

Author's final draft of:

Oster, Ulrike (2023). "Translating emotions. A corpus-based study of the conceptualization of ANGER in German-Spanish translation. *Languages in Contrast*, 23: 2. 199-225. <https://doi.org/10.1075/lic.00027.ost>

Translating emotions

A corpus-based study of the conceptualization of ANGER in German-Spanish translation

Ulrike Oster

Universitat Jaume I (Spain)

This paper is a corpus-based study of how translation affects the portrayal of emotion concepts. It aims to establish whether there are differences between translated texts and original texts in a given language as to how emotions are expressed and whether emotion conceptualization in the translated texts is closer to that of the source or the target language. To do so, the study focuses on one emotion in a specific language combination: the conceptual domain of ANGER in German and Spanish. In a first step, analysis of two large reference corpora provides a contrastive description of the concept ANGER as represented by prototypical emotion lexemes in both languages (*Wut, Zorn* and *Ärger* in German and *ira, rabia, enojo* in Spanish). Then, the parallel corpus COVALT is used to study three aspects of the expression of ANGER in Spanish translated texts: conceptual metaphor, physical effects and consequences of the emotion. Analysis of the use of conceptual metaphor shows that both source and target language preferences are present in the target texts. A more marked deviation from target language conventions can be observed in the translation of expressions referring to the physical effects or consequences of ANGER.

Keywords: Anger; emotion conceptualization; literary translation; German/Spanish

1. Introduction

However different human languages, cultures and societies may be, translation is far from impossible –indeed, it can even be considered a relatively straightforward task– because we all share the common basis of human nature. One particular field in which the coexistence of universal and culturally constructed aspects is especially evident is that of emotions and their expression. Contrastive linguistic or anthropological studies in this field usually focus on highlighting discrepancies between supposedly equivalent emotion words (e.g. Wierzbicka, 1999) or describing culture-specific, even unique emotions without any direct equivalent in other (especially Western) languages like English (e.g. Lutz, 1988).

In the tradition of Cognitive Linguistics, to which this paper adheres, the metaphorical and metonymical conceptualization of basic emotions is understood as grounded in bodily experience, i.e. these emotion concepts are embodied. This “[...] can explain why many emotion metaphors are shared by various languages and cultures” (Kövecses, 2014: 20). However, despite many similarities, contrastive evidence has also shown striking differences in the linguistic expression of emotions across languages and cultures. One possible explanation for this is given by Kövecses (2005: 4), who suggests the existence of primary metaphors (such as AFFECTION IS WARMTH or CAUSES ARE FORCES), which are likely to be universal. These primary metaphors may be combined in particular languages and cultures to form “complex” metaphors, which can be language-specific. The metaphorical conceptualization of emotions is thus currently understood as being subject to the influence of embodiment, cognition and culture. The combination of these factors would then account for both the similarities and dissimilarities among languages.

When translators encounter cultural or linguistic differences, their strategies are described as moving between the opposite poles of domestication and foreignization (Venuti, 1995). In this dichotomy, domestication brings the source text closer to the target reader, while foreignization renders the foreign features of the source text visible in the translation, thus maintaining its proximity to the source culture.

Within this context, this paper examines how the translation process may affect the portrayal of emotions in target texts. For this purpose, one emotion in a specific language combination has been chosen: the conceptual domain of ANGER¹ in German and Spanish. The analysis comprises two distinct research phases. First, it establishes a baseline by describing and comparing how ANGER is conceptualized in each language (via the analysis of two large reference corpora). Then, the parallel and comparable COVALT corpus is used to determine whether there are differences between Spanish original and translated texts in the way ANGER is expressed and whether such differences can be traced back to the source language conceptualization.

¹ The following notation conventions are used: in accordance with the general usage in Cognitive Linguistics, metaphors and mappings are written in small capitals (ANGER IS FIRE). Additionally, capital letters are employed for concepts (ANGER), italics for emotion words (*Wut*) as well as for expressions resulting from corpus searches (*Wut im Bauch*).

2. Theoretical and methodological background

The linguistic expression of emotion –especially that of ANGER– has attracted much attention in various branches of linguistics and has developed into a very fruitful and diverse field of research. Since there is not enough space to provide a general overview here, I will only briefly mention the research this paper builds on, i.e. monolingual and contrastive accounts of the linguistic expression of ANGER in German and Spanish, and studies explicitly addressing the translation of emotions.

2.1 The linguistic expression of ANGER in German and Spanish

In German, ANGER is by far the most widely researched emotion concept. In recent decades, a methodological evolution can be observed, from the analysis of lexicographic data to formulations based on the intuitions of native speakers to corpus-based approaches. Weigand (1998) uses a pragmatic-contrastive and lexicological model to describe several German lexemes in the ANGER category, while Durst (2001) and Fries (2004) establish the differences between the two most salient German anger words, *Wut* and *Zorn*. Durst's and Fries' approaches are methodologically similar in that they use diverse types of data (corpora, intuition) to arrive at a description of the “emotional scenes” representing *Wut* and *Zorn*, either following their own notation system (Fries, 2004) or using Wierzbicka's natural semantic metalanguage (Durst, 2001). Bergerová (2011) analyses figurative language (metaphor and metonymy) to describe the conceptualization of the emotion category ÄRGER. In my own previous research, I combine a Cognitive Linguistics approach with a corpus-based methodology to address several aspects of German ANGER: Oster (2014) takes up the *Wut* / *Zorn* distinction and provides a contrastive semantic and pragmatic description of the two words. Oster (2018, 2019b) adopts a diachronic point of view and traces the evolution of several anger words (*Wut*, *Zorn* and *Ärger*) over four centuries.

With regard to Spanish, Barcelona (1989) provides a first account of the metaphorical conceptualization of Spanish ANGER (*ira*) along the lines of Lakoff and Kövecses' analysis of ANGER in American English (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987), based on Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). This is followed by a Spanish-English contrastive analysis within the same theoretical framework (Soriano-Salinas, 2003). More recently, Soriano and her colleagues have contributed most of the scholarship on the Spanish concept of ANGER, adopting an interdisciplinary and interlinguistic perspective (Soriano, 2013; Soriano *et al.*, 2013; Ogarkova and Soriano, 2014a and 2014b). These studies combine different methods (corpus analysis, reference-based elicitation of emotion terms) and disciplinary paradigms (CMT and linguistic anthropology). Finally, also following a Cognitive Linguistics approach, Kövecses *et al.* (2015) analyze the metaphorical salience of conceptual metaphors for ANGER in several languages, including Spanish.

