



## THE CONTAINER METAPHOR IN TURKISH EXPRESSIONS OF ANGER

*Mustafa AKSAN*  
Mersin Üniversitesi

**Özet:** Diller üzerine yapılan pekçok karşılaştırmalı çalışma, duygu kavramını dile getirmede bir *kap* olarak insan bedeninin kavramlaştırılmasının evrensel olduğunu belirtmektedir. Türkçe, duygu kavramlarının anlatımının yanı sıra “küp” kavramı değişik olguları anlatmada da sıklıkla kullanılmaktadır. Öfke metaforlarında kullanılan, temel öfke eylemlerinden birisi olan *sinirlenmek*, küp kavramı ile kavramlaştırıldığında kültüre özgü bir durum sergilemektedir. Ortaklaşmacı bir kültürün dili olan Türkçe, bir duygu kavramı olan *öfke* ile *sabır* kavramı bir kap içerisinde biriktirilen içerikler olarak birleştirmektedir.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Cross-cultural studies on emotions commonly conclude that emotions are conceptualized differently in collectivist and individualist cultures. In very broad terms, emotions in collectivist cultures are conceived as *interpersonal* and *contextualized*. On the other hand, in individualist cultures, emotions are conceived as *intrapersonal* and *subjective*. Mesquita (2001: 68) indicates that:

As compared with emotions in individualist cultures, emotions in collectivist cultures (a) were more grounded in assessments of social worth and of shifts in relative social worth, (b) were to a large extent taken to reflect reality rather than the inner world of the individual, and (c) belong to the self-other relationship rather than being confined to the subjectivity of the self.

It is clear that these differences in conceptualization of emotions in collectivist and individualist contexts have reflections on the verbal expression of emotions in the language. Gün et al (2002) develop a framework to account for the common aspects of emotion expressions in collectivist and individualist cultures. According to the Linguistic Category Model, in cultures where conformity and harmony with in-group members are emphasized, emotion terms appear more prominently as *relationship*-markers. In contrast, emotion terms tend to appear as *self*-markers in cultures where the emphasis is on the individual preferences and goals over the group goals. Linguistic category model thus presupposes that in cultures where groupgoals and the value of relationships prevail over individual ones concrete language use (e.g., predominantly *interpersonal verbs*) will be more accessible than abstract language (e.g., *adjectives, nouns*), because concrete language marks relationships and preserves situational information. However, in cultures where individual goals and preferences are more prominent, we expect abstract language to be more accessible.

Turkish, commonly marked as a collectivist culture, brings support to this presupposition. In their study on Turkish emotion concepts, Smith and Smith (1995) analyze Turkish emotion terms from the perspective of prototype theory. Although they specifically warned the participants of the study to avoid using behavior markers, they find that Turkish subjects frequently prefer behavior terms as emotion terms. One reason for this is that Turkish, as observed by the researchers, have relatively little varied emotion lexicon. This is generally attributed to the fact that users of the language very often resort to parts of body, *yürek, kalp, ciğer* or abstract bodily concepts like *iç, gönül, can*, etc. in the expression of their emotions.

In this paper, I will present an analysis of Turkish anger metaphors from the perspective of *Conceptual Metaphor Theory* as advanced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). In discussing the metaphorical expressions of anger in Turkish, I will show how Turkish preferences in express-

ing emotions in concrete terms have impact on the conceptualization of the emotion in a collectivist context. In the first part of the paper, I will present Turkish examples of some general and common metaphors and metonymies of anger as discussed in various studies. In the second part of the paper, I will concentrate more on the container metaphor and argue on some culture specific conceptualizations of the container and its further implications within the culture. Here, I will follow the system of anger metaphors that underlie the central metaphor ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER proposed by Lakoff (1987) and Lakoff and Kövecses (1987). Then I will outline the anger metaphors in Turkish as they appear with another generic metaphor BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS, concentrating on its entailments and elaborations. In this respect, I will introduce the culture specific metaphor ANGER IS NERVE and indicate how words and fixed expressions of Turkish elaborate this conceptual metaphor. This conceptual metaphor will further yield a number of culturally specific container metaphors in Turkish which in turn provide hints for the foundations of the basic cultural model. The entailments and elaborations of the container are associated with culturally distinct concepts of patience, forbearance and endurance that center around the container itself and its contents. These ultimately relate to the behavioral aspect of the emotion in a collectivist culture where harmony and conformity play a significant role in any potential act of retribution or retaliation.

