



## METAPHORS OF ANGER: AN OUTLINE OF A CULTURAL MODEL

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*But as soon as one gets away from concrete physical experience and starting talking about abstraction or emotions, metaphorical understanding is the norm.*

G. Lakoff (1993)

**Özet:** Birçok bileşeni olan duygu kavramı tanımlanması oldukça zor olan karmaşık bir kavramdır. *Kavramsal Metafor Kuramı*, duygu anlatımlarının daha yakından incelendiğinde, bu anlatımların duygu kavramını nasıl kavramsallaştırdığımızı verir. Metafor anlatımları dilsel olmaktan çok düşünseldir; anlattıkları olgunun kültürel model içerisinde hangi ulamlar ile ilişkilendirildiklerini gösterirler. Türkçede öfke duygusu dile getiren anlatımlar incelendiğinde, diğer dillerde gözlemlenen kavramlaştırma biçimlerine benzer olduğu görülür. Bedenleştirme açısından bakıldığında, deneyimleyici yaklaşımın öngörülerinin Türkçe için de geçerli olduğu görülür. Bedensel etkiler temelinde kurulan temel metaforların ortak olmasının yanı sıra, bu temel metaforların dillerin sözcüksel yapılarından, buna dayalı olarak kurulan metaforların kapsamı açısından farklılaştıkları görülür. Türkçede öfke anlatımlarının genel bir görünümünü sunmak amacıyla bu çalışmada kavramlaştırmaların genel ve kültüre özgü boyutları incelenmiştir.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Kleinginna and Kleinginna (1981) note that wide variety of definitions that have been proposed is a major problem in the field of emotion research. They compile at least 92 definitions from a variety of texts and come up with 11 categories. After reviewing the different types of definitions, they come to a conclusion that a formal definition of emotion “should be broad enough to include all traditionally significant aspects of emotion, while attempting to differentiate it from other psychological processes” (1981:355). Thus, their working definition attempts to emphasize “the many possible aspects of emotion”.

Similar conclusions can be found in many other studies on emotion concepts. The major reason for the lack of consensus among those who study emotion is the complexity of the notion itself. The multidimensional concept with complex interaction of its various components, leads to different conceptualizations. There are even those who argue that controversies regarding the emotion definitions is “linguistic” in nature in the sense that there are more emotion terms in the language than there are emotional experiences (Sabini and Silver, 2005).

One semantic approach to better understanding of the concept is advanced by Wierzbicka (1992, 1999). Arguing that the emotion terms that commonly occur in the relevant literature are not universal but culture-specific, *Natural Semantic Metalanguage* approach attempts to define the concept of emotion itself and various other so-called basic emotions by a set of universal semantic primes. The script like paraphrases of emotion concepts in a language-independent metalanguage help to understand culturally significant aspects of emotional experiences.

The way in which metaphorical expressions are seen in classical theories is summarized by Kövecses (2000:5):

Figurative expressions are deemed completely uninteresting and irrelevant by most researchers, who tend to see them as epiphenomena, fancier ways of saying some things that could be said in literal, simpler ways.

In cognitive linguistics, metaphorical expressions do not belong to language but to thought. In other words, metaphorical expressions signal us aspects of the structure of our conceptual system. The cognitive theory of metaphor thus aims to analyze the crossmappings between the

mental domains. In Lakoff's (1993) terms,

... the locus of metaphor is not in language at all, but in the way we conceptualize one mental domain in terms of another. The general theory of metaphor is given by characterizing such crossdomain mappings. And in the process, everyday abstract concepts like time, states, change, causation, and purpose also turn out to be metaphorical.

In this paper, I will present an outline of conceptual metaphors of anger in Turkish. In the first section, the cultural model of anger and metaphors conceptualizing anger in American English as discussed by Lakoff (1987), and Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) will be presented. Based on the central metaphors and their elaboration in this model, Turkish conceptual metaphors of anger will be analyzed in the second part of the paper. The analysis is only partially exhaustive; here, the scope of the discussions will be limited to the most commonly discussed expressions in the literature. Culture specific implications and the data of Turkish elaborations deserve a separate study.

## 2. CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS AND EMOTIONS

The following conventional expressions exemplify how humans conceptualize emotions:

She is boiling with anger.  
He unleashed his anger.  
Don't snarl at me.

Fear took hold of me.  
Jack was insane with fear.  
She was engulfed by panic.

I was so happy my feet barely touched the ground  
He was overflowing with joy.  
That warmed by spirit.

I am filled with sorrow.  
That was a terrible blow.  
He drowned his sorrow in drink.

It's been a long, bumpy road.  
I am burning with love.  
I am crazy about you.

The memory filled him with shame.  
I wished the ground would just swallow me up.  
Guilt was weighing him down.

In these everyday metaphorical expressions, different emotions are conceptualized on the basis of variety of source domains. The use of various source domains and the mappings between the source and target domains contribute to our understanding of the complex notion. Each mapping constitutes a fixed pattern of ontological correspondences across domains.

