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Commonality vs. Cultural Specificity of Anger Metaphors and Metonymies in Chinese and Russian Idioms

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ABSTRACT

Based on the conceptual metaphor theory, this study explores the conceptualization structure and actual use of anger metaphors and metonymies in the cultural context of the two countries. The research materials come from Russian and Chinese idiom dictionaries and practical investigations on anger idioms. The study found that the conceptualization of anger between the two nations has similarities and differences. The similarities are reflected in the fact that Chinese and Russians conceptualize anger based on personal experience and cultural patterns. The main differences are concentrated in Chinese idioms influenced by traditional Chinese medicine and the theory of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements. Anger is metaphorically represented as “qi” (gas) rather than liquid, and visceral metaphors are often used. The Chinese Peking Opera mask culture also influences it. In contrast, anger is regarded as two liquid forms in Russian idioms, represented by blood elements as containers and water elements that boil after heating, accompanied by the appearance of animal nouns, and have a specific religious color. The practical investigation found that although dozens of idioms express anger for daily selection, cultural background, and cultural preferences limit the tendency to use metaphors and metonymies. The results of this study can provide a reference for cognitive linguistics research, language teaching, and actual communication.

Keywords: Cognitive Linguistics; Metaphor; Metonymy; Anger; Idiom

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1. Introduction

As an emerging field, conceptual metaphors and metonymy have attracted much attention from cognitive linguists in the past. Lakoff and Johnson liberate metaphors and metonymy from traditional rhetoric, treating them as empirically based problems of thought and action. “Metaphor is not simply an ornamental aspect of language, but a fundamental scheme by which people conceptualize the world and their action.”^[1] Metaphors and metonymies exist in traditional formal functional discourse, everyday idioms and proverbs. The conceptual system on which thinking and behaviour depend is based on metaphors. The conceptualization of metaphors and metonymies is reflected in unimodal language and non-linguistic reality in a multimodal form.

Many abstract concepts, such as pain, time, space, and thought, cannot be clearly expressed by human language accumulation alone, and more intuitive and concrete experiences are needed to understand these concepts. In this case, our experience serves as the source domain, and the abstract concept is the target domain, which is expressed in parallel by the source domain. “Anger is hot”^[2] is a classic example of a conceptual metaphor that uses the concrete feeling of “hot” to explain the abstract emotion of “anger”. Exploring conceptual metaphors is a key step towards an idealized cognitive model (ICM), which represents how humans form cognition and concepts^[3-8].

The basis of metaphor is similarity. Through the metaphor mechanism, a source domain is partially mapped to another target domain to facilitate people understanding the target domain with the help of the source domain, and the two referents belong to different fields.

“It is impossible to study metaphor without addressing metonymy”^[9]. Although metaphor and metonymy are two completely different cognitive mechanisms, the construction of complete meaning depends on the interaction of the two. Metonymy is a basic process of meaning extension, which may be more basic than metaphor. Metonymy is “Using one thing to stand for another related concept”^[10]. Lakoff calls metonymy a substitution relationship, while Ruiz de Mendoza calls it a proximity relationship of semantic features, which is understanding something not named by a language through a linguistic form.

From the diagnostic structure of metonymy and

metaphor, both have a metaphor and a subject, more generally referred to as a source domain and a target domain. In language change, there must be a basis for cognitive domain transfer: the already-known connection between the referent established by the language and the new referent. The identification of the basis for transfer comes from experience. It is a conceptual structure based on the frequent formation of abstract patterns, which come from people’s early accumulation of physical experience. Both embody the metaphorical use of language, including the transformation from conventional referents to new ones. It is used to achieve the purpose of direct language.

Although metaphor and metonymy are both conceptual, they are essentially different. Metaphor is characterized by multiple correspondences, mainly used to describe the characteristics of the target field, presenting the construction mode of “noun A is noun B” (A is B). At the same time, metonymy is mainly single correspondence, referring to the target field, presenting the construction mode of “X STANDS FOR Y.”

This study takes metaphorical and metonymic idioms of anger in Chinese and Russian idioms as the research object, combining dictionary research and practical investigation, aiming to understand the conceptual patterns and transformation realities of anger in the two languages, explore the commonalities and characteristics of the two, and provide a logical explanation for the results obtained.

2. Literature Review

Based on the objective fact that there are commonalities and characteristics of anger in English and Hungarian, Kövecses^[11, 12] pointed out that although Hungarian has considerable overlap with English in terms of anger metaphors, the English term “body as a receptacle” does not apply in Hungary, which prefers “head” as a “receptacle for hot liquids.”

Soriano^[13] turned his attention to Spanish and found that although Spanish and English have many similarities in the cognitive patterns of anger, there are still differences in specific cultural aspects. For example, the description of “frying” is missing in English “anger” due to differences in food culture, “The mapping THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS BEING FRIED is Spanish-specific”^[13].

