

Ecometaphor: The Effect of Ecology and Environment on Shaping Anger Metaphors in Different Cultures

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Abstract

Linguists and scientists associated with the areas of language study are always looking for the factors that affect language. The current paper studies the relationships between environment and anger metaphors in various cultures. As Haugen (1972:323) noted, language ecology may be defined as the study of interactions between any given language and its environment. According to Johnson & Lakoff (1980), metaphors are "pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action as well". Most universal and basic concepts of the world we live in are comprehended via metaphorical mappings, such as time, state, and quantity. They derive from concrete daily experience and knowledge of the world, and are projected onto abstract concepts, thus acting as a pattern for the formation of such. Examples of anger metaphors – as one of the basic human emotions – from various languages and cultures are explored. The bridging of an ecolinguistics approach and emotion metaphors, especially anger metaphor, is coined as "Ecometaphor" by the author.

1. Introduction

The topic "language and environment" is the subject of the new discipline ecolinguistics, which has been defined as: the study of the interrelationships that occur between a language and its environment. However, there is not just one environment of language, as most forerunners of ecolinguistics have implied (Do Couto 2009). Environmental linguists believe that the language of the world and the environment are interconnected, which means that the language makes the world, and the environment around us makes the language.

Aristotle, as the first thinker to elaborate a theory of metaphor, considered metaphorical language both a powerful means of persuasion and a decorative linguistic tool adding no additional information to the discourse (Gibbs 1994). 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 (Gibbs 1994; Johnson & Lakoff 1980). According to cognitive linguistics (Kövecses 2005) linguistic metaphors are constructed based on a conceptual system or conceptual metaphor which are in turn based on universal embodiment of human experience with the surrounding 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. Kövecses (2000a) argued that anger is “strongly motivated by bodily experience,” which “can be viewed as a constraining factor that delimits the possible metaphorical systems of anger”. Lakoff and Kövecses (1987:383) 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 Kövecses (1987:6) also propose that the physiological effects of anger such 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” (Kövecses 2000a). Conceptual embodiment is “the idea that the properties of certain categories are a consequence of the nature of the human biological capacities and of the experience of functioning in a physical and social environment” (Lakoff 1987:12). Our concept of anger is embodied via the autonomic nervous system, and the conceptual metaphors and metonymies used in understanding anger are by no means arbitrary; instead, they are motivated by our physiology (Lakoff 1987:407). Embodiment occurs when it is really the case that body temperature and blood pressure rise. This is what makes studies of human physiology during emotional states crucially relevant for cognitive approaches to the study of the language and conceptual systems of emotion (Kövecses, 1995:191–192; 2000b:159).

2. Anger metaphors in different languages

Many studies of the physiology of anger across several unrelated cultures indicate that increase in skin temperature and blood pressure are universal physiological correlates of anger. The [presumed] physiological effects are increased body heat, increased internal pressure (blood pressure, muscular pressure), agitation, and the interference with accurate perception (Kövecses 2000b). The remainder of this paper goes through different examples of anger metaphors in different languages to see that natural environment and cultural factors have significant impacts on forming anger metaphors.

2.1 Anger metaphors in American English

Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) offered the following prototypical anger scenario for American English:

- **Stage 1:** Offending event, where a wrongdoer offends the speaker by initiating an offending event/act.
- **Stage 2:** Anger. S experiences physiological effects (heat, pressure, agitation). Anger exerts force on S to attempt an act of retribution.
- **Stage 3:** Attempt at control. S attempts to control his anger.
- **Stage 4:** Loss of control. When the intensity of anger goes beyond that limit.
- **Stage 5:** Act of retribution.

Lakoff and Kövecses's account of anger expressions is closer to a physiology-based explanation. Lakoff and Kövecses explain the existence of a large number of anger-related expressions in terms of body heat (the general metaphor "anger is heat") which is a physiological response associated with anger (Lakoff & Kövecses 1987).

Body heat

a. Don't get HOT UNDER THE COLLAR

Internal pressure

b. When I found out, I almost BURST A BLOOD VESSEL.

Redness in the face

c. She was SCARLET WITH RAGE.

Agitation

d. She was SHAKING WITH ANGER.

Interference with accurate perception

e. She was BLIND WITH RAGE (Lakoff 1987:382–383).

