

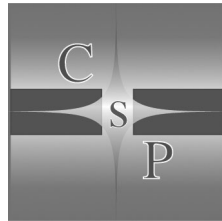
Multilingualism and Applied Comparative  
Linguistics (Volume II)



# Multilingualism and Applied Comparative Linguistics (Volume II)

Edited by

Franks Boers, Jeroen Darquennes, Koen Kerremans  
and Rita Temmerman



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## PREFACE

In February 2006 the first international conference on Multilingualism and Applied Comparative Linguistics (MACL) was held in Brussels, Belgium. The present book is the second of two volumes containing a selection from the approximately 120 papers that were presented at that three-day event.

The aim of the MACL conference was to bring together scholars from various branches of applied linguistics with a shared interest in cross-linguistic and cross-cultural communication. The conference thus fostered an exchange of knowledge and expertise among researchers from various disciplines, including educational linguistics, cultural linguistics, terminography, translation studies and studies of specialised languages. In this second volume we present the following issues:

- Part one.      Universality and cross-cultural communication
- Part two.      Language practices, attitudes and proficiency
- Part three.     Discourse analysis in cross-cultural communication  
                  research
- Part four.     Terminology and specialised languages
- Part five.     Translation studies

The first part of this volume covers two articles dealing with universality and cross-cultural communication. Vineeta Chand's study is a cross-linguistic comparison of anger metaphors in Hindi and English. Although there is evidence for underlying conceptual similarities in the two languages, the study presents evidence against the notion that, on all levels, metaphoric paradigms are universal or cross-linguistically motivated by identical forces. Metaphor research thus clearly needs a method for discussing and quantifying variation at multiple levels. Introducing different types of variation and an explicit discussion of the metaphor hierarchy will permit a more fine-grained description of each language's metaphors. This in turn will allow quantitative comparisons of multiple languages' metaphors at various levels.

The chapter by Federico Gobbo also deals with the notion of universality, but this time in the context of constructed international auxiliary languages or interlanguages such as Esperanto. Gobbo intends to

show that although some issues in planning interlanguages are similar to those in natural language planning, some issues are very subject-specific. A comparison of interlanguages shows the important influence of the language creator's mother tongue (i.e. the Bausani effect). This is particularly evident at the level of phonetics. The focus in Gobbo's study is on the uses of the interlanguages (status planning) and on how users relate to them (acquisition planning). Specific attention is paid to Esperanto.

The notion of language attitude, already appearing in Gobbo's article, is further elaborated in the second part of this volume. Apart from language attitudes, the chapters that make up this second part also deal with language proficiency and practices. Andreas Braun aims to identify the sociocultural factors that influence parents' language practices with their children in potentially trilingual families living in England and Germany, two predominantly monolingual European countries, which represent different geographical and sociolinguistic settings. His study, which is carried out on the basis of semi-structured interviews, endeavours to explore the cultural background of parents in trilingual families by focussing on the way in which they identify themselves with the cultural traditions and values that are attached to their native languages. This adds to the understanding of the reasons why some parents in trilingual families use all of their available languages with their children, while others do not.

The chapter by Horténsia Curell I Gotor and Maria Sabaté I Dalmau primarily deals with the issue of language proficiency. In particular, Gotor and Dalmau examine (British) English native speakers' assessment of Catalan learners' apologies, elicited in various social situations (varying along the parameters of social distance and dominance). The study confirms their hypothesis that English native speakers generally rate learners' apologies as less adequate than those produced by fellow natives. In order to help learners attain a better mastery of the target language, the authors conclude that it seems worth incorporating in second or foreign language teaching programmes a component that raises the learners' awareness of cross-linguistic/cultural variation in speech act realisation.

Pedro Guijarro-Fuentes and Kimberly Geeslin address the social and psycholinguistic factors that influence adult bilinguals' use of Catalan and Spanish in Catalonia. Although these have been co-official languages since the introduction of democracy in 1978, there is a great deal of variation in individuals' bilingualism. By studying the copula contrast of the Spanish in Catalonia, Guijarro-Fuentes and Geeslin's study aims to explore whether speakers of Spanish in Catalonia select copulas differently from Spanish speakers in other regions of Spain. The study

shows that while the frequency of copula selection differs, the linguistic factors that predict that selection are largely the same. The study demonstrates that notions previously held about the acceleration of language change occurring in bilingual contexts can be expanded through additional research accounting for a wider range of variables that include, but are not limited to, the socio-political context, language attitudes and language identity.

