



Anger Metaphors in English and Mongolian

Zolzaya Choijin

School of Foreign Languages, Mongolian University of Science and Technology

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received: 11 January 2021;

Received in revised form:

6 March 2021;

Accepted: 16 March 2021;

Keywords

Conceptual
Metaphor,
Emotion,
Anger,
Language,
Culture.

ABSTRACT

This study aims to investigate the similarities and differences of some anger metaphors in English and Mongolian. The study is done within the cognitive semantics framework along with the principle of CMT (Layoff and Johnson 1980, 1987; Kövecses 1986, 1988, 2000) framework in English and Mongolian. To compare the results of the study in both languages, the author selected the three parameters proposed by Barcelona (2001) and Kövecses (2001) including (1) the existence and nonexistence of language-specific mappings, (2) degrees of linguistic elaboration, (3) degrees of linguistic conventionalization. The source domains chosen for the analysis are rooted in the most fundamental human experiences in the sedentary and nomadic cultures. This current study highlights the importance of culture in understanding the relationship between metaphor, culture and cognition, and it provides comparative generalizations for the four basic emotion concept of anger and gives the fundamental explanations in English and Mongolian. This systematic comparative analysis of emotion metaphors in English and Mongolian contributes importantly to the major claims of the Contemporary Metaphor Theory, which states that metaphors are grounded on both universal embodiment and social-cultural experiences. Even though English and Mongolian belong to very different language families representing totally different sedentary and nomadic cultures, they share some universal conceptual metaphors for particular emotions with each other.

© 2021 Elixir All rights reserved.

1. Introduction

This study examines culture-specific and language-specific realizations of conceptual metaphors including ANGER IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL, ANGRY BEHAVIOR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOR, and ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL in the two languages within the CMT framework. In order to perform this study, metaphorical linguistic expressions describing one of the basic emotion “anger” as the research materials were compiled from different sources in English and Mongolian. To compare the results of the study in both languages, the researcher selected the three parameters proposed by Barcelona (2001) and Kövecses (2001) including (1) the existence and non-existence of language-specific mappings, (2) degrees of linguistic elaboration, (3) degrees of linguistic conventionalization. Parameter 1 concerns differences in the existence or non-existence of language specific mappings in English and Mongolian. Parameter 2 pertains to differences in the degrees of linguistic elaboration of conceptual metaphors for emotions in the two languages. Parameter 3 concerns the degrees of linguistic conventionalization.

This current study highlights the importance of culture in understanding the relationship between metaphor, culture and cognition, and it provides comparative generalizations for the basic emotion concept of anger and gives the fundamental explanations in English and Mongolian. This systematic comparative analysis of animal metaphors referring to anger in English and Mongolian contributes importantly to the major claims of the Contemporary Metaphor Theory, which states that metaphors are grounded on both universal embodiment and social-cultural experiences. Even though English and Mongolian belong to very different language

families representing totally different sedentary and nomadic cultures, they share some universal conceptual metaphors for particular emotions with each other. Emotion metaphors are closely related to certain physical aspects of the human body across cultures; however, the speakers of English and Mongolian differ in many ways: differential experiential basis, cognitive preferences, social and physical environments and the histories of the two nations. Finally, this research summarizes by stating that universal human embodied experiences can be the basis for highly schematic conceptualizations of emotions across cultures. The culture-specific and language-specific mappings and their elaborations are grounded only on cultural-embodiment at a specific level in cultures.

2. Theories of Metaphor

Metaphor has been one of the most interesting and challenging topics in linguistics for many years. Traditionally, metaphor has been defined as the most fundamental form of figurative language. However, there has been a big change in the way that metaphors are viewed since the publications of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) *Metaphors We Live by*. They claim that "our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature." (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 3) The cognitive theory of metaphor analyzes the mappings between two conceptual domains, or source and target.

This research deals with the current issue of the universality and culture-specificity of the conceptualization of emotions with special reference to anger across cultures by showing evidence from Mongolian in comparison with English. Universal human embodied cognition can be the basis for highly schematic conceptualizations of emotions in

the two cultures. Specifically, this study examines the role of culture in the metaphorical conceptualization of emotions through metaphors within the CMT (Layoff and Johnson 1980, 1987; Kövecses 1986, 1988, 2000) framework in English and Mongolian.

Conceptual metaphor theory proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980:3) rejects the notion that metaphor is a decorative device; instead, it explains that metaphor is central to thought and therefore to language. Lakoff (1994:43) claims the traditional definition of the word "literal" is wrong, since a huge system of conventional, conceptual metaphors has been discovered and the system of metaphor structures our everyday conceptual system. Lakoff (1993: 203) claims that many abstract topics that are central to our existence, such as birth, love, death are known and understood largely or entirely through metaphors. In cognitive linguistics, metaphor is a set of conceptual correspondences, or more technically, mappings, between two conceptual domains, one of which is a source and the other of which is a target (Lakoff and Johnson 1980).

It is true that metaphors are grounded in physical experiences. According to Kövecses (2005), metaphor is a many sided phenomenon that involves not only language but also the conceptual system as well as socio-cultural structure and neural and bodily activity. He suggests that metaphors are just as cultural as they are cognitive entities and processes. Many other languages share the container metaphor of anger, when we become angry; we are experience physical sensations of heat and internal pressure inside the container.

There are many studies focusing on metaphorical uses in English, but cross-linguistic studies of metaphor (e.g., Luts 1987 in Ifaluk; Matsuki 1995 in Japanese; Yu 1995 in Chinese; Kövecses 2000 in Hungarian; Oberfalzerova 2006 in Mongolian). Korean researchers have also discussed conceptual metaphors from a cognitive linguistics perspective (e.g., Lim 2003; Song 2003; Na 2004). Some cross-cultural studies support the idea that metaphors for emotions are grounded in physical sensation.

This current study highlights the importance of culture for understanding the relationship between metaphor, culture and cognition, and it provides comparative generalizations for the basic emotion concept of animal metaphor which refers to anger and gives the fundamental explanations in English and Mongolian. For instance, different stages of anger development are expressed by different conceptual metaphors in English and Mongolian (e.g. English: ANGER IS A PLANT: *Divorce is too often the bitter fruit of anger; Deep seated anger can take root; blossomed into anger;* Mongolian: ANGER IS CATCHING FIRE: *asah lit., to start fire; durezeh lit., to burst into flames; shatah lit., to burn*). People in sedentary western cultures have had centuries of experience with agriculture than the people in pastoral nomadic cultures. In the past, Mongolians used three stones for making open fire by seeing all the processes of the fire. They have been living in some nomadic lifestyles since ancient times Thus; it may be the main cause to view the stages of anger as the fire process. Nowadays, one third of the population is still living in a semi-nomadic lifestyle. All of these experiential and cultural differences cause variations in emotion metaphors. This conceptual difference presents how cultural experience of the nations is important to create the concepts of emotions for the speakers of the two languages. It has been shown that the speakers have been using the historical metaphors from century to century. Therefore, we

should emphasize the importance of the history of the contexts and its development in a culture. For instance, both Mongolian and English speakers use historical metaphors for emotions which are highly conventionalized in the given cultures. For instance, the use of "horse" to refer to anger has been used since the Shakespearian period, while Mongolians have conceptualized anger as a lion, tiger, dog, or wolf since 13th century. This means that metaphors are stable through times of history.

