

## Emotional Temperament in Food-Related Metaphors: A Cross-Cultural Account of the Conceptualisations of ANGER

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### ABSTRACT

*The manner temperaments manifested with the semantic domain of eating and food in a certain culture can be understood through a discussion of dietetic and culinary concepts of a particular culture. What people in a society and culture eat or like to eat may become an evaluation of their emotional temperaments and therefore an implication for portrayal of their specific cultural models. Calling into question the strong claims of ‘embodiment’ as an underlying motivation for emerging specific metaphorical concepts by Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Lakoff and Kövecses 1987), the close investigation of metaphorical uses of food-related concepts in Persian manifests that, in spite of some correspondences to those in English, ANGER metaphorical concepts are distinctive. The conceptual metaphor disparities highlight many vestiges of Galenic Theory, and Iranian Traditional Medicine Theory, suggesting that the cultural model of humoralism and dietetics have mingled in Persians’ life style. This is because their effects have been extended into Persian metaphoric language, and cognitive conceptualisations of ANGER emotion.*

*Keywords: conceptualisation; embodiment; cognition; emotional temperament; anger*

### INTRODUCTION

Due to their centrality to human life, food and eating practices are naturally rich with metaphorisation. The food domain provides us with a strong visual image in different languages and cultures denoting various connotations and creating immediate links while referenced. Food-related metaphorical concepts use these associations by offering actual wordings which describe people’s experiences, temperaments and emotions. Investigating what and how a nation eats, as well as the choice of their food ingredients, qualities, production, and the process of ingestion can provide us with a valuable perspective into different aspects of their personal and cultural identities. Adopting the basic assumptions of the Lakoffian School on ‘experiential realism’ and ‘universal embodiment’ (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999, Lakoff and Kövecses 1987, Kövecses 1990, 1991, 2005, 2008, 2010), this study is an attempt to delve into the conceptual system of Persian in order to explore its specific socio-cultural motivations for the construction and semantic changes in the use of metaphorical concepts of ANGER. Focusing on the distinct features of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), the mapping across conceptual domains; ANGER conceptualisations are

investigated and analyzed. The analysis, however, goes beyond the applications of basic tenets of CMT. In other words, it searches for Persian metaphorical source domain of food/eating and various emotion domains as ‘temperamental emotional states’, and ‘emotional traits’, with a special focus on humoralism and Iranian Traditional Medicine as underlying motivations for Persians’ conceptualisations of ANGER emotion.

The data for the study involved naturally-occurring and non-literary spoken-written citations of food-related themes, and therefore has been far more likely to be typical of everyday language in use rather than those invented or poetic corpora suggested and discussed in CMT. The corpus thus, has been taken from documented material, both printed and online data bases of Persian food-related metaphors from a variety of monolingual and bilingual dictionaries and some other lexicographical works such as dictionaries of idiomatic metaphorical expressions and thesauri and native speakers’ intuition of Persian linguistic metaphors. The analysis is mainly based on the author’s intuition as a native speaker of Persian. It has been further cross-checked informally by other natives of Persian.

The corpus involves various patterns related to food and eating domain which can broaden the scope of food-related metaphorical concepts. It consists of the key words for food and eating as well as those body organs associated with eating act, eating-related verbs, the terms referring to food preparation, food ingredients, cooking traditions and styles, the instruments applied in eating process, and food quality as flavour, smell, and its shape.

#### ANGER IN AMERICAN ENGLISH- THE PROTOTYPICAL COGNITIVE MODEL OF EMOTION CONCEPTUALISATIONS

Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) discuss a prototypical scenario characterizing the emotional state of ANGER in American English. They further claim that the process can be assigned to other emotional processes conceived with the same or different stages. The prototype scenario of ‘anger’ can be represented in a five-stage model as:

- Stage 1: Offending Event
- Stage 2: Anger
- Stage 3: Attempt to Control
- Stage 4: Loss of Control
- Stage 5: Act of Retribution

(Lakoff & Kövecses 1987, p.211)

For an emotion concept to be profiled, as Kövecses (2000) argues, “it has a cause, the cause produces the emotion, the emotion forces us to respond, we try to control the emotion but usually fail to do so, and there is a response” (p. 128). The emotional conceptualisations are therefore based on some image-schematic knowledge including specific entities and predicates— the experience of emotion, somebody or something that has motivated a certain emotion, their specific relations and characteristics.

Many metaphorical concepts of emotions can be centred on the generic conceptual theme EMOTION AS BODY which associates emotions on the grounds of human body as a container and its experiential realities. One of the most productive conceptual metaphors for ANGER, in many languages is ANGER IS HEAT, which has been further sub-categorised in metaphors ANGER IS FIRE and ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER (Lakoff 1987, Lakoff and Kövecses 1987, Kövecses 1990, Gibbs et al. 1997). According to CMT, the metaphor is supported by the physical reality of body heat, and an increase in body internal pressure which is shared by physiological experience of all human body. The ubiquity of

physiological functioning of the human body across cultures has made this bodily conceptual metaphor as ubiquitous in different cultures. Anger is mostly presented as boiling, steaming, and exploding. It activates the image schema of heating fluid in a container while it boils and steams. It causes pressure in its container, and if the heating cannot be kept under control, it will explode. The condition is well analogous with the target domain of an angry temperament: the body (heart/stomach) corresponds to a container whereas the person's anger, the hot fluid. The pressure in the container is internal body pressure; the hot fluid corresponds to the physical agitation, and the explosion of the hot container maps onto the loss of the control of anger, etc. As Lakoff (1987) reports, this folk theory of physiological effects of anger is at work by Americans and is governed by the conceptual metaphors of CONTAINER-CONTENT which in turn motivate the construction of some metonymical expressions giving rise to mainly bodily effects rather than the emotion itself. The metaphorical expressions of ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER and their corresponding physiological effects adopted from Lakoff (1987) have been suggested in the following Table:

TABLE 1. Metaphorical expressions of ANGER IS HEAT and their corresponding physiological effects (Adopted from Lakoff 1987, pp.382-383)

Physiological Effect	Metaphorical Expression
<b>Body heat</b>	Billy's a <i>hot head</i> . They were having a <i>heated</i> argument.
<b>Internal pressure</b>	He almost had a <i>haemorrhage</i> . Don't <i>get a hernia</i> !
<b>Redness in face and neck area</b>	He was <i>flushed with anger</i> . She was <i>scarlet with rage</i> .
<b>Agitation</b>	He was <i>quivering with rage</i> . She's <i>all wrought up</i> .
<b>Interference with accurate perception</b>	I was beginning to <i>see red</i> . She was <i>blind with rage</i> .

Along with the above metaphorical concepts, Lakoff (1987), and Kövecses (2000) further present some other conceptualisations of the anger as:

TABLE 2. Metaphorical expressions of ANGER and their corresponding metaphorical concepts (Adopted from Lakoff 1987 and Kövecses 2000)

Conceptual Metaphor ANGER	Metaphorical Expression
ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER	You make my <i>blood boil</i> .
ANGER IS FIRE	He was <i>breathing fire</i> .
ANGER IS INSANITY	You're <i>driving me nuts</i> !
ANGER IS AN OPPONENT	It was <i>wrestling</i> with my anger all day.
ANGER IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL	He <i>unleashed</i> his anger.
CAUSING ANGER IS TRESPASSING	You're <i>getting under my skin</i> .
ANGER IS A BURDEN	You'll feel better if you <i>get it off your chest</i> .
ANGER IS A NATURAL FORCE	It was a <i>stormy</i> meeting.
THE ANGRY PERSON IS A FUNCTIONING MACHINE	That really got him <i>going</i> .
ANGER IS A SUPERIOR	His actions were completely governed by anger.

The above conceptual metaphors of ANGER, according to Lakoff (1987), are embodied originated from the experiential realities of human body; “if we look at metaphors and metonymies for anger in the languages of the world, we will not find any that contradict the physiological results” (Lakoff 1987, p. 407). Further studies (e.g. Kövecses 2006) on similar metaphorical conceptualisations in some other languages like Japanese, Chinese, Hungarian, and English support this argument.

Kövecses (2000) further explicated the anger scenario with its specific sub metaphors as THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTION; ANGER IS HEAT, and EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS. As the above concepts show, the anger emotion is basically formed on its physiological effects, or as Lakoff & Kövecses (1987) and Kövecses (2000) point out, they are originated from the metonymic principle PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION. This generic principle provides the language with a system of metaphor conceptualisations for anger. Among other physiological effects, the HEAT concept forms the metaphorical conceptualisations as ANGER IS HEAT within a cooking scenario while the heat (anger) is manifested in fluids or solids being boiled, steamed, or over flown in a container (human body).

Elaborating the terms ‘simmer’, and ‘stew’ in the expressions ‘*Simmer down*’ and ‘*Let him stew*’, Lakoff (1987) argues that “Although both of these are cooking terms, cooking per se plays no metaphorical role in these cases. It just happens to be a case where there is a hot fluid in a container”. This is typical of lexical elaborations (Lakoff 1987, p. 384). According to Lakoff, ‘lexical elaborations’ are the new variants of conceptual metaphors which replace a term with a different one to extend its metaphoric semantics and hence creating new metaphorical expressions. The term stew, for example, has been used to reflect the idea of intensity of anger emotion which continues over a longer period of time. The question here is whether the concepts and samples introduced by Lakoff and Kövecses are instantiations of the conceptual metaphor HOT FLUID or they are in fact different metaphorical concepts as ANGER IS COOKING FOOD, historically older than the concept ANGER IS HEAT.