In the third part of this volume, language practices and language proficiency are also looked at, but this time from the point of view of discourse analysis. The aim of the study by Martina Temmerman and Dave Sinardet is to gain insight in political discourse by analysing news interviews with Belgian politicians in both their native and their non-native tongue (Dutch/French) on the two public broadcasters, i.e. the Dutch-speaking VRT (Vlaamse Radio- en Televisieomroep) and the French-speaking RTBF (Radio-Télévision Belge de la Communauté Française). They investigate for instance whether Dutch-speaking and French-speaking journalists take a markedly different attitude towards the politicians they are interviewing. The differences they find in interviewing styles between the Dutch-speaking public broadcaster and its French-speaking counterpart, tend to confirm earlier research. The results also confirm the current hypothesis on more general differences between the two public broadcasters. The interviews suggest that the French-speaking public broadcaster RTBF remains more strongly adherent to traditional public broadcasting culture than the Dutch-speaking VRT.

In the chapter by Sylvain Dieltjens and Priscilla Heynderickx discourse analysis techniques are applied to business communication. The focus in this chapter is on the ambiguous *we*-form. Based on an analysis of source and translated texts (i.e. parallel texts), Dieltjens and Heynderickx demonstrate several ways in which the parallel texts help to interpret the *we*-form. Some of them are very straightforward (for example the use of a different pronoun), others are more complex (for example the implementation of an evasive strategy). They can indicate both a narrowing and an extension of the reference of the *we*-form.

The study of political discourse and business discourse brings us to the fourth part of this volume, which covers chapters dealing with the study of specialised language and terminology in cross-cultural communication. Elizabeth Marshman presents some preliminary results of a research project focussing on the study of lexical knowledge patterns for identifying four non-hierarchical conceptual relations—cause–effect, association, process–patient and disease–sufferer—in corpora of medical texts in English and French. The goal of the project is to evaluate some of

the similarities and differences between the two languages that may affect the development and application of semi-automatic applications for the extraction of knowledge-rich contexts using lexical knowledge patterns. The data discussed in this article were generated by the analysis of two corpora composed mainly of research and review articles in the fields of breast cancer and heart disease, taken from specialized medical journals.

That applications may benefit from terminological resources, is further elaborated in the chapter by Koen Kerremans. By discussing the results of two different research projects, the author demonstrates how multilingual terminological resources can play a role in semantic web technologies as dynamic entities. He reflects on application-oriented terminography as opposed to terminological dictionary production for human users and describes the Termontography methodology, a method which was worked out by the Centrum voor Vaktaal en Communicatie (a research centre of the Erasmus University College Brussels) for developing application-oriented, ontologically-underpinned terminological resources. The method is supported by a software workbench, which is also presented in this chapter.

Specialised discourses as dynamic entities is also discussed in the chapter by Carme Bach Martorell. The study focuses on a certain aspect taking place in the frame of texts: the study of the processes of creation and fixation of terminology in written texts, i.e. a process known as “stabilisation”. The aim of this chapter is to prove that specialised knowledge and the terminological units that dynamically convey it, are stabilized as a negotiation among the different groups of experts in each field. On the one hand, lexicographers and terminologists propose the terms which should be considered for the macrostructure of specialized dictionaries. On the other hand, professional groups stabilize and fix terminological units as well as their value within specialized discourses in a constant negotiation within previously established limits at a social and pragmatic level.

The work presented in the chapter by Hee Sook Bae and Marie-Claude L’Homme is part of a larger project dealing with the conversion of a pre-existing monolingual database into a multilingual dictionary. The general objective of the study is to expand a monolingual database containing French terms related to computing and the Internet to a multilingual dictionary in which several language modules are connected through a common model. The chapter deals more specifically with the construction and the adaptation required for a Korean module. The authors believe that this preliminary work on Korean will contribute to the development of a more general model for different languages.

