



Some Anger Metaphors In Spanish And English. A Contrastive Review

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ABSTRACT

In spite of being very similar, the metaphorical models of anger in English and Spanish exhibit some differences too. These have been analyzed along a number of parameters: existence of the mapping in the language, degree of conceptual elaboration, degree of linguistic conventionalization and degree of linguistic exploitation. A number of examples evidencing cross-linguistic differences at these four levels will be presented. We will conclude with a brief discussion of the possible motivation of these differences and some observations on the study of conceptual metaphor in general.

KEYWORDS: Conceptual metaphor, anger, ira, English, Spanish, contrastive review

I. INTRODUCTION

Since its appearance in the early eighties, the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor and Metonymy, together with other trends in cognitive linguistics, has dramatically changed the way we understand meaning in contemporary semantics. One of the important advances in this field is our improved understanding of metaphor, which is no longer considered a figure of speech, but

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a conceptual mechanism. Metaphor can thus be defined as a cross-domain mapping (Lakoff, 1993: 203), or more precisely, as "a cognitive mechanism whereby one experiential domain is partially 'mapped', i.e. projected, onto a different experiential domain, so that the second domain is partially understood in terms of the first one" (Barcelona, 2000: 3).

This theory has helped scholars uncover the striking systematicity in many concepts that were believed to be unstructured. Emotions are one of such domains. After Lakoff and Kovecses' (1987) pioneer work on anger in American English, a number of studies have adopted their methodology to analyze the semantic structure of that and other emotions in both Indoeuropean and non-Indoeuropean languages: anger in Chinese (King, 1989, Yu, 1995), Japanese (Matsuki, 1995), Zulu (Taylor & Mbense, 1998), Polish (Mikołajczuk, 1998), Wolof (Munro, 1991) and Hungarian (Kovecses, 1990, 2000); happiness (Kovecses, 1991), sadness (Barcelona, 1986, Kovecses, 1990) and love (Barcelona, 1995, Kovecses, 1990) in English, sadness and love in Spanish (Barcelona, 1989a, 1992), lust (Csábi, 1999) and fear (Kovecses, 1990) in English, etc. Anger in Spanish was first studied by Barcelona (1989b), who provided a descriptive account of the main metaphors and metonymies that articulate the concept in the language and a brief comparison with the English model. However, a more detailed contrastive account of the similarities and differences between American English and peninsular Spanish is still needed. The goal of the author's doctoral research project is to provide such an account'. In this paper, due to spatial constraints, only some of the results of the research on metaphor will be reported.

II. METHODOLOGY

For this study the general methodology proposed by Lakoff and Kovecses (1987) in their work on anger has been complemented with Barcelona's (2002) more detailed guidelines for the identification and description of conceptual metaphor.

The emotion under examination is *anger*, Spanish *ira*. One could argue that the semantic content of the word "ira" may be different from that of the word "anger", and therefore they should not be treated as the same thing. However, there is enough overlap to consider them equivalent for the purpose of this study. The reason is that in this paper we are not interested in the detailed study of one single word meaning, but rather in the prototypical semantic content of the emotion that underlies the specificity of "anger"/"ira", "fury"/"furia", English "rage" or Spanish "rabia". From now on we will call this emotional concept ANGER (capitalized) to distinguish it from any particular word meaning. We will use capitalized names for other concepts too.

An inventory of more than 200 figurative expressions (most of them conventional) used to talk about this emotion in each language was compiled from dictionaries, thesauri, novels, corpora *Corpus de Referenciadel Español Actual* (*Corpus de Referenciadel Español Actual* for Spanish and the *Lexis-Nexis* newspaper data base for English), previous literature on the topic and introspection (the latter only in the case of Spanish).

Expressions were first grouped into general source domains (FIRE, ANIMAL, etc). Then (following Barcelona, 2002: 247), the specific source and target domains in each group were identified and the metaphor characterized. This last step involved (a) searching for other linguistic examples, (b) looking for additional semantic/ pragmatic evidence, (c) checking whether there was a more general mapping (i.e. was this an elaboration or specification of another metaphor?) and (d) describing the expression's functioning in its context (i.e. what sub-mappings are highlighted? is there a combination with other metaphors/ metonymies?).