## 2. VERBS OF ANGER IN TURKISH

Turkish commonly makes use of three different verbs in the expression of anger.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (1) <i>Öfke</i> -len-mek<br>anger-VRBZ-INF.  | Beni öfkelendiriyorsun.<br>me anger make<br>'You make me angry.'  |
| (2) <i>Sinir</i> -len-mek<br>nerve-VRBZ-INF. | Beni sinirlendiriyorsun.<br>me nerve make<br>'You make me angry.' |
| (3) <i>Kız</i> -mak<br>red-hot - INF.        | Beni kızdırıyorsun.<br>me red-hot make<br>'You make me angry.'    |

These three verbs are almost synonyms and they display little or no difference in expressing the emotion. They can easily and freely replace each other in almost all contexts of use and the same applies to their various derivations.

*Sinir* is 'nerve' in Turkish and is less frequently used in its primary sense. Similarly, the verb *kızmak* 'to become red-hot' is less frequent in its primary meaning, 'to become hot, to become red by heating'. This means that these two verbs are highly conventionalized and thus becoming polysemous verbs in the language. The basic semantics of these verbs, especially the last two have significant impact on the metaphorical expressions of anger in Turkish.

*Sinir*-lenmek yields a language-specific metaphor ANGER IS NERVE, and *kızmak*, conflates REDNESS and HEAT, the motivating metaphors in English for ANGER IS FIRE, into a single verb, giving way to special entailments and elaboration.

## 2. THE FLUID IN A CONTAINER

Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) argue that the common cultural model of anger in English is based on physiological effects of anger. The general metonymic principle, THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION yields a system of metonymies for anger. Among others, HEAT component of the physiological effects is emphasized and forms the basis of the most general metaphor, ANGER IS HEAT. There are basically two versions available: Heat may apply to fluids or to solids.

In our conceptualization of emotions, the other general metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS, combines with the physiological effects of emotion to yield other central metaphors of the system. When ANGER IS HEAT is applied to fluids and combines with THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS, we have the central metaphor:

ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER  
You make my blood boil.  
Simmer down!  
I had reached the boiling point.

Let him stew.

(Lakoff and Kövecses, 1987:198)

There are a number of significant motivations for the fluid version. It has more varied source domains and conceptualizing anger through body heat, internal pressure, agitation, loss of control, explosion, release of pressure, among others. As indicated by Lakoff and Kövecses (1987), the fluid version is much more highly elaborated in English.

Kövecses (1995b:118) observes that, despite certain significant differences, cultures seem to conceptualize human beings as containers and emotions as some kind of substance inside the container. The data from the four languages he discusses, English, Chinese, Japanese and Hungarian, no matter how different they are, suggests that they all conceptualize anger as the fluid in a closed container. Languages, in this respect, differ in ways in which they elaborate the fluid in a container metaphor at more specific level. One major source of difference is attributed to the differences in cultural antecedents. Cultures are argued to have developed their distinctive concepts by which the members of the culture interpret their experiences. For example, according to Kövecses (1995b:141) it is the medieval notion of the four humors that forms the basis of conceptualizations of emotions in the Euroamerican tradition. In Chinese culture, it is the specific aspects of traditional Chinese medicine and their ancient philosophy that forms the basis of the notion of balance in conceptualizing the emotions and emotional experiences. Such differences are identified as the sources of differences in the conceptualization of emotions at more specific level.

Turkish version of heat applying to fluid in a container is unproductive or the least elaborated, as opposed to English. A similar observation is reported for Spanish. Soriano (2003:112) notes that Spanish does not exploit the entailment submappings of “steaming” while there are conventional language-specific metaphors expressing anger via solid version. Thus, anger is conceptualized as “frying” rather than “steaming” in Spanish. In Chinese, on the other hand, the emotion of anger is mapped onto gas (Yu, 1995).

Some of the conceptual metaphors in which heat applying to fluid in Turkish are given below:

## 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 must stop.  
'We must stop his anger boiling internally.'

Derinden derine/altan alta/ içten içe öfke kaynıyor.  
from deep / from below/ from inside anger boiling  
'An anger is boiling deep/below/inside.'

A specific container *kazan* 'caldron', is used in the conceptual metaphors:

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

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

A *volcano* building up pressure inside is identified by the bubbles:

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

The lack of heat, the fluid is calm:

Sakin ol.  
calm be.  
'Be calm.'

An idiomatic expression also implies heated fluid in a container:

Kaynayan *kazan* kapak tutmaz.  
boiling caldron lid hold not  
'A boiling caldron does not hold the lid.'

