fire/ that burns and melts you)

2. **Τα χρυσόξανθα μαλλιά/ τα βελουδένια μάτια
   με σφάζουν, με *πληγώνουνε*/ με κάνουνε κομμάτια**[428]
   (That golden hair/ those velvet eyes
   they slaughter me, *they wound* me/ they cut me to pieces)

wound (πληγή)
Source: 'wound'; target: emotional injury. In the 18 occurrences of the noun πληγή, 4 instances of literal use and 1 double entendre are discerned. The remaining 13 instances are all metaphors of emotion. Πληγή is mostly found in a connection with adverbial phrases of place, e.g. μες στην καρδιά 'in the heart' or στα σωθικά μου (1). It is also often qualified by adjectives like αγιάτρευτη 'incurable', βαθιά 'deep', βαριά 'heavy', and μεγάλη 'big'. The metaphor has been extended in (2) with the image of blood slowly dripping, which renders the impression of the pain stronger in this verse, whereas the English translation might come across as gruesome and at the same time almost comically melodramatic. The extension of the metaphor might be culture-specific, even though the metaphor in itself is likely to be universal.

1. **για σε πονεί το στήθος μου, μικρούλα μου
   κι έχω *πληγή* βαθιά στα σωθικά μου**[429]
   (my chest is hurting for you, my dear
   and I have a *wound* deep in my innards)

2. **Απ' τις βαθιές μου *τις πληγές*/ το αίμα αργοσταλάζει
   και τώρα που ζητώ στοργή/ κανείς δεν με κοιτάζει**[430]
   (From my deep *wounds*/ blood is slowly dripping
   and now that I seek affection/ nobody looks at me)

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[427] *Δεν είναι όνειρο η ζωή* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[428] *Τα βελουδένια μάτια σου* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[429] *Παγκρατιώτισσα* (Panayiotis Tountas).
[430] *Περιπλανώμενη ζωή* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).

strike (χτυπώ/ -ιέμαι)

Source: 'strike, hit'; target: have a negative impact, cause pain; in passive voice sometimes: cause oneself pain/ thrash about. Of the 51 occurrences of the verb χτυπώ 33 are literal, 1 is a simile, and 17 are metaphors of emotion. The metaphor in (1) is part of an antithesis (cf. 'downpour' under *3.2.1 Emotion is a natural force*); life's vexations may cause negative emotions of sorrow and despair, but these are countered by singing (and the implied company of good friends) that evokes the positive emotions of joy and temporary relief from worries. Pain is seen to be mainly caused by inclement weather (metaphorically representing emotional pain) (1), poverty, the torments of life, or life itself. The entities afflicted are either persons – conveyed literally or metaphorically e.g. as a boat – the persons' hearts or heads, or their mood. In the passive form, χτυπιέμαι, the metaphor rather denotes the concept of distressing oneself or blaming oneself, e.g. for unfortunate events, or, as in (2), affliction caused by unrequited love.

1. **Κι αν στην κοινωνία/ *μας χτυπούν αλύπητα* οι μπόρες**
   μέσα στο τραγούδι/ φεύγουνε χαρούμενες οι ώρες[431]
   (And if in society/ downpours *strike us hard*
   through singing/ the hours pass joyfully)

2. **Είναι κρίμα να *χτυπιέσαι* και να κλαις**
   Πάψε να τη συλλογιέσαι κι άλλη βρες[432]
   (It's a shame *for you to beat yourself up* and cry
   Stop thinking of her and go find another girl)

beat [up] (δέρνω)

Source: 'beat up', 'thrash'; target: have a negative impact; emotionally hurt. As many as 19 of the 26 occurrences of the verb δέρνω are metaphors of emotion; 1 is a simile, and 6 have the literal sense of the word. Δέρνω usually occurs in its active voice with a great variety of agents that mainly denote pain (3) and difficulty. The agents of (1) and (2) are single instances in the corpus. The object of the action is typically a person, but occasionally also a body, or a figurative boat (2) or precipice. Emotional language can from an outsider's point of view appear violent, and that is of course inherently true of the metaphor δέρνω (once again cf. 'downpour' under *4.2.1 Emotion is a natural force*). In Greek this seems to be a conventional way of talking of emotions that does not strike us as particularly cruel or violent, but merely expresses how events and experiences are perceived emotionally. This fact might suggest that the frequency and intensity of the

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[431] *Είμαστε αλάνια* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[432] *Στις ταβέρνες τριγυρνάς* (Evangelos Atraidis).

metaphor is somewhat culture-specific, although the metaphor surely occurs in other cultures and languages as well.

1. *Τα δυο σου χέρια πήρανε/ βεργούλες* και *με δείρανε*
   βεργούλες και *με δείρανε/* **και τη χαρά μου πήρανε**[433]
   (*Those two hands of yours/* took canes and *beat me*
   canes and *beat me/* and took away my joy)

2. **Γιατί να είσαι παραστρατημένη/** και *να σε δέρνει η μοίρα σου σκληρά*
   σαν το καράβι δίχως τιμονιέρη/ σαν το πουλάκι δίχως τα φτερά[434]
   (Why should you have gone astray/ and *fate be beating you so cruelly*
   like a ship without a helmsman/ like a bird without its wings)

3. ***Θα σε δέρνει ο πόνος*** **σαν το κύμα/ θα σε κυνηγάει σκληρά το κρίμα**
   και με τη σειρά σου θα 'σαι θύμα/ θα το πληρωθείς[435]
   (*The pain will beat you* like a wave/ your wrongdoing will hunt you cruelly
   and in your turn you'll be the victim/ you'll pay for it)

draw/drag (τραβώ)
Source: 'pull, draw, drag'; target: attract; suffer, go through. The verb τραβώ is encountered 112 times in the corpus, and most of the instances – as many as 68 – are metaphorical expressions from source domains other than emotion. However, 26 occurrences concern emotion; 22 metaphors and 1 simile. Two quite different metaphorical aspects can be discerned in this source domain. One of them is attraction (1), the positive emotion of desire that conventionally, and potentially universally, is conveyed by this and similar metaphors. The agents in these expressions are diverse; it is often a person, but it may also be his or her eyes or steps, or abstractions like profligacy. The object is always a person. Remarkably, the verb is used once intransitively with μαγνήτης as an agent. The other aspect is suffering (2), which naturally is a negative emotion that in colloquial Greek is often expressed with τραβώ or τραβιέμαι. The latter is quite conventional in Greek, but it is doubtful whether it is used universally.[436] In these instances, conversely, the agent is always a person, while the object varies between different expressions for troubles and suffering, quite often just a pronoun, such as τι 'what', αυτά που 'that which', or an adjective, such as πολλά 'many things'.

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[433] *Τα δυο σου χέρια πήρανε* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[434] *Παραστρατημένη* (Apostolos Kaldaras).
[435] *Αράπικο λουλούδι* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[436] In Swedish the same metaphorical source domain, 'dra' (= 'drag'), can be used in the phrase 'dras med något' for expressing the target domain 'having to put up with something', but not as extensively as in Greek, and with a lower degree of intensity of the emotion.

1. **Κάθε τι παλιό ξυπνάει/ μες στη δόλια μου καρδιά
   και *κοντά σου με τραβάει/ η πλανεύτρα η βραδιά*[437]**
   (All the past awakens/ in my poor heart
   and the alluring night/ *draws me close to you*)

2. **Πολλά για σένα *τράβηξα/ πίκρες, καημούς και πάθη*
   Και τον καημό που μ' άναψες/ κανείς να μην τον πάθει**[438]
   (I went through a lot for you/ bitterness, pain and suffering
   And the pain you lit in me/ I wish no one to suffer)

Remarks

Many of the expressions from this source domain are conventional, although not always used in a conventional way. They concern emotions as diverse as love, lust, deceit, and emotional pain. The expressions are often intertwined with many other metaphors in a single text, and at times blended with expressions from other source domains, which of course also applies to some degree to all the specific-level source domains discussed in this study. In quite a few cases the result is a *metaphorical blend*, a mixture of metaphorical source domains in one and the same expression, as in the following example:

**Κι αν *το 'χω ρίξει στην τρελή/ και τα μασώ μέχρι ψιλή*
κι αν μόλις *πίνω δυο κρασιά σουρώνω και τα σπάω*
μην με παρεξηγήσετε, συγνώμη σας ζητάω
/Είναι *βαρύς* ο πόνος μου/ μα τονε ξέρω μόνος μου
/Κι αν *έχω χάσει το μυαλό/ και σαν τρελός παραμιλώ*
κι αν *πήρα τον κατήφορο* και πια δεν σταματάω
μην με παρεξηγήσετε, συγνώμη σας ζητάω
/Είναι *βαρύς* ο πόνος μου/ μα τονε ξέρω μόνος μου
/Κι αν *έχω φάει μαχαιριά/ και η πληγή* μου είναι *βαριά*
κι αν λίγο παρεκτράπηκα απόψε που *γλεντάω*
μην με παραξηγήσετε, συγνώμη σας ζητάω**[439]
(And if I've gone all crazy/ and I'm blowing every last penny
and if after drinking just two glasses of wine, I get drunk and break things
don't misunderstand me, I beg your pardon
/My pain is heavy/ but I alone know it
/And if I've lost my mind/ and rave like a madman
and I'm on a downward slide and can't stop
don't misunderstand me, I beg your pardon

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[437] *Βράδιασε και στην Αθήνα* (Yiorgos Mitsakis).
[438] *Μη με πληγώνεις και πονώ* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[439] *Είναι βαρύς ο πόνος μου* (Prodromos Tsaousakis).

/My pain is heavy/ but I alone know it
/And if I've been stabbed/ and my wound is severe
and if I've misbehaved somewhat tonight on my spree
don't misunderstand me, I beg your pardon)

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4.2.12 Emotion is Light/Darkness

The generic-level metaphor EMOTION IS LIGHT/DARKNESS is closely connected to PHYSICAL FORCE, and is included by Kövecses in that source domain. Nevertheless, the metaphors concerning light and darkness in this study have been judged to differ enough from those of physical force as to warrant a separate source domain. For light, many different master metaphors occur in the corpus besides EMOTION IS LIGHT/DARKNESS. One of them is LIGHT IS LIFE, which can be discerned in the expression φως μου 'my light' among others. Φως μου on the other hand can also be included in the metaphor ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS ARE IMPORTANCE, together with other expressions of endearment as μάτια μου 'my eyes', καρδιά μου 'my heart', and ψυχή μου 'my soul' from other metaphorical source domains. In the category LIGHT/ DARKNESS there are 22 words; 10 are nouns, 7 are verbs, and 5 are adjectives. There are 138 instances where a specific word is involved in a metaphorical expression of emotion. The emotion-related metaphoricity of the investigated words in this source domain is low, the percentage constituting metaphorical expressions of emotion being 12 %. However, since the frequency of these words is so high, there are still many metaphors in this category.

Table 12. Source domain: light and darkness

Expression	literal	metaphor	other trope	simile	literal/ metaphor	other	total
άσπρίζω		1 (100%)					1
άσπρος	16 (64%)	4 (16%)		1 (4%)		4 (16%)	25
βράδυ/βραδιά	236 (92%)	4 (2%)			1 (>1%)	14 (5%)*	255
βραδιάζω	10 (71%)					4 (29%)*	14
δειλινό	6 (75%)		1 (13%)		1 (13%)		8
μαυρίζω		3 (60%)			1 (20%)	1 (20%)	5
μαύρος	114 (47%)	70 (29%)		6 (2%)	3 (2%)	47 (20%)	240
μέρα	81 (56%)		6 (4%)			58 (40%)*	145
νύχτα	73 (52%)	5 (3%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	58 (42%)*	139
νυχτώνω	4 (57%)	1 (14%)				2 (29%)	7
ξημέρωμα	5 (63%)	3 (38%)					8
ξημερώνω	14 (58%)	4 (17%)				6 (25%)*	24
πρωί/πρωινό	51 (78%)					14 (22%)*	65
σκοτάδι	29 (85%)	3 (9%)		1 (3%)	1 (3%)		34
σκοτεινιασμένος	3 (60%)	2 (40%)					5
σκοτεινός	12 (71%)	4 (24%)		1 (6%)			17
φως	4 (5%)	2 (3%)				66 (92%)	72

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φωτεινός	1 (50%)			1 (50%)			2
φωτίζω	3 (60%)	2 (4 %)					5
χαράζει	5 (83%)				1 (17%)		6
χάραμα	10 (91%)					1 (9%)	11
(χαρ)αυγή	17 (89%)	2 (11%)					19
total	**694**	**110**	**8**	**11**	**9**	275	1107

black (μαύρος)

Source: 'black'; target: sad, miserable, full of sorrow and despair. Of the 241 occurrences, there are 127 instances of figurative use that include the adjective μαύρος. As many as 47 of them, however, are not concerned with emotion, but have other target domains. In the non-emotional cluster the subtantivised adjective μαύρο is used 37 times as a metonymy for hashish.[440] Of the 114 literal instances, 36 examples of μαύρος occur in a compound with -μάτα/-ματούσα/-ματού ('-eyed'), as well as 6 examples that are in a compound with -φόρα/-φορούσα ('-dressed'). Metaphors of emotion are found in 70 instances, similes in 6, and 3 examples of double entendre. The instances of double entendre involve nouns, e.g. σύννεφο 'cloud', σκοτάδι 'darkness', and νύχτα 'night', that may be literally black, but contextually also express the emotion of sadness or depression. A compound with –φόρα is found in 2 instances describing mothers in mourning; even if these mothers are literally wearing black, the expressions are also metonymical since their grief is only implied through the 'black dresses'. The similes where 'black' is used as an attribute describe abstractions such as ψυχή 'soul' and ζωή 'life', that are likened to less abstract entities like κατράμι 'tar', 'νύχτα 'night', or Άδης 'Hades'. As a metaphor, 'black' is only once attributed to a positive emotion, when admiration is expressed by comparing a woman's eyes to

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* In this table asterisks indicate words that are combined in a formula with words of opposite meaning. These words are often used literally, but at times with a metonymic meaning if the time of the day is intended, in order to denote things happening around the clock or at any point in time (cf. example (2) under 'night'.

[440] Cf. also μελαχρινή (fem. 'brunette') denoting hashish, as opposed to ξανθιά (fem. 'blond') denoting heroin in Apostolos Kaldaras's *Μάγκας βγήκε για σεργιάνι*: **Δεν τα θέλει τα παλάτια/ όλα τα περιφρονεί/ Μια μελαχρινή τον φτάνει, φίνος να γενεί/ κι άλλη μια ξανθούλα θέλει να την παντρευτεί** (He doesn't want palaces/ he scorns everything/ A *brunette* is enough for him to get high/ and he wants a *little blond* to marry). This also apply for Charalambos Vasiliadis's *Ένας μάγκας στο Βοτανικό*: **Μισές τραβάει, ποτήρια σπάει/ σκίζεται για μια μελαχρινή/ μες τη σούρα του ζητάει/ και καμιά ξανθή** (He quaffes halves (i.e. half-oka jugs of wine), he breaks glasses/ he tears himself apart for a *brunette*/ in his drunkenness he also asks for/ a *blondie*). It is also noteworthy that in Markos Vamvakaris's *Χτες το βράδυ στο σκοτάδι*, the police are referred to as οι μαύροι 'the blacks', which leads to an ironic play on a single adjective denoting both the transgressive object and its persecutors: **Χτες το βράδυ στο σκοτάδι/ με στριμώξανε δυο μαύροι/ έρευνα για να μου κάνουν/ και το μαύρο να μου πάρουν** (Last night in the dark/ I was bailed up by two *blacks*/ wanting to frisk me/ and take my *black* [stuff]).

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black diamonds. In all of the other cases it conveys sadness, misery, sorrow and despair and is applied to an extensive variety of entities, both abstract and concrete in equal measure. The most common abstractions are ζωή 'life', ξενιτιά/τα ξένα 'foreign lands', ώρα/στιγμή 'hour/moment' (2), and συμφορά 'misfortune'; the most frequent concrete entities are δάκρυ 'tear' (1), καρδιά 'heart', and γη/χώμα 'soil', some of which are also metaphors in themselves. The metaphor μαύρος is evidently very common in the song texts examined and it is also a conventional metaphor in colloquial Greek. It does not seem to be used quite as frequently in other languages, at least not in English and Swedish, but it is difficult to determine definitely whether it is culture-specific or universal.

1. **Και κάθε βράδυ ξενυχτώ/ τα πίνω και παραπατώ**
   Εμέθυσα, ξεμέθυσα/ και *μαύρο* δάκρυ έχυσα[441]
   (And every night I stay out late/ I drink and I stumble
   I got drunk, I sobered up/ and I shed *black* tears)

2. *Μαύρη η ώρα κι η στιγμή/ που έμπλεξα με σένα*
   μια μέρα δεν εγέλασαν/ τα χείλη μου και μένα[442]
   (*Black* is the hour and the moment/ that I got involved with you
   not for a single day did they smile/ those lips of mine)

3. **ό,τι κι αν είχα σε μια νύχτα τα 'χω χάσει**
   γιατί στη *μαύρη* σου ψυχή έδωσα βάση[443]
   (all I had I've lost in one night
   because I paid heed to *your* black soul)

dark, darkened (σκοτεινός, σκοτεινιασμένος)
Source: 'dark'; target: bad, sad. The adjective σκοτεινός and the perfect participle σκοτεινιασμένος indisputably have a negative connotation, literally as well as figuratively. Of the 17 times that σκοτεινός occurs in the corpus only 4 are metaphors, and 1 a simile, of emotion. Σκοτεινιασμένος is used as a metaphor of emotion in 2 instances and in its literal sense in 5 instances. The entities described as 'dark' or 'darkened' are a metaphorical νύχτα 'night', βίος/ζωή 'life' (1), and παρελθόν the 'past', or a general τα or όλα, best translated as 'things'. This is unquestionably a conventional metaphor and most likely a potentially universal one.

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[441] *Για σένα, μαυρομάτα μου* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[442] *Πάψτε να κλαίτε,Σμάτια μου* (Prodromos Tsaousakis).
[443] *Παίξτε μπουζούκια, παίξτε βιολιά* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).