2.2. Anger metaphors in Spanish

Spanish and English share the same set of basic-level metaphors for the conceptualization of anger, but some language-specific sub-mappings within those metaphors can be identified too (Barcelona & Soriano 2004).

Spanish vs. English	Mappings
Differences due to language-specific submappings	THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS STEAM PRODUCTION does not exist in Spanish
	THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS BEING FRIED does not exist in English
	THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS STEWING does not exist in Spanish
Differences due to degree of linguistic conventionalization	THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS BOILING is more conventionalized in English
	THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS BEING BURNT is more conventionalized in English
	ANGER IS INSANITY is more conventionalized in English
	THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS SWELLING is more conventionalized in Spanish
Differences due to Degree of linguistics conventionalization	THE EXPRESSION OF ANGER IS AN EXPLOSION is more elaborated in English
Differences due to the degree of linguistics elaboration	THE INCREASE IN INTENSITY OF ANGER IS THE degree of linguistic THE RISE OF THE FLUID is more linguistically exploited in English

Table 1: ANGER: contrastive review in English and Spanish

Results suggest that the cognitive model of ANGER in both languages is very similar. This is not surprising, considering that our conceptual systems are based on embodied experiences and cultural constraints. For example, both languages conceptualize the effects of ANGER on the person as "boiling" or "burning". However, when we get further elaborations that involve references to cooking, English and Spanish produce language-specific projections. In peninsular

Spanish people "get fried" but they don't "stew", and it happens the other way round in English. This may be motivated by cultural preferences in the realm of cooking (Soriano-Salinas 2003). I think the difference in cooking habits in these two cultures has influence on their anger metaphors.

2.3 Anger metaphors in Chinese

Many studies of the physiology of anger across several unrelated cultures indicate that increase in skin temperature and blood pressure are universal physiological correlates of anger.

This accounts for the "Anger is heat" metaphor in English and many other languages. Yet Yu (1995) 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 different than that of English speakers (Yu 1995). It is revealed that the conceptual metaphors are shared between these languages, but what is important is characterizing the concept of emotions in different languages; it is the cultural focus on specific aspects of emotions (i.e. physiological reactions).

Chen (2010) believes:

ANGER IS FIRE and ANGER IS THE PHYSIOLOGY REACTON OF ANGER come from the same physical structures and the same physiology reactions of human beings when they are angry. In the metaphorical mechanism, emotional changes can be reflected through physiology reactions of emotions. But English and Chinese languages have some differences in their Anger metaphors: according to Chen (2010) both in English and Chinese, anger is compared to something hot in a container (ANGER IS SOMETHING HOT IN A CONTAINER). But in the Basic English cultural model, anger is more often hot fluid (blood). The English feel something strange with their blood when they are in anger. Their blood may be "up", "hot / warm" and "boiling". We might as well bear it in mind that when an English speaker mentions his blood, you may just keep away from him because that implies he is not in a good mood. (However; in Chinese the conceptual metaphor is BOILING BLOOD IS ENTHUSIASM: when a Chinese feels his blood is hot and boiling (热血沸腾, he is actually fairly emotional and ambitious). Human body is the container of emotions, so ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, e.g. (to be) in hot (warm) blood, to make somebody's blood boil. Therefore, anger has every characteristic of

heated fluid in a container. One thing we know about hot fluids is that, when they start to boil, the fluid goes upward: one's blood is up, to get (have) one's blood up, to get somebody's blood up. We also know that intense heat produces steam and creates pressure on the container. When the pressure on the container becomes too high, the container explodes. In an explosion, parts of the container go up in the air: to go up in the air, blow one's top, hit the ceiling / roof. In Chinese the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HOT AIR IN A CONTAINER is more common, which can be found in idioms: 气势汹汹, 怒气冲冲, 杀气腾腾, 肝气郁结, 气冲牛斗, 气急败坏.