The nonproductive fluid version in Turkish may be attributed to the polysemy of the verb *kaynamak* ‘to boil’. According to standard dictionaries, besides expressing boiling of a fluid, it may also mean, among others, ‘flowing of water from a spring’, ‘gluing of piecing’ (including broken bones), ‘swelling of dough’, ‘to be wavy’, ‘to swarm’, ‘to conspire a plot’, ‘to slip away’, or ‘to get excited’.

In all of the metaphorical expressions above, anger is conceptualized more as a collective phenomena, the collective anger of the group, or multiplicity of the angry individuals gathered together. Here, the group of people, clearly agitated, are like swarming bees. *Boiling* in this context is more like swarming of multiple individuals as a group, just as bubbles are like swarming entities in a container. The use of *kaynamak* in these metaphors also indicate the presence of a collective anger in its final stages: it is at the stage of *bubbling* as it is not heated up to overflow in the form of social uprising. The use of caldron as a container contributes to the conceptualization of anger of a group of people. Caldrons are large containers that can hold fluids in considerable volumes. It further implies that the heating of the fluid took considerable time due to the relatively large volume of fluid it contains. Given that the volume of the boiling fluid is large, the idiomatic expression *Kaynayan kazan kapak tutmaz*, ‘No lid can hold the boiling caldron’ warns of the potential danger of heating such amounts of fluid.

Thus, in Turkish, the metaphor is ANGER IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER with HEAT component is missing or is not specified.

### 3. THE CONTAINER AND ITS CONTENTS

Conceptual metaphors of body as a container commonly expressed via *iç* “inside” in Turkish.

#### BODY IS CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTION (ANGER)

*İçi öfkeyle doluydu.*  
inside anger filled with  
‘His inside was filled with anger.’

*İçini kızgınlık ve öfke kapladı.*  
inside red-hot and anger covered.  
‘Her inside is covered with red-hot and anger.’

*Öfkesini içine attı.*  
anger inside throw  
'He threw his anger inside.'

*Öfkeni at içinden!*  
anger throw out inside  
'Get your anger out (of inside).'

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

Other than the generic inside, various parts of the body can function as subcontainers of anger:

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

*Öfkeli bir yürek bıraktı geride.*  
angry one heart left behind  
'He left an angry heart behind.'

*Öfkeli bir yüreğin atışı duyuluyordu.*  
angry one heart pulse heard  
'Pulse of an angry heart was heard.'

*Yüreği soğutmak, öfkenin ateşini soğutmaktır.*  
heart to cool, anger fire to cool  
'To cool a heart is to cool the fire of anger.'

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

The number of facial parts are also containers for anger, including the face:

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

*Yüzünü/suratını öfkeyle buruşturdu.*



face with anger wrinkle  
'He wrinkled his face with anger.'

*Suratı* allak bullak oldu.  
face upside down become.  
'Her face turned upside down.'

*Yüzünü* ekşitti.  
face sour  
His face soured.

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

*Gözünü* hırs bürüdü.  
eyes anger overrun  
'Anger overrun his eyes.'

Maalej (2004:62) lists a number of metaphorical expressions in Tunisian Arabic. In the folk conception of anger, nerves act as a container for anger. The expressions from Tunisian Arabic include the following:

He burnt my nerves.  
He destroyed my nerves.  
He made my nerves swell.  
I was a bundle of nerves. ( he made me have nerves)  
My nerves let me down. (My nerves escaped from me)  
I don't have the nerve for it anymore (I have no more nerves)  
My nerves cannot stand this anymore.

He notes that the nerves domain does not constitute an elaborate domain. In Tunisian Arabic, the metaphorical expression conceptualize anger in this domain as a disease or damage to the nerves due to anger or as loss of control.

As opposed to Tunisian Arabic, nerve as a container of anger is elaborated significantly in Turkish. As it is indicated at the beginning of this paper, the denominal verb *sinir-len-mek* is one of the most frequently used verb in the expression of anger. It is not only the sheer number of anger metaphors that tempt one to propose a culture-specific metaphor like ANGER IS NERVE but expressions with or based on *sinir* can be

found in all generic and specific level metaphors of anger in Turkish.

#### ANGER IS NERVE

*Sinirlendim.*  
'I got angry (I come to nerves).'

*Sinir kesildi.*  
nerve become  
'He become angry.'

*Sinir oldum.*  
nerve be/become  
'I got angry.'