On the other hand, it is important to know if embodied realism, or what humans perceive of the world, gives full descriptions for all the facets of primary conceptual metaphors of emotions. We argue that the cultural knowledge is required while using a certain cognitive conceptualisation in any language or as Khajeh and Imran (2012, p. 72) point out, “in all languages, innumerable cultural units exist to the metaphor users, each consisting of a huge amount of semantic components to shed light on various aspects of social life. The eventually chosen cultural unit as a metaphorical vehicle for a specific life situation in a particular language community is arbitrarily decided and therefore unpredictable.” In other words, the embodied experience perceives a scenario and conceptualises that scenario in a certain source domain as physical world, whereas cultural models act as a basis for interpretation of that scenario<sup>1</sup>. Deignan (2003) emphasises that even when conducting a synchronic investigation of languages we have to be aware of historical realities and cultural models in the conceptual system of those languages. He further points out that when searching for the non-transparent, opaque metaphorical expressions, not only the historical dimensions of a language should be taken into account, but “that many more transparent, metaphorical expressions are also historical in that they allude to knowledge that is still shared as part of our cultural repository, but no longer directly experienced” (p. 270). Moreover, in their study on the Western European languages, Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995) challenge the purely-conducted synchronic studies of CMT and discuss that the metaphor conceptualisations of ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER can properly be traced back in the humoral doctrine while it has experienced reinterpretation:

Cultural models, i.e., the more or less coherent sets of concepts that cultures use to structure experience and make sense of the world are not reinvented afresh with every new period in the culture's development. Rather, it is by definition part of their cultural nature that they have a historical dimension. They can only fulfil their role of shaping a community's life if they have a historical permanence, that is, if they can be transmitted from generation to generation, assuring continuity over and above an individual's and an individual generation's activities (though not, to be sure, unaffected by them). If cognitive models are cultural models, they are also cultural institutions, and as such, they carry their history along with them: their institutional nature implies their historical continuity. It is only by investigating their historical origins and their gradual transformation that their contemporary form can be properly understood. (Geeraerts & Grondelaers 1995, pp. 176-177).

Explicating their findings on the basis of a diachronic study of metaphorical themes in Western conceptualisations of emotions, they emphasise the much more substantial influence of four-humor theory in emotion conceptualisation than the embodied experiences.

Kövecses (2005) also demonstrates the absence of Conceptual Metaphor Theory in its cultural explication and diachronic issues. He acknowledges that:

Obviously, then, the use of the humoral view as a form of cultural explanation extends far beyond anger and the emotions. In addition to being an account of emotional phenomena, it was an explanation of a variety of issues in physiology, psychology, and medicine. In other words, the humoral view was a key component of the classical-medieval cultural context and it exerted a major impact on the emergence of the European conception of anger as a fluid in a pressurized container. (Kövecses 2005, p. 234).

Thus, conceptual metaphor studies, whether diachronic or synchronic, should go beyond the sphere of pure linguistic accounts, the cultural experiences and traditions. Shixiong Wu (2007, p. 20) suggests the “em-minded cultural notions” that are “accumulated and deposited in a nation's worlds of knowledge, beliefs, habits, tradition, and even linguistic system” should be examined as well. In this study, the cross-cultural integration; therefore, illustrates why and how the metaphor conceptualisations of embodiment have been influenced by the em-minded cultural notions or cultural cognition (Maalej 2004, 2007) ‘cultural embodiment of the mind’). The em-minded cultural conceptualisations, as opposed to Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) embodiment theory, elucidate the conventional beliefs and traditions which are originated in a particular culture, its cultural inheritance, or notions unconsciously learnt in a non-embodied manner (Sharifian 2011, 2013).

#### PERSIANS' CULINARY TRADITIONS AND ETHNO-MEDICAL THEORY

A fundamental aspect of Iranian heritage is food and culinary traditions. While the particular taste, colour, and odour depict the aesthetic savour of Iranians, the food ingredients accent the distinct geography of the country. The style and quality of Iranians' cooking traditions are mingled with their rich social-cultural norms during its long history. In other words, Iran's cuisine is so old, diverse, and cosmopolitan. Many eating habits and ingredients in Persians' cuisine have been adopted from ancient Greece, Asian, and Mediterranean culinary cultures, and they have been affected by Iranians' unique culinary ideas as well.

For centuries Iranians have viewed food and eating as being fundamental to the body's balance. The first physicians of the period searched the causes of body imbalance which led to diseases. They believed that the equilibrium of opposing qualities lead to healthy body organs, while their disequilibrium results in various illnesses. The idea of humeral theory is first codified by Sumerian and Egyptian philosophers and physicians. Hippocrates (460-370BC), a Greek physician, linked the human behaviour to those of four humeral elements. The theory was later refined by the work of Galen (AD 131-200), a Roman scholar who developed the typology of temperament from *arkān* ‘elements’ on the basis of Aristotle,

Plato, and Empedocles. Arabs and Persian physicians further developed the humeral tradition into an ethno-medical system. Abu Ali Sina (Avicenna, 980-1037), the 11<sup>th</sup> century Iranian physician, influenced by traditional Greek and Islamic medicine, and also Indian and Chinese healing teachings, in his book, *The Canon of Medicine*<sup>ii</sup> (1029), fully explicated the theory of four humors, and the opposed qualities of *garm* ‘hot’ and *sard* ‘cold’, *tar* ‘wet’ and *xošk* ‘dry’ which are adopted from Iranian Traditional Medicine (ITM). According to ITM, in the first stage of world beings’ creation, elements of warm, cold, wet, and dry appeared, and in the next stage, they mixed together and *arkān* ‘original elements of human and non-human’ as fire, air, water, and soil came into being. Plants, animals, and humans were then created respectively. Through the combination of these original simple bodies, *mizāj* ‘physical temperament’ is constituted. The four temperaments shaped in this way are ‘warm and wet’, ‘warm and dry’, ‘cold and wet’, and ‘cold and dry’. Based on Iranian theory of humours, within the digestion process the foodstuffs are first transferred into particular constituents known as *axlāt* ‘structural components’. Moreover, Avicenna emphasises that the primary humours have their origins in food digestion. According to him, the humours function as nutrient substances utilised for body organs growth providing them with required energy. The four humours are categorised as *dam* ‘blood’, *balqam* ‘phlegm’, *safrā* ‘yellow bile’, and *sodā* ‘black bile’. The following Figure summarises the relationship between humours, original elements and their respective qualities:

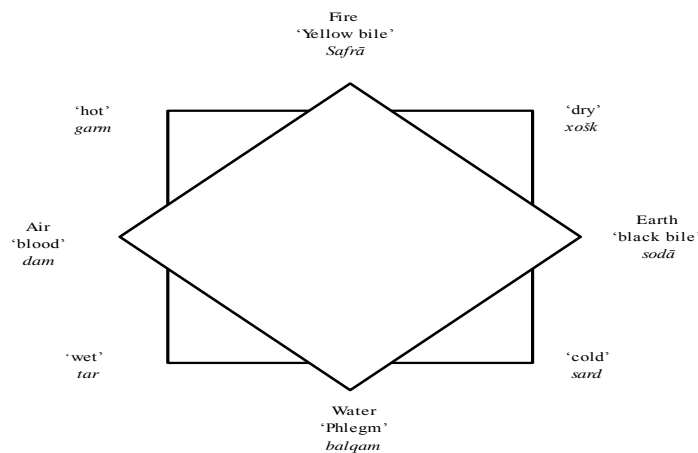


FIGURE 1. Four-Humour Theory

According to ITM and based on four-humour doctrine, people can be identified as having hot or cold nature with respect to their dominant body temperament essences. In other words, individuals’ temperaments are categorised as sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric, and melancholic which are derived from their respective humeral constitutions as blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile. Interestingly, the humours are attested to have their own temperaments as well. The blood is assigned to be ‘hot and moist’, phlegm humour ‘cold and moist’, yellow bile ‘hot and dry’, and black bile ‘cold and dry’ temperaments. Accordingly, people with preponderance of hot humour depict the characteristic temperament of hot-nature, and those with dominant cold humour features represent the cold-nature people. The proper healthy diet and digestion, therefore, maintains an optimum humeral balance. The following Table summarises the humeral theory and its characteristic sub-categorisation.



TABLE 3. Four-Humour theory and related components

Humour	Blood	Phlegm	black bile	yellow bile
Qualities	hot and moist	cold and moist	cold and dry	hot and dry
Element	Air	Water	Earth	Fire
Taste	Sweet	Salty	Sour	Bitter
Colour	Red	White	Black	yellow/red
Origin	Heart	brain/ladder	Spleen	liver/stomach
Temperament	Sanguine 'happiness'	phlegmatic 'sluggishness'	melancholic 'sadness'	Choleric 'anger'

As the Table illustrates, the variant combinations of the humours in people manifest their dominant temperaments or complexions, as well as their physical and mental traits. An ideal individual, therefore, maintains a well-proportioned combination of four humours. The abundance of one of the body fluids or humours leads to a change in the people's mood and temperament. The excess of yellow bile, for instance, with hot and dry characteristics, makes the blood hot and results in a choleric disposition.

Dietetics as a key element for temperamental emotions in Persian is regarded as the doctrine of proper eating and drinking in order to be free from ailment. Avicenna (1984) views digestion process as *poxt-e šodan* 'heating' and 'cooking' the food by the body, i.e. while taking into the mouth, the food is transferred from its initial state, and is broken down into smaller nutrient particles. In this case, unconsciously, the digestive process is applied inside the body container and the food is absorbed and assimilated into blood streams and cells. It is to be noted that, the food selected for nutritive purposes should be in harmony with individual's temperament in order to produce balance in the body's humours activating the two of four humours properties as hot/cold and dry/moist in which the dominating humoral condition does not exist. According to Avicenna, a body with phlegm, for instance, is dominated by coldness and moisture and pepper is appropriate for the meal; however, a person with choleric suffers from heat and dryness and the consuming pepper reinforces the excess of humoral properties which already have dominated the body.

According to Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995), the four-humour doctrine "was not only the basis of pre-modern medical practice, it was integrated into a whole cosmology, with the establishment of correspondence between the humours and such diverse domains as the plant, and animal kingdoms, dietary practices, the seasons, and the planets" (Taylor 1995, p. 13-14).

