

Metaphorical Conceptualizations of Anger in Ilami Kurdish

Amir Karimipour (*Corresponding Author)
M.A. in Linguistics, Ferdowsi University of
Mashhad, Iran
E-mail: am_ka439@alumni.um.ac.ir

Ali Izanloo
Assistant Professor, Ferdowsi University of
Mashhad, Iran
E-mail: aliizanloo@um.ac.ir

Abstract

In this article, we analyze different anger metaphors and metonymies in Ilami Kurdish. Indeed, it is believed that, through examining the anger (idiomatic) expressions (including metaphor and metonymy) taken from Ilami native individuals, we can probably figure out how anger may be conceptualized in Ilami dialect. By analyzing our data, we noticed that Ilami anger metaphors and metonymies are diverse, as we found different source domains like “animal”, “razor”, “irritating smell”, and many more. Greatly affected by cultural factors, many of these expressions may not go beyond Ilam’s linguistic map, as some of the expressions are about the local people who live or lived in the region some time ago, although, as indicated throughout the paper, other expressions may overlap with those of other cultures. Another facet of the research is devoted to representing the roles body parts’ names play in some of anger expressions. Regarding this part, it was figured out that taboo words related to body parts are productively used in these expressions, which potentially intensify the degree of anger emotion in the given metaphors/ metonymies.

Keywords: Anger Emotion, Cognitive Metaphor, Ilami Kurdish, Metaphor, Metonymy.

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1. Introduction

In this article, we are to list some of Ilami Kurdish anger metaphors and metonymies. Later on, the semantic conceptualization of these expressions will be elaborated. We also try to represent the linguistic function of body parts names (especially taboo names) where used in the construction of these expressions. At the first step, we point to some of the most important research papers on anger and its conceptualizations.

Clausen (2007, p. vii) believes that anger is an emotion that can be expressed in different ways from mild irritation to intense fury and rage. Anger has physical effects including raising the heart rate and blood pressure and the levels of adrenaline and noradrenalin. Anger can be counted as a response (physiological and psychological) to different threats and these threats can be real, discussed or imagined. This emotion can be caused by different triggers. For example when we face with physical conflict, injustice, negligence, humiliation or betrayal, this emotion may be triggered. As far as basic terms (of emotions) are concerned, anger is listed as one of the basic emotions like sadness, fear, joy and love. On the other hand annoyance, wrath, rage and indignation for anger and terror, fright, and horror for fear are considered as the less basic emotions Kovecses (2000, p. 3).

Anger is studied by different scholars from different fields of interest. In Persian, Abbasvandi and Maghsoudi (2013) compare the samples of anger metaphors of Persian language with those of English and finally they conclude that however these constructions are to a great extent culture bound, the universal aspects of these mappings could not be ignored. For example, however there is no one to one overlap between English and Persian anger metaphors, there are such mappings as “anger as a fluid”, “anger as heat/ fire”, “anger as an opponent” and “anger as insanity” which are present in both languages.

Carrión (2012) studies the conceptualization of anger by native speakers of English. He attempts at showing how some aspects of the folk concept of anger are illustrated in English pop fiction stories. He believes that the way we talk about anger is highly affected by our conceptualization of this emotion. ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER (*already fired by the heat of the day*), ANGER IS AN OBSTACLE (*onslaught of the mother's rage*), ANGER

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IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL (*bite somebody's head off*) and ANGER IS A DANGEROUS FORCE (*the door slammed behind her*), are amongst anger metaphors detected by the author.

Beger and Jakel (2009), and Jakel (1997, 2003) investigate metaphors for anger, love and sadness from an onomasiological point of view. They believe that anger is mostly related to the situations in which one loses his/her control (ANGER IS INSANITY) or something dangerous (ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER and ANGER IS A WEAPON), whereas experts also apply the metaphor ANGER IS A COVER, which implies a rather analytical perspective on the emotion.

Kotze (2004) reviews several approaches to the study of anger in the Old Testament. He believes that most of the studies on anger in the Hebrew Bible seem to have been dominated by theological intent, aiming only at some theological delineation of the wrath of God.