1. **Είναι βαριά κι αβάσταχτη/ του χωρισμού η ώρα**
   στο βίο μου το *σκοτεινό*/ έχω το μαύρο ουρανό για συντροφιά μου τώρα[444]
   (Heavy and unbearable/ is the hour of parting
   in this *dark* life of mine/ I now have the black sky as my companion)

night (νύχτα)
Source: 'night'; target: bad, sad; constantly, repeatedly. The nouns μέρα and νύχτα are combined in a formula in no less than 58 instances, and the nouns πρωί and βράδυ are combined in 14 instances. These words are very often used literally, but a metonymic meaning might also be inferred if the time of the day is understood to denote things happening around the clock or at any point in time (2). The verbs βραδιάζω and ξημερώνω are also combined 4 times denoting 'around the clock'. These words are marked with an asterisk (*) in the table above and they appear to function as adverbs in these cases. The noun νύχτα occurs 139 times in the corpus, mostly literally (73 instances) and in metaphorical expressions not denoting emotion or emotional events, as in the formulas described above. There are only 8 figurative expressions of emotion; 5 metaphors, 1 metonymy, 1 simile (1), and 1 instance of double entendre.

1. **Σημαίνει η ώρα για μένα τώρα/ *μαύρη σαν νύχτα* θα είναι η ζωή μου**[445]
   (The clock strikes for me now/ *black as the night* my life will be)

2. **Πίνω και μεθώ/ ωχ αμάν, *μέρα-νύχτα τραγουδώ***
   και το ντέρτι μου/ ωχ αμάν, στο μπουζούκι μου ξεσπώ[446]
   (I drink and get drunk/ oh dear, night and day I sing
   and my heartache/ oh dear, I take out on my bouzouki)

dawn, break (ξημερώνω)
Source: 'to dawn'; target: to live happier times; survive. The verb ξημερώνω is found 24 times in the corpus. Only 4 instances are metaphors of emotion, 14 are literal expressions, and 6 are metaphorical expressions from target domains other than emotion. The metaphor either denotes survival with a person as the subject, or the onset 'happier times' (1).

1. ***Θα ξημερώσει* και για μας/ μην είσαι άπιστος Θωμάς**
   τα μονοπάτια τα παλιά/ θα τα περάσουμ' αγκαλιά[447]

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[444] *Θέλω να είναι Κυριακή* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[445] *Μ' έχουν γελάσει δυο μαύρα μάτια* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[446] *Πίνω και μεθώ* (Spiros Peristeris).
[447] *Τα βάσανα μεσ' στη ζωή* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).

(*The day will break* for us too/ don't be a Doubting Thomas
those old pathways/ we will traverse them arm-in-arm)

white (άσπρος)

Source: 'white'; target: happy, bright. The adjective 'white' is found in the corpus in 25 instances, of which 16 are literal, 4 are non-emotional metaphorical expressions,[448] and the remaining 5 are figurative expressions of emotion, 1 a simile and 4 metaphors. The entities qualified by άσπρος denote various emotions or events connected with emotions, e.g. innocence with περιστέρι 'white dove', trouble with τρίχα 'white hair', and luck with μέρα 'white day' (1). The last is an idiomatic expression and may be culture-specific.

1. **οι άνθρωποι είναι κακοί/ στην γήινη την σφαίρα**
    κι από την γη δεν πρόκειται/ να δεις μιαν *άσπρη* μέρα[449]
    (people are mischievous/ in the earthly realm
    and on this earth you won't/ ever see a *white* day)

light (noun: φως)

Source: 'light'; target: happiness, brightness. Of the 72 occurrences of the noun φως, 68 instances are figurative. Most of them, however, are not concerned with emotion, but with other target domains. In the majority of the instances, φως occurs in the idiomatic vocative of endearment, φως μου 'my light'. As mentioned above, it belongs to the master metaphors LIGHT IS LIFE and ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS ARE IMPORTANCE. Only 2 instances are clear metaphors with emotion as their target, which in both cases is happiness or 'the reason to live' (1).

1. **αχ, Πολίτισσα Ταταυλιανή μου**
    ***είσαι εσύ το φως μου* κι η αναπνοή μου**[450]
    (oh, Constantinopolitan girl from Tatavla
    you are my light and my breath)

Remarks

The metaphors from the source domain LIGHT/DARKNESS naturally denote both positive and negative emotions; a wide range of emotions is represented, from happiness to sorrow. Most of the expressions are conventional, but there are also some potentially culture-specific instances.

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[448] Cf. earlier reference (fn 440) to the metonymy μαύρο/μελαχρινή 'black/brunette' for hashish, and άσπρη/ξανθιά 'white/blond' for heroin.
[449] *Φεγγάρι αν είσαι λαμπερό* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[450] *Έμορφη γλυκιά Πολίτισσά μου* (Kostas Roukounas).

4.2.13 Emotion is a Potent Substance

The source domain POTENT SUBSTANCE has been added to this study because there are many instances of metaphor in this corpus of rebétiko song texts with a source concerning the potency of various substances (poison, medicine, alcohol and drugs). The 8 words that have been investigated include 5 nouns, 2 verbs, and 1 adjective. This range is small, but there are many instances, especially involving poison and poisoning. In the category POTENT SUBSTANCE there are 96 instances of metaphorical expression of emotion. The emotion-related metaphoricity of the investigated words in this source domain is medium, the percentage constituting metaphorical expressions of emotion being 45 %.

Table 13. Source domain: strange substance

Expression	literal	metaphor	other trope	simile	literal/ metaphor	other	total
δηλητήριο	1 (50%)			1 (50%)			2
μεθώ	80 (82%)	17 (17%)		1 (1%)			98
μεθυστικός		1 (100%)					1
μέθη/μεθύσι	9 (100%)						9
πιοτό/ποτό	17 (94%)	1 (6%)					18
φαρμάκι	2 (3%)	61 (97%)					63
φάρμακο	2 (40%)	3 (60%)					5
φαρμακώνω	1 (9%)	10 (91%)					11
total	112	**93**		**2**			207

poison (noun: φαρμάκι)
Source: 'poison'; target: sorrow, grief or bitterness, and/or having difficulties.
There are 63 occurrences of φαρμάκι, in 61 different songs, and the word occurs only twice (see example 3) in its literal sense, so this is a case of almost 100% metaphoricity. This may indicate that the literal meaning of this colloquial word (as opposed to the more formal δηλητήριο) has more or less fallen out of use in favour of the metaphorical meaning. There are also 5 occurrences of the word φάρμακο 'medicine', but in this case only 3 of them were judged to be metaphorical expressions, while the remaining 2 are literal.[451]

The metaphor φαρμάκι can denote the *Cause* of emotion, or the *Response* to emotion, or both *Cause* and *Response*, which is illustrated in the following expressions, where it frequently occurs:

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[451] In one of the metaphorical expressions with φάρμακο, there is a play on its similarity to the word φαρμάκι: Πού να πα' να βρω το φάρμακο να τήνε φαρμακώσω/ την άπιστη γαρυφαλιά να τήνε ξεριζώσω (*Το γιασεμί*, Stellakis Perpiniadis).

- **ποτίζω, κάνω, ρίχνω, δίνω, στάζω φαρμάκι**
  with a focus on the *Cause* of emotion, which is often a person (1-5)
- **πίνω, παίρνω, πληρώνω με φαρμάκι**
  with a focus on the *Cause* of the emotion and on the person feeling the emotion (6)
- **είναι, γίνεται, έχει φαρμάκι, από το φαρμάκι**
  with a focus on the *Response* to the emotion (7-8)
- **σβήνω, φεύγει, ξεχνώ, πνίγω το φαρμάκι**
  with a focus on handling the emotion, i.e. a focus on both *Cause and Response* (9-10)

1. **Τη δόλια τη μανούλα μου/ την *πότισες φαρμάκι*** [452]
   (*You've given* my poor mother/ *poison to drink*)

2. **Αναστενάζω και πονώ/ για σένανε μικρούλα**
   φαρμάκι που με πότισες/ κακιά μελαχρινούλα [453]
   (I sigh and ache/ for you, my dear
   you've given me poison to drink/ wicked little brunette)

3. **Τι όμορφα που πέρναγα/ με κείνο το μαυράκι**
   μα η πρέζα μού τα *πότισε*/ τα σωθικά *φαρμάκι* [454]
   (How wonderful I passed my time/ with that hashish
   but the dash[455] *drenched*/ *my innards with poison*)

4. **Βρε ζωή, *φαρμάκια στάζεις*/ σε βαρέθηκα** [456]
   (Oh life, *you're dripping poison*/ I'm fed up with you)

5. ***Φαρμάκι στάζαν τα δυο σου χείλη*/ και τα φιλιά σου ήταν πικρά** [457]
   (Your two lips *were dripping poison*/ and your kisses were bitter)

6. **Τόσα *φαρμάκια έχω πιει*/ ώσπου να σ' αποχτήσω**
   κι όμως, μικρή μου, δεν μπορώ/ μαζί σου πια να ζήσω [458]
   (*I've drunk* so much *poison*/ in gaining you
   and yet, my dear, I can't/ live with you any more)

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[452] *Ο Καπετανάκης* (Panayiotis Michalopoulos).

[453] *Αφού μ' αρέσει το κρασί* (Yiannis Papaioannou).

[454] *Ο λαθρέμπορας* (Vangelis Papazoglou).

[455] πρέζα is Greek slang and *dash* is English slang for heroin.

[456] *Φέρτε μια κούπα με κρασί* (Charalambos Vasiliadis).

[457] *Άλλα μου έλεγες μες την αγκαλιά σου* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).

[458] *Δε θέλω πια να σ' αγαπώ* (Markos Vamvakaris).

7. **Γι' αυτό το ρίχνω στο κρασί/ για να ξεχνώ λιγάκι**
   αυτή που μου 'δινε φιλιά/ μα ήτανε φαρμάκι[459]
   (That's why I take to the wine/ to forget a little
   about the one that gave me kisses/ *that turned out to be poison*)

8. **Να ζούμε δίχως πείσματα/ σα δυο τρελά πουλάκια**
   μες στις χαρές *να σβήνουνε*/ και πίκρες και *φαρμάκια*[460]
   (Let's live without spite/ as two crazy little birds
   and with our joy *wipe out*/ both bitterness and *poison*)

9. **Έλα δω, βρε Ελενάκι/ *να σου σβήσω το φαρμάκι***[461]
   (come here, little Eleni/ *let me wipe out your poison*)

10. **Να κάτσω να μαστουρωθώ/ να σπάσω νταλγκαδάκι**
    να φύγ'* η κάψα απ' την καρδιά/ κι όλο μου *το φαρμάκι[462]
    (I'll sit and get stoned/ and get rid of my heart-ache
    so that the burning and *the poison*/ *leaves* my heart)

poison (verb: φαρμακώνω)
Source: 'poison'; target: cause sorrow or grief, embitter. The verb φαρμακώνω occurs 11 times; 10 instances are metaphors of emotion, and 1 is literal. In the active voice of the verb, the subject causing sorrow and grief is a person (1) in all instances except one, where the subject is ζόρικες κουβέντες 'hostile/heavy talk'; the objects are often persons or the metonymical καρδιά 'heart' (1). The verb also occurs in its passive voice with a person as the subject, and as a passive perfect participle describing persons or the sea.

1. **Δε με λυπάσαι, πάψε πια/ μου *φαρμακώνεις* τη φτωχή μου καρδιά**[463]
   (You don't pity me, stop now/ *you're poisoning* my poor heart)

intoxicate; get drunk (μεθώ)
Source: 'intoxicate, 'get drunk'; target: lack/lose control over emotion. In contrast to the previous verb, μεθώ is mainly encountered in its literal sense. Of the 98 instances there are 80 literal expressions, 17 metaphors of emotion, and 1 simile. When μεθώ occurs in its intransitive form, the entities experiencing the metaphorical intoxication are always persons losing control because of another

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[459] *Αφ' ότου εγεννήθηκα* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[460] *Έλα μικρό να φύγουμε* (Stratos Payioumtzis).
[461] *Η Ελένη η ζωντοχήρα* (Yiovan Tsaous).
[462] *Ο Χαρμάνης* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[463] *Ναζιάρα μου* (Panayiotis Tountas).

person's kisses or lips (1). In its transitive form, the agents of intoxication can be persons, or a person's lips, embrace, sweetness or scent, while the objects of the action are always persons.

1. **Δώσ' μου φιλιά, καμωματού/ γιατί μ' αυτά *μεθάω*
   σ' ορκίζομαι θα σ' αγαπώ/ όσο μακριά κι αν πάω**[464]
   (Give me kisses, coquette/ for *I get drunk* on them
   I swear that I will love you/ however far away I go)

Remarks

This source domain mostly deals with such negative emotions as grief, sorrow and bitterness that might be caused by difficult circumstances in life or other people's wickedness. There is an interesting distinction, though, between the potent substance of poison on the one hand, and alcohol and narcotics on the other hand; the former always convey negative emotions, whereas the latter may convey both negative and positive emotions. The metaphorical expressions are to some extent culture-specific, which is remarkable considering the conventional nature of the specific-level metaphor in colloquial Greek.

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[464] *Η μικρή απ' το Πασαλιμάνι* (Dimitris Gogos, alias "Bayianderas").

4.3 Other Source Domains

As stated previously, not all metaphorical expressions of emotion can be categorised under the master metaphor EMOTION IS FORCE. The source domains EMOTION IS AN ANIMAL and THE HUMAN BODY, however, are part of the overarching master metaphor ABSTRACT ENTITIES ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS, whereas the source domain THE MIND AND THE SOUL is part of that master metaphor only by implication, sometimes as metonymic expressions for the location of emotion (see *4.3.3 The Mind and the Soul as Source Domains*).

4.3.1 Emotion is an Animal

There are many figurative expressions with animals as source domains in the rebétiko corpus. In metaphors from these source domains, ANIMAL stands for instinctive behaviour. This also implicates the metaphor HUMANS ARE ANIMALS, which has been further examined by Andrew Goatly, who also reverses the metaphor (ANIMALS ARE HUMANS) and asserts that "with a Target as complex and multi-faceted as 'animal' there is enormous scope for different Source metaphors derived from different concepts of humanity and different social and cultural systems within which that humanity takes its shape."[465] In colloquial language – and in the rebétiko corpus – a person is frequently described as an animal to which the characteristics emphasised are attributed. A cunning woman is for instance described as a fox or a cat; a courageous man as a lion, and a spiteful person as a snake. But there is no definite consistency in the way a metaphor or simile is used; the movements of a dancing woman can for instance be likened to the winding of a snake or an eel, hence having only positive connotations. This means that different aspects of the source domain have been highlighted in describing various target domains. Animals are also used to describe the state of an object, e.g. an abandoned building as *full of* spiders (not *as* a spider, though). Many of these expressions are formulaic or idiomatic. There are several instances where a metaphor is sustained throughout a song, so that the metaphor is extended into an allegory. From the corpus 21 words have been chosen and investigated, obviously all nouns. The notions are of course not exclusively used as metaphorical expressions of *emotion*, but only those of emotion will be illustrated in the examples.

In the category ANIMAL there are 81 instances of use of a specific word in a metaphorical expression of emotion. The emotion-related metaphoricity in this source domain is medium; the percentage constituting metaphorical expressions of emotion is 60 %.

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[465] Goatly (2006:35).

Table 14. Source domain: animal

Expression	literal	metaphor	other trope	simile	literal/ metaphor	other	total
αλεπού		1 (25%)		2 (50%)		1 (25%)	4
αράχνη		1 (33%)			2 (67%)		3
γάιδαρος	2 (67%)			1 (33%)			3
γάτα		1 (25%)		2 (50%)		1 (25%)	4
δελφίνι		1 (100%)					1
θηρίο/θεριό		4 (67%)		2 (33%)			6
λιοντάρι/λέων		3 (75%)		1 (25%)			4
κάβουρας		1 (100%)					1
κόκορας		2 (100%)					2
κότα	1 (17%)	2 (33%)				3 (50%)	6
μπαρμπούνι	6 (55%)	5 (45%)					11
νυχτερίδα		1 (20%)		3 (60%)	1 (20%)		5
πέρδικα				1 (100%)			1
ποντικός				1 (100%)			1
πουλί	4 (11%)	10 (26%)		12 (32%)	1 (3%)	11 (29%)	38
σκύλος	2 (14%)	1 (7%)		3 (21%)		8 (57%)	14
τίγρης		2 (100%)					2
φίδι		2 (33%)		3 (50%)		1 (17%)	6
χέλι				2 (100%)			2
χταπόδι				1 (100%)			1
ψάρι	12 (57%)	1 (5%)		5 (24%)		3 (14%)	21
total	27	**38**		**39**	**4**	28	136

fox/ (αλεπού)

Source: 'fox'; target: wily, cunning person. There are in the corpus 4 occurrences of the noun αλεπού, 1 is a metaphor of emotion, 2 are similes involving emotion, and 1 is a non-emotional metaphor. The fox often denotes a wily person in folk-tales and fables, and likewise in rebétiko. The example below is a rather condescending and patronising allegory featuring a woman of the street as a fox (or perhaps more correctly, a vixen); the woman/fox has human characteristics and behaviour, but also the alleged slyness of a fox. The target and the source are connected by the suspicion of deceit and untrustworthiness which the fox evokes in the narrator. Also noteworthy in this example is the depiction of men as cockerels; proud and handsome, but easy prey to the fox.

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1. **Μια *αλεπού* που το 'χε σκάσει/ κάποια μέρα απ' τη φωλιά της**
   και γυρνούσε μες τους δρόμους η κυρά
   με τα δίχτυα που είχε στήσει/ κοίταζε για να τσιμπήσει
   κάνα φίνο πετεινάρι πονηρά
   /Απ' το δρόμο τήνε παίρνω/ και στο σπίτι μου τη φέρνω
   ίσως και με το καλό συμμορφωθεί
   μα αλεπού είναι και θυμώνει/ μια βραδιά και μου δαγκώνει
   ένα που 'χα πετεινάρι στην αυλή
   /Την αρχίζω σαν βραδιάζει/ πού σε πονεί και πού σε σφάζει
   και την διώχνω απ' το σπίτι μου σκληρά
   μα η πανούργα πριν να φέξει/ να τηνε με πέντε έξι
   πετεινάρια και κουνάει την ουρά[466]
   (A *fox* that had run away/ one day from her den
   and roamed around the alleys, the dame
   using nets that she'd set/ tried to snare
   some fine cockerel cunningly
   /From the street I pick her up/ and I bring her to my home
   hoping that good treatment might set her straight
   but she's a fox and she gets angry/ and one night she bites
   a cockerel I had in my yard
   /When night falls I let her have it/ "Did that hurt? What about this one?"
   I drive her away harshly from my home
   but before dawn, the cunning one/ is back with five or six
   cockerels and wagging her tail)

cat (γάτα)
Source: 'cat'; target: cunning but likeable/desirable person. The noun γάτα occurs 4 times in the corpus, once as a metaphor of emotion, twice as a simile involving emotion, and once as a non-emotional metaphor. One of the metaphors is extended into an allegory comparing women to cats in various respects (1). The cat again denotes a person, typically a woman, who uses deceit and blandishments to entangle victims, normally men. In contrast to the 'fox', the 'cat', could also be likeable and desirable, and is replaceable if misbehaving. In the simile in (2) the 'cats' are clearly just suitable for playful and amorous escapades, being creatures not really worth trusting. The simile in (3) is harsher and more negative, presenting cats/women as incapable of loving.