#### THE HUMORAL DOCTRINE AND METAPHOR CONCEPTUALISATIONS

In their study on the Western European languages, Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995) tried to respond to Kövecses's (1990) work that supported embodiment model of emotion conceptual metaphors. They concluded that historical cultural practices as a four-humour doctrine can be a key source in conceptual metaphor instantiations in the languages under study. The two major motivations which highlight the influence of four-humour model can be, first: the concept of fluids as the emotion motivator is best explained by the humoral model as it has

fluid property and can provide a plausible source for constructing emotion metaphorical concepts as ANGER, and second: humoral doctrine will best provide the languages with explanations for the metaphorical expressions with no clear physiological motivations. The four-humour model contains the concepts which correspond to those explained by Lakoff and Kövecses's (1987) embodiment theory. The concepts of fluids inside the body, body heat, internal pressure, agitation, and body symptoms as face and neck redness are all attested in the four humours practices and subsequently in temperament descriptions. For example, an excess of yellow bile fluid in the body causes anger. In other words, according to cultural tradition of humours, the choleric emotional state is dominated by hot and dry yellow bile which has fire as its preponderant element located in human's stomach or liver. As the data for this study manifest, the Iranian Traditional Medicine is actively applied as self-treatment by lay medical practitioners. It seems that the effect of this lay practice has been extended beyond medical practices by experts and into metaphorical language and ultimately into cognitive conceptualisation of Persian.

Apparently, four-humour doctrine contains underlying concepts that accord with those found in Lakoff and Johnson (1980), and Lakoff and Kövecses's (1987) folk theory describing the mappings of human physiology with specified target domains as human's emotions and traits. However, this still needs to be further explored and discussed to search for the function of historical cultural knowledge as the strong motivations for the semantic extensions of temperament-based metaphoric concepts. In Persian, the expression *safrāvi* (of yellow bile or splenic), for instance, refers to those with anger, rage, and irascibility of temperament which has its origin in medieval humoral theory. Moreover, the metaphorical expression of *dige-š zud be juš miyad* 'his pot boils soon' characterises those who abruptly angered, which can be traced back in the four-humour theory and not only the conceptual metaphor THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987) which will be discussed in more details in the following sections. Although the humoral theory has long been outdated, its traces are still evident in metaphorical concepts highlighting the fact that the tacit knowledge of historical and cultural models has to be taken into account while searching for the motivational backgrounds of food-related metaphorical concepts of emotions.

According to Lakoffian researchers, an account of sharing experiences in all cultures by virtue of having the same type of physical bodies, the primary metaphors are universal. Calling into question the strong claims of 'embodiment' as an underlying motivation for emerging specific metaphorical concepts by Conceptual Metaphor Theory CMT (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999), the close investigation of metaphorical uses of food-related concepts in Persian concerning basic temperamental emotions of ANGER concepts will manifest that, in spite of some correspondences to those in English, such metaphorical concepts are distinctive. To show the distinction, it seems necessary to decompose the human emotion concepts into their constituent parts and to search for predominant aspects of individuals as temperaments, moods, and character traits. The present study, therefore, is an attempt to search for commonalities and disparities of food related metaphorical concepts with temperamental emotions in Persian comparing that with those of previously explicated by Lakoffian theory of CMT. The findings will then illuminate the cultural backgrounds of emotion terms in Persian leading us to portray the cultural motivations for their construction, evolution, or semantic changes. Since the general framework of the study is on the basis of the underlying assumptions made by CMT, it is expected that the findings of such a cognitive-semantic, cross-cultural study rectify this theory in general, and emotion conceptualisations in specific. Thus, this article stresses that "the cultural model of humoralism and dietetics have mingled in Persians' life style as their effects have been



extended into Persian metaphoric language, and cognitive conceptualisations” (Khajeh *et al.* 2013a, p. 56).

### DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

To help make the meaning of Persian linguistic instances explicit, in the discussion of examples, the original Persian metaphorical expressions are followed by three levels of translation, namely an interlinear glossing (a word-for-word translation), a literal translation of Persian into English, and an English translation equivalent. On the other hand, the equivalents given under each word in the examples are intended to be a semantic guide, and not to be regarded as the exact morph syntactic equivalents in English. The grammatical abbreviations used in the glossing are: ACC=accusative, GEN= genitive, NEG=negative, OBJ-PRO=object pronoun, PCTP= past participle, PL=plural, POSS=possessive, PRES=present, PROG= progressive and SG=singular

#### ANGER EMOTIONAL STATES - ANGER IS HEAT

In Persian, many of the conceptual themes of anger metaphors correspond to those of English concept of EMOTION IS BODY and its interrelated subthemes as it is shown in Table 1. The metaphorical concept ANGER IS LIQUID applies to both languages, but the type of liquid seems to be in a great extent culture specific. Some metaphoric expressions<sup>iii</sup> in which HEAT is associated with a boiling substance (fluid/solid) within a container in Persian are given below.

- (1) *sabram-am tamām šod-e, dar-am juš mi-yār-am*  
 patience-POSS-1SG finish become-PCTP-is, have-POSS-1SG boil PROG-bring ISG

My patience is finished, I am boiling.  
 ‘I have lost my patience, I am boiling with anger.’

- (2) *xeili zud juš-i mi-še va sedā-š ro boland mikone*  
 very soon boiling PROG-3SG and voice-POSS-3SG ACC high PROG-do-3SG

He boils very soon and his voice becomes loud.  
 ‘He soon becomes angry, and starts shouting.’

- (3) *juš na-zan/ juš na-xor! hame čiz dorost miš-e*  
 boil NEG-hit-2SG/ boil NEG-eat-2SG! all thing right PROG-become-3SG

Don’t boil! Everything will be right.  
 ‘Don’t be angry! Everything goes well.’