In order to compare our results in both languages a number of parameters were selected from those proposed by Barcelona (2001) in his work on the contrastive analysis of metaphors: degree of linguistic conventionalization, degree of conceptual elaboration and existence/ non-existence of the mapping in both languages.

Barcelona defines the latter in the following terms: "The same metaphor may be said to exist in both languages if approximately the same conceptual source and target can be metaphorically associated in the two languages, even though the elaborations, the specifications and corresponding linguistic expressions of the metaphor are not exactly the same, or equally conventionalized, in both of them" (2001: 137). In our work the notion of language-specificity will also be applied to the above mentioned elaborations and specifications.

As for the other two parameters, conventionalization is here understood as the extent to which an expression constitutes a socially sanctioned construction in the language, i.e. to what extent it is a stable form-meaning structure commonly used to talk about a given topic (ANGER in this case), as opposed to being a creative, "colorful" expression.

Elaboration has to do with the productivity of a given mapping in the system: the more new mappings it generates via entailment or specification, the more elaborated it will be.

Finally, we would like to introduce a new parameter that Barcelona does not explicitly isolate: degree of linguistic exploitation. This has to do with the productivity of the mapping in the language.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

From the analysis of the linguistic material in our study two broad sorts of metaphors were identified that participate in our understanding of anger in both languages. First, the group of metaphors we decided to call "generic" because they apply to a great number of concepts, not only anger or any other emotion. Examples of generic metaphors are MORE IS UP, INTENSITY IS HEAT, THE BODY IS A CONTAINER, the EVENT STRUCTURE cluster of metaphors, etc. Lakoff and Kovecses include a couple of them in their analysis of American ANGER (in Lakoff, 1987: 397 and 406).

There is a second group of metaphors that are more typical of emotions in general and (some of them) of ANGER in particular (Kovecses, 2000). Lakoff and Kovecses call them "basic-level metaphors" (in Lakoff, 1987: 406). According to the scholars, these provide the bulk

of the conceptual structure for ANGER and are more directly linked to experience. Fig. 1 shows a table of some basic-level metaphors as proposed by the scholars.

ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER
 ANGER IS FIRE
 ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL
 ANGER IS INSANITY
 ANGER IS AN OPPONENT
 ANGER IS A BURDEN
 THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS PHYSICAL NUISANCE

Figure 1: ANGER: some basic-level metaphors (Lakoff and Kovecses, 1987)

In our opinion this inventory should be completed with two more metaphors: ANGER IS A NATURAL PHYSICAL FORCE (Kovecses, 1990) and ANGER IS A CONTROLLER³.

Both languages share mappings at this level of specificity, but there are further similarities between the systems. For instance, both languages share the same schematic structure—a stages scenario, as proposed by Lakoff and Kovecses (in Lakoff, 1987: 397 ff)—, their metaphorical structure is coherent with the FORCE metaphor described by Kovecses (2000), they have the same central metaphor for the system (ANGER IS A (HOT) FLUID IN A CONTAINER), they exhibit a similar set of metonymies related to it, and the same set of physiological and behavioral effects giving rise to those metonymies. Therefore, peninsular Spanish seems to have the same cognitive model that underlies the conceptualization of ANGER in American English.

But there are some differences too. Basic-level metaphors can be further developed in two ways: by means of metaphorical entailments and through special-case specifications. The first give rise to what could be considered *entailment submetaphors*, like THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS PRESSURE ON THE CONTAINER, from ANGER IS A (HOT) FLUID IN A CONTAINER. Special-case specifications produce *special-case subrnetaphors*, like THE EXPRESSION OF ANGER IS A STORM, from ANGER IS A NATURAL PHYSICAL FORCE.

The results in our study suggest that greater levels of specificity in the system bring along more cross-cultural differences. These differences can be analyzed along a number of parameters (Barcelona, 2001). As stated before, for this study we have selected three of them: (1) existence/non-existence of the mapping in both languages, (2) degree of linguistic conventionalization and (3) degree of conceptual elaboration of shared mappings. A fourth parameter, degree of linguistic elaboration, was also considered. Figure 2 presents a summary of the findings to be presented in this paper.