It should be noted that the importance of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, which is about cognition, contributes importantly to the analysis of patterns of figurative language. There are many important works contributing significantly to the studies of metaphorical thought and language within the cognitive linguistics framework. Many researchers focus on the concept of emotion and their opinions about emotions vary depending on the psychological, anthropological and linguistic points of view. The componential analysis is very valuable for understanding a specific semantic domain of shared knowledge. Extensive studies of linguistics have been done with the support of this approach. Kövecses (1986, 1988, 1990, and 2000) suggests that many emotions, including anger love, happiness, sadness, pride, and so on, are characterized as prototypically organized cognitive models based on prototypical analysis. He also highlights the social-constructionist view which shows some advantages by showing how emotional meaning arises in particular contexts in the process of meaning negotiation and attempting to capture the entire system of emotional meaning. Moreover, he points out that the social-constructionist view is seen to be based on the notion of prototype view in that the structure of most emotional concepts is seen as a highly conventionalized script.

Based on the evidence found in the studies on emotion metaphors by different scholars, it is possible to suggest that abstract meanings can be expressed figuratively in any cultures at any historical period of time. We find many shared conceptual metaphors across cultures. For instance, western and eastern cultures both share the same generic-level metaphors for emotion concepts such as ANGER IS FIRE at a highly schematic level of the conceptualization.

Kövecses (2000, 2005) propose two kinds of embodiment: the physiological embodiment and the non-physiological embodiment. With this reason, it is possible to explain that similarities between different language construal of the conceptual metaphors of emotions as instances of physiological embodiment where the body of humans is generally conceptualized as a container of emotions across cultures.

In sum, different languages use different source domains at a specific level of conceptual organization, whereas the source domains are likely to be cross-culturally shared at a highly schematic level of the conceptualization.

2.1. The Concept of Emotion

The concept of emotion has been described variously depending on psychological, anthropological and linguistic points of view. It has been defined as "a strong feeling of any kind: love, joy, hate, fear and jealous are all emotions" in the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (1996). From a psychological view point, emotion has been defined as a mental event. The concept of emotion was investigated earlier within psychology by several scholars such as Wundt (1924) and Titchener (1910). Watson (1919) argues that emotion is behavior, and Wenger (1950) claims that emotion is a type

physiological activity. However, Alston (1967: 480) provides another definition of emotion using the following six factors: (1) a cognition of something in some way desirable or undesirable, (2) feelings of certain kinds (3) marked bodily sensations of some kind (4) involuntary bodily processes and overt expression of a certain kind (5) tendencies to act in certain ways (6) an upset or disturbed condition of mind or body. Many researchers focus on emotion and they attempt to provide definitions of emotion in various ways. In Izard (1972: 51), emotion is defined as "a complex process that has neuro-physiological, motor-expressive, and phenomenological aspects". With the support of the previous studies within psychology, Ortony (1988:8) writes that "emotions are not themselves linguistic things, but the most readily available non-phenomenal access we have to them is through language".

2.2. Anger Metaphors across Cultures

This section investigates how conceptual metaphors are manifested in different cultures around the world. Specifically, this part provides an analysis on emotion metaphors in Western, Eastern, and some African cultures, including Spanish, Turkish, Akan, Chinese, Hungarian, Japanese and Korean, from cognitive perspective points of view. Conceptual metaphors are an inseparable part of any culture. According to the current view of anthropology a particular culture is defined as a set of shared understandings that characterize smaller or larger groups of people (e.g. D' Andrade 1995; Shore 1996; Strauss and Quine 1997). Kövecses (2005) points out those metaphorical concepts are often embodied, and hence cultural understandings based on those concepts are embodied. Therefore, the conceptualization of emotions is a universal aspect across cultures since we share the same body and our physiological effects are the same. However, there are some conceptual differences between emotions in different cultures. The next subsections will provide us some examples of the universality and variations in emotion metaphors in Western, Eastern and African cultures.

2.2.1. Spanish

This section provides an analysis on some *anger* metaphors in Spanish, which belongs to the Romance language family. Barcelona (1989b) studies anger metaphors in Spanish and provides a descriptive account of the main metaphors and metonymies that articulate the concept in the language and a brief comparison with the English model of *anger*. Based on Barcelona's (1989) work, Soriano (2003) analyzes the metaphorical model of *anger* in Spanish in comparison with English in his doctoral research project. He suggests that Spanish also has the same schematic structure and cognitive model of *anger* in American English as proposed by Lakoff and Kövecses (1987).

Soriano (2003) reveals some differences of cultural models of anger in Spanish and American English. He found that the sub-metaphors THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS STEAM PRODUCTION and also THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON ARE STEWING do not exist in Spanish. However, these sub-mappings in ANGER IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER play a major role in understanding the concept of anger in English. The speakers of Spanish conceptualize THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS BEING FRIED, which does not exist in English. (e.g. *Me tienes frito lit., "you hai~e me fried", I am fid up with you; Me estás hinchando lit., "you are swelling me", you are annoying me*). The expressions show

that the effect of anger on the person is conceptualized as being fried in Spanish. All of these linguistic expressions are more conventionalized in Spanish. In addition, Sorena (2003: 120) suggests that "the HEAT component is even less important for the central metaphor ANGER IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER in Spanish than it is in English".

2.2.2. Hungarian

Hungarian belongs to the Finnish-Ugrian language family. Although English and Hungarian are genetically unrelated languages, they share some universal primary metaphors with each other. Kövecses (2005: 37) shows that Hungarian has the same conceptual metaphors of happiness as in English (e.g. HAPPY IS UP: *Ez a film feldobott this film up-threw-me lit.; this film gave me a high. /this film made me happy; HAPPINESS IS LIGHT: felderült az arca lit., his/her face brightened up*).

The results of the studies by Kövecses (2000) on emotion metaphors in Hungarian clearly indicate that Hungarian shares BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS and ANGER IS FIRE conceptual metaphors with English. It also says that in Hungarian, the body and the fire inside are commonly elaborated as a PIPE, in which there is a burning substance inside a container. Another interesting variation is that Hungarians also tend to conceptualize the head as a specific container of *anger*. Bokor (1997) points out that a number of expressions indicate the ways anger can affect the head and the brain.

2.2.3. Akan

Ansah (2010) applies Lakoff's analysis to conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER in Akan, which is spoken in West Africa, from a cognitive points of view (e.g. *Ne bo re- huru so, lit., his/her chest is boiling over. fig., He/she is boiling with anger*). The cited examples indicate that the anger is conceptualized as a hot fluid in a container in Akan. There also exists PATIENCE IS A COLD FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor in this culture (e.g. *Me bo a-dwo Me-chest compl-cool down lit., My chest has cooled down*). It is an interesting fact that in Akan, anger is contained in the chest, heart, back of the head and stomach (e.g. *Me bo a-te me yam, Poss chest compl fall poss stomach lit., My chest has fallen into my stomach fig., I am appeased*). As in these examples, the speakers of Akan conceptualize the expression of anger as a cold fluid in a specific container. In any cultures, people's divergent experiences of social and cultural life cause the production of variations in the metaphorical conceptualizations for emotions.