These different features stem from the different views of world of two cultures and languages. Stanli, a philosopher in the ancient West, considers water to be the source of the universe. Therefore, it's no wonder that in English anger is compared to fluid in a container. But in traditional Chinese culture, *qi* (气: air) is the source of the Universe. In Chinese classical philosophy, *qi* (air) is the basic form of physical existence and the source of life. In the oldest Chinese medical work “黄帝内经”, it is pointed out that all diseases originate from the malfunction of *qi* (百病生于气也, 怒则气上, 喜则气缓, 悲则气上, 恐则气下, 惊则气乱, 思则气结……). And the philosopher Wang Chong in the East Han Dynasty said all things in the universe have evolved from *qi* (天地合气, 万物自生. “论衡·自然”). *Qi* is so pervasive in Chinese culture and language that we can find various forms of it in idioms and idiomatic expressions: *qi* signifying weather, e.g. 天气晴朗, 秋高气爽; *qi* signifying destiny, e.g. 好运气, 气数已尽; *qi* signifying physical condition, e.g. 有气无力, 元气大伤; *qi* signifying spirit and morale, e.g. 勇气可嘉, 血气方刚, 英雄气概, 气派不凡, 暮气沉沉, 喜气洋洋, 颐指气使; *qi* referring to people's personality and characteristics, e.g. 气度非凡, 气量狭小, 脾气暴躁, 气宇轩昂; *qi* in art and aesthetics, e.g. 气韵, 荡气回肠; and *qi* signifying power and momentum, e.g. 气势雄伟, 一鼓作气, 气吞山河 etc. We can also explain why Chinese language prefers “fire” and “*qi* (air)” in “anger” metaphors with another important theory in Chinese classical philosophy--Yin Yang theory. According to this theory, all the things in universe are generally divided into two categories: Yin and Yang, which are mutually promoted, restrained and are interchangeable. The *qi* (air) and fire belong to the category Yang which is related to “hot”; water and other fluids belong to the other category Yin which is related to “cold”. So it is easier to understand why the Chinese choose fire and *qi* (air) as the metaphorical concept for anger, while English chose fire and hot fluid, because in English there is no such conceptual system as “*qi* (air) is the source of the world” nor the metaphorical system about air. In Chinese, anger is hot air and is usually relegated to liver and lung, e.g. 他肝火很旺. 他肺都气炸了. This is because in traditional Chinese medical science there are such views:

anger is harmful to the liver (怒则伤肝); the lungs dominate all the air in one's body (肺主一身之气))(Chen 2010)".

King has collected some anger metaphors that contain *qi*:

a- Anger is excess *Qi* in the body:

Xin zhong de nuQi shizhong wei neng pingxi

The anger *Qi* in one's heart.

b- *Chen zhu Qi* – 'deep hold *Qi*'.

To hold one's *Qi* down.

c- *Qi yong ru shan* – '*Qi* well-up like mountain'.

One's *Qi* wells up like a mountain.

d- *Bie yi duzi Qi* – 'hold back one stomach *Qi*'.

To hold back a stomach full of *Qi*.

e- *Yuji zai xiong de nuQi zhongyu baofa le* – 'pent up at breast.

The pent up anger *Qi* in one's breast finally explodes.

f- *Bu shi pi Qi fa zuo* – 'NEG make spleen *Qi* start make'.

To keep in one's spleen *Qi* (King 2005).

2.4 Anger metaphors in Japanese

Kovecses (1987) detects that some anger metaphors in English are also found in Japanese.

(1) [Body heat]

a. *Mune ga atsuku naru hodo no ikari o oboeru.*

'To experience anger to the degree that the chest becomes hot.'

(2) [internal pressure]

b. *Ikari ga chooten nimade tassuru.*

'Anger reaches the top.'

c. *Fukureru.*

'To swell up.'

d. *Fukureta kao a suru/ Future-Usura o suru.*

'To have a swelling face.'

e. *Aosuji o tatete okoru.*

'To get angry with blue streaks standing out.'

Note that in (d) *aosuji* means "blue streaks", a reference to veins standing out because of internal pressure. Kovecses develops the metonymic association of body heat and internal pressure with redness of the face and neck, agitation, and impeded perception. Equivalent expressions appear in Japanese.

(3) [redness in face and neck]

f. *Kao a makka ni shite okoru.*

'To get angry with a red/scarlet face.'

g. *Makka ni natte okoru.*

'To get red/scarlet and angry.'

(4) [agitation]

k. *Ikari de furueru.* 'To

shake with anger.'

l. *Koe ga ikari de furueru no o osaekirenai.*

2.3.1 Japanese metaphors not shared with American English

According to Matsuki (1995), *Hara* is the area surrounding the navel, corresponding in meaning to the English word "belly". It metaphorically contains the emotions in Japanese.