It is important to notice that these parameters can overlap to a certain extent. For instance, the language that elaborates more on a given metaphor will necessarily have a number of submappings that the other language will not have. This phenomenon can be described from two

perspectives: the non-shared mappings can be individually described as language-specific projections (parameter #1) or they can be described in group as evidence of different degrees of elaboration of a shared metaphor (parameter # 3). In our work each perspective relates to a type of metaphorical elaboration: entailment and special case. When those non-existent projections are *special-case* submappings of a more general metaphor, we have preferred to give a unifying account of them as "differences in the degree of elaboration" in the two languages. On the contrary, we have described as "language-specific submappings" those *entailment* submetaphors that only exist in one of the two languages under examination.

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 elaboration	THE EXPRESSION OF ANGER IS AN EXPLOSION is more elaborated in English
Differences due to the degree of linguistic elaboration	THE INCREASE IN INTENSITY OF ANGER IS THE RISE OF THE FLUID is more linguistically exploited in English

Figure 2: ANGER: contrastive review in English and Spanish

In the remainder of this work we will describe some examples of the four types of differences found in our linguistic analysis, paying special attention to those metaphors that do not exist in English or have not been thoroughly described in the literature already.

III.1. Differences due to language-specific mappings

In spite of sharing a general inventory of basic-level conceptual metaphors to construe the concept ANGER, English and Spanish have some language-specific mappings too.

One of the metaphors both languages share is ANGER IS A (HOT) FLUID IN A CONTAINER. However, Spanish —unlike English— does not exploit the entailment

submapping by virtue of which the effects of anger on the person are conceptualised as "steaming" (THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS STEAM PRODUCTION). For example, English instantiations of the mapping such as (1) and (2) do not have any equivalent in peninsular Spanish.

- (1) *To get all steamed up*
- (2) *To let off steam*

Even though the STEAM projection does not have linguistic realizations in Spanish, peninsular speakers can easily understand it. This was demonstrated by informal questionnaires in which speakers with little or no knowledge of English were asked to choose from three emotions that which best corresponded to the phrase "to be all steamed up" (Soriano, 2003). Most informants had no difficulty in identifying ANGER as the emotion expressed in the idiom, even though such a construction does not exist in their language and Spanish does not have any expressions related to the concept STEAM in relation to ANGER. When asked to give reasons for their choices, they explained that STEAMING is logically related to BOILING, a concept that does belong to the Spanish metaphorical conceptualization of ANGER and which has some conventional linguistic instantiations (as we shall later see).

English, on the other hand, lacks any expressions related to "frying" to talk of causing anger or experiencing it. This is possible in Spanish, though, where expressions such as (3) are fully conventional. Therefore, within ANGER IS FIRE, the mapping THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS BEING FRIED is Spanish-specific.

- (3) *Me tienes frito* (Lit. "you have me fried", I am fed up with you)

In an equivalent questionnaire to the one described above but delivered to speakers of American English, these had no difficulty in assigning the Spanish idiom "tener a alguien frito" (paraphrased as "to cause somebody to be fried") to ANGER (Soriano, 2003).

Let us give one more example of metaphorical mappings that Spanish does not exploit in the ANGER domain: THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS STEWING. Unlike in English, emotional expressions related to "stewing" would fail to denote ANGER in peninsular Spanish. This type of construction can be used in colloquial and vulgar style, but it is rather associated to lust or intense excitement.

- (4) *Anda recocado por lo que le has dicho* (Lit. "he goes re-stewed by what you have told him", he is intensely excited/sexually aroused by what you have told him) (Colloquial/ Vulgar)
- (5) *Está super cocido* (Lit. "he is super stewed", he is sexually aroused) (Vulgar)

III.2. Differences due to the degree of linguistic conventionalization

Two metaphorical effects of anger have more conventionalized linguistic realizations in English than in Spanish: the effect of anger as "burning" and as "boiling".

