

Conceptualization of Anger in Modern Standard Arabic and English: A Comparative Study

Derki Noureddine

Phd Scholar

Received 12-03-2022	Abstract: Figurative language is part of our everyday life where meaning is communicated indirectly. Metaphor is among the major figurative devices that are commonly encountered in interactions. The aim of this study is to investigate the use of metaphors to conceptualize abstract concepts namely that of anger in both English and Arabic. To this extent, a corpus consisting of metaphorical expressions denoting anger in both languages was utilized. These expressions were classified based on their metaphorical mappings and later on analysed using Kövecses' (2002) framework. Results indicated that even though the two languages share a number of anger conceptualizations, they had certain differences. These differences were attributed to difference in language, in the sense that language genius and vocabulary repertoire often influence the conceptualization process. Culture, too, proved to be another source of as elements like climate and life style manipulate the conceptualization process. Note that the study of metaphorical conceptualization of emotions in general and anger specifically is underestimated in Arabic and further research is required	Keywords: Anger metaphors, Contrastive analysis, English, Arabic, Mapping
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INTRODUCTION

Language, which is a primary source of communication for people worldwide, is flexible in the sense that meaning can be transmitted in different forms. Figurative language, for instance, allows language users to manipulate the way in which meaning is conveyed through the use of stylistic devices. Metaphor is among the major figurative devices which are common in interaction. Metaphors not only have stylistic effects, but the majority of abstract concepts are captured via metaphors namely feelings such as: happiness, lust and anger. This attracted many scholars to investigate how metaphors represent such abstract notions.

According to (Ortony, 1975), metaphors are said to have different functions. To begin with, metaphors are a useful tool when trying to express complex and abstract concepts. Furthermore, metaphorical expressions allow users to convey a great deal of information using less lexical items. Lastly, the use of metaphorical language is seen as a stylistic tool to convey meaning in a non-conventional way using colorful images (Gibbs, 1994).

Katz (1996) postulated that an expression is regarded as figurative i.e. metaphorical when its surface meaning differs from the profound meaning intended to convey. This means that meaning in metaphorical expressions is not delivered in a direct way but in a form of interrelated layers as in "Her tears were a river". In such sentence, the word 'river' is combined with 'tears' to convey the meaning of "to much tears

shed". Hence, the listener is required to make inferences about the overlapping relationship between the terms to get the meaning.

The study of metaphor was first restricted to rhetoric where it was seen as just a tool used to render talk elegant i.e. decorative. Recent studies led by Lakoff & Johnson in 1980, however, went beyond the traditional view and introduced new perspectives in relation to this subject. Metaphor was no longer seen as just a figure of speech. but as a conceptual mechanism which is essential and indispensable in both language and thought (ditto).

In their Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), Lakoff and Johnson (1980) defined metaphor as a cognitive process that allows one domain of experience to be understood in terms of another through conceptual mappings. This latter occurs when the conceptual structure of the more concrete, *source*, domain (fire) is transferred to the more abstract, *target*, domain (anger) as in anger is fire. Such metaphorical mappings allow the understanding of certain abstract concepts such as time, life, emotion ...etc. by granting them more concrete features.

Emotions are the best example of abstract concepts where meaning is captured using metaphorical mappings. Researchers were interested in investigating the semantic structure behind metaphorical expressions related to emotions. Lakoff and Kövecses' (1987) pioneer work on anger in American English, revealed that anger metaphors were systematically structured in

a certain pattern such as heat, intensity and opponent. In fact, their study introduced a framework that was later on used to study other types of emotions like: fear (Kövecses, 1990), love (Barcelona, 1995) and lust (Csábi, 1999).

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Emotions conceptualized via metaphors were not only studied intra-linguistically (one-language) but inter-linguistically also (Multi-languages). The reason behind such studies was to investigate whether different languages have similar or different conceptualizations of emotions. Pining down the differences could help in bridging the gap between cultures and enhancing effective communication. Since the scope of this study will cover anger in Arabic and English, it is important to shed light on some of the works that were conducted on anger across unrelated languages.

