Anger Conceptualization in Persian and English

Mohammad Reza Moradi

Dep. of English, Payame Noor University, Tehran, Iran
r_mohammedmoradi@yahoo.com

Sharzad Pirzad Mashak

M.A. in TEFL
Visiting instructor to Payame Noor University
shmashak@gmail.com

Abstract: *The researchers in this paper aim to investigate the universality of emotion conceptual metaphors by means of Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory (1980) as a model for comparison. English and Persian as two typological different languages were under study. The emotion under study was anger. To conduct the present study, two sets of metaphorical expressions in both English and Persian were gathered from different related sources. English data was extracted from Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) work on this area, Kovecses (2005), and British National Corpus. Persian expressions were collected from Amsal-Al- Hekam (Dehkhoda, 1999), Metaphors of Speech (Hassan Anvary, 2004). During the study three cases were identified: totally the same, partially the same, and totally different. The percentage of the three cases revealed that partially the same pattern is the most frequent one. In conclusion, the present study suggests that, in spite of some minor differences in conceptualizing anger relating to the degree of conventionality, these two languages share the most conceptual metaphors in producing anger metaphors.*

Keywords: *conceptual metaphors, conceptual metonymy, basic emotions, metaphorical expressions.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Aristotle, as the first thinker to elaborate a theory of metaphor, considered metaphorical language both a powerful means of persuasion and decorative linguistic tool adding no additional information to the discourse (Gibbs, 1994:74). However, current approaches in cognitive linguistics emphasize the importance of metaphor in language, and they consider it an essential and indispensable phenomenon in both language and thought (Lakoff& Johnson, 1980; Gibbs, 1994).

In fact, the importance of metaphor and its study in language is supported byLakoff and Johnson's vital proposal about the pervasiveness of metaphors in everyday life, and how this pervasiveness can be observed in language, thought and action (Lakoff& Johnson, 1980: 3).

Current research interest in the field of cognitive linguistics raises curiosity in the phenomenon of conceptualization of human experience and its expression through language in terms of metaphor, a conceptual structure. According to the conceptual theory of metaphor, as produced by cognitive linguistics (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980), metaphor is a set of cross-domain mappings between two conceptual frames or domains and such experientially grounded mappings are called conceptual metaphors. Thus, metaphor is a cross-domain mapping between the conceptual domains- the target and the source. These frames or domains are not only cognitive, but cultural as well (Kovecses, 2000). Yet the universality of such a conceptual metaphor is too strong a claim that awaits empirical validity, for the two domains are quite disparate.

According to cognitive linguists (Kovecses,2005; Lakoff& Johnson,1980) linguistic metaphors are constructed based on conceptual system or conceptual metaphor which are in turn based on universal embodiment of human experience with the around physical world. Such universal bases may be the main reason for the universality of conceptual metaphors in many related and unrelated languages especially in the case of emotions.

Several cross-linguistic/cultural studies have investigated the use of emotion metaphorical expressions and compared them with English language (e.g., Soriano, 2003). When investigating cross-cultural studies of metaphor, the researcher has noticed that such a research type has been ignored in Persian literature. In fact, there is a vital need to conduct a comparative study on Persian metaphors with other languages from a cognitive and linguistic viewpoint.

2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Metaphor is a mental device, to create more colorful and effective language. It may seem to overlap the traditional view of metaphor as a decorative device, but really it helps to express our mentality in an effective and beautiful way. When something is colorful it leaves more influence on people observing it than shown in black and white. There are several studies within anthropology, cross-cultural psychology and psychiatry on conceptions of emotions in different cultures and on universals versus cultural specifics in these conceptions. In all of the following cases, As Kovecses (2005) points out that there is a generic-level metaphor and a specific-level one. The specific-level metaphors are instantiations of the generic-level one in the sense that they exhibit the same general structure. The lower-level instantiations are thus congruent with a higher-level metaphor. Where they differ is in the specific cultural content that they bring to the metaphor.

Matsuki (1995) observes that all the metaphors for anger in English, as analyzed by (Lakoff and Kovecses, 1983), can also be found in Japanese. At the same time, she points out that there is a large number of anger-related expressions that group around the Japanese concept of "hara" (Lit. "belly"). This is a culturally significant concept that is unique to Japanese culture, and so the conceptual metaphor "Anger is (in the) hara" is limited to Japanese.