In English one can "bum", "do a slow burn" or "smolder". Similarly, one can generically "boil" or more specifically "seethe", "simmer" or even "stew". All the above are specific-case elaborations of one of the following more general mappings: THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS BOILING and THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS BURNING. These are, in turn, entailment submappings of other even more general metaphors: ANGER IS A (HOT) FLUID IN A CONTAINER for BOILING mappings and ANGER IS FIRE for BURNING ones. In the first case, according to the internal logic of the metaphor, a high intensity of anger would metaphorically entail some boiling inside the person-container. In the second case, where anger is conceptualized as a fire inside the person, logical entailment projections are established between the burning in the source domain and the effects of anger on the person in the target domain.

It was said above that English elaborates on these mappings in a number of ways; for instance, one can "boil" or "burn with anger", but also "smolder", "simmer" or "seethe". Spanish lacks equivalent verbs, but could exploit the same ideas in constructions like:

- (6) *Aún podía sentir las brasas de su ira* (Lit. "I could still feel the coals of his/her anger", I could still feel his/her smoldering)
- (7) *Aún podía sentir los rescoldos de su ira* (Lit. "I could still feel the embers of his/her anger", I could still feel his/her smoldering)
- (8) *Martín estaba hirviendo a fuego lento* (Martin was simmering)

These are novel expressions, much more colorful than the English "to simmer" or "to smolder", but the mapping seems to exist in the language.

We find another example of Spanish-English contrast due to different degree of linguistic conventionalization in the metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY. The linguistic instantiations of this mapping in English are extremely conventionalized, to the extent that some of them have become polysemic, meaning both "crazy" and "angry":

- (9) (a) *He got terribly mad*
(b) *He is mad as a hatter*
- (10) (a) *That stupid attitude would madden anyone*
(b) *Her son's death maddened her*

The equivalent expressions in Spanish —the adjective "loco" and the verb "enloquecer" —are conventional too, but they are not polysemic in the same way as the English ones. In Spanish,

"loco" and "enloquecer" refer both to insanity and to a generic lack of control and judgement, but one would always have to specify what emotion the person is "mad with" (unlike in English, where "mad" univocally refers to ANGER). The realizations of ANGER IS INSANITY in Spanish are thus less conventionalized for ANGER than the English ones.

The opposite occurs with the mapping THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS SWELLING, an entailment submetaphor of the more general mapping ANGER IS A (HOT) FLUID IN A CONTAINER. When anger increases and the container is conceptualized as closed, the fluid produces pressure on the walls. This pressure can have two effects on the container: it can make it burst/explode—as evidenced by examples (11) and (12)— or it can simply deform the container, by making it swell.

- (11) *Me revientan tus tontadas* (Lit. "your silly behavior bursts me", your silly behavior makes me furious)
 (12) *A burst of anger*

There are a few conventional realizations of the SWELLING mapping in Spanish. They involve the verb "hinchar" (transitive "to swell"), which is used to refer to the action of annoying someone. English, where it seems to be swollen parts in Spanish can be the whole body (14), the Sand Contrary to English, where it seems to be the whole body (13), the swollen parts in Spanish can be the whole body (14), the nose (15) and even the testicles. These expressions are used in colloquial and vulgar style only.

- (13) *He is swelling with indignation*
 (14) *Me estás hinchando* (Lit. "you are swelling me", you are annoying me) (Colloquial)
 (15) *Me estás hinchando las narices* (Lit. "you are swelling my nose", you are annoying me) (Colloquial)

13 English can exploit this mapping too, as we see in expressions like (13), but it does not seem to be so linguistically conventionalized as it is in Spanish. Besides it can be applied to other emotions (e.g. "swollen with pride"), whereas Spanish "hinchar" is specific for ANGER only.

III.3. Differences due to the degree of elaboration

A third type of contrast one may find when comparing conceptual metaphors in two languages is their degree of elaboration of shared mappings; in other words, "differences between both languages owing to the existence of a version of the metaphor in one language and its absence, or limited use, in the other" (Barcelona, 2001: 137). Different versions of a metaphor are produced by special-case elaborations or by combination with other metaphors.

