

ẢN DỤ Ý NIỆM TỨC GIẬN TRONG TIẾNG ANH VÀ TIẾNG VIỆT TỪ BÌNH DIỆN NGÔN NGỮ HỌC TRI NHẬN

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Bài báo này nghiên cứu ý niệm hóa cảm xúc TỨC GIẬN trong tiếng Anh và tiếng Việt. Bài báo tiến hành đối chiếu mô hình văn hóa hay còn gọi là lược đồ khái niệm (Quinn, 1991) về cảm xúc TỨC GIẬN thông qua khảo sát cơ tầng ngữ nghĩa ẩn sau các thành ngữ biểu đạt TỨC GIẬN giữa hai ngôn ngữ. Bài báo cũng khẳng định rằng các ẩn dụ ý niệm ẩn chứa trong các thành ngữ không chỉ chịu sự chi phối của trải nghiệm thể chất, mà còn chịu sự chi phối của tri thức văn hóa.

Từ khóa: thành ngữ giận dữ bằng tiếng Anh và tiếng Việt, ẩn dụ cảm xúc, ẩn dụ khái niệm, mô hình đa văn hóa, ẩn dụ giận dữ, ngôn ngữ học tri nhận.

This paper is concerned with the conceptualization of ANGER in English and Vietnamese. The paper offers a critical contrastive analysis of English and Vietnamese conceptual schemata or cultural models (Quinn, 1991) of ANGER by examining the semantic motivation behind the idioms that express the emotion in the two languages. This paper also aims to prove that the metaphors involved in the idioms have a strong link not only to physiological, but also to cultural, influences.

Keywords: anger idioms in English and Vietnamese, metaphors of emotion, conceptual metaphors, cross-cultural models, anger metaphor, cognitive linguistics.

METAPHORIC CONCEPTUALIZATION OF ANGER IN ENGLISH AND VIETNAMESE

1. Introduction

Metaphors conceptualizing emotions (Kövecses 1986, 1990, 1995) represent a well-researched area in the framework of a cognitive theory of metaphor. ANGER is perhaps the most studied from a cognitive semantic point of view: in English (e.g., Gevaert, 2005; Kövecses, 1986, 1990; Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff & Kövecses, 1987), in Chinese (e.g., Yu, 1998), in Japanese (Matsuki, 1995), in Hungarian (Kövecses, 1990, 2000b), in Wolof (Munro, 1991 cited in Soriano, 2003), in Tunisian Arabic

(Maalej, 2004), and in Spanish (Soriano, 2003). ANGER has thereby become “a paradigm case for cognitivist analyses of emotions” (Kövecses, 2000b, p. 21).

The present paper is based on conceptual metaphors to describe and analyze the idioms that express the emotion of ANGER in English and Vietnamese. The relevant dimensions of cross-linguistic and cross-cultural variation in the conceptualization of ANGER are offered. To this end, the description of semantic patterning of English idioms expressing ANGER is presented first, followed by that of Vietnamese. The affinities and contrasts between the two languages will then be analyzed and discussed. In order to focus

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the discussion, I deliberately chose only prominent features from the emotional concept of ANGER, so it is not intended to be a comprehensive description. This paper also aims to prove that metaphors involved in the idioms have a strong link not only to human physiology, but also to cultural traditions.

2. Conceptual Metaphors for ANGER in English

English culture schematizes the existence of ANGER in a bounded space or region (Kövecses, 1986). The experiencers are conceptualized as existing in, moving in, or being moved into, this space. The idioms in (1) give rise to the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A BOUNDED SPACE (Kövecses, 1986):

- (1) a. *fall into a rage* e. *in a snit*
 b. *in a flat spin* f. *in a huff*
 c. *in a foul temper* g. *in high dudgeon*
 d. *in the doghouse*

In English, the cultural model of physiological effects, particularly the part that places a great emphasis on HEAT, constitutes the basis of the most general metaphor for ANGER: ANGER IS HEAT (Lakoff & Kövecses, 1987, p. 197). This central metaphor has two versions: one in which heat is applied to solids, and the other in which heat is applied to fluids. When ANGER IS HEAT is applied to solids, its outcome is ANGER IS FIRE. The make-up

- (3) a. *make one's blood boil*
 b. *blow a fuse*
 c. *flip one's lid*
 d. *blow off steam*
 e. *have a short fuse*
 f. *set somebody off*

of this version comprises the HEAT and REDNESS parts of the folk theory of physiological effects (Kövecses, 1990; Lakoff, 1987):

- (2) a. *do a slow burn* e. *blaze up*
 b. *breathe fire* f. *add fuel to the fire*
 c. *be burned up* g. *be fuming*
 d. *spit fire* h. *smoke comes out of one's ears*

The idioms in (2) are evocative of two images of a container (Yu, 1998). The first is the body (container) of an angry individual with a fire burning inside, and the second has the fire burning outside the body, heating it and raising its internal temperature. The idioms in (2g-h) refer to smoke, which is regarded as an index of fire. FIRE is not a concrete physical object, but a physical process. Its effects can be observed by our senses or by instruments. For instance, fire changes the physical properties of many solid materials by burning or melting (Al-Haq & El-Sharif, 2008).