The overall structure of a conceptual metaphor thus consists of mappings between source domain and the target domain. There are two types of correspondences, namely, *ontological* and *epistemic*. The correspondences between the entities in the source domain and the corresponding entities in the target domain are called *ontological*, and, the correspondences between knowledge about the source domain and the corresponding knowledge about the target domain are called *epistemic* correspondences.

### 3. THE COGNITIVE MODEL OF ANGER: *AMERICAN ENGLISH*

Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) present a cultural model of anger in American English. They argue that the diversity of expression of anger are not occurring randomly but the inferences among these expressions exhibit a systematic structure. The metaphorical and metonymical expressions of anger indicate a coherent conceptual structure.

In the common cultural model, anger is conceptualized on the basis of its physiological effects. The general metonymic principle THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION appears as the central principle and yields a system of metonymies for anger. The two basic physiological effects, BODY HEAT and INTERNAL PRESSURE yield further submetonymies. These include,

REDNESS IN FACE AND NECK AREA  
She was *scarlet with rage*.

AGITATION  
She was *shaking* with anger.

INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION  
She was *blind with rage*.

HEAT component of the physiological effects forms the basis of a general metaphor, ANGER IS HEAT, which comes in two versions. When heat applies to fluids, we have ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, and when heat applies to solids, we get ANGER IS FIRE. The cognitive concept of container also forms the basis of a yet another general metaphor in the conceptualization of emotions:

THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS  
He was *filled* with anger.  
She couldn't *contain* her joy.

The combination of heat and fluid in a container derives another central metaphor:

ANGER IS THE HEAT OF FLUID IN A CONTAINER  
I had reached the *boiling point*.  
*Simmer* down!

The central metaphor ANGER IS THE HEAT OF FLUID IN A CONTAINER comes with a very rich system of metaphorical entailments in American English. Here, HEAT OF FLUID IN A CONTAINER acts as the source domain and ANGER is the target. Following are the entailments of this central metaphor:

WHEN THE INTENSITY OF ANGER INCREASES, THE FLUID RISES  
His pent-up anger *welled up* inside him.

INTENSE ANGER PRODUCES STEAM  
Billy's just *blowing off steam*.

INTENSE ANGER PRODUCES PRESSURE ON THE CONTAINER  
He was *bursting with anger*.  
I *suppressed* my anger.

WHEN ANGER BECOMES TOO INTENSE, THE PERSON EXPLODES  
When I told him, he just *exploded*.

WHEN A PERSON EXPLODES, PARTS OF HIM GO UP IN THE AIR  
I *blew my top*.

WHEN A PERSON EXPLODES, WHAT WAS INSIDE HIM COMES

OUT  
Smoke was *pouring out of his ears*.

ANGER CAN BE LET OUT UNDER CONTROL  
I gave *vent* to my anger.

When heat applies to solids, we have:

ANGER IS FIRE  
She was *doing a slow burn*.  
He was *breathing fire*.

The other principal metaphors of anger discussed in Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) include the following:

ANGER IS INSANITY  
You're *driving me nuts!*

INSANE BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR ANGER  
When the ump threw him out of the game, Billy started *foaming at the mouth*.

VIOLENT FRUSTRATED BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR ANGER  
He is *tearing his hair out!*

ANGER IS AN OPPONENT (IN A STRUGGLE)  
I was *seized* by anger.

ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL  
He has *ferocious* temper.

ANGRY BEHAVIOR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOR  
He began to *bare his teeth*.

AGGRESSIVE VERBAL BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR ANGER  
She gave him *tongue-lashing*.  
She was *looking daggers* at me.

THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS A PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE  
Get *off my back!*

CAUSING ANGER IS TRESPASSING  
This is where I *draw the line!*

ANGER IS A BURDEN  
He *carries* his anger around with him.

#### 4. THE COGNITIVE MODEL OF ANGER: *TURKISH*

Right from the onset, it is possible to say that Turkish cultural model of anger is not very much different than the cultural model of anger in American English. As I will show in the following section, the differences mainly surface as instantiations of *generic*-level conceptual metaphors at a *specific*-level in culture specific ways (Kövecses, 2004). The primary source of difference in cultural model of anger will be attributed to difference in conceptualization of emotion in collectivist and individualistic cultures.

The shared human biology and the effects of emotional states can be said to produce the same physiological effects in humans. There is strong evidence that increased body heat is experienced universally in angry individuals and this physiological effect is expressed in the language.

The physiological effect of anger as increased body heat is expressed primarily with the verb *kızmak* ‘to get red-hot’. In standard dictionaries, the verb *kızmak* comes with at least four different meanings. The primary meaning is defined as ‘increase in the heat of an object’; the other two meanings relate to state of various animals in their mating season; and the final meaning “metaphorically” refers to anger. The verb in fact is a change of state verb in which the color of the heated object gradually becomes red. In this sense, *kızmak*, as the root form relates to color label ‘red’ (*kırmızı* ‘red’, *kızıl* ‘scarlet’) in Turkish, it conflates heat and redness in its lexical structure. Thus, to get angry means to become red-hot in Turkish due to increase in the heat<sup>1</sup>. This applies to almost all derived forms of the verb as well. Practically, to say that someone is angry is to say that the individual is red-hot, as the following expressions indicate:

##### BODY HEAT

Beni *kızdırma!*  
me red-hot cause not  
‘Don’t make me angry.’