Kovecses (1986) and Lakoff and Kovecses (1987) analyze the most important metaphors used to express anger such as ANGER IS HEAT, ANGER IS INSANITY, ANGER IS AN OPPONENT, ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL, ANGER IS A BURDEN, etc. They conclude that the expressions that indicate anger in American English are not a random collection, but rather are structured in terms of an elaborate cognitive model that is implicit in the semantics of the language. Based on their claim, anger is not just an amorphous feeling, but rather that it has an elaborate cognitive structure. In a book, titled "Metaphor and Emotion", Kovecses (2000, p. 21) lists prominent anger metaphors used in English language:

ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER: She is boiling with anger.

ANGER IS FIRE: He's doing a slow burn. His anger is smoldering.

ANGER IS INSANITY: The man was insane with rage.

ANGER IS AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE: I was struggling with my anger.

ANGER IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL: He unleashed his anger.

ANGRY BEHAVIOUR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR: Don't snarl at me!

THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE: He's a pain in the neck.

ANGER IS A NATURAL FORCE: It was a stormy meeting.

Kovecses concludes that many metaphors are universal or at least shared across many cultures. His treatment of the relative universality in the conceptualization of emotions has far-reaching implications for the cognitive theory of metaphor, as well as for emotion theories in general and can be seen as a milestone on the path to understanding human emotions Schnall (2002, p. 44).

1.1. Ilami Kurdish

Kurdish as a new western Iranian language has speakers dispersed within broad regions of Iran, from west (Kurdistan, Kermanshah and Ilam) to the east (Khurasan). This language has three main dialect groups: The northern Kurdish dialects are usually given the term *Kurmanji* spoken in northwestern Iraq; Gunter (2004, p. xxv-xxvi). The central Kurdish dialects embrace *Mukri*, which is spoken in Iran, to the south of Lake Urmia, and *Sorani*, to the west of Mukri, in the province of Erbil, in Iraq. The southern Kurdish dialect group includes *Kermanshahi*, *Ardalani*, *Laki* (and also *Ilami*) (Mackenzie, p. 1963; Oranskij, 1979, p. 35-36; Asatrian, 2009, p. 12).

Ilami, a less studied dialect, is one of the Kurdish varieties, which is widely spoken in Ilam, a small mountainous city located in the west of Iran. Ilami shares some features with Kermanshahi and Kalhori, but shows some idiosyncratic characteristics too. For example unlike most Kurdish varieties, this dialect has no ergative system Kalbassi (2010).

1.2. Data Collection

In order to collect our data, we requested Ilami native individuals to provide us with anger related expressions. When compiled, we preferably elicited purely Ilami examples (and excluded other Kurdish varieties) to have homogeneous data and then we made a distinction between metaphors and metonymies, though both were related to anger. It should be stated that the aforementioned participants were all adult (above 35 years old) speakers of both genders with and without formal literacy. In order to have a more accurate analysis, we also gained advantage of their linguistic intuition where needed.

2. Data Analysis

Cognitive metaphor is a theory in which metaphor is viewed as performing an essential role in human language and cognition, encoding worldviews in all forms of linguistic activity, including everybody conversation ('conceptual metaphors'). Higher-level concepts such as causality, time and the emotions are seen to be semantically grounded in lower-level domains of physical experience, as in such expressions as *life is a journey* Crystal (2003, p. 80). Metaphor is not merely a figure of speech, but a specific mental mapping and a form of neural co-activation that influences a good deal of how people think, reason, and imagine in everyday life Lakoff and Johnson (1999). Verbal metaphors do not only exist as ornamental, communicative devices to talk about topics that are inherently difficult to describe in literal terms. Instead, verbal metaphors, including conventional expressions based on metaphor, reflect underlying conceptual mappings in which people metaphorically conceptualize vague, abstract domains of knowledge (e.g., time, causation, spatial orientation, ideas, emotions, concepts of understanding) in terms of more specific, familiar, and concrete knowledge (e.g., embodied experiences) Tendahl and Gibbs (2008, p. 1825).

Adopting this view on metaphor (and also metonymy), we will analyze the expressions (metaphors and metonymies) used to express "anger" in Ilami Kurdish. For more convenience, English glosses and literal translations¹ are also given for each example.