Nerves are fibres and they are conceptualized as strings. Anger is then the tension on the nerves as strings. The internal pressure is conceptualized as the pressure exerted on the nerves, stretching them beyond their ordinary rest position.

*Sinirlerim tel tel oldu*  
my nerves strings become  
'My nerves became strings (I got very angry).'

*Sinirler gerildi.*  
nerves stretched  
'Everybody got angry.'

*Yay gibi gerildim.*  
'I was stretched like a bow.'

*Bam teline bastın.*  
'You pressed on his bam (bass) string.'

*Sinirime dokundu.*  
'Made me angry.'

*Zemberek gibi gerildim.*  
'Coil like a spring.'

*Kuruldu.*  
'He is all wind up.'

Just as they can be stretched, they can also be relaxed, conceptualizing diminishing anger as relaxing the tension:

*Sinirleri boşandı.*  
nerves loosen  
'Her nerves are loosened.'

*Sinirleri gevşedi.*  
nerves relax  
'His nerves untightened.'

*Sinirleri yatıştı.*  
nerves ease off  
'Her nerves eased off.'

The anger metaphors that are central to the cultural model of the emotion, may be based on nerves:

#### AGITATION

*Sinirden zangır zangır titriyordu.*  
nerve because of shaking wildly  
'Shaking wildly because of nerve.'

*Sinirden heryerim titriyordu.*  
nerve because of all parts shaking  
'I was shaking with anger all over.'

*Sinirden yumruklarını dişledi.*  
nerves because of fists bite  
'He bit his fists because of nerve.'

*Siniri oynadı.*  
nerves his moved  
'His nerves moved.'

*Sinirleri ayağa kalktı.*  
nerves stand up.  
'His nerves stood up.'

#### ANGER IS FIRE

Eve bir *sinirle* geldi ki alev gibiydi.

home nerve came so as flame like  
'He came with such nerve that he was like a flame.'

Her yanım yanıyor *sinirden*.  
all sides burning because of nerve.  
'I am burning with anger all over.'

*Sinirden* yüzüm alev alev olmuştu.  
nerve because of face flames become  
'My face was in flames because of nerve.'

Bir erkeğin *sinirlerini* tutuşturmaya kafi.  
one man nerves catch fire enough  
'Enough for the nerves of a man to catch fire.'

#### ANGER IS INSANITY

*Sinirlendiğinde* bambaşka bir insan haline geliyordu.  
when angry different human become  
'When he gets angry, he becomes a totally different person.'

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

*Sinirden* kafayı yedi.  
nerve because of head eat.  
'He lost his head because of anger.'

*Sinirden* deliye döndü.  
nerve because of mad turn into  
'She got mad with anger.'

*Sinirinden* kuduruyor.  
nerves because of rabies.  
'He goes rabies because of anger.'

#### ANGER IS AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE

Çok *sinirli* anımda kendi kendimi yatıştırabiliyorum.  
very angry moment self calm down  
'In my very angry moments, I can calm myself.'

*Sinirleri* tepesine hücum etti.  
his nerves top assault  
'His nerves attacked his top.'

*Sinirlerine* hakim ol.  
nerves dominate  
'Control your nerves.'

INCREASE IN ANGER IS A DAMAGE TO NERVES

*Siniri* bozulmak.  
nerves damaged  
'Nerves are damaged.'

*Sinirlerim* laçka oldu.  
nerves slack  
'My nerves became slack.'

*Sinirleri* altüst olmak.  
nerves upside down  
'His nerves turned upside down.'

*Sinirini* bozmaya değmez.  
nerves damage not worth  
'It doesn't worth damaging your nerves.'

*Sinir* gücüm tükendi.  
nerve power consumed  
'My nerve power is consumed.'

*Sinir* törpüsü.  
nerve file  
'A file for nerves/filing the nerves.'

#### 4. CULTURE AND THE CONTAINER: *KÜP*

We know that nerves are part of the body. However, they are inside the body and are not visible. We come to know that they are there most often through painful experiences, either physically or emotionally. They are conceptualized as receivers.

This conceptualization of nerves as unseen receivers inside the body and the activation of nerves in emotional contexts lead to conceptualization of the body as a subcontainer of nerves. It is a ‘*bag* of nerves’ in English, similarly ‘an anger-*bag*’ in Hungarian, ‘a patience *bag*’ in Chinese. Most often an alternative term is a *bundle* of nerves, as in Tunisian Arabic. In Turkish, it is ‘a jar of nerves’.