Öfkeden *kıpkırmızı* kesildi.  
anger from red become  
‘He became scarlet with anger.’

*Kızgınlıkla* söylenmiş sözlerdi.

1. The verb *ısınmak* ‘to heat up’ rarely occurs in anger contexts. Neither the word *sıcak* ‘hot’.

in red-hot said words  
'Words uttered in anger.'

Turkish shares some of the expressions of internal pressure with English, however, although very common, the expressions of internal bleeding relates to emotions other than anger:

#### INTERNAL PRESSURE

*Fitik* oldum!  
hernia became  
'I got hernia.'

Beni *fitik* ettin.  
me hernia made  
'You caused hernia in me.'

As we will see below, internal pressure and muscular tension are expressed metonymically in Turkish on the basis of lexemes of various body parts. In this respect, it is interesting to note that verbs meaning 'inflate' (*şişmek*) or 'congest' (*dolmak*) occur very frequently in anger contexts, implying pressure felt inside by the individual. Thus, saying that *I am inflated/congested* is expressing the built up anger inside the victim.

#### REDNESS IN FACE AND NECK AREA

Suratı sinirden *kapkara* oldu.  
face nerve blacken  
'His face blackened with anger.'

Öfkeden *mosmor* oldu.  
anger purple become.  
'He became purple with anger.'

Öfkeden *bembeyaz* kesildi.  
anger white turned into  
'He turned into white with anger.'

*Kızarıp bozardı*.  
red become gray become.  
'He became red and gray with anger.'

In the conventional metaphors above, we observe more "colorful" conceptualizations of anger. Change of color in face, and the use of color terms other than red is common in languages. The emphatic reduplication forms attached to color terms in the case above contribute to the



intense state of the emotion expressed.

#### AGITATION

*Hop otur hop kalk.*

hop sit hop stand

'I was hopping mad.'

*Kalkıp kalkıp oturdu.*

stand up sit

'He sat down and stood up continuously.'

A religious text advises that in a state of anger, one should sit down if he is on his feet, or conversely, one should stand up if he was sitting at the moment. Hence, changing posture is a means of relaxing muscular tension otherwise it would lead to a destructive act.

In a change from an ordinary posture into an agitated emotional state, various parts of the body metanomically come to express anger:

*Midem ayağa kalktı.*

stomach stand up

'My stomach stood up.'

*Sinirleri ayağa kalktı.*

nerves stand up

'His nerves stood up.'

In addition to relatively larger bodily movements vertically as in hopping and standing up, Turkish elaborates on smaller movements caused by uncontrolled muscular twitches. Such movements may involve the body as a whole as well as other body parts, most often the facial features:

*Öfkeden titredi.*

anger shook

'He shook with anger.'

*Sinirden zangır zangır titriyordu.*

nerve onomatopoeic shaking.

'She was shaking violently with anger.'

*Sakalları titredi.*

beard tremble

'His beard trembled.'

*Üst dudağı titredi.*

upper lip tremble  
'Her upper lip trembled.'

Eli ayağı *titriyordu*.  
hand leg shake  
'His hands and legs were shaking.'

Bıyıkları *oynamaya* başladı.  
moustache move started  
'His moustache started to move/tremble.'

Çenesi *oynamaya* başladı.  
chin move started  
'His chin started to move/tremble.'

Yanakları *atmaya* başladı.  
cheeks pulsate started  
'Her cheeks started to pulsate/shake.'

Birden çenesi *atmaya* başladı.  
suddenly chin pulsate started  
'Suddenly, his chin started to pulsate/shake.'

Şakağı *atmaya* başladı.  
temples pulsate started  
'His temples started to pulsate/throb.'

Damarı *atmaya* başladı.  
veins pulsate started  
'Her veins started to pulsate/throb.'

In some cases, the muscular tension caused by agitation may be so violent that shaking facial features may render the face unrecognizable:

*Yüzü gözü birbirine karıştı*.  
face eyes each other mixed up  
'His face and eyes were mingled/mixed up.'

*Ağı burnu birbirine karışmış*.  
mouth nose each other  
'His mouth and nose were mingled/mixed up.'

Turkish also refers to the initial stages of agitation. Anger in its early stages of "waking up" in the "depths" sends signals via smaller movements:

Derinlerde *kımıldayan/kıpırdaşan* öfke...  
in depths moving anger  
'Anger which is stirring/budging in depths...'

The cultural model of anger in Turkish elaborates on the overt signals of a negative emotion experienced by the individual. It is possible to add more to the above expressions. The cultural conceptualization of anger here emphasizes the visible aspect of the emotion in order to prevent a potentially dangerous confrontation. In collectivist societies where group-goals prevail over individual-goals and any disruption to the social harmony would mean harm to common good, the visibility of agitation plays an important social role.

#### INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION

*Gözünü kan bürümüş.*

eyes blood covered  
'His eyes were covered with blood.'

*Öfkeden gözü hiçbir şey görmüyor.*

anger eye nothing see  
'Her eyes see nothing because of anger.'