A comparative study of English and Persian^[14] shows that there are metaphorical mappings in both languages for “anger as a fluid,” “anger as heat/fire,” “anger as an opponent,” and “anger as insanity” in both languages and “anger as a devil thing,” “anger as a burden,” “anger as a child,” “anger as a snake” and “anger as a plant.” “snake” and “anger as a plant” do not exist in either language. The study also shows non-negligible differences between the two languages. For example, the English expression “To let off steam,” which expresses anger, does not exist in Persian. Despite the differences in the metaphorical mappings of the two languages, they are still mutually intelligible, and the fact that English and Persian are more distant languages and cultures than those mentioned above, this phenomenon of mutual intelligibility shows the tendency of universalization of metaphorical features.

More differences come from studying metaphors and metonymy of anger in East Asian languages. Yu through a comparative study of anger in Chinese and English, concluded that the metaphorical concept of “Anger is heat” exists in both two languages, there is a difference in the sub-metaphor “Anger is fire,” with English choosing “ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER.” In contrast, the Chinese chose “ANGER IS THE HOT GAS IN A CONTAINER.”^[15]

Matsuki’s study of Japanese anger metaphors^[16] also confirms the commonality of “Anger is heat.” However, in Japanese, the metaphorical features of anger are more varied than in English and are often expressed as changes in body parts such as the face, neck, and stomach. For example, expressions such as swollen face, rising stomach, and red neck/blush are widespread in Japanese expressions of anger.

In summary, the literature review of related research shows that the commonalities and characteristics of anger metaphors and metonymies objectively exist, and their respective cultural backgrounds shift the specific content of the differences. It should be noted that using only dictionaries as the data source for research is equivalent to solidifying the research object in a specific period. The development and changes in the environment and cognition determine the activity of language and concepts. This work adds practical investigation to the dictionary research, making the results more realistic.

This paper is structured as follows. After introducing the theoretical basis and the current status of the research, the research methods, the detailed operational procedures of the dictionary study and the questionnaire survey are introduced. We analyze and interpret the collected data and finally draw conclusions.

3. Data and Methodology

3.1. Dictionary Research

The explanations of the Chinese idioms in this article are all from: *现代汉语词典 (modern Chinese dictionary)*, *汉语成语大词典 (Chinese Idioms Dictionary)*, *中国俗语大辞典 (Dictionary of Chinese proverbs)*; the explanations of the Russian idioms are all from: *Учебный фразеологический словарь*^[17], *Фразеологизмы в русской речи*^[18], *Русская фразеология: Большой словарь русских поговорок*^[19], *Большой фразеологический словарь русского языка*^[20]. For the sake of simplicity, the explanations are not labeled. Check the definitions and explanations in the relevant dictionaries if necessary.

As metaphorical expressions, the analyzed idioms may or may not contain the lexical site “anger”, including those whose meaning can be explained through the conceptual metaphor cited by Lakoff and Johnson. The focus of this study is on those lexical units whose meaning is related to the target emotion. For comparison, semantic translations were performed on the Chinese and Russian data. The dictionary study involved 28 anger idioms from Russian dictionaries and 29 anger idioms from Chinese dictionaries, and our work was to classify, analyze and compare them.

3.2. Questionnaire

The questionnaire draws on the association experiment in psycholinguistic experimental methods and combines free association and directed association. The reason for choosing this practice to collect data is that the free association experiment is considered to be one of the simplest and most effective methods to study language awareness. This method can penetrate the unconscious level of language awareness and use words as auxiliary symbols to reflect the connection between concepts. It measures the characteris-

tics of the operation of individual language awareness and language construction^[21–23].

In an experiment, a single word is shown to the respondents, who are asked to answer it with the first word that comes to mind. This experiment is called a free association experiment. For example, when the stimulus word “apple” is given, the respondents are allowed to answer ANY word at the first time; the respondents must answer with any word that establishes any specific connection with the stimulus word, for example, when the stimulus word “apple” is given, the respondents must answer with a word related to COLOR. This experiment is called a directed association experiment^[24].

The specific operation of the experiment is to provide respondents with a list of stimulus words and give clear instructions to ask them to write down the word reactions (their associations) that first appear in their minds within a limited time without thinking^[25, 26]. The topics of this study are as follows: Free-fill-in-the-blank questions: write 2–3 idioms with “anger” as the keyword; Directed multiple-choice questions: select body parts related to the keyword “anger”, colors related to “anger,” and natural phenomena related to “anger” (Russian questionnaire <https://forms.gle/QqvpTzeZh1HW2QHq7>; Chinese questionnaire <https://www.wjx.cn/vm/wH8MZqy.aspx#4>). The collected association answers are statistically analyzed, and the associations are sorted according to their frequency of appearance. The whole process needs to be carefully considered, and the results and the interpretation of the materials

also need to be treated with the highest degree of correctness and responsibility.

4. Data from Dictionary Research and Practice Surveys

4.1. Metaphors of Anger in Chinese and Russian Idioms

In their study of metaphors for anger, Lakoff and Kovecses^[2] came to the universally recognized conclusion that “Anger is heat.” This is a general concept, and this central metaphor has two sub-metaphors, one applying heat to solids and the other applying heat to liquids. We look for metaphorical idioms in Chinese and Russian and try to encode and elaborate general concepts in one way or another.