1. **Έδιωξα και 'γώ μια *γάτα*/ που 'χε γαλανά τα μάτια**
   Σαν κοιμόμουνα την νύχτα/ μου 'χωνε βαθιά τα νύχια[467]

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[466] *Η αλεπού* (lyrics: unknown; artist: Prodromos Tsaousakis).
[467] *Η γάτα* (Nikos Mathesis). For the whole song, see the example of *allegory* at *3.1 Definitions of Metaphor and Other Tropes*.

(I chased away a *cat*/ that had blue eyes
while I slept at night/ she dug her claws deep into me)

2. **Γλέντα τις γυναίκες, μάγκα/ μην τις αγαπάς**
   είν' αχάριστες σαν γάτες/ μην καρδιοχτυπάς[468]
   (Have fun with women, macho/ don't love them
   they are as ungrateful as cats/ don't fret over them)

3. **Τι μπελάς το γυναικείο φύλο/ κι ο Αδάμ την έπαθ' από το μήλο**
   πού να βρεις στον ντουνιά/ μια γυναίκα με καρδιά
   σαν γάτες είναι πονηρές, ζηλιάρες και κακές[469]
   (What a nuisance is the female sex/ even Adam was undone by an apple
   where can you find in all the world/ a woman with a heart
   like cats they are cunning, jealous and wicked)

dog (σκύλος/ σκύλα)
Source: 'dog'; target: inferior or detestable person. In the corpus, the noun σκύλος (and its feminine form σκύλα) occurs 14 times; 2 instances are literal, 8 are non-emotional metaphorical expressions, 1 is a metaphor of emotion, and 3 are emotion-related similes. In a figurative expression using the word 'dog', various aspects can be highlighted. In (1) the female 'bitch' is used in exactly the same way as in English, to denote a detestable person. In this example that person is a 'stepmother' who personifies foreign lands. In the simile in (2), on the other hand, the 'dog' refers to an inferior creature that does not deserve dignified treatment. The 'dogs' in (3) refer to the collaborationist security battalions during the Second World War, which obviously did not enjoy the narrator's admiration.

1. *Ξενιτιά μαγκούφα, σκύλα μητριά/ πήρες την αγάπη μου από μένα μακριά*[470]
   (*Miserable foreign lands, bitch of a stepmother*
   you took my love far away from me)

2. **Αυτά τα λίγα ψιχουλάκια αν θα μου τάξεις**
   σου τα πληρώνω μ' οποιαδήποτε τιμή
   Και θα τα πάρω κι αν ακόμα τα πετάξεις
   όπως πετάνε σ' ένα σκύλο το ψωμί[471]

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[468] *Έτσι είναι, μάγκα, η ζωή* (Tolis Charmas).
[469] *Τι μπελάς το γυναικείο φύλο* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[470] *Ξενιτιά μαγκούφα* (Spiros Peristeris).
[471] *Λίγα ψίχουλα αγάπης σου γυρεύω* (Kostas Virvos).

(If you promise me these few little crumbs
I will pay you any price for them
And I will take them even if you throw them
like one throws a piece of bread to a dog)

3. **Πενθοφορεί η Αγιά Σοφιά/ Παλιά και Νέα Κοκκινιά**
   Κλάψε κι εσύ τώρα, ντουνιά/ *πιάσαν το Στέλιο τα σκυλιά*[472]
   (They're dressed in black, Agia Sofia/ and Old and New Kokkinia
   Now you cry too, world/ *the dogs have caught Stelios*)

lion (λιοντάρι/λέων)
Source: 'lion'; target: courageous; hardworking; furious. All 4 occurrences of
λιοντάρι are, not surprisingly, figurative; 3 are metaphors and 1 is a simile, and
they are all related to emotion. The connotations attached to the lion are mostly
positive; *strength and endurance* is highlighted in a song about the working class
(1), while the *courage* of the Greek army is emphasised in (2), a song about the
capture of 'flocks' of Mussolini's soldiers. In the simile in (3) the fury and
aggression of the lion are highlighted (albeit in an ungrammatical attempt to
puristic Greek).

1. **Είμαι εργάτης τιμημένος/ όπως όλη η εργατιά**
   και τεχνίτης ξακουσμένος/ και *λιοντάρι στην δουλειά*[473]
   (I'm an honoured worker/ like the whole working class
   and a renowned craftsman/ and *a lion at work*)

2. **Τους τσακώνουνε κοπάδια/ *οι τσολιάδες τα λιοντάρια***
   και τους πάνε στην Αθήνα/ κι έτσι τη περνούνε φίνα[474]
   (They catch them in flocks/ *those lions of Greek soldiers*
   and they take them to Athens/ for a real good time)

3. **και μ' έκλεισαν μες στου Συγγρού/ *σαν λέων λυσσασμένο*[475]**
   (and they locked me up in Syngrou Prison/ *like a furious lion*)

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[472] *Στέλιος Καρδάρας* (Michalis Yenitsaris).
[473] *Εργάτης τιμημένος* (Panayiotis Tountas).
[474] *Άκου, Ντούτσε μου, τα νέα* (variant version of *Βαρβάρα*, Panayiotis Tountas). The noun κοπάδι
'flock' is also an animal metaphor that implies that the Italians are sheep; cf. *Ατσιγγάνα με φωνάζουν*
by Yiorgos Batis: **Βλέπω γύφτισσες κοπάδια/ όλες είχανε ταγάρια** (I see gypsy women in flocks/
they all had handwoven bags).
[475] *Μες στη φυλακή θα λειώσω* (Michalis Yenitsaris).

dolphin (δελφίνι)

Source: 'dolphin'; target: grace; freedom. The single instance of δελφίνι in the corpus is an emotion-related metaphor, denoting elusive abstract notions such as grace and freedom, but arguably also habituation to the sea in this case.

1. **Και τη φτωχή μου, μωρέ, την καρδιά/ εσύ τηνε πλανεύεις, βαρκάρη μου**
   Βαρκάρη μου, βαρκάρη μου/ *δελφίνι και λιοντάρι μου*[476]
   (And my poor heart/ you have seduced it, my boatman
   My boatman, my boatman/ *my dolphin* and my lion)

bird (πουλί)

Source: 'bird'; target: feeling of freedom; precious person. Of the 38 occurrences of the word πουλί, 4 are literal, 11 are non-emotional metaphorical expressions, 1 is a double entendre, 10 are metaphors of emotion, and 12 are emotion-related similes. Most of the instances of πουλί listed in this study as non-emotional are in fact instances of the idiomatic phrase πουλί μου 'my bird', denoting 'my dear', an apostrophe of a beloved person which could therefore also be regarded as related to emotion. In the rebétiko corpus the bird commonly denotes the feeling of *freedom*, as in (1), but it can also highlight the *vulnerability and solitude* of a creature as small and delicate as a bird, as in (2).

1. **Πείσματα και πεισματικά/ σε μένα δεν περνάνε**
   γιατί είμαι *ελεύθερο πουλί*/ και με παρακαλάνε[477]
   (Spite and stubbornness/ don't work with me
   because I'm *a free bird*/ I call the shots)

2. **Ούτε μάνα, ούτε αδέρφια/ και εγώ *έρημο πουλί***
   Βλέπω αράχνες στο κατώφλι/ και χορτάρια στην αυλή[478]
   (No mother, nor siblings/ and I'm *a lonely bird*
   I see spiders on the doorstep/ and weeds in the yard)

partridge (πέρδικα)

Source: 'partridge'; target: pride. Two bird-species commonly encountered in Greek folk songs, dimotiká, and popular songs, laiká, are the eagle and the partridge. Notably, there is no occurrence of the word αετός 'eagle' in the corpus, and there is just one single occurrence of πέρδικα, a simile of emotion. The partridge in Greek folklore usually denotes a proud and ethereal young woman, as

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[476] *Βαρκάρη μου* (Panayiotis Tountas).
[477] *Πείσματα και πεισματικά* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[478] *Το ρημαγμένο σπίτι* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).

in the example below from the corpus, whereas the eagle stands for a proud and strong young man.

1. **Σε κοιτώ και σε ζηλεύω/** *σαν την πέρδικα πατάς*
   Νύχτα-μέρα θα δουλεύω/ πασουμάκια να φοράς[479]
   (I look at you and crave you/ *you tread like a partridge*
   Night and day I'll work/ so you can wear little slippers)

fowl [rooster/cockerel, chicken/hen] (κόκορας, κότα)
Source: 'rooster/cockerel', 'chicken/hen'; target: person in a love/lust relation-ship. Both occurrences of κόκορας are emotion-related metaphors. Also the word κότα occurs twice as a metaphor of emotion, as well as 3 times as a non-emotional metaphor and once as a literal expression. The example below, which includes both words, is an allegory on the relations between a young woman and the narrator of the song, a tale of betrayal ending with hope of vindication.

1. **Είχα μια μικρή κοτούλα/** *όμορφη, πουλάκι δούλα*
   που έκανε πάντα τ' αυγά της/ φρόνιμα, μεσ' στη φωλιά της
   /Την ετάιζα κριθάρια/ καλαμπόκια, και σιτάρια
   μέσ' στα μάτια την κοιτούσα/ και τρελά την αγαπούσα
   /Μα ένα φίνο κοκοράκι/ έξυπνο και διαβολάκι
   μιαν αυγή με τη δροσούλα/ μου ξεμυαλίζει τη κοτούλα
   /Κότα μου, μικρή μου κότα/ πού 'ν' τ' αυγά που 'κανες πρώτα
   Ωχ, αλλού κι αν κακαρίζεις/ πάλι σε μένα θα γυρίσεις[480]
   (I had *a little chicken*/ a beautiful, *little* maid of a *bird*
   That *always laid her eggs*/ dutifully *in her nest*
   /*I fed her barley*/ *corn and wheat*
   I looked into her eyes/ and I loved her madly
   /But *a fine little cockerel*/ a clever little devil
   one dawn, with the dew/ *seduces my little chicken*
   /*My hen, my little chicken*/ where are *the eggs you used to lay*
   Oh, *even if you cackle elsewhere*/ you will come back to me again)

tiger (τίγρης, τίγρισσα)
Source: 'tiger'; target: wildness, aggression. The 2 instances of τίγρης/τίγρισσα in the corpus are both metaphors of emotion denoting wildness and aggression. It is remarkable that two animals as similar as the lion (see above) and the tiger often have such different connotations. In (1), where a woman is compared to a tigress,

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[479] *Το πασούμι, το πασούμι* (Dimitris Semsis).
[480] *Η κοτούλα* (Dimitris Gogos, alias "Bayianderas").

the wild and undomesticated character of the tiger is highlighted, whereas the metaphor in (2) highlights the aggressive nature of the animal.

1. **Ανάθεμα την ώρα, φως μου/ που σ' αντίκρισα**
   σε νόμιζα για αγγελούδι/ μα *είσαι τίγρισσα* [481]
   (I curse the hour, my light/ that I met you
   I thought you were an angel/ but *you are a tigress*)

2. **Βρε, μη μου κάνεις μπαμπεσιές/ και άφησ' τα γινάτια**
   γιατί και *τίγρης θα γινώ*/ για τα γλυκά σου μάτια [482]
   (Don't you double-cross me/ and put your spite aside
   because *I'll* even *become a tiger*/ for those sweet eyes of yours)

donkey (γάιδαρος)
Source: 'donkey'; target: reluctant servant. The word γάιδαρος occurs 3 times in the corpus; once as an emotion-related simile and twice literally. Whilst the metaphor 'donkey' usually denotes obstinacy or density in Swedish and English, in this instance of a rebétiko song text, the word stands for the toils of a reluctant servant (here the husband/narrator).

1. **Και βγήκε η απόφαση/ πως είμαι παντρεμένος**
   να κουβαλώ καθημερνώς/ σα γάιδαρος στρωμένος [483]
   (And the verdict came/ that I'm married
   and have to lug a load every day/ like a saddled donkey)

fish (ψάρι)
Source: 'fish'; target: defenceless person; gullible or susceptible person. In the corpus there are 21 instances involving the word ψάρι; 12 literal expressions, 3 non-emotional metaphors, 1 metaphor of emotion, and 5 similes related to emotion. Figuratively, in the rebétiko corpus, the fish stands for either a defenceless person (1), or a gullible or susceptible person, as in the case of (2), a prostitute's client. [484] In (3) the 'black fish' denote agents of destruction and annihilation.

1. *Τυλίχτηκα σαν ψάρι/ στο δίχτυ σου, κουκλί*
   και μου 'χεις πια για πάντα/ σκλαβώσει τη ζωή [485]

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[481] *Πεισματάρικο* (Iakovos Montanaris).
[482] *Ο ψύλλος* (Stavros Pantelidis)
[483] *Μικρός αρραβωνιάστηκα* (Markos Vamkvakaris).
[484] Cf. the Swedish word 'torsk' that literally means 'cod', but that metaphorically in slang denotes a prostitute's client, a 'punter'.
[485] *Ναζιάρα μ' έχεις μπλέξει* (Markos Vamkvakaris).

(*I'm entangled like a fish/ in your net*, my doll
and you've forever/ enslaved my life)

2. **Στο καλάθι της τον βάζει/ κι από την χαρά φωνάζει**
   έχω τέχνη, έχω χάρη/ ν' αγκιστρώνω κάθε ψάρι
   Για ένα κέφαλο θρεμμένο/ όλη νύχτα περιμένω
   που θα 'ρθεί να μου τσιμπήσει/ *το καλάμι* να κουνήσει[486]
   (She puts him in the basket/ and shouts for joy
   I have skill, I have charms/ *to hook any fish*
   For a well-fed grey mullet/ all night I've been waiting
   for him to come and nibble/ and make my rod wobble)

3. **Άιντε σαν πεθάνω στο καράβι/ ρίχτε με μες το γιαλό**
   να με φάνε τα μαύρα τα ψάρια/ και το αλμυρό νερό[487]
   (Oh, if I die on the boat/ throw me into the sea
   so that I'll be eaten by the black fish/ and the salty water)

crab (κάβουρας)
*Source: 'crab'; target: a dupe or victim (colloquially, 'a loser') and his pathetic
lot in life*. The single occurrence of κάβουρας in the corpus is a metaphor of
emotion that has been extended into yet another allegory on interpersonal relations.
Crabs appear in Modern Greek language as emblematic of those doomed to make
little headway (cf. the verb καρκινοβατώ).This renowned song treats of emotional
concepts such as conjugal fidelity, parental responsibility, deceit, and jealousy.

1. **Στου γιαλού τα βοτσαλάκια/ *κάθονται δυο καβουράκια***
   έρμα, παραπονεμένα/ κι όλο κλαίνε τα καημένα
   Κι η μαμά τους, *η κυρία καβουρίνα*
   πάει τσάρκα *με το σπάρο* στη Ραφήνα
   /Κι όλο *κλαίνε τα καβουράκια*
   στου γιαλού, στου γιαλού τα βοτσαλάκια
   /Πάει ο *κάβουρας* το βράδυ/ βρίσκει το τσαρδί ρημάδι
   Ψάχνει για τη φαμελιά του/ και τραβάει τα μαλλιά του
   Βάζει πλώρη κούτσα-κούτσα στη Ραφήνα
   να πετύχει *την κυρία καβουρίνα*
   /Το ξημέρωμα ροδίζει/ και *ο κάβουρας γυρίζει*
   δίχως τη συμβία πάλι/ κούτσα-κούτσα στ' ακρογιάλι
   Με το σπάρο τον ξενύχτη στη Ραφήνα
   παίζει τώρα στα ρηχά η καβουρίνα[488]

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[486] *Η Βαρβάρα* (Panayiotis Tountas).
[487] *Σαν πεθάνω στο καράβι* (Babis Bakalis, from a traditional song).

(On the pebbles of the shore/ *two little crabs are sitting*
miserable and complaining/ and they keep crying, the poor things
And their mother, *madam crab*
has gone for a stroll with the bream[489] to Rafina
/*And the little crabs keep crying*
on the pebbles of the shore
/In the evening *mister crab* comes home/ and he finds his pad in ruins
He goes looking for his family/ pulling his hair
He shambles off, heading for Rafina
to confront *madam crab*
/The day is dawning/ and *the crab turns back*
still without his spouse/ shambling along the shore
With the bream, the all-night reveller, in Rafina
madam crab is now playing in the shallows)

octopus (χταπόδι)

Source: 'octopus'; target: a dupe or victim (colloquially, 'a loser') and his pathetic lot in life. The word χταπόδι occurs only once, as an emotion-related simile. The relation between the source and the target in the case of the stupid octopus seems quite arbitrary; the connection might be that the octopus is easily hunted and is traditionally thrashed on rocks until edible (cf. the colloquial expression τον κοπάναγαν σα χταπόδι for the victim of a vicious thrashing). The source of the simile could probably have been constituted by any wild animal that does not seem very capable of avoiding capture and maltreatment, and in this song an octopus was chosen to convey the narrator's feeling of condescension towards another person. This particular simile is probably quite original.

1. *αχ, και είσαι ακόμα πιο κουτός/ και από το χταπόδι*[490]
    (oh, *you're even dumber/ than an octopus*)

red mullet (μπαρμπούνι)

Source: 'red mullet'; target: only in feminine: tasty woman. The word μπαρμπούνι occurs 11 times in the corpus. Its neuter form, μπαρμπούνι, occurs 6 times – 5 times literally and once as an emotion-related metaphor, whilst the feminine augmentative form, μπαρμπουνάρα, occurs 5 times and only as a metaphor of emotion. The metaphor denotes a tasty, shapely, and desirable woman in all instances. This metaphor is not entirely uncommon in Greek and it is most likely quite culture-specific.