[*Hara* is the container of the emotions]

a. *Hara no naka de hidoku okoru.*

'To get terribly angry in(side) one's *hara*.'

b. *Hara ni suekaneru*.

'To be unable to keep it/anger in the *hara*.'

c. *Kimochi wa wakaru keredo hara ni osamete kudasai*. 'I understand how you feel, but keep it inside your *hara*.'

When a person is offended and gets angry, *hara* is said to "rise up ."

d. *Hara ga tatsu* .

'*Hara* rises up '.

The prototypical scenario

Kovecses incorporates a temporal dimension in his model of American anger by constructing a prototypic scenario of five stages (1987: 28):

- **Stage 1:** Offending event
- **Stage 2:** Anger
- **Stage 3:** Attempt at control
- **Stage 4:** Loss of control
- **Stage 5:** Act of retribution

The scenario applies to anger in Japanese, although stage 3 is more elaborate than in English. As mentioned, when a Japanese person is offended and gets angry, *hara* rises up. Further, when a person attempts to control anger, he tries to keep in *hara*:

e. *Hara ni osameteoku*. 'Hold it in *hara*.'

f. *Hara ni shimatteoku*. 'Keep it in *hara*.'

If he cannot or does not have to control it, the act of retribution is reached:

g. *hara ni suekaneru*.

'Cannot lay it in *hara*.'

When a person needs to control his anger in order to show *tatema*, but still experiences the increasing anger, conflicts go beyond the container of *hara* and move to *mune*, the chest.

h. *Haradashisa ni mune o shimetsukerareru.*

'To feel strangled by *mune* because of the rise of *hara*.'

Mune never rises up in Japanese. *Mune* is the container for anger overflowing from *hara*. *Mune* is the seat of nausea; conflict and frustration caused by efforts to control growing anger provoke nausea. When a person is about to lose control, increasing anger comes to *atama*.

j. *Toutou atama ni kita.*

'Finally, (it) has come to *atama*.'

Atama ('head') does not rise up. Nor is *atama* responsible for nausea. *Atama* is the place that anger reaches after extreme internal conflict; it undermines mental faculties. When anger is in *hara* and/or *mune*, a person is still able to control it by rationalization. However, when anger reaches *atama*, one loses rationality. Here, the adverb *toutou* 'finally' indexes this prototypical scenario:

k. *Toutou atama ni kit a*

'The anger finally has come to the head'. The word *toutou* can be used once the anger has risen through two bodily zones of *hara* and *mune*, and, finally, reached *atama*. See Figure 1.

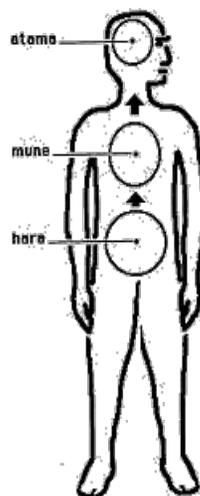


Figure 1. Zones of rising anger in Japanese: *hara*, *mune* and *atama*

2.5 Anger metaphors in Hungarian

The Hungarian version of the container metaphor also emphasizes hot fluid in a container. The Hungarian ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor differs from the English one in only minor ways (Kövecses, 2000).

- a. *Forrt benne a düh* – ‘boiled in-him the anger’. Anger was boiling inside him.
- b. *Fortyog a dühtől* – ‘seethes-he the anger-with’. He is seething with anger.

The only difference in relation to English seems to be that Hungarian (in addition to the body as a whole) also has the head as a container that can hold the hot fluid.

When the intensity of anger increases, the fluid rises:

- c. *Felgyülemlett benne a harag* – ‘up-piled in-him the wrath.’ Wrath built/piled up in him.
- d. *Feltört benne a harag* – ‘up-welled in-him the wrath/anger.’ Anger welled up inside him.

When anger becomes too intense, the person explodes:

- e. *Megpukkadt mérgében* – ‘burst-he anger-in’.
He burst with anger.
- f. *Szétrobbant dühében* – ‘apart-exploded-he anger-in’.
He exploded with anger.
- g. *Nem tu”rm kit réseidet* – ‘not tolerate-I out-bursts-your’.
I do not tolerate your outbursts.