As shown in **Table 1**, the appearance of fire in Russian idioms ranges from evident flashes of light (e.g., 7, 8, 9) to burning anger, and the fire becomes more significant as a metaphor for escalating anger. Chinese idiomatic anger is directly a burning fire, and the escalation of anger is expressed in adding fuel to the fire (e.g., 6, 1). In Chinese, anger is mainly found in one’s liver, heart, and other organs, or at least it is trapped in the stomach (e.g., 2, 3, 4, 5), whereas in Russian, it is more outwardly expressed (e.g., 10). The fundamental difference between the two is that anger in Chinese is not easily observed; it is more subtle and internalized, whereas, in Russian, it is external and more directly observed.

Table 1. Anger is fire.

Chinese Idioms	Russian Idioms
1 火上浇油 (Adding fuel to the fire)	7 огонь в глазах (fire in the eyes)
2 肝火很旺 (roaring fire in liver.)	8 глаза горят (eyes burning)
3 心火正旺 (roaring fire in heart)	9 глаза сверкают (от гнева) (eyes glistening because of anger)
4 满腔怒火 (thoracic cavity is full of angry fire)	10 гнев поднимался к горлу (anger rising to my throat)
5 一肚子火 (fire in belly)	
6 发火 (set me on fire)	

As shown in **Tables 2 and 3**, the second sub-metaphor of “Anger is heat” and “Anger is Hot Fluid” is observed in Russian idioms (e.g., 11). The author believes this corresponds to “water” in Russian culture and that the sub-metaphor of anger as a liquid is not observed in Chinese idioms. In Chinese, the metaphor “Anger is gas” replaces

the metaphor “Anger is Hot Fluid” (e.g., 12, 13, 14, 15, 16), and the higher the impact of gas maps to a higher value of anger (e.g., 16). Gas is found in the spleen and the heart, influenced by the traditional Chinese concept of yin-yang and Chinese medicine.

In **Table 4** the idea that anger is a change of color is

proposed, and the association of emotions with color is fully justified. The physiological phenomena of increased body temperature and congestion brought about by anger, which lead to changes in skin color, are expected in Chinese (e.g., 17, 18) and Russian (e.g., 21). Numerous medical sources point out that escalating anger and over-excitement lead to deeper and faster breathing, increased lung ventilation, and hyperventilation, resulting in a lack of oxygen to the head

and face and purple coloration of the face^[27]. This explains the appearance of 19 and 22. Interestingly, in Russian, in addition to changes in skin color brought about by rapid changes in blood and oxygen, interpretations of anger also relate to steel, for example, 20. The metal is heated to such an extent that it is red at first, and becomes white at very high temperatures^[17]. According to the above physical phenomena, idiom 20 can be interpreted as angrier.

Table 2. Anger is a hot fluid.

Chinese Idioms	Russian Idioms
	11 сердце закипело (кипит) (heart is boiling)

Table 3. Anger is hot gas.

Chinese Idioms	Russian Idioms
12 气我 gassing me up	
13 脾气很大 big gas in spleen	
14 心中有气 has gas (anger) in heart	
15 拿谁出气 take one's gas out on sb	
16 怒气冲天 angry gas gushing into the sky	

Table 4. Anger is the change of color.

Chinese Idioms	Russian Idioms
17 面红耳赤 (became red in the face and ears)	20 довести / доводить до белого каления (turn white-hot)
18 红一阵白一阵 (face red-a-while white-a-while)	21 налиться / наливатьсь кровью (reddened by congestion)
19 青一阵紫一阵 (face blue-a-while purple-a-while)	22 покраснел от злости (turn purple in the face with anger)

“Бог громовержец восседал на облаках и в гневе метал оттуда громы и молнии”^[18]. Захаренко sees this type of wording unit as biblically relevant, where the peals of thunder in the sky are understood as the voice of God.^[20] Such a voice expresses either the immediate presence of God or his judgment.

The metaphorical relationship between anger and thunder in Chinese is also derived from mythology. Legend has it that the God of Thunder is a stout and majestic figure who has his thunder car, beats his drums calmly, and has mysterious power among the gods, and that long ago, man's pride and arrogance offended the God of Thunder, who then or-

dered the rain to fall and destroy humanity. In this context, the god of thunder represents anger and disaster (as shown in Table 5).

Although both Chinese and Russian have mappings of the relationship between anger and thunder and lightning, which is based on the similar characteristics of early human physical experience, due to different cultural environments and formation backgrounds, the mapping of anger and thunder and lightning in Russian originates from religious influences. In contrast, the mapping in Chinese originates from myths and legends.

Table 5. Anger is a natural force.