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[488] *Τα καβουράκια* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[489] σπάρος also means 'sluggard', which renders the meaning of the word double.
[490] *Ο Σορόπης* (Spiros Peristeris).

1. **Ελένη, Ελενάρα μου/ *εσύ 'σαι μπαρμπουνάρα μου***
   κι αν δεν σε αποκτήσω/ τι μ' ωφελεί να ζήσω[491]
   (Eleni, my great Eleni/ *you are my big red mullet*
   and if I can't attain you/ what's the point of living)

spider (αράχνη)
Source: 'spider'; target: old, deserted. Expressions involving the word αράχνη or its derivatives occur 3 times in the corpus; once as a metaphor and twice as a double entendre. In both of the examples below, the spider is used metaphorically to convey a feeling of *decay and desolation.*

1. **Ούτε μάνα, ούτε αδέρφια/ και εγώ έρημο πουλί**
   Βλέπω *αράχνες στο κατώφλι*/ και χορτάρια στην αυλή[492]
   (No mother, nor siblings/ and I'm a lonely bird
   I see *spiders on the doorstep*/ and weeds in the yard)

2. **Τώρα το πήρα απόφαση/ να μην ξαναγαπήσω**
   σ' αραχνιασμένο σπήλαιο/ να πά' να κατοικήσω[493]
   (Now I have decided/ that I'll never love again
   in a *cobwebbed cave*/ I'll go and dwell)

bat (νυχτερίδα)
Source: 'bat'; target: awake at night; deserted, lonely, dark. The word νυχτερίδα has 5 occurrences, all of which are emotion-related: 1 metaphor, 3 similes and 1 double entendre. Again, a feeling of desolation is evoked in (1), but also the concept of being awake at night. In (2) the latter connotation is more prominent, while the former is downplayed.

1. ***Νυχτερίδες, πουλιά/ μας κρατούν συντροφιά* στο σκοτάδι**
   όταν κλαίμε πικρά/ η σκιά μου κι εγώ, κάθε βράδυ[494]
   (*Bats* and birds/ *keep us company* in the dark
   when we bitterly cry/ me and my shadow, every night)

2. **Μέσα στης ζωής τα μονοπάτια/ μπρος στα αρχοντικά σου σκαλοπάτια**
   ***τριγυρίζω σαν τη νυχτερίδα*/ λίγη για να βρω χαρά κι ελπίδα**[495]
   (On the paths of life/ before your noble steps
   I circle around like a bat/ to find a little joy and hope)

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[491] *Ελένη, Ελενάρα μου* (Antonis Diamantidis, alias "Dalgas").
[492] *Στο ρημαγμένο σπίτι* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[493] *Για μιάν αγάπη που 'χασα* (Stavros Pantelidis).
[494] *Η σκιά μου κι εγώ* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[495] *Γυρνώ σαν νυχτερίδα* (Dimitris Gogos, alias "Bayianderas").

snake (φίδι)

Source: 'snake'; target: treacherous, wily person; supple body that moves smoothly. In the rebétiko corpus, the word φίδι occurs 6 times. 2 occurrences are metaphors of emotion, 3 are emotion-related similes, and 1 is a metaphor with another target domain. Two very different connotations of the word 'snake' are highlighted in the corpus; in (1) an exclusively negative conventional connotation of a treacherous, wily person is conveyed, whereas in the simile in (2) a indisputably positive connotation of the smooth movements of a supple body applies. The simile in (3) is a variation of the expression με ζώνουν τα (μαύρα) φίδια '(black) snakes coil around me, an idiomatic expression denoting the feeling of being snared by emotion or circumstances.

1. **Ορφάνεψα από μικρός/ τι βρέθηκες μπροστά μου**
   δεν ήξερα πως *έτρεφα*/ κακούργα, *φίδι μέσ' στην αγκαλιά μου*[496]
   (I became an orphan at a young age/ why did you come before me
   I didn't know *I was nurturing*/ you heartless woman, *a snake in my arms*)

2. **Τα μαλλιά σου ξεπλεγμένα/ τα χειλάκια σου βαμμένα**
   το κορμί κουνάς *σαν φίδι*/ Αρμενίτσα μου, αχ κουκλίτσα μου[497]
   (Your hair is loosened/ your lips are painted
   you move your body like a snake/ my little Armenian girl, my little doll)

3. **Για κοίτα πώς *με ζώσανε*/ σαν φίδια τα μεράκια**
   Λυπήσου τη καρδούλα μου/ που πότισες φαρμάκια[498]
   (See how *the yearnings/ have coiled around me like snakes*
   Have mercy on my poor heart/ that you drenched with poison)

eel (χέλι)

Source: 'eel'; target: evasive person; supple body that moves smoothly. The 2 instances of the word χέλι in the corpus are emotion-related similes. Figurative expressions including the word 'eel' can also have various targets, both negative and positive. The conventional simile in (1) aims at a more negative connotation in describing an evasive person as a slippery eel; in (2), just as with example (2) under 'snake', the positive connotation of the smooth movements of a dancing woman is intended.

1. **Και *μη μου γλιστράς σαν χέλι*/ αφού ξέρεις πως μπορώ**
   με την κάμα μου στο χέρι/ να 'ρθω πάλι να σε βρω[499]

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[496] *Μ' έκανες και χώρισα* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[497] *Αρμενάκι* (Iakovos Montanaris).
[498] *Βαγγελιώ δεν είσαι εντάξει* (Apostolos Chatzichristos).
[499] *Αεροπλάνο θα πάρω* (Panayiotis Tountas).

(And *don't you slip away from me like an eel*/ you know that I'm capable
of coming and finding you again/ with *my dagger* in my hand)

2. **Τραγουδούν οι αραπάδες/ και χορεύει στους οντάδες**
   το κορμί λυγάει σαν χέλι/ γιαλελέλι[500]
   (The Arabs are singing/ and she's dancing in the lounges
   she bends her body like an eel/ 'yialeleli')

beast (θηρίο)
Source: 'beast'; target: wild, aggressive, and merciless person. The word θηρίο
occurs 6 times in the corpus, 4 times as a metaphor and twice as a simile, and all
instances are related to emotion. The 'beast' in the rebétiko corpus denotes the
wildness, aggression, and lack of mercy of a person engaged in violent action, or
being hurt or menaced; the similes below depict the Greek artillery at the Albanian
front during the Second World War (1) and a forsaken female narrator (2).

1. **Κι εσύ, βρε πυροβολικό/ που *σαν θεριό μουγκρίζεις***
   το θάνατο στους Ιταλούς/ καθημερινώς σκορπίζεις[501]
   (And you, artillery/ who *roar like a beast*
   death amongst the Italians/ every day you scatter)

2. *Να ξηγηθώ σαν το θεριό*
   κι ο ένας μας από τους δυο/ απ' τη ζωή να λείψει[502]
   (*I'll respond like a wild beast*
   and one of the two of us/ will go missing from life)

Remarks

Animals as source domain in metaphor are common in the rebétiko corpus. If the
characteristics given in folklore to various animals might be assumed to be
constant and similar universally, many of the metaphors including animals should
be conventional and near-universal. But there are also disparities in the
associations of animals from one culture to the next. In the corpus, various aspects
of the animals' characters are highlighted or downplayed. The spectrum of emo-
tions in the metaphors is broad; both negative and positive connotations are
common.

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[500] *Η μικρή του καμηλιέρη* (Apostolos Chatzichristos).
[501] *Γεια σας φανταράκια μας* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[502] *Ένας σατράπης θηλυκός* (Yiannis Papaioannou).

4.3.2 The Human Body as a Source Domain

In the category THE HUMAN BODY, 21 words from the corpus have been investigated, all nouns, of course. There are 946 instances where these single words are involved in metaphorical expressions of emotion. The emotion-related metaphoricity of the words in this source domain is rather high; the percentage constituting metaphorical expressions of emotion is 67 %. The generic-level metaphor THE MIND IS A BODY has given rise to an abundance of metaphorical expressions using various parts of the body to depict different features of the mind, and thus also the emotions. In his dissertation on metaphors in Cicero, Aron Sjöblad[503] successfully attempts to construct a model of a coherent metaphorical system where the metaphorical human body is central to the depiction of abstract activities and notions concerning human life. The mapping of this metaphorical human body is extensive; the body has eyes that signify understanding, hands that denote handling of abstract objects, it can move in different directions, and be weighed down by burdens etc.

In the rebétiko corpus, parts of the human body function mainly as metonymies for e.g. beauty, if the meaning is not literal. It is often hard to draw a line between the metonymic and the literal meaning. For example, the noun αγκαλιά often denotes 'breast, bosom, arms' in a quite concrete way, or an embrace (affectionate and/or sexual), but it just as often means 'closeness', 'warmth' and 'safety' in a more general sense. Pure metaphors are rare; instead the noun involved usually functions as a metonymy. Since it is almost impossible to distinguish between the sometimes very subtle differences in meaning, and since the meaning is often double, all such instances have been placed in the category 'literal'.

Also the noun μάτι is difficult to categorise figuratively; it is a frequent metonymy for beauty, but it is also often used metaphorically (20 instances) for a person very dear and precious, and in those cases it is more a formula than a metaphor of emotion; hence it is categorised as 'non-emotional'. There are different degrees to which this word functions as a metonymy. In many cases the metonymy is very evident (αγαπώ δυο μάυρα μάτια 'I love two black eyes'), and in other cases μάτι could be interpreted almost literally, but the contexts often make it clear that it is a metonymy for (the beauty of) a person, usually a woman (πεθαίνω για τα μάτια της 'I'm dying for her eyes'). There is a clear connection between the source domain THE HUMAN BODY and the domains PHYSIOLOGICAL FORCE and PHYSICAL FORCE.

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[503] Sjöblad (2009). The model is further developed and described in his article "The Human Body Denoting the Mind: a Coherent Metaphorical System in Classical Latin", *Eranos – Acta philologica Suecana* (forthcoming).

Table 15. Source domain: the human body

Expression	literal	metaphor	other trope	simile	literal/metaphor	other	total
αγκαλιά[504]	97 (97%)	2 (2%)				1 (1%)	100
γάμπα	1 (50%)		1 (50%)				2
ελιά[505]			14 (100%)				14
καρδιά	3 (>1%)	354 (54%)	269 (41%)	5 (1%)	4 (1%)	15 (2%)	650
καφάσι		1 (100%)					1
κεφάλι	23 (52%)		8 (18%)		1 (2%)	12 (27%)	44
λαιμός	2 (22%)		3 (33%)			4 (44%)	9
μάγουλο			8 (100%)				8
μαλλιά	38 (83%)	4 (9%)				4 (9%)	46
μάτι	81 (27%)	14 (5%)	138 (45%)	3 (1%)	11 (4%)	55 (18%)	302
μέτωπο		1 (50%)	1 (50%)				2
νύχι	2 (50%)	1 (25%)				1 (25%)	4
πλάτη					1 (25%)	3 (75%)	4
πόδι	2 (67%)	1 (33%)					3
σπλάχνα		1 (20%)				4 (80%)	5
στήθος	6 (18%)		27 (82%)				33
στόμα	11 (41%)	3 (11%)	5 (19%)	1 (4%)		7 (26%)	27
σωθικά		16 (100%)					16
φρύδι	12 (100%)						12
χείλι	30 (43%)	11 (16%)	24 (34%)	3 (4%)		2 (3%)	70
χέρι	34 (50%)		8 (12%)	2 (3%)		24 (35%)	68
total	342	**409**	**506**	**14**	**17**	132	1420

heart (καρδιά)

Source: 'heart'; target: soul, goodness, courage, compassion; a person in love (whose heart is broken). The noun καρδιά is by far the most frequent of the investigated words in the corpus, which is testimony to the emotional nature of the genre rebétiko. Of the 650 occurrences of καρδιά, 354 are metaphors of emotion, 269 are metonymies involving emotion, 5 are similes of emotion, and 4 are instances of double entendre. Only 3 instances are literal, and 15 are metaphorical

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[504] The verb αγκαλιάζω occurs 29 times in the corpus, of which 3 are metaphors with a more abstract meaning of 'embrace, adopt, sweep around'.

[505] The noun ελιά is of course used here in the sense of 'mole', 'beauty-spot', *not* 'olive'. The meaning of the noun καφάσι is 'head/skull'; it should not be confused with the etymologically unconnected homograph καφάσι 'latticework' (plur. καφάσια 'lattice windows'), cf. Vasilis Tsitsanis's *Σεράχ*).

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expressions with target domains other than emotion. Most metaphors including the noun καρδιά are also metonymical (cf. *3.2.7 Metonymic Relationships, Idioms and Metaphor*); firstly, the heart can function as a metonymy for a person, being the conventional location of the emotions in western cultural tradition, and secondly, it can be a metaphor for emotion itself, and by extension, for interpersonal relationships (example 7). The heart is attested in many cultures as a conventional metonymy/metaphor.[506] Many different emotions can be conveyed by the figurative 'heart'. It warrants extensive illustration here for this reason and also because of the frequency of the figurative expressions involving the heart. In (1) the metaphor conveys *courage*; in (2), (6), and (9) the notion of the *emotions* in general. Example (3) contains a 'metonymic metaphor' (a profusely bleeding heart) denoting the emotions of a person in love. The metaphor in (4) denotes goodness, and in (5) having generosity of spirit, hence also goodness and kind-heartedness. The main emotion conveyed in (8) is love, whereas in (10) the hearts stand metonymically for susceptible persons (τίκι τίκι τακ being the sound of both the dancing heels and the hearts they cause to palpitate).

1. **Βρε μάγκα το μαχαίρι σου/ για να το κουσουμάρεις**
   πρέπει να έχεις την ψυχή/ καρδιά για να το βγάλεις[507]
   (Hey, macho, that knife or yours/ for you to use it
   you've got to have the soul/ *the heart* to get it out)

2. ***Μου μάρανες τη δόλια την καρδιά μου/ και σαν σκουπίδι τώρα με πετάς***
   Εσύ θα μετανοιώσεις κάποια μέρα/ θα τρέχεις σαν τρελή να με ζητάς[508]
   (*You made my poor heart wither*/ and now you throw me away like trash
   You will regret it some day/ you'll run like crazy to seek me out)

3. **Απ' την Πόλη ήρθε μια προχτές/ κι έκαψε πολλές *καρδιές***
   έτσι έκαψε κι εμένα/ αχ, και *στάζει η καρδιά μου αίμα*[509]
   (From Constantinople came a girl the other day/ and she burnt many *hearts*
   thus she burnt me too/ oh, and *my heart is dripping blood*)

4. **Ήβρα παιδάκι τζέντελμαν/ να μ' αγαπάει στ' αλήθεια**
   είναι εργάτης ξακουστός/ κι *έχει καρδιά στα στήθια*[510]
   (I found a lad, a gentleman/ who loves me for real
   he's a renowned worker/ and *he's got a heart in his chest*)

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[506] Cf. Berendt (2010).

[507] *Βρε μάγκα το μαχαίρι σου* (Anestis Delias). Both ψυχή and καρδιά are better translated as 'guts' in this song.

[508] *Εσύ θα μετανοιώσεις* (Kostas Manesis).

[509] *Ταταυλιανή τσαχπίνα* (Antonis Diamantidis, alias "Dalgas").

[510] *Ούζο και χασίς* (Spiros Peristeris).

5. **_Έχω μια πλούσια καρδιά/ γεμάτη με χρυσάφι_**
   και καθαρή συνείδηση/ που αισθάνεται τα λάθη[511]
   (*I have a rich heart*/ filled with gold
   and a clear conscience/ that feels all wrongs)

6. **Τώρα πια δεν σε λυπάμαι/ κι ούτε σε πονώ**
   Την καρδιά μου θα την κάνω/ πέτρα σαν βουνό[512]
   (Now I don't pity you any more/ and I don't feel for you
   I'll turn my heart into a stone/ like a mountain)

7. **Μπρος στο ρημαγμένο σπίτι/ με τις πόρτες τις κλειστές**
   τον καημό μου σιγοκλαίω/ και _ματώνουν οι καρδιές_[513]
   (Before the ruined house/ with its closed doors
   I quietly lament my pain/ and make *hearts bleed*)

8. **Θα μείνω έξω, μια και το 'βαλες γινάτι**
   κι από το κρύο _η καρδιά μου θα σβηστεί_[514]
   (I'll stay outside, since you set your heart on it
   And *my heart will be extinguished* by the cold)

9. **Αν εκτίμησες παλάτια, λίρες και στολίδια**
   πέταξέ την την καρδιά σου μέσα στα σκουπίδια[515]
   (If you valued palaces, golden coins and jewels
   throw your heart away in the rubbish bin)

10. **Θα σου πάρω πασουμάκια/ σα χωρεύεις να χτυπούν**
    τίκι τίκι τακ τα τακουνάκια/ _τις καρδούλες να κεντούν_[516]
    (I'll get you little slippers/ that will tap as you dance
    Ticky-ticky-tack the little heels will go/ and *they'll sting little hearts*)

chest, breast (στήθος)

Source: 'chest'; target: emotion, sentiment. Of the 33 instances of the word στήθος in the corpus, 27 are metonymies of emotion and 6 are literal. Substantially, 'chest/breast' is synonymous with 'heart', inasmuch as it denotes the location of emotion, and in some instances the choice between the two sources probably depends on metre and rhyme. In the example below the 'chest' conveys the emotional pain of the narrator.

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[511] *Είμαι παιδάκι έξυπνο* (Stellakis Perpiniadis).
[512] *Μη μου λες γιατί ξεχνάω* (Kostas Skarvelis).
[513] *Το ρημαγμένο σπίτι* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[514] *Το σκαλοπάτι* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[515] *Ο διαβολάκος* (Koulis Skarpelis).
[516] *Αρμενάκι* (Iakovos Montanaris).

1. **Σαν βγαίνει ο χότζας στο τζαμί/ αργά σαν σουρουπώνει**
   όταν θα πει το Μπιρ Αλλάχ, Μπιρ Αλλάχ/ το στήθος μου ματώνει[517]
   (When the hodja comes out at the mosque/ late at twilight
   and when he calls out 'Bir Allah'/ *my chest bleeds*)

mole, beauty-spot (ελιά)

Source: 'mole'; target: beauty; femininity. All 14 instances of the noun ελιά are figurative expressions of emotion, in the broad sense of the notion. It is a metonymy for beauty, usually female, and by extension a metaphor for the emotions evoked by that beauty; in this example, desire.

