THE CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR OF ANGER IN CHINESE AND SERBIAN IDIOMS

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Abstract
Based on the cognitive linguistics theory, the paper makes the comparative analysis of the conceptual metaphor of emotions such as anger in Chinese and Serbian body parts idioms. The paper gives the detailed description, analysis and comparison of the conceptual metaphor of Anger in these idioms. The aim is to investigate the similarities and differences that exist in the selected idioms of the two languages, in order to show the universal and specific of the different cultures.

Key words: *conceptual metaphor, body part idioms, Chinese, Serbian, anger*

INTRODUCTION

This paper relies on the theory of conceptual metaphor in the emotions, which Kovecses (1989) discussed in his work, concretely about the emotion of anger. In our research[1], emotion of anger actually includes hatred, threat, disgust, antipathy. We will here discuss about all these emotions through the analysis of the examples of body part idioms. These emotions are related to each other, some of the examples that express one kind of emotion can also at the same time express another kind of emotion. Firstly we investigated the conceptual metaphor in Chinese body part idioms, after that we investigated conceptual metaphor in Serbian body part idioms, finally we compared and analyzed two groups of idioms, and found the similarities and differences between them.

Kovecses (1989) points out that the basic conceptual metaphor for emotion is BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS[2].

Kovecses (1989) thinks that the basic conceptual metaphor for Anger is ANGER IS HEAT. This metaphor can be divided in two situations:1) ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER and 2) ANGER IS FIRE.

1. CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR OF ANGER IN CHINESE BODY PARTS IDIOMS

Some of the metaphors that Kovecses (1989) pointed out in his work, we found in the data that we collected, consisting of Chinese body part idioms that express Anger, but some metaphors we did not find in the data. For example, the metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER we did not find in the Chinese idioms.

Kovecses (1989) also points out that the basic metaphor has many metaphorical entailments. One of the metaphorical entailments is WHEN INTENSITY OF ANGER INCREASES THE FLUID RISES. In Chinese, the following example can illustrate this:

血海深仇 (sea of blood, deep hatred)

[1] This paper will discuss part of the research I undertook for my unpublished Ph.D. Thesis *Comparison between Chinese and Serbian body parts idioms that express emotions*, Beijing Language and Culture University, 2011.

[2] Kovecses (1989) originally uses capital letters for writing metaphors, so for this reason, we also use capital letters.

This idiom uses the image of the blood as if it was flowing so much and reminded of a sea, so this image actually describes deep hatred. Here we have the example of metaphoric entailment: as the Anger (emotion) is more intense, the hatred is also more intense, so it becomes deep hatred; the hot fluid-blood, flows so intense that it becomes big sea.

The second metaphoric entailment is: INTENSE ANGER PRODUCES STEAM. We know that very high temperature, when it is very hot, fluid is being transformed into the steam, even there can be a pressure in the container. We can see that all the following examples have this entailment:

(1) 怒气冲冲 (in a great rage)

(2) 气冲牛斗 (the rage rose up to the sky)

(3) 怒气冲天 (the rage rose up to the sky)

(4) 吹胡子 (blow the beard)

(5) 吹胡子瞪眼 (blow the beard and glare)

In the examples we can see the words "气"(qi) and"吹"(blow), here they have direct connection, it is obvious, because what we blow is actually qi (breath). According to the physiological nature of the fluid, when the temperature rises it can produce steam, likewise, a human as a container for emotions-anger, if the anger comes to the high point, the human will produce qi, so he will "吹气"(blow qi) and"生气"(produce breath "be angry"). This process we can see in all the examples above.

Zheng Ke (2001) and Bao Zhikun (2003) point out, in Chinese, when expressing anger, there is a metaphor: ANGER IS A HOT GAS IN THE CONTAINER. Although Kovecses has not mentioned this metaphor, Zheng Ke (2001) and Bao Zhikun (2003) think that this is one form of the metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER.