The final part in this volume deals with translation studies. The chapter of Marlén Izquierdo attempts to map out the resources frequently used by translators to convey the meanings expressed by *-ing* constructions functioning as circumstance adverbials. Starting from a corpus-based, contrastive analysis, the study tries to come up with an inventory of translational options which are produced in assumedly equivalent communicative contexts. Data have been taken from the ACTRES Parallel Corpus (henceforth P-ACTRES), a custom-made English-Spanish translation corpus compiled at the University of León. The intralinguistic analysis reveals that, on average, the English gerund-participle is frequently used to realize circumstance adverbials, which may express a great variety of semantic roles.

The relevance of contrastive analysis for translators is further elaborated in the chapter by Rosa Rabadán, Belén Labrador and Noelia Ramón. The chapter sets out to present a course on corpus-based English-Spanish Contrastive Linguistics for Spanish students enrolled in an English degree. It is a compulsory third year course focusing on explicit instruction in L1-L2 differences. The course highlights the use of translation practice as a tool to grasp the functional semantic and pragmatic differences in a cross-linguistic study between two or more languages and uses corpora of two different types: bilingual comparable corpora and translation corpora. Informal tests show a marked difference between those students who had contrastive analysis training prior to the translation options offered to them and those who had not.

M<sup>a</sup> Pilar González Vera tries to show how the relay of power and gender relationships in a literary text is influenced by the process of translation. More specifically, the focus is on the translation of linguistic politeness and linguistic impoliteness strategies. The study of the two translations of *The Crucible* by Arthur Miller into Spanish, from different periods of time, one from the 50's and another from the 90's, aims to show how those target texts became a reflection of the process of change in interpersonal relationships within society. The comparative study shows how translations are subordinated to culture and ideologies. Apart from that, there is also a temporal dependence. Gender relationships as well as politeness are not static but they change with time. Therefore, the use of politeness strategies as well as the translation of those strategies, differ.

In the final chapter Efthymia Karaouza discusses lexical cohesion, mood and modality deployed in three English translations of an Ancient Greek text remaining influential as part of the preamble of the European Constitution. The purpose of this study is to show that, although these

English versions render the same source text, the translators sometimes make different choices in terms of lexical cohesion, mood and modality.

We hope you will enjoy reading this collection of research papers and get a taste of the cross-cultural spirit in which the MACL conference was held.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank the following members of the MACL advisory board for reviewing papers that were submitted for publication in the present volume: Teresa Cabré (UILA Barcelona) Aline Remael (HIVT-Hogeschool Antwerpen), Marc Van Campenhoudt (ISTI Bruxelles), Sylvie Van Daele (Université de Montréal).

We would again like to express our gratitude to all our co-members of the organising team of the MACL Conference and to all the volunteers (including the students of the Erasmus University College Brussels) who helped out so well during the three-day event.



## **PART ONE**

# **UNIVERSALITY AND CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION**

# CHAPTER ONE

## FIRE AND HOT LIQUIDS: ANGER IN HINDI AND ENGLISH

VINEETA CHAND

### **Introduction**

This paper<sup>1</sup> offers a comparison of anger metaphors in two languages (Hindi and English) and contributes to the growing body of work discussing the cross-linguistic manifestation of metaphors for the emotional state of anger. The conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) argues that certain metaphors, such as ANGER IS HEAT, are based on universally shared bodily experiences (Lakoff 1993). However, cross-linguistic work on anger metaphors has not presented unified evidence in favor of ANGER IS HEAT as an embodied, and hence, universal conceptualization of anger (Gevaert 2005). Divergent conceptualizations of anger may reflect and reify culturally bound differences or structural differences cross-linguistically. Expressions of anger are thus far unexplored in Hindi, an Indo-European language of northern India. This paper offers an initial foray into Hindi anger metaphors and metaphorical extensions and presents a cross-linguistic comparison with English metaphor data (Lakoff 1987 and 1993; Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Kövecses 1986; 2000a and 2000b).

This research contributes to the CMT in two ways: first, it presents data from Hindi, contributing cross-linguistic metaphor data. Second, drawing from the similarities and differences at multiple levels within metaphor structure across Hindi and English, it highlights where culture can interface with language to structure metaphor systems, offering a new approach to discussing and comparing similarities and differences at multiple levels of the metaphor.