1. **Αχ, τα μαλλιά σου κι η ελιά σου/ μ' έφεραν στη γειτονιά σου**[518]
   (Oh, your hair and your *mole*/ brought me to your neighbourhood)

hand (χέρι)

Source: 'hand'; target: help; closeness; power; person. There are 68 occurrences of the word χέρι in the rebétiko corpus. 24 instances are metaphorical/metonymical expressions from source domains other than emotion; 10 are emotion-related, 8 metonymies and 2 similes. Generally, the hand is a metonymy for the body, but it can be a metonymy or metaphor for just about anything related to a person and its meaning is highly dependent on context. In the metaphors of emotion the dominant target domain is power. Πέφτω στα χέρια κάποιου means 'to be subjected to someone's power', and in the example below this is to be understood as emotional subjection.

1. **Από το Χάρο γλίτωσα/ για την κακή μου μοίρα**
   και έπεσα στα χέρια σου/ κι άλλη λαχτάρα πήρα[519]
   (I got away from Death/ by my bad fortune
   and *fell into your hands*/ and got another fright)

eyes (μάτια)

Source: 'eyes'; target: a (beloved) person, beauty. The word μάτια occurs in 303 instances in the corpus. 81 of these are literal and 55 are non-emotional metaphorical expressions. Of the remaining emotion-related instances, 14 are metaphors, 138 are metonymies, 3 are similes, and 11 can be interpreted both literally and metaphorically. As with the word πουλί above, many of the non-emotional instances constitute an idiomatic phrase; μάτια μου 'my eyes' denotes 'my dear', 'my precious' and can thus be regarded both as non-emotional and as emotion-related. All three examples below are metonymies. Example (1) can be

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[517] *Μπιρ Αλλάχ* (Ioannis Stamoulis).
[518] *Τα κομμένα τα μαλλιά* (lyrics: unknown; artist Yiorgos Vidalis).
[519] *Η νοσοκόμα* (Kostas Manesis).

understood both literally and as a metonymy for the appearance of women, or for beauty in general. The metonymy in (2) also denotes a person (and her beauty). In (3) the metonymy stands for the narrator herself.

1. **Αγαπώ τα μαύρα *μάτια*/ που γυαλίζουν σα διαμάντια**[520]
   (I love those black *eyes*/ that shine like diamonds)

2. **Μόρτισσα, *τα μάτια σου* τα μαύρα, τα γλυκά
   στον σεβντά τους μ' έριξαν και λειώνω μυστικά**[521]
   (You tough woman, *your* sweet black *eyes*
   have thrown me into a yearning for them, and I secretly melt)

3. **Οπού σταθώ κι οπού βρεθώ/ δερβίσαινα με λένε
   μα και για το κουτόκοσμο/ *τα μάτια μου* δεν κλαίνε**[522]
   (Wherever I go and turn up/ they call me a tough and sturdy girl
   but for this stupid world/ *my eyes* never cry)

lips (χείλια/χείλη)
Source: 'lips'; target: metonymy for beauty or *speech or kisses; facial expression of happiness/sorrow.* The 70 occurrences of χείλια are distributed between 30 literal expressions, 2 non-emotional metaphorical expressions, 11 metaphors of emotion, 24 metonymies of emotion, and 3 emotion-related similes. The metonymy below could strictly speaking also be a literal expression: 'my lips did not smile', but a figurative interpretation, in the sense of 'I have not felt joy' (whether the lips smiled or not), makes more sense and gives more depth to the expression.

1. **Μαύρη η ώρα κι η στιγμή/ που έμπλεξα με σένα
   μια μέρα *δεν εγέλασαν*/ *τα χείλη μου* και μένα**[523]
   (Black is the hour and the moment/ that I got involved with you
   not for a single day *did they smile*/ *those lips* of mine)

head (κεφάλι, καφάσι [= head/skull])
Source: 'head'; target: metonymy for person, the mind, and emotional disposition. There are 2 words encountered in the corpus for the notion 'head', namely κεφάλι and καφάσι. The unusual καφάσι (from Turkish) occurs only once and as a metaphor of emotion. The more common κεφάλι occurs 44 times; 23 of the instances are literal, 12 are non-emotional metaphors or metonymies, 1 is a double

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[520] *Αγαπώ τα μαύρα μάτια* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[521] *Μόρτισσα Σμυρνιά* (Kostas Karipis).
[522] *Δερβίσαινα* (Vangelis Papazoglou).
[523] *Πάψτε να κλαίτε μάτια μου* (Prodromos Tsaousakis).

entendre, and 8 are metonymies of emotion. The metonymical 'head' usually denotes a person, as a part of the whole, or the mind, as the location of the intended target. By extension it also stands for various notions associated with the mind, among them emotional disposition. In (1) the head, i.e. the mind, is lost because of *jealousy*, and in (2) the target aimed at is the narrator (i.e. his body and mind).

1. **Απόψε σε γλεντάω/ κι ο κόσμος πάει να σκάσει**
   κοντεύει απ' τη ζήλια/ *να τους φύγει το καφάσι*
   Απόψε κάνεις μπαμ[524]
   (Tonight I'm partying with you/ and people are about to burst
   they're nearly blowing their tops/ with envy
   Tonight you're a knockout)

2. **Κάτσε φρόνιμα, Μαρίκα/ τι μπελά με σένα βρήκα**
   κι έβαλα φωτιά μεγάλη/ *στο φτωχό μου το κεφάλι*[525]
   (Behave yourself, Marika/ what a bother I've had with you
   and I've set it well ablaze/ *that poor head of mine*)

innards (σωθικά, σπλάχνα)

Source: 'innards'; target: metonymy for visceral emotions. The synonymous nouns σωθικά and σπλάχνα,[526] both in the plural, are often used metonymically to denote the location of intense emotions. It is not uncommon for the metonymy 'innards', as the location of intense emotions, in its turn to stand metaphorically for the intense emotion itself, whether it is negative (pain), as in (1) and (2), or positive (love/desire). Σωθικά occurs in 16 instances in the corpus, which are all metaphors/metonymies of emotion; σπλάχνα occurs in 5 instances, of which 4 are metaphors from other source domains, and only 1 is a metaphor/metonymy of emotion.

1. **μην με τυραννείς […]**
   εμένα που μου πήρες την καρδιά μου
   και *μ' άνοιξες πληγή στα σωθικά μου*[527]
   (don't torture me […]
   the one whose heart you took away
   and *in whose innards you opened up a wound*)

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[524] *Απόψε κάνεις μπαμ* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[525] *Κάτσε φρόνιμα Μαρίκα* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[526] Σπλάχνο in the singular can mean 'offspring'.
[527] *Σε μια ξανθούλα* (Stellakis Perpiniadis).

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2. **Όλα τα βάρη σου, ζωή/ τα φόρτωσες σ' ένα κορμί**
   τόσο φαρμάκι, βρε ζωή/ πού θέλεις να τα βάλω
   Ξεχείλησαν τα σπλάχνα μου/ και δεν χωράει άλλο[528]
   (All your burdens, life/ you've loaded on to one body
   so much poison, oh life/ where do you expect me to put it
   My innards overflow with it/ and there's no room for any more)

Remarks

As human physiology is fundamentally identical through time – and possibly place, allowing for different social, economic, and cultural contexts and diverse perceptions of anatomy – the metaphorical expressions sprung from this source domain are mainly conventional and may be presumed to be potentially universal. But as cultural variation can render some aspects of bodily experience more, or sometimes less, important than others, there are of course also cultural variations in the linguistic expressions generated from the source domain HUMAN BODY. Furthermore, the creativity of individual songwriters has at times produced more original metaphors and metonymies. Most figurative expressions involving the body are metonymies. The metonymies usually denote a person as a whole (e.g. in the case of 'hand'), or an emotion, activity, or feature associated with the part of the body chosen as source domain (e.g. 'lips' and 'mole'). The most common of all metaphors/metonymies in the rebétiko corpus, the heart, is to be found in the source domain HUMAN BODY. A wide range of emotions is conveyed by the 'heart' and by other words from this source domain. Most of the expressions concern emotions and qualities with positive connotations, such as goodness, love, and desire, but emotions with negative connotations, such as emotional pain, are also represented.

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[528] *Συρματοπλέγματα βαριά* (Eftichia Papayiannopoulou).

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4.3.3 The Mind and the Soul as Source Domains

The mind and the soul can sometimes function as metonymies and metaphors in the same way as the body. In Greek their use often resembles that of the 'brain'/'eyes' and 'heart' respectively.

In the category THE MIND AND SOUL there are 74 instances of metaphorical expression of emotion. These instances are divided between 3 nouns that represent this category. The emotion-related metaphoricity of the notions in this source domain is medium; the percentage constituting metaphorical expressions of emotion is 43 %.

Table 16. Source domain: the mind and soul

Expression	literal	metaphor	other trope	simile	literal/ metaphor	other	total
μυαλό	7 (12%)	29 (50%)				22 (38%)	58
νους	19 (42%)	10 (22%)				16 (36%)	45
ψυχή	28 (40%)	25 (39%)	10 (14%)			7 (7%)	70
total	54	**74**	**10**			49	173

mind (νους, μυαλό)
Source: 'mind'; target: control/lack of control over emotion. The noun μυαλό occurs 58 times in the corpus; in 29 instances it is included in metaphors of emotion, in 22 instances in other metaphors, and in 7 instances it has a literal meaning. The adjacent noun νους occurs in 45 instances, of which 10 are found in metaphors involving emotion, 16 in other metaphors, and 19 in literal expressions. Hence, there are, in all, 39 instances where the notion 'mind' is included in metaphorical expressions of emotion. The emotions conveyed by these metaphors are mostly positive (love and desire), as in (1) and (2), but also to some extent negative (fear and despair).

1. **Τα ματόκλαδά σου γέρνεις, βρε/ *νου και λογισμό μου παίρνεις*** [529]
   (When you lower your eyelashes/ *you take my mind and reason away*)

2. **σαν σε βλέπω από κοντά μου να περνάς, μικρό
   μου ξετρελαίνεις, φως μου, *το μυαλό*** [530]
   (when I see you pass by near me, my little one
   you drive *my mind* crazy, my light)

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[529] *Τα ματόκλαδά σου λάμπουν* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[530] *Μάγκικο* (lyrics: unknown; artist Yiorgos Vidalis).

soul (ψυχή)

Source: 'soul'; target: intense emotion; emotional disposition; spirit. There are 70 instances of the noun ψυχή in the corpus, 28 of them are literal expressions, and 7 are metaphors from other target domains. The remaining 35 instances are figurative expressions of emotion; 25 are metaphors, and 10 are metonymies. The notion 'soul' stands metonymically for a person (1) or a person's emotional disposition and innermost feelings (2), and also metaphorically for intense emotion, *compassion* in (3).The emotions conveyed by metaphors involving this source domain are mostly negative, such as despair, disappointment, and sorrow.

1. **Ξύπνα, μικρό, μου κι άκουσε/ κάποιο μινόρε της αυγής**
   για σένανε είναι γραμμένο/ από το κλάμα *κάποιας ψυχής*[531]
   (Wake up, my dear, and listen/ to a tune in minor key at dawn
   for you it is written/ out of the weeping of *a certain soul*)

2. **Κοιτώ παντού, τριγύρω μου σκοτάδι**
   κι *είν' ή ψυχή μου μαύρη* σαν τον Άδη[532]
   (I look everywhere, around me darkness
   and *my soul is as black as* Hades)

3. **Καρδιά δεν είχες και *ψυχή*/ το δάκρυ μου έτρεχε βροχή**[533]
   (You had no heart and *soul*/ my tears kept falling like rain)

Remarks

There are not many different notions to examine from this source domain, but the frequency of the notions is quite high. It is rather difficult to demarcate the notions from this source domain from those included in the HUMAN BODY domain, and the classification may therefore occasionally appear arbitrary. The notions 'heart' and 'chest', for instance, from the source domain HUMAN BODY are in many ways almost synonymous to the notion 'soul' from the domain THE MIND AND THE SOUL. Mostly negative emotions are represented by 'soul', whereas expressions using the notion 'mind' tend to display positive emotion.

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[531] *Το μινόρε της αυγής* (Spiros Peristeris).
[532] *Στην παραζάλη* (Yorgos Mitsakis).
[533] *Εχτές αργά το δειλινό* (Kostas Manesis).

4.4 Literal Expressions of Emotion

The literal expressions of emotion in the corpus are numerous, although significantly fewer than the figurative expressions. They include words denoting emotions such as pain, bitterness, love and joy, but also some words that are more difficult to translate, such as κέφι 'mood/high spirits' and μεράκι 'yearning/heightened emotion'.[534] There are 109 words denoting emotion literally included in this study; 46 are nouns,[535] 44 verbs, 17 adjectives, and 2 adverbs, totalling 2684 single instances. Most of the literal expressions in the table below can evidently be expressed metaphorically as well. In fact, some of the emotions are only conveyed metaphorically (e.g. from the source domain BURDEN), while others are expressed mainly through metaphor, but occasionally also literally, and yet others are represented primarily in literal expressions. By far the most frequently occurring literal words in the corpus are the verb αγαπώ 'to love', the noun αγάπη 'love', the verb πονώ 'to hurt', and the nouns πόνος 'pain' and καημός 'pain/yearning'. Metaphorical expressions denoting these emotions and causes of/responses to emotion are also the most common in the corpus.

Some remarks have to be made concerning a few of the literal expressions in the table below. Firstly, the noun κέφι is often combined with the verbs σπάω 'break', in the metaphorical sense of 'raise' or 'bring about' (4 times) and κάνω 'bring about' (9 times), and the noun μεράκι is often found with the verb σπάω (7 times), both expressions denoting 'being in a good mood/having fun'. Secondly, the noun αγάπη is often used in an affectionate apostrophe directed to a dear person: αγάπη μου 'my love'. In the plural the noun αγάπες denotes either the objects of love, or acts of endearment. Furthermore, the noun πίκρα, the adjective πικρός, and the verb πικραίνω, 'bitterness', 'bitter', and 'embitter', are dead metaphors denoting emotion (cf. *3.1 Definitions of Metaphor and Other Tropes* and *3.2.4 Kinds of Metaphor*), originally concerned only with the sense of taste. The list of words in Table 17 is not exhaustive, and as these literal expressions serve only for comparison with the metaphorical expressions, they will not be further analysed in this investigation.

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[534] For an account of the words 'kefi' and 'meraki' in rebétiko see Tsounis (1995).
[535] Words such as ερωτιάρης/-α/-ικο, ζηλιάρης/-α/-ικο, and μπελαλής/-ού have been categorised as nouns, even though they are also encountered as adjectives.

Table 17. Literal expressions of emotion

Words	Occurrences	Words	Occurrences
αγάπη	118	θλιμμένος	10
αγαπώ/-ιέμαι	366	θλίψη	3
αισθάνομαι	9	θυμώνω	13
αίσθημα	5	καημός	142
ανέλπιστα (adverb)	1	κέφι	32
ανησυχώ	4	κουράγιο	11
απαρηγόρητος	2	λατρεύω	37
απελπίζομαι	4	λαχτάρα	30
απελπισία	5	λαχταρώ	27
απελπισμένος	7	λυπάμαι	63
απολαμβάνω	2	λύπη	2
βασανίζω/-ομαι	37	μαράζι	15
βάσανο	65	μαραζώνω	20
δυστυχής/δυστυχισμένος	21	μελαγχολία	1
δυστυχία	6	μελαγχολικός	3
δυστυχώ	3	μελαγχολώ	1
ελπίδα	30	μεράκι	107
ελπίζω	3	μερακλής/-ού	47
ενδιαφέρομαι	1	μερακλίδικος	3
ενοχλώ	1	μερακλώνω/-ομαι	2
ένοχος	1	μετανοιώνω	70
έρωτας	38	μίσος	1
ερωτεύομαι	7	μισώ	17
ερωτιάρης/-α/-ικο	2	μπελαλής/-ού	13
ερωτικός	2	μπελάς	31
ευτυχής/ευτυχισμένος	7	νοιώθω	48
ευτυχία	3	νταλγκαδιάζω	3
ευτυχώ	2	νταλγκάς	29
ζήλεια	8	ντέρτι	45
ζηλιάρης/-α/-ικο	18	ντρέπομαι	7
ζηλευτός/ζηλεμένος	14	ντροπαλός	2
ζηλεύω	45	ντροπή	9
θαυμάζω	7	ντροπιάζω	7
θάρρος	3	οργή	7
θλιβερός	5	πάθος	5

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Words	Occurrences
παθαίνω	26
παιδεύω	48
παραπονεμένος	5
παραπονιάρης/-α/ικο	5
παραπονιάρικος	2
παραπονιέμαι	21
παράπονο	24
παρηγοριά	38
παρηγορώ	26
περήφανος	3
περιφρονώ	8
περιφρονημένος	1
πικραίνω	19
πικρός	27
πίκρα	33
πικρά (adverb)	6
πόθος	10
ποθώ	12
πόνος	168
πονώ	187
σεβνταλής/-ού	9

Words	Occurrences
σεβντάς	41
σεβνταλίκι	2
στενοχώρια	3
στενοχωρώ/-ιέμαι	6
στοργή	3
συμπαθώ	4
συμπόνια	2
συμπονώ	9
συγκινώ/-ούμαι	5
τυραννία	2
τυραννώ/-ιέμαι	67
τρομάζω	8
τρόμος	1
φοβάμαι	45
φοβερίζω/φοβίζω	12
φόβος	1
χαίρομαι	15
χαρά	65
total	**2684**

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4.5 Further Observations on Metaphor in Rebétiko

In the course of this study, certain aspects of the metaphorical language of emotion in rebétiko have been revealed which have not been examined explicitly in the analysis of the metaphors, as they are not relevant to the primary aim of the dissertation. Nevertheless, since these features are to some extent characteristic of the figurative language of rebétiko, a brief presentation of them could serve to elucidate further the metaphors of rebétiko song texts. Some of the examples already cited will therefore be presented again, but this time from different points of view.

4.5.1 Metaphorical Blends

The first observation relates to the frequency of *metaphorical blends*, i.e. the use of mixed metaphors or metaphors with entailments from different source domains. In the first example (1), where 'the dark fire' (καρά, literally 'black', is a prefix of intensification) is said to 'wilt' the narrator, the metaphorical expressions are extracted from three different source domains: LIGHT/DARKNESS, FIRE and NATURAL FORCE respectively. In the second example (2) the metaphor 'the wound that you lit' draws on two source domains: PHYSICAL FORCE and FIRE. Although the linguistic expressions conflate different metaphorical source domains, the overall impression in Greek is not one of incoherence. The reason might be that they are all included in the master metaphor EMOTION IS FORCE, which may allow metaphors from different specific-level metaphors to mix successfully. Another explanation could be that there are metaphors within the metaphors, as it were, i.e. that 'wilt' in (1) is really a metaphor for 'damage, and that 'light' in (2) is a metaphor for 'to cause' or 'start'. The metaphors that spring from these kind of blends can be very vivid. They often form creative metaphors from conventional ones, even though they can appear, strictly speaking, to be quite illogical.