*Öfke gözlerini köreltmış.*

anger eyes blinded  
'Anger blinded his eyes.'

*Gözü dumanlandı.*

eyes smoke covered  
'His eyes covered with smoke.'

*Öfkeden kulakları uğulduyordu.*

anger ears buzzing  
'His ears were buzzing with anger.'

Anger not only interferes with accurate perception but also interferes with mental faculties. The mind/brain of the angry person cannot function normally:

*Kafası dönmek.*

head turn/rotate  
'He is out of his head.'

*Beyninden vurulmuşa dönmek.*

brain hit become  
'As if shot in the brain.'

*Öfkelenildiğinde kimseyi tanımazdı.*

when angry nobody recognize  
'He didn't care/spare anybody when he is angry.'

*Sizin öfkeden kafanız karışmış.*

your anger head confused  
'You are confused by anger.'

#### THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS

*Öfkesi taşıyordu.*  
anger outpouring  
'Her anger was outpouring.'

*Öfkeni dışına çıkar.*  
anger out take  
'Take your anger out!'

*Öfkeni at içinden.*  
anger throw from inside  
'Throw your anger out from inside.'

*Öfkesini içinde tutamıyor.*  
anger inside cannot hold  
'He cannot contain his anger inside.'

*İçi öfkeyle doluydu.*  
inside with anger full  
'His inside was full of anger.'

*İçimde biriken öfke.*  
inside accumulated anger  
'Anger accumulated in my inside.'

*İçini kızgınlık ve öfke kapladı.*  
inside red-hot and anger covered  
'His inside was covered with red-hot and anger.'

*İçimdeki öfkenin büyüdüğünü hissettim.*  
inside anger grow felt  
'I felt the anger inside me growing.'

*Öfke ve kinden içi kan ağlıyor.*  
anger and hatred inside blood crying  
'His inside is crying blood with anger and hatred.'

*Öfkemiz içimizi kemiriyorsa...*  
our anger inside nibble  
'If anger is nibbling us from inside...'

The use of the word "inside" is quite common in the expression of emotions in languages. Body as the container is central for our conceptual system and is universal (Kövecses, 1995). It holds the emotion inside; emotions grow there, and with respect to its particular content, the con-

tainer may corrode from inside.

The subcontainers of anger in Turkish include the heart, the eyes, and occasionally, the nose:

*Yüreği öfke dolu.*  
heart anger full  
'His heart full of anger.'

Mesela *yüreği* soğutmak, *öfkenin* ateşini soğutmaktır.  
for example heart cool anger fire cool  
'For example, to cool the heart means to cool the fire of anger.'

Kap kara bir *öfke* ile *doluydu* *yüreği*.  
pitch dark anger with filled heart  
'His heart was filled with pitch dark anger.'

*Kalbini kinden* temizle.  
heart revenge/anger clear  
'Clear your heart of revenge/anger.'

Bu *öfke dolu göz*  
this anger full eye  
'This anger-filled eye/ eye full of anger.'

*Öfkesi burnunda.*  
anger in the nose  
'His anger is in his nose'

Although they do not appear to be subcontainers, anger may can be read from the face or from the talk (i.e. chin) of a person:

*Yüzlerinde öfkeyle* beni bekliyorlardı.  
in their faces with anger me waiting  
'They were waiting me with anger in their faces.'

*Öfkesi yüzüne* vurdu.  
anger face reflected  
'His anger reflected on his face.'

*Öfkesi çenesine* vurdu.  
anger chin reflected  
'His anger reflected on his chin/in his talk.'

It is a known fact that collectivist cultures tend to somatize emotional experiences. Like in Chinese (Yu, 1995) there are variety of body parts that function as the containers of emotion in Turkish, some of which

are given above.

#### ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER

Lakoff and Kövecses (1987:198) identify two sources of productivity of a conceptual metaphor. The first one is *lexical* in the sense that words or fixed expressions in a language can express aspects of a conceptual metaphor to a greater or a lesser extent. The second concerns the metaphorical *entailments*, that is to say, the extent of details that are carried over from source domain to target domain.

While the container metaphor seem to be universal, its content is not so. The generic-level metaphor “fluid in a container” displays variation among cultures at a more specific level. In English, heat applying to fluids is productive. In Chinese, the substance in the container is not fluid but gas. In Turkish, on the other hand, while the substance in the container is fluid, its heat component is missing or is not specified.

The two sources of productivity of a conceptual metaphor seem to be at work in Turkish. First, in the lexical domain, Turkish lexemes of heat of fluid are not as varied as they are in English. Furthermore, the basic verb of *boiling* ‘*kaynamak*’ in Turkish is a polysemous verb. The official dictionary of Turkish Language Institution lists 15 meanings for the verb, and among these only two “metaphorically” refer to emotional states. Furthermore, again among these 15 meanings related to the verb, only three of them applies to fluids. Hence, in addition to lesser number of verbs of boiling, the primary verb of boiling comes with a variety of meanings most of which has little or nothing to do with the fluids. These constitute the major reason for heat component missing from the central metaphor. Turkish, however, elaborates more on the heat applying to solids. Thus, while most of the entailments available in the English conceptualization of heat of fluid in the container are missing in Turkish, it is far more richer in entailments in the version where heat applying to solid. This does not mean that Turkish totally lacks conceptual metaphors where heat applying to fluids. Following are some examples:

#### ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER

Öfke *kaynıyor* heryerde.

anger boiling everywhere

‘Anger is boiling everywhere/all over the place.’