In Turkish culture, the conceptualization of body as a container in the form of a jar is not limited to anger only:

<i>sinir</i> küpü	a jar of nerves
<i>hırs</i> küpü	a jar of ambition/anger
<i>dert</i> küpü	a jar of troubles
<i>akıl</i> küpü	a jar of wit
<i>zeka</i> küpü	a jar of intelligence
<i>bilgi</i> küpü	a jar of knowledge
<i>altın</i> küpü	a jar of gold
<i>sihir</i> küpü	a jar of magic
<i>sır</i> küpü	a jar of secrets
<i>şifa</i> küpü	a jar of healing
<i>lezzet</i> küpü	a jar of (good) taste
<i>yağ</i> küpü	a jar of fat (a very fat person)

In general, the *küp*-expressions conceptualize the person as a container where the other nominal in the compound represents the content. The expressions provide an image in which the container is filled totally and thoroughly so much so that there is virtually no room for any more to add into it. The physical shape of the *küp* further contributes to this conceptualization. The container expands out in center, corresponding to the waist area of a person. Thus, the image is a filled container, bulging out in its center, like a fat or swelling person. The conceptualization is not only over “full to the brim”, but also implies condensing of the content of the container. For example, *akıl küpü* commonly applies to a child who is smarter than expected, displaying skills and abilities that are far beyond the ordinarily understood capacity of a child.

In the cultural model, *küp* is not a simple container but also a holder of entities that are collected or gathered in time, filling in the container to its limit. The storage of collected entities, most commonly, are the fluid. *Sinir küpü* is thus a person who has excessive *sinir* collected inside. *Küp*-the-container is full to the brim, the pressure of excess fluid

inside bulges out in the central waist area.

One important metaphor, very closely associated with the cultural model of anger in Turkish, is *sabır küpü*. The use or preference of the same container helps to understand the basics of culture model of anger. It provides us with the clues to proper understanding of the emotion in a collectivist context.

*Sabır* is one of the key terms to Turkish culture. It is not possible to find an exact translation equivalent of the concept. It is a complex notion, a combination of patience, forbearance, endurance, fortitude, sufferance and toleration, among others. *Sabır* is associated with anger in at least two forms of containers: *sabır küpü* and *sabır taşı*, or in one variety, *sabır çanağı* ‘a bow of patience.’

The emphasis on harmony and conformity to social coherence is important in collectivist cultures, as indicated before. In the emotional contexts, the social wisdom advises the members of the group to take utmost control over their emotional responses that are commonly construed as potential threats to the social harmony. Emotions are personal and what is personal should stay personal. One social maxim by an ancient sufi master asserts that:

‘One should take full control of his hands, his tongue and his waist.’

Advising practically that a person should control his emotional responses that would require use of hands, should be careful with his words, and should be able to command his sexual urges. Hence, acts of retribution or retaliation are to be avoided or least to be controlled properly. Here comes the role of *sabır* in the cultural model of emotions and emotional responses. There may be wrongdoers or offending events however, a person should be patient and endure these offences and in many cases, should sacrifice himself for the sake of preserving social harmony. The preference of group-goals over individual goals demands powers for the individual to endure.

A wealth of metaphorical expressions clearly identify this form of conceptualization in Turkish in anger contexts where the body is either a jar, a glass or a stone. The content in all cases is fluid, in compliance with the universal as well as culture-specific conceptualization:

*Bardağı taşırın son damla.*  
glass overflow last drop.  
'The last drop to overflow the *glass*.'

Hepimiz *sabır küpü* olduk.  
all of us patience jar became  
'We all became *patience jars*.'

*Sabır taşı* çatladı.  
patience stone cracked  
'The *patience stone* cracked open (i.e. fluid started to leak out).'

*Sabır çanağı* taşmış.  
Patience bowl overflow.  
'Her *bowl of patience* has overflown.'

In these metaphorical expressions, the person is understood to be under pressure from offending events and is enduring them all patiently. It is understood that there is no single offending event but things are going wrong for some considerable time. The person, as suggested by culture, endures patiently up to the very last moment humanly possible. The final event or confrontation adds the very last drop. Given that a volume of the drop of fluid is a very tiny amount compared to the rest of the fluid in the container, we understand that the person has been suffering internally with each drop of fluid added to the container. This is also conceptualized with fluid in another metaphorical expression, *Burnuma kadar geldi* 'it came all the way up to my nostrils' where the person has been able to forebear the threat of drowning in which the rising fluid comes up to his nostrils, the very last point of breathing.