We agree with this claim. In the body parts idioms in Chinese, we can see the example of this metaphor.

(6) 受窝心气 (when you are misunderstood or put to a great inconvenience, you feel irritated)

In this idiom qi is not the same we the qi that we analyzed in the above examples, because here, qi has not left our body. Here we can see the metaphor ANGER IS GAS, so we discuss separately about this example.

The third metaphoric entailment is: WHEN A PERSON EXPLODES, PARTS OF HIM GO UP IN THE AIR. Actually, when a container explodes, the part of it will also go up in the air. This metaphor exists in the next idioms:

(7) 怒发冲冠 (the hair sticks up, the cap is up in the air)

(8) 气冲牛斗 (the rage rose up to the sky)

(9) 怒气冲天 (the rage rose up to the sky)

In the seventh example, the idiom expresses that the anger has come to the ultimate point, so the hair has sticked up, and even the cap is up in the air. And in the other examples we can see that because the anger is very intense, it was wrought up in the air.

According to Kovecses (1989) and his work, metaphor ANGER IS HEAT has another version which is ANGER IS FIRE. In Chinese language there are examples of idioms that express this metaphor.

(10) 动肝火 (move the fire in liver)

(11) 满腔怒火 (be filled up in cavity with anger)

(12) 七窍生烟 (seven holes produce flame)

In the examples above, two idioms used word “fire” in order to describe very intense anger, and the third example used word “flame” which is naturally in direct connection with the fire.

Kovecses (1989) points out his view,that is physiological changes on the person can represent the emotion itself. So Kovecses thinks that metaphor ANGER IS HEAT has the following metonymies.

The first is INTERNAL PRESSURE, which we have not found in the Chinese data. The second is REDNESS IN FACE IN NECK AREA, which is one of the very common physiological manifestation. For example:

(13) 脸红脖子粗 (the face gets red and the neck is thicker)

(14) 面红耳赤 (face and ears get red)

(15) 眼红 (eyes get red)

From the above idioms we can see that in the Chinese idioms there are for body parts that appeared: face, neck, ears and eyes. The concrete physiological manifestation is as follows: face, ears and eyes become red, and neck becomes thicker.

The third metonymy is INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION, which we found in Chinese examples, such as:

(16) 眼红 (eyes get red)

(17) 翻白眼 (show the whites of one’s eyes)

The idiom “red eyes” describes the angry state of a person, when people are very angry then their eyes can be a little bit red; In the idiom “show the whites of one’s eyes”, this is also a physiological manifestation of angry people, it can also be seen when people are in dangerous situations.

The second metaphor ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL WE, we did not find in the Chinese idioms, but we found another version of this metaphor which is ANGRY BEHAVIOR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOR, and we can see it in the next examples of idioms:

(18) 龇牙咧嘴 (widely open mouth and show one’s teeth)

(19) 咬牙切齿 (bite one’s lips and gnaw one’s teeth)

(20) 切齿痛恨 (gnash one’s teeth in hatred)

(21) 怒目切齿 (gnash one’s teeth with furious look)

In the first idiom, in ored to express cruel look, it is used the behavior of the animal: widely open mouth, show one’s teeth. In the other examples, to describe the extreme hatred, it is also used the behavior of wild animals such as: bite one’s lips and gnaw one’s teeth, gnash one’s teeth, furious look, etc.

Kovecses (1989) points out that the metaphor ANGER IS DANGEROUS ANIMAL has two metonymies, first is AGGRESSIVE VERBAL BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR ANGER, and the second is AGGRESSIVE VISUAL BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR ANGER. The first metonymy we did not find in the collected data in Chinese language, but the second one we found in the following example:

(22) 乌眼鸡 (crow looks at the chicken)

In this idiom “crow looks at the chicken”, comes from the cockfighting, the fight between the crow and the chicken, what was traditional game in China, so now it is used to describe the angry look full of hatred, if people come into the conflict.