2.2.4. Turkish

Turkish belongs to the Altaic language family. Aksan (2006) presents an outline of conceptual metaphors of anger in Turkish from a cognitive linguistics perspective point of view. He points out that the Turkish cultural model of anger is not very different that the cultural model of American English. The PRESSURIZED CONTAINER metaphor is a universal primary metaphor which also found in Turkish. Aksan (2006) reveals that the sub-containers of anger in Turkish include the heart, the eyes and in some cases, nose (e.g. *Öfkesi burnunda lit., anger in the nose 'His anger is in his nose'*). He found that the Turkish version of PRESSURIZED CONTAINER metaphor elaborates more on the heat applying to solid. In addition, there are some realizations that heat applies to fluid in the culture. In this culture, there also exists the common knowledge that as the intensity of anger increases, the fluid rises (e.g. *İçinde*

hapsedilen öfkenin yükseldiğini hissetti, lit., inside pent-up anger rise felt 'He felt the pent-up anger rising inside him.') The heated fluid, blood in this case, rises up to the head and fills the eyes in Turkish (e.g. *Kan başına çıktı. lit., blood head climbed 'Blood rise up to his head.'*; *Öfkesinin gözlerinden boşandığını hissetti lit., anger eyes pour out felt 'He felt his anger pouring from his eyes'*) It is interesting that sometimes, rising fluid or gorging contents of the container reach the mouth or nostrils as in the following quoted examples from Aksan (2006) in Turkish (e.g. *Ağzıma kadar geldi. lit., mouth until came 'It came up to my mouth'; Burnuma kadar geldi lit., nose until came 'It came up to my nostrils'*). In the Turkish version, the entailments of rising fluids imply the addition of excess fluid to the container as in the examples. It is a remarkable difference that intense anger does not produce steam in Turkish.

2.2.5. Chinese

Chinese is originated from the Sino-Tibetan language family. King (1989) and Yu (1995, 1998) have studied conceptual metaphors of anger in Chinese. Yu (1998) studied anger metaphors in more details in Chinese, particularly, the PRESSURIZED CONTAINER metaphor. He found that Chinese speakers tend to use the version of this metaphor in which the excess *qi* (i.e., energy that flows through the body) that corresponds to anger is a gas, but not a fluid as in English. This culture-specific elaboration of anger metaphor in Chinese and the concept of *qi* is closely related to the long history of Eastern Chinese philosophy and medicine (e.g. ANGER IS EXCESS QI IN THE BODY: *xin zhong de nuqi shizhong wei pingxi[heart in POSS anger qi] lit., the anger qi in one's heart; bie yi duzi qi [hold back one stomach qi] lit., to hold back a stomach full of qi; yuji zai xiong de nuqi zhongyu baofa le [pent up at breast POSS anger qi finally explode LE] lit., the pent up anger qi in one's breast finally explodes*). The examples shown above suggest that anger, *qi* in Chinese, exists in various specific body organs such as the heart, stomach, and breast. It is true that in most cultures, the body and heart are conceptualized as containers for most of the emotions as in Chinese. It is noticeable that the anger *qi* seems to be fluid, but it is unlike English. The temperature is not specified in Chinese example of anger *qi*. However, the examples show that the pressure leads to an explosion which corresponds to a loss of control over anger in Chinese.

Moreover, Chinese shares the same metaphors for happiness with English. Yu (1995, 1998) found conceptual metaphors HAPPY IS UP, HAPPINESS IS LIGHT metaphors in Chinese (e.g. *HAPPY IS UP: Ta hen gao-xing lit., he very high-spirit, He is very high -spirited/happy; HAPPY IS LIGHT: Ta xiao zhu yan kai lit., her smile drive color beam; He smiled, which caused his face to beam/He beamed with a smile*). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) points out that there is a systematic correlation between the emotion of happiness and speaker's sensor motor experience of erect posture. Moreover, it is a common experience that happy feelings lead people to feel better and have positive attitudes. Thus, the speakers of Chinese also view happiness as light. These universal human embodied experiences can be the basis of the existence of these concepts of happiness across cultures.

2.2.6. Japanese

Japanese belongs to a Japanese-Ryukyuan language family. Matsuki (1995) investigates Japanese anger metaphors and points out that *hara* (stomach/belly) are the main container for the hot fluid that corresponds to anger.

According to Matsuki, when anger is in the belly or chest, one can still control anger, but when anger reaches the head, the person cannot control it (e.g. *mune-ga mukatsuku chest-nom. retch lit., Chest retches with anger; hara-ga tatsu, belly-nom rise up lit., Belly rises up; atama-ni kuru head-loc, come lit., Anger reaches to head*). In Japanese, anger metaphor is elaborated with three specific body parts such as *hara* (belly), *mune* (chest) and *atama* (head) and shows the various degrees of intensity of anger.

2.2.7. Korean

This section presents some studies on conceptual metaphors for emotions in Korean. Lim (1999) investigates the metaphorical conceptualization of basic emotions in Korean. He suggests that anger in Korean is conceptualized by such source domains as "a fluid in a container", "a thing", "a plant", "food", and "an enemy", "fire", and "a natural force". For instance, ANGER IS A PLANT: *Keu-neun hwa gadeuk chassda (lit., He is filled with anger.)*, ANGER IS A THING: *Hwa-ga sandeomi-cheoreom ssahyosdda (lit., Anger has accumulated like a mountain)*, ANGER IS FOOD: *sakmida (to swallow, sag-ida (to digest)*, ANGER IS AN ENEMY: *keudeul-eum jeog-eul igiji moshaessda (lit., They didn't conquer the enemy)*, ANGER IS FIRE: *sageurajida (lit., to burn slow) etc.*

Song (2003) provides systematic examples of conceptual metaphors for emotional concepts in her studies. She points out that in conceptualizing the emotional concept of anger, Koreans tend to utilize the internal organs; blood vessel and belly, and heart. It is also common knowledge that the body, head, eyes, heart and face are conceptualized as sub-containers for emotions in Korean. The notion that when pressure in the container becomes too intense, the container explodes, is the same in Korean as in English (e.g. *Kkeureoreu-neun bunnoui gamjeong, boil up-COMP anger's feeling lit., Anger that is boiling up Gamjeong-i pokpalhan nae moseub-eul, emotion-SUB exploded my appearance-OBJ lit., Me who exploded with anger*).

In sum, different languages use different source domains at a specific level of conceptual organization, whereas the source domains are likely to be cross-culturally shared at a highly schematic level of the conceptualization.

3. Data Collection

This study is conducted within the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory¹ proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). The main tenets of CMT are as follows: (a) metaphors structure thinking, (b) metaphors structure knowledge (c) metaphor is central to abstract language, (d) metaphor is grounded in physical experience, and metaphor is ideological. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argued for the existence of links between ideas which they call conceptual metaphors. Conceptual metaphor is a connection between two semantic areas including source and target domains. For instance, ANGER IS FIRE is a conceptual metaphor. In this metaphor, "fire" in the source domain applies to "anger" in the target domain. The source domain is typically concrete, but target domain is abstract. The relationship between

¹ Conceptual Metaphor Theory rejects the idea that metaphor is a decorative device, instead, this theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 3) explains that "metaphor is central to thought, and therefore to language". In the conceptual metaphor literature, small capital letters are used to denote a conceptual metaphor which shows the existence of the concept in a culture.

metaphorical thinking and speaking is often described by linguistic metaphors. In this study², we call them linguistic metaphorical expressions which realize conceptual metaphors in the two languages (e.g. **English:** *She was doing a slow burn*; **Mongolian:** *Ter uurandaa shataj bailaa. lit., She was burning in her anger. fig., She was very angry*). These metaphorical linguistic expressions make the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS FIRE manifest in the two languages.