Öfkesinin için için *kaynamasını* engellemeliyiz.

his anger internally we should stop  
'We stop his anger boiling internally.'

Toplum içten içe *kaynıyor*.  
society internally boiling  
'The people are boiling internally.'

Üniversite *kazanı fukur fukur kaynıyor*.  
university caldron bubbling boiling  
'The university caldron is boiling with bubbles.'

Büyük bir öfke *kazanı*.  
huge one anger caldron  
'A huge anger caldron.'

Bir volkan gibi altan alta *kaynıyor*.  
one volcano like below boiling  
'Boiling down below like a volcano'

*Derinden derine öfke kaynıyor*.  
in the depths anger boiling  
'Anger is boiling deep inside.'

In the image above *kaynamak* describes swarming and apparently refers to collective anger. It is rarely, if any, used for individual anger. Since it means swarming in this sense, it implies multiplicity of angry individuals. The metaphorical expression *kanımı kaynatıyorsun* "you are boiling my blood" is used in Turkish to refer to emotional arousal other than anger with positive implications.

WHEN THE INTENSITY OF ANGER INCREASES, THE FLUID  
RISES

İçinde hapsedilen *öfkenin yükseldiğini* hissetti.  
inside pent-up anger rise felt  
'He felt the pent-up anger rising inside him.'

*Öfkesi tepeye vurdu/çıktı*.  
anger top hit/climbed  
'His anger hit/rose his top.'

*Öfkesi tavana vurdu*.  
anger ceiling hit  
'His anger hit the ceiling.'

The heated fluid, in this case, blood rises up to head and filling the eyes:

*Kan başına çıktı*.

blood head climbed  
'Blood rise up to his head.'

*Kan beynine çıktı/toplandı/sıçradı.*  
blood brain rose/gathered/jumped  
'Blood rose/gathered in/jumped to my brain.'

*Gözünü kan bürüdü.*  
eyes blood covered  
'His eyes covered with blood.'

*Öfkesinin gözlerinden boşandığını hissetti.*  
anger eyes pour out felt  
'He felt his anger pouring from his eyes'

Sometimes, rising fluid or gorging contents of the container reach the mouth or nostrils:

*Ağızıma kadar geldi.*  
mouth until came  
'It came up to my mouth.'

*Burnuma kadar geldi.*  
nose until came  
'It came up to my nostrils.'

In all of these conceptual metaphors, there is a rising fluid, however, the cause of rising or swelling is not increase in the heat. Even if there is an increase in the heat of a fluid in the above expressions, it is not specified. In the Turkish version, the entailments of rising fluids imply addition of excess fluid to the container. This is evident from the fact that intense anger does not produce steam in Turkish. There is virtually no conceptual metaphor of anger in Turkish that elaborates on steam production.

There is pressure on the container and on a number of subcontainers, however, again there is no indication of pressure coming from the increase in the heat of a fluid.

INTENSE ANGER PRODUCES PRESSURE ON THE CONTAINER  
*Öfkemi zor tuttum.*  
anger hard hold  
'I could barely contain my anger.'

*Artık öfkemi tutamadım.*  
anymore anger hold  
'I could not contain my anger.'



İçinde *bastırıldığı öfke*.  
inside suppressed anger  
'Anger he suppressed inside.'

Pulsing or swelling of the blood veins in the neck and temples further  
image the pressure in subcontainers.

WHEN ANGER BECOMES TOO INTENSE, THE PERSON EX-  
PLODES  
Halkın bastırıldığı *öfkesinin patlaması*.  
people suppressed anger explosion  
'The explosion of the suppressed anger of the people.'

Küçük küçük birçok *kızgınlık* birikip *patladı* sonunda.  
tiny many anger accumulated exploded in the end  
'In the end, many tiny accumulated anger(s) exploded.'

*Öfkesinin* haykırıışları *patlıyor*.  
anger shouts exploding  
'The shouts of an anger exploding.'

The special cases of elaboration of explosion include:

*Pistons/pumps*  
*Öfkesini pompalama!*  
anger pump not  
Don't *pump* up his anger!

*Electricity*  
Bende sigortalar attı.  
me fuse blew  
I blew a fuse.

Kafasının *kontağı* attı.  
head ignition blew  
'The ignition blew in his head.'

*Explosives*  
*Fitil* aldı.  
fuse get  
'His fuse is light up.'

*Barut* kesildi.  
gunpowder become  
'He turned into a gunpowder'

*Barut* fiçisi  
gunpowder barrel  
'He is a barrel of gunpowder.'

*Bomba* gibi patladı.  
bomb like exploded  
'He exploded like a bomb.'