Taylor and Mbense (1998) studied anger in Zulu and observed that Zulu share many conceptual metaphors with English. They also pointed out that the Zulu metaphor that involves the heart "ANGER IS IN THE HEART" does not exist in English.

Many studies of the physiology of anger across several unrelated cultures indicate that increase in skin temperature and blood pressure is universal physiological correlates of anger. This accounts for the "Anger is heat" metaphor in English and many other languages. For example, YU's (1995) work suggests that the conceptualization of anger in terms of heat is much less common in Chinese than in English. In Chinese, they designate, the major metaphors of anger seem to be based mainly on pressure, not on pressure and heat. This indicates that speakers of Chinese have relied on a different aspect of their physiology in the metaphorical conceptualization of anger other than that of English speakers. It is revealed that the conceptual metaphors are shared between these languages, but what is important in characterizing the concept of emotions in different languages; it is the cultural focus on specific aspects of emotions (i.e. physiological reactions).

And a study works on Arabic and English suggests that both share some of the general or basic-level conceptual metaphors in construing the two concepts of "happiness" and "anger. In spite of great similarities between them, they noticed that happiness in Arabic is mainly associated with coldness. They suggested the metaphor "Happiness is coldness". And they related this special sub-mapping for the climatic characteristics of each culture and how Arabs prefer coldness to heat because of the nature of their land. In the case of anger, they mentioned that there are some metaphors which are not totally common in English and Arabic. For example, English instantiations of the mapping such as "To get all steamed up" and "To let off steam" do not have any equivalent in Arabic. Finally, they noticed that both languages, English and Arabic,share to some extent few metaphorical conceptualizations used in describing happiness and anger in the same manner(Al-Haq and El-Sharif's 2008). In short, the majority of the aforementioned works have been conducted comparative and contrastive studies on metaphors in different languages with English but nothing has specifically done focused on a comparative study of Persian and English emotion conceptual metaphors. This is one of the initial reasons to carry out the present study.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Procedure

The research data was collected from several sources and from both written and spoken discourses in both English and Persian. One hundred and ninety- two metaphorical expressions from the above-mentioned sources in both English and Persian were collected. English metaphorical expressions were 124 and the rest of them (68) were Persian metaphorical expressions. These metaphorical expressions were related to target domain of anger. Having chosen the conceptual metaphor theory, the collected data was categorized under their specific target domains, that is, anger. Then, they were categorized based on their general sources and specific source domains. These steps were done for the two languages under study. After these phases, the researcher did a comparative analysis.

The models as well as the mechanism of analysis and comparison of the two sets of data collected in the two languages was, however, adopted from Lakoff and Johnson (1980) as they have introduced in their invaluable book of 'Metaphor We Live By'. The main model for the purpose of this research was the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. This model suggests that a conceptual metaphor consists of two conceptual domains, in which one domain is understood in terms of another. Metaphorical linguistic expressions are words or other linguistic expressions that come from the language or terminology of the more concrete conceptual domain. Conceptual metaphors underlie the metaphorical expressions. They tend to be pre-linguistic and make basic assumptions regarding space, time, moving, counting, controlling, and other core elements of human experience. Research data, then, were categorized and juxtaposed under the frequent conceptual metaphors identified by the professors of cognitive linguistics in this field, Kovecses (2005) and Lakeoff and Johnson (1980)

At the last phase of the study, data were examined to first grouping under the tree patterns, including totally the same (those with the same linguistic manifestation and the same conceptual metaphor), partially the same (those with different linguistic manifestation but the same conceptual metaphor), and totally different (both conceptually and literally different) by adopting the model presented by Kovecses (2003) for analyzing linguistic expression of metaphors to reveal the degree of similarities and dissimilarities in the case of anger conceptualization. Finally, the percentages of three patterns were calculated to identify the most frequent pattern among three mentioned patterns in the case of anger conceptualization in the two languages.

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This section will present and describe the data obtained in the research, and illustrate the statistics relating to the frequency and percentage of them. First, the result of the study will be discussed, and then a comparative analysis will be done.

Table 4.1 displays the frequency and percentages of similarities and differences between anger metaphorical expressions in both languages.