2.2 Contrastive studies

Ogarkova *et al.* (2012, 2016) and Ogarkova and Soriano (in press) provide important insights into the methodology for analyzing the linguistic expression of

emotions –especially ANGER– and for the differentiation of anger terms within and across languages. In their framework, six parameters are used to describe interlinguistic variation in the semantics of ANGER: intensity, somatic aspects, expression, regulation, causation and social context, and social acceptability. This model thus includes cultural differences like Hofstede’s distinctions between *individualistic vs collectivistic* cultures and *high vs low power distance* (Hofstede 2001).

Applying Ogarkova and Soriano’s (2014a) *semantic foci*, Oster (2019a) characterizes German and Spanish anger words according to two dimensions: regulation (control vs lack of control) and expression (visibility vs internalization). The co-occurrence analysis of anger words reveals that expressions highlighting lack of control are more prominent in German than in Spanish, whereas those emphasizing control are less prominent. This is consistent with the common characterization of the German society as individualistic while Spanish-speaking countries are considered collectivist (Hofstede, 1980; 1991). Additionally, Spanish is found to include more references to the visibility of expressions of ANGER, whereas German contains more co-occurrences denoting the internalization of this emotion.

I would like to conclude this section with a brief reference to how emotion is understood in a foreign language. Even if the field of second language acquisition is not the focus of this paper, there is a parallel worth mentioning. In a psycholinguistic study, Rintell (1984, cited in Dewaele, 2006: 124) found that L2 users of English have greater difficulty than L1 speakers in identifying and rating the intensity of emotions like anger. According to Rintell’s findings, even advanced students score well below native speakers. The finding itself is perhaps unsurprising, but the reason behind it warrants some consideration. Which aspects of emotion expression cause this difficulty? Does it have to do with the prosodic features of spoken language? Or might semantic aspects such as metaphors and figurative language play an additional role? Finally, and most pertinently to the subject of this paper, will the problem disappear if a text containing an expression of anger is translated into the reader’s mother tongue?

2.3 Emotions in Translation Studies

In Translation Studies, two different approaches have been taken to address the issue of emotion-related differences. The first assumes that translators will always strive to convey as closely as possible the feelings expressed in the source text. Such studies describe translators’ techniques and strategies to achieve this aim (e.g. Holoborodko, 2013). The second approach acknowledges that different norms might govern the source and target system and that the translator conforms consciously or unconsciously to one set of norms. In this line of argument, Lamprinou (2011, 2012) studies the expression of emotion intensity in a corpus of British to Greek translations of popular romance fiction and concludes that target language norms exert a more substantial influence. This is contrary to the assumption of Polysystem Theory that the more powerful literary system (in this case, the British) will exert a more decisive influence, according to which a more foreignizing approach might have been expected.

Even in the field of machine translation, given the vast advances in output quality through neural network approaches, scholars are increasingly interested in non-propositional aspects like politeness, formality or emotions (Troiano *et al.*,

2020: 4340). In their study, Troiano *et al.* analyze emotion preservation in neural machine translation and conclude that the system tends to tone down emotion connotations (2020: 4345f.).

Given the current state of the contrastive and translation-oriented analysis of emotion expression, this paper aims to progress in two respects. Firstly, it aims to provide a contrastive description of the expression of ANGER in German and Spanish that is both broader (i.e. encompassing additional semantic and pragmatic aspects) and more fine-grained (metaphorical subtypes) than those in Oster (2019a). Secondly, it will use actual translations of text fragments containing expressions of ANGER to determine differences between Spanish original and translated texts and to analyze their relation to source and target language conceptualizations.

3. Methodology of the corpus-based study

3.1 Step 1: A contrastive description of the conceptualization of ANGER in German and Spanish

First, the three most frequent and prototypical anger lexemes of each language – *Wut, Zorn, Ärger* in German and *ira, rabia, enojo* in Spanish– were selected as representatives for the category. For these six anger words, queries were run in two large reference corpora (*DWDS*² for German and *Corpus del Español*³ for Spanish). The analysis consisted of two steps (cf. Oster, 2010; 2014). First, several corpus searches (one for each of the following co-occurrence POS: noun, verb, adjective, adverb, preposition) were performed for each anger word in the German and in the Spanish corpus. Each of these queries returned a list of co-occurrences with access to concordance lines. These lists were then fully processed (to a minimum frequency of 2) to identify co-occurrences that indicate a conceptualization of ANGER in terms of one of the following aspects, described in detail in Oster (2010, 2012):

- Metaphor: What source domains are used to conceptualize ANGER?
- Metonymy: What physical effects stand for ANGER?
- Conceptual proximity: What other emotion words are frequently mentioned together with anger words?
- Description: How is ANGER prototypically described (e.g. through specific adjectives)?
- Semantic prosody: What types of evaluative expressions are used to describe ANGER?

² Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache (DWDS-Kernkorpus: <https://www.dwds.de/d/korpora/kern>), compiled by the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften (120 million words, covering the genres fiction, newspaper, science and functional texts). The older “retro” version, available at the time of the research, was used because it provides access to co-occurrence lists in addition to concordance lines.

³ This corpus was created by Mark Davies at Brigham Young University. For comparability, the 2001 “original” Corpus del Español (<https://www.corpusdelespanol.org/x.asp?c=2>) was chosen, which is of a similar size (100 million words) and contains similar genres (fiction, newspaper, academic texts, and spoken language), instead of the 2016 “Web” corpus (2 billion words from web pages). It is important to remember that complete comparability between reference corpora of two languages is extremely difficult to achieve, as they are designed by different bodies for different purposes. However carefully the corpora are chosen and the query procedures adapted, some limitations are unavoidable (cf. Oster 2012: 335f.).

- Semantic preference: What are the prototypical causes, consequences, and experiencers of ANGER?

The analysis of the first two aspects follows Kövecses' lexical approach based on Conceptual Metaphor Theory (cf. Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) and subsequent works, especially Kövecses *et al.*, 2015) but applies a corpus-based methodology. The remaining four aspects provide a semantic and pragmatic description of the anger lexemes using corpus linguistic concepts like semantic preference and semantic prosody. These go back to John Sinclair's work on collocations (Sinclair, 1996) and focus on connotational and evaluative aspects of the meaning of a lexical unit. For a brief explanation of these concepts and their application for our purposes, cf. Oster (2010: 732-733).