Generally, this study has been conducted using the following steps: The metaphorical expressions of emotions in English are mainly compiled from the previous studies on emotion metaphors. Before revealing the similarities and variations in emotion metaphors in the two languages, I focused on the observation of linguistic metaphorical expressions in Mongolian. Therefore, the Mongolian data were primary data generated through the observation of linguistic expressions from different sources manually and the examples of metaphorical expressions in Mongolian were collected from a variety of genres including popular songs, main online social news sites, journals and magazines, novels, scripts of movies and TV talk shows and daily spoken dialogues of the native speakers of Mongolian. Therefore, the research mass was gathered from several sources both written and spoken discourse in Mongolian. This study adopts the MIP (The Metaphor Identification Procedure, Steen 1999) for identifying metaphorical expressions in Mongolian. After identifying metaphorical expressions in Mongolian, we present Cultural Model of Emotions in Mongolian with reference to *anger, love, happiness, and sadness* in Mongolian based on the CMT proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1987). Lastly, the differences of emotion metaphors have been analyzed along a number of selected parameters suggested by Barcelona (2001) and Kövecses (2001). The methods and procedures in more details will be discussed in the next sections.

3.1. The Metaphor Identification Procedure

In recent years, several proposals have been made in order to systematize the method for identifying metaphorically used words in discourse. (eg., Praggeljaz group 2007; Crisp et al., 2007; Steen 1999) The Metaphor Identification Procedure (Steen 1999) is a practical, and systematic method for identifying metaphorically used words in discourse. This five-step procedure of MIP incorporates both linguistic and conceptual metaphor identification in the following ways: (1) identifying metaphorical focus (2) identifying metaphorical idea (3) identifying metaphorical comparison (4) identifying metaphorical analogy (5) identifying metaphorical mapping.

The following steps were taken in identifying linguistic metaphors from the Mongolian data. First, after attentive reading the entire text from different sources, the general understanding of the meaning was established. Second, the lexical units in the text needed to be checked to ascertain whether any of the words in the discussion had been used metaphorically. Third, the basic for each lexical unit, was determined. The next step was to decide whether the basic meaning of the word was sufficiently distinct from the contextual meaning. Then I analyzed whether the contextual meaning of the word was related to its basic meaning by some form of similarity. The final step was to mark the

lexical unit as metaphorical. The last two stages of Steen's procedure were applied in inferring conceptual metaphors from linguistic metaphors. Specifically, the step for identifying metaphorical analogy involves making more specific connections between elements in the source and target domains. The identification such metaphorical analogies then became the basis for understanding of metaphorical mapping. Linguistic expressions that contained actual words for target domains ANGER or references to them were selected from the data. The expressions were grouped into their relatedness of the domains. After defining source domains, elements in them were then identified and the metaphorical mapping for the conceptual metaphors was established in the study.

In addition, the Romanization System is used to transcribe the Mongolian examples. Since the main focus is on the Mongolian examples, but not English. Therefore, all the translations of the literal meanings represent explanations of the sense of Mongolian metaphorical expressions of emotion concepts.

3.2. The Three Selected Parameters

Cross-linguistic differences in the expressions of the same conceptual metaphor are based mainly on Barcelona's (2001) and Kövecses' (2001) work. To compare the results of the study, the author selected the three main parameters proposed by Barcelona (2001) and Kövecses (2001) regarding the identification and description of the conceptual metaphor. Parameter 1 concerns the differences depending on the existence or non-existence of metaphorical mappings. According to Barcelona (2001: 137) "The same metaphor may be said to exist in both languages if approximately the same conceptual source and the target can be metaphorically associated in the two languages". Parameter 2 pertains to the degrees of linguistic elaboration. This is the second type of contrast that we can encounter when we compare conceptual metaphors in two languages. As Barcelona (2001: 137) puts it, "Differences between both languages owing to the existence of a version of the metaphor in one language and its absence, or limited use, in the other". Parameter 3 concerns the degrees of linguistic conventionality. An expression is conventionalized in a language if it is used frequently by the speakers. The object of our study has been a series of conventionalized metaphors. I arrive at the conclusion that there exists the same conceptual metaphor in two languages. The same conceptual metaphors in English and Mongolian display some variations in the metaphorical linguistic expressions.

4. Results of the Study

From the analysis of the linguistic material in the study two broad sorts of metaphors were identified that promote our understanding the concept of ANGER in English and Mongolian. Conceptual metaphors of emotions can be divided into generic and basic-levels. Generic-level metaphors can be applied to a great number of concepts, not only to anger, but also to any other emotions such as love, happiness, sadness, fear, and being ashamed. For instance, the metaphors MORE IS UP, INTENSITY IS HEAT, and BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS are considered generic-level metaphors, which are applied to the most of the emotion concepts across cultures. The basic-level metaphors of anger proposed by cognitive linguistic scholars are: ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, ANGER IS FIRE, ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL, ANGER IS INSANITY, ANGER IS OPPONENT, ANGER

² The current thesis includes some examples of the figurative language of simile, metaphor and metonymy in English and Mongolian for the purpose of the study even though those topics are different from the main topic.

IS A BURDEN, and THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS PHYSICAL NUISANCE.

The general conceptualization of anger metaphors in Mongolian is similar to English conceptual metaphors of anger in some respects. The shared human biology and the common effects of emotional states produce the same physiological effects in humans. There is strong evidence that increased body heat is experienced universally by angry people, and this physiological effect is expressed in the language through a variety of anger metonymies and metaphors. Metonymies play a very important role in understanding the conceptual metaphors of anger in English and Mongolian. For this reason, this study includes some metonymies of anger in English and Mongolian. These metonymies are the main basis of some conceptual metaphors of anger in the two languages.

4.1. Similarities

The study has found that English and Mongolian share some universal primary and basic-level metaphors of anger such as ANGER IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL, ANGRY BEHAVIOR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOR, with each other at a highly schematic level. Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) present a cultural model of anger in American English.

The basic-level metaphor ANGER IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL entails ANGRY BEHAVIOR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOR sub metaphor. Both languages share this sub metaphor with each other. The speakers of English and Mongolian conceptualize angry behavior as aggressive animal behavior. But this metaphor is elaborated in different ways in the two languages. The linguistic elaborations will be discussed in more details. Consider the examples below: ANGRY BEHAVIOR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOR English: Don't *snarl* at me! (Kövecses 2000: 21) Don't be so stupid, he *snarled*. (OALD) Mongolian: "Yar yar" *geed baihiim*. (SD) lit., Being "Yar and yar" fig., He/She snarling. In the expressions, *snarl* at in English, and *yar, yar geed baihiim* (lit., being "yar yar") in Mongolian, refer to an angry person's behavior in the two languages. The word "snarl" implies the meaning of "showing the teeth and growling angrily." Speaking in an angry bad-tempered voice is understood in terms of angry animal's sound like growling angrily in both cultures. This is a good evidence for the existence of the concept that ANGRY BEHAVIOR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOR in English and Mongolian.

The reason why the two cultures share the same metaphor is that anger is regarded as a negative emotion, which causes a person to have some bad effects, if one losses his/her control as being angry.

In the part of similarities, basic-level metaphors of anger existing in the two diverse cultures were discussed in more details. Moreover, in support of the prototypical cognitive or cultural model of anger proposed by Lakoff and Kövecses, we explained the universality of the anger metaphors in English and Mongolian. Moreover, the universal metonymic conceptualization, which expresses some shared physiological processes including body heat, internal pressure, and redness in face and neck area in the two cultures, supports the understanding of metaphorical conceptualization of anger in the two cultures. Based on the linguistic evidence, we pointed out that English and Mongolian seem to have same basic schematic structure of anger at the highly schematic level. However, there are different language-specific mappings, elaborations and

conventionalized linguistic expressions of this metaphor at a very specific level. Therefore, I will provide more detailed analysis and explanations in the next sections.