Barcelona and Soriano (2004) conducted two studies for metaphorical conceptualization of colors and anger in Spanish and English. Their work uncovered some contrasts in the way English and Spanish conceptualize metaphorically a given domain of experience. They concluded that as in other areas of cognition and language, it is quite uncommon for a conceptual metaphor to have exactly the same conceptual structure and to be manifested by exactly the same type of linguistic structures.

In his study, Abbasvandi (2013) investigated anger metaphors in English and Persian from a socio cultural perspective. Corpus was utilized and it consisted of English and Persian metaphors which were analysed using Kövecses's (2000). Despite the cultural gap between the two languages, the study showed that there are certain conceptualizations which are shared between them. This entails that there are, some universal aspects of metaphorical mappings.

More recently, Dahiru and Saidu (2018) compared metaphorical conceptualizations of anger in two typologically unrelated languages (English and Fulfulde) to find out whether they have similar or different conceptualizations. The researchers used focus group discussions and audio-recorded the production of 100 native speakers of the Fulfulde language in Nigeria. Conceptual metaphors were detected and then analysed using Kövecses (2010) framework. The study concluded that the existence of similar

conceptual metaphors in the two languages supports the claim of some cognitive linguists that some conceptual metaphors are universal.

When it comes to the Arabic language, little inquiry was done to investigate metaphors from a cognitive viewpoint. For instance, Dihna (2008) conducted a study on anger metaphors in English and Arabic and their implications on translation. He created a corpus of Arabic metaphorical expression denoting anger based on data from Classical, Modern Standard and Iraqi varieties of Arabic. The English corpus was based on the work of Lakoff on anger in American English. The examination of the Arabic and English data showed that variations in the conceptualization of 'anger is heat' was so pervasive across the three Arabic varieties and across the two cultures. However, this study failed to elaborate on how conceptualization occurs since it was a sort of dictionary of Arabic figurative expressions with an English translation.

Al-Hadlaq and Maalej (2012) conducted a study on the conceptualization of anger in two varieties of Arabic namely that of Saudi Arabia and Tunisia. Using the framework of Lakoff and Kövecses (1987), the researchers analysed some metaphorical expressions. Results revealed that anger in Tunisian Arabic (TA) revealed more embodiment dimensions than physiological ones. They concluded that these types of embodiment can be related to other elements for instance, metonymy with physiology-based anger with, and culture-based anger with metaphor.

More recently, Al-Haq and Al Sharif (2018) conducted a comparative analysis for some metaphorical expressions of happiness and anger used in English and Arabic. The Arabic expressions were extracted from the Arabic culture (literature, dictionaries, thesauri), while the English expressions were taken from the works of (Kövecses, 1991). Later on, the data was analysed using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. The study showed that despite the cultural gap between them, there are certain common mappings.

Purpose of the Study

The present study aims, first, to investigate how anger is conceptualized in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and then, to compare the findings with English. The majority of the studies conducted on this topic focused on various variants of Arabic (Jordanian, Tunisian ...)

and the sole work conducted on Modern Standard Arabic was just a collection of figurative expressions in Arabic and their English translation. The novelty of the present research is that it aims to provide a detailed analysis about how (MSA) conceptualizes Arabic by comparing it to English. In particular, this study seeks to answer the following research questions:

- What are the major conceptualizations of anger used in Modern Standard Arabic and English?
- What are the similarities and/or differences in the conceptualizations in MSA and English?

METHODOLOGY

Data collection

This study was based on corpus which consisted of metaphorical expressions denoting anger in both English and Arabic. The English expressions were extracted from The Oxford Dictionary of Idioms (Siefiring, 2005), The Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs (Speake, 2008) and articles related to such topic. Unlike the English language, there are no dictionaries specialized in emotions nor extensive research covering such topic. In fact, most researchers rely on self-made corpora designed specifically to address their research goals. The same method will be adopted in the current research. Virtual platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and YouTube allow millions of people to express their feelings (affection, fear, hate, anger...etc.) via comments. This latter will be used as an input for our corpus.