For this study, I have expanded previous work on ANGER (Oster 2014, 2019a, 2019b), comparing the resulting descriptions of German and Spanish ANGER and highlighting those aspects in which differences are found.

3.2 Step 2: The expression of ANGER in Spanish original and translated texts

In the second step, the perspective is narrowed down to the expression of ANGER in Spanish texts translated from German. For this qualitative part of the study, the COVALT corpus⁴ is employed. COVALT is a multilingual, parallel and comparable corpus (cf. Figure 1). Its parallel modules (PAR_ES and PAR_ES) contain narrative works in English, French and German (source texts: ST in Fig. 1) alongside their translations into Spanish and Catalan (target texts: TT). Additionally, the corpus includes two comparable modules (COMP_ES and COMP_CAT) containing novels originally written in Spanish and Catalan, respectively. The analysis focuses on the German-Spanish module of the parallel corpus, consisting of 14 German novels (German ST, 400,209 words) and their translations (Spanish TT(G), 433,952 words).

⁴ For more information on the corpus and its compilation, cf. Molés-Cases and Oster (2019). Access for research purposes can be requested through the COVALT website (<http://www.covalt.uji.es>).

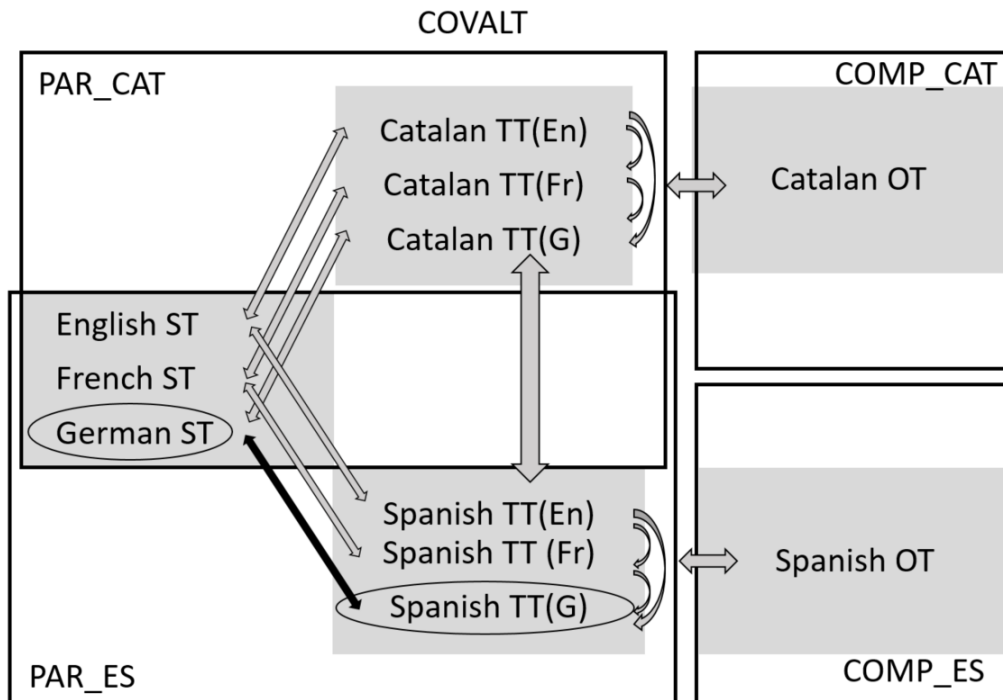


Figure 1. Architecture of the COVALT corpus

The analysis was carried out in several phases:

- Extraction of the word list of the German ST module and manual scanning for every lexical item expressing ANGER. A total of 18 lemmas (nouns, compound nouns, verbs, adjectives) pertaining to three lexical bases (- wut -, - zorn -, - ärger) were selected: *Wut, wutentbrannt, wüten, wütend, Wutröte, wutschnaubend, Wutschrei, wutverzerrt, Zorn, zornig, zornrot, Jähzorn, zornerfüllt, jähzornig, ärgerlich, verärgert, Ärger, sich ärgern*.⁵ Corpus searches for these anger words and extraction of all instances and their immediate contexts. This resulted in 207 source text fragments and their translations into Spanish.
- Analysis of source text fragments: Which aspects of the overall conceptualization of German ANGER are present in the source texts?
- Analysis of target text fragments with a view to the following research questions:
 - On a local level: What translation strategies, shifts or adaptations can be identified in the Spanish target texts?
 - On a more general level: Is the overall conceptualization of ANGER in the target texts identical to that of texts originally written in Spanish, or are there features that make it similar to the source language (German)?

Ideally, one might seek to formulate hypotheses about the possible over or under-representation of certain traits of the linguistic expression of emotions, such as metaphors or physical effects. However, a vast corpus would be needed to make the quantitative comparison to test such hypotheses. Searches would be time-consuming as there is no automatic way of accessing this information. Therefore,

⁵ More peripheral category members like *Entrüstung, Empörung, and sauer* were initially included but discarded for this study because of their specific meaning components (i.e. indignation), which differentiate them from the more general anger terms like *Wut, Zorn* and *Ärger*.

the study was limited to qualitative analysis of the 207 fragments containing German anger words and their translation to identify possible trends.

4. Results

As explained in Section 3, I first compared the conceptualization of ANGER in German and Spanish original texts and then looked at what happens in the German-Spanish translation. For the sake of brevity, I will concentrate on those aspects of the conceptualization that proved to be most fruitful from a contrastive point of view and use these to organize the presentation: metaphorical conceptualization (4.1), physical effects (4.2) and expressions related to the consequences of ANGER (4.3). For each of the three items, I will first describe the main differences between the two languages (Phase 1) and then analyze their effects on German-Spanish translation (Phase 2).

4.1 Metaphorical conceptualization of ANGER

4.1.1 *Main differences between German and Spanish*

The corpus search yielded a total of 6,638 anger words in German (55.32 per million words, pmw): 2694 *Zorn*, 2436 *Wut* and 1508 *Ärger*. and 11,405 in Spanish (114.05 pmw): 5132 *ira*, 4442 *enojo* and 2693 *rabia*. Through the co-occurrence analysis, 1,577 expressions were observed in the German corpus that express a metaphorical conceptualization, i.e. 237.6 per 1,000 anger words. In the Spanish corpus, 2,925 were found (255.5 per 1,000 anger words).