WHEN A PERSON EXPLODES, PARTS OF HIM GO UP IN THE  
AIR

Tepesinin tası *attı*.  
his top bowl go blew  
'The bowl of his top blow in the air.'

Öfkemin *tavan yaptığı* an  
my anger ceiling make moment  
'The moment in which my anger hit reached the ceiling'

WHEN A PERSON EXPLODES, WHAT WAS INSIDE HIM COMES  
OUT

İçindekileri *döktü*.  
inside things pour out.  
'She poured out what was inside her.'

Öfkesini *kustu*.  
anger vomit  
'He vomited his anger.'

Sonunda öfkesi *taştı*.  
in the end anger overflowed  
'His anger overflowed in the end.'

The pressure caused by intense anger construed as the amount of the fluid in the container which is hot specifically heated. In the Turkish version, explosion does not result from steam production but by the excess amount of fluid that the container cannot hold. Intensity of anger is the amount of the fluid added into the container. Other forms of explosive conceptualized as solid entities as in the case of gunpowder.

The conceptual metaphors in Turkish in HEAT applying solids version is elaborated with entailments. The elaborations mainly due to the semantics of the verb *kızmak*, as discussed before, conflates the two basic motivating concepts HEAT and REDNESS.

ANGER IS FIRE  
İçten içe *yaniyor*.  
Burning internally  
'He was doing a slow burn.'

*Ateş* püskürüyor.  
Breathing spew

‘He was breathing fire.’

Öfkemi *ateşledi/tutuşturdu*.  
burned my anger/catch fire  
‘She light up my anger/caused my anger catch flames.’

Öfkeyle *yanıp tutuştu*.  
burned and catch fire  
‘He caught flames and consumed by anger.’

Öfkenin *ateşi* sahibini *yakar*.  
anger fire owner burns  
‘The fire of the anger burns its owner.’

İçimde öfkeyle *yanan* intikam *ateşi*  
inside with anger burning revenge fire  
‘The fire of revenge burning inside me with anger.’

In the special cases of FIRE, the elaboration is expressed by metonymies, including flames, blazes, and sparkles. All phases of a burning of a solid object is expressed in the conceptualization of anger.

At the beginning, fire is small but effective; it is the form of an ember:

Öfke insanın içinde *tutuşan* bir *kordur*.  
anger human inside catch fire an ember  
‘Anger is an ember burning in one’s inside.’

Öfkenin bir *kor* olup içini *yakması*.  
anger an ember become inside burn  
‘Anger becoming an ember to burn one’s inside.’

Gradually, anger increases so the ember grows to burn the solid in question. In this phase, there are flames:

Öfkesinin *alevlendiğini* hissetti.  
his anger flames catch felt  
‘He felt that his anger caught flames.’

Sinirden yüzüm *alev alev* olmuştu.  
nerve my face flames become  
‘My face was in flames because of anger.’

Gözlerinden *alev* saçıyordu.  
eyes flames spreading  
‘Flames were spreading from his eyes.’

Öfke *alevleriyle* dolu bir çukur.  
anger flames full a cavity  
'A cavity full of anger flames.'

Sparkles are scattered from eyes:

Gözleri *çakmak çakmak* oldu.  
eyes flint become  
'His eyes became a flint.'

Öfke *kıvılcımları* gözlerinde parladı.  
anger sparkles in the eyes flared.  
'Anger sparkles flared in his eyes.'

Eventually, fire covers the whole body:

*Ateş* aldı.  
caught fire  
'He caught fire.'

*Ateş* kesildi  
fire became  
'He became fire.'

*Ateş* püskürdü  
fire spewed  
'He spewed fire.'

The fire can be *fanned* (rather than adding fuel to the fire) in Turkish conceptualization of increasing anger:

Öfkesini *körükle*.  
anger to fan with bellow  
'To fan his anger with bellows.'

Kendi yaktığınız ateşi daha fazla *körüklemeyin*.  
self burned fire any more to bellow  
'Do not fan the fire you set up with bellows anymore.'

An idiomatic expression pictures the situation in which an irresponsible behavior makes things even worse :

'Yangına *körükle* gitmek.'  
fire bellows to go  
'To go to put out a fire with bellows.'

To put out fire is diminishing of anger:

Öfkesi sonunda *söndü*.  
anger in the end died out  
'His anger died out in the end.'

A milder anger is also a fire which is not violent and tends to diminish quickly:

Saman *alevi* gibi.  
straw flame like  
'Like a flame of a straw.'

The different phases of burning solid objects provide ontologies for anger expressions in Turkish. There is further emphasis on the flames, catching flames and slow burning. Burning of solids in this respect do not produce smoke or smoke does not appear as an ontology here. Instead different modes of burning solids conceptualize different stages of intensity of anger.

So far in this paper, we have reviewed conventional metaphors of anger and their entailments following from the physiological effects of anger. Closely associated with physiological effects is agitation which is also an important part of the cultural model. The observed behaviors of agitated angry people are generally construed as insane behavior. Typical anger displays include among other, foaming at the mouth, frail arms, acting widely or forcefully and so on. Metonymically, such agitated behavior stand for anger and overlap between insane behavior with the effects of anger give us the basis of the conceptual metaphor:

ANGER IS INSANITY  
Öfkeden *çılına* döndü.  
anger crazy turn into  
'He went crazy with anger.'