## Past research

### Background on metaphors

Until approximately 1978, metaphors were considered deviations from the literal whose main role was poetic and flowery; pleasing to the reader with images that help to maintain attention (Black 1962). However, current theories have reshaped the definition and role of metaphors in language and cognition. A growing body of linguists, cognitive scientists and psychologists now think that metaphors are ubiquitous in and pivotal to language: they work to mold our understanding of the surrounding world, while also reflecting our categorizations of the world (Gibbs 1994; Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Kövecses 1986; Yu 1998). Lakoff and Johnson (1980), considered the forerunners of the CMT, argue that metaphors are conceived of as a (partial) mapping between source and target domains in the form of *target is source*. The underlying metaphorical schema is referred to as the **metaphor**, and the actual instantiations of the mapping in language are considered **metaphorical expressions**. For example, the following are English examples of metaphorical expressions found in common speech, with the underlying metaphor in capitals:

(1) Metaphorical Expression → Metaphor

a) *He is getting hot under the collar.* → **ANGER IS HEAT**

b) *She spends her time unwisely.* → **TIME IS MONEY** (Lakoff 1993)

The target domains (anger, time) are mapped onto various source domains (heat, money), and a number of correspondences are then available to express and understand the target, given the entailments of the source domain. For example, the following shows a possible mapping from source onto target within an anger metaphor:

(2) **ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER.** (Kövecses 2002, 96)

a) *physical container* → *angry person's body*

b) *top of the container* → *rational self of the angry person*

c) *hot fluid inside the container* → *anger*

d) *degree of fluid heat* → *intensity of anger*

e) *cause of increase in fluid heat* → *cause of anger*

Given the mappings associated with the metaphor **ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER**, anger can be described using these terms.

Metaphorical expressions using entailments of the above mappings clearly show the transfer from source to target, as in 3 (a–i):

(3) AN INCREASE IN ANGER IS A FLUID RISIN

a) *His pent-up anger welled up inside him. (Lakoff 1987)*

b) *We got a rise out of him. (Lakoff 1987)*

c) *My anger kept building up inside me. (Lakoff 1987)*

INTENSE ANGER PRODUCES STEAM

d) *She got all steamed up. (Lakoff 1987)*

e) *I was fuming. (Lakoff 1987)*

f) *Billy's just blowing off steam. (Lakoff 1987)*

INTENSE ANGER PRODUCES PRESSURE

g) *I could barely contain my rage. (Lakoff 1987)*

h) *He was bursting with anger. (Lakoff 1987)*

i) *I could barely keep it in anymore (Lakoff 1987)*

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that some central metaphors are shaped by embodiment, the shared experience of being human and perceiving the world from this perspective (Lakoff 1987; Kövecses 2000), and are hence universal because they draw on and are universally based within the same core shared embodied experience. From this, they hypothesize that metaphors will be formed with a limited range of variation cross-linguistically: Lakoff argued that future cross-linguistic evidence would support this supposition. Heeding his challenge, the work of Yu (1998), Barcelona (2001), Kövecses (1986; 2000 and 2002), Kövecses and Palmer (1999) and Maalej (2004) on cross language comparisons of emotion metaphors (Chinese and English, Spanish and English, Hungarian, Chinese, Japanese, Wolof and English, Tagalog and English and Tunisian Arabic and English, respectively) as well as Alverson (1994) on cross-language and cross cultural conceptualizations of time in Sesotho, Mandarin Chinese, Hindi and English, MacArthur (2005) on conceptualizations of control and restraint in Spanish and English and Özçaliskan (2003) on conceptualizations of life, death and movement in Turkish have done much to strengthen the position of the CMT with respect to certain universal metaphors.

### **Problems with this model**

The underlying conceptual structure of certain metaphors is based in part on a shared embodiment, which, within the CMT is assumed to be