2.1. Anger Metaphors

1. ANGER IS AN ANIMAL.

a.	<i>bi-jæ</i>	<i>buq-e.</i>
	become.3SG-PAST	turkey- Indef

He became a turkey.

In this example, "buq" is metaphorically used to refer to an angry person. One may ask the relation between turkey and anger in this example. There is an interesting reason why Ilami people use turkey in their anger emotion metaphors. This becomes clearer when we look at another metaphor which usually follows the previous one:

¹. It should be noted that one of the authors is a native speaker of Ilami Kurdish.

b. <i>bi-jæ</i>	<i>buq-e</i>	<i>pət-e</i>	<i>mələ</i>	<i>sær-e</i>	<i>gərt.</i>
become.3SG-PAST	turkey- Indef	nose-POSS-3SG	on head-POSS-3SG		get.3SG-PAST

He became a turkey. His nose went on his head.

In other words, the appearance of this bird (which is a domestic animal seen almost anywhere in Ilam) is the reason behind this usage. It makes sense when you know that angry turkeys move their noses up. That is the reason why Ilami people have linked the appearance of an angry person to that of turkey.

2. ANGRY PERSON IS A FURIOUS ANIMAL.

a. <i>wæxt bi</i>	<i>ʃæʃ təlɪʃ-əman</i>	<i>bək-e.</i>
time be.3SG-PAST	six piece-OBJ	make.3SG-PAST-SUBJ

It was the time, he wanted to tear us into six pieces.

According to this metaphor, anger is like a furious animal (creature): “*wæxt bi ʃæʃ təlɪʃəman bəke*”. A wild animal and an angry person may share some features in Ilami Kurdish. It should be pointed that the more probably meant animals (in this metaphor) could be amongst: wolf, bear, and wild boar. A sentence containing “*wəraz*” (wild boar) is much more natural than the one with “*ʃer*” (lion), for example.

-“*e wərazæ wæxt bi ʃæʃ təlɪʃəman bəke*”

-“*²*e ʃeræ wæxt bi ʃæʃ təlɪʃəman bəke*”

It can be seen that the first is more natural than the latter. There is a justification why only some animal names are acceptable in such constructions. As far as animal names are concerned, Ilami people enjoy the local animal (names) (like wild boar, turkey, and donkey) more frequently than those which are not living in this region (= Ilam).

b. <i>bis næfær nijægərəne.</i>

twenty person not take.3PL-PRES him/her

Twenty people could not take him.

² *. is used to refer to utterances which are unnatural/markd in Ilami Kurdish.

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We saw an example in which angry person has been resembled to a wild animal. This comes true about this metaphor too. In this metaphor an angry person is out of control and behaves like a furious animal.

As seen, the more abstract concept (anger) is understood through the more physical one which, in our cases, is animal. Clearly, these mappings are normally separate and they become linked metaphorically by speakers.

3. ANGER IS BAGI³'S RELIGION.

- a. *tʃəg-æ din-e bægi.*

go.3SG-PAST into religion of Bagi

He went into Bagi's religion.

This metaphor is totally cultural, as it refers to a local person, Bagi, who is a well-known person in Ilam. He is famous as an ill-tempered person whose behavior is always out of control while he gets angry. Due to his uncontrollable behavior, Bagi is used in this anger metaphor. It should be said that, here religion refers to behavior rather than “religion” itself.

4. ANGRY PERSON IS A BIZARR (TWO ASSHOLES) PERSON.

- a. *do xwəzaw bi.*

two asshole become.3SG-PAST

He became (a person) with two ass holes.

In this metaphor anger is used in an imaginary sense. In fact, we can imagine a strange person with two ass holes and this image figuratively refers to an angry person in Ilami Kurdish. It is not clear for what reason this image has been created to refer to an angry person. Beside the ambiguous points about these images, this is totally clear that Ilami people always make negative mental pictures of anger and angry person.

5. ANGER IS AN IRRITATING SMELL.

- a. *xær təs-ijæsæ bu-wejaw.*

donkey bloat.3SG-PRES (in) nose-POSS-3SG

³ . A local proper name

Donkey has bloated in his nose.

Ilami people had a great contact with animals in the past and this contact has been reflected in their culture and language variety. In this metaphor the angry person is a person irritated by a bloat of a donkey.