Generally speaking, topics related to sports and politics generate debates which may often contain emotionally-filled language. To this extent, comments in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) depicting the emotion of 'anger' are gathered from two major sources: Facebook and YouTube. As far as Facebook is concerned, comments were taken from pages dedicated to political and sports news. As far as YouTube is concerned, each video has a comment section where people express their feelings in relation to video. Comments were selected from videos related to political issues.

Data Analysis and Procedure

After selecting metaphorical expressions in both Arabic and English, they were, first, classified according to the source domains they contain and then discussed in details to highlight how conceptualization occurred. Metaphorical

expressions were transliterated and given an English translation to help non-native speakers of Arabic speakers understand. Data was analysed based on Kövecses (2002) framework which identified several metaphorical patterns including: emotion is a fluid in a container, heat, a natural/physical force, an opponent, an animal and a burden.

RESULTS

Before we proceed to the analysis of the collected data, it is important to mention that metaphors were classified into two major levels according to Kövecses (2002). The generic level refers to metaphors which can be used to conceptualize a great deal of concepts as in: "more is up, less is down" and "the body is a container" metaphors. The basic level, on the other hand, involves metaphors that are typically used to capture emotions in general but happiness and anger in particular. Based on these levels, the following part will discuss the results of the comparative analysis for the expressions used to describe anger.

Anger is Heat

In such conceptualization, the representation of anger is based on the physiological property of heat where metaphors describe anger via mapping the physical properties of fire onto the feeling. The metaphorical expression collected showed that this type of conceptualization is found in both the English and Arabic language as reflected in the examples below:

1) You made my blood boil

بغلي دم الاحرار في عروقي (2)

/Yagli dam al ahrari fi oroki /

(Lit. Boiling blood of the free in my veins)

Exp. The sense of freedom part of his identity

This type of metaphors usually goes hand in hand with another form of conceptualization where anger is seen as "fluid in a container". Hence the examples (1) and (2) above, can have a pattern where anger is "heat of a fluid in container". Such metaphorical representation consists of three major elements: a source of heat (anger), fluid (temper) and container (human body). The more the substance becomes hot, the more the person becomes angrier. The term 'substance' refer the kind of stuff within the

container as it is not always fluid as highlighted in the following examples:

3) *Smoke* was coming out of her nose just like a furious bull

4) He was spitting *rivets*

5) انفجر اللاعب غضبا عندما تم استبداله
/ Infajara al laibo gadaban inda istibdalihim /

(Lit. Exploded the player when substituted)

Exp. The player became extremely angry when he was substituted

6) ان تصب جام غضبك على الحكم تصرف غير محترف

/ An tasoba gadabak ala al haqam tsarofon gayro laik /

(Lit. to pour your anger on the referee is unprofessional)

Exp. It is unethical to behave on angry way with the referee

In the above metaphorical expressions (3-6), different kind of substances were used to describe anger. In English example (3), smoke refer to kind of gas which results from burning concrete material. This conceptualization infer that intense pressure will produce steam. In the Arabic expression (6), anger is conceptualized as fluid that comes outside the container when anger rises. One may entail that such liquid or fluid has a destructive nature such as (magma or acid).

The relationship between the substance and the container is used to describe the state of the angry person. Rivets, in the English example (4), refers to small metal pins used to hold metal plates together. The plates represent someone's nerves or temper while anger is seen as a kind of "pressure on the container" which cause the rivets to explode i.e. the person to lose control over his anger. The same conceptualization is found in the Arabic expression (5), where such pressure causes explosion.