*Çıldırma* beni!  
make mad me  
'Don't make me mad!'

*Dellenme!*  
mad become not  
'Don't get mad!'

Sinirden *kafayı yedi*.

nerve head eat  
'He lost his mind with anger.'

Expressions of insanity in Turkish are highly conventionalized. Similar to English, Turkish expressions of insanity are polysemous with expressions of anger in this domain. *Kudurmak* 'to go rabies' and *dellenmek* (as opposed to *delirmek* which may also refer to mental condition) most commonly used as terms of insane behavior than in their other possible meanings.

#### INSANE BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR ANGER

*Deli Raziye gibi*  
mad Raziye like  
'Like mad Raziye'

*Öfkeden kudurdu.*  
anger go rabies  
'She went rabies with anger.'

*Ağzından köpükler saçıyor.*  
mouth foams splatter.  
'He was splattering foams.'

*Köpürdü.*  
froth  
'He frothed ( i.e., froth at the mouth).'

Momentary loss of reason due to intense anger and acts of retaliation in the absence of normal mental judgment, provides basis for certain Turkish idiomatic expressions. In these expressions, there is an act of retaliation which is evaluated as unnecessarily forceful. Responding to a simple offence or disturbance in an insane manner, the person makes of fool out of himself.

*Pireye kızıp yorgan yakmak.*  
flee get angry quilt burn  
'Burning quilt with anger at flee.'

*Eşeğe gücü yetmeyip semerini dövmek.*  
donkey power not enough saddle beat  
Beating the saddle instead of the donkey

*Gavura kızıp oruç bozmak.*  
nonmuslim get angry fasting give up  
'Stopping fasting due to anger at a nonmuslim.'

#### VIOLENT FRUSTRATED BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR ANGER

Sinirden *saçımı yolmak* üzereyim.  
nerve hair pluck is about to  
'I am about to pluck my hair because of anger.'

Başını *düvarlara vuruyordu*.  
head walls hit  
'He was banging his head against the walls.'

Öfkeden *düvarlara tırmanıyor*.  
anger walls climb  
'He was climbing walls with anger.'

Herşeyi *kırıp döktü*.  
everything break spill  
'He broke everything, scattered everything.'

The conventional metaphors of anger conceptualize anger as a negative emotion. Its physiological effects are not desirable, angry person cannot perceive properly and act properly. Agitated by the emotion, an angry person often causes harm and his acts are construed as insane acts. Thus, in order to avoid unwanted emotional experience and its harmful consequences, a person should fight back with this negative emotion. These ontologies form the basis of the metaphor:

#### ANGER IS AN OPPONENT (IN A STRUGGLE)

Öfkeye *kapıldı*.  
anger seized  
'He was seized by anger.'

Öfkeye *teslim oldu*.  
anger surrender  
'He surrendered to his anger.'

Öfkesine *yenildi*.  
anger his beaten  
'He was beaten/overcome by his anger.'

Öfkeye *direnecek* gücü yoktu.  
anger fight back power not  
'She didn't have the power to fight back her anger.'

Hepimizin öfkeye *yenik düştüğü* zamanlar olabiliyor.  
all of us anger conquered times there are  
'There are times in which we are all conquered by anger.'

Loosing the struggle against the opponent, one becomes the victim or

the captive of the opponent:

Ben öfkenin *esiriyim*.  
I am anger prisoner  
'I am the prisoner of anger.'

İnsanoğlu yaratılışından beri öfkesinin *esiri* olmuştur.  
mankind creation since anger prisoner become  
'Mankind, since his creation, has always been *prisoner* of his anger.'

Hırsının ve öfkenin *kurbanı* oldu.  
greed and anger victim become  
'He has become the *victim* of greed and anger.'

Yine bir anlık öfkesinin *kurbanı* olmuştu.  
again momentary anger victim become  
He has become a *victim* of his momentary anger.

Öfkenin *tutsağı* olma.  
anger captive be not  
'Don't be a *captive* of your anger!'

Öfkenin *pençesinde*.  
anger talons  
'In the talons of anger.'

Sorgulamıyor, öfkenin ona *çizdiği yolda ilerliyordu*.  
question not, anger him draw road move  
Without questioning, he was following the road dictated by his anger.

The wealth of conventional metaphors portraying anger as negative emotion and weakness of a person in the struggle against the emotion results from the conceptualization of anger in a collectivist culture. Angry behavior would disrupt the social harmony, and thus should be avoided at all costs, otherwise the person will be conceived as a captive of his emotions, and as such will not fit into his social environment.

In their comparative study on conceptual metaphors in English and Spanish, Barcelona and Soriano (2004:304) note a special case of opponent/controller metaphor namely, ANGER IS DEVIL. A special type of POSSESSION metaphor, DIABOLIC POSSESSION is argued to be productive in Spanish. A somewhat combination of opponent/controller or social superior, there are also a number of fully conventionalized anger metaphors in Turkish:

*Cinlenmek/cini tutmak*



‘To behave like demons.’

