Metaphors of Anger: A Comparative Analysis of English and Korean

Anđal, Monika

Master's thesis / Diplomski rad

2024

Degree Grantor / Ustanova koja je dodijelila akademski / stručni stupanj: **University of Zagreb, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences / Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Filozofski fakultet**

Permanent link / Trajna poveznica: https://urn.nsk.hr/urn:nbn:hr:131:154426

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Download date / Datum preuzimanja: **2024-08-01**

Department of English

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

University of Zagreb

MASTER'S THESIS

Metaphors of Anger: A Comparative Analysis of English and Korean

Candidate: Monika Anđal

Supervisor: Janja Čulig Suknaić, PhD

Academic year: 2022./2023.

Zagreb, November 2023

Odsjek za anglistiku

Filozofski fakultet

Sveučilište u Zagrebu

DIPLOMSKI RAD

Metafore ljutnje: Komparativna analiza engleskog i korejskog

Kandidatkinja: Monika Anđal

Mentorica: dr. sc. Janja Čulig Suknaić

Ak. godina: 2022./2023.

U Zagrebu, studeni 2023.

Abstract

This study analyzes lexical expressions of five conceptual metaphors of anger in the English and the Korean language: ANGER IS FIRE, ANGER IS A HOT FLUID (IN A CONTAINER), ANGER IS INSANITY, ANGER IS AN OPPONENT and ANGER IS A BURDEN. These two languages share some similar expressions of conceptual metaphors of anger, but due to the two languages being unrelated, as well as to various cultural differences, there are many expressions which differ, as well. Therefore, the aim of this research was to show both the differences and the similarities of lexical expressions of conceptual metaphors of anger in English and Korean in order to gain a better understanding of how two different cultures express the emotion of anger.

This was done by using comparable corpora as the basis of the research: enTenTen08 and koTenTen18. In order to ascertain the presence of the chosen expressions in either language, a number of key lexical items for each metaphor was looked up in the respective corpus. The research showed that there is indeed quite a bit of overlap in anger metaphors in English and Korean, but it highlighted certain differences as well, such as the prominence of the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS FIRE in Korean folk philosophy as opposed to its prominence in English, or that in Anglo-Saxon folk philosophy getting angry is perceived as a more active experience than in Korean, to name but a few of the findings.

Keywords: cognitive linguistics, semantics, conceptual metaphor, anger, linguistic expressions of anger

Sažetak

Ovo istraživanje analizira leksičke izraze pet konceptualnih metafora ljutnje u engleskom i korejskom jeziku: LJUTNJA JE VATRA, LJUTNJA JE VRUĆA TEKUĆINA (U POSUDI), LJUTNJA JE LUDILO, LJUTNJA JE PROTIVNIK i LJUTNJA JE TERET. U oba ova jezika mogu se pronaći neki slični izrazi konceptualnih metafora ljutnje, ali zbog toga što ti jezici nisu povezani, kao i zbog raznih kulturoloških razlika, postoje i mnogi izrazi koji se razlikuju. Stoga je cilj ovog istraživanja bio pokazati kako razlike tako i sličnosti leksičkih izraza konceptualnih metafora ljutnje u engleskom i korejskom kako bi se bolje razumjelo kako dvije različite kulture izražavaju emociju ljutnje.

Kao polazišna točka istraživanja korištena su dva usporedna korpusa: enTenTen08 i koTenTen18. Kako bi se utvrdila prisutnost odabranih izraza u oba jezika, u odgovarajućem je korpusu pretražen određen broj ključnih leksičkih jedinica za svaku metaforu. Istraživanje je pokazalo da doista postoji značajno preklapanje u metaforama ljutnje u engleskom i korejskom jeziku, ali je istaknulo i određene razlike, kao što je raširenost konceptualne metafore LJUTNJA JE VATRA u korejskom u usporedbi s engleskim, te doživljaj ljutnje kao aktivnijeg iskustva kod govornika engleskog nego kod govornika korejskog.

Ključne riječi: kognitivna lingvistika, semantika, konceptualna metafora, ljutnja, jezični izrazi ljutnje

'If you're sore, you're sore', observed Little My, peeling her potatoes with her teeth. 'You have to be angry sometimes. Every little creep has a right to be angry.'

– Little My, *Moominpappa at Sea* (1965)

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INTRODUCTION

Emotions are a part of human life which has been sparking interest for centuries, if not millennia, yet they are notoriously difficult to define. It almost seems that each field, each branch of science, even each individual author or scientist has their own definition for this central element of human nature. Yet, what can be agreed upon is that emotions are a personal experience. In addition to that, they manifest in recognizable external ways, such as reactions, behavior and language expressions (Grubišić 2014: 3). These personal experiences, as well as their external manifestations, all make up the folk theory of each specific emotion. Folk theories are "theories, either implicit or explicit" which ordinary people without any technical expertise have about every important aspect of their lives" (Lakoff 1987: 118). It is no surprise that we use our own personal experience as the starting point for defining complex concepts, seeing that even in astrophysics there is a need to base everything on subject centrism if we ever want to be able to define something. As Mack explained, even our "'Observable universe' is a subjective, literally self-centered, concept" (2021: 83). Therefore, the experiential basis for our basic domains of experience makes a lot of sense, and the same stands for our folk theories, since "once we can identify our experiences as entities or substances, we can refer to them, categorize them, group them, and quantify them – and, by this means, reason about them" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 25). In this way, the conceptual structure of emotions can be studied using the conceptual metaphor theoretical framework by conducting a "systematic investigation of expressions that are understood metaphorically" in order "to see if any coherent conceptual structure emerged" (Lakoff 1987: 380).

This investigation is particularly interesting when it comes to the emotion of anger, because anger is often viewed as a negative emotion and this carries with it many implications and connotations, so the linguistic expression of this emotion is often very intensely colored, and there is a wide variety of lexical expressions used to convey anger. This makes the lexical expressions of conceptual metaphors of anger a fascinating subject of study. Yet, despite it being viewed as a negative emotion, "anger has a long history of bringing about positive change" (Adichie 2015: 21), so understanding the motivation behind conceptual metaphors of anger allows us to better understand this emotion and the way it is conceptualized in our minds, and thus to be able to both understand our minds more and talk about the emotion of anger more effectively, which is certain to bring about even more positive change into the world. Yet, when analyzing any conceptual metaphor, the intrinsic link between language and culture needs to be taken into account, particularly so when it

comes to the expression of emotions, in this case anger, because the expression of emotion is very much culturally and societally determined. It is therefore the aim of this study to take a look at conceptual metaphors od anger in English and Korean through the cognitive linguistics framework, particularly through the lens of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. This will be done in order to find out which conceptual metaphors might have a wide diffusion, seeing as this comparison is done on two languages and cultures which are very distant and different from each other. Moreover, it will be interesting to note through the analysis of metaphorical expressions which domains of metaphorical thinking the English and the Korean language have in common and which domains differ in these two languages, so that insight into both linguistic and cultural conclusions and motivations may be gained for the two languages and cultures that are being explored. This thesis paper will thus compare conceptual metaphors of anger in two languages which are unrelated and geographically and culturally distant from one another in order to see if there are any overlaps between the two, and if there are, what these similarities can tell us about our cognitive workings, particularly in relation to culture. Moreover, anger has been specifically chosen because of the abundance of conceptual metaphors of anger in language, many of which are extremely expressive. Therefore, an analysis of expressions used by people when they are angry, as well as when talking about the anger of others might be especially telling and provide useful insight into the motivations behind their use in both the English and Korean language and their respective cultures.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

1. Meaning and conceptualization

The theoretical framework of this thesis paper takes as its basis the principles of cognitive linguistics. As such, meaning is taken as the focal point of study; and, as Langacker notes, "Meaning is equated with conceptualization" (1991: 2). Furthermore, he elaborates that "the conceptions that achieve the status of lexical meanings are both psychologically natural and culturally salient. Their emergence through social interaction reflects not only their communicative utility for the description of shared experience, but also—and more fundamentally—the basic cognitive abilities which support and shape that experience" (Langacker 1999: 2). This focus on experience is something that the conceptual metaphor theory, belonging to the theoretical framework of cognitive linguistics, also puts a great focus

on, as shall be seen time and time again throughout this study, because it is through experiencing something for ourselves that we process the things that surround us in the world, and it is on that basis that our conceptual system works to define and structure our everyday realities (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1987, Langacker 1991). It is also, however, very important to note Langacker's highlighting of cultural salience, which is of extreme importance for this study, seeing as it is a comparative study of the English and Korean language – and, through that, English and Korean culture. Moreover, these conceptual structures are organized into categories, which were long thought to be fixed models with clear-cut boundaries. As far back as in Aristotle's time, the features of a category were thought of as being in binary opposition, as well as a matter of "all or nothing" – either a feature belongs to the definition of a category, or it doesn't (Cooke & Hugh 1996) Yet, cognitive linguistics has shown that the boundaries of a category can be, and in most cases, actually are, quite blurred (Lakoff 1987, Langacker 1987). Furthermore, the cognitive linguistic views have introduced the concept of a prototype, the typical instance of a category, and have highlighted the fact that "other elements are assimilated to the category on the basis of their perceived resemblance to the prototype: there are degrees of membership based on degrees of similarity" (Langacker 1987:371). This means that a hierarchical structure has been introduced to categories. As a further expansion of that, contextual background shared by a community is called a domain, domains being "necessarily cognitive entities: mental experiences, representational spaces, concepts, conceptual complexes" (Langacker 1987: 147), with a distinction between two kinds of domains: basic and abstract ones. The basic ones "occupy the lowest level in hierarchies of conceptual complexity," (Langacker 1987: 149), which means that they cannot be further reduced to any smaller parts. These basic domains would encapsulate space, time, and domains of sensory capacities (seeing, hearing, smell and taste), whereas "any nonbasic domain, i.e. any concept or conceptual complex that functions as a domain for the definition of a higher-order concept" (Langacker 1987: 150) would be an abstract domain. Domains and this dichotomy between basic and abstract domains are extremely important in the theory of conceptual metaphor which is the basis of this study. Furthermore, what this study keeps in mind also is that prototypes vary across cultures, which reflects how they are embedded into culture, as well as environment, since our knowledge is shaped by experience (Lakoff 1987, Rosch 1977).