Unlike examples (1) and (2), it seems that examples (3) through (5) are less likely to be universal. In fact, by knowing that “Bagi” is a local masculine name, we can understand that this anger metaphor and the mapping projecting source domain (=Bagi’s religion) into target domain (=anger) is totally culture bound. In the case of example (2), we deal with a more universal notion as we have the same conceptualization in English and Persian languages as well.

6. ANGER IS FIRE.

- a. *agør dæ dæm-e duwar-i.*

fire from mouth-POSS- 3SG rain.3SG-PAST

Fire was raining from his mouth.

In this expression the fire has been used with the feature of raining (like snow or rain). The source from which the fire (anger) “rains” is also mentioned which is “dæm” (mouth). It might be worth noting that the mentioned example is similar to that of English in which fire stands for anger: ANGER IS FIRE, but here fire burns the angry person him/herself Koevecses (2000), whereas in the Kurdish one fire may burn others and the angry person is resembled to a dragon.

7. ANGER IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER.

- a. *xv̥n-ə xwe tijæʃaw ke.*

Blood-POSS- 3SG him/herself bitter make.3SG- PRES

It seems that one of the most important parts of body reflecting anger is eye. In these expressions it is noticeable that the red (bloody) eyes show someone’s anger and more accurately blood stands for anger.

8. ANGER IS A RAZOR.

- a. *wæxt-ə bu-wæ do kwætaw.*

time be.3SG-PRES become-PASS two half

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It was the time, he wanted to become two halves.

Regarding example (8), anger can be assumed as a razor cutting someone into two pieces; in other words anger has the quality of “cutting”.

9. AN ANGRY PERSON IS A PERSON HAVING NO CLOTHES ON.

- a. *dæ xwəsæ hō̄t̪ dæ wær-əm ni-jæ.*

from anger nothing on body- POSS- 1SG not-be.3SG- PRES

Nothing (is) on (=worn) my body due to anger.

Ilami people use this metaphor (of barenness) when they are extraordinarily angry about a specific event (as in quarrels, misfortunes, etc.). It might be worth noting that in English “nakedness” is reflected in a metaphor concerning “shame” Kovecses (2000). There is evidence showing that the same concept (nakedness) is not necessarily reflected in the same emotional field in different languages as nakedness can refer to anger in Ilami and shame in English.

10. ANGER IS A BLOCKAGE (WHICH DOES NOT ALLOW BLOOD COME OUT OF TUMMY/DISALLOWING EATING FOOD).

- a. *dæ xwəsǣ t̪æqu bijæ dær-ə zəg-əm xün de ni-jaj.*

from sadness (if) knife cut.2SG-PRES-SUBJ out of tummy blood from it not come.3SG-PRES

(Due to anger) if you knife my tummy, blood does not come out.

We can see that the verb “hatən” has been used in a negative form (=nijaj) and it is because of the trait of anger (as a blockage) disallowing blood coming out.

- b. *dæ xwəsæ hō̄f̪-əm nijæ-̄f̪u.*

from sadness nothing-POSS-1SG not go.3SG- PRES

(Due to anger) I could eat nothing

In example (10.a), anger was assumed as a blockage which does not allow blood coming out (of tummy). In this example anger is a blockage too, but there is a difference. This blockage does not allow the angry person to eat (or drink) something and reduces appetite.

11. ANGER IS SOMETHING CAUSING UNPLEASANT FEELINGS IN SOMEONE'S ASS.

a. *fəræ zur wæ qəng-əm daʃ-t.*

very annoyance to ass-POSS-1SG have.3SG-PAST

That saying was very annoying for him.

Here, anger is conceptualized as a trigger (like pepper or salt) which makes pain in someone's ass. It is believed that the use of such taboo words in Ilami Kurdish metaphors show the severity of anger emotion. We talk about this usage in a separate section.

12. ANGER IS A SHARP ARROW.

a. *da dænəg-e.*

Hit.3SG-PAST rib-POSS-3SG

It hit his rib.

In this metaphor anger is seen as the sharpness of the arrow. It might be worth noting that arrow is figuratively used to refer to a bitter sarcasm that triggers someone's anger. The more interesting point in this example is the target (= rib) at which the sharpened arrow is shot.