*Cin ifrit* olmak

‘To become a demon.’

(*ifrit*: a malicious demon in middle eastern mythology)

‘*Cinleri* ayağa kalkmak.’

demons standing

‘His demons all stood up.’

*Cinleri* başına toplanmak/üşüşmek.

‘Demons gathering on one’s top.’

In Turkish conceptual metaphors, while there is the idea that one is possessed by the demons, the emphasis is more on the intensity of the anger. Possessed by the demons, one is under the control of Satan:

*Dinden imandan* çıkmak.

religion faith go out

‘Act with no/out of faith.’

Sen *şeytana* uyma!

you satan obey not

‘Don’t obey the satan!’

The opponent taking control of the person further relates another component of cultural model. Lakoff and Kövecses (1987:206) point to a widespread metaphor is Western culture in which passions are construed as beasts inside a person. This metaphor suggests that, in each person, there is a part which is a wild animal and loss of control is thus the wild animal getting loose. In the context of a negative emotion like anger, the beast inside is a dangerous animal:

ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL

Uyuyan *yılanı* uyandırdı.

sleeping snake awakened

‘She awakened the sleeping snake.’

Öfkemizi *dizginlemek* için.

anger bridle for

‘In order to bridle our anger.’

*Kaplan* kesildi.

tiger became

‘He became a tiger’

The DANGEROUS ANIMAL is not exploited in Turkish. The conven-

tional metaphors come in the form of a simile. Angry person is like an animal which is not necessarily dangerous. The premodifying adjective makes the animal dangerous in anger expressions:

*Deli danalar gibi.*  
mad cows like  
'Like mad cows.'

*Kuduz köpekler gibi.*  
rabies dogs like  
'Like dogs with rabies.'

*Azgın boğalar gibi.*  
horny bulls like  
'Like horny bulls.'

Not so dangerous animal like a goat, appears in the expressions of insanity, also applies to an angry person:

*Keçileri kaçırdı.*  
goats flee cause  
'He let the goats run away/flee.'

The submetaphors of ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL include:

ANGRY BEHAVIOR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOR  
*Kükredi.*  
roar  
'He roared.'

*Dişlerini gıcırdattı.*  
teeth gnashed  
'She gnashed her teeth.'

*Suratıma böğürdü.*  
face bellow at  
'He bellowed at my face.'

The other forms of aggressive behaviors metonymically stand for angry behavior include, AGGRESSIVE VERBAL BEHAVIOR and AGGRESSIVE VISUAL BEHAVIOR. Such conventional metaphors in Turkish are not elaborated, though there are occasional uses of 'dirty looks' and 'sharp tongue' or 'harsh words', this type of aggressive behavior expressions are more often associated with parts of body like the tongue

and the eyes.

The conceptualization of causal component of anger at stage one in a prototypical anger scenario, the offending event as a physical annoyance is quite common in Turkish. Majority of expressions here involve physical contact whereby the offender “touches”<sup>2</sup> a certain part of a victim:

THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS A PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE

*Damarıma basma!*  
'Don't step on my veins!'

*Nasırına bastım.*  
'I stepped on his corn.'

*Bam teline basmak.*  
'To step on/press one's bam (bass) string.'

*Dalına bastı.*  
'Step on one's twig.'

*Sinirime dokundu.*  
'Touched my nerve.'

*Kanıma dokundu.*  
'Touched my blood.'

*Yarasına dokundu.*  
'Touched his open wound.'

*Gözüme gözükmek!*  
'Get off my sight!'

*Üstüme gelme!*  
'Don't come over me!'

*İn tepemden.*  
'Get off my top!'

*Düş yakamdan.*  
'Get off my collar!'

*Sıkma boğazımı.*  
'Don't press on my throat!'

2. *Emotion as physical contact* is instantiated very commonly in languages.

In other cases, the physical annoyance is the annoyance caused by an ailment inflicted on the victim:

*Komaya sokmak.*  
'to *comatose* someone.'

*Uyuz etmek.*  
'to cause mange in someone'

*İllet etmek.*  
'to make someone sick'

*Gıcık etmek.*  
'to cause tickling in the throat.'

Anger expressions as territoriality and the cause of anger as trespasser are also found in Turkish. These commonly involve limits of patience of the victim:

CAUSING ANGER IS TRESPASSING  
*Haddini aştın.*  
'You are beyond your boundaries!'

*Sabrımın sınırlarımı zorluyor.*  
'He is forcing the limits of my patience.'

*Tahammül sınırı aştı.*  
'He is over the limits of (my) endurance.'

*Sabrımı deniyor.*  
'She is testing my patience.'

## 5. CONCLUSION

The common biological make up of humans and the physiological effects of emotional experiences are expressed in languages almost universally. These physiological effects form the basis of a number of central metaphorical expressions. Languages display differences in the instantiation of these generic-level metaphors at a more specific level. The data presented above suggests that the central metaphors outlining the conceptualization of anger in American English can be found in an Altaic language. Turkish cultural model of anger derives its specific level conceptual metaphors which require a more detailed analysis. In other words, there are differences in mappings that may suggest exis-

tence of other source domains than those already identified.

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