Chinese Idioms	Russian Idioms
23 雷霆暴雨 (thunder and heavy rain)	25 молнии сверкают в глазах (lightning flashing in eyes)
24 雷霆之怒 (thunder's Fury)	26 глаза метают громы и молнии (eyes throwing thunder and lightning)
	27 буря в стакане воды (storm in a teacup)
	28 метать громы и молнии (throw thunder and lightning)

Concerning the metaphorical concept of the body, anger is uncontrollable, e.g., 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34 (as shown in **Table 6**). We found medical literature explaining this. Emotional arousal leads to increased adrenaline production. Blood flow increases, blood pressure rises, and nerve excitability rises. This is when the slightest stimulus leads to

muscle overactivity, causing shaking. Elevated blood pressure, or lack of oxygen from poor breathing, causes dizziness and lightheadedness. Emotional excitement leads to sympathetic nerve excitation and vasoconstriction, resulting in insufficient blood supply to the brain, and ischemia and hypoxia occur, thus causing darkness before the eyes^[28, 29].

Table 6. Anger is an uncontrollable body.

Chinese Idioms	Russian Idioms
29 浑身发抖 (shaking all over with rage)	34 трястись от гнева, дрожать от гнева (shake with anger)
30 双手颤抖 (hands quivering with anger)	35 выйти / выходить из себя (lose my temper)
31 气的跺脚 (stamp feet with rage)	36 потерять себя (lose oneself)
32 两眼发黑 (eyes turned black)	37 приходиться в ярость (freak out)
33 头晕目眩 (head giddy and vision blurred)	38 черт дернул за язык (The devil has my tongue.)
	39 Полезть / лезть в бутылку (Drunk, out of control.)

Chernyshova^[30] believes that the state of anger implies getting out of oneself, out of one’s own body, which is evident in the mentioned phraseologies. Conceptual metaphors in idioms are grounded in uncontrollable physiological responses, which corresponds to Gibbs’ finding that “Metaphor is grounded in embodied experience”^[31].

In Russian, in addition to these physical reactions, more aggressive idioms (e.g., 35, 36, 37, 38) express uncontrollable actions. Both Chinese and Russian recognize the hurtful nature of anger, but in Chinese, anger is more likely to damage one’s health, whereas in Russian, anger is expressed as aggression.

Russian idioms metaphorically refer to anger as a wasp or a tiger (e.g., 40, 41 in **Table 7**). This feature of projecting anger onto animals is not found in Chinese. The use of animal metaphors in Chinese idioms is not uncommon; for example, 胆小如鼠 (as timid as a mouse), 如鱼得水 (like a fish getting water, describing that everything is going well), and even though the metaphors about animals in Chinese and Russian idioms do not correspond to each other, the practice of putting animals into metaphors is consistent.

4.2. Metonymy of Anger in Chinese and Russian Idioms

Metonymy is a linguistic phenomenon, a cognitive process, that “allows us to conceptualize one thing using its relation to something else”^[32]. The referentiality of metaphors is primarily determined by culture and common sense, which means that metaphors are both universal and specific. In the following, we will discuss the main types of anger metaphors in Chinese and Russian idioms.

As shown in **Table 8**, both Chinese and Russian idioms use eyes to indicate anger. Research by the American scholar Althen has shown that looking into the other person’s eyes during conversation is appropriate behavior^[33]. Visual behavior provides information for social activities. “As an independent variable, it has been shown to influence emotional responses and cognitive attributions.”^[34] The eyes are considered to be the windows to the soul. The discovery of the eye as a metaphor for angry emotions in Chinese and Russian also corroborates the research of scholars since the twentieth century on the eye-perception and eye-emotion relationship.

Table 7. Anger is an animal.

Chinese Idioms	Russian Idioms
	40 Злой как оса (as angry as a wasp.)
	41 Разъярённый / злой как тигр. (angry like a tiger)

Table 8. Eyes and eyebrows stand for anger.

Chinese Idioms	Russian Idioms
42 横眉冷对 (Raise eyebrows and look coldly) 43 怒目圆睁 (Eyes wide with anger)	44 Сверкать глазами (The eyes light up) 45 Глаза метают молнии (Eyes throwing lightning bolts)

The difference is that the Chinese also have eyebrows. Chinese believe that eyes and eyebrows are not separate, and the expression of emotions depends on the joint action of eyes and eyebrows. In ancient women’s makeup, there are many eyebrow shape changes. The following figure (Figures 1–3) lists three typical eyebrow makeups:

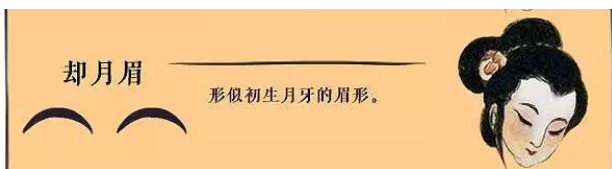


Figure 1. 却月眉 (Eyebrows like crescent moons).

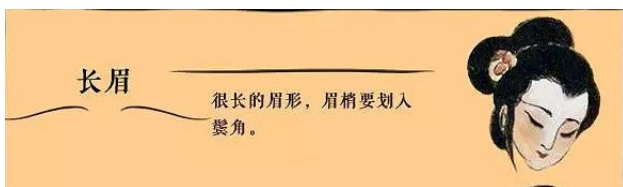


Figure 2. 长眉 (Thin and long eyebrows).