13. ANGER IS MADNESS.

a. *ləwaw bi.*

mad become.3SG-PAST

He became mad.

We can find some behavioral similarities between an aggressive person and a mad one. Both are incapable of controlling some of their behaviors. This point is the main reason for using "mad" instead of "angry" in the mentioned metaphor.

14. ANGERY PERSON IS A RESTLESS PERSON.

a. *dæ xwəsæ næ zæmin dəgərt-əm næ asəman.*

from sadness not earth take.3SG-PAST not sky

The angry/sad person is so restless that neither earth nor sky has a space for him/her.

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In this example several emotions are mixed together. From the viewpoint of the native speakers, the context in which this metaphor is used is a stressful, triggering and saddening situation. As it is mentioned in the metaphor, due to an intolerable situation neither earth nor sky has space for the angry/sad/restless person.

15. ANGER IS PEPPER

a. *məne fə lfə l-e paʃan-ən.*

so that pepper (on him) splash-3PL-PAST

It was as if, someone splashed pepper on him.

b. *ælqəfɪ-ijə.*

Irritate- PASS

It (the wound) was irritated (by salt or pepper).

There seems to be a shared semantic component between “pepper” and “anger”; both can trigger someone’s emotions. Imagine a person with a wound/sensitive part in the body irritated by salt or pepper. This person would express this irritation differently by crying, screaming and so on.

16. ANGERY PERSON IS A CIGARETTE PAPER.

a. *æsab-əm bi-jæsæ pær-e kaqæz sigar.*

nerve- POSS-1SG become.3SG-PRES paper of cigarette paper

My nerve has become a cigarette paper.

We know that cigarette paper is thin and can be easily torn. In this expression, the cigarette paper stands for someone’s nerve “easily” triggered.

17. ANGRY PERSON IS A PERSON WHO CUTS HIS TUMMY.

a. *dæ xwəsæ wæxt bi zəg-ə xwe bədər-e.*

from sadness time be.3SG-PAST tummy of himself tear.3SG-PRES-SUBJ

(due to anger) he was close to cut his tummy.

This example is used when, you are immensely angry about an event, and more often you try to control your behavior (hard though) and this decision is well shown in “wæxt bi”⁴.

2.2. Anger Metonymies

Showing that often source domains (animal, bizarre person, razor, etc.) of anger metaphorical expressions are in a module other than the target domain (namely anger domain), we understood that speakers usually link these separate domains to interpret the anger metaphor figuratively.

This is not the case when we deal with anger metonymies. In fact, in such cases source domain and target domain seem to be linked in advance. Have a look at the following examples to understand the fact more obviously:

18. ANGERY PERSON IS A PERSON WITH GNASHING TEETH.

- a. *dənan bərd-æ rifʃaw.*

tooth take.3SG-PAST No equivalent

Tooth took gnash.

We know that emotions are partially reflected in appearance. Anger emotion does lead to such changes. In fact this metonymy refers to a specific movement of teeth when they are firmly pressed together.

19. ANGERY PERSON IS A PERSON WITH ANGRY EYES.

- a. *tʃæm-el-e ðʒən ðʒənijaw bi.*

Eye-POSS-3SG bloody become.3SG-PAST

His eyes were angry

This example is another illustration for an appearance (face) change made by anger. In this example angry person gazes to another one and anger is observable from his eyes.

20. ANGER IS TICKLING.

- a. *na xwæʃi-je hat.*

not happy-POSS-3SG come.3SG-PAST

⁴ . You are willing/ forced to do something, but it is not done.

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It was tickling from him.

We know that semantically “anger” and “laughter” are against each other, however in this example “tickling” stands for anger and does express happiness. The reason is that, if someone laughs when he/she feels angry, it is not a normal laughter, rather it expresses the ultimate misery.

21. ANGRY PERSON IS A PERSON WHO MOVES HIS ASS.

a. *qəng kərd wawla.*

ass do.3SG-PAST to there

He turned his ass to another side.

Turning your body to another side can be counted as a signal. In Ilami Kurdish one turns his body (face for example) to another side to express his/her anger and sadness. The reason why “ass” is used in the metonymy is the intensifying effect of ass as a taboo word in Ilami.