Anger is Fire

Moving on beyond the notion of contained and container, sometimes the feeling of anger is conceptualized as "fire". Unlike heat which is a property of fire, this type metaphor depict anger as having the features of a burning fire which ignites within the internal organs of the angry person. Such conceptualization is found in both English and Arabic as highlighted in the examples below:

7) They left him *burning* inside, after their offensive comments

8) Your attitude is just adding *fuel* to *fire*

9) استفزاز الشرطة تسبب في اشعال المتظاهرين
/ Istifzaz ašorta tasababa fi išaali al motadahirin /

(Lit. Provocation the police caused flaming the protesters)

Exp. The provocations of the police made the protestors angry

10) كان الغضب يستعر في داخله

/ Kana al gadabo ystairo fi daxilihi /

(Lit. was the anger burning inside him)

Exp. The anger was burning inside him

The highlighted elements in the examples above 7-10 belong to the same lexical field of 'fire' such as burn, fuel and light. In the English example (7), anger is depicted as an actual fire being lit within the internal organs of the angry person. In fact, the term 'burning' denotes that the person is being consumed by anger just concrete materials such as coal or wood. Arabic metaphors similarly depict anger as fire as in example (10) where the term "ystairo" was used to denote an aggressive form of burning. Furthermore, both English and Arabic position the process of burning as occurring within internal parts of the human body namely the chest and the heart.

Sometimes the notion of anger is fire is delivered differently. For instance, in the English example (8), anger is explicitly referred to as 'burning fire' and the process of agitation is conceptualized as adding fuel to fire. The same image can be found in Arabic (9) but with different representation where the concept of agitation is captured by verb "išaali=ignite" which metonymically refers to fire. In this situation, the protestors are seen as 'fuel' and the police' reaction as 'fire' and combining the two would result in protestors being 'lit' i.e. becoming angrier. Besides "anger is heat", there is another conceptualization where anger is seen as insanity.

Anger is Insanity

This type of conceptualization draws a picture where anger is seen as a responsible for making the possessed i.e. angry person commits certain unusual behaviour. In order to understand how such type of metaphors operate, consider the following examples:

11) When he heard he was fired; he just went *crazy*.

12) She just went *nuts* when she heard the news

13) When the police came, he went out of his mind

(14) جن جنون المراسل لما أرادوا اعتقاله

/ Djana djonono al morasili lama arado iitikalaho /

(Lit. went crazy the reporter when tried they to arrest him)

Exp. The reporter went crazy as the police tried to arrest him

(15) اقضاء الفريق في بداية المنافسة أفقد الجمهور صوبه

/ Iksao al fariq fi bidayat al monafasa afqada al jomhora sawabaho /

(Lit. disqualified the team in early competition made the supports go wild)

Exp. When the team was eliminated, the supporters lost their mind

The above expressions in both English and Arabic (11-15) are example of metaphorical expressions denoting angry people as insane. In the English examples 11, 12 and 13, we have three key words: *crazy*, *nuts* and *out of his mind*. These words explicitly denote that the person went from normal state into an uncontrollable mental state. The conceptualization of anger as insanity is also found in Arabic. The Arabic verb 'djana' in (14) means 'went crazy' and it is used to depict the shift from natural into aggressive or insane mental state. Similarly, the expression 'fkada sawabaho' in (15) which is equivalent to 'lost his mind' in English entails the same idea of insanity.

Often the insanity feature of an angry person is mentioned directly, however, the same representation is captured by referring to another metaphorical pattern in the sense that "insane behavior stands for anger". Such type of expressions involves describing 'insanity' by referring to certain aggressive behaviors. To have a better picture, consider the following examples:

16) He banged his head against the table when they missed the chance

17) The children's savage behaviour got the teacher pulling his hair out.

(18) كان يعض على لسانه من الغيض

/ Kana yaoudo ala lisanih mina al gayd /

(Lit. was biting his tongue from rage)

Exp. He was biting his tongue from rage

(19) استشاط اللاعب غضبا عند طرده

/ istashata al laibo ghadaban lama torida /

(Lit. went into rage the player when took him out the referee)

Exp. The player went into rage when he was sent off

Even though the conceptualization of insane behaviour is present in both English and Arabic, the difference is seen only in the type of behaviour. While in English, we find expressions like banging one's head or pulling one's hair, in Arabic we have 'biting one's tongue'. In the Arabic example (19), we have the term 'istashata' which is the equivalent of the English verb 'agitated'. This verb has a kind of animalistic connotation where the angry person resembles an agitated animal like a bull for instance. So this leads us to conclude that anger is seen as the source or cause of insanity which surfaces as abnormal behaviour.