- (4) *raftār-hā-ye bačegāna-š xun-am ro be juš mi-yāre*  
 behaviour-PL-GEN childish-POSS-3SG blood-POSS-1SG ACC to boil PROG-bring-3SG

His childish behaviour makes my blood boil.  
 ‘His childish behaviour makes me angry.’

- (5) *kāse-ye sabr-am be juš umad-e*  
 bowl-GEN patience-POSS-1SG to boil come-PCTP-is

The bowl of my patience is boiling  
 ‘I am boiling with anger.’

- (6) *dige-š be juš umad-e*  
 pot-POSS-3SG to boil come-PCTP-is

His pot is boiling.  
 ‘He is boiling with anger.’

As the above examples show, the expressions contain the terms which are associated with boiling substances (liquid/blood or solid) in the cooking frame, during which people are regarded as a cooking pot with anger emotion associated as ingredients (volatile substances) boiling over in this container. In other words, on the basis of internal logic of conceptual metaphors, the extreme intensity of ANGER portrays boiling movements within a person (human body). While the heat is instantiated for anger metaphors, the entailment projections are constructed between the boiling in the concrete source domain and the effects of anger emotion on the person in the abstract target domain conceptualizing the metaphor INTENSITY OF EMOTION IS DEGREE OF MOTION, and more specifically the concept THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON PERSON IS BOILING. The light verb constructions<sup>iv</sup> involved in this conceptualisation contain the preverbal element *juš* (boiling) and a variety of light verbs as shown in the table below:

TABLE 4. The light verb constructions with BOILING conceptualisation

<i>juš zadan</i>	boil HIT	get angry
<i>juš xordan</i>	boil EAT	get angry
<i>juš āvardan</i>	boil BRING	get angry/get outraged
<i>juš-i šodan</i>	boiling BECOME	get angry
<i>juš dādan</i>	boil GIVE	make angry
<i>be-juš āmadan</i>	boil COME	get angry/furious

The sentences (5) and (6), on the other hand, illustrate the metonymical expressions in which it is not *kāse* (bowl) or *dig* (pot) which is boiling but the ingredients (liquid/solid) inside these containers. The containers, the substances inside, and the boiling process, all co-occur in the physiological world, and so in a conceptual domain<sup>v</sup>. There are also some examples in the domain of culinary expressions conceptualizing the metaphor ANGER IS AN EXPLOSION OF A CONTAINER as in the following sentence:

- (7) *dig-e asabāniyat-eš be had-e enfejār resid-e*  
 pot-GEN anger-POSS-3SG to degree-GEN explosion reach-PCTP is

The pot of his anger is about to explode.  
 'He is going to explode with anger.'

The expression (7) is a linguistic manifestation of ANGER IS HEATED FLUID/SOLID metaphor which evokes the image of a hot substance in a pressurised container where the capacity limit of this container (pot) is mapped onto a person's capacity limit to control his/her anger. Eventually, the explosion of this container will be the result of loss of control, where the anger is characterised as heat in a closed container, and associated by an explosion when it is expressed.

In English culture, as Lakoff and Johnson (1980) put it, anger is a matter of hot fluid such as heated blood in a container conceptualizing ANGER IS A BOILING BLOOD. However, in Persian the boiling blood can stand for extreme anger, as well as excitement, enthusiasm, and love profiling the conceptual metaphors BOILING BLOOD AS ANGER / AMBITION / EXCITEMENT / LOVE. Consider the following boil-examples:

- (8) *xabar-e movafaqiyat-e irān dar olampic,*  
*news-GEN success-GEN iran in Olympic,*  
*xun-e hame-ye irāni-hā ro be juš āvord.*  
*blood-GEN all-GEN Iranian-PL ACC to boil bring-PST-3SG*

The news of Iran's success in Olympic, made the blood of all Iranians boil.  
 'Iran's success in Olympic, made all Iranians excited.'

- (9) *hamiše sar-zende o šad-e. por az juš o xoruš-e*  
*always head-alive and happy-is full from boil and seething-is*

She is always lively and happy; she is full of boil and seething  
 'She is always lively and cheerful, roaring with excitement.'

- (10) *ešq tu del-eš mi-juš-e*  
*love in heart-POSS-3SG PROG-boil-3SG*

Love is boiling in her heart.  
 'She is boiling with love.'

The expressions (8) and (9) *b juš āmadan-e xun* 'boiling blood', and *por az juš-o xoruš budan* 'being full of boiling and seething' denotes extreme excitement and enthusiasm towards somebody or something. This different emotional conceptualisation, namely EXCITEMENT IS BOILING BLOOD, and EXCITEMENT IS SEETHING in Persian cannot be attributed to the physiological experiences but has its origin in the cultural ideologies which are in turn shaped from historical diachronic factors. According to Iranian Traditional medicine, the blood is regarded as having the qualities of 'hot' and 'moist', a source of excitement and sensation which is placed in the heart (Avicenna 1984). In (10), the expression stresses that the fire changes the state of liquid into boiling condition and so it can be mapped onto the condition of a lover affected by the strong passion he/she experiences. The expression manifests the metaphor LOVE IS BOILING SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER.