universal. However, newer cross-linguistic data shows that the majority of linguistic expressions vary from language to language and, it has been argued, from culture to culture (Emanation 1997; Yu 1998). As well, the evidence of universally shared emotional experiences (Lakoff 1997, Kövecses 2000) has been questioned (Gevaert 2005). Emanation (1997), examining Chagga, a Bantu language of Tanzania, argues that metaphors and embodiment cannot be conceived of as shaping or limiting culture; instead, the opposite must be true: metaphors are limited by, and are a subset of a larger cultural model. While offering a reasonable justification for culture's role within CMT, Emanation (1997) fails to offer a means of incorporating culture into models of metaphor structure. The expressions within each language are not haphazard, however: it is clear that these partial mappings adhere to a language internal structure, and a means of modeling this is necessary to advancing the CMT by integrating culture. Beyond the call for further work to test the validity and limits of the claims of the CMT in diverse languages (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Kövecses 1986 and 1997; Gevaert 2005; Gibbs 1997), which has been heeded by research covering several languages and multiple metaphors, critical discourse regarding universality is needed. Much of the current metaphor research is focused on the overlap and similarity across metaphors, while comparative work focusing on the metaphoric expressions found across languages is sorely lacking, and, as the actual linguistic manifestation of metaphors, has something to offer to both a linguistic and cognitive assessment of metaphors cross-linguistically. Such work, I argue, would highlight areas problematic for the hypothesis of universal embodiment as a major constraint on certain conceptual metaphors. Within this, emotion tropes are a particularly rich area for metaphors, because of the abstract nature of emotions. There is also evidence that culture does interface with emotion (Gevaert 2005; Kövecses and Palmer 1999; Yu 1998). Minimally, it can be argued that further study and a focus on the metaphoric expression is necessary to justify the CMT position, while stronger "culturalists" argue that culture serves to create or structure our range of emotions (Quinn 1991), and evidence to this effect is waiting to be uncovered.

## **Anger**

### **Methods**

This data is from a variety of primary sources. The English expressions come from both introspection on my part as a native American English

speaker, and examples from the body of metaphor literature (cited as such within the text). The Hindi data, about 160 expressions in total, were collected during Spring 2004 from a variety of modern colloquial Hindi language guides and dictionaries (McGregor 1993; Tiwari and Kalia 1996), and were all verified individually by four native Hindi speakers from New Delhi, India.

### English anger metaphors

English has two dominant anger metaphors that are subsumed under the general metaphor of ANGER IS HEAT (Yu 1998, 50; with further support from Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987; and Kövecses 1986). Yu (1998) posits that anger can be construed as a solid (4) or fluid (5):

#### (4) ANGER IS FIRE

- a) *Flames are coming out of his ears.*
- b) *You can see fire in his eyes.*
- c) *He was incensed over the remark.*
- d) *The fire in his heart couldn't be contained.*
- e) *His angry remarks were blistering. (blister is the result of a burn)*

#### (5) ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER.

- a) *He's boiling over.*
- b) *He blew his top.*
- c) *He is stewing over that last comment.*
- d) *He's seething.*
- e) *He erupted with anger.<sup>2</sup>*

Citing Lakoff (1987), Yu (1998) argues that there is one dominant “most general” cultural metaphor for anger, that of ANGER IS HEAT. While this may be true, such claims would be better supported by evidence in this direction. Yu focuses on the above metaphors with no discussion of additional Chinese anger source domains, and other English anger source domains are under-theorized by Lakoff, who focuses on ANGER IS HEAT as both central and dominant (1993). Since these other source domains, their interactions, and their possible variable dominance cross-linguistically and cross-culturally have not been accounted for, they merit further discussion. Addressing this, I return to expressions originally mentioned by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and incorporate with them further examples in order to explore a broader range of English anger

source domains, with the goal of understanding how well such mappings align across multiple target domains.

(6) ANGER IS BAD WEATHER.

- a) *He stormed around.*
- b) *He thundered his complaint.*

(7) ANGER IS DESTRUCTION

- a) *He couldn't hold it together.*
- b) *He fell apart.*
- c) *He's spitting bullets.*
- d) *He went ballistic.*

(8) ANGER IS INSANITY

- a) *He was insane!*
- b) *He went crazy when they lost the game.*

(9) ANGER IS AN OPPONENT

- a) *He fought down his anger.*
- b) *He lost control of his anger and started shouting.*
- c) *He was wrestling with his anger.*

(10) EMOTIONS ARE A CONTAINER.