Table 4.1. *Frequency and Percentage*

Emotion	Scales	Frequencies	
		Observed	Percentage
Anger	Totally the same	73	38%
	Partially the same	119	62%
	Totally different	0	0%
	Total	192	100%

As it is shown, total 192 metaphorical expressions describing anger collected in both English and Persian. The percentage of the category 'totally the same' was about 38 and that of the category 'partially the same' was about 62. In other words, 62 % of expressions refer to the same conceptual metaphors, but their literal meanings are not the same. On the other hand, 38% of them are totally the same both conceptually and literally. According to the above statistics, no differences were observed in the case of anger conceptual metaphor based on the research body

data. It is clear that, 100 % of gathered data presenting anger in both English and Persian relating to the aforementioned conceptual metaphors are used in the two languages.

4.1. Comparative Analysis

Having made some general observations about the frequency of basic emotions under study in both Persian and English, we move on to exemplify different conceptual metaphors presented by data in English and Persian one by one. Here the aim is to compare observed conceptual metaphors and their linguistic manifestations (metaphorical expressions) in Persian and English. Because of the unpredictability relating to conceptual metaphors (creativity), it is not possible to line out all conceptual metaphors describing this emotion. However, research data revealed that some metaphorical expressions identified by Kovecses (1990, 1986, 2003) are more frequent in data analysis. This study focuses on those highly frequent conceptual metaphors identified in English emotive metaphorical language and those novel and creative metaphors are ignored in this study to limit the scope of the research. Following sub-sections present some anger conceptual metaphors.

4.2. Metaphorical Conceptualization of Anger

The concept of anger is characterized by several conceptual metaphors represented by collected data in English and Persian which are discussed below.

4.2.1. Heat Metaphors

Lakoff and Kovecses (1987a:383) claim that "ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER" is the central metaphor in the conceptualization of anger. This is primarily due to its numerous entailments. Lakoff and Kovecses (1983: 6) also propose that the physiological effects of angersuch as body heat and internal pressure serve as the underlying cultural model for the metaphorical system of anger in English in which anger is characterized by the most general conceptual metaphor "ANGER IS HEAT" (Kovecses, 2000). The metaphor "ANGER IS HEAT" is divided in two subversions: "ANGER IS FIRE" and "ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER" which in turn, the latter is divided into other subversions namely, "ANGER IS PRESSURE", or metonymically described as "THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS PRESSURE ON THE CONTAINER" (Kovecses, 2002; Soriano, 2003: 110) and the last one is "WHEN ANGER BECOMES TOO INTENSE, THE PERSON EXPLODES". This kind of metaphorical conceptualization is very common cross-culturally (YU, 1995; Matsuki, 1995; Barcelona & Soriano, 2004). In this metaphorical system, there are a large number of anger expressions in Persian and English. This kind of conceptualization can be seen in expressions such as, "He was bursting with anger", "I could barely contain my rage" and "I could barely keep it in anymore", "When I told him, he just exploded", "She blew up at me", "I suppressed my anger", "You make my blood boil", "I had reached the boiling point", "Let him stew". And this can be seen in many expressions extracted from different Persian sources such as, "آتیش گرفتم" /âtišgereftæm/ (lit. I got fire), "داره جوش میاره" /dare ʤ ušmiare/ (lit. he is boiling), "از عصبانیت داشت میترکید" /æzæsæbâniætdâštmiterekid/ (lit. he was bursting with anger). One of the most common type of CONTAINER metaphor in Persian in describing anger, including "NERVES ARE CONTAINER FOR ANGER" is more common and conventionalized than English. Persian metaphorical expressions such as, "رو اعصابم راه نرو" /ruæsâbâmrâhnæro/ (lit. don't walk on my nerves), "اعصابم را خط خطی کردی" /æsâbæmoxætxætikærdi/ (lit. draw lines on my nerves.), "اعصابش خورده" /æsâbeshxurde/ (lit. his nerves are broken), "عصبی شده" /æsæbišode/ (he is nervous) and English expressions "You were heavy on the nerve today", "You were a grind on the nerve today", "I lost my nerve", "It takes a lot of nerve". Unlike Persian, It seems that this subversion of CONTAINER metaphor is not common in English.

From the above examples it was clear that all these mentioned conceptual metaphors entailing from the heat metaphor were applicable in Persian; that is, English and Persian share the same conceptual heat metaphor in conceptualizing anger except in some elaboration of heat metaphor such as 'stew' and 'steam' which are not common in Persian; instead it employs another lexical choice 'smoke' as an elaboration of heat metaphor in describing anger. For example, "دود از کله اش بیرون میاد" /dud æzkælæšbirunmijâd/ (lit. smoke comes out of his head) which figuratively means "he is angry".