When ANGER IS HEAT is applied to fluids, we have ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER (Gibbs, 1994; Kövecses, 2000b; Lakoff & Kövecses, 1987). The motivation of this conceptual metaphor is grounded in the HEAT, INTERNAL PRESSURE, and AGITATION parts of the folk theory as well as the metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS (Kövecses, 1986):

- g. *blow one's top*
 h. *fly off the handle*
 i. *hit the ceiling*
 j. *blow a gasket*
 k. *be (all) steamed up*
 l. *be pissed off*

As the idioms indicate, the body is conceptualized as a container within which the bodily fluids, such as blood, urine, and saliva, are found. English people map the experiential knowledge of their embodied experiences with physical entities on to the target domain (TD) of ANGER. Specifically, they project increases in body heat and blood pressure as physiological effects of ANGER. Our ability to make sense of such idioms can therefore be accounted for by ontological correspondences between the entities in the source domain (SD) and the corresponding ones in the TD: that is, container-body; fluid-emotion; container heat-body heat; and by epistemic correspondences between knowledge about the SD and the corresponding one about TD. For example, people can become uncontrollable when they are angry; alternatively, the containers can explode if under extreme pressure and the fluids convert to steam when exposed to intense heat (Kövecses, 1986). Further evidence is presented in (4):

- (4) a. *go nuclear* d. *go up in the air*
 b. *pop one's cork* e. *go spare*
 c. *raise the roof* f. *get all steamed up*

The idioms in (4) exhibit the obvious destructive force of ANGER. The experiencer of a very intense bout of ANGER is conceived as a container that is unable to contain the liquids. The boiling image is closely associated with ANGER in English (Lakoff and Kövecses, 1987; Kövecses, 1990, 1995). When the fluids in a container start to boil, they go upwards. The heated liquids will expand and as a result their level will rise. When the accumulation of the heated liquids results in an excessive quantity, as *get all steamed up*, they have to

force their way out such as *blow off steam*. If the pressure on the container becomes too high, an explosion occurs, as in (3b-j) and (4a-e). The explosion of the fluids inside the body-container is caused by the increased heat of the fluids. The explosion is unintentionally triggered, since the container and the fluids inside the container have no intentional agency, and the explosion usually occurs in an abrupt and violent manner (Gibbs, 1999). In this regard, ANGER causes a person to experience a lack of control or the impossibility of self-control.

As we have seen, high pressure in the container triggers an explosion. When the explosion occurs, parts of the angry person go up in the air, as in (3b-j) (e.g., *his gasket, top, lid, handle*) and what is inside a person comes out, as in *smoke comes out of one's ears* or *have steam coming out of one's ears*. The image of something-inside-coming-out is elaborated in terms of animals giving birth (Kövecses, 1986):

- (5) a. *have kittens* c. *have a baby*
 b. *have a cow* d. *lay an egg*

These idioms refer to the animals giving birth, where something which is inside yielding pressure bursts out (Kövecses, 1990). The ontological aspect of ANGER is highlighted: the intensity that can lead to a loss of control.

The knowledge that gives rise to the metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER derives from human observation of the behaviour of water boiling in pots and kettles and from artworks: for example, cartoon characters with steam blowing out of their ears and the tops of their heads. The knowledge also comes from people's experiences of their bodies as containers filled with various

liquids such as stomach fluids, sweat, blood, semen, tears, urine, feces, and saliva that can be “heated up” when under pressure, or during exercise. These various recurring bodily experiences structure the image-schematic source domain HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER that is projected to give rise to the conceptual metaphor (Gibbs et al., 2004, p. 1195). In addition, the conceptual metaphor is also grounded in our own bodily experience of our body going in and out of containers: for example, bathtubs, beds, rooms and houses (Gibbs, 1999). Our continual interactions with real world SDs motivate the conceptual metaphor as a culturally appropriate way of conceptualizing ANGER.

Perhaps as a corollary of agitation as the physiological effect of ANGER, insanity or undue agitation is conceptualized to give rise to the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY (Kövecses, 1990):

- (7) a. *tear one's hair out*
b. *climb the walls*

In English culture, ANGER is interpreted as a form of energy (Kövecses, 1986). The interpretation is grounded in the folk understanding of physics. When sufficient input energy is applied to a body, the body exerts energy as output. Thus, the internal heat (body output energy) evokes ANGER. The internal heat in turn functions as input energy that produces output energy of various forms such as steam, pressure, agitation, and external heat. Insane

- (8) a. *bite someone's head off*
b. *jump down someone's throat*
c. *froth at the mouth*
d. *someone's hackles rise*

- (6) a. *go bananas* e. *mad as a hornet*
b. *go berserk* f. *go nuts*
c. *fit to be tied* g. *foam at the mouth*
d. *rant and rave* h. *drive somebody batty/bonkers*

The insanity is correlated with ANGER (Kövecses, 1986). An angry person may *go wild*, start *raving*, be *fit to be tied*, *throw a fit*, or *foam at the mouth*. These physiological effects stand for insanity. *Berserk* in (6b) is a nineteenth-century borrowing from Norse mythology which tells of a fierce warrior who, casting aside weapons and armour, would work himself into a murderous frenzy before plunging into battle clad only in his bearskin coat. This earned him the name Berserker (from *bern*, ‘a bear’ and *serkr*, ‘a coat’). It is also said that his twelve sons were as furious and reckless in battle as he was (DIO, 1992).

Violent behaviour is also seen as a form of insanity (Kövecses, 1986):

- c. *knock one's head against a wall*
d. *on the warpath*

behaviour, an undesirable physiological reaction, is also viewed as a form of output energy (Kövecses, 1990).