2. Conceptual metaphor

The conceptual metaphor theory, proposed by Lakoff and Johnson in 1980 in their seminal book *Metaphors We Live By*, is the main theoretical framework within which this study operates. Therefore, this study is based on the premise that our conceptual system is "fundamentally metaphorical in nature", as well as that "our concepts structure what we perceive, how we get around the world, and how we relate to other people", from which it follows that our conceptual system "plays a central role in defining our everyday realities" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 3). Naturally, "language is an important source of evidence for what that system is like" (Ibid.), so to understand metaphor is to "understand a vital part of who we are and what kind of world we live in" (Kövecses 2002: xi). Moreover, cognitive linguistics views metaphor as "understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain" (Kövecses 2002: 4), which means we tend to view complex and abstract concepts by thinking of them in terms of a simpler concept in order to understand more complex and abstract concepts and bring them closer to us and our experience. The conceptual domain which we use to draw metaphorical expressions in order to understand another conceptual domain is called the source domain, while the conceptual domain which is thus understood is called the target domain (Ibid.). Due to the nature of the present study, the target domain in all of the metaphors analyzed is ANGER. In fact, the convenient way of looking at a conceptual metaphor is as follows: CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN (A) IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN (B), and as such this "shorthand way of capturing this view of metaphor" (Ibid.) is employed in this study when looking at and discussing conceptual metaphors of anger. Indeed, Kövecses points out that "the domain of emotion is a par excellence target domain" because emotions are "primarily understood by means of conceptual metaphors" (2002: 21). Another important distinction this study makes is between conceptual metaphor and metaphorical linguistic expressions, or "words or other linguistic expressions that come from the language or terminology of the more concrete conceptual domain" (Ibid.), whereby the metaphorical linguistic expressions of conceptual metaphors are looked up in corpora and then analyzed in order to ascertain the presence and scope of a conceptual metaphor in English and Korean, because "the source domains for a particular target cannot be predicted withing a given language" (2002: 76), and the same is true of cross-linguistic comparisons. This analysis will highlight the domains of metaphorical thinking about anger which are common to these two languages, but also notice the differences between them, thus providing valuable cultural insight from a comparative point of view.

3. Language and culture

Much has been said about the link between language and culture and the fact that the two are intrinsically intertwined, though to what degree exactly is often a matter of debate among linguists. This study takes the view that "language doesn't reflect the world directly: it reflects human conceptualization, human interpretation of the world" and that "as a result, words referring to parts of the body, and words referring to the world around us, can be as language-specific as those referring to customs, rituals and beliefs" (Wierzbicka 1992: 7). This belief serves as the basis of this study, which posits that the same principle applies to words and expressions which refer to emotions, in this case the emotion of anger, and more particularly the metaphors of anger, because "metaphor is not only cognitively but culturally motivated" (Kövecses 2005: 160). This study also takes into account the fact that "lexical variation reflects cultural differences among different speech communities and thus provides priceless clues to the study of culture and society (Wierzbicka 1992: 19). Therefore, its aim is to study two folk philosophies in contrast, the Anglo-Saxon and the Korean, in order to provide nuance in the cross-cultural study of language and prove the importance of avoiding "sweeping post-cultural generalizations formulated in terms of dichotomies opposing the 'West' to 'non-Western society'" (Wierzbicka 1992: 107). Moreover, Wierzbicka rightfully posits that "English terms of emotion constitute a folk taxonomy, not an objective, culture-free analytical framework" (1992: 119). Likewise, when it comes to variation in metaphor, it is often brought upon by the "broader cultural context" or "the governing principles and the key concepts in a given culture" (Kövecses 2002: 186), which is, naturally, reflected in that culture's language. Yet, since "most cultural variation in conceptual metaphor occurs at the specific level, whereas … universality in metaphor can be found at the generic level" (Kövecses 2002: 195), this study aims to explore the cultural variation at the specific level in a nuanced way while also working towards the possible establishing of language universalities in metaphors across all language, or at least establishing which metaphors could not be considered as universals.

METHODOLOGY

In both English and Korean, five conceptual metaphors have been chosen to be analyzed in this paper: ANGER IS FIRE, ANGER IS A HOT FLUID (IN A CONTAINER), ANGER IS INSANITY, ANGER IS AN OPPONENT and ANGER IS A BURDEN.

However, because a conceptual metaphor does not correspond to its lexical expressions word for word, a search of the metaphor itself cannot be made in the corpus, since it would not provide any significant hits. This is why for each of the conceptual metaphors I chose to look up a number of key lexical items in the corpus in English and Korean respectively, all of which were lexical items related to the metaphor at hand. That is to say, they were all items belonging to the same lexical field as the source domain. In English, these were as follows: *add fuel to the fire, blaze with fury/anger/rage/wrath, consumed by wrath/rage/anger* for the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS FIRE; *simmer down, be fuming, explode* for the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID (IN A CONTAINER); *drive nuts/crazy/mad/insane, insane rage/insane with rage, to go crazy* for the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY; *subdued by anger, seized by rage, lose control of anger/be controlled by anger* for the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS AN OPPONENT; and *relief (from) anger have a chip on one's shoulder get [something] off of one's chest* for the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A BURDEN. In Korean, they were: 화나다 (hwa nada), 화내다 (hwa naeda), 타오르는 분노 (taoreuneun bunno) for the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS FIRE; 흥분을 가라앉혀 (heungbuneul garaanchyeo), 열 받다 (yeol batda), 분노가 터지다 (bunno + teoji) for the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID (IN A CONTAINER); 미치게 하다/ 미치게 만들다 (michige hada/michige mandeulda), 광폭한 격노 (gwangpokhan gyeokno), 미치겠다 (michigetda) for the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY; 화 가라앉다/화 가라앉히다 (hwa garaantda/hwa garaanchida), 분노에 사로잡히다 (bunnoe sarojapida), 분노를 억누르다 (bunnoreul eoknureuda) for the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS AN OPPONENT; and 분노 해소 (bunno haeso), 화를 참다 (hwareul chamda), 화풀이를 하다 (hwapurireul hada) for the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A BURDEN.

Most of the English lexical expressions were taken from the examples provided by Lakoff in his book *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things*, while the rest of the examples were found in various online dictionaries of the English language: *Cambridge Dictionary*, *Macmillan Dictionary*, *Merriam-Webster*, and *Oxford Learner's Dictionaries*. In fact, out of all the English language expressions, only *blaze with fury/anger/rage/wrath, consumed by wrath/rage* (as opposed to *consumed by anger*, which was provided by Lakoff) and *drive crazy/mad/insane* (chosen in order to be compared to *drive nuts*, which is also provided in *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things*) were not provided by Lakoff, but were instead found by searching in the corpus for the expression relating to anger which was given as an example by

Lakoff in his book: *fury*, *consumed* and *drive*, respectively. For example, for the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS FIRE, I chose the linguistic expression "blaze with fury", which showed up as one of the results in the corpus when searching for the query "fury", an expression which had been provided by Lakoff in his book. I searched for this expression, "blaze with fury" in the corpus, limiting myself to 200 hits. I repeated this process with all the metaphors, using three expressions provided by Lakoff for each of the five conceptual metaphors. The corresponding Korean expressions were verified in the *National Institute of Korean Language's Korean-English Learners' Dictionary* and the *Online Naver Korean-English Dictionary*, mostly by searching for the corresponding expressions in Korean, or by looking up equivalent lexemes in the same domain. So, for example, if in English I had chosen the expression "drive nuts/crazy/mad/insane", I would type "drive crazy" into one of the Korean sources and find the equivalent expression in the Korean language in order to verify it. Then, I would look that expression up in the Korean corpus to see if it is used metaphorically and if and how the uses differ. Just like with English, I would limit myself to analyzing 200 sentences if there were over 200 hits in the corpus for a given expression. If I was unable to find an equivalent expression in Korean, I would type in one of the Korean lexemes belonging to the source domain, such as "터지다" (teojida), which means "to explode", for FIRE IS A HOT FLUID (IN A CONTAINER) in order to find a lexical expression of the metaphor at hand, which in this case was "분노가 터지다" (bunnoga teojida), and then I would follow the same process of ascertaining the usage and pervasiveness of the expression in the corpus that I used for the English examples. Therefore, whenever an equivalent lexical expression in Korean could be found for a lexical expression in English, I used it for the analysis, but when an expression that corresponds to the English expression could not be found in Korean, I would look up a Korean lexeme which belongs to the same domain as the source in order to find a metaphorical lexical expression for any given metaphor. The reason for choosing an academic book as the primary source for the English expressions as opposed to dictionaries, as was the case with the Korean examples, is because Lakoff provided all the examples in an extremely systematic manner in his book, thus greatly facilitating the search.