4.2.2. Insanity Metaphors

Like happiness, anger also involves the use of "ANGER IS INSANITY"metaphor. Lakoff and Kovecses (1983) say that agitation is an important effect in modeling the insanity metaphor. That is, the physiological effects can be attributed metonymically for insanity such as, "foaming at the mouth", "raving", "go wild", etc. This metaphor has some subversions including "INSANE BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR INSANITY", "INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION".   These are present in English and Persian in the same manner. In English we have, "He's tearing his hair out!", "If one more thing goes wrong, I'll start banging my head against the wall", "She was blind with rage", "I was beginning to see red" and "I was so mad I couldn't see straight". Comparatively, we see Persian expressions such as, "از عصبانیت سرش را کوبید به دیوار" /æzæsæbâniætsæreshokubid be divar/ (lit. he was so angry and banging his head against wall), "چشماشو بسته و هر چی از دهنش در میاد میگه" /češmâšobæstehærčiazdæhæneshdærmiadmige /(lit. she closed her eyesand say everything), "وقتی عصبانی هستی تصمیم نگیر" /væqtiæsæbânihæstidtæsmimnægirid/ (lit. When you are angry don't make a decision), "از عصبانیت مشتش را کوبید به دیوار" /æzæsâbâniætmoshteshokubid be divâr/ (lit. he was so angry and banging hisfist against wall), "آدم خشمگین کوره" /âdæmexæšmginkure/   (lit. angry person is blind). The linguistic instantiations of this mapping in English are extremely conventionalized, to the extent that some of them have become polysomic, meaning both crazy and angry (Barcelona, 2003). For example when this expression "He is mad" is used, it means "angry" metaphorically to English speakers; although, in Persian like Spanish (ibid), insanity behavior rises from an angry person, and "دیوانه" /divoune/ means mad in English, but they are not polysomic in the same way as the In this case Persian employs another metaphorical expressions in conceptualizing anger, namely, " از کوره در رفتن" /azkuredarraftan/ (lit. escape from kiln) , "کفرش در اومد" /kofrešdærumæd/ (lit. he is profaning) , "خدا را بنده نیست" / /xodârâbændenist/ (lit. he is not the servant of God). These two last expressions construct another conceptual metaphor "BEING ANGRY IS BEING UNFAITHFUL" Islam says it is against God to be angry and Moslems appreciate those people who could restrain their anger inside them "to swallow/ gulp anger" which is present in container metaphor and depicted anger as liquid, with those mentioned above represent the intense anger and the insanity behavior of an angry person. Following example will illustrates this issue:

4.2.3. Animalistic Behavior Metaphor

Human beings are the only rational animal among other living beings; this rationality characterizes his behavior. But if he loses his control of himself temporarily, he starts acting as the irrational beings. In other words, an angry person who could not control himself because of anger, is depicted as an animal. So, the animalistic metaphor in conceptualizing anger reflects the irrationality. The metaphor "ANGER IS DANGEROUS ANIMAL" and its entailments "ANGER IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL", "ANGRY BEHAVIOUR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR" is illustrated in the following metaphors in English, "He has a ferocious temper", "It's dangerous to arouse his anger", "He unleashed his anger" and "Don't let your anger get out of hand", "He was bristling with anger", "That got my hackles up", "He began to bare his teeth", "That ruffled her feathers" and "He started snarling". Persian, on the other hand, has the same kind of metaphorical conceptualization. For example, "دندان قروچه کردن" /dændânqoručekærdæn/ (lit. snarling at somebody), "مثل خری که به نعل بندش نگاه میکنه" /meslexærike be næælbændešnegâhmikone/ (lit. like a donkey which looks at its shoelace), "اخلاقش سگی شده " /æxlâqešssægišode/ (lit. he becomes like a dog), "آن روی کسی بالا اومدن " /ânruyekæsibâlâumædæn/ (lit.to show other face/side of someone) "خرخره کسی را جویدن"/xerxerekesirâdʒ ævidæn / (lit. to chew someone' s larynx), "پر و پاچه کسی را گرفتن " / pæropâčekesirâgereftæn / (lit. to get someone' s legs as a dog).This kind of metaphor is very common and conventional in Persian.