Human interactions with real and symbolic animals motivate the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS ANIMAL-LIKE BEHAVIOUR (Lakoff, 1987). ANGER expressed in (8) is associated with the image of a fierce animal. It is consistent with EMOTION IS OBJECT DIRECTED AT SOMEONE (Stefanowitsch, 2006):

- h. *eat somebody alive*
i. *skin someone alive*
j. *chew someone's arse*
k. *tear somebody from limb to limb*

e. *breathing fire*

f. *bite the carpet*

g. *get somebody's back up*

l. *ruffle somebody's feathers*

m. *be after somebody's blood*

n. *see blood*

Aggressive behaviours of a dangerous animal, as our data in (8) suggests, are angry behaviours. ANGER in (8g) is portrayed as an animal that becomes dangerous if it is threatened or attacked. The idiom is based on the image of a cat confronted by an attacking dog, when the cat erects the hair of its body and arches its back to show its ANGER. By so doing, the cat looks larger and more ferocious. (8c) refers to the involuntary production by an animal (e.g., a boar or a dog) of large amounts of saliva from the mouth in a bodily seizure. The idioms in (8m-n) refer to frenzy, a wild or delirious excitement or fury, in some animals at the sight of blood. The idiom in (8e) is motivated by both FIRE and DANGEROUS ANIMAL metaphors. The idiom evokes the image of a dragon which can devour people with fire (Kövecses, 1986). A dragon in Western culture is an image of a monster, a large fierce imaginary animal with wings and a long tail, and fire comes out of its mouth. ANGER in (8a-b) and (8i-k) refer to wild animals devouring their prey in a voracious manner. (8h) suggests the act of eating everything without bothering to separate the edible from the inedible.

The examples in (8) take the source domain of different violent actions seen in the animal world. They include behaviours

- (9)
- a. *a pain in one's neck*
 - b. *get off one's back*
 - c. *get under one's skin*
 - d. *stick in one's craw*
 - e. *choked up*

of prey species such as a tiger attacking its prey (e.g., *jump down someone's throat*, *bite someone's head off*), combat (e.g., *someone's hackles rise*, *ruffle somebody's feathers*). These are the features of their environment, which is due to either sexual or social hierarchical competitions to establish their place in the herd or troop. These idioms imply that the experiencers are over-reacting to something another individual has said or done (Gibbs & Wilson, 2002). They experience extreme uncontrollability and become very dangerous to the others. Their ANGER is conceptualized as a dangerous animal, which is based on the metaphor in Western culture PASSIONS ARE BEASTS INSIDE A PERSON (Lakoff, 1987, p. 392). As this metaphor suggests, there is a part of each individual that can be a wild animal. Civilized individuals are supposed to keep the animal part inside them. When people lose control, the animal part inside them gets loose. Their behaviours at that time are equivalent to the behaviours of a wild animal. And such behaviours present a danger to other people. That explains why people try not to lose control over their ANGER.

The conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE (Lakoff, 1987) also underlies the idioms in (9):

- h. *give somebody the pip*
- i. *a pain in the arse*
- j. *turn somebody's stomach*
- k. *a sore point*
- l. *yank somebody's chain*

- f. *put somebody's nose out of joint* m. *get the needles*
 g. *a chip on one's shoulder* n. *gripe somebody's soul*

As the idioms indicate, physical annoyance ensues when ANGER crowds into a container-body of limited capacity. It can be the feeling of physical annoyance in the neck and bottom, the feeling of tightness in the lungs and chest region, which interferes with breathing as in (9d-e). The idiom in (9d) refers to the *craw* (crop or gizzard of birds). The transferred sense of *craw* refers to a person's gullet (originally humorous) or throat. ANGER can cause gastrointestinal disturbance, as in (9j). The physical annoyance can be in the form of illness, as in (9h). *Pip* is referred to a disease of fowls; the word *pip* is also used, often in humorous ways, of various ill-defined or minor ailments in people. (9n) evokes an image of mental pain. ANGER not only causes physical annoyance, but also mental hurt.

ANGER, then, has a destructive quality. In a tense moment of ANGER, individuals become uncontrollable and violent. They are conceptualized as a wild animal with bestial behaviours, which can be dangerous for other people. This explains why angry people usually try to suppress their ANGER:

- (10) a. *hold one's temper*
 b. *keep one's shirt/hair on*

In summing up this section, ANGER is mapped on to the familiar and well-structured domains of A BOUNDED SPACE, HOT FLUID, FIRE, INSANITY, ANIMAL-LIKE BEHAVIOUR, and PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE. These conceptual metaphors are connected directly to experience, or are embodied and motivated by our physiology (Lakoff, 1987). Thus, they are characterized as being information-laden and rich in conventional

mental imagery (Lakoff, 1987). Without these metaphors, it would be difficult for us to learn about how ANGER is conceptualized (Kövecses, 2000c) and the comprehension of ANGER would be extremely impoverished (Lakoff, 1987).