#### ANGER EMOTIONAL ATTRIBUTES

Food metaphors also have a wide range of use in Persian reflecting certain emotional traits and attributes of individuals. Consider the following expressions:

- (11) *kolan ādam-e bad-axlāq o juši-ye.*  
*generally person-GEN bad-tempered and boiling-GEN-is,*  
*yek dafē' asabāni mi-še*  
*one time angry PROG-become-3SG*

Generally, he is bad-tempered, and boiling. Abruptly, he becomes agitated.  
 'He is a kind of bad-tempered, fretful man. Very unexpectedly, he turns mad.'

- (12) *ādam-e xun-garm o be-juš-i-ye.*  
*person-GEN blood-warm and to-boiling-GEN-is.*  
*har jā mi-re sari dust peidā mi-kone*  
*every place PROG-go-3SG soon friend finding PROG-do-SG*

He is warm-blooded and boiling. Everywhere he goes, he mixes with others quickly.  
 'He is such a warm-blooded cordial man; he easily makes friendly relationship with others in any company.'

The metaphor *juš-i* in (11) refers to boiling act in its literal sense which conceptualises a choleric temperament, manifesting the metaphor ANGER IS HEAT, AND ANGER IS HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER. So if a liquid in a container is heated to a certain point, it starts boiling; similarly those who become agitated and angry quickly are hot, coming to the boiling

point and they are under pressure, losing their control. In other words, the correspondences between anger (the target domain), and the hot fluid (the source domain) is: the human body is a container, the internal body pressure is the same as the pressure in the container, and the people's agitation is the agitation of the fluid in the container.

In (12), on the other hand, the expression *be-juš* (able to mix with others quickly) underlies the metaphorical conceptualisation of FRIENDLINESS IS HEAT, or more specifically FRIENDLINESS IS BOILING. It characterises individual's certain attributes in being willing to mix with others socially, representing an emotionally responsive trait. The emotional friendliness is mapped onto the extreme hotness, as in the act of boiling and in the domain of cooking to portrait the hot quick state of boiling motion with that of hot feeling, caring, zeal, and enthusiasm. It, therefore, illustrates some people's ability in quickly forging a close relationship with those they have just met.

As it is shown in the examples above, the concept of *jušidan* (to boil) in Persian appears to convey both negative and positive connotations while applied in the target domain of humans' emotional attributes. On the other hand, while searching for the association of food-related metaphors and those of humans' emotional attributes, we find out that temperamental emotional metaphors do not always reflect the physiological experiential correlation in the way CMT proposes. In most cases, there are analogical relationships which exist between physiologically unrelated constituent parts of metaphorical expressions.

Lakoff and Johnson (1999) further offer INTERESTING, PLEASURABLE IDEAS ARE APPETIZING FOOD, and UNINTERESTING IDEAS ARE FLAVOURLESS FOOD. It will be expected that many sweet, tasty foods are conceptualised with good disposition and positive mental qualities which give rise to the conceptual metaphor GOOD TEMPERAMENT IS SWEET/TASTY. On the other hand, if tasty, sweet, delicious foods are employed to illustrate positive mental states, foods with tasteless, bitter, and sour tastes are systematically applied to evaluate negative, unfavourable characters with ill-tempered personality and behaviour, illustrating the conceptual metaphor BAD TEMPERAMENT IS BITTER/SOUR/TOXIC.

In Persian, for instance, a variety of food tastes are applied to human disposition for both positive and negative evaluation of feelings, mental states, and values profiling the metaphoric concept THE QUALITY OF EMOTIONAL ATTRIBUTES IS THE FLAVOUR OF FOOD. The concept of bitter tongue, for example, implies that the way people's taste buds are displeased by bitterness corresponds to unpleasant emotion they feel while encountering an angry or envious person. Consider the synesthetic conceptualisation of bitterness and sourness in the following expressions in Persian:

- (13) *ādam-e talx-iye*  
 person-GEN bitter-GEN-is

He is bitter.  
 'He is bad-tempered.'

- (14) *talx goftār-e*  
 bitter speech-is

His language is bitter.  
 'He is bad-humored.'

- (15) *zabun-e talx-i dāre*  
 Tongue-GEN bitter-GEN have-PRS-3SG

His tongue is bitter.  
 'He is sarcastic in language.'

- (16) *kolan ādam-e gušt talx-iyē*  
generally person-GEN meat bitter-GEN-is

He is generally a man of bitter meat.  
'He is ill-tempered.'

- (17) *torš ru-e*  
sour face-is

His face is sour.  
'He is vinegary.'

The concept of anger associated with bitterness has its origin in humoral doctrine in which the choleric people are referred to as bitter-natured. Therefore, it seems quite plausible to think of a metaphorical extension of eating domain while experiencing something bitter and when someone is angry.

Some other culturally specific dietary expressions, on the other hand, can also metaphorise emotional temperaments in Persian. Consider the following expressions

- (18) *in ādam az zahr-e mār ham talx-tar-e.*  
this person from poison-GEN snake also bitter-more-is.  
*aslant ne-miše raftāre- ro tahamol kard*  
never NEG-become-3SG behaviour-POSS-3SG ACC tolerance do-3SG

This person is much bitterer than serpent's poison. His behaviour can never be tolerated.  
'This person is too much vinegary/ splenetic. His behaviour can never be tolerated.'