4.2. Differences

This section discusses cultural variations in the conceptualization of anger metaphors in English and Mongolian from the perspective of cognitive linguistics. This part consists of several subsections which pertain to the differences in emotions with special reference to ANGER between the two languages. The main goal is to demonstrate how the concept of anger varies in the sedentary and nomadic cultures. Thus, the differences have been analyzed along the three main parameters. The results of the study suggest that the greater level of specificity in the system brings more cross cultural differences in English and Mongolian.

4.2.1. Differences due to the existence or non-existence of language-specific mappings.

Parameter 1 concerns differences due to the existence or non-existence of language-specific mappings. This study has found that ANGER IS A HORSE; ANGER IS A SNAKE; ANGRY BEHAVIOR IS AGGRESSIVE HORSE BEHAVIOR; ANGRY SPEECH BEHAVIOR IS AGGRESSIVE SNAKE BEHAVIOR; ANGER IS AN OLD SNAKE SKIN mappings exist in English. These mappings do not exist in Mongolian. Instead, Mongolian has ANGER IS A HEDGEHOG; ANGER IS A DOG; ANGER IS A BULL; ANGER IS A LION OR TIGER; ANGRY BEHAVIOR IS AGGRESSIVE DOG BEHAVIOR; ANGRY BEHAVIOR IS AGGRESSIVE LION AND TIGER BEHAVIOR and ANGRY BEHAVIOR IS AGGRESSIVE BULL BEHAVIOR language-specific mappings. There are different mappings of animal metaphor for anger in the two cultures. In English, the metaphor ANGER IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL shows conceptual mapping from the source domain HORSE, SNAKE, AGGRESSIVE HORSE BEHAVIOR, AGGRESSIVE SNAKE BEHAVIOR, OLD SNAKE SKIN to the target domain ANGER and ANGRY BEHAVIOR. But this basic-level metaphor shows conceptual mapping from the source domain DOG, BULL, LION AND TIGER, AGGRESSIVE DOG SOUND, AGGRESSIVE LION OR TIGER BEHAVIOR, and AGGRESSIVE BULL BEHAVIOR to the target domain ANGER and ANGRY BEHAVIOR in Mongolian.

In spite of sharing basic-level conceptual metaphors to construe ANGER, English and Mongolian have some culture-specific mappings.

4.2.2. Degrees of linguistic elaboration

This section discusses the differences according to the degrees of linguistic elaboration of anger metaphors in English and Mongolian. When comparing conceptual metaphors in the two languages, we find differences in the degrees of linguistic elaboration of shared mappings and non-shared mappings. Barcelona (2001) points out that difference between both languages owing to the existence of a version of the metaphor in one language and its absence, or limited use, in the other.

As mentioned in the previous section, both languages share the metaphor ANGRY BEHAVIOR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOR is also more elaborated in the nomadic culture.

In spite of sharing the same basic-level metaphors, English and Mongolian share different culture-specific mappings of animal metaphors for anger with each other. First, Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) found a metaphorical

source domain of animal that characterizes anger in English. Esenova (2009) investigated animal metaphors for anger in English and found a number of metaphorical entailments of ANGER IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL metaphor. His investigation has contributed importantly to understanding the concept of anger in English. The basic-level metaphor ANGER IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL which has already been mentioned entails ANGER IS A HORSE and ANGER IS A SNAKE special-case mapping in English. Thus, this central metaphor describes anger as a sleeping animal that is dangerous if it is awakened, something that needs to be restrained and something with unsuitable appetite. Esenova (2009) identifies that these metaphors map the source domains of ANIMAL, namely, HORSE and SNAKE onto the target domain ANGER. Consider the following linguistic realizations of that metaphor: ANGER IS A HORSE; English: His common sense is a *bridle* to his quick temper. *Unbridled* anger Scipio *bridled* his indignation. Burin was unable to *rein* in his temper. I usually manage to *curb* temper, my anger when I'm at home, but at work I don't succeed. However, I will pay you to *curb* your famous temper. You must try to *put a curb* on your bad temper. (Esenova 2009) *bridle* rage; He *bridled* a little at her insensitive remarks. (OALD)

The linguistic expressions *bridle rage* and *rein in his temper* in the examples above imply figuratively the meaning of "to keep one's feelings", specifically, it refers to control anger and rage in English. In the example, the expression *curbs one's temper* expresses the meaning "to restrain or control his/her anger". The example *he bridled a little at her insensitive remarks* shows that he is angry or offended about something, especially by moving one's head up or back in a proud way. Thus, the angry person's action is similar to the action of a bridled horse. All of these linguistic realizations belong to the HORSE domain literally implies the meaning of "to prevent a horse from getting out or to restrain and control it".

According to Esenova (2009), the metaphor ANGER IS A HORSE describes anger as a horse that is dangerous if it is not restrained. The harm that the horse may cause can be avoided if it is held under strict control. Consider the following correspondences for the ANGER IS A HORSE metaphor:

Source: HORSE	Target: ANGER
The horse corresponds to the anger	
The bridles correspond to reason	
Being bridled for the horse corresponds to anger being under control	
Being unbridled for the horse corresponds to anger being out of control.	
The owner of the horse corresponds to the angry person (Esenova 2009)	

The reasons why the HORSE domain is a suitable source domain for anger conceptualization are as follows: An unbridled horse can cause harm to the horse owner and to others, and anger may cause harm to the angry person or others if it is not controlled. They have something in common. Apart from being a dangerous animal, a horse also has some other characteristics: it is a strong, powerful and energetic animal and it shows intense reactions. Due to these reasons, Esenova claims that the HORSE domain gets mapped onto such an intensive emotional state as anger. Also, the conceptualization of anger as a horse is not a new idea.

This is a deeply entrenched way of thinking about anger in Western culture. He points out that the tendency to conceptualize anger in terms of a horse existed in a western culture long before the Shakespearean period. There have been found many examples of anger in terms of a horse in old literature written by Shakespeare. Consider the following line: *English: Anger is like A full-hot horse, who being allow'd his way, Self-mettle tires him.* (Esenova 2009) In English, angry human behavior is understood in terms of the bridling behavior of a horse. The word *bridle* belongs to the HORSE domain. In the current discourse, however, *bridle* implies the meaning of *to keep one's emotional feelings*. In English, we can metaphorically say *bridle one's emotions/passions/ temper/rage*. The reason the speakers of English conceptualize anger as a horse is that people in a sedentary culture think that a horse is considered as a captive animal. However, Mongolians never consider that a horse is a dangerous animal. Instead, they describe a horse as the best friend for human beings. Nomadic people cannot imagine their life experiences without a horse and its great support. There are many positive metaphorical expressions regarding the horse in the nomadic culture. Native speakers of English perceive a horse's bridling behavior as sign of aggression. When a horse bridles, it tries to escape and want to be free from displeasure.