The main bulk of the research conducted for the following analysis has been done by consulting two corpora: English Web 2008 (enTenTen08) for the lexical expressions in English and Korean Web 2018 (koTenTen18) for the Korean expressions. Both corpora are available on Sketch Engine. They were chosen for their comparability: they are similar in size

and both contain texts found on the Internet, while also comprising texts which were published online only a decade apart. The reason why English Web 2008 was chosen instead of the more recent English Web 2020 corpus is that the former is much more similar in size to the newest and biggest Korean corpus, Korean Web 2018, than the latter, and choosing the latter would leave us with too much of a discrepancy in size between the two corpora, which would not result in a satisfactory comparison. Furthermore, in the rare cases in which a given corpus did not provide results for a given lexical expression, a Google search or a corresponding Naver search for the Korean language expressions were conducted. Since a conceptual metaphor does not immediately entail specific lexical items, three lexical items found in the lexical expressions of each of the five conceptual metaphors studied in this thesis paper have been chosen as queries in the respective English and Korean corpora. Moreover, the Korean script, Hangul, is used for all the Korean expressions in the analysis of this thesis paper, but the romanization is also provided in the brackets following the Hangul script of each expression to facilitate the reading.

ANALYSIS

METAPHOR	LEXICAL EXPRESSIONS IN ENGLISH WITH EXAMPLES	LEXICAL EXPRESSIONS IN KOREAN[1]
ANGER IS FIRE	**add fuel to the fire** His rude remarks only *added fuel to the fire*. **blaze with fury/anger/rage/wrath** She *blazed with anger*. **consumed by wrath/rage/anger** He was *consumed by* his *anger*.	화나다 anger occurs (get angry) (hwa nada) 화내다 anger provoked (get angry with) (hwa naeda) 타오르는 분노 burning anger (taoreuneun bunno)
ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER	**simmer down** Stop yelling and *simmer down*! **be fuming** I *was fuming* when I found out what she did. **explode** When I told him, he just *exploded*.	흥분을 가라앉혀 (for) excitement (to) subside (heungbuneul garaanchyeo) 열 받다 receive anger (yeol batda)

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[1] Clarifications of the Korean examples can be found in the relevant chapters of the analysis.

		분노가 터지다
		anger explodes
		(bunno + teoji)
ANGER IS INSANITY	**drive nuts/crazy/mad/insane** You're *driving* me *nuts*. **insane rage/insane with rage** I went into an *insane rage* when I heard that. **to go crazy** Seeing injustice makes me *go crazy*.	미치게 하다/ 미치게 만들다 (michige hada/michige mandeulda) make crazy 광폭한 격노 violent rage (gwangpokhan gyeokno) 미치겠다 go crazy (michigetda)
ANGER IS AN OPPONENT	**subdued by anger** He was *subdued* by his anger. **seized by rage** I was *seized* by rage. **lose control of anger/be controlled** **by anger** He *lost control* of his anger.	화 가라앉다/화 가라앉히다 subdue anger (hwa garaantda/hwa garaanchida) 분노에 사로잡히다 get caught by anger (bunnoe sarojapida) 분노를 억누르다 control anger (bunnoreul eoknureuda)
ANGER IS A BURDEN	**relief (from) anger** Unburdening himself of his anger gave him a sense of *relief*. **have a chip on one's shoulder** He *has a chip on his shoulder*. **get [something] off of one's chest** You'll feel better if you *get it off your chest*.	분노 해소 anger relief (bunno haeso) 화를 참다 endure anger (hwareul chamda) 화풀이를 하다 release anger (hwapurireul hada)

Table 1.

ANGER IS FIRE

One of the primary conceptual metaphors for the emotion of anger in the English language is the ANGER IS FIRE metaphor, which is a case of the most general ANGER IS HEAT metaphor being applied to solids and which is motivated by the HEAT and REDNESS aspects of the folk theory of the physiological effects of anger, as proposed and corroborated by both Kövecses (1986: 12–13) and Lakoff (1987: 383). The source domain of the metaphor

is FIRE, while its target domain is ANGER. It is pertinent to note that "This source domain is especially common in the metaphorical conceptualization of passions and desires, such as rage, love, hate, and some others" (Kövecses 2002: 19), and that "there is very clear experiential basis for this mapping" because "when we engage in intense situations, we produce body heat", which is "especially clear in the case of such emotion concepts as anger and love, where many linguistic expressions capture this kind of bodily experience associated with intense emotion" (Kövecses 2002: 116). So, one can fume, blaze and burn with anger, or even smolder with rage. According to the Macmillan dictionary, *to add fuel to the fire/flames* is "to make a bad situation even worse by saying or doing something that makes someone angry". The frequency of this phrase in the English language is not negligible, with the number of hits of 462 and number of hits per million tokens of 0.14 for CQL fire + fuel in the Sketch Engine's English Web 2008 (enTenTen08) corpus. The HEAT basis for this conceptual metaphor makes perfect sense if we take into account the fact that one of the basic physiological effects of anger is increased body heat (Kövecses 1986: 12).

Some other salient examples of the ANGER IS FIRE metaphor in English, as noted in Lakoff, would be: *to breathe fire*, as in "He was *breathing fire*", *to smolder*, as in "After the argument, Dave was *smoldering* for days", and *to be consumed by anger*, as in "He was *consumed* by his anger" (1987: 388), etc. When we are really angry, we might say that we are *fuming*, and if something makes us extremely vexed, we can say it *fuels our rage*, while *wrath* can be kindled. For example, a search in the Sketch Engine's enTenTen08 corpus for the query "blaze with fury" gives the number of hits of 27 and number of hits per million tokens of 0.01, the query "blaze with anger" provides the number of hits of 24 with the same amount of hits per millions of tokens as "blaze with fury", while both "blaze with rage" and "blaze with wrath" end up with the number of hits of 11. While none of these queries seem particularly noteworthy on their own, their combined number of hits in the corpus is 73, which is more remarkable, and certainly not negligible when taking into account the relatively small size of the corpus itself.

Moreover, it is interesting to note about this metaphor that it "highlights the cause of anger (*kindle, inflame*), the intensity and duration (*smoldering, slow burn, burned up*), the danger to others (*breathing fire*), and the damage to the angry person (*consumed*) (Kövecses 1986: 19). As shall be seen later, the aspects of anger this metaphor highlights oftentimes go hand in hand with the aspects highlighted by other conceptual metaphors; for example, the

ANGER IS AN OPPONENT metaphor also highlights the danger to others and the damage to the angry person, indicating a coherent structuring of experience.

The same basis for the conceptual metaphor can be found in Korean as well. In fact, there are two basic ways to express being angry in the Korean language, and both of them include the Sino-Korean word for fire, "화" (hwa), which comes from the Mandarin Chinese word "火" (huǒ), meaning fire. The first one is "화나다" (hwa nada), whose meaning is "to get angry"; the second one is "화내다" (hwa naeda), which on the other hand means "to get angry with, be mad at", according to the Naver Dictionary. The semantic natures of the verbs following "화" (hwa), "나다"(nada) and "내다" (naeda) indicate a distinction in meaning based on whether the emotional is only felt internally or whether it is acted upon. "나다" (nada) is an intransitive verb and it means "to happen, occur" while "내다" (naeda) is a transitive one, meaning "to cause, provoke". Therefore, to say "화나다" (hwa nada) is to describe that one feels the anger without actually doing anything about it, but "화내다" (hwa naeda) is used when one is physically displaying their anger, such as by shouting or cursing. It can be looked at in another way too, which is often the explanation that is given to learners of Korean as a foreign language: when using "화나다" (hwa nada), the anger you feel is coming from within you, whereas you would use "화내다" (hwa naeda) to signify that something external has made you angry, which certainly highlights the danger to others aspect of the metaphor. Moreover, it can be argued that, out of the lexical expressions studied through corpus analysis for this particular conceptual metaphor, 화나다 (hwa nada) and *blaze with anger/rage/fury/wrath* keep focus on the internal(ized) aspects of anger, whereas in both 화내다 (hwa naeda) and *to add fuel to the fire/flames* the emphasis is on an external trigger of the feeling of anger, which is most often another person.