- (19) *ādam-e bad-axlāqi-ye mesl- borj-e zahr-e mār-e.*  
person-GEN bad-temper-is like-GEN tower-GEN poison-GEN snake-is

He is bad-tempered. He is like the tower of serpent's poison.  
'He has a kind of immoral acid temperament.'

- (20) *az bas talx-e,*  
from degree bitter-is  
*bā ye man asal ham ne-miše qurt-eš dād*  
with one man (3 kilos) honey also NEG-become-3SG swallow-OBJ-PRO give-3SG

He is so bitter that cannot be swallowed with much honey.  
'He is so much vinegary/ splenetic.'

The above expressions refer to describing a very bitter or vexing emotional attributes a person has which offers a feeling of anguish and suffering due to some other people's ill temperament. The expressions (18) and (19) conceptualise the metaphor MAKING SOMEONE FEEL ANGUISH IS MAKING HIM/HER EAT POISON, or BEING IN DISTRESS IS EATING BITTER/TOXIC SUBSTANCES. In other words, the ill-tempered person who offers bitter, toxic, distasteful taste maps conceptually onto the cause of distress and suffering, and the amount of bitter and toxic substance it profiles maps onto the intensity of the suffering. In addition, in example (19) *borj-e zahr-e mār* (lit. tower of serpent's poison), the concept of spatial upward orientation is served to characterise the high degree of bitterness as an attribute for people with irascibility of temperament which in turn affects others to experience an intensive feeling of anguish while encountering them. In the expression (20), on the other hand, the intensity of bitterness (unpleasant attribute) cannot be dealt with even through eating or tasting the most palatable substances as sweet as honey.

These non-embodied metaphorical expressions such as bitter tongue, sour face, acid look, etc. are very common in different languages highlighting the fact that embodiment as what CMT suggests is not a necessary condition for a conceptual metaphor theme to show

universal tendencies. Goatly (2007) further indicates the importance of culture as a strong motivation for the way people conceive their bodies:

In many cases it is difficult to see a metonymic basis at all. Even in cases where metonymy suggests universal metaphorical patterns, we can see that target concepts and source concepts are only loosely similar in meaning in different languages, cultures and sub-cultures. The strong experientialist theory of metonymy-based conceptual metaphor, with its universal tendencies, depends upon the idea that the body is in turn universal and purely biological. However, both our bodily movements and the way we conceive of our bodies are a product of culture. (Goatly 2007, p. 277)

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

It seems definitely worthwhile pondering upon the characteristic features of ethno-medical doctrine and IMT searching for the various possible motivations regarding the conceptualisation of food and eating metaphoric expressions of temperaments in Persian. It is evident that the system of mappings in language can provide an unlimited types of metaphorical images and concepts in which the spiritual realities are manifested as physical and vice versa. The body can be visualised as a soul, and the character traits and temperaments can be projected into body fluids through the humours. On the other hand, as the data show, metaphors which allude to culinary domains play an important role in conceptualisation of ANGER emotion in Persian. The understanding of temperament of ANGER as food and eating practices can be elaborated in terms of humans' emotional states, and emotional attributes. All these food-related expressions used for understanding and expressing emotion conceptualisations highlight the particular cultural models about Persian and Persians' temperaments and character traits.

The emotional temperament of ANGER in Persian, as it is shown through the corpus data, is conceptualised with much more complexity than the Lakoffian thesis of CMT assumptions. The study reveals that though our thinking is by part determined by embodied physiological factors and the metaphorical concepts that they give rise to, or vice versa, the em-minded cultural models are the prominent factors in constructing the cross-language, cross-conceptualisation variations over the themes of emotional temperaments. The metaphors whether linguistically or conceptually, each in certain degrees, are the products of embodiment experiences, the em-minded cultural notions, and the interplay of both. In other words, while for example ANGER IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER is embodied, its manifestation as hot fluid in a container (heart-stomach) is an em-minded cultural notion for Persians which is motivated and mediated by Iranian traditional worldviews.

### ENDNOTE

<sup>i</sup> See also Lixia & Eng (2012), and Vengadasamy (2011).

<sup>ii</sup> Citations of Avicenna, together with Iranian Traditional Medicine, are from *A Treatise on the Canon of Medicine of Avicenna, Incorporating a Translation of the First Book I.I.4*, trans. O. Cameron Gruner (London: Luzac & Co, 1930).

<sup>iii</sup> Persian metaphorical expressions used as the data in this study are extracted from: *Farhang-e amid* (Amid Dictionary), 1992; *farhang-e bozorg-e soxan* (The comprehensive Dictionary of Talk), 2006; *amsāl-o- hekam-e dehxodā* (Proverbs and Mottos), 1999; *loqatnāme-ye dehxodā* (Dekhoda Dictionary), 1998.

<sup>iv</sup> For the discussion of 'light verb constructions' in Persian see also Khajeh *et al.* (2013b), Megerdooomian (2012), and Pantchewa (2010).

<sup>v</sup> For more discussion on food-related conceptualizations of emotional temperament in Persian see Khajeh *et al.* (2013a).



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