As a first step, the metaphorical conceptualization of ANGER is analyzed at the highest level of abstraction, for which six source domains are discussed: SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER, OPPONENT, AUTONOMOUS FORCE, ILLNESS / INSANITY, OBJECT and PLACE / CONTAINER.

The metaphor ANGER IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER (THE BODY) is found in expressions like *lleno de rabia* ‘full of anger’ or *Wut im Bauch* ‘anger in the belly’. It highlights the physicality of anger, i.e. the fact that ANGER affects the experiencer’s body. This primary aspect is combined with several other facets of the experience of ANGER, namely the attempt to keep control of the emotion (keeping it in, keeping it down, as in *tragarse la ira* ‘to swallow one’s anger’) and its uncontrollability (e.g. the bursting of the container: *vor Wut explodieren* ‘to burst because of anger’).

The conceptualization of ANGER as an OPPONENT, particularly an ATTACKER, highlights two aspects. On the one hand, it is an intense emotion that appears suddenly and takes control of the person who experiences it (*packen* ‘to grab’); on the other, the experiencer does not want to give way to the feeling and tries to resist it (*dominar su ira* ‘master one’s anger’).

The metaphor ANGER IS AN AUTONOMOUS FORCE expresses the perception of ANGER as a separate FORCE, for example, a NATURAL FORCE such as FIRE, WATER or WIND. It is conceptualized as independent of the experiencer, even as a being with a life and a will of its own, like a WILD ANIMAL (*der Wut den Lauf lassen* ‘to let anger run free’). This metaphor focuses on the strength and involuntariness of the emotion as well as the experiencer’s lack of control.

Another way to express the idea of the experiencer losing control of the emotion is by conceptualizing ANGER as an ILLNESS or MADNESS (e.g. *vor Wut den Verstand verlieren* ‘to lose one’s mind’), which prevents the experiencer’s body or reason from functioning normally.

The metaphor ANGER IS AN OBJECT (A POSSESSION, A PHYSICAL OBJECT OR A BURDEN) highlights the close relationship between the emotion and the experiencer: it belongs to them (*Wut bekommen* ‘to get anger’) or weighs on them (*descargar su ira* ‘unload one’s anger’).

Finally, conceptualizing ANGER as something the experiencer is immersed in or transported to conveys the idea that the emotion envelops them (*in Wut versetzen* ‘to transport into anger’, *envuelto en ira* ‘wrapped in anger’).

Table 1 provides a quantification of the instantiation of each of these conceptual metaphors in German and in Spanish. The column “Types” lists the number of different linguistic expressions through which a metaphor is materialized. For example, ANGER IS AN OPPONENT includes 40 German expressions like *vom Zorn ergriffen* ‘grabbed by anger’, *von Wut übermannt* ‘overwhelmed by anger’ or *Wut bezwingen* ‘to master one’s anger’. “Tokens” refers to the total number of occurrences of these expressions. In the case of ANGER IS AN OPPONENT, for example, 170 co-occurrences with German anger words were found.

Table 1. Conceptual metaphors in German and Spanish

Conceptual metaphor	Types				Tokens			
	German		Spanish		German		Spanish	
ANGER IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER (THE BODY)	117	32.5%	36	20.7%	593	37.5%	521	18.0%
ANGER IS AN OPPONENT	40	11.1%	19	10.9%	170	10.7%	132	4.6%
ANGER IS AN AUTONOMOUS FORCE	122	33.9%	72	41.4%	379	23.9%	1091	37.8%
ANGER IS ILLNESS/INSANITY	28	7.8%	18	10.3%	106	6.7%	108	3.7%
ANGER IS AN OBJECT	46	12.8%	27	15.5%	167	10.5%	977	33.8%
ANGER IS A PLACE/CONTAINER	7	1.9%	2	1.1%	168	10.6%	60	2.1%
Total tokens and types	360		174		1,583		2,889	

Table 2 provides information about the statistical significance of differences. A chisquare test was performed when the frequency counts of both cells were 5 or greater. If not, a Fisher’s exact test was used.⁶ The difference in type frequency is only significant for ANGER IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER, whereas differences in token frequency are highly significant in all cases. Effect size is also calculated to quantify the magnitude of the statistically significant differences.⁷

Table 2. Statistical significance of differences between conceptual metaphors in German and Spanish

Conceptual metaphor	Types			Tokens		
	χ^2 / p-value	Sign.	Eff. size	χ^2	Sign.	Eff. size
ANGER IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER (THE BODY)	6.844	**	0.31	206.328	***	0.21
ANGER IS AN OPPONENT	0.012	ns	-	61.825	***	0.12
ANGER IS AN AUTONOMOUS FORCE	2.523	ns	-	88.542	***	0.14
ANGER IS ILLNESS / INSANITY	0.904	ns	-	19.636	***	0.07
ANGER IS AN OBJECT	0.660	ns	-	290.838	***	0.26
ANGER IS A PLACE / CONTAINER	p=0.728	ns	-	154.000	***	0.19

⁶ In all tables: *** \rightarrow significantly more frequent at $p < 0.001$ (critical value = 10.828); ** $\rightarrow p < 0.01$ (critical value = 6.635); * $\rightarrow p < 0.05$ (critical value = 3.841); ns = non-significant difference.

⁷ For effect size, Cramer’s V is used: for $0.10 \leq V < 0.30$ effect is considered small; for $0.30 \leq V < 0.50$ effect is considered medium; for $V \geq 0.50$ effect is considered large (cf., for example, Mangiafico’s guidelines for interpreting statistics: http://rcompanion.org/handbook/H_10.html).

Some differences in frequency distribution are already apparent on this broad abstraction level. Among the conceptual metaphors that occur more often in German, ANGER IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER seems especially relevant because the difference is very substantial in terms of both types and tokens, as confirmed by the large effect size. Conversely, ANGER IS AN OBJECT is more frequently used in Spanish than in German. This result is coherent with the findings reported in Kövecses *et al.* (2015: 348), according to which ANGER IS A POSSESSED OBJECT is the most salient conceptual metaphor for Spanish ANGER. Finally, ANGER IS AN AUTONOMOUS FORCE is also more prevalent in Spanish and is used more creatively, as evidenced by the fact that there are many different types of expressions.