3. Conceptual Metaphors for ANGER in Vietnamese

ANGER in Vietnamese is characterized as a powerful, overwhelmingly and possibly violent feeling. As it appears from a number of idioms, this emotion is conceptualized as HEAT. As in English, two versions of the conceptual metaphor: ANGER IS FIRE and ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER underlie the Vietnamese data. The idioms in (11) profile ANGER as FIRE:

- (11) a. *bốc hỏa*
 blaze up
 'become suddenly angry'
 b. *đổ dầu vào lửa*
 pour fuel on to fire
 'add fuel to the fire'
 c. *nhìn nẩy lửa*
 look flash fire
 'shoot a dirty look'
 d. *nổi trận lôi đình*
 get into fit thunderbolt
 'get into rage'
 e. *nóng mắt*
 hot eye
 'hot and bothered'

ANGER in Vietnamese is also conceptualized as A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, in which the emotion substance is conceptualized as being

crammed into a container of limited capacity. ANGER is experienced as a force inside the experiencers that can exert pressure on them:

- (12) a. *tức đầy ruột*
angry full intestine
'become very angry'
- b. *đầy gan đầy ruột*
full liver full intestine
'become very angry'
- c. *sôi gan*
boil liver
'become extremely angry'
- d. *sôi gan nổi mật*
boil liver float gall/bile
'become extremely angry'
- e. *sốt tiết*
high temperature blood
'become extremely angry'
- f. *bầy gan bầy tiết*
meltingly soft liver meltingly soft blood
'become extremely angry'
- g. *bầm gan sôi máu*
bluish black liver boil blood
'become extremely angry'
- h. *tức nổ ruột*
angry explode intestine
'become extremely angry'
- i. *tức nổ mắt*
angry explode eyes
'become extremely angry'

The idioms in (12) show that Vietnamese people view ANGER as a hot fluid inside a stressed container – the human body. The behaviour of heated fluids in a closed

container is carried over on to the concept of ANGER. As we have also seen in English, when the intensity of ANGER increases, the fluid boils and rises. Intense ANGER produces pressure on the container causing the liver to turn bluish black and become meltingly soft, and the gall to float. When ANGER becomes too intense, the angry individuals' intestines and eyes explode. The explosion causes the experiencers to go up in the air, as in (13d). As the explosion occurs, what is inside the experiencers bursts out:

- (13) a. *tức vãi đái*
angry piss off
'be pissed off'
- b. *hộc máu*
vomit blood
'vomit blood because of anger'
- c. *tức lòi con ngươi*
angry protrude pupils
'anger causes one's pupils to protrude'
- d. *nộ khí xung thiên*
wrath go up sky
'be in a state of sudden and extreme anger'

The eyes in (13c) spring up out of their orbits, maybe due to the increased size of the pupils. Urine is forcibly discharged and blood comes out of the mouth. ANGER in Vietnamese is conceptualized as a hot fluid that is primarily in the intestine (*ruột*) and liver (*gan*) which functions as a container. An increase in the intensity of ANGER is indicated by the intestine and liver being filled with ANGER.

ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER entails the conceptual

metaphor ANGER IS DISTENDEDNESS, which seems to be indigenous to the Vietnamese culture. In Vietnamese people's perception, when individuals are angry,

their face puffs up. The conventional realizations of the SWELLING mapping can be found in (14) below:

- (14)
- | | | | | |
|----|----------------------|----------------------------|--|--|
| a. | <i>mặt sưng</i> | <i>mày sĩa</i> | | |
| | face swell | brow swell | | |
| | 'be extremely angry' | | | |
| b. | <i>sưng mặt sưng</i> | <i>mày</i> | | |
| | swell face | swell brow | | |
| | 'be extremely angry' | | | |
| c. | <i>mặt sưng</i> | <i>như cái phèng phèng</i> | | |
| | face swell | like PART cymbal | | |
| | 'be extremely angry' | | | |
| d. | <i>mặt lưng mặt</i> | <i>vực</i> | | |
| | face half-full | face full | | |
| | 'be extremely angry' | | | |
| e. | <i>như chuột chù</i> | <i>mút giấm</i> | | |
| | like shrew-mouse | suck vinegar | | |
| | 'be extremely angry' | | | |
| f. | <i>như mặt hổ</i> | <i>phù</i> | | |
| | like face | tiger oedema | | |
| | 'be extremely angry' | | | |
| g. | <i>nặng mặt</i> | <i>sa mày</i> | | |
| | heavy face | drop brow | | |
| | 'be extremely angry' | | | |
| h. | <i>mặt nặng</i> | <i>như chì</i> | | |
| | face heavy | as lead | | |
| | 'be extremely angry' | | | |
| i. | <i>mặt nặng</i> | <i>mày nhẹ</i> | | |
| | face heavy | brow light | | |
| | 'be extremely angry' | | | |
| j. | <i>mặt nặng</i> | <i>như đá đeo</i> | | |
| | face heavy | as stone wear | | |
| | 'be extremely angry' | | | |

The examples in (14) demonstrate that ANGER is conceptualized as a force that causes the face to become distended. It could be that blood exerts pressure on the

facial arteries, which become swollen as a result. This is consistent with the schematic generic-level metaphor that governs all emotions: EMOTIONS ARE FORCES

(Kövecses, 2000a). The emotion deforms the face of the experiencers, as shown in (14a-d). The word *sĩa* also refers to a pregnant woman's oedema of the legs. Perhaps due to the distendedness, angry faces appear heavy as if they gain more weight, as shown in (14g-j). Heavy materials like lead in (14h) and stone in (14j) accentuate the face that puffs up. The idiom in (14e) portrays the distorted face of a shrew-mouse due to sucking vinegar, a sour liquid got from malt wine or cider by fermentation and used as a condiment or for pickling. The word *phù* 'oedema' in (14f) evokes an image of the swelling face, due to accumulated excess of fluid. Thus, Vietnamese often say *heavy face* to refer to one's facial oedema. The knowledge of the swelling source domain may derive from observations in the animal world. For example, snakes swell their throat pouches and erect their dorsal crests to show ANGER. Toads, frogs, and chameleons take in air and swell up in size to show ANGER. Cats also increase their body size in ANGER (Plutchik, 2002). However, the swelling of human body size occurring in ANGER serves as an important source: the swelling of the chest, thrusting the head forward, standing more erect, and the erection of the body hair (Plutchik, 2002).