- a) *He's in a fury.*
- b) *He's in a rage.*

(11) ANGER IS A WILD ANIMAL

- a) *His anger was fierce.*
- b) *He bit the guy's head off.*
- c) *He unleashed his anger on the innocent bystander.*
- d) *He tore that guy to pieces.*
- e) *He ripped him a new one.*

## (12) ANGER IS DOWNWARD MOVEMENT ONTO A PATIENT

- a) *The bulk of his anger was brought down on innocent bystanders.*
- b) *I was bowled over by his anger.*
- c) *He knocked them to the ground with his anger.*
- d) *Don't take it out on me!*

### Target mapping overlaps

The (potential) argument that the source domain of heat is primary for anger and is universally shared, is also problematic in that it fails to account for how the target domain of heat is also mapped onto other source domains. Love can also be conceptualized as heat, specifically fire:

## (13) LOVE IS FIRE

- a) *She's consumed with love.*
- b) *She's burning up inside from her desire*
- c) *She's hot/fiery with passion.*

The metaphors LOVE IS FIRE and ANGER IS FIRE are difficult to conceptualize in tandem. Interpreting which metaphor is indexed requires contextual cues: the same phrase, as demonstrated in 14, indexes different metaphors based on the context:

## (14)

- a) *Lisa hadn't seen her husband in three months, but was more in love than ever, after their nightly phone calls. He was arriving tomorrow, and she was burning up inside. (passion or love)*
- b) *Lisa's neighbor ran over her prized rosebush, laughing and unapologetic. Lisa was so angry, she was burning up inside. (anger)*

What these two target domains share is that they are both strong emotions. Perhaps fire is not separately conceptualized as anger and love, but is instead, a conceptualization of strong emotions in general. Target mapping overlaps are relatively common: the target domain of insanity is also not limited to anger:

## (15) EXTREME HAPPINESS IS INSANITY

- a) *She went crazy with happiness.*
- b) *When she learned the good news she was hysterical.*
- c) *She was out of her mind with joy at finding her children.*

Additionally, in English, anger is not constrained to a *hot* liquid:

(16) ANGER IS A LIQUID

- a) *He was pissed (off).*
- b) *He was spitting anger.*

While Lakoff (1987, 385) argues that 16a refers to liquid which is under pressure and hence hot, I am not convinced of this interpretation as there is no direct or implicitly assumed temperature reference. Also complicating the relationship between anger and liquids, the metaphor ANGER IS A POISON can be solid or liquid:

(17) ANGER IS A POISON

- a) *His words were poison.*
- b) *The venom of his anger cut into me deeply.*

While pressure, fire and heat are strongly associated with anger, not all references that include such connotations refer to anger. The following expressions are all references to fire and heat which are not associated with anger:

(18)

- a) *He's puffed up with pride. (pride)*
- b) *He's full of hot air. (bragging, pride)*
- c) *He's all fired up. (excited)*
- d) *He's on fire. (attractive, excelling at something, excited)*
- e) *He's smoking. (attractive, excelling at something)*
- f) *He's hot. (attractive)*
- g) *He's a hottie. (attractive)*
- h) *He sizzles. (attractive)*
- i) *He's too hot to touch. (attractive)*
- j) *He's all the rage. (popular)*
- k) *He's a firebrand. (trouble or mischief maker)*

While some of the past CMT literature may leave the impression that ANGER IS HEAT is both universal and embodied, this is problematic, given the target domain overlaps and the liquid examples which do not involve heat. The source domains associated with anger do have a commonality: poison, fire, hot liquids, bad weather, wild animals and downward forces are all dangerous. While this data has made clear-cut distinctions less feasible, the English anger data is clearly systematic. My

analysis demonstrates that many generalizations but fewer absolutes exist within the realm of anger metaphors. We will now compare Hindi data.

### Hindi anger metaphors

The metaphor with the most Hindi expressions is ANGER IS HEAT, manifesting as ANGER IS FIRE in 19 and 20, and as ANGER IS A HOT LIQUID in 21. Following Yu's Mandarin examples (1998), Hindi data is presented in the following format: the first line is in the Hindi script, Devanagari, and in roman italics, the figurative meaning. The second line has a word-by-word literal translation followed by the same translation in English word order.