To illustrate this more concretely, I will now focus exclusively on the SUBSTANCE IN THE BODY metaphor and classify the resulting co-occurrences further according to the metaphorical mappings it includes. The following mappings were found (cf. Table 3 for type and token frequency in both languages):

- ANGER IS LOCATED IN THE BODY OR AFFECTS SPECIFIC BODY PARTS
Ex.: *Bauch* ‘belly’; *pecho* ‘breast’
- KEEPING CONTROL IS KEEPING THE SUBSTANCE INSIDE OR DOWN
Ex.: *unterdrücken* ‘suppress’; *tragar* ‘swallow’
- LOSING CONTROL IS SUBSTANCE GOING OUT OF THE CONTAINER
Ex.: *Wut an jmd. auslassen* ‘letting anger out on so.’; *reventar* ‘to explode’
- INTENSITY IS AMOUNT:
 - INCREASE IN INTENSITY IS THE RISING OF LIQUID: Ex.: *Wut kommt hoch* ‘anger comes up’;
 - DEGREE OF INTENSITY IS THE DEPTH OF THE CONTAINER: Ex.: *tief* ‘deep’
- INTENSITY IS HEAT: ANGER CAUSES BOILING
Ex.: *Siedepunkt erreichen* ‘reach boiling point’; *hervir* ‘to boil’
- ANGER IS A SUBSTANCE THAT DESTROYS THE BODY FROM WITHIN
Ex.: *nagend* ‘gnawing’, *carcomer* ‘eat away (woodworm)’

Table 3. Metaphorical mappings of the SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER metaphor

Metaphorical mapping	Types				Tokens			
	German		Spanish		German		Spanish	
ANGER IS LOCATED IN THE BODY OR AFFECTS SPECIFIC BODY PARTS	40	11.1%	11	6.3%	220	14.6%	327	11.3%
KEEPING CONTROL IS KEEPING THE SUBSTANCE INSIDE OR DOWN	11	3.1%	7	4.0%	64	4.1%	72	2.5%
LOSING CONTROL IS SUBSTANCE GOING OUT OF THE CONTAINER	28	8.0%	13	7.4%	128	8.1%	104	3.6%
INTENSITY IS AMOUNT (RISING LIQUID / DEPTH OF CONTAINER)	12	3.4%	0	0.0%	102	6.5%	0	0.0%
INTENSITY IS HEAT: ANGER IS A BOILING LIQUID	15	4.3%	2	1.1%	53	3.4%	8	0.3%
ANGER IS A SUBSTANCE THAT DESTROYS THE BODY FROM WITHIN	11	3.1%	3	1.7%	16	1.0%	10	0.3%

As shown in Table 4, all mappings are represented by a significantly higher number of tokens in German than in Spanish. The effect size is small or almost non-existent in some cases. Especially in the case of the unspecific ANGER IS

LOCATED IN THE BODY OR AFFECTS SPECIFIC BODY PARTS, the quantitative difference may not seem great, but the qualitative dissimilarities are worth noting. The bulk of the Spanish expressions refer to *pecho* ‘breast’ (75 instances) and *corazón* ‘heart’ (66), with only a small number of references to *entrañas* ‘entrails’, *estómago* ‘stomach’ and *sangre* ‘blood’.⁸ The mention of body parts and the effect anger has on them seems to be less conventionalized in German texts (lower token frequency), but is more varied: *Herz* ‘heart’ (21), *Bauch* ‘belly’ (15), and *Blut* ‘blood’ (13) are the most frequent ones, while many other body parts are also mentioned, but less frequently so (*Kopf* ‘head’, *Adern* ‘veins’, *Mark* ‘marrow’, *Beine* ‘legs’, *Schläfen* ‘temples’, *Puls* ‘pulse’, *Stirn* ‘forehead’, *Gehirn* ‘brain’).

Table 4. Statistical significance of differences between German and Spanish regarding metaphorical mappings of the SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER metaphor

Metaphorical mapping	Tokens ⁹		
	χ^2 / p-value	Sign.	Eff. size
ANGER IS LOCATED IN THE BODY OR AFFECTS SPECIFIC BODY PARTS	6,335	*	0.04
KEEPING CONTROL IS KEEPING THE SUBSTANCE INSIDE OR DOWN	8,917	**	0.04
LOSING CONTROL IS SUBSTANCE GOING OUT OF THE CONTAINER	43,610	***	0.10
INTENSITY IS AMOUNT (RISING LIQUID / DEPTH OF CONTAINER)	p<0,0001	***	0.21
INTENSITY IS HEAT: ANGER IS A BOILING LIQUID	73.065	***	0.13
ANGER IS A SUBSTANCE THAT DESTROYS THE BODY FROM WITHIN	7.912	**	0.04

Furthermore, differences that are both highly significant and have the largest effect sizes are found in those mappings that express an increase in ANGER, namely a) LOSING CONTROL IS SUBSTANCE GOING OUT OF THE CONTAINER, b) INCREASE IN INTENSITY IS THE RISING OF THE LIQUID and c) ANGER IS A BOILING LIQUID. Even if the effect sizes are still relatively small, not only is their relative token frequency at least twice as high in German, but there is also a much larger variety of expressions (types). This is especially notable in the case of ANGER IS A BOILING LIQUID, for which only two expressions were found in Spanish (*hervir* and *bullir* ‘to boil’), but as many as 15 in German. Moreover, several of the German expressions convey not only the idea of heat, but also that of an upward and even outward movement: *brodeln* ‘to bubble’ *aufwallen* ‘to surge up’, *schäumend* ‘to froth’, *überschäumen* ‘to froth over’, *Wallung* ‘surging’, *Aufwallung* ‘surging up’.

4.1.2 The metaphorical conceptualization of ANGER in German-Spanish translation

Only four out of the 207 contexts containing German anger words could be interpreted metaphorically. Even so, three different translator strategies were identified (cf. Table 5):

A. Maintaining the same metaphor

⁸ As explained in Oster (2010: 737), the qualitative part of the analysis includes an evaluation of the context. Thus, only those occurrences that express the metaphorical mapping under investigation are counted. In this case, two of the occurrences of *sangre* in Spanish are indicative of the BODY metaphor (e.g. *la sangre hierve* ‘blood boils’). Others are unrelated and are therefore not counted.

⁹ Given that the number of types of any given mapping is rather low (between 2 and 40), the differences need to be extremely large in order to reach significance. The only case in which the differences in types reach significance level is INTENSITY IS AMOUNT (p=0,0110, effect size 0,19).