The third metaphor is THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE, in Chinese idioms there are many examples, such as:

(23) 眼中钉 (a thorn in one's eye)

(24) 拔眼中钉 (pull out a thorn from one's eye)

(25) 刺耳朵 (stab one's ear)

(26) 反胃口 (opposite appetite - be fed up with)

These idioms use body parts that suffer some kind of pain or irritation to describe the emotion of anger, disgust or irritation. For example: a thorn in one's eye, stab one's ear, feel fed up with - not have an appetite. Here are used body parts such as eye and ear, so if they would be irritated really, person would at the same time feel emotion of anger.

Lin Shuwu (1998) thinks that apart from the metaphors that Kovecses (1989) mentions, in Chinese there are other metaphors such as: ANGER IS MANIFESTATION OF THE BODY PART CHANGES. We agree with Lin's opinion, although Lin in his work mentions idioms that express anger but they are not limited to body parts idioms, we can find in our data examples for the metaphor that he mentions:

(27) 怒目而视 (look furiously)

(28) 怒目切齿 (look furiously and gnash one's teeth)

(29) 怒形于色 (change the color in the face)

(30) 横眉冷对 (eyebrows look coldly at someone)

(31) 横眉怒目 (eyebrows look furiously at someone)

(32) 怒容满面 (the face full with anger)

In the previous examples, we can see that the body parts such as eyes, eyebrows and face, changes from usual to unusual look, so this change actually is the metaphor for the emotion for anger.

2. CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR OF ANGER IN SERBIAN BODY PARTS IDIOMS

Likewise in Chinese language, in Serbian language we can also find some metaphors in the idioms, but some of the metaphors we cannot find. The metaphor ANGER IS HEAT, and its first version ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN CONTAINER, exists in Serbian body parts idioms. We can look at the following examples:

(1) Kipi u srcu nekome (it boils in one's heart)

(2) Ključa/kipi krv u nekome (the blood boils in somebody)

In order to describe anger, furiousness, Serbian idioms use words such as "boiling" which here represent the degree of hotness, while blood and the heart (the liquid inside) represent the fluid of the body.

In the Serbian idioms there also exist metaphorical entailments such as INTENSE ANGER PRODUCES STEAM, for example:

(3) Duvati za vrat nekome (blow after one's neck)

(4) Duvati na/kroz nos (blow through the nose)

In these two idioms we can see the word "blow", actually it embodies qi, because what is being blown is

qi. When people are angry they naturally start breathing more quickly, and even the breath is more intense, so that it how blowing of qi is created.

The second form of the metaphor ANGER IS HEAT which is ANGER IS FIRE, can be found in Serbian idioms:

(5) Pošla/udarila je vatra u obraz nekome (fire came into one's cheeks)

Here in this example, the word "fire" directly appeared in the idiom, and it is the metaphor for furiousness.

We already mentioned above that Kovecses (1989), physiological manifestation on the human body expresses emotion. According to this, there is system of metonymy for emotion of anger. In Serbian idioms, some of the metonymies exist and other not. The first metonymy is: REDNESS IN FACE IN NECK AREA. For example:

(6) Udara/bije crvenilo u obraze nekome (redness pours/rushes into the cheeks)

(7) Udarila/Navire/jurnula je krv u glavu/lice/obraze nekome (blood pours/rushes to the head/face/cheeks)

In the examples above, appeared body parts like "head, face, cheeks". When people are angry, these body parts really become red or more red than usually. In the second example, the word "red" is not directly used, but since the color of blood is red, in order to describe the look of anger, in the idiom there is the word "blood". According to the Kovecses (1989), the body parts that become red as a physiological manifestation, is actually the metonymy for anger.