Human intuitions about various source domains map on to their conceptualizations of different target domains in predictable ways (Gibbs, 1992). For example, the understanding of ANGER, as has been discussed, should partly be constituted by our folk concept for hot fluid in the bodily container (Gibbs et al., 2004). The source domains in many conceptual metaphors are inherently structured as image schemas which arise from recurring bodily

experiences. In this way, part of how we make sense of various linguistic expressions is grounded in bodily motivation or embodiment (Gibbs et al., 2004).

An alternative and strongly motivated cognitive process is to think about ANGER in terms of physical annoyance. ANGER is conceptualized as being able to inflict physical annoyance on the experiencers. The idioms in (15) give rise to the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE:

- (15) a. *tức như bò đá*
angry like cow kick
'become extremely angry'
b. *như bố vợ phải đấm*
like wife's father get punch
'become extremely angry'

ANGER embodies an image of madness. This is consistent with the conceptual metaphor found in English ANGER IS INSANITY. When ANGER mounts, it causes the individuals to go out of their minds:

- (16) a. *điên ruột*
insane intestine
'become mad because of anger'
b. *điên tiết*
insane blood
'become mad because of anger'
c. *nổi đóa*
fly into a fit of madness
'mad as a hornet'
d. *tức sùi bọt mép*
angry erupt foam
'foam at the mouth'

The idioms in (16) indicate that enraged individuals are temporarily crazy. Indeed, there is widely held belief that such intense

ANGER can result in increased chances of physical violence. This gives rise to the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS ANIMAL-LIKE BEHAVIOUR, which is also found in English (Lakoff, 1987). ANGER in Vietnamese is associated with the image of

- (17) a. *lồng lên như trâu điên*
go wild like buffalo insane
'go wild because of anger'
- b. *tức sùi bọt mép*
angry erupt foam
'foam at the mouth'
- c. *gầm như hổ đói*
roar like tiger hungry
'jump down someone's throat'

The idioms in (17) show that the experiencers could turn into an insane buffalo, an insane dog, or a wild tiger, moving quickly and aggressively towards its victims, as indicated in (17a), (17b), and (17c), respectively. The implication is that ANGER is not only strong but also evokes associations with an active aggressive behaviour of the experiencers who wish to let other people know how angry they are. The instances in (17) also indicate that ANGER is channelled in a more deliberate and intentional manner, compared to that expressed in other conceptual metaphors.

As we have seen, ANGER is conceptualized as FIRE. It is therefore a harmful and destructive agent. ANGER is also conceived as HEATED FLUID that can cause explosions, given increased pressure on its container/the human body, as in (12) and (13). This can result in injury not only to the experiencers, but also the surrounding people. Experiencers therefore try to keep ANGER in cheek:

a fierce animal, which is assumed to result in aggressive behaviour or bestiality. The conceptual metaphor is illustrated by the examples in (17), in which (17b) is a repetition of (16d):

- (18) a. *nuốt giận làm lành*
swallow anger make peace
'hold one's temper'
- b. *bớt giận làm lành*
diminish anger make peace
'hold one's temper'
- c. *bấm bụng bấm gan*
suppress stomach suppress liver
'keep one's shirt on'

The section has indicated that ANGER in Vietnamese is conceptualized as HEAT, A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, DISTENDEDNESS, PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE, INSANITY, and ANIMAL-LIKE BEHAVIOUR. These conceptual metaphors in general are grounded in physiological effects, but obviously involve aspects of the Vietnamese culture as well.

4. Cross-linguistic and Cross-cultural Comparison

Table 1 summarizes the distribution of conceptual metaphors for ANGER in the two languages:

Table 1 Distribution of Conceptual Metaphors for ANGER in English and Vietnamese

Conceptual Metaphors	English	Vietnamese
ANGER IS A BOUNDED SPACE	+	-
ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER	+	+
ANGER IS FIRE	+	+
ANGER IS INSANITY	+	+
ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL	+	+
ANGER IS PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE	+	+
ANGER IS DISTENDEDNESS	-	+
Note: + = existent; - = nonexistent	Total: 7	Total: 7

4.1. Similarities

As presented in Table 1, English and Vietnamese to some degree share the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER. The two cultures conceptualize human beings as containers, and ANGER and its counterparts as some kind of substance (a fluid) inside the container (Kövecses, 2000b). The CONTAINER metaphor is pressurized with heat. The correspondences of the ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor include the following:

- the container with some substance or objects – the person who is angry
 - the substance or objects in the container – the ANGER
 - the pressure of the substance or objects on the container – the force of the ANGER on the angry person
 - the cause of the pressure – the cause of the ANGER force
 - the substance or objects going out of the container – the expression of ANGER
- (Kövecses, 2005, p. 39)