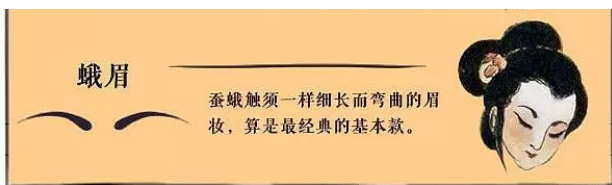


Figure 3. 蛾眉 (Eyebrows like moths’ tentacles).

Eyebrows have a very high frequency of occurrence

in Chinese idioms, e.g., “眉飞色舞 Eyebrows are dancing (very happy),” “眉目传情 Eyebrows and eyes convey love (couples convey love),” “火烧眉毛 The fire burned to the eyebrows (the matter is very urgent and cannot be delayed).”

The metonymy of the heart for anger is not common in Chinese idioms, and we found some Russian idioms (in Table 9). However, our study concluded that the conclusion that the heart represents anger is controversial in Russian.

First, the theory of etymology, the lexemes “сердитый (angry)” and the already mentioned “сердце (heart)” are related and go back to the everyday Slavic root “серд” and further to the Indo-European “керд (kerd)”^[35]. Semenov further says that among the ancient Slavs, the heart was the center of love and friendship and the receptacle of anger and rage.

Mokienko recalled “The word heart has the old meaning ‘anger, malice,’ which, according to Mokienko’s conclusion, is now known only in dialects.”^[36].

The metaphors of the heart for anger, although not recorded as obsolete in dictionaries, are no longer or rarely used in modern Russian, according to the accounts of native Russian speakers. We still write about it because, firstly, only a tiny part of the analyzed idioms proves to be obsolete, proving that the commonality of the metaphors is solid; secondly, the reason for such changes is the change in the cognitive concepts of the native speakers or, instead, the entity in which the change in the conceptual metaphors is reflected linguistically.

Table 9. Heart stands for anger.

Chinese Idioms	Russian Idioms
	46 держат сердце на кого (keep their heart on somebody)
	47 сердце взяло (берет) на кого (take heart from somebody)
	48 сорвать / срывать сердце на ком (rip your heart out on somebody)

The clenching of teeth during anger is caused by mental stress. When a person is angry, the body releases a hormone called adrenaline, which causes muscle twitching or spasms, which can lead to clenching of teeth, which is usu-

ally relieved when the mood stabilizes (see Table 10). In anger, the heart beats faster, and blood pressure rises; the blood pressure around the gums becomes slightly itchy as it increases; at this point, the teeth are clenched to relieve the

itchy sensation^[37, 38].

It is a normal physiological phenomenon; when people are emotionally excited or emotionally unstable, scalp

contraction is the phenomenon of hair upright. Another explanation is that “anger is qi(gas),” which erupts from the body and blows the hair up (see **Table 11**).

Table 10. Teeth stand for anger.

Chinese Idioms	Russian Idioms
49 咬牙切齿 (gritting teeth)	51 Процедить сквозь зубы. (Sip through the teeth)
50 气的牙痒 (teeth itch because of angry)	52 Скалить зубы.(Bare the teeth)

Table 11. Hair stands for anger.

Chinese Idioms	Russian Idioms
53 怒发冲冠 (hair pushing up hat)	
54 令人发指 (hair standing up because of angry)	

The internal organ idiom for anger is not observed in Russian. However, in Chinese idioms, the internal organ occurs exceptionally frequently. For example, 铁石心肠 the heart and intestines are made of iron (no sympathy); 脾胃不和 the spleen and the stomach do not work together

(indicating that the two people do not have compatible personalities). This phenomenon is influenced by the theory of Traditional Chinese Medicine, in which the Chinese believe each internal organ has its character and preference (see **Table 12**).

Table 12. The internal organ stand for anger.

Chinese Idioms	Russian Idioms
55 把肺气炸 (burst lungs with gas)	
56 肝气郁结 (The liver is full of gas)	
57 气的肝疼 (Liver hurts because of anger)	

4.3. Data from Practice Surveys

In addition to referring to idiom examples from the two countries’ colloquial dictionaries, we also conducted a social practice survey on 50 native Russian speakers and 50 native Chinese speakers. The results are as follows:

4.3.1. Write 2–3 Idioms Frequently Used in Chinese to Express Anger

We received 50 valid answers, with a total of 108 idioms that meet the research requirements:

The most common metaphor is “anger is qi(gas)”, with 52 in total, accounting for 48.2%: 一肚子气 (The stomach is full of gas) 11, 气愤填胸 (The chest is full of gas)9, 气愤难平 (I am full of gas cannot calm down)7, 肺气炸了 (Lungs are bursting with gas) 7, 怒气冲斗牛 (The gas knocked down a bull) 5, 怒气难消 (The anger gas cannot be eliminated) 5, 气鼓鼓 (The gas blows up the belly) 5, 怒气燃心 (The gas burns the heart) 3.