#### (19) ANGER IS FIRE

- a) अंगारे पर लोटना *To burn within (on account of jealousy)*  
Burning ember on to roll = To roll on burning ember
- b) आग में घी डालना *To add fuel to the fire*  
Fire in ghee (clarified butter) to cast = To cast ghee on fire
- c) जले पे नमक डालना (छिड़कना) *To add fuel to the fire*  
Burn-wound on salt apply = To put salt on a burn wound
- d) आग भड़काना *To add fuel to the fire, to fan the flames*  
Fire to blow into flame = To aggravate a fire
- e) आग लगाना *To be set on fire*  
Fire apply = To set to fire
- f) दिल में आग लगाना *To get enraged*  
Heart in fire to happen = To feel fire in heart
- g) आग का पुतला *A firebrand or hot-headed person inciting violence*  
Fire of effigy/puppet = An effigy/puppet driven by fire
- h) शोला-भभूका होना *To fly into a rage*  
A flame glowing to become = To become a glowing flame

In keeping with the mappings possible under the ANGER IS FIRE metaphor, increasing the fire would stand for an increase in anger, and a decrease in the fire stands for a lessening of the anger. Following this to its conclusion, completely putting out a fire is associated with a complete dispersal of anger.

(20)

- a) गुस्सा भड़क उठना *To become furious*  
Anger flame to rise up = For the anger to flare up
- b) ठंडा कर देना *To put out a fire*  
Cold make to do to other = To cool someone/something down
- c) गुस्सा हवा हो जाना *For anger to vanish/disappear/cool down*  
Anger wind be to go = For the anger to become wind

Anger is also conceptualized in a liquid state in Hindi, similar to English. The focus of the Hindi data is on the internal liquids of the body as boiling, or of the whole body as boiling.

(21) ANGER IS HOT LIQUID

- a) खून उबलना (खौलना) *To become murderously angry*  
Blood to boil = For the blood to boil
- b) पित्ता उबलना (खौलना) *To be enraged*  
Bile to boil = For the bile to boil
- c) उबलना *To be boiling or to swell with emotion (as with rage, ride)*  
To boil = For someone to boil

These metaphors associated with heat encompass only a fraction of the total expressions gathered: the remaining expressions, subsumed under the following metaphors, suggest that perhaps there is no dominant metaphor for anger in Hindi. It has been argued that expressions denoting anger which use liquids fall under the sub-metaphor anger is a hot liquid, which is from the general metaphor ANGER IS HEAT (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987; Kövecses 1986). However, the following Hindi data set disproves this by offering examples which do not have heat. This is not unique to Hindi. We have seen similar English metaphors (e.g. 16 and 17) also lacking reference to heat.

(22) ANGER IS LIQUID

- a) गुस्सा थूक देना *To forgive and cool down, to shake off one's anger*  
Anger spit to make = To spit out one's anger

- b) गुस्सा पी जाना *To suppress one's anger*  
 Anger to drink to go = To gulp down one's anger
- c) बरस पड़ना *To burst out in anger; for anger to rain down on others*  
 Rain to fall = To rain down on others
- d) बात पी जीना *To bear something in silence, to suppress one's anger*  
 Speech drink to do = To swallow the matter

A (possible) sub-mapping of the above metaphor is ANGER IS A POISONOUS LIQUID. This is also found in English, in set 17. However, while the English poison source, metaphoric expressions are not limited to liquids, the Hindi expressions do not extend to non-liquids.

(23) ANGER IS POISONOUS LIQUID

- a) ज़हर उगलना *To speak/write poisonous things*  
 Poison to spit out = To spit out poison

Anger is also conceptualized within the container metaphor, as a substance under pressure. Increasing the pressure on the container causes the anger to appear. This example also does not appear to use the ANGER IS HEAT basic level metaphor:

(24) CONTAINER METAPHOR

- a) दिल में गाँठ (गिरह) पड़ना *Ill-will or disaffection rising*  
 Heart in knot to make = To make a knot in the heart
- b) सीने पर पत्थर रखना *To bear anger quietly*  
 Chest on stone to stay/rest = To put a stone-slab on one's chest

In 24a and b, the heart and chest respectively contain the anger. Sufficient pressure is offered to keep the anger under wraps in 24b. The next two sets show that anger is conceptualized as being outside of one's bodily container in Hindi:

(25) ANGER IS BEING OUTSIDE ONESELF

- a) आपे से बाहर होना *To completely lose one's temper*  
 Oneself of beside to become = To become beside of oneself