The question posed here is why English and Vietnamese have conceptualized ANGER in such a remarkably similar manner? From

a cognitive linguistic view, the answer has much to do with metonymies (Kövecses, 2005). They are BODY STANDS FOR ANGER and INTERNAL PRESSURE STANDS FOR ANGER. These conceptual metonymies “capture people’s folk theory of much of the physiological mechanism of ANGER” (op. cit., p. 40). As can be seen, English and Vietnamese share the notion of increased body heat in ANGER, and they also talk about it metonymically. ANGER, just like other emotions (e.g., HAPPINESS or SADNESS), is associated with a different set of physiological reactions (Levenson, Ekman, & Friesen, 1990). The actual bodily changes can be universal, since they are the results of the kinds of physical bodies that people possess. The heat in the body and the felt warmth of blood seems to be the cognitive basis for the heat component of the English and Vietnamese CONTAINER metaphor. Because the human blood is referenced in many of the collected idioms, it is assumed to account for the fluid component in the CONTAINER metaphor. Blood pressure and muscular tension may be accountable for the PRESSURE component in the metaphor (Stanghellini, 2000). Thus, the conceptualized physiological characteristics (i.e.,

conceptual metonymies) provide the cognitive motivation for the English and Vietnamese speakers to conceptualize the angry individuals metaphorically as a PRESSURIZED CONTAINER. The universality of the actual physiological process may result in the similarities in conceptualized physiological reactions, which then lead to the similarity in the metaphorical conceptualization of ANGER, i.e., the PRESSURIZED CONTAINER metaphor (Kövecses, 2005).

A conceptual metaphor involves conceptual correspondences between the

two domains: source domain and target domain. The mapping involves two types: epistemic and ontological. The ontological correspondences hold between elements of one domain and elements of the other domain, while the epistemic are correspondences between relations holding between elements in one domain and relations between elements in the other domain (this includes encyclopedic knowledge about the domain). The correspondences can be illustrated as follows, which are drawn from Lakoff (1987, p. 387) and Croft and Cruse (2004, p. 197):

Ontological correspondences

Source: heated fluid in a container	Target: ANGER
Containers	Body
Heated fluid	ANGER
Heat scale	ANGER scale
Pressure in container	Experienced pressure
Agitation of bodily fluid	Experienced agitation
Limits of container's resistance	Limit of person's ability to suppress ANGER
Explosion	Loss of control

Epistemic correspondences

When fluid in a container is heated beyond a certain limit, pressure increases to a point at which the container explodes.	When anger increases beyond a certain limit, 'pressure' increases to a point at which a person loses control.
An explosion is damaging to container and dangerous to bystanders.	Loss of control is damaging to person and dangerous to others.
Explosion can be prevented by applying sufficient force and counterpressure.	Anger can be suppressed by force of will.
Controlled release of pressure may occur, which reduces danger of explosion.	Anger can be released in a controlled way, or vented harmlessly, thus reducing level.

Such mappings play a constitutive role in the construction of the basic structure of the folk understanding of ANGER (Kövecses, 2000b) and are common to both English and Vietnamese, since the two cultures conceive that ANGER involves the rise of blood

pressure, increased muscular tension, and body heat. However, "how the people experience and recognize their body is shaped by culture, even where measured physiology is similar" (Kimmel, 2004, p. 288).

In a similar vein, both English and Vietnamese map the concept of FIRE on to ANGER, which gives rise to the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS FIRE. The two speech communities see parallels between FIRE and ANGER. Logical entailment projections are established between the source domain of FIRE and the effects of ANGER on the person in the target domain. FIRE is very much located within the body, and the experiencer is conceptualized to be in the middle of a burning fire. In both languages, ANGER is conceptualized as a destructive force that may be harmful not only to the angry people but also to people around them, just in a similar way as uncontrollable fire does.

The next shared conceptual metaphor is ANGER IS INSANITY. This conceptual metaphor suggests a state of ultimate lack of control that ANGER can cause on the experiencers. The angry individuals, in the grip of an intense rage, become irrational in respect of the experiencers' judgment of the aspect of the world relative to the emotion. The experiencers become "incapacitated cognitively as well as in terms of behaviour"; they lose control (Kövecses, 2000b, p. 74). This is caused by the intense psychological force of ANGER. The two languages also share the same degree of linguistic conventionalization in the metaphor. The linguistic instantiations of the mapping in both English and Vietnamese are equally conventionalized to the extent that some of them have become polysemic, meaning both 'crazy' and 'angry' e.g., *mad* in (6e) in English and *điên* (16a-b) in Vietnamese.

The conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL is found in both English and Vietnamese. The data in the two languages evoke an image of a fierce animal attacking its prey. The animal is

even profiled as being insane: e.g., in the involuntary expulsion of the fluids from the animal's mouth. The conceptualization indicates that ANGER in English and Vietnamese is obviously destructive and likely to "hurt" both the experiencer and the surrounding people. This can partly explain why Lakoff (1987, p. 407) observes that it is hard to find a culture where the emotion of ANGER is conceptualized in terms of calmness, slowness, peacefulness, coolness, freshness, and the like.

The source domain of PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE also participates in the understanding of ANGER in both languages. The physical annoyance is mapped on to the emotional pain: ANGER. Physical annoyance in the two cultures is conceptualized as being both self-inflicted and caused by external determinants.