2.3. Body and anger

As far as we found out, body members are productively used in Ilami Kurdish metaphors and metonymies concerning “anger”. Let us list some of these examples to illustrate this point:

a) *do xwəzaw bi.*

two asshole become.3SG-PAST

He became (a person) with two ass holes.

b) *dənan bərd-æ r̩itʃaw.*

tooth take.3SG-PAST No equivalent

Tooth took gnash.

c) *pət-e mələ sær-e gərt.*

nose-POSS-3SG on head-POSS-3SG get.3SG-PAST

His nose went on his head

d) *tʃæm-el-e dʒən dʒənijaw bi.*

eye-POSS-3SG bloody become-3SG-PAST

His eyes were angry

e) *xær təs-ijæsæ buwejaw.*

donkey bloat.3SG-PRES (in) nose-POSS-3SG

Donkey has bloated in his nose.

f) *agər dæ dæm-e duwar-i.*

fire from mouth rain.3SG-PAST

Fire was raining from his mouth.

g) *xün(təf) nam-ə hær dətʃæm-e gərt.*

blood inside two eye-POSS-3SG take.3SG-PAST

Blood took both of his eyes

h) *dæ xwəsæ tʃæqu bijæ daer-ə zəg-əm xvün de ni-ja-j.*

from sadness knife give.3SG-PAST-SUBJ out tummy blood from it not-come.3SG-PRES

(due to anger) if you knife my tummy, blood does not come out.

i) *fəræz zur wæ qəng-əm daft.*

very annoyance to ass of me have.3SG-PAST

That saying was very annoying for him.

j) *da dænəg-e.*

Hit.3SG-PAST rib-POSS-3SG

It hit his rib.

k) *je pət-e wa dijawərd jæk-ə waran.*

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one nose-POSS-3SG wind take.3SG-PAST one nose-POSS-3SG rain

One of his noses was taking by wind, the other by rain.

l) *dæ xwæsæ wæxt bi zəg-ə xwe bədəre.*

from sadness time be.3SG-PAST tummy of himself tear.3SG-PRES-SUBJ

(due to anger) he was close to cut his tummy.

m) *qəng kərd wawla.*

ass do.3SG-PAST to there

He turned his ass to another side.

Should we look at the above-mentioned examples, we notice that all the bold lexical items refer to body parts. Some of these body parts are more productive. For example “**zəg**” and “**pət**” are rather productive in the metaphorical expressions related to “anger”.

It was pointed that anger can lead to some behavioral and physical changes. It was also said that the physical changes can be traced in the appearance (let us say body parts). One of the most important parts of body showing different emotions and definitely anger is face as different parts of face like “**tʃæm**”, “**dæm**”, “**dənən**” are figuratively used to express this emotion.

It might be worth mentioning that the use of taboo words is a common strategy in the structure of anger metaphors and metonymies. The reason is not totally clear, but one assumption is that, these words intensify the degree of anger emotion in such expressions. Another assumption could be related to angry person himself, perhaps because angry person is uncontrollable and when someone is angry, he cannot control his sayings, so he can say so many things that he will be ashamed of when his anger is gone⁵.

The most prominent taboo words used in Kurdish metaphors and metonymies are related to “private parts” as in the examples mentioned thus far. Generally, words related to private parts are used in two forms: 1) the exact names of the private parts like “ass”, “ass hole”, or 2) the actions in which one (or more) private organ is involved like “bloating”.

⁵. We are grateful to the anonymous reviewer for mentioning the second assumption.

2.4. Anger and sadness are two interconnected emotions in Ilami Kurdish

Reviewing the expressions, we notice that a lexical item which explicitly refers to sadness is present in anger expressions. Ilami native speakers utter these metaphorical sentences to express their anger toward a specific event. In other words “xwəsæ” can be used to refer to both anger and sadness simultaneously as in the following examples:

- a) *dæ xwəsæ hūtʃ dæ wær-əm ni-jæ.*

from anger nothing on body-POSS- 1SG not-be.3SG-PRES

Nothing(is) on (=worn) my body due to anger.