Esenova (2009) found another kind of anger metaphor mapping SNAKE source domain onto the target domain of ANGER. He found that angry behavior is understood in terms of an aggressive snake behavior. The ANGRY SPEECH BEHAVIOR IS AGGRESSIVE SNAKE BEHAVIOR is sub mapping of the metaphor ANGRY BEHAVIOR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOR. English: "You shall yet repent this', he *hissed*. In a *venomous attack* on the family, Mann Booker Prize winner Anne Enright wrote that she was "angry" that Kate and Gerry McCan "refused to accept" their daughter was dead. (Esenova 2009)

The expressions *hissed* and *venomous attack* shows that an angry person's speech behavior is understood in terms of aggressive snake behavior in English. Moreover, Esenova (2009) found the ANGER IS AN OLD SNAKE SKIN metaphor in English. He suggests that the metaphor ANGER IS AN OLD SNAKE SKIN is motivated by the biological process of skin shedding in snakes. The poor shedding in snakes is believed to be a sign of bad health or another imbalance in its organism. In a parallel fashion, the retention of anger is understood to be mentally harmful for the angry person. He provides the following correspondences for this metaphor as follows:

Source: OLD SNAKE SKIN	Target: ANGER
The old snake skin corresponds to anger.	
The snake corresponds to the angry person.	
Carrying of the old snake skin corresponds to experiencing anger.	
Casting off the old snake skin corresponds getting rid of anger.	
The new snake skin corresponds to the new positive emotion/trait.	
The skin renewal in the snake corresponds to the emotion/mental in the angry person.	

In Western culture, the use of "snake" refers to both positive and negative ideas. This culture-specific mapping does not exist in Mongolian.

The concept ANGER IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL has some culture-specific metaphorical entailments in Mongolian.

Three sub-metaphors ANGER IS A DOG, ANGER IS A LION OR TIGER and ANGER IS A HEDGEHOG arise from this central metaphor ANGER IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL. The metaphor ANGRY BEHAVIOR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOR has the following metaphorical entailments: ANGRY BEHAVIOR IS AGGRESSIVE LION OR TIGER BEHAVIOR, ANGRY SPEECH IS AGGRESSIVE DOG SOUND, and ANGRY BEHAVIOR IS AGGRESSIVE BULL BEHAVIOR which are elaborated with culture-specific linguistic realizations of animal metaphors for anger. Consider the following usages of anger in Mongolian: ANGER IS A DOG; *Harvisaa hazah Khasar nohoi met* (SHM: 78) lit., Like Khasar dog biting its own placenta. fig., your angry action was like a dog named "Khasar" gnawing on its own after birth. *Balmaid dovtloh baru (nohoi) met barav.* (SHM: 78) lit., like a dog attacks foolishly and destroys. fig., Your anger was like a dog attacking wildly and caused him to die.

In the examples above, the expression *hashaani nohoi shig sanagdchihlaa* (lit., she seems like a dog of the fence) implies that her angry behavior is like an aggressive dog in the fence. The metaphorical expression found from the classical historical source *The Secret History of Mongols*³ (SHM: 78), *harvisaa hazah Khasar nohoi met* (lit., like Khasar⁴ dog biting its own placenta), implies that an angry person is compared to an aggressive dog. Specifically, losing control because of anger is understood in terms of AN aggressive dog which bites one's placenta. In (137), the expression *balmaid dovtloh nohoi met barav* (lit., like a dog foolishly attacking and destroyed) means figuratively "Your anger was like a dog attacking foolishly and caused him to die". Thus, the DOG domain has been used to express anger in Mongolian since the 13th century and long before that. This is not a newly created concept in the nomadic culture. The dog barks at something or somebody to protect its belongings, and so it is very dangerous to others if it is untied. Anger is figuratively comparable to a dog, in that, if the self loses his/her control, and it is harmful to others.

The data in this study show that the concept of anger has been rich with metaphorical expressions since ancient times in Mongolian. For instance, Temujin⁵ and Khasar's⁶ angry behavior was described metaphorically as a dog, lion and tiger in *The Secret History of the Mongols* (SHM: 78). The

conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A LION OR TIGER is more conventionalized in Mongolian. In this metaphor, the source domain "a lion or tiger" applies to anger in the target domain. Consider the examples below: ANGER IS A LION OR TIGER; Mongolian: *Khadand dovtloh hablan*⁷ *bar met* (SHM: 78), lit., like a tiger attacking on the rocks. fig., Your anger was like a tiger attacking others. *Aguuraa daran yadah arslan met* (SHM: 78), lit., like a lion trying to suppress its anger. fig., Your anger was like an angry lion that cannot control its anger. *Barij ul saarah bars met* (SHM: 78), lit., like tigers that can't be held. fig., your anger was like tigers that unable to control their anger.

The most common metaphorical linguistic expressions of anger are shown in the cited examples. In these examples, the angry person is understood in terms of a lion or tiger in Mongolian. In The expression *arslan bar shig* (lit., like a lion and tiger) is more conventionalized collocation to refer to an angry person in the nomadic culture. The expression *khadand dovtloh hablan met* (lit., like a tiger attacking on the rocks) means figuratively "Your anger was like an angry tiger attacking the others". The expression *aguuraa daran yadah arslan met* (lit., like a lion trying to suppress its anger) shows that an angry person is viewed as an angry lion that cannot control its anger. In the example, the expression *barij ul saarah bars met* (lit., like the tigers that can't be held) means "Your anger was like tigers that unable to control their anger and fury" and it also shows that an angry person is compared to an angry tiger in Mongolian. The examples found in *The Secret History of the Mongols* (SHM: 1227) suggest that Mongolians have conceptualized anger as a lion or tiger since the 13th Century or before.

The concept ANGER IS A HEDGEHOG exists in Mongolian, but this mapping does not exist in English. Since ancient times, Mongolians have conceptualized an angry person as a hedgehog based on their similar characteristics of physical appearance of an angry person and a hedgehog. There is a metaphorical riddle which says "*Tuntger uvgun tumen jadtai.* (lit., The rounded old man with thousands of spears)" in Mongolian. In this riddle, "the rounded old man" refers to a hedgehog. When a hedgehog gets angry, it becomes rounded and expresses its angry behavior rolling down and protecting itself from enemies. Another interesting fact is that Mongolians believe that hairs of a hedgehog protect them from bad quarrels and discords; thus, people have carried it in the front of the clothes since ancient times.

Moreover, this study has found that animal metaphors for anger are more elaborated in Mongolian than in English. Mongolians have conceptualized anger as a wolf since ancient times. In this metaphor, an angry person is understood in terms of an angry wolf. Consider the examples found in *The Secret History of the Mongols* (SHM: 78). ANGER IS A WOLF: Mongolian: *Boroond dovtloh chono met* (SHM: 78), lit., like a wolf attacking in the rainstorm, fig., Your anger was like a wolf stalking under the cover of a rainstorm. *Hevteshee höndöhös ömöömöh tsöövör chono met.* lit., like a hyena protecting his den when he is touched on. fig., Your anger was like a hyena who fights with anyone who touches him.

The linguistic metaphorical expression *boroond dovtloh chono met* (lit., like a wolf attacking in the rainstorm) shows that anger is viewed as a wolf attacking in a rainstorm in

³ The Secret History of the Mongols (1227) is the oldest literary work written for the Mongol royal family sometime after Chingis Khan's death in 1227. It is very unique and contains epic poetry written so skillfully and indeed artistically blended with fictional and historical accounts. Moreover, this classical source is rich with linguistic metaphorical expressions manifesting the concept of emotions including anger, sadness, and happiness.

⁴ This word was explained in more detail in Mongolian Advanced Explanation Dictionary as follows: "Khasar is an archaic use of the oldest name for Mongolian dog and wild animal. In Mongolin folk tales and legends "Khasar and Basar" are described as the strongest and powerful Mongolian dogs. The word "Khasar" was originated from the word "arlsan"(lion) and the word "Basar" was originated from the word "bar"(tiger) as a result of vowel alternations in Mongolian".