1. **Μη με ρωτάτε βλάμηδες/ γιατί είμαι λυπημένη**
   Καραγιαγκίνι* μες στην καρδιά/ έχω και *με μαραίνει[536]
   (Don't ask me, my friends/ why I'm sad
   a dark fire in my heart/ I have and it *wilts me*)

2. **εσύ θα γιάνεις *την πληγή*/ *που μ' άναψες*, ζηλιάρα**[537]
   (you will heal *the wound*/ *that you lit in me*, you jealous woman)

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[536] *Φέρτε πρέζα να πρεζάρω* (Panayiotis Tountas). The 'dark fire' invoked is of course metaphorical for desire and passion.
[537] *Ξανθή κουκλίτσα* (Dimitris Semsis).

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Another important observation is that many single verses, as well as whole song texts, are replete with metaphors. Sometimes the metaphors are part of the same coherent metaphorical system, and in other instances there is a blended set of metaphors from various source domains. The more coherent type can sometimes form an allegory (cf. example (13) under 'fire' at *3.2.7 Emotion is Fire/Heat*); the blended variety can create a very dramatic and vibrant effect (1).

1. **Με *τρώει κάποια μαύρη* υποψία/ *πως άλλος την καρδιά σου κυβερνά***
    και αν αυτό είναι αλήθεια/ *δώσ' μου μαχαιριά στα στήθια*
    πριν *γκρεμίσουν τα όνειρά μου τα χρυσά*[538]
    (A certain *black* suspicion *is eating away* at me
    that someone else *rules your heart*
    and if that is true/ *give me a stab in the chest*
    before my *golden* dreams *crumble*)

4.5.2 Striking Stereotypes in the Metaphors of Rebétiko

The lyrics of rebétiko are filled with stereotypes, especially of women, and these stereotypes permeate metaphorical expressions over many songs. Women are typically depicted either as cunning, evil and wilful, using notions such as γάτα 'cat', μπελάς 'burden', δίχτυ 'net', μαγεύω 'cast a spell on', and τυλίγω 'entangle' (1-4), or more passively and innocently as sweet, beautiful and desirable (5, 6). There are also instances where both these stereotypical views on women are at work simultaneously (7).

1. **Γλέντα τις γυναίκες, μάγκα/ μην τις αγαπάς**
    είν' αχάριστες σαν γάτες/ μην καρδιοχτυπάς[539]
    (Have fun with women, macho/ don't love them
    they are ungrateful like cats/ don't get your heart beating)

2. **Τι *μπελάς* το γυναικείο φύλο/ κι ο Αδάμ την έπαθ' από το μήλο**
    πού να βρεις στον ντουνιά/ μια γυναίκα με καρδιά
    σαν γάτες είναι πονηρές, ζηλιάρες και κακές[540]
    (What a nuisance is the female sex/ even Adam was undone by an apple
    where can you find in all the world/ a woman with a heart
    like cats they are cunning, jealous and wicked)

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[538] *Της ταβέρνας το ρολόι* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[539] *Έτσι είναι, μάγκα, η ζωή* (Tolis Charmas).
[540] *Τι μπελάς το γυναικείο φύλο* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).

3. *Τυλίχτηκα σαν ψάρι/ στο δίχτυ σου, κουκλί*
   και μου 'χεις πια για πάντα/ σκλαβώσει τη ζωή[541]
   (*I'm entangled like a fish/ in your net*, my doll
   and you've forever/ *enslaved* my life)

4. *Με μάγεψε μια μάγισσα/ με τα γλυκά της λόγια*
   Με τύλιξε σαν μου 'ταξε/ ανώγεια και κατώγεια[542]
   (*A sorceress has cast a spell on me/* with her sweet words
   She conned me as she promised me/ the moon and the stars)

5. **Κάποια βραδιά μαγική/ μέσα στο Μισίρι την είδα**
   Ήταν ξωτική ομορφιά/ η Γκιουλμπαχάρ η γλυκιά[543]
   (Some magical evening/ I saw her in Egypt
   She was an exotic beauty/ sweet Gulbahar)

6. **σαν σε βλέπω από κοντά μου να περνάς, *μικρό***
   μου ξετρελαίνεις, φως μου, το μυαλό[544]
   (when I see you pass by near me, *my little one*
   you drive my mind crazy, my light)

7. **Όταν σου 'λεγα με πόνο/ χάνομαι για σένα λειώνω**
   έριχνες τα μάτια σου, μικρή μου, χαμηλά
   κοίταζες να πάρεις κάποιου άλλου τα φιλιά[545]
   (When I used to tell you in my pain/ that I'm lost because of you, I'm melting
   you would lower your eyes, my little one
   and sought to gain someone else's kisses)

There are some instances, however, where women are portrayed as strong, clever, powerful, and possessing a free will equally with men (8). There are also instances where men 'cast a spell on' women in the same way as women on men (9).

8. **Τρέξε, μάγκα, να ρωτήσεις/ να σου πουν ποια είμαι 'γω**
   Είμαι 'γώ γυναίκα φίνα/ ντερμπεντέρισσα
   που τους άντρες σαν τα ζάρια/ τους μπεγλέρισα[546]

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[541] *Ναζιάρα, μ' έχεις μπλέξει* (Markos Vamkvakaris).
[542] *Σιγά-σιγά πεθαίνω* (Markos Vamvakaris). The literal meaning of the expression *ανώγεια και κατώγεια* is 'upper floors and basements'.
[543] *Γκιουλμπαχάρ* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[544] *Μάγκικο* (lyrics: unknown; artist Yiorgos Vidalis).
[545] *Μη μου λες γιατί ξεχνάω* (Kostas Skarvelis).
[546] *Η ντερμπεντέρισσα* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).

(Run along, macho, and ask them/ to tell you who I am
I'm a fine woman/ a devil of a lady
who've played with men/ as I do with dice)

9. **με γοητεύει, *με μαγεύει*, με παιδεύει**
   τον εσυμπάθησα, μανούλα μου, πολύ[547]
   (he charms me, *he casts a spell on me*, he torments me
   I like him, dear mother, a lot)

The stereotypes of men are more varied; one instance is the strong, hardworking type with a good reputation (10); another is a much weaker lovesick man who is portrayed as being in the power of a desired woman (11); while a third justifies the uncouthness of a man's behaviour as a reaction to the deceitful conduct of a woman (12).

10. ***Είμαι εργάτης τιμημένος/* όπως όλη η εργατιά**
    και τεχνίτης ξακουσμένος/ και *λιοντάρι στην δουλειά*[548]
    (*I'm an honoured worker/* like all the working class
    and a renowned craftsman/ and *a lion at work*)

11. ***Σκλάβος στο γλυκό της φιλί/* είμαι στο σεβντά της *δεμένος***
    Κλαίω, νοσταλγώ και πονώ/ την Γκιουλμπαχάρ δεν ξεχνώ[549]
    (*A slave to her sweet kiss/* I am *tied* to her passion
    I cry, I long and I hurt/ I never forget Gulbahar)

12. ***Κι αν είμαι ζόρικος, που λες/* εσύ τα φταις και μόνο**
    Όταν σε βλέπω μ' άλλονε/ *ανάβω και φουντώνω*[550]
    (*And if I'm stroppy, you know/* it's all your own fault
    When I see you with another man/ *I catch fire and flare up*)

Emotional language in Greek can be quite physical and at times almost violent. This could be viewed as a rather stereotypical perception of emotion. The connotations of the expressions, though, are not always harsher than in, for instance, English or Swedish, but rather stronger and more intense. In the corpus, the use of words and phrases such as σφάζω 'slaughter' (13), μαχαίρι 'knife' (14), σκοτώνω 'kill', δέρνω 'beat up', πνίγω 'choke', and κάνω κομμάτια 'cut to pieces' have, as stated in an earlier section, become rather diluted in the specific metaphorical expressions in Greek, and hence merely denote an intensity of emotion that is otherwise difficult to

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[547] *Το χασαπάκι* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[548] *Εργάτης τιμημένος* (Panayiotis Tountas).
[549] *Γκιουλμπαχάρ* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[550] *Ο ζόρικος* (Apostolos Chatzichristos).

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convey concisely. In most instances, metaphors with a more violent content denote emotions and emotional states, and only very rarely describe actions taken or threats made towards another person. That fact is consistent both with the high metaphoricity of the expressions concerning forces as source domains, and with the assumption that rebétiko song texts are largely emotional in nature.

13. *Μέσα στην καρδιά με σφάζεις/ όταν με κοιτάς*
    κάνεις πως αναστενάζεις/ και όλο με γελάς[551]
    (*You slaughter me right in the heart*/ when you look at me
    you pretend to be sighing/ but you keep fooling me)

14. **Σα μου πεις πως δε με θέλεις/ πως δε μ' αγαπάς**
    μαχαιράκια είναι τα λόγια/ κούκλα, που πετάς[552]
    (When you say that you don't want me/ that you don't love me
    the words are *little knives*/ my beauty, that you throw)

4.5.3 Figura Etymologica

There are several instances of the juxtaposition of cognate words, including metaphors, in the same verse of rebétiko song texts. The rhetorical device, *figura etymologica* often serves both to give emphasis and to create alliteration or assonance. This illustrates the functioning of metaphor in both embellishment and conveying meaning. There are instances from various source domains, but most of them are to be found within MENTAL FORCE (1) and NATURAL FORCE (4).

1. **ποιες *μάγισσες* τρελές σε κρατούν μακριά *μαγεμένο***
   τις ώρες τις πικρές κάθε βράδυ μετρώ και πεθαίνω[553]
   (what crazy *sorceresses* keep you away, *spellbound*
   every night I count the bitter hours and I die)

2. **Τα δυο σου μάτια, κούκλα μου/ μοιάζουνε σα *μαγνήτες***
   όπου με *μαγνητέψανε*/ και περπατώ τις νύχτες[554]
   (Those two eyes of yours, my beauty/ they're like *magnets*
   that have *magnitised* me/ and make me wander at night)

3. **εσύ για μένα είσαι *γιατρός*/ εσύ θα με *γιατρέψεις***[555]
   (you are a *doctor* for me/ you are the one that'll *cure* me)

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[551] *Μάγκικο τα δυο σου μάτια* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[552] *Τα παιδιά της γειτονιάς σου* (lyrics: unknown, of smyrnaic origin).
[553] *Η σκιά μου κι εγώ* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[554] *Σ' αγάπησα να 'χω ζωή* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[555] *Νόστιμο μικρό τρελό μου* (Markos Vamvakaris).

4. **Τέτοια ζωή με βάσανα/ κανένας δεν την έχει**
   να τρέχουνε τα μάτια μου/ σαν τη *βροχή* που *βρέχει* [556]
   (Such a life with torments/ no one else has it
   my eyes keep running/ like the *rain* that *rains*)

5. **Μια γαλανομάτα, μια *τρελή τσαχπίνα*/ *μ' έχει ξετρελάνει* στην Αθήνα** [557]
   (A blue-eyed girl, a *crazy* coquette/ *has driven me crazy* in Athens)

4.5.4 Formulaic metaphors

Besides the individual metaphorical notions, there are formulaic metaphorical expressions in rebétiko which recur in songs by different songwriters, (1) and (2), or in different songs by the same songwriter (3).

1. **Τα ματάκια σου τα δυο/ δεν τα βλέπω κι αρρωστώ**
   σαν τα βλέπω με τρελαίνουν/ και στον Άδη με πηγαίνουν [558]
   (Those two eyes of yours/ when I don't see them I fall ill
   when I see them they drive me crazy/ and they take me to Hades)

2. **Αχ, μικρούλα μου αφράτη/ και με ζάχαρη γεμάτη**
   σαν σε βλέπω με τρελαίνεις/ και στον Άδη με πηγαίνεις [559]
   (Oh, my little chubby girl/ full of sugar
   when I see you you drive me crazy/ and you take me to Hades)

3. **[…] και συ να μην γλιτώσεις**
   τον ίδιο πόνο στην καρδιά/ να πάθεις και να λειώσεις [560]
   ([…] and you won't get away
   the same pain in the heart/ you'll suffer and you'll melt)

The formula αναστενάζω και πονώ 'I sigh and ache' (4-6) is a also common in rebétiko.

4. **Η τύχη μου το θέλησε/ αλάνι τώρα να 'μαι**
   ν' αναστενάζω, να πονώ/ κι όλο να σε θυμάμαι [561]
   (My fortune wanted it this way/ for me to be an urchin
   to sigh and ache/ and always bear you in mind)

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[556] *Τέτοια ζωή με βάσανα* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[557] *Μια γαλανομάτα* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[558] *Ελενίτσα μου* (Yiannis Dragatsis, "Ogdontakis").
[559] *Στην Αθήνα μια μικρούλα* (Yiovan Tsaous).
[560] *Ποιος είμαι δε θυμάσαι* (Kostas Skarvelis); *Πονώ δεν με λυπάσαι* (Kostas Skarvelis).
[561] *Το Αλανάκι* (Dimitris Gogos, alias "Bayianderas").

5. *Αναστενάζω και πονώ/ για σένανε, μικρούλα*
   φαρμάκι που με πότισες/ κακιά μελαχρινούλα[562]
   (*I sigh and ache*/ for you, my dear
   you've given me poison to drink/ wicked dark beauty)

6. *Αναστενάζω και πονώ/ γι' αυτήν την ομορφιά σου*
   και δεν μπορώ να χωριστώ/ μικρή μου, από κοντά σου[563]
   (*I sigh and ache*/ for that beauty of yours
   and I can't bear to be apart/ from you, my dear)

4.5.5 Similarities between Metaphors in the Corpus and those in Erotokritos and Greek Folk Song

The majority of the metaphorical expressions of emotion in rebétiko appear *prima facie* to be conventional. One way of confirming this impression is to look for similarities between these metaphors and those found in a range of the poetry of Greek popular tradition, specifically in the Cretan Renaissance verse romance *Erotokritos* by Vitsentzos Kornaros,[564] and a selection of folk songs (*dimotiká tragoúdia* or *demotic songs*). It has been argued here that the conceptual metaphors of emotion in rebétiko largely derive from the general-level source domain EMOTION IS FORCE. Several of them correspond with expressions in *Erotokritos* and folk songs.[565] *Erotokritos* is in places replete with metaphors (1), just as demotic and rebétiko songs are:

1. *έχει καημένα σωθηκά, χείλη φαρμακεμένα,*
   σ' ό,τι ήκουσε της Αρετής, δεν τσ' ήρεσε κιανένα[566]
   (her *innards are burnt, her lips poisoned,*
   nothing of what she heard from Areti, pleased her at all)[567]

Erotokritos contains instances of metaphor of emotion corresponding to each of the specific-level source domains for rebétiko song texts. From NATURAL FORCE we have for instance γκρεμός, θάλασσα, λειώνω, μαραίνω, and πνίγομαι.[568] From INTERNAL PRESSURE only one instance is found, namely βράζω, and from OPPONENT

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[562] *Αφού μ' αρέσει το κρασί* (Yiannis Papaioannou).
[563] *Γιατί δε βγαίνεις να σε δω* (Kostas Skarvelis).
[564] Alexiou, S (1980/1986).
[565] On metaphor in demotic songs cf. Alexiou, M (2002:28–29) and Sifakis (1998).
[566] Alexiou, S (1980/1986), A1035.
[567] The translations into English of verses from *Erotokritos* and from demotic songs/couplets are mine.
[568] A0716, Γ0152, Γ1164, Γ1289; E0489; Γ0187, E1141; A1868, Δ1892; Γ0426 in Alexiou, S (1980/1986). The range of variation of these metaphors and their contexts can be synoptically surveyed in Philippides & Holton's concordance of *Erotokritos* (1996–2001), as can that of the metaphors listed in the following footnotes.

there are examples of κάνω κομμάτια and σφάζω.[569] Instances of metaphorical use of the words αρχοντιά, κυβερνώ, παλάτι and σκλαβώνω from the source domain SOCIAL FORCE are encountered,[570] and the source domain FIRE/HEAT is represented with e.g. ανάβω, καίω, σβήνω, φωτιά, φλόγα and λάβρα. [571] Metaphorical expressions from the domain of PHYSIOLOGICAL FORCE are found in *Erotokritos* in the form of the words αίμα, αναστενάζω, αρρωσταίνω (with the variant αρρωστώ that interestingly enough also occurs in the corpus of rebétiko), γιαίνω, γιατρεύω, γιατρειά, δάκρυ, ζάλη and πεθαίνω. [572] From the source domain PHYSICAL AGITATION the verb τρέμω is encountered, [573] and BURDEN is represented through the words βαραίνω, βαρύς and αλαφρώνω.[574] From PHYSICAL FORCE we find δέρνω, ζεστός, μαχαίρι, πληγή, πληγώνω.[575] LIGHT/DARKNESS is represented by e.g. μαύρος, ξημερώνω, σκοτεινός and φως.[576] The only instances from POTENT SUBSTANCE involve φαρμάκι.[577]

There are also correspondences between *Erotokritos* and rebétiko in metaphorical expressions of emotion from source domains other than that of forces; the source domains ANIMAL, HUMAN BODY and MIND AND SOUL are also represented. From ANIMAL we find words such as θεριό, λιοντάρι, αράχνη, πουλί and ψάρι with the same emotional connotations as in rebétiko.[578] The HUMAN BODY is represented by words like αγκαλιά, κεφάλι, καρδιά, μάτι, στήθος, χείλη, χέρι, σπλάχνα and σωθικά.[579] Finally, from the source domain MIND AND SOUL we can discern the metaphors νους and ψυχή.[580]

Finally, some examples of the similarities of the metaphorical expressions follow below; (1-2), (6-7) and (9) are from rebétiko, (3) is from *Erotokritos*, while (4-5) and (8) are demotic couplets, so-called *distichs*.

1. **Μες στης ταβέρνας τη γωνιά για σένα πίνω
   για την αγάπη σου *ποτάμια δάκρυα χύνω*[581]**

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[569] Β1119; Δ0322; Γ0426, Ε0453, Ε0582 in Alexiou, S (1980/1986).