The second metonymy is: INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION, in Serbian language we found following examples:

(8) Mrači se/Smrklo se pred očima nekome (it got dark in front of one's eyes)

(9) Pala je krv na oči nekome (blood poured/fell on one's eyes)

In order to describe how the angry person looks like, in the idiom the metonymy of interference with accurate perception is used. Actually, when a person is angry, sometimes the emotion of anger actually influences the normal sight of a person, or as we mentioned before, the physiological manifestation of redness in the eyes appears. Here in the second example, instead of "red" the word "blood" is used, so the whole sentence means "one's eyes became red".

The second metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY, and its metonymy INSANE BAHAVIOR STANDS FOR ANGER can be found in the Serbian metaphors. For example:

(10) Gubiti/izgubiti prisustvo duha (lose one's spirit)

(11) Gubiti glavu (lose one's head)

In order to describe that furiousness is extreme, in the idioms is used the insane behavior of people, like to "lose one's head" which actually means "lose one's mind".

(12) S penom na ustima (with the foam on the mouth)

In this example the image of person with foam on the mouth, such as usually dog would have, actually insane person is used as a metonymy for high degree of anger.

The third metaphor is ANGER IS DANGEROUS ANIMAL and it's another form is ANGRY BEHAVIOR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOR. In Serbian we found these examples:

(13) Stisnutih vilica (to grit the teeth)

(14) Škrgutati zubima (grinding teeth)

(15) Keziti/iskeziti zube (bared teeth)

In the idioms above we can see the image of animal's behavior that is the metaphor for anger. Through the images of animal with grinding or bare teeth we can see the appearance of angry animal.

Kovecses (1989) points out, as we mentioned before, that metaphor ANGER IS DANEROUS ANIMAL has two metonymies, first one is AGGRESSIVE VERBAL BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR ANGER, and the second is AGGRESSIVE VISUAL BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR ANGER. In the Serbian data we have not found the example for the first metonymy and for the second one we found some examples.

(16) Sevati/sevnuti očima na nekoga/nešto (gleam with one's eyes toward someone)

(17) Gledati prekim/krivim očima nekoga/nešto (look at someone with skew eyes)

(18) Gledati/meriti ispod oka nekoga/nešto (look at someone below one's eyes)

(19) Šibati/ošinuti/streljati/prostreliti očima nekoga (pelt someone with his eyes)

When person is angry, he will usually look with the angry look at his opponent or enemy. The idioms above reflected this, by using different ways of angry look.

The fourth metaphor is THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE. The examples in Serbian langue are as follows:

(20) Parati uši nekome (stab one's ear)

(21) Stati na žulj nekome. (step on someone's callus)

(22) Bosti oči nekome (stab one's eyes)

(23) Biti trn u oku (be a thorn in one's eye)

(24) Doći do grla/guše nekome (come to one's throat)

(25) Penjati se na glavu(na vrh glave)nekome (climb one one's head)

(26) Imati u nosu nekoga/nešto (have something in one's nose)

(27) Podiže se stomak nekome (someone's stomach raised)

In the previous examples, we can see that different body parts appeared such as: eyes, head, nose, stomach, throat etc. According to Kovecses (1989), as we mentioned before, the irritation of these body parts actually shows and it is metaphor for the emotion of anger.

3. COMPARISON OF THE CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR OF ANGER IN CHINESE AND SERBIAN BODY PARTS IDIOMS

The first similarity is that both in Serbian and Chinese language exists the metaphorical entailment INTENSE ANGER PRODUCES STEAM of the metaphor ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER. In the both languages we have similar examples of the idioms, in Chinese: "吹胡子" (blow into one's beard), "吹胡子瞪眼" (blow into one's beard and glare), while in Serbian we have "Duvati za vrat nekome" (blow after one's neck) and "Duvati na/kroz nos" (blow through the nose). In both languages in order to describe the angry look of someone, appeared the word "blow".

The second similarity is that that in the idioms of the two languages there is metaphor ANGER IS FIRE.

The third similarity is that both in Chinese and Serbian idioms we have found the metonymies such as: REDNESS IN FACE IN NECK AREA and INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION.