“Anger is the change of Color” are 13, accounting for 12%: 面红耳赤 (The face and ears are red) 7, 气的脸红 (Blushing face) 6,

“Anger is a Natural Force” is 7, accounting for 6.5%: 雷霆之怒 (thunder’s Fury) 7.

“Anger is an Uncontrollable Body” is 8, accounting for 7.4%: 气得跳脚 (Jump up in anger)5, 气愤难坐 (So angry and cannot sit down)3.

“Teeth Stand for Anger” are 9, accounting for 8.4%: 咬牙切齿 (gritting teeth) 9.

“Hair Stands for Anger “are 8, accounting for 7.4%: 怒发冲冠 (hair pushing up hat) 8.

We found an idiom that is not mentioned in the dictionary but is common in spoken language, 吹胡子瞪眼 (Blowing beard and glaring). “Beard Stands for anger” has 11 examples, accounting for 10.1%. The underlying logic still comes from “qi”. When angry, the body is full of qi. To maintain the balance of the body, “qi” is blown out of the mouth and blows to the beard, which makes the beard

stand up. This is where the angry idiom “blowing beard and glaring” comes from.

Similarly, among the 50 valid questionnaires from Russian-speaking subjects, a total of 111 idioms that met the research requirements were obtained:

The most common “Anger is an Uncontrollable Body” are 37, accounting for 33.3%: прийти в ярость (get furious) 8, выйти из себя; выводить из себя (lose one’s temper) 10, был вне себя (beside himself) 6, вне себя от злости / ярости (besides myself with anger) 4, рвать иметать (tear and throw) 9.

“Anger is the change of Color” are 11, accounting for 9.9%: доходить до белого каления, до белого каления (To reach white heat) 11.

“Anger is Fire” are 9, accounting for 8.1%: под горячую руку (under the hot hand) 9.

“Anger is a Hot Fluid” are 12, accounting for 10.8%: Кровь закипела в жилах (The blood boiled in my veins) 12.

”Teeth Stand for Anger” are 18, accounting for 16.2%: сквозь зубы, скрежетать зубами, Скалить зубы (Through teeth, Gnashing teeth, Baring teeth) 7, зубы скрипят от злости (teeth grinding with anger) 6, точить зуб на кого-либо (to sharpen a grudge against someone) 5.

It is worth noting that in spoken Russian, animals expressing anger are captured many times, such as: муха укусила (A fly has bitten) 11; раздуть из мухи слона (From fly to elephant) 7; свиреп как бык (Fierce as a bull) 6, which rarely appear in spoken Chinese

4.3.2. Anger and Body Parts Survey Results

In the survey of body parts related to anger, we obtained the following results (see Figure 4):

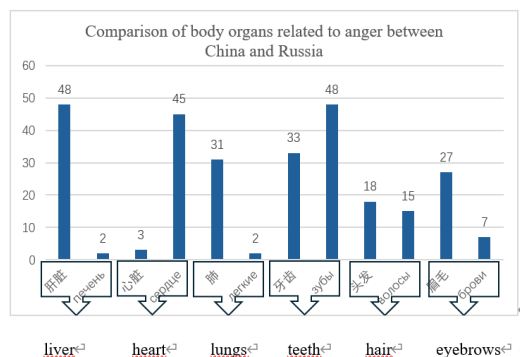


Figure 4. Comparison of body organs related to anger between Chinese and Russian.

The difference is very obvious. Chinese speakers think the liver, lungs, and eyebrows are more closely related to anger. In contrast, Russian speakers think that the heart and teeth are related to anger, reflecting that differences in cultural background affect the selection and expression of source domains in metaphors and metonymies. There is not much difference between the two in terms of the connection between hair and anger, which is consistent with the fact that the selection of source and target domains for either metonymy or metaphor initially comes from the commonality of early physical experience. The results of the practical survey are consistent with the results of our analysis of idioms in the dictionary mentioned above.

4.3.3. Anger and Color Survey Results

In the investigation of colors that are considered to be related to anger, we obtained the following results (see Figure 5):

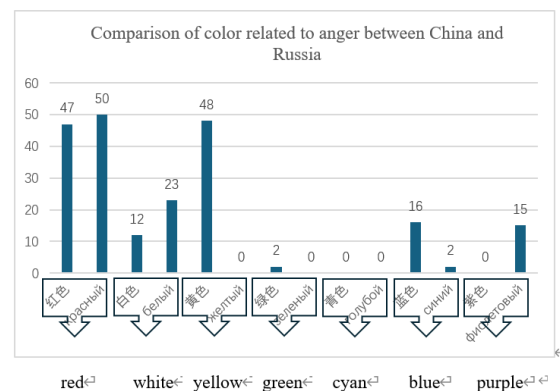


Figure 5. Comparison of color related to anger between China and Russia.