- B. Conventionalizing, either by choosing a more conventional metaphor in the target language or by using a non-figurative expression
 C. Foreignizing

Table 5. ANGER as A SUBSTANCE IN THE BODY in German-Spanish translation

German	Metaphor	Spanish	Strategy
<i>Hugdietrich entfuhr ein Wutschrei.</i>	LOSING CONTROL IS SUBSTANCE GOING OUT OF THE CONTAINER	... - <i>voceó furibundo Teodorico.</i>	B
→ ‘A cry of anger escaped Hugdietrich’		→ ‘H. yelled furiously’	
<i>Ben spürte, dass die Wut in seinen Kopf schwappte wie eine dicke rote Brühe.</i>	- ANGER IS LOCATED IN THE BODY - INCREASE IN INTENSITY IS THE RISING OF LIQUID	<i>Ben notó cómo la ira se agolpaba en su cabeza como un espeso caldo rojo.</i>	C
→ ‘B. felt the anger sloshing into his head like a thick, red slop’		→ ‘B. felt the anger thronging / crowding into his head like a thick, red broth’	
<i>mit ihrer ganzen unverbrauchten Wut</i>	ANGER IS AN OBJECT	<i>con toda su rabia contenida</i>	B
→ ‘with all her unspent/unused anger’		→ ‘with all her restrained anger’	
<i>Zum Zornbesänftigen wären Fünfzig besser.</i>	ANGER IS A WILD ANIMAL	Para calmar el enojo ...	A
→ ‘to soothe the anger...’		→ ‘to calm the anger’	

Consistently with the focus of Section 4.1.1, two instances of the SUBSTANCE IN THE BODY metaphor will be discussed. These illustrate strategies B and C. The first example contains a conventional German expression (*jmd. entfährt ein Wutschrei*) related to the mapping LOSING CONTROL IS SUBSTANCE GOING OUT OF THE CONTAINER: the cry of anger “escapes” the body, which expresses the experiencer’s loss of control. The translation into Spanish is also conventional but not metaphorical. The translator has thus chosen not to use a metaphorical expression from the same domain, which might have been less conventional than in German (cf. Table 2). Instead, the semantic content of the original is broken down into the action “yelling” and the emotional state “furiously”.

The second example is an innovative use of the SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER metaphor. The author of the German original plays creatively with several of its mappings. Firstly, ANGER is portrayed not only as a liquid inside the body but as one with a particular color and density (*dicke rote Brühe* ‘thick red slop’). Furthermore, it moves up uncontrolled (*schwappte in seinen Kopf* ‘sloshed into his head’) as it grows stronger. This vivid image conveys the idea that controlling the emotion is becoming extremely difficult. What is important here is that this novel image is coherent with the conceptual metaphor and with the mappings INCREASE IN INTENSITY IS THE RISING OF THE LIQUID and ANGER IS A BOILING LIQUID (cf. the discussion in Section 4.1.1). So, even though the choice of words is innovative –neither *schwappen* nor *Brühe* co-occurred with an anger word in the corpus– it is easy for a German speaker to identify with this description of the sensation because it is based on existing conceptual mechanisms that are used frequently and explored creatively.

In the Spanish version, the translator has done their best to use the lexical resources of the target language to convey a similar image. The result is understandable or at least interpretable. Nevertheless, there seems to be something strange about it, not only because the collocations are somewhat unusual (*la ira se agolpa en la cabeza, caldo rojo*) but presumably because these mappings of

the SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER metaphor are not as common in Spanish as in German. INCREASE IN INTENSITY IS THE RISING OF THE LIQUID and ANGER IS A BOILING LIQUID are used less and with less variety in Spanish.

4.2 Physical effects

4.2.1 Main differences between German and Spanish

Table 6 shows the bodily reactions that can accompany ANGER and which often stand for and represent the emotion in text.

Table 6. Physical effects of ANGER in German and Spanish

Physical effects standing for ANGER	Examples of co-occurrences	
	German	Spanish
SCREAMING OR CRYING	<i>Träne</i> ‘tear’, <i>weinen</i> ‘to cry’, <i>heulen</i> ‘to wail/cry’	<i>lágrimas</i> ‘tears’, <i>rugido</i> ‘roar’, <i>gritar</i> ‘to yell’
FACIAL EXPRESSION	<i>Gesicht</i> ‘face’, <i>Blick</i> ‘look’, <i>funkeln</i> ‘to glare’	<i>cara</i> ‘face’, <i>relucir (ojos)</i> ‘(eyes) shine’, <i>mirada</i> ‘look’
AGITATION	<i>zittern</i> ‘to tremble’, <i>beben</i> ‘to quiver’, <i>stampfen</i> ‘to stomp’	<i>temblar</i> ‘to tremble’, <i>saltar</i> ‘to jump’, <i>labio (morderse)</i> ‘to bite one’s lips’
CHANGE IN THE VOICE	<i>heiser</i> ‘hoarse’, <i>zischen</i> ‘to hiss’, <i>sprachlos</i> ‘speechless’	<i>murmurar</i> ‘to mumble’
CHANGE OF COLOR	<i>rot</i> ‘red’, <i>bleich</i> ‘pale’, <i>röten</i> ‘to redden’	<i>verde</i> ‘green’, <i>Amarillo</i> ‘yellow’, <i>rojo</i> ‘red’
SINKING TEMPERATURE	<i>kalt</i> ‘cold’	
RISING TEMPERATURE	<i>heiß</i> ‘hot’, <i>glühen</i> ‘to glow’, <i>brodeln</i> ‘to seethe’	<i>calor</i> ‘heat’, <i>templar</i> ‘to cool down’, <i>ardiente</i> ‘burning’
IMMOBILIZATION OR CONTRACTION	<i>verzerrern</i> ‘to distort’, <i>Stirnfalte</i> ‘frown’, <i>Fäuste ballen</i> ‘to clench one’s fists’	<i>ceño contraído</i> ‘furrowed brow’, <i>arrugar la frente</i> ‘wrinkle one’s forehead’
DISTURBED BREATHING	<i>schnauben</i> ‘to snort’, <i>schnaufen</i> ‘to gasp’	<i>bufar</i> ‘to snort’, <i>sofocado</i> ‘stifled’, <i>ahogar</i> ‘to choke’
SWELLING	<i>schwellen (Halsschlagader)</i> ‘to swell (carotid artery)’	<i>hinchar</i> ‘to swell’
INTERFERENCE WITH PERCEPTION	<i>blind</i>	<i>ciego</i> ‘blind’, <i>cegar</i> ‘to blind’, <i>sorda</i> ‘deaf’