Anger is Opponent

In this type of metaphorical conceptualization, anger is given characteristics of a human being. In fact, anger is depicted as an adversary whom people are struggling with. Such conceptualization is found in both English and Arabic as shown below:

20) She is struggling with anger.

21) You need to subdue your anger.

22) Rage took over him

(23) رغم انه حاول جاهدا الا ان الغضب نال منه في النهاية

/ Rogma anho hawal jahidan ila ana al gadaba nal minho fnihaya /

(Lit. despite he tried anger finally conquered him)

Exp. Despite his efforts to control himself, anger won in the end.

(24) لم يستطع التغلب على غضبه

/ Lam yastaie atagaloba ala gdabih /

(Lit. Could not he beat his anger)

Exp. He could not overcome his anger

(25) لقد استسلم لغضبه في هذه المرحلة

/ Lakad istaslama li gadabih fi hadih al marhala /

(Lit. Surrendered he to his anger at this stage)

Exp. He surrendered to his anger at this stage

In the English examples above (20-22), verbs like 'struggle' and 'subdue' entail that there are two people involved in a kind of battle. Anger is depicted as an adversary trying to dominate the actual person. Similarly, the same conceptualization is present Arabic as in examples (23-25). The verbs 'istaslama = surrender' and 'nal=won' draw the same picture in which anger is seen as an opponent whom we are struggling with. In such conflict, each part tries its best to

conquer the other. If anger is victorious, it means that the person will lose control which may lead to dire consequences.

Anger is Burden

In this type of metaphorical representation, anger is depicted as a heavy overload which is placed on the angry person. The removal of such charge will lead to the liberation from the feelings of anger. Such conceptualization is found in both English and Arabic as in the examples below:

26) He was *relieved* to let his anger out

27) He *carries* his anger around with him

28) أحس بارتياح لما نفس عن غضبه

/ Ahasa birtiyah lama nafasa an gadabih /

(Lit. felt good when releasing his anger)

Exp. He felt relieved after he expressed his anger

The English example (27), the verb 'carry' entails that anger is seen as a load. This load has an enormous weight which is reflected in example (26). When a person let loose of something heavy, he will feel much lighter and relieved. In example (28), the notion of 'irtiyah= relief' suggests that the same image of anger as a burden is also found in Arabic. Note that there were no other expressions denoting such patten in the Arabic expressions which were collected.

Anger is a Captive Animal

In this type of conceptualization, anger is depicted as an animal which stirs an aggressive behaviour within the angry person. In this pattern, the irrationality of the angry person is somehow linked to the instinct based behavior of animals. Such conceptualization is highlighted in the examples below:

29) Beware of *awakening the monster* within him

30) She *unleashed* her anger on her boyfriend

31) One can notice his *fierce* mood

32) كشر عن أنيابه

/ qašra an aniyabih /

(Lit. Showed his teeth)

Exp. He was fed up to the back teeth.

33) كاد ينقض عليه

/ qada ynkado alaiyhi /

(Lit. almost jumped on him)

Exp. He almost pounced on him

34) الغضب كلب ان أفلت اتلف

/ Al gadabo qalb inoflita atlaf /

(Lit. anger is a dog when released it will do damage)

Exp. Anger is just like a mad dog if unleashed it will cause harm

In the examples above (29-34), we notice that both English and Arabic actually conceptualize anger as a captive animal. The representation of anger as an animal is reflected in the use of different terminology. Sometimes the notion of animal is explicitly denoted as in *monster* (29) and *dog* (34), while it is often mentioned implicitly. For instances, English expressions *unleash* and *fierce* usually collocate with aggressive animals. In the Arabic example (32), the verb 'qašra' means to do an aggressive grimace in which you show your teeth. Such verb is restricted to animals such as dogs, tigers...etc. Similarly, in example (33) the verb "yankado" means 'to pounce' which is a feature of an animal.