In the association between color and anger, the strong association between red and anger was unanimous among the subjects in both countries. Human direct physiological experience constitutes the basis of rhetoric. In addition, Russian subjects believed that white and purple were strongly associated with anger, which is consistent with the conclusion of the dictionary analysis above. Chinese subjects chose yellow, green and blue, not in angry spoken language. Influenced by traditional Chinese Peking Opera performances, in Peking Opera masks, yellow masks represent brave and violent personalities (see Figure 6), and blue masks represent the character’s rebellious spirit (see Figure 7). Therefore, the color associations not found in the dictionary study are influenced by specific cultures and exist in people’s con-

cepts of anger.



Figure 6. Yellow facial makeup in Peking Opera.



Figure 7. Blue facial makeup in Peking Opera.

4.3.4. Anger and Natural Forces Survey Results

In the survey of natural forces related to anger, we found the following results (see Figure 8):

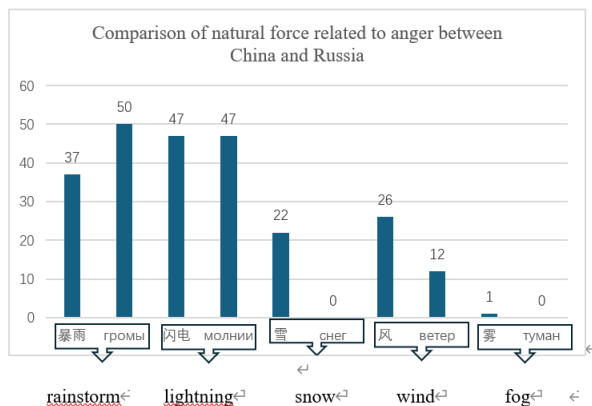


Figure 8. Comparison of natural force related to anger between China and Russia.

The Chinese and Russian subjects agreed on the strong

correlation between rainstorms and lightning rain and anger and the zero correlation between fog and anger. The difference is that some Chinese subjects believe snow, wind and anger correlate. We further interviewed the two subjects to ask why, and the explanation we got was that snow and wind are also bad weather, which is oppressive and uncomfortable, similar to the feeling that anger brings to people. This confirms the theory that physical experience is the basis for forming cognitive concepts.

5. Discussion

The results show that anger metaphors and metonymies in Chinese and Russian idioms are universal and particular. The basic concept metaphors of anger in Chinese and Russian idioms are the same, including anger as fire, anger as color change, anger as a natural force, and anger as an uncontrollable body. Metonymy includes eyes, eyes, brows, and teeth representing anger. The commonality stems from common physiological reactions and personal experiences. However, there are significant differences in the choice of the source domain and the strong or weak correlation of anger, and the differences stem from different cultural backgrounds and living environments.

In the study of Russian idioms, we found that there is a specific Slavic emotion for “вода (water)” behind the metaphor of anger as a liquid.

Slavs have long regarded rivers as deified, and their ancient tribes settled in river bays because they served as a natural barrier against attack and as a place to obtain food (fishing) and swim.

Russian mythologist A. S. Kaisarova wrote that “The most common roots in the names of rivers are “rus - ros,” and the root sound “rus” is part of the root of a word common to all Indo-European languages and denoting water. “[39] . This root forms the Greek word “ρον,” meaning flow, stream; Latin “pyo” - flow; Celtic “puc” - water; Russian word “река,” “русло.” The Russian word “роса” means “сверкать на солнце(gleam in the sun)”. The idea that water has a powerful, destructive, and creative force has left visible traces in the Russian people’s folklore, customs, traditions, legends, superstitions, proverbs, and sayings.

B. A. Maslova pointed out that the hydrocentric model of the world is one important way of explaining its origin [40].

Historian N. I. developed this idea: understood as shining moisture, the name Rus is a symbol of life illuminated by the heavenly light of the sun, a symbol of feeling, to which reason and the wisdom of fire are given. Rus is love, sounded in the songs of ancient rites. The new Christian Russia became akin to pagan Russia. On this soil was born a new idea of Holy Russia^[41].

In religious cultures, holy water, as a ceremonial water of particular significance, has a sacred element and is believed to have the magical power to purify sins, drive away evil, and protect physical and mental health. According to the beliefs, at midnight, preceding the day of the Epiphany of the Lord, the water in rivers and lakes ripples: Christ Himself immerses in them, conceptualized as a single universal natural element^[42].

The Slavic people's affection for water reflects their respect for nature and their search for the mysteries of life. Against the background of this particular emotion, it is perfectly logical to produce the metaphor that anger is liquid.

In order to answer the question that anger in Chinese idiom is qi (gas) rather than fluid, we refer to some fundamental theories of Chinese medicine (TCM). According to TCM theory^[43], The so-called qi is "the moving but invisible, nutritive substance which functions as the motive power for the physiological movement of internal organs."^[44] In ancient Chinese philosophy, "qi" is the basic category that represents matter's existence and life's origin. "Qi" has been transformed from an everyday word into a philosophical term through metaphor and has become a cultural symbol. It is both a conceptual category and a value category. Traditional Chinese medicine uses "qi" to correspond to "blood", a subtle substance that flows in the human body to enable various organs to function normally. Since it is believed that the "qi" of the human body has properties and functions, the change of emotions can be substantially reflected in the change of "qi" and the health of internal organs. Precisely because "qi" is extremely important to human health, traditional Chinese medicine believes that certain diseases are also caused by the change and instability of "qi".