When a person explodes, what was inside him comes out:

- h. *Kitrt belo”le a düh* – ‘out-burst from-inside-him the anger’.
Anger burst out of him.
- i. *Kifakadt* – ‘out-burst-he’.
He burst out.

2.6 Anger metaphors in Akan

Ansa (2010) argues that the general conceptualization of anger in Akan is similar to that of English in many respects. First of all, the conceptual structure of anger in Akan is also constituted by a system of conceptual metaphors that are based on the interactions between some general metaphoric and metonymic principles. With more specific regard to the ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor, the conceptualization is derived from the same

general metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS.

<i>Source: Hot fluid in a container</i>		<i>Target: Anger</i>
The physical container	⇒	the angry person's body (chest)
The hot fluid inside the container	⇒	the anger
The degree of the heat of fluid	⇒	the intensity of anger
The cause of increase in the heat of the fluid	⇒	the cause of anger

Table 2: The postulated Akan version of the ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor

Some Examples for ANGER AS HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER:

a. *Ne bo re- huru so.*

His/Her chest is boiling over.

He/she is boiling with anger

b. *Ne bo n- dwo ne ho.*

His/her chest does not cool him/ herself.

He/she is still angry.

c. *Me dwo dwo Abufuw no.*

I cool down the anger. I

calm down.

Like English, Akan also makes use of some entailment potentials of the body-as-container source domain to elaborate the identified mappings. For instance, the general knowledge that intense heat causes a rise in volume or upward movement of a fluid in a container corresponds to the increase in the intensity of anger in Akan where the entire container rather than the hot fluid in it moves upward, e.g. *n'akoma a-sɔ re* 'his/her heart has risen ; *'n'akoma kɔ soro*

'his/her heart has gone up'; *nebo rehuru* 'his chest is boiling'. Other carryover knowledge from the source domain that produces metaphorical entailments in the Akan mapping is that too much heat can cause the container to explode, and that when the container explodes, what was inside it comes out, e.g. *w'adwa* 'he has split open (he/she has flared up)'; *ɔrepae* 'he/she is bursting/breaking'(Ansah 2010).

2.6 Anger metaphors in Persian

Moradi and Pirzad-Mashak (2014) argue that 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”.

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”. This can be seen in many expressions extracted from different Persian sources such as,

- a. “ ” /*âtiš gereftæm*/ (I got fire),
- b. آتیش گرفتم.
- c. “ ” /*dare dzuš miare*/ (he is boiling).
- d. داره جوش میاره.
- e. “ ” /*æz æsæbâniæt dâšt miterekid*/ (He was bursting with anger).
- f. از عصبانیت داشت می ترکید

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,

- d. /*ru æsâbâm râh næro*/ (don't walk on my nerves).
- e. رو اعصابم راه نرو
- /*æsâbæmo xætxæti kærði*/ (you are drawing lines on my nerves. اعصابمو خط خطی کردی).
- f. /*æsâbesh xurde*/ (his nerves are broken).
- g. اعصابش خورده.

The translation of these Persian expressions to English expressions are “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”. That Unlike Persian, it seems that this subversion of CONTAINER metaphor is not common in English.

2.7 Anger metaphors in Tunisian Arabic

Anger in Tunisian Arabic (TA), one of the dialects of Arabic, is only partly governed by physiological embodiment (Maalej 2004). Anger in TA is not only the heat of a fluid/liquid in the body, the heart, and nerves, but also internal pressure in a container as in the following expressions:

a) *ma-bqaaš 3and-i wayn ydur ir-riiH.*

No exist with me where circulate-IMPERF the wind.

There is no more room for air to circulate inside me.

I could barely keep it in anymore.

b) *xalla-ni maaši n-taršaq.*

[He] leave-PERF me about go-FUT [I] explode-IMPERF.

He left me about to explode.

I nearly exploded because of him.

As has been demonstrated so far, physiological embodiment accounts for an important portion of the conceptualization of anger in TA. This kind of embodiment capitalizes on the body as a whole, the heart, and the nerves as containers for anger, exerting pressure on them, and combining heat with fluid and solid. However, it is not infrequent for anger in TA to associate with one part of the body that does not receive any physiological change as a result of anger. It could be claimed that this kind of embodiment is motivated by a conventional cultural correlation between a given emotion and a certain bodily state and will not be understood by nonnatives of TA as expressing anger. This goes counter to Lakoff's (1987) claim that "emotional concepts are embodied, in that the physiology corresponding to each emotion has a great deal to do with how the emotion is conceptualized" (pp. 38–39). In terms of physiological embodiment, the following expressions would be unacceptable conceptualizations of anger, because the part of the body involved does not actually show any physiological change when anger occurs:

c) *digdig-l-i 3Daam-i/kraim-i.*

[He] break-PERF into pieces to me bones my/joints my.