In the example mentioned above, an Ilami speaker may utter the sentence when s/he is simultaneously angry and sad about a happening. Assume that a woman has lost her golden necklace gifted by her husband. Should the woman utter “**dæ xwəsæ hūtʃ dæ wærəm nijæ**”, both mentioned emotions will be expressed at the same time. This comes true about the following illustrations too:

- b) *dæ xwəsæ tʃæqu bi-jæ dærə zəg-əm xün de ni-ja-j.*

from sadness (if) knife cut-3SG-PAST-SUBJ out of tummy blood from it not-come.3SG-PRES

(Due to anger) if you knife my tummy, blood does not come out.

- c) *dæ xwəsæ næ zæmin dəgərt-əm næ asəman.*

from sadness not earth take.3SG-PAST not sky

The angry/sad person is so restless that neither earth nor sky has a space for him/her.

- d) *dæ xwəsæ hūtʃ-əm nijæ-tʃu.*

from sadness nothing-POSS-1SG not go.3SG-PRES

(Due to anger) I could eat nothing

- e) *dæ xwəsæ wæxt bi zəg-ə xwe bədər-e.*

from sadness time be.3SG-PAST tummy of himself tear- 3SG- PRES-SUBJ

(due to anger) he was close to cut his tummy

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In English, there is a bundle of words to refer to sadness or anger. In other words, when English speakers aim at expressing anger, they are able to choose among anger words specialized for this emotion. That is to say, In English, you are either sad or angry and each of two is expressed by different lexical items.

In Persian although there is a distinction between these concepts, there are some words (like *narahæt budæn*) referring to “sadness” and “anger” simultaneously. That is to say, in Persian, you are either angry or sad, but you can express each of them in two ways: one is to use specialized lexical items for each emotion; the other is to use a single lexical item to refer to each emotion separately. Have a look at the following examples:

- a) *be xatere næ-didæne film xejli narahæt-æm.*

(due to) not-see- GER movie very sad be.1SG-PRES.

Since I could not watch the movie, I feel sad.

- b) *be xatere doruq-i ke beh-em goft-e xejli æz dæst-ef narahæt-æm.*

(due to) lie- DEF that to me say.3SG-PAST very from hand- POSS-3SG sad be.1SG-PRES.

I am angry for the lie she has made.

Albeit in the mentioned examples a single lexical item (*narahætæm*) is used, in the first case “sadness”, but in the latter “anger” could be inferred.

As far as Kurdish examples are considered, there is not a clear-cut border between these feelings. In other words “*xwæsæ*” is a term that can refer to sadness and anger at the same time. That is to say, In Kurdish culture, you are not forced to feel either angry or sad. You can feel both at the same time and you can express both with a single lexical item.

3. Conclusion

In this article, we listed different anger conceptual metaphors and metonymies in Ilami Kurdish. Then we specified the elements figuratively used to refer to this emotion. It was emphasized that some of these metaphors are totally cultural. For example some local proper names (like “Bægi”) are definitely used in Ilami metaphors and naturally are not understood by non-native speakers (except with explanation). On the other hand, we saw examples assumed to be shared across languages. For examples, ANGER IS FIRE owns a source domain (fire) which is present in

Ilami, Persian and of course English language. This comes true about ANGER IS AN ANIMAL and ANGER IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER including “animal” and “fluid” as source domains respectively. Thus such cases would be considered as new evidence proving the possible universality of some of conceptual (anger) metaphors. As far as body members are taken into account, we concluded that some of the body parts are productively used in the construction of anger related expressions. This usage was justified through the physiological effects of anger. In other words when someone gets angry, some physical (for example facial) changes are observed in his/her appearance and these changes are reflected in metaphors and specially metonymies systematically. It should be said that some of these changes are not observable in other cultures of course and are limited to Ilami culture. Last but not the least, we also noticed that taboo words are frequently used in anger related expressions and it is assumed that these words which are mainly related to private parts intensify the degree of anger emotion.

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Appendix

List of Short Forms and Abbreviations

<u>Term</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
POSS	Possessive
GER	Gerund
Indef	Indefinite
OBJ	Objective
PASS	Passive
PAST	Past
PL	Plural
PRES	Present
SG	Singular
SUBJ	Subjunctive