It might be argued that the latter is an expression of what Kövecses points out is the CAUSING ANGER IS TRESPASSING metaphor, expressed in more oblique ways in English: through expressions of territoriality, such as "You're beginning to *get to me*", "Get *out of* here!", or "This is where I *draw the line*!" (Kövecses 1986: 26). It is clear, however, that what this conceptual metaphor conveys in both languages is that "there is an offender (the cause of anger) and a victim (the person who is getting angry)" and "the cause of anger seems to be an offense" which "seems to constitute some sort of injustice" (Kövecses 1986: 26). Of course, a speaker of English can also specify whether the feeling of anger was acted

upon or not, but the fact that in Korean it needs to be specified might be telling of how the emotion of anger is processed and conceived of by Korean speakers. Another telling piece of data might be the fact that the search for 화+나 (hwa + na) in Sketch Engine's Korean Web 2018 (koTenTen18) corpus yields the number of hits of 48,308, with the number of hits per million tokens being 23.51, while for 화 +내 (hwa + nae) the results are a number of hits 34,317 and number of hits per million tokens 16.7, which might indicate a tendency to keep the feelings of anger inside rather than to act upon them.

As mentioned previously, another common lexical expression of ANGER IS FIRE is *consumed by anger*, and the corresponding expressions *consumed by rage* or *consumed by wrath*, considering that rage and wrath might be better suited to express the intensity of the emotion than the lexeme anger. A query for anger + consume in the enTenTen08 corpus yields 77 hits and 0.03 hits per millions of tokens, but it is interesting to note also that CQL rage + consume provides the following result: 46 hits and 0.02 hits per millions of tokens, while CQL wrath + consume gives us the number of hits of 15. Overall, that is by no means an insignificant amount. In comparison, a widely used Korean lexical expression of the conceptual metaphor at hand, one that is more oblique than "화나다" (hwa nada) and "화내다" (hwa naeda), is "타오르는 분노" (taoreuneun bunno), which means "burning anger". A search for 타오르 + 분노 (taoreu + bunno) in the koTenTen18 corpus results in 136 hits, with 0.07 of hits per tokens. Out of those 136 results, only 3 sentences were not metaphorical in use[2].

Therefore, it is visible that the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS FIRE is not only present, but also has a very prominent place in both English and Korean folk philosophy. Moreover, the fact that the word for anger is the same as the word for fire very much shapes the discourse around anger, and arguably the way the emotion itself is viewed and understood[3]. It remains, however, to be seen whether this also signals the prevalence of the

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[2] Very interestingly, one of the sentences was a further metaphorical extension of the lexical expression "타오르는 분노" (taoreuneun bunno), which might be a case in point for the particular productivity of the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS FIRE in the Korean language. That sentence, found not in a literary text but in a blog post, reads as follows: 효순이 미선이 때의 분노는 반미의 촛불이 되어 타올랐고, 세월호 때의 분노는 반정부의 촛불이 되어 타올랐다. (trans. Hyosoon and Miseon's *anger* became a candle for anti-Americanism, and the *anger* of the Sewol Ferry became a candle for anti-government and *burned*.)

[3] Here is an example to illustrate this point: most Korean variety shows have descriptive captions with little special effects and drawings as a way to add context and oftentimes make the content funnier or more entertaining to the viewers, and when somebody in the show gets angry, the most prevalent effects used on the captions to signify it are flames, sometimes even along with the hanja (Chinese character) for fire – an excellent example of a nonlinguistic realization of this particular conceptual metaphor. For example, the highly popular

ANGER IS FIRE metaphor in Korean at the expense of other metaphors relating to anger, as opposed to English.

ANGER IS A HOT FLUID (IN A CONTAINER)

Here is the other version of the ANGER IS HEAT metaphor, meaning that this one too has its experiential basis in the functioning of the human body, and as such is "grounded in the experience that the angry person feels 'hot'" and means that "being angry and an increase in body heat are correlated events in our experiences" (Kövecses 2002: 71). As opposed to the ANGER IS FIRE instance of this more general metaphor, however, the ANGER IS A HOT FLUID metaphor is grounded in the heat of a hot fluid, rather than that of fire. Conceptual metaphor being "a paradigmatic, cross-domain cognitive mechanism" which "spans the source and the target domains on account of their similarity, and makes the less familiar, known or accessible concept in the target domain A accessible by likening it to the concept that is more familiar, closer or better understood in the source domain B" (Omazić 2015: 53), the set of mappings between the source and the target of the ANGER IS A HOT FLUID metaphor is as follows: the quantity of the fluid is the intensity of anger, and "when the intensity of anger increases, the fluid rises" (Lakoff 1987: 384); trying to keep the fluid inside is trying to control anger, while the inability to control a large quantity of the fluid is the inability to control intense anger (Kövecses 2002: 89).

English abounds in linguistic expressions for this particular metaphor, which Lakoff surmises is because "in our overall conceptual system we have the general metaphor: The body is a container for the emotions" (1986: 383). Therefore, "the ANGER IS HEAT metaphor, when applied to fluids, combines with the metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS to yield the central metaphor of the system: Anger is the heat of a fluid in a container" (Lakoff 1987: 383). Then, some of the more salient lexical expressions for this particularly productive conceptual metaphor include: "I was *fuming*" (INTENSE ANGER PRODUCES STEAM), "My anger kept *building up* inside me" (WHEN THE INTENSITY OF ANGER INCREASES, THE FLUID RISES), "He was *bursting with* anger" (INTENSE ANGER PRODUCES PRESSURE ON THE CONTAINER), "When I told him, he just *exploded*" (WHEN ANGER BECOMES TOO INTENSE, THE PERSON

South Korean variety show "Knowing Bros" uses effects like these quite often, as can be seen in the following video clip (starting from 2:06):
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w1GkRs9Yiyw&ab_channel=JTBCEntertainment

EXPLODES) while an example of a variant of this metaphor that places focus on keeping the pressure back would be "*Simmer* down!" (Kövecses 1986: 15-16).

A search for that particular lexical expression, *simmer down*, in the enTenTen08 corpus yields a number of hits equal to 177, with a number of hits per million tokens of 0.05. Out of those 177 hits, 19 were literal uses of the phrase *simmer down*, all relating to cooking, while the remaining 158 hits were metaphorical expressions, which interestingly shows the prevalence of conceptual metaphor when it comes to the usage of this expression, and is yet another powerful reminder of just how ubiquitous metaphor is in our everyday thought. The Korean equivalent of this phrase, the translation of which is provided exactly as "simmer down" by the Naver Dictionary and which is also metaphorical in nature, is "흥분을 가라앉혀" (heungbuneul garaanchyeo). "흥분" (heungbun) means excitement in general, while "가라앉혀" (garaanchyeo) is the part of the phrase which provides its metaphorical meaning: this word means *to sink*, *to settle*, *to calm down* and *subside*, and, by extension*, to calm down* or *subdue*. This particular word combination means that it can safely be assumed that most, if not all, search results for CQL 흥분 +가라앉히 (heungbun + garaanchi) will be metaphorical. Indeed, out of 200 randomized sentences in the search results, only 25 were not metaphorical. Be it so, it is paramount to note that, since "흥분" (heungbun) means excitement in general, the entire phrase can apply to any emotion, not just anger, so it was important to read through and ascertain which sentences in the search query results related explicitly to anger. So, out of the 742 hits and the number of hits per million tokens 0.36 in the koTenTen18 corpus, a look into 200 of the sentences showed that 60 of them related to anger, and therefore were linguistic expressions of the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER. Just like with the English phrase which "흥분을 가라앉혀" (heungbuneul garaanchyeo) is equivalent to, these results denote a pervasiveness of the use of metaphorical language, which in turn strengthens the argument that metaphor has widespread presence in our thought.

Next, let us take a look at the corpus results of another English lexical expression of the ANGER IS A HOT FLUID metaphor: to be *fuming*. The CQL fume + rage in the enTenTen08 corpus yields 52 hits and 0.02 of hits per million tokens, while fume + anger results in the number of hits of 12. Since the definition of the verb *fume* in the *Oxford Learner's Dictionaries* is "to be very angry about something", it makes sense that it collocated more commonly with rage, not only because *fume* in itself already entails anger,

but because rage is a feeling that is stronger than anger (*Merriam-Webster* defines it as "violent and uncontrolled anger"). The CQL [lempos="fume-v"] in the same corpus has the number of hits of 3,141, with a number of hits per million tokens of 0.96. By further observation of the first 200 sentences of the results, it has been found that 29 of the sentences were not metaphorical in use, but the rest were, making 58% of the results for CQL [lempos="fume-v"] metaphorical. Therefore, it can safely be assumed that most of the 3,141 results were also metaphorical in use.