The fourth similarity is that both in Chinese in Serbian there are very similar examples of idioms in which is said that the face and neck get red, so the same body parts are used, as well as red color, so they all express metonymy REDNESS IN FACE IN NECK AREA.

The fifth similarity is that in Chinese and Serbian idioms we have not found the metaphor ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL, but we found the other form of it that is ANGRY BEHAVIOR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOR. In both languages, in the idioms the "teeth" of the dangerous animals are used to describe the emotion of anger. The slight difference that can be seen in these examples is that in Chinese idioms together with "teeth" are other body part words that are used such as "mouth" and "eyes", while in Serbian idioms this is not the case.

The sixth similarity is about the metaphor ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL. The metonymy AGGRESSIVE VERBAL BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR ANGER we have not found in Chinese and Serbian idioms. But we found the metonymy AGGRESSIVE VISUAL BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR ANGER. In Serbian idioms it is mostly used the way of "looking" at someone, so there are different angry ways of look mentioned, while in Chinese idioms the image of "crow and chicken fighting" is used to express "angry look".

The seventh similarity is that the metaphor THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE is found both in Chinese and Serbian idioms. The examples of idioms are similar in two languages, but in Serbian there more examples for this type of metaphor. In both languages there are "stab an ear", "stab eyes", "be fed up with", the body part words that appeared are very similar, and the type of annoyance is almost the same. In Serbian there are also other body part words such as: foot, throat, head and nose.

The first difference is as follows, in Chinese idioms we have not found the metaphor ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN CONTAINER, while in Serbian idioms there is the example for this metaphor, such as "Kipi u srcu nekome" (it boils in one's heart) and "Ključa/kipi krv u nekome" (the blood boils in somebody).

The second difference is as follows, in the Chinese idioms there is metaphorical entailment WHEN INTENSITY OF ANGER INCREASES THE FLUID RISES for example "血海深仇" (sea of blood, deep hatred). While in Serbian data we have not found example for this metaphorical entailment.

The third very obvious difference is that in Chinese idioms exists the metaphorical entailment WHEN A PERSON EXPLODES, PARTS OF HIM GO UP IN THE AIR, whereas in Serbian idioms we did not find the examples for this.

The fourth difference is that in Chinese language there is the metaphor ANGER IS A HOT GAS IN A CONTAINER, which is the form of the metaphor ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, for example "受窝心气" (when you are misunderstood or put to a great inconvenience, you feel irritated), and in Serbian there is not any similar idiom that express this metaphor.

The fifth difference is that although the idioms of the two languages express the second metonymy INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION, there are different and opposite words used in the examples. So in Chinese there is the idiom "翻白眼" (show the whites of one's eyes), and in Serbian there is idiom "Mrači se/Smrklo se pred očima nekome" (it got dark in front of one's eyes), we can notice that the opposite colors "black" and "white" are used with the same body part "eyes" in these idioms.

The sixth and very obvious difference is that in Serbian idioms there is example of using metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY, while in Chinese there is not such an example.

The seventh difference is that in Chinese there are other metaphors apart from those that Kovecses (1989) mentions in his work, such as ANGER IS MANIFESTATION OF THE BODY PART CHANGES, while in Serbian we did not find example for this metaphor.

4. CONCLUSION

Considering that idioms are part of the language that is very difficult to understand even in the mother language, and especially in teaching Chinese as a foreign language, we hope that this paper will be helpful for the Chinese students and teachers when teaching and learning Chinese.

As we can see from the above mentioned examples and analysis, there are many similarities but also differences between the Chinese and Serbian body part idioms. Since the anger as an emotion is the same for every person, similarities can be found mostly in the body parts words used in idioms, but what is different is that being influenced by different culture, Chinese and Serbian idioms use different context to put these body parts words in.

In the future research we hope that there will be found more metaphors in Serbian and Chinese idioms that can reflex the specific characteristic of two different cultures.

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