We find one such case in the metaphorical submapping THE EXPRESSION OF ANGER

IS AN EXPLOSION, an entailment elaboration of ANGER IS A (HOT) FLUID IN A CONTAINER. The following are examples given by Lakoff and Kovecses of the different special-case elaborations of this mapping in American English (in Lakoff, 1987: 385):

- (16) Pistons: *he blew a gasket*
- (17) Volcanos: *she erupted*
- (18) Electricity: *I blew a fuse*
- (19) Explosives: *she's on a short fuse*
- (20) Bombs: *that really set me off*

Peninsular Spanish does not elaborate on the EXPLOSION metaphor so much and it only has two special-case submappings: explosives and bombs⁴.

- (21) *Pedro tiene poca mecha* (Lit. "Peter has a short fuse"; Peter is easily angered)
- (22) *Estoy a punto de estallar* (I am about to explode)

The other three special-case elaborations do not seem to exist in Spanish. Expressions involving eruptions, pistons and electricity-related explosions are not conventionalized in the language. What is more, their intelligibility as possible creative realizations of the mapping is debatable.

- (23) */? *Ella entró en erupción* (she erupted)
- (24) */? *Él reventó una junta* (he blew a gasket)
- (25) */? *Se me saltó un fusible* (I blew a fuse)

III.4. Differences due to the degree of linguistic exploitation

Let us deal now with a case of contrast between English and Spanish that is due to a different degree of linguistic exploitation of a shared mapping; in other words, a contrast due to the productivity of a mapping in the language.

A rigorous account of this type of differences would involve statistical calculations that have not been carried out for the present study, but some more coarse-grained differences in terms of linguistic productivity have been identified.

This is the case of the contrasting linguistic exploitation of **the** metaphorical entailment "when the intensity of anger increases, the fluid rises" (Lakoff and Kovecses, in Lakoff, 1987: 384), which can be rephrased as the entailment submetaphor THE INCREASE IN INTENSITY OF ANGER IS THE RISE OF THE FLUID so as to express what corresponds to what in the source and target domains. This entailment submetaphor of ANGER IS A (HOT) FLUID IN A CONTAINER is evidenced in many conventional English expressions. The following are taken from Lakoff and Kovecses (in Lakoff, 1987: 384):

- (26) *His pent-up anger welled up inside her*
 (27) *We got a rise out of him*
 (28) *She could feel her gorge rising*
 (29) *My anger kept building up inside me*
 (30) *Pretty soon I was in a towering rage*

This extremely productive projection in English is only instantiated in Spanish in a few constructions. One of them is exemplified in (31 a-e).

- (31) (a) *Estoy hasta las narices* (Lit. "I am up to the nose"; I am fed up)
 (b) *Estoy hasta la coronilla* (Lit. "I am up to the crown"; I am fed up)
 (c) *Estoy hasta los pelos* (Lit. "I am up to the hairs"; I am fed up)
 (d) *Estoy hasta el moño* (Lit. "I am up to the hair-bun"; I am fed up)
 (e) *Estoy hasta el gorro* (Lit. "I am up to the hat"; I am fed up)

In these expressions it is *implicit* that we are referring to the metaphorical level that the anger-fluid has reached in the body-container. This level corresponds to the upper parts of the body, which are either explicitly mentioned (31 a-c), or metonymically referred to via more salient elements located in the head and going beyond the limits of our body, like a hat or a hair bun (31 d-e).

Typical English instantiations of this mapping like (32) are not acceptable, because in Spanish anger does not "rise". Other metaphors should be used to render an idiomatic translation of it (33).

- (32) *My anger rose*
 (33) *Mi ira aumentó/ creció* (My anger increased/ grew)

In conclusion, the RISE mapping in Spanish —unlike in English— is only scarcely instantiated in the language and only in an implicit manner.

On the contrary, Spanish has a greater number of linguistic expressions realizing the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A DEVIL (a special case of ANGER IS A CONTROLLER). Since this mapping has not been traditionally dealt with in relation to ANGER, we shall start by briefly commenting on its motivation.