⁵ Chingis Khan, born Temujin, was the founder and the Great Khan of the Mongol Empire.

⁶ Chingis Khan's younger brother was named "Khasar".

⁷ "Hablan" is an archaic use to refer to one kind of tiger. (SHM: 78)

Mongolian. In the cited example from the *Secret History of the Mongols*, the expression *hevteshee höndöhöös ömööömöh tsöövör chono met* (lit., like a hyena protecting his den when he is touched on) indicates that an angry person is understood in terms of an angry hyena who fights with anyone who touches him. In addition, animal metaphors for anger were more elaborated in *The Secret History of the Mongols* (SHM: 78) with the use of *suudree dovtloh shonhor met* (lit., like a falcon foolishly attacking its shadow); *semeer zalgih tsurhai met* (lit., like a pike swallowing in silently); *botgonihoo⁸ borvi hazah buur⁹ met* (lit., like a camel biting the heel of its young); *hövuudee höön yadaj ideh angir met* (lit., like a mandarin duck trying to eat his own chicks when they fall behind) to refer to the concept of anger.

The metaphor ANGRY BEHAVIOR IS AGGRESSIVE LION OR TIGER BEHAVIOR is elaborated by such expressions as *arslan bar shig dairah*, (lit., to attack like a lion and tiger) in Mongolian. The speakers of Mongolian conceptualize the angry person's behavior as an aggressive lion's or tiger's behavior. This concept is more conventionalized in the nomadic culture. They believe that a lion and tiger are the most dangerous animals that hurt the surrounding people if they are angry. Moreover, angry speech is understood in terms of aggressive dog sound in Mongolian.

Mongolians conceptualize angry person's behavior as aggressive bull behavior. In the nomadic culture, the expression *ulairsan buh* (lit., a bull growing red/angry bull) describes the bulls, which lose their control by attacking each other. Therefore, an angry bull is considered too dangerous to surrounding people. The verb *ulairah* (lit., to grow red) means "to show great enthusiasm or very strong feeling". The word *ulairsan buh* (lit., a bull growing red) refers to the angry bull that destroys everything on the way because it loses control in the nomadic culture. In this current discourse, an angry person is understood in terms of an angry bull.

4.2.3. Degrees of linguistic conventionalization

This section discusses differences of anger metaphors which are reflected in linguistic conventionalization in English and Mongolian. Conventionalization is defined as the act of stylizing to conform to a particular style. The conventionality of the conceptual metaphors is regarded as the quality or characteristics of being conventional in thinking. Thus, due to the degree of linguistic conventionalization, there exist some differences of emotion metaphors in the two languages.

Mongolian elaborates on the mapping ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL in a number of ways by producing special-case entailment mappings such as ANGRY BEHAVIOR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOR. The sub-mappings including ANGRY BEHAVIOR IS AGGRESSIVE BULL BEHAVIOR, ANGRY BEHAVIOR IS AGGRESSIVE LION AND TIGER BEHAVIOR, and ANGER IS HEDGEHOG. The elaborations of these mappings are highly conventionalized in everyday spoken dialogues to refer to an angry person's behavior in the nomadic culture (e.g. *ulairsan buh* lit., a bull growing red, *arslan bar shig dairah* lit., to attack like a lion and tige, *yarzagnah* lit., to baring one's teeth, *tuntegnetlee uurlah*, lit., to be angry to be rounded). Other common conventionalized expressions to refer to the concept of anger as insanity are *uhaan aldatlaa uurlah* (lit., to be angry almost to lose

consciousness), and *uhaan aldatlaa uurlah* (lit., to be angry almost to be madden) in Mongolian.

4.3. Discussion and Summary

This section summarizes the concept of anger and provides the fundamental explanations for why there exist some universal and culture-specific metaphors of anger in the two languages. Consider the following table:

Table 1. The metaphorical conceptualization of anger in English and Mongolian.

The two languages	Similarities (highly schematic level)	Differences (specific level)
English	Source domains: the heat of a fluid in a container, fire, a captive animal, aggressive animal behavior, insanity, an opponent, a burden, physical annoyance, a natural force, a social superior, trespassing	Source domains: a horse, a snake, aggressive horse behavior, aggressive snake behavior, old snake skin, a child, a plant, a functioning machine Target: anger
Mongolian	Target domain: anger	Source domains: a tiger or lion, a dog, a bull, a hedgehog, a wolf, aggressive lion or tiger behavior, aggressive bull behavior, aggressive dog behavior Target domain: anger

Table 1. briefly shows the similarities and differences in anger metaphors in English and Mongolian. The speakers of the two languages use different source domains to refer to anger as shown in the table above. We have seen that the anger metaphor is a very important part of our conceptual system and is present in everyday discourse in the two cultures. It should be noticed that various metonymies associated with the physiological effects of the emotion concept of anger on understanding the major conceptual metaphors of anger are important in English and Mongolian. There exist some universal basic-level metaphors of anger at the highly schematic level in the two cultures since we are human and our physiological effects are the same.

However, this study has revealed conceptual differences in anger metaphors by showing evidence from Mongolian in comparison with English. Our everyday conversation is filled with unique cultural contents at a specific level in the given cultures.

Another conceptual difference exists in the animal metaphors of anger in the two cultures. In a western culture, a horse and snake are considered as dangerous animals, which are used in the source domain to refer to anger in the target domain. Why the HORSE domain is suitable for the conceptualization of anger is explained as in the following way: that unbridled horse behavior and an angry person's behavior both cause harm to the owner and others when it is not controlled. In a sedentary culture, riding a horse has not been a part of everyday life experience, in contrast to nomads. The speakers of English view anger as a horse based on the similarities of angry behavior and the unbridled horse which can harm the owner in case it is not restrained. For centuries, people in the western cultures have conceptualized anger as a horse. This notion existed long before the Shakespearean period.

⁸ The word "botgo" refers to a young camel in its first year.

⁹ The word "buur" refers to a camel (not gelding).

The metaphor ANGER IS A SNAKE has special mappings ANGRY SPEECH BEHAVIOR IS AGGRESSIVE SNAKE BEHAVIOR and ANGER IS AN OLD SNAKE SKIN in English. Esenova (2013) points out that the metaphor ANGER IS AN OLD SNAKE SKIN is motivated by the biological process of skin shedding in snakes. The poor shedding in snakes is believed to be a sign of bad health or another imbalance in its organism. In a parallel fashion, the retention of anger is understood to be harmful for the mental well-being of the angry person in the metaphor above. There are some similar characteristics that a snake sheds its old necrotic skin and grows a new one, as a human, we get rid of anger and allow new positive emotions to take place. In Western culture, the use of "snake" refers to both positive and negative ideas.