Anger is a Natural Force

In this type of conceptualization, anger is depicted as natural force with destructive power. Such metaphorical representation often involves referring to different types of natural phenomena as showed in the below examples:

35) They had a *stormy* debate

36) He *erupted* when he heard the news

37) عصف به الغضب فقام بضربها

/ Asfa bih al gadabo fa qama bi darbiha /

(anger blew him violently so that he hit her)

He became so angry that he hit her

38) انفجر بركانها

/ Infajara borkanoho /

(his volcano erupted)

He exploded angry just as a volcano does.

39) أصبح يردد غضبا

/ Asbaha yariado gadaban /

(his voice thunders from anger)

He raised his voice so high from anger

In English examples 36, the verb erupts connotatively entails that the person is depicted as a volcano. Similarly, in Arabic, anger is represented in different natural phenomenon. In example 37, the verb 'asafa=blew' suggest that anger is strong wind. In example 38, anger is seen as volcano which 'explodes=infajara'. In the last example (39), anger is seen as thunder reflected in the angry person's loud voice. Note that the conceptualization of anger as a natural force is more conventional in Arabic than in English.

DISCUSSION

The analysis of the collected Modern Standard Arabic and English metaphorical expressions revealed that both languages have some similarities as well as some difference in relation to the conceptualization of anger. results indicated that general patterns such as anger is heat, insanity, opponent, burden, and animal are widely shared. This similarity can be traced back to the notion of experience. Since all human beings go through the same phases while growing-up, this entails that they would develop approximately the same level experience. Since figurative language is rooted within the notion of experience according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), potential similarity across languages is very high i.e. universality of figurative language. Our findings, thus, provides further support for the claim that some conceptual metaphors are universal (Kovecses, 2005; Lakoff, 1987).

Our findings also highlighted some differences as certain patterns were noticed to be more dominant or absent in one language than in the other. For instance, anger is insanity seems to exist in both MSA and English but the type of behavior differs greatly. This difference can be traced back to the richness of MSA language since it has more vocabulary to describe the status of the angry person than that of English. Anger is natural force, on the other hand, is the main conceptual pattern which was found to be significantly different. In fact, this pattern was noticed to be more conventional in Arabic than in English. this can be explained by referring to the influence of culture think. Arabs are more into their culture including the weather and this is reflected in their use of language. Such finding further supports the claim proposed by Boas (1986), which states that language is molded by culture.

Limitations of the Study

Since Arabic does not have special references dedicated to idioms, proverbs or metaphors, there was a need to rely on corpus. One of the limitations of this study is that the corpus used is relatively small in size compared to the data available for English. Another important limitation is traced back to the data collection method. Collecting comments from social media is time consuming and sometimes inaccurate due to language used (different varieties of Arabic). This obliged the researcher to provide an equivalent for them in standard Arabic to serve the purpose of this study. It would be more suitable for researchers to join forces and create a kind of

online corpus for Arabic metaphorical expressions. This latter would make it easier for other scholars to investigate different phenomena in relation to such topic.

CONCLUSION

This study aimed to investigate the metaphorical conceptualization of anger in English and Arabic. Despite the linguistic and culture differences between the two languages, results indicated that both languages indeed represent emotions metaphorically. This confirms Lakoff's claim that "once people start talking about abstractions or emotions, metaphorical understanding is the norm". This metaphorical device facilitates for people to understand and take about their emotions in way that make them draw images.

Data analysis revealed that English and Arabic, in many occasions, conceptualize anger similarly. Variations, however, still occur namely due to differences in language genius and culture. Since the two languages belong to distant families and have contrasting systems (vocabulary repertoire), differences in representation of the same concept are inevitable. Furthermore, cultural proved to influence how each language perceives representing a certain feeling.

Due to the lack of research conducted on conceptualization of feelings in Arabic, this study can be seen as a moderate addition to the existing literature. Unfortunately, limited time and resources held the researcher from going deeper into the investigation. Since Arabic is a rich language, Arab scholars can study such topic from different perspectives to have a more extensive and profound research.

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