4.2. Differences

Despite much similarity shared by the two languages, there are subtle differences in terms of conceptual metonymies and metaphor preference: i.e., existent in one language, but not in the other, in terms of conceptual elaboration (i.e., conceptual entailments), and conventionalized linguistic expressions.

ANGER in English involves a link to the human nervous system: i.e., interference with perception. However, few associations of ANGER with distorted vision, such as *blind with rage* or *see red*, are found in the Vietnamese data. This is to say that the genetic and physiological grounds for emotions may be similar in all human beings, but the expression and conceptualization of emotions may vary due to cultural settings (Hupka et al. 1996, p. 246). In other words, languages may differ with regard to which aspects or dimensions of the universal genetic and physiological

features of emotions are captured in terms of linguistic encoding. Accordingly, in the English culture, ANGER is conceptualized as being able to impair the experiencer's normal mental productivity or cause tightness in the throat, but this is not observed in the Vietnamese counterpart.

The incongruity can also be associated with different colour metaphorization for ANGER: the change of facial colour. While blue is ascribed to ANGER in English, no connection of such colour is identified in Vietnamese. This culture-driven distribution of associations between ANGER and different colours is interesting and deserves special attention. It may be that future work can uncover some explanations for the relationships between ANGER and the colour spectrum in terms of cognitive and cultural models.

An alternate difference is that while in both languages angry individuals vent their ANGER on a specific target or the instigator of the emotion, Vietnamese people appear to respond in a less directed manner and behave aggressively toward everyone indiscriminately, as indicated in (18). However, this is not to say that English language cannot have such a response, or that Vietnamese cannot have a directed reaction: rather the "two languages seem to differ in what they consider the prototypical cultural model" (Kövecses, 2000b, p. 167).

As has been discussed, English and Vietnamese share the same set of basic-level metaphors for the conceptualization of ANGER, however, some language specific mappings can be identified. The mapping of ANGER as a BOUNDED SPACE is English-specific, while Vietnamese lacks any expressions related to such mapping to talk of experiencing ANGER.

According to Kövecses (2005), a shared conceptual metaphor in different languages can still display some variation, because it can be elaborated in more or less different manners at a more specific level of metaphoric understanding in different languages, both in terms of its metaphorical entailments (i.e., degree of conceptual elaboration) and its conventionalized vocabulary (Kövecses, 2000b). The conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER is a prominent example. Vietnamese does not conceptualize the effect of ANGER as 'steaming'. STEAM in English points to a high degree of heating, and metaphorically indicates emotional intensity. Typical English instantiations of the mapping, such as (3d) and (3k), do not have any equivalent in Vietnamese. The submapping of STEAM PRODUCTION does not exist in Vietnamese. Another metaphorical entailment in English is that when the container (i.e., the angry individual) explodes, parts of him go up in the air (Kövecses, 1990; Lakoff, 1987). This entailment is represented by a good number of idioms such as *blow one's stack*, *flip one's lid*, *fly off the handle*, *blow one's top* (see also (3), (4), and (5)). This phenomenon is represented in Vietnamese by fewer idioms, and even these are not restricted to the emotion of ANGER: e.g., (13a) *tức vãi đái* ('angry piss off'). Speakers of Vietnamese may also say *sợ vãi đái* 'scared piss off' to conceptualize FEAR. The absence of equally conventionalized counterparts or fewer counterparts in Vietnamese does not mean that Vietnamese has no means of talking about this aspect of ANGER. The answer could be that Vietnamese has a much less elaborated repertory of conventionalized linguistic expressions for this function.

The alternative area of difference involves the degree of elaboration of shared mappings (Barcelona, 2001). The expression of ANGER in English involves the EXPLOSION mapping appears to be elaborated, as presented in Lakoff, 1987: pistons (e.g., *blew a gasket*), electricity (e.g., *blew a fuse*), explosives (e.g., *have a short fuse*), or bombs (e.g., *set somebody off*). Vietnamese does not elaborate the mapping in the same way as in English. In fact, Vietnamese only elaborates the explosives, as shown in (12h-i). The other elaborations do not exist in Vietnamese. Expressions that involve pistons, electricity, and bombs are not conventionalized in the Vietnamese language.

The opposite occurs with the mapping THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE EXPERIENCER IS SWELLING/DISTENDEDNESS in Vietnamese, an entailment of ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER. When ANGER rises and the CONTAINER is conceived as being closed, the fluid of ANGER yields pressure on the walls. This pressure can produce two types of effect on the CONTAINER: it can make it explode, as shown in (12h-i), or it can simply deform the CONTAINER by making it swell, as shown in (14). Accordingly, Vietnamese has more conventionalized realizations of the mapping. The sub-mapping is instantiated in Vietnamese by the intransitive verb *sung* 'swell'. In Vietnamese the swollen body part is mainly the face. In English, though, the SWELLING image is also employed in *he is swelling with indignation or anger*. It seems that the whole body is implied to be swelling, rather a particular body part. Such expression indicates that English employs this SWELLING mapping, too. This metaphor is also applied to other emotions,

e.g., *have a swollen head*, meaning 'be conceited'; *swelling with pride*, whereas *sung* in Vietnamese is only applied to ANGER. This culturally significant conceptual metaphor ANGER IS DISTENDEDNESS is limited to or distinctive of Vietnamese. This indicates that speakers of Vietnamese have relied on a different aspect of their physiology in the metaphorical conceptualization of ANGER. This is to say that in certain cases "the universality of experiential basis does not necessarily lead to universally equivalent conceptualization" (Kövecses, 2006, p. 171). There are reasons for this. We are affected by the surrounding environment, physical and social aspects of the settings in which we live, and the broader cultural context. Naturally, we are mostly unconsciously attuned to these differences. As a result, the metaphors and language that people speaking different languages employ vary (Kövecses, 2005). The metaphor yields a generic schema that is filled out by each culture that possesses the metaphor. Once the metaphor is filled out, it receives distinctive cultural content at a specific level. Seen from another point of view, a generic-level conceptual metaphor is "instantiated in culture-specific ways at a specific level" (Kövecses, 2004, p. 263).