5. CONCLUSION

At first, it is worth to mention that, these conceptual metaphors are not the only ones in these two languages, as the languages change over the period of time and changes in the world. The aim of the study was to examine the presented conceptual metaphors at generic level other than specific level. Having analyzed the data, the researcher came to the following conclusion. To answer the main concern of the present study, it can be concluded that, although there were some cultural differences in conceptualizing anger (i.e. ANGER IS INSANITY) in English and Persian due to the cultural differences and conventionality of metaphors, the two languages share most of the

general conceptual metaphors in describing anger, that is, most metaphorical expressions can be literally rendered into these two languages and serve the same l meanings and effects. In addition, the result analysis and the percentages gained from the three identified patterns during the analysis, including totally the same, partially the same and totally different revealed that the two languages are highly similar in the issue of anger conceptualization.

To sum, to the extent to which Persian and English have in common, the researchers could claim that these two languages apply the patterns totally the same (38%) and partially the same (62%) in expressing anger from the collected data, and the issue of universality stated by (Kovecses, 2005) in most cases of anger expressions in recent study was observed.

REFERENCES

Al-Haq F, El-Sharif A. A Comparative Study for the Metaphors Use in Happiness and Anger in English and Arabic. USA: US-China Foreign Language. 2008; 6(11).

Amsal-oHekam-e Dehkhoda.Tehran: Amir Kabir Publications; 1999. Dehkhoda A. Gibbs RW. The poetics of mind: figurative thought, language, and Understanding. Cambridge:Cambridge University Press; 1994.

Barcelona A. Metaphor & Metonymy at Cross Roads. New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2003.

Barcelona A, Soriano C. Metaphorical Conceptualization in English and Spanish. European Journal of English Studies. 2004; 8(3): 295-307.

Gibbs RW. The poetics of mind: figurative thought, language, and Understanding. Cambridge:Cambridge University Press; 1994.

Kovecses, Z. (1986). Metaphors of Anger, Pride, and Love. Pragmatics and Beyond, 8(8). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Kovecses, Z. (1990). Emotion concepts.Berlin andNew York: Springer-Verlag.

Kovecses, Z. (2000). Metaphor and emotion: Language, culture, and body in human feeling. New York, Cambridge University Press.

Kovecses Z. Metaphor in Culture Universality and Variation.Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2005.

Kovecses Z. "Anger: Its language, conceptualization, and physiology in the light of cross-cultural evidence". In: Taylor JR.,MacLauryRE.,editors. Language and the Cognitive Construal of the World. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.1995; 65 (2): 240-242.

Kovecses Z. Metaphor: a practical introduction. Oxford:Oxford University Press; 2002.

Kovecses Z. Metaphor and Emotion: Language, Culture, and Body in Human Feeling. 1st ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2003.

Lakoff G. The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor. In OrtonyA., editor.Metaphor and thought. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.1993; 202–251.

Lakoff G, Johnson M. Metaphors we live by. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; 1980.

Lakoff G, Kovecses Z. The cognitive model of anger inherent in American English. 1983. In: Kovecses Z. Metaphor in Culture Universality and Variation. New York: Cambridge University Press; 2005.

Matsuki K. Metaphors of anger in Japanese. In Taylor J, Maclaury RE. Editors, Language and the Cognitive Construal of the World, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 1995; 137-151.

Soriano C. Some Anger Metaphors in Spanish and English. A Contrastive Review. IJES.2003; 3(2): 107-122.

Taylor J, Mbense TG. Red dogs and Rotten Mealies: How Zulus Talk about Anger. In: Athanasiadou A., Tabakowska E., editors. Speaking of Emotions: Conceptualization and Expression. New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998.

Yu N. Metaphorical expressions of anger and happiness in Chinese and English. Metaphor and Symbol.1995; 10, 59-92.

AUTHOR'S BIOGRAPHY

Mohammad Reza Moradi is a PhD. student at Urmia University. He has gotten his BA degree from Azad University in Iran and his MA in English Literature from Pune University in India. He has been instructing in the language institutes for about 5 years, and has lectured at Payame Noor University since 2008. And he has been involved as a full-time instructor and staff member at Payame Noor University. His main areas of interest are language and literature.