[570] Β0169; Β0556; Ε0857; Γ0226 in Alexiou, S (1980/1986).

[571] Α0180, Β0778; Α2078, Γ0846; Α0408, Α1131; Α0466, Γ0455; Α0180, Γ0461; Α0465 in Alexiou, S (1980/1986).

[572] Γ1430; Ε0943; Α1792, Α2054; Α1792, Α2054; Α1792, Α2054; Α1308, Β1521; Ε1199; Ε0926, Ε0975; Α0913; Δ0352 in Alexiou, S (1980/1986).

[573] Δ0316, Δ1312 in Alexiou, S (1980/1986).

[574] Δ0180; Δ1410; Α0843 in Alexiou, S (1980/1986).

[575] Δ0517, Γ1246; Α0488; Ε0059, Ε1182; Γ0307, Γ0312; Γ0870, Ε1198 in Alexiou, S (1980/1986).

[576] Β0591; Δ0312; Α1312; Α1539, Γ0105 in Alexiou, S (1980/1986).

[577] Α0610, Β0950, Γ0098, Γ1411 in Alexiou, S (1980/1986).

[578] Β0344, Β1007, Β1133; Β0454, Β1515; Ε0848; Ε0085; Β0604 in Alexiou, S (1980/1986).

[579] Δ0627; Β1292; Β0305, Γ0846; Α0528, Γ1303; Γ1245, Δ0650; Α0942, Α1002; Α0226; Α1307; Γ1417 in Alexiou, S (1980/1986).

[580] Β1511, Γ1539; Β1169, Δ1063 in Alexiou, S (1980/1986).

[581] *Σαν μαγεμένο το μυαλό μου* (Dimitris Gogos, alias "Bayianderas").

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(In a corner of the tavern I drink for you
for your love *I shed rivers of tears*)

2. **Η καρδιά μου συννεφιάζει/ *τρέχουν τα δάκρυα βροχή***
   Σίγουρα θα πάμε, μια και φτάσαμε ως εκεί
   εσύ στο χώμα κι εγώ στη φυλακή[582]
   (My heart is clouding over/ *my tears fall [like] rain*
   Surely we will end up, the way we're going on
   you in the ground and me in prison)

3. **κ' εδείχναν την αγάπην τως πάντα όντε μ' εθωρούσαν,**
   να τρέχου δάκρυα ποταμό, να καίγουν την καρδιά σου[583]
   (and they [i.e. your eyes] always showed their love as they looked at me
   they will run with a river of tears, and burn your heart)

4. **Αγαπημένον μου πουλί κι ωραίον μου ιεράκι,**
   η ξενιτιά σε χαίρεται κι εγώ *πίνω φαρμάκι*[584]
   (My beloved bird and beautiful falcon,
   foreign lands enjoy you, and *I drink poison*)

5. **Εσύ κοιμάσαι εις τα υψηλά κι εις τ' άσπρα σενδονάκια,**
   κι εγώ γυρίζω εις τα στενά, και *πίνω τα φαρμάκια*[585]
   (You sleep up high in little white sheets
   and I wander in the alleys and *drink poison*)

1. ***Τόσα φαρμάκια έχω πιει*/ ώσπου να σ' αποχτήσω**
   κι όμως, μικρή μου, δεν μπορώ/ μαζί σου πια να ζήσω[586]
   (*I've drunk* so much *poison*/ until I gained you
   and yet, my dear, I can't/ live with you anymore)

7. **Για να σε κάνω άνθρωπο/ *ήπια τόσα φαρμάκια***
   μα το δικό σου το μυαλό/ πετάει στα σοκάκια[587]
   (To make you a decent human being/ *I've drunk so much poison*
   but that mind of yours/ flies around the alleys)

[582] *Ξημερώνει και βραδιάζει* (Vasilis Tsitsanis).
[583] Alexiou, S (1980/1986), Γ1250.
[584] Demotic song/distich [Κς΄], Politis (1999a:308).
[585] Demotic song/distich [Δίστιχα, αρ. 4:2], Politis (1999b:32).
[586] *Δε θέλω πια να σ' αγαπώ* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[587] *Για να σε κάνω άνθρωπο* (Kostas Virvos).

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8. **Έρωτα που με τόξευσες, πώς πλια δεν με γυρεύεις;**
   Τέτοια πληγή που μ' άνοιξες, πώς δεν μου την γιατρεύεις;[588]
   (Love who shot me with an arrow, why don't you seek me out any more?
   Such a wound that you opened in me, why don't *you heal it*?)

9. **Έχω μεράκι, έχω νταλγκά/ έχω σεβντά και πόνο**
   με την πληγή που μ' άνοιξες/ μέρα και νύχτα λειώνω[589]
   (I have a yearning, I have a longing/ I have passion and pain
   because of the wound you gave me/ night and day *I melt*)

Κλαίω κι αναστενάζω 'I cry and sigh' is a common formula in rebétiko that occurs in demotic songs and *Erotokritos* as well. The first examples (1-3) are from rebétiko songs, (4-6) are demotic songs, and (7-8) are from *Erotokritos*. (9) and (10) are a striking example of occurrence of the same metaphor in *Erotokritos* and rebétiko, and the direct influence of the earlier text on the later cannot be excluded; nor can that of a third source from the broad tradition of greek vernacular poetry.

1. **Ως πότε δεν θα μ' αγαπάς/ και δεν θα με κοιτάζεις**
   και γι' άλλονε, μικρούλα μου/ *θα κλαις, θα αναστενάζεις*[590]
   (For how long will you not love me/ and not look at me
   and over someone else, my little one/ *will you cry and sigh*)

2. **Γι αυτό κι εγώ δε θέλω πια/ να με ξαναπειράζεις**
   όταν περνώ να μου μιλάς/ *να κλαις, ν' αναστενάζεις*[591]
   (That's why I no longer want/ you to bother me anymore
   to talk to me when I pass by/ *to cry and sigh*)

3. **Θα την κάνω εγώ να αναστενάζει/ να πονεί, να κλαίει, να στενάζει**
   να πονεί, *να κλαίει και ν' αναστενάζει*[592]
   (I will make her sigh/ I'll make her ache, cry, and groan
   I'll make her ache, *cry and sigh*)

4. **Κάνω καρδιάν για τους εχθρούς, και λέγω δεν με νοιάζει,**
   κι η μαυρισμένη μου καρδιά *κλαίει κι αναστενάζει*[593]
   (I take fresh heart for my enemies and I say that I don't care
   and my blackened heart *cries and sighs*)

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[588] Demotic song/distich [Δίστιχα, αρ. 13:32], Politis (1999b:84).
[589] *Δεν τόνε θέλω μάνα μου* (Markos Vamvakaris).
[590] *Θα σε πλανέψω μια φορά* (Kostas Skarvelis).
[591] *Πλανεύτρα (Τα δίχτυα σου)* (Kostas Skarvelis).
[592] *Τι σου λέει η μάνα σου για μένα* (Kostas Skarvelis).
[593] Demotic song/distich [Κ΄], Politis (1999a:308).

5. **Ο ήλιος ν-εβασίλευε, κι ακόμα λαύρα βγάζει,**
   κι ακόμα η καρδούλα μου *κλαίει κι αναστενάζει*[594]
   (The sun has set and it's still giving out heat
   and my heart is still *crying and sighing*)

6. **κι εις το δρομί π' ακούμπησε, χρυσόν υγιό γεννάει·**
   είναι βλαστάρι του έρωτα, και *κλαι' κι αναστενάζει*[595]
   (and on the road where she rested, she gives birth to a golden son
   he's an offspring of love, and *she cries and sighs*)

7. *Ήκλαιγε κι αναστέναζε* **με κουρασά μεγάλη,**[596]
   (*He cried and sighed* with great fatigue)

8. **μόνο κουνεί την κεφαλή,** *κλαίγει κι αναστενάζει,*[597]
   (she only shakes her head, *she cries and she sighs*)

9. **κι ουδ' εφοβήθηκε ποτέ άντρα, θεριό αν εγίνη**
   και να μασή τα σίδερα και να τα καταπίνη[598]
   (and he never feared man even if he became a beast
   and chews up iron and swallows it)

10. **Βρε, μη φοβηθείς τον άνθρωπο/ όσο θεριό και να 'ναι**
    και να μασά τα σίδερα/ και να τα καταπίνει[599]
    (Don't you fear man/ how ever much a beast he becomes
    and chews up iron/ and swallows it)

For the most part, similarities between the texts cannot be simplistically assumed to indicate that the earlier texts have directly influenced individual rebétiko songs, but rather reflect the workings of a popular tradition of poetic language underpinned by a system of metrical-syntactical formulae and patterns, used instinctively by both highly literate poets like Kornaros and unlettered oral composers alike. Moreover, Greek emotional expression tends to be very metaphorical, and the metaphors of emotion in the works selected for comparison mostly derive from the same source domains, whether they are culture-specific or universal.

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[594] Demotic song/distich [Δίστιχα αρ. 19:105], Politis (1999b:139).

[595] Demotic song: *Το τραγούδι της γκαστρωμένης* [267], Ibid., 193.

[596] Alexiou, S (1980/1986), E0943.

[597] Alexiou, S (1980/1986), Γ0635.

[598] Alexiou, S (1980/1986), B1007-1008.

[599] *Μπαρμπα Γιαννακάκης* (Panayiotis Tountas). The numerous – and in this context insignificant – exclamatory interjections have been removed from the verse in order to facilitate the comparison with the verse from *Erotokritos*.

5 Summary and Conclusions

This dissertation has investigated the metaphorical expressions of emotion in rebétiko song texts. In particular it has demonstrated in detail and for the first time, the extent to which certain words and phrases from the generic-level source domain FORCE are used metaphorically to denote emotion in this genre, as represented by a special purpose corpus, constructed solely for this investigation. As explained at the outset, analysis of the metaphoricity of the 1355 song texts comprising the corpus was facilitated by the use of a concordance generated with the computer-based concordance frequency programme ConcappV4. This has enabled a focus on the level of metaphoricity and the frequency of various metaphors in the different specific-level source domains of the master metaphor EMOTION IS FORCE, and the additional source domains ANIMAL, THE HUMAN BODY, and THE MIND AND THE SOUL. All of these specific-level source domains are, according to the theories applied here, based on shared physiological and cultural experiences. The investigation therefore attempted not only to illustrate the most common emotion-related metaphorical expressions in rebétiko – and the context in which they appear – but also to gauge (albeit tentatively) their conventionality or originality, and their potential for universality. This involved occasional correlations of metaphorical expressions of emotion in rebétiko with various other sources of Greek language and culture, as warranted by each item, and these *ad hoc* connections are supplemented by an extended discussion of such additional aspects of metaphor in rebétiko at section *4.5*.

As stated at the outset, the metaphors, similes and metonymies have been investigated mainly from a linguistic point of view, taking an approach centred on conceptual metaphor, as developed by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson[600] in the early 1980s and subsequently further elaborated for emotion concepts by Zoltán Kövecses.[601] The analysis of rebétiko has found that the function of metaphor as a tool for conceptualising abstractions such as emotions and other elusive notions is not the only feature of metaphor in this genre; the use of metaphor for ornamental reasons is also salient, and it is at times subject to the requirements of the song's rhyme and metre. This feature of embellishment is emphasised in the Classical view of metaphor, from Aristotle onward, as opposed to the subsequent Romantic view, which sees metaphor as inseparable from language and which is much closer to the idea of conceptual metaphor. According to *Conceptual Metaphor Theory*, metaphors are based on a variety of human experience, including biological and cultural grounds shared by the source and target domains. Metaphors emerge from human experience: cognitive, physiological, cultural, and biological. In Kövecses's theory of metaphors of emotion, a potentially universal metonymic conceptualisation

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[600] Lakoff & Johnson (1980/2003).
[601] Kövecses (2002).

underlies the metaphorical conceptualisation of emotion. This suggests that conceptual metaphors of emotion are based on universal aspects of human physiology at a generic level; they are generated from human nature and other natural kinds of shared experience, such as interaction with the physical and cultural environment. There is naturally also a wide range of cultural variation within the limits imposed by universal physiology.[602] Kövecses argues that emotions are at the same time motivated by the human body and produced by social and cultural environment; in his synthesis, the *Body-based constructivism* (BBC),[603] he succinctly asserts that social constructions emanate from a bodily basis and bodily motivation is ascribed social-cultural substance.

The analysis of the metaphors of emotion in rebétiko song texts supports Lakoff and Johnson's theory on conceptual metaphor and more specifically confirms that Kövecses's model of the master metaphor EMOTION IS FORCE is applicable to much of the metaphorical expression in the song texts of rebétiko.[604]

The emotion-related metaphoricity of all the investigated words in the corpus is 56% in total, which corresponds to 3245[605] instances divided between 257 words from 16 source domain categories. As a comparison, 2684 instances of literal expression of emotion were encountered, divided between 109 investigated words. These figures naturally depend on the words and phrases chosen for the investigation and could of course deviate if other subjects of investigation (i.e. other linguistic expressions) were chosen, both from the source domains within the master metaphor examined, and for the table of literal emotion-related words chosen for comparison. The figures only serve to demonstrate the approximate metaphoricity of the specific-level source domains, as well as the distribution of the figurative expressions between metaphor, metonymy and simile, and should by no means be considered absolute. More interesting than sheer numbers is the character of the metaphorical language in rebétiko, as illustrated in the examples analysed.

Emotion can partly be understood through its cause or effect, and consequently conceptualised as causes that lead to responses. The EMOTION IS FORCE metaphor implies that metaphors of emotion focus on cause and/or response in the sense that a cause leads to emotion, and emotion leads to some response. In this study it has been proposed that, even though the metaphorical source domains in rebétiko can be divided into groups focusing on either *cause*, *response*, or *cause and response*, the

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[602] Kövecses (2000:165-172).

[603] Ibid., 182-186.

[604] When speaking of emotion one is often constrained to metaphorical language. There are of course many literal expressions involving emotions, but in many instances it seems impossible to convey the exact meaning literally while rendering the intended nuances of the emotions. In several cases, many more words would be necessary in literal expressions to convey all the mappings of the targeted notions and the shades of the emotions.

[605] The metaphorical expressions of emotion are the sum of 'metaphor', 'other trope', simile', and 'literal/metaphor' in Table 18.

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delineation of the focus is not always that clear, as demonstrated with the metaphors φωτιά, δάκρυ and φαρμάκι.

The table below shows all the metaphorical specific-level source domains examined in the present study, as well as their frequency and their division into different tropes (mainly metaphor, metonymy and simile), together with their occurrence in literal expressions and non-emotional metaphorical expressions.

Table 18. Source domains denoting emotion

Source domain	literal	metaphor	other trope	simile	literal/ metaphor	other	total
natural force	48	164	13	45	33	25	328
internal pressure	3	**14**				24	41
opponent	41	**90**		**1**	**3**	2	137
social force	24	**68**	**17**	**8**	**10**	7	134
mental force	22	**70**		**2**	**13**		107
insanity		**213**		**23**	**6**	52	294
fire	54	**369**	**1**	**7**	**5**	14	450
physiological force	194	**246**	**140**	**2**	**63**	54	699
physical agitation	1	**8**		**1**	**2**		12
burden	9	**52**				18	79
physical force	114	**197**		**15**	**10**	84	420
light/darkness	694	**110**	**8**	**11**	**9**	275	1107
potent substance	112	**93**		**2**			207
animals	27	**38**		**39**	**4**	28	136
the human body	342	**409**	**506**	**14**	**17**	132	1420
the mind and soul	54	**74**	**10**			49	173
total	1739	**2205**	**695**	**170**	**175**	760	5744
percentage of total	*30*	*38*	*12*	*3*	*3*	*13*	*100*

The master metaphor EMOTION IS FORCE is in the present study claimed to be the dominant, though certainly not the only, master metaphor of emotion in rebétiko. The generic-level source domain EMOTION can, as demonstrated, be divided into several specific-level source domains used to conceptualise various emotions.

The following account of universality and culture-specificity of metaphors of emotion in rebétiko in the present study is given with due reservation, as clear-cut answers would require an examination of all existing languages, which of course is not possible. That said, all the specific-level source domains are found to be, at least partly and in terms of conceptual metaphor theory, potentially universal. There are of course instances of culture-specific expressions, like σφάζω 'slaughter' and κάνω κομμάτια 'cut to pieces' from the source domain OPPONENT and some entailments of

the metaphor σβήνω 'extinguish' from FIRE/HEAT. Sometimes it is not the metaphors *per se* that appear culture-specific, but rather the high *frequency* of the words and expressions, as with the metaphors (υ)γιαίνω 'heal' from PHYSIOLOGICAL FORCE and βαριά 'heavily' from BURDEN, or occasionally the *intensity* of a metaphor, like δέρνω 'beat up', or even the *extension* of a universally conventional metaphor, like πληγή 'wound', both from the source domain PHYSICAL FORCE. The domain LIGHT/DARKNESS displays some potentially culture-specific instances, such as άσπρη μέρα 'white day' for luck (or relief from misfortune). Some of the metaphorical expressions from the source domain POTENT SUBSTANCE appear to be culture-specific, e.g. instances of the metaphor φαρμάκι 'poison' and φαρμακώνω 'to poison', and are conventional in colloquial Greek. In the source domain ANIMAL, various aspects of the animals' characteristics are highlighted or downplayed in the instances found in the corpus: thus there is e.g. the metaphor where a big (feminine) red mullet denotes a shapely woman, and the possibly culture-specific simile of a person's being as stupid as an octopus (cf. conventional and creative metaphorical expressions below).

It is not possible from this investigation to conclude whether there are any *genre-specific* emotion metaphors in the corpus, as most metaphorical expressions of emotion appear conventional. As mentioned in the statement of the aims (cf. *1.1*), this dissertation is a pilot study, and accordingly the discussion of conventionality and creativity is tentative. In order to assert conventionality and identify genre-specific metaphors in rebétiko, one would need a much more comprehensive body of material for comparison, particularly a corpus of kindred Greek genres, such as demotic songs, laiká, or revue songs. Again, this study of the metaphors of emotion in rebétiko cannot claim to be in any sense representative of the Greek language as a whole. However, it is indicative of the status of the language of emotion in colloquial Modern Greek, since the language of rebétiko is to a large extent intertwined with everyday language, and since many of the metaphors in rebétiko appear conventional and seem to originate from near-universal generic-level metaphors. The similarities between metaphors in the rebétiko corpus and those in the verse romance *Erotokritos* and in Greek folk song support the assertion of the indicative value of the data derived from rebétiko. A complete description of the metaphorical language of emotion in rebétiko would require a more comprehensive corpus, perhaps with a clear thematic and chronological classification of the song texts related to the various specific-level metaphors listed in this study.