Although English and Vietnamese share the same conceptual metaphor ANGER IS FIRE (Lakoff, 1987), some subtle, nevertheless interesting differences in terms of actual linguistic expressions can be found. FIRE is profiled as located within the body, and the experiencer is in the middle of the burning fire in Vietnamese. But there are no expressions which metaphorically link ANGER in Vietnamese with smoke, which is an index of fire. This suggests that two languages may share a great sameness in a

conceptual metaphor, but the linguistic expression of such the conceptual metaphor can vary, since they “may be influenced or shaped by differences in cultural-ideological traits and assumptions that characterize different cultures” Kövecses (2006, p. 177).

Regarding CONTAINER in the conceptual metaphor, in English the body is conceptualized as a container. Meanwhile, Vietnamese profiles the liver, the intestines, and the eyes as the container. That is why Dobrovolskij & Piirainen (2005) argue that the conceptual metaphor determines that ANGER is in a CONTAINER, while culture selects which container: i.e., which of several body organs is chosen. Vietnamese draws more heavily on inner body organs than English, with preference given to the liver, as indicated in (12), to conceptualize ANGER. The selection of the liver is not random, but is deeply rooted in the theory of the five elements (or *luật ngũ hành*), on which the Vietnamese traditional medicine has heavily based. According to *luật ngũ hành*, the universe is made up of five basic elements, including *kim* ‘metal’, *mộc* ‘wood’, *thủy* ‘water’, *hỏa* ‘fire’, and *thổ* ‘earth’, which are in a relation of *tương sinh* ‘mutual promotion’ and *tương khắc* ‘mutual restraint’. Based on the theory, according to their properties, natural phenomena, human body organs, and human emotions are categorized into five categories headed by the *ngũ* ‘five’ (Khừu & Khánh, 2002, p. 49). The *tạng* internal organ of *gan* ‘liver’ and *phủ* organ of *đỏ/mật* ‘gall’ are categorized with ANGER. *Mật* has to go with *gan* to mean ANGER, as indicated in (12d). *Gan* can stand alone, as shown in (12c) to refer to the choleric emotion, while *mật* is usually used with reference to FEAR if it stands alone. It is noteworthy that although liver and gall are categorized with ANGER, this does not

mean that the other internal organs are not affected by ANGER in the five-element theory, for example, *ruột* (i.e., *ruột non* ‘small intestine’). The intestine is responsible for the majority of digestion and absorption of food. Gall, which concentrates bile produced in the liver, aids the digestive process; in the same way *mộc* ‘wood’ promotes *kim* ‘fire’. This is to say that it is not Vietnamese people who use internal bodily parts metaphorically for referring to ANGER; the body parts and the way they use them for expressing such emotion is characteristic of their own language and culture. Thus, the divergence in the selection of the internal body parts to talk about ANGER in English and Vietnamese also indicates that instead of being based on objective common human physiology, the two languages are more likely to reflect folk theories of human physiology of ANGER, which are to a large extent culturally determined (Gevaert, 2005, p. 197).

Emanatian (1996, p. 199) holds that “not every metaphoric mapping is equally likely across languages. For instance, in the source domain of PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE, Vietnamese seems to exploit only physical injury, as indicated in (15). Whereas English elaborates the mapping of ILLNESS, as indicated in (9h) and MENTAL PAIN, as shown in (9n), other than PHYSICAL INJURY. Therefore, within ANGER IS PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE, the mappings of ILLNESS and MENTAL PAIN are English-specific.

5. Conclusion

This paper has explored the semantic patterning of the ANGER-expressing idioms in English and Vietnamese. The idioms have been analyzed in the framework of cognitive linguistic perspective: the

relationship between language and conceptualization is taken for granted. We present the semantic patterning of the idioms, and the semantic patterning in turn reveals how English and Vietnamese people talk about and structure the abstract emotional concept of ANGER.

The paper has shown that both English and Vietnamese share a great deal in the conceptualization of ANGER. English and Vietnamese have these conceptual metaphors in common: ANGER IS FIRE, ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, ANGER IS INSANITY, ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL, and ANGER IS PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE. However, they do not share the others, such as ANGER IS A BOUNDED SPACE in English, versus ANGER IS DISTENDEDNESS in Vietnamese. Along with the similarities, subtle contrasts in terms of preference in metaphorical expressions have been identified. For instance, while English profiles the body as a container, Vietnamese draws more heavily on inner body organs to describe ANGER. This is to say that the conceptualization of ANGER is influenced by both culture traditions (at a specific level) (Aksan & Kantar, 2008) and physiology (at a generic level) (Kövecses, 1995).

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