The result is unsurprising from a qualitative perspective. As with any other strong emotion, ANGER can manifest itself in the body in many ways, from facial expression to voice, breathing, temperature, and so on. These physical manifestations are present in both languages, but some differences in frequency and distribution are observed (cf. Table 7). In general, reference to the bodily impacts of ANGER seems to be more frequent in German (24,59 tokens pmw) than in Spanish (7,99 tokens pmw). In terms of token frequency, the most noticeable differences are observed for SCREAMING OR CRYING and CHANGE OF COLOR (especially reddening), which are more prevalent in German texts, and SINKING TEMPERATURE (“cold” anger), which did not appear in any Spanish text. By contrast, FACIAL EXPRESSION, RISING TEMPERATURE, DISTURBED BREATHING and INTERFERENCE WITH PERCEPTION are significantly more frequent in Spanish. Although these differences are highly significant, the effect size is small –or even non-existent– in all cases.

Table 7. Quantification of physical effects of ANGER in German and Spanish

	Types ¹⁰	Tokens
--	---------------------	--------

¹⁰ None of the differences in type frequency reach significance level.

Physical effects standing for ANGER	German		Spanish		German		Spanish		$\chi^2 /$ p-value	Sign.	Eff. size
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%			
SCREAMING OR CRYING	16	24.2	23	21.9	878	29.8	154	19.3	34.611	***	0.10
FACIAL EXPRESSION	5	7.6	20	19.0	526	17.8	210	26.3	28.517	***	0.09
AGITATION	8	19.7	18	17.1	302	10.2	116	14.5	11.653	***	0.06
CHANGE IN THE VOICE	5	1.5	8	7.6	255	8.6	56	7.0	2.203	ns	--
CHANGE OF COLOR	13	19.7	10	9.5	261	8.8	30	3.8	22.756	***	0.08
SINKING TEMPERATURE	1	1.5	0	0.0	208	7.0	0	0.0	p<0.0001	***	0.13
RISING TEMPERATURE	10	15.2	7	6.7	117	4.0	71	8.9	31.979	***	0.09
IMMOBILIZATION OR CONTRACTION	3	4.5	5	4.8	50	1.7	19	2.4	1.627	ns	--
DISTURBED BREATHING	2	3.0	5	4.8	32	1.1	21	2.6	10.756	**	0.05
SWELLING	2	3.0	1	1.0	2	0.1	2	0.3	p=0.2009	ns	--
INTERFERENCE WITH PERCEPTION	1	1.5	8	7.6	320	10.8	120	15.0	10.582	**	0.05
Total	66		105		2,951		799				

1.2.1 Physical effects of ANGER in German-Spanish translation

There were 23 instances of physical manifestations of ANGER, which have been classified by type of physical effect (Table 8) and translator strategy (Table 9).

Table 8. Quantification of physical effects of ANGER in the source texts

Type of physical effect		German-Spanish translation
CHANGE OF COLOR	7	<i>zornrot</i> 'red with anger', <i>Wutröte</i> 'red with anger', <i>rote Wut</i> 'red anger', <i>wutrot im Gesicht</i> 'red in the face with anger', <i>grün im Gesicht</i> 'green in the face', <i>rote Flecken</i> 'red spots'; <i>blass</i> 'pale'
SCREAMING OR CRYING	5	<i>schreien</i> 'to yell', <i>heulen</i> 'to wail/cry' (2), <i>brüllen</i> 'to yell', <i>losheulen</i> 'to start crying'
CHANGE IN THE VOICE	5	<i>Stimme überschlägt sich</i> 'the voice "flips', <i>heiser</i> 'hoarse', <i>flüstern</i> 'to whisper', <i>zischen</i> (2) 'to hiss'
FACIAL EXPRESSION	2	<i>Augen funkelten</i> 'eyes sparkled', <i>starren</i> 'to stare',
CONTRACTION	1	<i>wutverzerrtes Gesicht</i> 'distorted face'
DISTURBED BREATHING	1	<i>wutschnaubend</i> 'snorting with anger'
AGITATION	1	<i>Herz schlägt bis zum Hals</i> 'the heart beats up to the neck/throat = heartbeat can be felt in the neck/throat'

As Tables 8 and 9 illustrate, in most cases, translators felt no need to adapt, as similar expressions exist in both languages. Only in a few instances were adaptations used to conform to Spanish conventions or non-conventional solutions were adopted.

Table 9. Quantification of translator strategies

Strategy	Example	No. of instances
----------	---------	------------------

Similar solution (similar norm in both languages)	<i>rote Flecken</i> → manchas rojas ‘red spots’ ¹¹ <i>Wutröte</i> → rojo de ira ‘red with anger’ <i>zornrot</i> → rojo de ira ‘red with anger’ <i>rote Wut</i> → cólera roja ‘red anger’ <i>bläss</i> → pálido ‘pale’ <i>grün im Gesicht</i> → la cara verde de ira ‘green in the face’;	6	14
	<i>heulte vor Wut</i> → lloraba de rabia ‘to wail/cry’ <i>brüllen</i> ‘to yell’ → gritos ‘yelling’; <i>schreien</i> → gritar ‘to yell’	3	
	<i>heiserer Unterton des Zorns</i> → tono enronquecido de ira ‘hoarse’; <i>Stimme überschlägt sich</i> ‘the voice “flips”’ → se quiebra la voz ‘the voice cracks’ <i>flüstern</i> ‘to whisper’ → musitar ‘to mumble’	3	
	<i>starren</i> → mirar de hito en hito ‘to stare’	1	
	<i>wutverzerrtes Gesicht</i> ‘distorted face’ → cara descompuesta de ira ‘unhinged face’	1	
	<i>wurde wutrot</i> ‘became red in the face with anger’ → le vino la sangre a la cara ‘blood came to his face’ <i>(los)heulen</i> ‘(to start) crying’ → gritar ‘to yell’ (2)	1 2	
Non-conventional solution	<i>zischen</i> (2) ‘to hiss’ → silbar ‘to whistle’ (2)	2	3
	<i>Herz schlägt bis zum Hals</i> ‘the heart beats up until the neck/throat = heartbeat can be felt in the neck/throat’ → el corazón late en la garganta ‘the heart beats in the throat’	1	
Omission	<i>Augen funkelten</i> ‘eyes sparkled’ → 0	1	2
	<i>wutschnaubend</i> ‘snorting with anger’ → enfurecido ‘enraged’	1	

Although this sample may be too small to draw any quantitative conclusions, it does hint at a possible overrepresentation of certain types of expressions in texts translated from German into Spanish.¹² As noted above, physical effects of ANGER are described far more frequently in German than in Spanish original texts. Furthermore, there is a strong tendency towards certain types of effects in our sample. For example, seven of the German occurrences of bodily manifestations of ANGER include a CHANGE OF COLOR (five of which refer to “red”). Only one instance was adapted in translation (*wurde wutrot im Gesicht* ‘became red in the face with anger’ → *le vino la sangre a la cara* ‘blood came to his face’). Also, there are many references to SCREAMING and CRYING (five instances), and six other occurrences describe an effect on the voice. This concentration of references to bodily effects may be unremarkable to a German reader, but if practically all the instances are translated literally into Spanish, the Spanish reader is likely to sense that something unusual is going on.