Now, to turn to Korean and how it expresses the same kind of intense anger: "열 받다" (yeol batda) is the most common way of saying that one is fuming; in fact, the *Naver Dictionary* provides the following definition of the phrase: burn (with anger); fume; lose one´s temper. Indeed, CQL [lempos="열받-v"] in the koTenTen18 corpus gives the number of hits of 8,155 and a number of hits per million tokens of 3.97. Considering the similar sizes of our English and Korean corpora, it might seem like there is a substantial discrepancy between the English *to fume* and the Korean "열 받다" (yeol batda). However, one of the other translations of "열 받다" (yeol batda) provided by the *Naver Dictionary*, *to lose one's temper*, helps paint a wider picture: namely, CQL lose + temper provides 1,980 hits and with a 0.61 number of hits per million tokens in the enTenTen08 corpus. *To lose one's temper* is always metaphorical, so all of the hits count as lexical expressions of a conceptual metaphor relating to anger; the only difference is that in English, *to lose one's temper* is not a lexical expression of the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID, but of the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A BURDEN, which will be returned to and further analyzed later. Notwithstanding, it is a lexical expression of a conceptual metaphor which has ANGER as its target domain and it is therefore appropriate to group its corpus results as an equivalent of the Korean expression "열 받다" (yeol batda), so long as one keeps in mind that, while both being metaphorical in nature and conceptualize the target domain ANGER, the two expressions focus on and therefore map different aspects of anger. To return to the Korean phrase in order to confirm that it is indeed metaphorical in nature: its literal meaning is "to receive anger", since "열" (yeol) means anger and "받다" (batda) means to receive.

However, the Korean word "열" comes from the Chinese character 熱, which, according to the *Pleco Chinese dictionary*, means "heat, steam or water heat; fever, temperature". The first two meanings of "열" as found in the *Korean-English Learners' Dictionary* and *Naver Dictionary* are also fever and heat, but the last meaning, the metaphorical extension of the

first two, is "rage; fury; anger". It is easy to see the motivation behind this extension if one remembers the increased body heat and increased internal pressure aspects of the common folk theory of the physiological effects of anger (Lakoff 1987: 382). Furthermore, it can be noted of the Korean expression "열 받다" (yeol batda) that it is made up of the verb "to receive, to get", which might signal an overall tendency, particularly when remembering that "나다" (nada) in "화나다" (hwa nada) means "to happen, occur", to portray the act of getting angry as something passive, something that happens to the individual rather than something they have control over. In this way, there might be a pervasiveness of the metaphor ANGER IS A BURDEN in the Korean folk philosophy that covers a wider scope than in the modern Anglo-Saxon folk philosophy; so much so that in some lexical expressions it works in tandem with other conceptual metaphors for anger, such as ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, like in the expression "열 받다" (yeol batda).

Finally, let us look at an example of the WHEN ANGER BECOMES TOO INTENSE, THE PERSON EXPLODES metaphorical entailment, which highlights both the intensity of anger and the inability to control it. As Esenova points out, what "occurs with very intense emotions like anger" is that "the container metaphor focuses on two different aspects of emotions: the intensity aspect and the control aspect", whereby "there is a correlation between the intensity of emotion and the amount of the fluid kept in the container" (2009). Therefore, "when the intensity of emotion increases the level of the fluid in the container rises" and "when there is too much fluid in the container and the internal pressure is too high the fluid overflows the container or the container explodes" (Esenova 2009). This is most evident with the lexical expression "to explode"[4], such as in the aforementioned example "When I told him, he just *exploded*" (Kövecses 1986: 16). Overall, enTenTen08 offers results for the following collocations: explode in/with rage (number of hits 38/31 respectively), explode in/with anger (number of hits 52/22 respectively), and explode in/with fury (number of hits 17/17 respectively). Likewise, a search for CQL 분노 + 터지(bunno + teoji) yields 28 hits 0.01 hits per million tokens, all of them metaphorical, and CQL 터지 + 분노 (teoji + bunno) yields 99 hits and 0.05 hits per million tokens, all

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[4] Another similar lexical expression in English is "one's head exploded", and an especially interesting Korean equivalent of this phrase is "뚜껑 열린다" (ttukeong yeollinda), which literally means "My pot cover is about to boil open", and is therefore a particularly vivid expression of the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER.

metaphorical as well, which amounts in approximately the same amount of hits in the corresponding corpora (177 in English and 127 in Korean).

All of these results from the corpora show that in both English and Korean, ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER is almost equally as frequent as ANGER IS FIRE, the other version of the general ANGER IS HEAT metaphor. As Chen points out, "In Chinese the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HOT AIR IN A CONTAINER is more common" (2010: 74) than the ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor, so this finding for Korean is particularly noteworthy. Namely, Korean often tends to get wrongly grouped with Mandarin Chinese (and other Eastern Asian languages, Japanese in particular) because of China's cultural and linguistic influence on the Korean nation and the Korean language all throughout history, and this viewpoint is exacerbated by the fact that a non-negligible part of Korean vocabulary is in fact Sino-Korean vocabulary: around 65% of Korean words come from Chinese, according to Sohn (2006: 44). This has also been seen in this thesis paper, with two of the Korean words for anger that have been observed so far, "화" (hwa) and "열" (yeol), coming from Chinese. Therefore, it is important to take note of this particular difference between Korean and Chinese – and likewise of the similarity between English and Korean, since it is exactly the occurrence of this particular metaphor in yet another language of the world which allows us to ascertain that ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER is in fact one of the most conventional metaphors for anger, as has been pointed out by Kövecses (2002: 48).

<u>ANGER IS INSANITY</u>

"Some of the wisest of men…have called anger a short madness" (n.d.), said Seneca, providing evidence that in the Western world the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY (or at least the theoretical background for it) goes as far back as Ancient Rome, at the very least. Indeed, Lakoff posits that "perhaps the most common conventional expression for anger came into English historically as a result of this metaphor: I'm *mad*!" (1987: 390). He also asserts that the same folk theory which the metaphor ANGER IS HEAT is based on "maintains that agitation is an important effect", and reminds us that "agitation is also an important part of our folk model of insanity", as "people who are insane are unduly agitated-they go wild, start raving, flail their arms, foam at the mouth, etc.", and "these physiological effects can stand, metonymically, for insanity" (Lakoff 1987: 389). It is visible from this how the folk theory of the effects of anger and the folk theory of the effects of

insanity overlap, and therefore, how the metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY came to be. Some common lexical expressions of this metaphor include: "I just touched him, and he *went crazy*.", "You're driving me *nuts*!", "He got so angry, he *went out of his mind*." and "She went into an *insane* rage" (Lakoff 1987: 390).

The corpus results show that this metaphor is particularly salient in English: a search for *drive nuts*, the example provided by Lakoff, in the enTenTen08 corpus comes out with 437 hits with 0.13 of hits per million tokens, and almost all of them are lexical expressions of the conceptual metaphor at hand: out of 200 of the examples checked, 176 of them were lexical expressions of the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY, while 24, unsurprisingly, related to insanity[5]. Nevertheless, the example at hand is not the only one which consists of the verb *to drive* followed by an adjective denoting the same state, with the same corpus also providing the following collocations: *drive insane*, *drive mad*, and *drive crazy*, each one more prolific in the corpus than the preceding one. In fact, the term drive nuts has the least hits in the enTenTen08 corpus, which might be explained by the fact that it is the most informal of the expressions. CQL drive + insane in the same corpus results in 724 hits with 0.22 of hits per million tokens. However, upon closer inspection of 200 of the example sentences, it was shown that in only 72 of the sentences the phrase *drive insane* was a lexical expression of the metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY: the other 128 are, as expected, mostly expressions relating to madness, although there is a very high number of lexical expressions of the conceptual metaphor LUST IS INSANITY, certainly much higher than of the metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY. Indeed, Lakoff cites the expression "You're driving me insane" (1987: 427) as one of the examples of the LUST IS INSANITY metaphor, so the corpus results are not actually surprising, though it is interesting that the expression to drive insane can be used as a lexical expression of both the ANGER IS INSANITY and the LUST IS INSANITY metaphor, but with an obvious preference for the latter. Furthermore, a search for drive + mad in the enTenTen08 corpus yields 1,353 results, or 0.41 hits per tokens. Much like the previous example, about 35% of the 200 sentences examined closely, or 68 sentences in this case, are lexical expressions of the metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY, while the other 132 either relate to madness, or again to the LUST IS INSANITY metaphor. However, it is highly

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[5] Though, interestingly, there were some cases for which it was difficult to draw the line between anger and insanity, such as "In addition to finding that little flea that has been *driving* your cat *nuts*, it also works as an excellent way of getting rid of lots of loose hair.", as there is, unfortunately, no way of telling whether the cat is angry at the flea, whether it is being driven to the point of insanity by the flea, or if the answer lies somewhere in between.

interesting to note that the expression *to drive mad*, when standing for the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY, tends to express frustration or annoyance more often than downright anger and is used especially often when talking about a noisy distraction, such as the following example: "No doubt about it, this band of squeaky-voiced pop muppets will have you driven mad by breakfast time on Christmas day - but the kids will love it, and isn't that what it's all about". Lastly, there is the expression with the most hits in the enTenTen08 corpus, *to drive crazy*. This number is 2,938, with a number of hits per million tokens of 0.9 for this particular query. Out of 200 sentences that were further examined, 71 were not lexical expressions of the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY, but 129 were. Here are these results displayed in a more coherent way in Table 2:

Lexical expression	Overall no. of hits in the corpus	No. of sentences which are lexical expressions of the metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY (out of 200)
drive nuts	437	176
drive insane	724	72
drive mad	1,353	68
drive crazy	2,938	129

Table 2.