In another version, the power of endurance and compliance with the social norm is also expressed as:

*Bıçak kemiğe dayandı.*  
knife bone touched.  
'The knife is touching the bone.'

*Sabır* here is the endurance to the pain of knife penetrating into the body. Still the person does not respond and waits patiently. The limit is set with the bone in this version.

These and similar other metaphors further point to a very significant cultural contrast which demands a detailed study in its own right. La-



koff and Kövecses (1987:209) point to a connection between anger and retribution. The conventional wisdom in English suggests:

Don't get mad, get even!

Commonly, the cause of anger is a "trespasser": there is an offender who is responsible for the wrong-doing and there is an innocent victim who is getting angry. The offense leads to an injustice and getting even will balance the scales of justice. The conventional saying in English thus underlies a conceptualization in which the injustice as a result of offense causes anger and retribution by the innocent victim can alleviate or prevent anger.

Trespassing is expressed not only with metaphors of anger, but also with *sabır* in Turkish.

Sabırımın sınırlarını *zorladı*.  
patience limits forced  
'He forced the limits of my patience.'

Sabırımı *taşır*dı.  
patience overflow  
'He caused my patience to overflow.'

Sabırımı *deniyor*.  
patience trying  
'He is testing my patience/trying my patience.'

The *sabır* expressions underlying the basic of cultural model in balancing the offense with retribution clearly marks the differences in this respect. It is not only Turkish that differs from English in terms of alleviating anger. King (1989:168) notes that Chinese differs from English in the retribution component of a prototype anger scenario. In Chinese, metaphors in this domain are either minor or non-existent. The emphasis is not on balancing with retribution but rather correcting the imbalance in one's own body.

As emotions are socially construed in collectivist cultures, one should also evaluate the consequences of any act of retribution. A proverbial expression warns off an angry individual by blending change of color and possible consequences of an act of retribution:

*Öfke gelir yüz kararır, öfke gider yüz kızarır.*

anger comes face blackens anger goes face reddens.

‘When anger comes, face blackens, when anger goes face reddens.’

Suffering and endurance further captured in association with color concepts in the following:

*Kan kusup kızılıcak şerbeti içtim dedim.*

‘I have vomitted blood yet I said I have drunk cornelian syrup recently.’

The metaphorical expression above illustrates yet another aspect of conceptualization of emotional experiences in collectivist cultures. As in Japanese, in Turkish, display of anger is to be avoided: a person should keep his anger under control, must hide his private, innermost self. An overt display of anger will inevitably bring a confrontation and this will most likely end up in a disruption to the social harmony. No matter how severe an offending event may be, the individual is expected to keep his emotional state hidden:

*Kol kırılır yen içinde kalır.*

‘A broken arm stays inside the cover.’

Studies on collectivist cultures by the social psychologist observe that retribution in anger contexts emerges most often in the form of sulki-ness. The wealth of lexical items and metaphorical expressions in Turkish further illustrates the case in point. It is not only the overt display of anger that is to be avoided. Getting angry not only results in a damage to the social harmony but also damage to the self. Self harm caused by increased anger is conceptualized as a damage to the container:

*Keskin sirke küpüne zarar.*

‘Rancorous vinegar corrodes its jar (from inside).’

*Öfkenin ateşi sahibini yakar.*

‘The fire of anger consumes its holder.’

In the image emerging from these metaphorical expressions, the sufferer endures the pains caused by multitude of offending events, not responding immediately as advised by the cultural norm. As the person did everything humanly possible, now the consequences of his justified response are on the shoulders of the offender. Thus, the person morally

frees himself from the unwanted social consequences, the offender is to blame for disturbance to the social harmony.

## 5. CONCLUSION

ANGER IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER is also expressed in Turkish. The fluid rises with the increase of anger, however, the rise of the fluid is not caused by increase in the heat of the fluid, but rather by addition of more fluid into the container. There is no overt indication of increase in the heat, or at least it is not specified. The nonexistence of steam production, the use of verbs commonly associated with spilling or overflowing fluids are other implications that the fluid is not heated. (*sirke*, 'vinegar' is never hot).

The metaphorical expressions conceptualize anger as excess fluid in the container. The person tries to suppress the rising fluid. The rise does not occur suddenly in most cases, but rather is caused by adding tiny small drops of fluid over time. Empowered by cultural approval of emotional control, the innocent victim endures the internal pressure to the limit. When the fluid overflows finally, it is not container but the forces that kept adding fluid to the container beyond its capacity are to blame.

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