As stated above, the metaphors and similes in the corpus appear to be mainly conventional and are often idiomatic and stereotyped expressions from everyday language. They are sometimes extended though, and at times highlighted in creative ways, which occasionally renders the expressions more original. There are instances of conventional expressions from all of the specific-level source domains; but sporadically more creative expressions are encountered in most source domains, especially when words from different source domains are blended into one

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metaphorical expression, like άλλος την καρδιά σου κυβερνά 'someone else rules your heart', and η καρδιά μου συννεφιάζει 'my heart is clouding over'. Again, the 'stream' is metonymical for a dangerous location and produces a creative metaphor for a disaster in the expression στο ρέμα με τραβάς 'you drag me to the stream', as does in the following expression the designation of life as a sea: στη μεγάλη θάλασσα που ζωή τη λέμε 'on the great sea that we call life'. There are also instances of creative personifications in the corpus, such as μας φώναζε το κύμα/ το φιλί δεν είναι κρίμα 'the wave shouted to us/ a kiss is no shame', as well as original similes, like πιο κουτός και από το χταπόδι 'dumber than an octopus'. Commonly, more creative metaphorical expressions have emerged from extensions of conventional metaphors: μες τις φουρτούνες της ζωής παλεύω απελπισμένος 'with the storms of life/ I wrestle desperately'; την βάρκα έχω θρόνο μου/ και τα κουπιά παλάτια 'the boat is my throne/ and the oars my palaces'; σκλάβος στο γλυκό της φιλί 'a slave to her sweet kiss'. A very graphic, and somewhat macabre, image appears in the combination of the metaphors 'brim over' and 'innards' in ξεχείλησαν τα σπλάχνα μου/ και δεν χωράει άλλο [φαρμάκι] 'my innards overflow with it/ and there's no room for any more [poison]'. In the expression τρέμω απ' την αγάπη σου 'I tremble with love for you', the conventional metaphor 'tremble with emotion' has become slightly less conventional through an unusual combination.

The emotion-related metaphoricity in some source domains, e.g. MENTAL FORCE, INSANITY and FIRE/HEAT, is strikingly high. As shown in the table, INSANITY is the only specific-level source domain that displays no occurrences of literal meaning of the words and expressions included in the study. The source domains LIGHT/DARKNESS and POTENT SUBSTANCE have in this investigation more instances of literal than of metaphorical use, which is presumably a consequence of the fact that some of the words included in these categories are very common words in everyday speech about quite concrete and prosaic subjects, such as '(point of) time' (LIGHT/DARKNESS), and frequent activities in the world of the rebétes, such as 'drinking' (POTENT SUBSTANCE). The overall high metaphoricity of the specific linguistic expressions is presumably due to the extent to which the song texts treat emotion. In the genre it seems much more important to display feelings and the internal, emotional disposition of people, than to describe external circumstances and events.

The emotion metaphors (the source domains) in the rebétiko corpus are not always unique to the emotions (the target domains). There are some metaphorical source domains that have both emotion and other entities as target domains, and others that seem to have only emotion as their target; the latter are MENTAL FORCE, PHYSICAL AGITATION and POTENT SUBSTANCE. Most of the metaphorical source domains are shared by several emotion concepts, but some appear to be specific to particular emotion concepts. The emotions most frequently represented in the corpus are the positive emotions *love* and *desire*, as well as the negative emotions *disappointment* and *sadness*, though this may be an artefact of a peculiar distribution

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of songs on various themes in the corpus. A more thorough correlation of metaphors with song themes might have clarified this.

The source domain NATURAL FORCE conceptualises many different emotions, but in rebétiko song texts they are mostly negative, such as despair, powerlessness, and desolation, expressed in love songs describing either mutual or unrequited love. The metaphors involving a PRESSURISED CONTAINER occur in various song themes, but most frequently in love songs; a wide range of emotions is conveyed through this source domain, even though the number and frequency of the expressions are limited. The emotions and emotional states conveyed by the source domain OPPONENT are mainly emotional pain and suffering, sorrow, despair, and other negative emotions evoked by difficulties in life, but also to some extent yearnings and desire. Metaphors from the domain SOCIAL FORCE do not convey emotions *per se*, but rather emotional states evoked by various abstractions such as value, impregnability, superiority and subjection. The source domain MENTAL FORCE mainly conveys control or lack of control over emotion, and the emotions conveyed are mainly positive emotions of love, desire and infatuation, but also negative emotions such as deceit. Maintenance, loss or lack of control over emotion, or making others lose control over emotion, are also the notions conveyed in metaphors from the source domain INSANITY. The domain FIRE/HEAT primarily conveys intense emotions like love and desire, and notions such as incentive or destruction related to these emotions. In metaphors from the source domain PHYSIOLOGICAL FORCE there is a wide range of emotions expressed, both positive and negative, from sorrow, grief, despair, resignation, irritation, to yearning, happiness and joy, as well as emotional pain and deliverance from it. The domain BURDEN exclusively conveys negative emotions concerning difficulties and oppression. The metaphorical expressions from the domain PHYSICAL FORCE concern disparate emotions, from love and lust, to deceit and emotional pain. In the source domain LIGHT/DARKNESS there is also a wide range of emotions represented, from happiness to sorrow, while POTENT SUBSTANCE mostly deals with negative emotions such as grief, sorrow and bitterness caused by difficult circumstances in life. As mentioned earlier, there is a distinction between the potent substance of poison on the one hand, and alcohol and narcotics on the other hand; the former conveys negative emotions, whereas the latter may convey both negative and positive emotions.

A great variety of emotions, both negative and positive, is conveyed in the rebétiko corpus through the metaphors from the source domain ANIMAL. THE HUMAN BODY mainly concerns emotions and qualities with positive connotations, such as goodness, love, and desire, but also to a certain extent emotions with negative connotations, such as emotional pain. Finally, the domain THE MIND AND THE SOUL is mostly concerned with negative emotions when the metaphor ψυχή 'soul' is invoked, whereas expressions using the notion 'mind' as source generally denote positive emotion.

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Some of the source domains, e.g. NATURAL FORCE and PHYSICAL FORCE, display a great variety of linguistic expression in the metaphors found in the corpus; others, like INSANITY and FIRE/HEAT, are much more restricted in this regard, but instead exhibit many instances of each expression, which indicates the conventionality of the metaphors. The source domain FIRE/HEAT shows an impressive frequency of certain verbs (ανάβω 'light', σβήνω 'extinguish' and καίω 'burn'). The most frequent of all the metaphors/metonymies in the corpus is καρδιά 'heart', from the source domain HUMAN BODY.

It is quite remarkable that the use of metaphor (and metonymy) vastly exceeds the use of simile in the rebétiko song texts. There might be many reasons for this, not least metrical. Another explanation, though, may be the directness and plainness with which the lyricists try to convey emotion. The simile seems to be too vague, and at times too pompous, for the type of songs that constitute the genre rebétiko. Furthermore, there are numerous very forceful and vigorous metaphorical expressions in the corpus that have become rather diluted in everyday Greek, but seem almost violent and provocative in other Western European languages. This might be due to the high frequency with which the expressions are used in colloquial Greek, which in turn is ultimately due to cultural differences that manifest themselves in language.

The fundamental thesis advanced here is that the lyrics of rebétiko songs are both highly metaphorical and very emotional in character. It is, however, not possible to establish the extent to which this high metaphoricity and emotional character is specific to the rebétiko genre without more extensive comparison to other genres, such as folk songs, laiká, revue songs, and popular literature. The findings of this study suggest, though, that the combination of an emotional and metaphorical language, closely connected to human experience, may have contributed to the popularity of the genre throughout the Greek-speaking world. Moreover, the diversity of emotions and emotional states demonstrated above, both positive and negative, refutes the generally accepted perception of rebétiko as a pessimistic and depressing genre.

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Appendix 1: Translation of Notions Used as Metaphorical Source Domains

αγιάτρευτος incurable
αγκάλη/αγκαλιά arms, embrace
αγώνας battle, struggle (noun)
αέρας air
αίμα blood
(ξ)αλαφρώνω ease, lighten
αλεπού fox/vixen
ανάβω light, ignite (verb)
αναπτήρας lighter (noun)
(βαρι)αναστενάζω sigh (verb)
ανεμοβρόχι rainstorm
άνεμος wind
ανηφόρα uphill (noun)
αράχνη spider
αρρωσταίνω fall ill
αρρώστια disease
άρρωστος ill
αρχοντιά nobility
αρχοντικός noble, distinguished
αρχόντισσα lady, noblewoman
αρχοντοπούλα young noblewoman
ασπρίζω whiten, turn white
άσπρος white
αστραπή lightning
αστράφτω lighten, flash, sparkle
(χαρ)αυγή dawn, daybreak
βαραίνω burden, weigh down
βαριά heavily
βάρος weight
βαρύς heavy
βασανιστήριο torture (noun)
βασιλιάς king
βασίλισσα queen
βοριάς north wind
βραδιάζω get dark
βράδυ/βραδιά evening
βράζω boil, seethe
βρέχω rain; wet/moisten (verb)
βροντή thunder

βροχερός rainy
βροχή rain (noun)
γάιδαρος donkey
γάμπα leg, calf (anat.)
γάτα cat
γέλιο laughter
γελάω laugh; (transitive: deceive)
γιαγκίνι fire
γιαίνω heal
γιατρεύω cure (verb)
γιατρειά cure (noun)
γιατρικό remedy
γιατρός doctor
γκρεμ(ν)ός precipice, cliff
δάκρυ tear
δακρύζω shed tears
δειλινό twilight
δελφίνι dolphin
δέρνω beat [up]
δηλητήριο poison (noun)
διατάζω order, command (verb)
διψάω be thirsty, thirst (verb)
ελαφρύς light (opp. heavy)
ελιά mole, beauty-spot
ζάλη dizziness
ζαλίζω/-ομαι make dizzy
ζεσταίνω/-ομαι warm [up], heat [up]
ζέστη heat, warmth
ζεστός warm, hot (adjective)
ζώνω belt, buckle; coil around (verb)
θάλασσα sea
θαλασσοδέρνω toss about on the sea
θαμπώνω dazzle
θάνατος death
θερμαίνω warm [up], heat [up]
θερμός warm, hot (adjective)
θηρίο/θεριό wild beast, animal
ιδρώνω sweat (verb)
ιδρώτας sweat (noun)

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κάβουρας crab
καίω/καίγομαι burn
καμίνι furnace
καρδιά heart
καρδιοχτύπι heartbeat
καρδιοχτυπώ have palpitations
κάστρο castle
καταιγίδα storm
κατηφόρα/κατηφοριά downhill
καφάσι head, skull
κάψα heat
κεραυνός thunder
κεφάλι head
κοκκινίζω redden
κόκορας rooster
(κάνω) κομμάτια (cut into) pieces
κότα hen
κρύο cold (noun)
κρύος cold (adjective)
κρυώνω cool, feel cold
κυβερνώ govern, rule
κύμα wave
λάβρα sweltering heat
λαβωματιά wound (noun)
λαιμός neck
λιμάνι harbour
λιοντάρι/λέων lion
λειώνω melt
λυχνάρι oil lamp
λωλαίνω/-ομαι go/drive crazy
λωλός crazy, insane
μαγεύτρα enchantress, witch
μαγεύω bewitch, cast a spell on
μάγια/μαγεία magic; spell;
witchcraft
μαγικός magical
μάγισσα sorceress
μαγνητεύω magnetise
μαγνήτης magnet
μάγουλο cheek
μαλλιά hair
μαραίνω/-ομαι wither

μαστιγώνω whip (verb)
μάτι eye
ματώνω bleed
μαυρίζω blacken, turn black
μαύρος black
μαχαίρι/μαχαίρα knife
μαχαιριά knife wound, stab
μαχαιρώνω stab (verb)
μεθώ make/get drunk, intoxicate
μέθη/μεθύσι drunkenness, intoxication
μεθυστικός intoxicating
μέρα day
μέτωπο forehead
μηχανή machine, engine; trick
μηχανικά mechanically; deceitfully
μπαρμπούνι red mullet
μπόρα downpour, tempest
μυαλό brain, mind
μυστήριο mystery
νίκη victory
νους mind
νύχι nail
νύχτα night
νυχτερίδα bat
νυχτώνει night is coming on
ξεροβόρι icy wind
ξεσπάω break out, burst out
ξεχειλίζω brim over, overflow
ξεψυχώ die
ξημέρωμα dawn, daybreak
ξημερώνω to dawn; spend all night
παγωνιά freeze, intense cold (noun)
παλαβώνω go/drive crazy
παλάτι palace
παλεύω struggle
παραδίνομαι surrender
παραμιλάω rave, be delirious
παρασέρνω sweep away
πεθαίνω die
πείνα hunger (noun)
πεινάω be hungry, hunger (verb)
πέλαγος sea

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πέρδικα partridge
πιοτό/ποτό drink (noun)
πλανεύτρα seductress
πλανεύω seduce
πλάνος seductive
πλάτη back (noun)
πληγή wound (noun)
πληγώνω/-ομαι wound (verb)
πλημμύρα flood (noun)
πλημμυρίζω flood (verb)
πνίγω/-ομαι drown, choke, strangle
πνιχτός stifled, hushed
πόδι foot, leg
πόλεμος war
πολεμώ fight, battle (verb)
ποντικός rat, mouse
ποτάμι/ποταμός river
πουλί bird
πριγκίπισσα princess
πρωί/πρωινό morning
πυρκαγιά fire, conflagration
ραγίζω crack (verb)
ρέμα stream (noun)
σβήνω put out, turn off (verb)
σεισμός earthquake
σκάζω/σκάω burst
σκεπάζω cover
σκλαβιά slavery
σκλάβος/σκλάβα slave
σκλαβώνω enslave
στήθος chest
στόμα mouth
συννεφιάζω becloud
σύννεφο/συννεφιά cloud/cloudiness
σύρμα wire
συρματόπλεγμα barbed wire
σφάζω slaughter
σωθικά innards
τίγρης/τίγρισσα tiger/tigress
τράβηγμα pull, haul (noun)
τραβώ/-ιέμαι pull, haul (verb)
τραυματίας casualty

τραυματίζω wound (verb)
τρέλα madness, insanity
τρελά madly
(ξε)τρελαίνω/-ομαι go/drive crazy
τρελός crazy, insane
τρεμοσβήνω flicker, blink
τρέμουλα tremble, shiver (noun)
τρέμω tremble, shake (verb)
τρώω eat
φαρμάκι poison (noun)
φάρμακο medicine, remedy
φαρμακώνω poison (verb)
φίδι snake
φλόγα flame
φλογερός burning, flaming
φλογισμένος inflamed
φορτώνω load, weigh down
φουντώνω flame up, flare up
φούντωση blaze (noun)
φουρτούνα storm
φρύδι eyebrow
φυτρώνω grow, spring up
φως light (noun)
φωτεινός light (adjective)
φωτιά fire (noun)
φωτίζω light (verb)
χαλάζι hail (noun)
χαμόγελο smile (noun)
χαμογελώ smile (verb)
χάνω/-ομαι lose
χαράζει dawn, break [of day] (verb)
χάραμα dawn, daybreak (noun)
Χάρος/Χάροντας Charon (Death)
χείλι lip
χέλι eel
χέρι hand
χιόνι snow
χταπόδι octopus
χτυπώ/-ιέμαι strike
ψάρι fish
ψυχή soul
ωκεανός ocean

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Appendix 2: List of Songwriters

The songwriters marked with an asterisk (*) are represented in the corpus, but they do not feature in the examples used to illustrate the analysis.

Grigoris Asikis
Evangelos Atraidis
Sotiria Bellou*
Yiannis Bafounis (Samiotis)*
Babis Bakalis
Dimitris Barousis*
Giorgos Batis
Yiannis Bernidakis
Konstantinos Bezos*
Tolis Charmas
Apostolos Chatzichristos
Manolis Chiotis
Manolis Chrisafakis*
Stelios Chrisinis
Loukas Daralas
Anestis Delias (Artemis)
Theodoros Derveniotis*
Antonis Diamantidis (Dalgas)
Tetos Dimitriadis*
Yiannis Dragatsis (Ogdontakis)
Kostas Dousias*
Sotiris Gavalas*
Dimitris Gogos (Bayianderas)
Apostolos Kaldaras
Spiros Kalfopoulos*
Stavros Kaloumenos*
Yiorgos Kamvisis*
Kostas Kaplanis
Kostas Karipis
Vasilis Kapsalis (Karapatakis)*
Zacharias Kasimatis
Yiorgos Kavouras*
Stelios Keromitis
Yiannis Kiriazis*
Christos Kolokotronis
Yiorgos Lafkas
Kostas Makris*

Kostas Manesis
Babis Markakis*
Nikos Mathesis
Minos Matsas*
Menelaos Michailidis*
Panayiotis Michalopoulos
Yiorgos Mitsakis
Iakovos Montanaris
Yiorgos Mouflouzelis*
Yiannis Papaioannou
Stavros Pantelidis
Vangelis Papazoglou
Eftichia Papayiannopoulou
Michalis Patrinos
Stratos Payioumtzis
Dimitris Perdikopoulos*
Spiros Peristeris
Stellakis Perpiniadis
Vangelis Perpiniadis*
Yiorgos Petropouleas*
Panayiotis Petsas
Kostas Roukounas (Samiotakis)
Nikos Roumbanis
Nikos Routsos
Yiorgos Rovertakis*
Dimitris Semsis (Salonikios)
Emilios Savvidis
Koulis Skarpelis
Kostas Skarvelis
Michalis Souyioul*
Spiros Stamou*
Yiannis Stamoulis
Yiannis Tatasopoulos*
Stavros Tzouanakos
Panayiotis Tountas
Dimitris Tsakiris*

Yiovan Tsaous (Yiannis Eitsiridis)
Prodromos Tsaousakis
Vasilis Tsitsanis
Kostas Tzovenos*
Markos Vamvakaris
Charalambos Vasiliadis
Kostas Virvos
Michalis Yenitsaris
Ioanna Yeorgakopoulou
Nontas Yiannakas
Dimosthenis Zattas*

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