Chinese medicine emphasizes the unity of the yin-yang of emptiness and reality, the theory of the five elements, and the role of qi to harmonize yin-yang and balance the five elements. Qi drives the blood forward, and if Qi is not flowing smoothly in a local area of the body, it will affect

the blood flow, resulting in increased pressure in that area, local color changes, muscle spasms, dizziness, and other symptoms. Herein lies the healing principle of acupuncture and cupping, which, through external stimulation, reduces pressure and helps qi and blood to flow smoothly. If the obstruction is not improved, the disease can develop in the area and associated areas. There are many causes of Qi blockages, but the most significant are negative emotions, especially anger.^[43] Chinese medicine theorizes that water and fire are opposites, yin and yang, respectively, and that anger is the fire in the body, so it would be contradictory to refer to anger as water metaphorically. The difference between water and qi is that water evaporates into qi when heated, and qi is yang (heat).

In Chinese culture, a person must have a smooth flow of qi to live a long and healthy life. Therefore, in Chinese, anger is rarely expressed as aggression because the lack of qi and blood flow brought about by anger affects health, which is the most terrible thing.

The use of internal organs as a metaphor for anger in Chinese is well-founded. It is inextricably linked to the doctrine of the "five elements"^[45] in the theory of Chinese medicine. "The five elements of wood, fire, earth, gold, and water are the basis for the composition and nourishment of all things. In Chinese medicine, the five elements can be used to define nature and the human body and the relationship between the two. According to Chinese medicine, the five elements of "wood, fire, earth, gold, and water" correspond to the "liver, heart, spleen, lungs, and kidneys" of the human body, and the individual elements are interconnected and influence each other. For example, the occurrence of liver disease will generally have an impact on the function of the gallbladder, and the manifestation symptoms are often yellowing of the eyes. If people are in a negative mood for a long time, many illnesses will occur. Easily irritable people will be prone to liver disease; on the other hand, people who suffer from liver disease will be impatient and irritable. This shows that the Five Elements theory can be applied to Chinese medicine to explain the interrelationship between human emotions, the organization of the body's internal organs, and natural phenomena. According to Chinese medicine theory, "being in a state of anger for a long time" is one of the most important internal factors causing liver disease. People who easily get angry are susceptible

to liver disease, which is why the liver often appears in idioms related to anger, e.g., 56 The liver is full of gas, 57 Liver hurts because of anger. In addition, as a respiratory organ, “lung” is closely related to “gas,” so it is also used to describe anger, such as “55 burst lungs with gas”. This underlying cognitive model of the Chinese based on the fundamental theories of Chinese medicine provides a theoretical basis for the unique phenomenon of human organs appearing in the description of angry emotions.

It should be noted that the experiment distinguished the gender and age of the participants, but this was not mentioned in the experimental results. First of all, the analysis of the experimental results found no obvious difference in the participants’ associative answers regarding gender and age, which was manifested in the fact that the frequency of the same associative word in men and women did not differ significantly. No obvious differences were found in different age groups. We believe that the reason for this phenomenon is that, on the one hand, it is based on the characteristics of idioms being passed down orally, which makes the development of idioms relatively stable, and there is little change in a short period or even a long period; on the other hand, it is not ruled out that the native speakers live close to each other, and there is little difference in customs and cognition, which leads to no obvious differences between men and women of different ages.

6. Conclusions

This study conducted a comparative study of metaphorical and metonymic idiomatic expressions of anger in Chinese and Russian. We concluded that metaphors are based on bodily reactions and individual experiences. Since humans have similar biological bodies, the choice of anger metaphors and metonymies is universal. These results support Lakoff and Kovecses’ prediction^[2] that anger metaphors are not randomly distributed in the world’s languages. Bodily experience ensures the commonality of metaphors and metonymies.

The understanding of the world is based on the individual’s cultural background. The Slavic people’s preference for water, religious history, and cultural history contained in animals can be reflected in Russian idioms. Chinese idioms are deeply influenced by traditional Chinese medicine, the

five elements, the concept of yin and yang, and Peking opera culture. The influence and shaping of cognitive concepts by different cultural backgrounds have led to differences in the selection of source domain entities.

The results of this study strongly support the argument for metaphor understanding^[3]: metaphor and metonymy understanding is not arbitrary; our individual experiences and cultural background drive it. In this study, although there were dozens of idioms expressing anger to choose from, cultural preferences constrained the choice of metaphors and metonymies.

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Data Availability Statement

The dictionary text data in this study can be verified in the Chinese and Russian idiom dictionaries written in Chapter 3 of the article, and the practical survey data can be verified in the following links: Russian questionnaire <https://forms.gle/QqvpTzeZh1HW2QHq7>; Chinese questionnaire <https://www.wjx.cn/vm/wH8MZqy.aspx#4>.

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Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest

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