ANGER IS A DEVIL is a special type of POSSESSION metaphor. POSSESSION metaphors were first described by Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 269 ff) as part of their metaphorical system for the characterization of the Self. According to the scholars, we think of ourselves as a dual unit composed of one Subject and one or more Selves. In this conceptualization the Subject corresponds to the part of the person that experiences consciousness, reason, will and judgment. It is also "the locus of a person's Essence —that enduring thing that makes us who we

are" (p. 269). The Self would be the part of the person comprising the body, social roles, past states and actions in the world. We understand our identity and inner life as the result of the interaction between the "essential subject" and the "behavioral self"⁵ (p. 269-270).

Lakoff and Johnson argue that two related POSSESSION metaphors are construed on the basis of this conceptualization: SELF CONTROL IS POSSESSING AN OBJECT (the Subject possesses the Self) and TAKING CONTROL OF ANOTHER SELF IS TAKING ANOTHER'S POSSESSION (pp. 270-274). The latter, according to the scholars, typically involves the devil, an alien or a spirit, being evil possessions, as in (34), the preferred type in American culture (p. 274).

(34) *She was possessed by the devil*

Sometimes, instead of being possessed by the devil, people can be possessed by (personified) emotions. Applied to our case, this kind of expression evidences the metaphor ANGER IS A DEVIL, which occurs both in Spanish and English (35-36).

(35) *He was possessed by his anger*

(36) *Actuó poseído de una rabia incontrolable* (he behaved possessed by an uncontrollable fury)

However, Spanish has more expressions where ANGER is the result of a diabolic possession (37-41). These are fully conventionalized constructions in the language and they are frequently used in colloquial style.

(37) *Se lo llevaron los demonios* (Lit. "he was taken away by the devils". he got very mad)

(38) *Endemoniar a alguien* (Lit. "to make somebody possessed-by-the-devil", to annoy somebody)

(39) *Tener un genio/carácter endemoniado* (Lit. "to have a possessed-by-the-devils character", to have a ferocious temper)

(40) *Ponerse hecho un demonio* (Lit. "to turn into a devil", to throw a tantrum)

(41) *Ponerse hecho un energúmeno* (Lit. "to tum into a possessed"⁶, to throw a tantrum)

IV. CONCLUSIONS

This work has provided some results on the contrastive study of the conceptualization of ANGER in Spanish and English. Of the two general types of metaphor identified (generic and basic-level), only a selection of features of the latter has been reported. The emphasis has been placed on the

contrast English vs. Spanish, rather than on the similarities or the motivation and internal structure of the shared mappings.

Our overall 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, and Spain and the United States are not so culturally and linguistically apart as other cultures and languages where striking similarities had already been attested (e.g. Japanese, Chinese, Zulu, Hungarian).

However, some significant differences have been found too. We would like to suggest that the conceptualization of ANGER becomes more culture-specific as the basic-level metaphors get further elaborated. This seems to be supported by the results in our analysis: there are no language-specific basic-level metaphors in the contrast English vs. Spanish, but there are language-specific submetaphors, and at least some of them seem to be motivated by cultural preferences.

For example, both languages conceptualize the effects of ANGER on the person as "boiling" or "burning". However, when we get further elaborations that involve cooking experiences, 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.

Another example is the ANGER IS A DEVIL metaphor. As we saw, Spanish has more expressions about devils for talking about ANGER. This salience of the DEVIL domain could be motivated by the long presence and historically important influence of Christianity in the peninsula.

Finally, a word should be said about some of the implications of our results for the general study of conceptual metaphor. Let us start reviewing one common assumption in the study of ANGER metaphors in American English (but also in other languages). It has been traditionally argued that the central metaphor in the model is ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER (Lakoff and Kovecses, 1987, Kovecses, 1990, 2000). This powerful metaphor renders much of the conceptual structure of the emotion. For example, it is responsible for our understanding of the anger experience as a process with different degrees of intensity and it helps us make sense of the expression of anger as a potentially dangerous and uncontrollable phenomenon.

However, this metaphorical structure is not due to our conceptualization of ANGER as a *hot* fluid (as it is often assumed). The metaphorical pressure on the container walls, the potential swelling and the final explosion are motivated by a metaphorical increase in the amount of anger-fluid, not by the temperature of that fluid. Since the HEAT aspect seems to be optional, we have preferred to call the central metaphor in the system ANGER IS A (HOT) FLUID IN A CONTAINER, instead of ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, or ANGER IS A HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER, as it had been called before⁷.