Therefore, the four related expressions examined here can be classified as according to Table 2. above: the expression *drive nuts*, although with the least number of hits in the enTenTen08 corpus, proves to be the most common as a lexical expression of the metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY of the four, while the expression with the most hits in the corpus, *drive crazy*, takes second place. This might not be surprising considering that *crazy* is the most neutral of the remaining three lexical items. The usage of *mad* to mean *angry* is often labelled as an Americanism, according to *Merriam-Webster* (n.d.), while *insane* is considered to carry more weight than both crazy and mad. Indeed, the dictionary entries for *insane* in the online *Cambridge Dictionary* describe it as a state of being "extremely" unreasonable. *Oxford Learner's Dictionaries* (n.d.) also describes *insane* as "extremely annoyed; angry", and notes that that is an informal usage. Coincidentally, the example sentence provided is of the lexical expression listed above: "This job is driving me *insane*." In contrast, *Cambridge Dictionary* defines *crazy* simply as "annoyed or angry". All this considered, the corpus results shown in the table do not seem too surprising and unexpected: the four lexemes *nuts,*

mad, insane and *crazy* can be considered synonyms in this case, and they cover both the formal and informal register as well as several nuances of meaning, and it makes sense that the most neutral lexeme is the one most commonly employed, while the most marked one is the least commonly used, although it is the most pervasive lexical expression of the conceptual metaphor at hand.

The Korean language has a similar lexical expression of the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY: "미치게 하다" (michige hada) or "미치게 만들다" (michige mandeulda). The literal meaning of both is "to make crazy"[6], and just like *drive nuts/mad/insane/crazy*, the two phrases can often be used interchangeably, and they can be taken as equivalent to the English phrases above: in fact, *Naver Dictionary* translates both as "to drive sb crazy/mad/insane". Interestingly, the Korean phrases are, similarly to the English ones, also lexical expressions of the metaphor LUST IS INSANITY, as well as the metaphor LOVE IS INSANITY. However, neither of the phrases yields any results in the koTenTen18 corpus, though this might be due to the sources that the corpus utilizes, because Google searches for each of those expressions provide plenty of results. A search for "미치게 하다" (michige hada) yields around 1 480 000 results. This is the infinitive form of the verb, while a search for the plain present form, "미치게 해" (michige hae) yields around 3 240 000 results. Likewise, a search for "미치게 만들다" (michige mandeulda) provides cca. 143 000 results, and a search for the plain present form " 미치게 만들어" (michige mandeureo) ends up with around 960 000 results. These results are certainly not trifling, especially considering that they are instances of infinitive and present forms only. However, in order to ascertain the frequency of these particular expressions being used as lexical expressions of the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY, it is better to turn to *Naver*[7] than to Google. A look at 200 Naver search results for "미치게 만들어" (michige mandeureo) in the News section shows

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[6] The verb "하다" (hada) means "to do", but it is often used in combination with an adverb ending in -게 (ge), just like in "미치게" (michige), to convey the meaning "to make (somebody or something a certain way)". The meaning of the verb "만들다" (mandeulda) is literally "to make" and it is used much in the same way as the English "make + object (o) + adjective complement (ac)". For example, "행복하게 만들다" (haengbokhage mandeulda) means "to make happy". The verbs "하다" (hada) and "만들다" (mandeulda) can be used interchangeably in these constructions.

[7] A South Korean online platform, often called the "Korean Google," as most Internet users in Korea use *Naver* instead of Google to look things up. It uses its own search engine, which compiles results from different categories into a single page. This allows us to easily look up the phrases we wish to examine in online news articles, which means the source texts are not too far off from the texts in the Sketch Engine's koTenTen18 corpus. It also allows us to look up only results from a certain time period, so in order to stay as close to the koTenTen18 corpus as possible, data from the same time period has been selected (December 2017-April 2018).

that in 200 sentences including the phrase, 23 were lexical expressions of the metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY. This is a much lower instance than in English, but what the search has made noticeable is that in Korean, compared to the phrases *to drive nuts/insane/mad/crazy* in English, "미치게 만들어" (michige mandeureo) is used more often to mean something positive, outside of the LOVE IS INSANITY conceptual metaphor. For example, a famous Korean pop star has said: "나는 지금 미쳐있는 것 같아요. 미치게 해주는 존재는 팬들이고, 무대에 미쳐있고, 음악에 미쳐있고, 그래서 너무 감사합니다", which means "I think I'm crazy right now. The ones who *drive me crazy* are the fans, crazy about the stage and crazy about the music, so I'm so grateful"[8]. These kinds of phrases are not uncommon in Korean, and they express a genuine enthusiasm and passion, but this usage seems out of place and is extremely odd in English, precisely because it is not coherent with the metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY. Certainly, the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS INSANITY exists in English too, and

> 'enthusiasm is one of the concepts that are related to love. The INSANITY metaphor can give us further support for this claim. This is because, similarly to LOVE, ENTHUSIASM is a concept which is also comprehended in terms of INSANITY (cf. *He's crazy about stamps*). We can be enthusiastic about people in the same way as we can be about stamps, for example. The uncontrolled nature of the state of insanity is extended to both. But enthusiasm is just one characteristic of love' (Kövecses 1986: 92).

It is precisely because of this enthusiasm dimension that it comes as no surprise that one phrase, such as *to drive crazy*, or "미치게 만들다" (michige mandeulda) and "미치게 하다" (michige hada) in Korean, can be a lexical expression of both the LOVE IS INSANITY and the ANGER IS INSANITY conceptual metaphors, depending on the context. However, the corpora results seem to indicate that, when it comes to these particular equivalent expressions in English and Korean, in English they tend to convey anger, while it

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[8] Source: http://topclass.chosun.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=4802.

seems that in the Korean language they more often express the kind of enthusiasm related to the LOVE IS INSANITY metaphor.

Furthermore, another lexical expression of the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY in English is "*insane* rage", and one can also say "to be *insane* with rage". A search in the enTenTen08 corpus for insane + rage yields 31 hits, with a number of hits per million tokens of 0.01, while a search for *insane with rage* has 12 hits. These numbers seem to indicate a somewhat marginal position of this particular lexical expression in the English language. However, it shows that English has an expression which combines a term for the emotion of anger (in this case, *rage*) which combines directly with a lexeme that creates the metaphorical meaning that conveys the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY. This is interesting because Korean seemingly does not combine its lexemes for anger with other lexemes that convey the same metaphor, as has been noted by Turker, who created a list of all the mappings relating to anger in combination with the lexemes, "화" (hwa) and "분노" (bunno). What Turker notes of that particular research is that "the listed mappings are based only on the lexical items *hwa* and *bunno*", which means that "the absence of a mapping from this list does not mean that the particular metaphor does not exist in Korean, only that this analysis did not detect it" (2013: 81). So, Korean might not have mappings for the metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY with these two lexemes, but the present analysis has already shown that this conceptual metaphor definitely exists in Korean folk theory. In fact, there is a mapping for ANGER IS INSANITY and the Korean word for rage, as the koTenTen18 corpus has shown. The Korean word "광폭하다" (gwangpokhada) means "violent; wild", and the definition provided by the *Korean-English Learners' Dictionary* is "Behaving very rough or having a fierce personality like a madman", and similarly the word "광포하다" (gwangpohada) means "furious; outrageous; violent", with the same dictionary providing a similar definition: "Someone's behavior or personality being very violent, like that of a crazy person". These two lexemes collocate with the Korean word for rage, "격노" (gyeokno). Both CQL 격노+광포 (gyeokno + gwangpo) and CQL 광폭한 +격노 (gwangpokhan + gyeokno) yields 6 hits, which shows that, much like the English lexical expression insane rage, this expression exists in Korean, but appears not to be too common.

In fact, the Korean language also has the expression "미치겠다" (michigetda), which literally means "to go crazy" in the future tense and which is often used to express anger. Therefore, it is almost equivalent to the English lexical expression of the same metaphor, "to

go crazy", like in the example "I just touched him, and *he went crazy*." A search in the enTenTen08 corpus for "go + crazy" yields 4,161 hits with a number of hits per million tokens of 1.27. However, out of 200 sentences which were expected, only 9 were lexical expressions of the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY. This seems very little, and the results are indeed scarce compared to other corpus findings for other metaphorical expressions of anger, but taking into consideration the overall number of hits for this particular query, we may safely assume that the overall number of instances in both the corpus and the language is higher. As for the Korean expression, "미치겠다" (michigetda), possibly for the same reasons as the aforementioned expressions "미치게 만들다" (michige mandeulda) and "미치게 하다" (michige hada), it yields no results in the koTenTen18 corpus. This has again been supplemented by both a Google search and a Naver news search for the purposes of this analysis: a Google search for "미치겠다" (michigetda) provides 6 880 000 results, while a look at 200 news articles in the *Naver* news search option allows us to ascertain the amount of instances of the term as a lexical expression of the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY: out of 200 instances of the term "미치겠다" (michigetda) that were inspected, 48 were lexical expressions of the metaphor in question.

These corpus findings demonstrate a need for more analyses of conceptual mappings at work in not only the Korean language, but all languages of the world, so a more comprehensive list can be established of conceptual metaphors across all the different languages in the world, thus allowing for a list of language universals, or at least to crystalize which metaphors might be present in almost all or possibly all of the languages of the world, and which certainly are not.