Mongolians have never conceptualized anger as a horse and snake. Instead, they conceptualize anger as a lion and tiger, dog, bull and hedgehog. People in the nomadic culture consider the horse as the best friend for men on long journeys and as a very important and reliable means of transportation. They cannot imagine their lives without a horse and its support. The herders' everyday work is done with the support of a horse. There are many positive metaphors in regard to a horse in Mongolian (e.g. *Mori saitai yavna lit., going with a good horse fig., to be lucky for something*). There is a traditional saying: *Ezgui heer mori eznee hayaddagui. lit., In the people-less steppes a horse does not leave behind its master*. This means that if the owner falls off, it will run back to its own herd. Nomads also have a very different concept about the snake. In the nomadic culture, Mongolians always respect nature and believe in natural force. They call the snake a *khairhan*¹⁰ and avoid doing bad things with it. For these several reasons, Mongolians never conceptualize anger as a horse and a snake. The myth of the creation of the world causes the nomadic people to conceptualize animals in terms of inanimate objects. Mongolians usually use "khairkhan" to refer to mountains. However, this word figuratively implies a snake. They believe that a snake has some super natural forces, thus, it is taboo to call its name. That is why the SNAKE domain is not used to refer to anger in the target domain in this culture.

In Mongolian folk tales and stories, a tiger and a lion are described as the most dangerous animals. Based on the some powerful and energetic characteristics of these animals, the speakers create the animal metaphors of anger in this culture. In the Mongolian culture, a dog is considered the best friend for humans, like a horse. Nomadic people move from one place to another searching for a good pasture for their livestock rather than settling permanently in one location. The Mongolian pastoral nomads rely on their animals for survival and move several times a year. Thus, a good horse and dog are regarded as the best helpers for them. The families which are called *ail*¹¹ in the culture are usually isolated from one another for about 10 or 20 kilometers in the rural areas. In the

Gobi¹² one *ail* is far from another for about 40 and 100 kilometers. Thus, all cattle-breeders usually have a good dog to protect their cattle from other wild animals and other dangerous actions in the remote area of the country. Therefore, a barking sound of a dog always becomes a very good signal for the owners against something dangerous. Thus, the speakers conceptualize angry person's behavior as an angry dog's behavior in the nomadic culture.

Another culture-specific metaphor is ANGER IS A BULL in Mongolian. This concept is motivated by the similar characteristics of an angry bull's behavior and an angry person's action. The phrase "angry bull" which is *ulairsan buh shig (lit., like a bull growing red)* refers to an angry person. In the nomadic culture, the word *ulairsan buh (lit., the bull growing red)* refers to the bull, which loses control by attacking one another; accordingly, it is considered too dangerous to others surrounding the angry bulls that can destroy everything on the way because it loses its control. Thus, nomadic people warn against angry bulls when two bulls attack each other.

Since ancient times, Mongolians have conceptualized anger as a hedgehog based on the resemblance between an angry person and a hedgehog. In ANGER IS A HEDGEHOG metaphor, the angry person is understood in terms of the angry hedgehog rounded and filled with anger. When a hedgehog gets angry, it becomes rounded and expresses angry behavior by rolling down. In the nomadic culture, there is a saying that the hair of a hedgehog protects it from bad quarrels and discord; therefore, people carry it in front of their clothes.

In summary, it is not only the speakers' different social cultural experiences and their preferences of cognitive processes but also the applications to reality that leads to variations in anger metaphors in the two cultures.

References

- Aksan, Mustafa. Metaphors of Anger: An outline of a Cultural Model, *Journal of Linguistics*, 2006. 3: pp. 31-67.
- Alston, William. P. "Emotion and Feeling" In the *Encyclopedia of Philosophy* vol. 2, edited by Paul Edwards, New York: Macmillan and Free Press. 1967.
- Ansah, Glydus. Nyarko. The Cultural Basis of Conceptual Metaphors: The Case of Emotions in Akan and English, the Lancaster University Postgraduate Conference in Linguistics & Language Teaching 2010, pp. 2-25. (<https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper>)
- Barcelona, Antonio. "On the Systematic Contrastive Analysis of Conceptual Metaphors: Case Studies and Proposed Methodology." In *Applied cognitive Linguistics*, vol. 2 (Language Pedagogy), edited by Martin Putz, 2001, pp. 117-46. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyete.
- Esenova, Orazgozal. Anger Metaphors in the English Language, In Heli Tissari (ed.), *Studies in Variation, Contacts and Change in English*, Vol 3, Fauconnier, G. *Mental Spaces*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2009
- Izard, Carrol Ellis. *Patterns of Emotions*. New York: Academic Press, 1972.
- Kövecses, Zoltan. *Metaphors of Anger, Pride, and Love: A Lexical Approach to the Structure of Concepts*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1986.

¹⁰ "Khairkhan" is an archaic use to refer to sacred grand mountains. In addition, this word is used as interjection to express the meaning of to be afraid of something, to have faith in supernatural force and to surprise from something. (MAED 2000)

¹¹ In the nomadic culture, the word "ail" refers to a family including its housing. Also a group of "ger" is called *ail*.

¹² "Gobi" is a semi-desert in the southern part of Mongolia. i.e. Some places have steppes with a pre-eminently desert character in the country.

- Kövecses, Zoltan. *The Language of Love*. Lewisburg: Bicknell University Press. 1988.
- Kövecses, Zoltan. *Emotion Concepts*, Berlin and New York: Springer-verlag. 1990.
- Kövecses, Zoltan. *Metaphor and Emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2000.
- Kövecses, Zoltan. *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction* Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2002.
- Kövecses, Zoltan. *Metaphor in Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2005.
- Lakoff, George. and Mark. Johnson. *Metaphors We Live By*, Chicago: Chicago, University Press, 1980.
- Lakoff, George. and Kövecses, Zoltan. *The Cognitive Model of Anger Inherent in American English*, In Holland, D. and N. Quinn (eds), *Cultural models in Language and Thought*, 1987, pp. 195-221. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lim, Ji-Ryong. "Aspects of the Metaphorical Conceptualization of Basic Emotions in Korean" *Studies in Modern Grammar* 2003, pp. 218-235.
- Luts, Catherine. *Goals, events, and understanding in Ifaluk emotion theory*. In D. Holland and N. Quinn, *Cultural models in language and thought*: 1987, pp. 290-312. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Matsuki, K. *Metaphors of anger in Japanese*. In J. Taylor and R. E. MacLaury (Eds.), *Language and cognitive construal of the world*: 1995, pp. 137-151. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Na, Ik Joo. *On the Metaphorical Conceptualization of Korean Ceng*, *The Journal of Linguistic Science*. Korea. 2004, 31:103-24
- Nacey, Susan. *Introduction to the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP)*, 2009. <http://www.slideserve.com>
- Oberfalzerova, Alena. *Metaphors and Nomads*. Ph.D. dissertation, Charles University Press, 2006.
- Ortony, Andrew, Gerald L, and Collins, A. *The cognitive structure of emotions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1988.
- Song, Buseon. *Emotion Metaphors in Korean*, Ph.D. dissertation, Ball State University, Muncie Indiana, 2003.
- Soriano, Cristina. *Some Anger Metaphors in Spanish and English, A Contrastive Review*, *International Journal of English Studies*, Vol 3. 2003.
- Watson, John. Broadus. *Psychology from the standpoint of a behaviorist*. Philadelphia: Lippincott. 1919.
- Wenger, Marion. A. *Emotion as visceral action: An extension of Lange's theory*. In M. L. Reymert (ed.), *The Second International Symposium on Feelings and Emotions 1950*, pp. 3-10. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Wundt, Wilhelm. *An Introduction to psychology*. London: Allen & Unwin. 1924
- Yu, Ning. *The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins 1998.
- Zouhieur, A. Maalej, "Embodiment via Body Parts: Studies from Various Languages and Culture" *Cognitive Proceedings* 31, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2001.
- The sources of the examples are given according to the following abbreviations: SHM-The Secret History of Mongols, OALD- Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English, 1996, Oxford University Press