He broke my bones into small bits/joints.

d) *farrik-l-i laHm-i*.

[He] reduce-PERF into crumbs to me flesh my.

He reduced my flesh into crumbs.

e) *Talla3-l-I ruH-i*.

[He] lift-PERF to me soul my.

He caused my soul to leave me.

f) *fqa3-l-i ma3it-ti*.

[He] burst-PERF to me stomach my.

He burst open my stomach.

According to (Maalej: 2004):

There is need to offer a cultural background for them. In general, Muslim children are exposed to a painful experience right from their early age. It is customary for Muslims to sacrifice a sheep every year at the occasion of pilgrims visiting Mecca (Saudi Arabia), known as *3iid l-?iDHa* (the feast of sacrifice). This event can be divided into several sub-events: buying the sheep (which is such a sight in Tunisia), playing with the sheep (which creates a sort of emotional relation between child and animal), slaughtering the sheep (by the father or a butcher), and butchering it (by the father or a butcher). One of the painful (psychological) sides of the event is when children build a sort of “friendship” with the animal, and yet the animal has to be slaughtered. The other painful (physical) side of the event is when things come to slaughtering and butchering the sheep. Although this is exceptional, many children may sob their heart out at the sight of the slaughter, and some may even refuse to eat the sheep’s meat.

What I am calling the butchering (i.e., cutting the animal into pieces) is the experiential domain that lies at the heart of the foregoing conceptualizations of anger. Therefore, this event is surrounded by feelings of psychological pain at the separation between child and animal. More important, as a result of this exposure to butchering makes the child internalize physical pain.

The only occasion we see bones broken into pieces is at the butcher’s or when we witness the butchering of a sheep at home, which grounds the anger metaphor in (9a) in a cultural ritual. Conceptualizing anger in broken-bone terms suggests that we feel as a result of anger the same as a sheep cut into pieces. As having one’s bones broken into pieces is painful, anger conceptualized in broken-bone terms is also a sort of pain in the body. The most likely conceptual metaphor here is “ANGER IS PHYSICAL PAIN.” The entailment of this metaphor posits that the experiencer is a victim of a painful event. It should be noted, however, that no such actual breaking of the bones

or the joints occurs as a result of the offending event. Rather, this is a cultural correlation between a physical states (having one's bones broken into little pieces) and an emotional state (being angry).

g. *Digdig-l-I 3Daam-i/kraim-i.*

[He] break-PERE into pieces to me bones my/joints my. He broke my bones into small bits/joints.

h. *Farrik-l-I laHm-i.*

[He] reduce-Pere into crumc to me flesh my. He reduced my flesh into crumbs.

2.8 Anger metaphors in Arabic

Study of 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, also “happiness” and “anger” metaphors in these languages have something in common, Al-Haq & El-Sharif (2008) 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 that 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.).

3. Conclusion

Embodiment is a function of cultural correlation between a given emotion and its cultural bearing. Kövecses (1995) has a short answer to the question of why the emotion concepts in diverse cultures share a basic structure is that the cultures also share a central metaphor that informs and structures the concepts. Also, anger metaphors are strongly motivated by bodily experience. Steffenson and Fill (2014) hypothesized (originally in Finke, 1996) that language is the missing link between nature and culture. Studying the symbolic and the natural ecology of language cannot be separated from how sociocultural factors impact on language in various contexts. According to Sapir “even the simplest environmental influence is either supported or

transformed by social forces'' (Sapir, 1912: 13).

By studying the different anger metaphors in a variety of languages, one can see the significant impact of Ecology and natural environment; also, culture plays a great role in this matter. Ecometaphors is a new approach that can be the bridge between the conceptual metaphors and ecology and how they can be connected to each other. This approach studies anger metaphor as a good example of natural and cultural conceptual metaphors in the framework of Ecolinguistics. This approach can be a window to future studies.

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