ANGER IS AN OPPONENT

It has already been stated in the introduction of this thesis paper that "anger is understood in our folk model as a negative emotion": the angry person cannot function normally and "is dangerous to others", which means that they view their anger "as an opponent" (Lakoff 1987: 391). Here, then, are the grounds for the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS AN OPPONENT (IN A STRUGGLE). Some of its more salient examples in English include: "She *fought back* her anger.", "You need to *subdue* your anger.", "I was *seized* by anger.", "He *lost control* over his anger.", "Anger *took control* of him.", "I was *overcome* by anger." (Lakoff 1987: 391). This metaphor is particularly interesting because at its core is the personification of anger. Personification in conceptual metaphor is not only

particularly interesting but especially useful because it "permits us to use knowledge about ourselves to comprehend other aspects of the world, such as time, death, natural forces, inanimate objects, etc." (Kövecses 2002: 50), anger being one of those other aspects in this particular instance. Viewing anger in this way means that we are better able to discuss it, and therefore, control it, which is arguably the main goal when it comes to the negatively viewed emotion of anger, so that no other person is harmed by the anger and the angry behavior of the angry person. That goal of ours is highlighted by this conceptual metaphor, through which "ANGER is viewed as the opponent in a struggle, with the angry person being viewed as the defender" (Turker 2013: 82).

For example, one lexical expression of this metaphor which focuses on lessening anger is *to subdue one's anger*, like in the aforementioned example "You need to *subdue* your anger.". A search for "subdue + anger", yields 16 results in the enTenTen08 corpus, all of them metaphorical. This is not a high occurrence, but it still attests to the existence and use, albeit evidently not widespread, of this lexical expression of the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS AN OPPONENT. The Korean language has a similar lexical expression: "화 가라앉다" (hwa garaantda), as well as the almost equivalent "화 가라앉히다" (hwa garaanchida). Both "가라앉다" (garaantda) and "가라앉히다" (garaanchida) mean to sink, subdue, calm down, subside. Therefore, both lexical expressions translate to "to subdue anger" in English. CQL "가라앉 + 화" (garaant + hwa) yields 222 hits in the koTenTen18 corpus, with a number of hits per million tokens of 0.11. Upon further examination, out of all of those hits, only 16 were not lexical expressions of the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS AN OPPONENT, and the other 206 were. Likewise, CQL "가라앉히+화" (garaanchi + hwa) provides 207 hits and 0.1 of hits per million tokens in the same corpus. Out of those 207 hits, only 6 were not lexical expressions of the conceptual metaphor, which means that, at 201 hits, the total corpus findings for this Korean expression equal 407 hits, which is a substantial amount, especially in comparison to some other of the metaphorical lexical expressions in the Korean language that have previously been discussed.

On the other hand, a lexical expression which highlights losing to anger in English is *to be seized by anger*, like in "I was *seized* by anger." However, a query for "seize + anger" does not yield any results in the enTenTen2008 corpus, but one for "seize + rage" does yield a number of 33 hits in the same corpus. This finding might again be connected and in line with the intensity semantically inherent to the lexeme *rage* as opposed to the more neutral

term anger, since it aligns with the intensity of the lexeme *seize*, which always implies force and/or intention, but it might also be due to the corpus itself. Like English, the Korean language also has several lexical expressions which highlight losing to anger or surrendering to it. One of those is "분노에 사로잡히다" (bunnoe sarojapida), which literally means "to get caught in/by anger". A query for "분노 + 사로잡히" yields 314 hits and 0.15 of hits per million tokens in the koTenTen18 corpus, all of them metaphorical. This is a lot compared to the 33 hits for "seize + rage" in the English corpus, and along with the findings for some of the metaphors that have been analyzed so far, such as the distinction between "화나다" (hwa nada) and "화내다" (hwa naeda) as well as the lexical expression "열 받다" (yeol batda), it might indicate a tendency of the Korean language to view the act of getting angry as a more passive experience than it is perceived in the Anglo-Saxon folk etymology.

There are several expressions in English which highlight "control/loss of control or suppression of the ANGER" (Turker 2013: 82) in English, which is not surprising considering that "the OPPONENT metaphor focuses on the issue of control and the danger of loss of control to the angry person himself" (Lakoff 1987: 392). This is true of the following examples provided by Lakoff and Kövecses: "He *lost control* over his anger.", "Anger *took control* of him". The CQL "anger + control" in the enTenTen08 has a number of hits of 255 and a number of hits per million tokens of 0.08, and all of those hits are lexical expressions of the metaphor ANGER IS AN OPPONENT. The Korean language also has lexical expressions of this metaphor that highlight the same aspects of anger. One of them is the phrase "분노를 억누르다" (bunnoreul eoknureuda). It literally means "control/suppress anger", and the *Naver Dictionary* translates this phrase into English as "control [contain, repress, swallow] one's anger". This lexical expression seems to be particularly common in Korean, because it yields 639 hits and 0.31 of hits per million tokens in the koTenTen18 corpus, all of them metaphorical. It follows from the focus on loss of control and the danger of that loss that this metaphor is coherent with the ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL metaphor, since it aligns with the widespread metaphor PASSIONS ARE BEASTS INSIDE A PERSON, and "in the case of anger, the beast presents a danger to other people" (Lakoff 1987: 392). Furthermore, as has already been shown in this thesis paper, the ANGER IS AN OPPONENT metaphor highlights the same aspects as even more other conceptual metaphors for anger; namely, the ANGER IS FIRE metaphor, which also highlights the aspect of danger to others, thus pointing to a coherent structuring of experience.

To conclude, Turker posits of the Korean mappings for the metaphor ANGER IS AN OPPONENT that they "are also similar to English correspondences" (2013: 83), which can certainly be seen in the examples that have been analyzed, but the nuances that have been discovered are interesting and telling to be aware of and to take into account, particularly in the context of comparative analysis and in the search for language universals.

ANGER IS A BURDEN

The last conceptual metaphor for anger to be analyzed in this thesis paper is the metaphor ANGER IS A BURDEN. In English, this metaphor is complex and slightly contradictive, because in Anglo-Saxon folk theory "it is common for responsibilities to be metaphorized as burdens" (Lakoff 1987: 396), and there are two kinds of responsibilities at work in this metaphor: the responsibility to control one's anger, and the responsibility to seek vengeance. These "two responsibilities are in conflict in the case of angry retribution: If you take out your anger on someone, you are not meeting your responsibility to control your anger, and if you don't take out your anger on someone, you are not meeting your responsibility to provide retribution" (Lakoff 1987: 396). Therefore, a comparative study of this metaphor in different cultures with different folk theories could provide some insight into both of those cultures and their folk theories which might not be so apparent if both of the folk models were studied only in isolation. Some examples of this metaphor in English include: "Unburdening himself of his anger gave him a sense of *relief*.", "After I lost my temper, I felt *lighter*", "He *carries* his anger around with him.", "He *has a chip on his shoulder*." and "You'll feel better if you *get it off your chest*." (Lakoff 1987: 396).

When it comes to corpus results, a search in the enTenTen08 corpus for "anger + relief" yields no results, but a Google search for "anger" + "sense of relief" provides around 2 680 000 results, the majority of which, at least on the first several pages, are from medical websites specialized in psychology or from websites offering therapy or counseling. This certainly signifies that perceiving anger as a burden is indeed a fundamental part of our experience, at least in Anglo-Saxon folk theory, as it demonstrates that people feel anger as a burden so acutely that they seek to relieve themselves of that burden with professional help. The Korean language has a similar expression, "분노 해소" (bunno haeso), which literally means "anger relief", since "해소" (haeso) means "resolution, relief, easing, release" according to the *Naver Dictionary*. Like the search for "anger" and "relief" in the enTenTen08 corpus, a search for, "분노 + 해소" (bunno + haeso) in the koTenTen18 corpus

yields no results, but a search for ", "분노" + "해소" in Google also gives us around 2 170 000 results, with many of the top results, much like the English ones, being from psychology websites or articles. These findings imply that the view of anger as a burden in Anglo-Saxon folk philosophy and in Korean folk philosophy is not so different.

Another lexical expression of the metaphor ANGER IS A BURDEN in English is the expression "to have a chip on one's shoulder". According to *Merriam-Webster* (n.d.), the meaning of this informal idiom is "to have an angry or unpleasant attitude or way of behaving caused by a belief that one has been treated unfairly in the past". A search in the enTenTen08 corpus for "shoulder + chip" and "on" has a number of hits of 1,034 and a number of hits per million tokens of 0.32, which is certainly significant. Moreover, a slight variation of the lexical expression, with "shoulder + chip" and "off" also yields results in the enTenTen08 corpus: 39 hits with a 0.01 hits per million tokens. All of these are, of course, lexical expressions of the metaphor ANGER IS A BURDEN. On the other hand, the Korean language has the expression "화를 참다" (hwareul chamda), which, according to the Naver Dictionary, translates to either of the following: *suppress[curb] one's anger, keep one's temper (with), restrain[swallow] one's anger*, and *hold in[back] one's anger*, but "참다" (chamda) as a verb actually means to endure, to withstand, which aligns with the ANGER IS A BURDEN metaphor and makes this phrase a lexical expression of it. CQL 화+참 (hwa + cham) in the koTenTen18 corpus has a number of hits of 1,854 with a number of hits per million tokens of 0.9, and by observing the first 200 hits, only 7 of them were not lexical expressions of the metaphor at hand. Therefore, the results are close in number for both of the lexical expressions examined in both languages, suggesting yet again a similar way of viewing the word, as well as a similar frequency of usage of the metaphor's lexical expressions.