In closing, let us briefly address the issue of metaphor motivation and the role of culture.

The Cognitive Theory of Metaphor is currently witnessing an increased interest in the study of situated metaphorical expressions, instead of decontextualized idiomatic ones. The emphasis has been put on exploring how metaphor works in real natural discourse. This interest has also reinforced the importance of culture in conceptual metaphor, an aspect that many felt to be neglected because of the great importance given to the study of the embodied nature of conceptual structures.

These non-exclusive perspectives have encouraged some scholars like Zinken (2003) to distinguish two different sorts of linguistic metaphor depending on their motivation. According to Zinken, "correlational metaphors" are based on embodied image schemas and emerge from experiential correlations (p. 508). On the contrary, "intertextual metaphors" are not "expressions of conceptual metaphors motivated by body experience. They are originated in semiotic experience: stereotypes, culturally salient texts, films, pieces of art, school knowledge and so forth" (p. 509).

Our study is not based on contextualized examples (only) and it does not distinguish between metaphorical expressions of the sort described by Zinken. Still, the results also emphasize the importance of cultural aspects for the characterization of conceptual metaphor.

A problem remains, though, in the use of concepts like "intertextual metaphor" and "correlational metaphor": when dealing with real linguistic constructions it is often very difficult to separate the two. Consider, for example, the realizations of the metaphor by means of which ANGER is conceptualized as a devil. These are clear instances of the *intertextual* type of metaphor, since the source domain DEVIL is motivated not by physical experience, but by cultural knowledge. However, these expressions are at the same time based on a POSSESSION metaphor, which is directly derived from the experiential *correlation* of holding on to a thing —i.e. keeping it in one's possession— and controlling it (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999: 272).

The above considerations do not undermine the importance of cultural aspects in the characterization of metaphorical systems, though. This is, in fact, a fundamental perspective that together with psycholinguistic approaches and non-linguistic converging evidence will help us improve our understanding of metaphor as a form of thought.

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Lakoff and Kovecses (in Lakoff, 1987: 397 and 406) distinguish between "minor metaphors", like EXISTENCE IS PRESENCE or EMOTIONS ARE BOUNDED SPACES, and the so called "ontological metaphors", which have source domains like ENTITY, PHYSICAL CONTROL, PHYSICAL BALANCE or UP. Both types belong to the

broad category we have called "generic metaphors" in this paper.

³ This metaphor is roughly equivalent to Kövecses' ANGER IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR (Kövecses, 2000), but it emphasizes the control aspect of the mapping. This control can be exercised by a social superior or other undetermined agent.

⁴ Even though Lakoff and Kövecses treat them as different, we believe these are very similar projections, if not the same.

⁵ This distinction between a more "essential" self (the Subject) and a social or "behavioral" self (the Self) can be compared to the "essential" and "narrative" selves described by Michael Chandler in his study on the strategies that mainstream and Native (First Nations) Canadian youngsters adopt to assess their self-continuity in time. According to Chandler (in press), the identity of Native-Canadians is narrative-oriented; in other words, it depends on their memory of events lived in their culture and society (self-recognition in a culturally embedded history). This view of the person highlights the "Self" -in Lakoff and Johnson's terminology- that is, the past and actant part of the person. On the contrary, mainstream Canadian adolescents rely more on the concept of an "essential self", which would be closer to Lakoff and Johnson's "Subject".

⁶ According to the RAE dictionary, the Spanish adjective "energúmeno" means "possessed by the devil". However, this meaning is most probably lost for most speakers of peninsular Spanish, for whom the expression would be completely opaque.

⁷ The only submappings in ANGER IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER that incorporate ideas of HEAT are the BOILING submappings ("to boil", "to steam", "to stew", "to seethe"). Notice that, except for "to boil", none of these have linguistic instantiations in Spanish. This suggests that the HEAT component is even less important for the central metaphor ANGER IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER in Spanish than it is in English.

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