Lastly, one more lexical expression of the ANGER IS A BURDEN metaphor in English is *to get something off of one's chest*. A search for "chest + something" in the enTenTen08 corpus has 53 hits with 0.02 hits per million tokens. However, according to *Merriam-Webster* (n.d.), *to get (something) off one's chest* means "to tell someone about (something that has been making one upset or unhappy)", which does not necessarily entail anger, so a further look into the corpus results showed that out of the 53 hits, only 13 were undoubtedly lexical expressions of the metaphor ANGER IS A BURDEN, while for 30 of the examples it was difficult to decide, and for 10 it was clear that they were not expressions of

the metaphor at hand. Moreover, the enTenTen08 corpus also provides results for CQL chest + stuff and for CQL chest + weight, with each of them coming in at 16 hits in the corpus. However, the CQL chest + stuff was not always metaphorical in nature: to be precise, 6 hits were not metaphorical, while the other 10 were not always lexical expressions of the metaphor ANGER IS A BURDEN. In fact, it was difficult to decide if any of them were based on the limited context provided in the corpus. As for the *expression to get stuff off of [one's] chest*, all 16 of its hits are metaphorical, but not all of them were a lexical expression of the metaphor ANGER IS A BURDEN. Actually, it can be said of only 2 sentences that they are undoubtedly lexical expressions of the metaphor, while it was difficult to decide upon that for the rest of the corpus hits due to a lack of context. These findings confirm yet again the importance of context, as well as highlight the multiplicity of meanings inherent to the lexical expressions that have been analyzed.

Finally, one more Korean expression will be compared to the English expressions, and that expression is "화풀이를 하다" (hwapurireul hada). According to *Naver Dictionary*, its meaning is "take it/something out on somebody", where "화풀이" (hwapuri) contains the same syllable "화" (hwa) which comes from the Chinese character for fire and which is found in the aforementioned Korean word for anger, "화" (hwa). The word "화풀이" (hwapuri) itself means "to vent one's anger" or "to release one's anger", which means that it necessarily entails the metaphor ANGER IS A BURDEN. Because of this, it is sufficient to check for the frequency of "화풀이" (hwapuri) in the koTenTen18 corpus, and the search result provides 3,835 hits and a number of hits per million tokens of 1.87. Considering that anger is seen as something more passive in Korean folk philosophy as compared to Anglo-Saxon folk philosophy, and considering that the person getting angry is often thought of as a mere receptor of the emotion and not an active participator in the experience, as has been seen in several examples previously mentioned in this thesis, it comes as no surprise that the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A BURDEN seems more prevalent in Korean than in English. Moreover, these corpus findings, taking into account the fact that the lexeme for venting one's anger, "화풀이" (hwapuri), contains the word for anger which comes from the Chinese word for fire, also signal that the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS FIRE is highly prevalent in Korean, as this thesis has already posited.

FINDINGS

Considering that conceptual metaphors of anger are very common and widespread since they help us understand this emotion in more concrete terms, and therefore to process it more easily, it comes as no surprise that there is quite a bit of overlap when it comes to metaphors whose target domain is ANGER in two different languages, even in ones which are as unrelated and as different as English and Korean. There is a large number of metaphors which occur in both of these languages, even though only five metaphors were analyzed in this study. However, even such a small sample has shown that there is undeniable and significant overlap when it comes to the conceptualization of the emotion of anger. Namely, all five of the metaphors analyzed (ANGER IS FIRE, ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, ANGER IS INSANITY, ANGER IS AN OPPONENT and ANGER IS A BURDEN) were revealed to be present in both English and Korean, and they are definitely not the only metaphors which occur in both of those languages, as other research, such as Turker's (2013: 80), has shown previously.

What this study has revealed, however, is the prominence of the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS FIRE in Korean folk philosophy, and thus, in the Korean language (its frequency in English has well been established, most notably by Lakoff and Johnson and Kövecses). In Korean, this is due to the fact that the language's most common word for anger comes from the Chinese word for fire, which in itself shapes much of the experience of the emotion of anger by highlighting the aspects of anger which are similar to those of fire, even in combination with other metaphors which highlight other aspects of the emotion, such as ANGER IS A BURDEN or ANGER IS AN OPPONENT, where there will be present not only the conceptualization of anger as a burden, but also that of anger as fire due to the intrinsic link between anger and fire in the lexeme 화 (hwa). This is notably visible in several of the lexical expressions provided in this study, such as 화를 참다 (hwareul chamda) and 화 가라앉다/화 가라앉히다 (hwa garaantda/hwa garaanchida), to name but a few examples.

Furthermore, it has been found that the scope of the metaphor ANGER IS A BURDEN in Anglo-Saxon folk philosophy is much smaller than in Korean folk philosophy. For example, in both languages anger is considered a burden to such an extent that when looking up some of the most common lexical expressions of this conceptual metaphor on the Internet, the most relevant searches are psychology sites and therapy-oriented webpages. This is also proof of the fact that conceptualizing anger allows us to think about it and put our feelings into words, which then allows us to discuss it with others and to process it better.

Moreover, while this metaphor is quite widespread in the English language, as the corpus search has demonstrated, it is even more pervasive in Korean, which might signal that Koreans perceive anger as a burden not only to themselves but also to others more than speakers of English do. This metaphor, like the metaphor ANGER IS FIRE, is also often present in lexical expressions of other metaphors, which was seen in this study in the example of "열 받다" (yeol batda), a lexical expression of the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER. Speaking of that particular conceptual metaphor, this study has also highlighted the fact that, while not being present in all languages in the world (such as Chinese, for example), it is indeed one of the most conventional metaphors of anger globally, as corroborated by Kövecses (2002: 48).

The research conducted for this study has also shown the lack of a tendency in English to use the expression "drive (somebody) crazy" as an expression of the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS INSANITY as opposed to the Korean language, where the equivalent expression "미치게 하다/ 미치게 만들다" (michige hada/michige mandeulda) is much more commonly used as an expression of the LOVE IS INSANITY metaphor, though in both languages its widespread usage as an expression of the ANGER IS INSANITY metaphor has been confirmed by the findings in the corpora. These findings confirm the importance of a "broader cultural context" and "the governing principles and the key concepts in a given culture" (Kövecses 2002: 186) when it comes to metaphor variation.

Furthermore, it has been shown that the English and Korean mappings for the metaphor ANGER IS AN OPPONENT are largely similar, though with slight but fascinating differences: namely, it seems that in Korean folk philosophy getting angry is perceived as a more passive experience than in English, in which the person experiencing anger is viewed as more of an active participant in their emotional state than a passive recipient of the emotion of anger. These nuances are of particular importance when studying language through a comparative lens and trying to avoid the bias of viewing another language's concepts through the "prism of our own culture" and that of the language(s) we speak (Wierzbicka 1992: 26).

Finally, what all of these findings have shown is the ubiquitous presence of metaphor in language, as it has been demonstrated that a wide variety of metaphorical expressions are used in everyday language to talk about the emotion of anger, in both English and Korean They also confirm Langacker's postulation that the conceptions that achieve the status of lexical meanings are culturally salient (1999: 2), as well as highlight the fact that metaphor is

"not only cognitively but culturally motivated" (Kövecses 2005: 160). Likewise, the fact that these metaphorical expressions are so widely and regularly used in both of these languages ascertains that "emotions are primarily understood by means of conceptual metaphors" (Kövecses 2002: 21), showing that we conceive emotions much more easily when we think of these abstract experiences in more concrete terms.

CONCLUSION

On the basis of findings in comparable corpora, this study has analyzed five conceptual metaphors of anger in English and in Korean. This has been done in order to establish the importance of taking into account culture and cultural context and background when it comes to the study of conceptual metaphor. This study of metaphors of anger and their lexical expressions in two very different and unrelated languages has strengthened the belief that both conceptual metaphors and their lexical expressions are culturally motivated and that culture should therefore be taken into consideration when studying conceptual metaphors in any language of the world. Furthermore, the searches in the Korean corpus have yielded findings of several metaphors in Korean which hadn't previously been well established as present in the Korean language, thus working towards the goal of ascertaining whether those metaphors can be established as having wide diffusion. Although the present research is limited to two languages, and therefore any conclusions of that sort would be problematic, it is nonetheless a step in that direction, though further research into this topic in more languages is needed if any discussion of that kind is to be had. However, what this thesis paper has done is provide insight into how metaphor is not motivated only cognitively but also culturally by showing and highlighting the importance of culture in the conceptualization of anger, as well as the importance of the mechanism of metaphor when conceptualizing anger. It has also identified the culture-specific conceptual configurations characteristic of different peoples in the world, thereby allowing us to gain insight into two different cultures which is as free from the prism of our own language and culture as possible.

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