4.3 Consequences of the emotion

4.3.1 Main differences between German and Spanish

The third and last aspect deals with a behavioral consequence of ANGER: What happens when someone is angry? As Table 10 illustrates, four main types of behavioral reactions are observed. In German, anger words co-occur most

¹¹ If the original and the translated expression are very similar, only one translation into English is provided.

¹² The term overrepresentation is used in a purely descriptive manner, meaning that this type of expression is more frequent in this sample of literary texts translated from German than in Spanish original texts. I do not mean to imply that any of the segments should have been translated differently or that the strategy of adaptation would have been preferable.

commonly with expressions referring to physical violence. Such violent behavior is often directed against people (40.1%), as evidenced by expressions like *zustecken* ‘stabbing’ or *erschlagen* ‘slaying’. However, most references (56.8%) are to violence against objects. These acts of aggression can be severe, like *zertrümmern* ‘to smash’ or *Brandlegung* ‘arson’. However, especially in the case of *Wut*, many acts of destruction are minor or even trivial, like *zerknüllen* ‘to scrunch up’ or *zerstampfen* ‘to trample on’. As shown in Oster (2018), these are typically not directed against the real cause of anger but constitute a compensatory aggression towards an object that happens to be at hand. This can be related to the emergence of a certain duality in the concept of WUT, also described in Oster (2018), of *explosive* anger –characterized by acts of extreme violence and feelings of aggressiveness and revenge– vs *helpless* anger, which is accompanied by minor acts of violence and associated with the feeling of being helpless or powerless (cf. Oster 2018: 216).

Finally, comparatively few co-occurrences refer to verbal violence (*fluchen* ‘to curse’, 1.0%) or instances of non-violent response (*davonrennen* ‘to run off’, 2.1%).

Table 10. Consequences of ANGER in German and Spanish

Type of consequence	Types ¹³				Tokens						
	German		Spanish		German		Spanish		χ^2 / p-value	Sign.	Eff. S.
Physical violence against objects	25	61.0%	12	25.0%	163	56.8%	62	15.0%	132.753	***	0.43
Physical violence against people	12	29.3%	24	50.0%	115	40.1%	270	65.2%	42.456	***	0.12
Verbal violence	1	7.3%	7	14.6%	6	1.0%	19	4.6%	2.979	ns	--
Non-violent response	3	2.4%	5	10.4%	3	2.1%	63	15.2%	p<0.0001	***	0.14
Total	41		48		287		419				

By contrast, the predominant reaction in Spanish (65.2% of all instances) is engaging in violent behavior against others, including co-occurrences like *matar* ‘to kill’ or *golpe* ‘blow’. Other consequences have a much lower incidence: 15.0% correspond to violence against objects (*romper* ‘break’, *destruir* ‘to destroy’, 15.2% to non-violent responses (*silencio* ‘silence’, *levantarse* ‘to stand up’, and 4.6% to verbal violence (*injurias* ‘insult’, *blasfemia* ‘blasphemy’).

These quantitative differences between German and Spanish might indicate that the duality in German between a more “explosive” and a more “powerless” version of ANGER is not as pronounced in the Spanish anger words analyzed here.¹⁴

¹³ None of the differences in type frequency reach significance level.

¹⁴ Interestingly, in an experiment consisting of the naming of ANGER scenarios, Ogarkova *et al.* (2012) found that the Spanish respondents used the lexeme *impotencia* ‘impotence, powerlessness] with the same frequency as the most frequent Spanish anger word (*rabia*) (2012: 275). One might interpret this as converging evidence for a close relationship between ANGER and the feeling of impotence / powerlessness. It seems that “impotence” is an important (albeit optional) component of both the German and Spanish concepts of ANGER. However, the lexical divisions of the conceptual space are different in each case. For example, in German, “powerless anger” is one of the semantic subtypes of *Wut*, whereas in Spanish, it is typically expressed through the lexeme *impotencia*.

4.3.2 Consequences of ANGER in German-Spanish translation

In eleven of the German text fragments containing anger words, a behavioral consequence of ANGER was observed (cf. Table 11): nine are physical violence against objects, and two are violent actions against people.

Table 11. Consequences of ANGER in German-Spanish translation

Type of consequence		German source texts
Physical violence against objects	9	<i>stampfen</i> (2) ‘to trample’, <i>hämmern</i> ‘to hammer’, <i>nageln</i> ‘to nail’, <i>Tür aufreißen</i> ‘open the door violently’, <i>Deckel knallen</i> ‘to slam the lid shut’, <i>gegen Türholz schlagen</i> ‘bang on the door’, <i>werfen</i> ‘to throw’, <i>fallen lassen</i> ‘to let fall’
Physical violence against people	2	<i>in Stücke schlagen</i> ‘beat to pieces’, <i>anfahren</i> ‘to snap at so.’

Let us look in more detail at the instances of aggressive behavior against things and their translation into Spanish (Table 12). In keeping with the findings of section 4.3.1, in most of the German source texts, the experiencer’s reaction seems to be a sign not only of anger but also of impotence.

Table 12. Examples of the translation of anger-related aggressive behavior into Spanish

	GERMAN	SPANISH
1.	Ärgerlich <i>warf</i> seine Mutter <i>den Prospekt auf den Tisch</i> ‘threw the brochure on the table’	... <i>su madre, irritada, arrojó el folleto encima de la mesa</i> ‘threw the brochure on the table’
2.	Der Mann ließ verärgert <i>den Ausweis auf den Tisch fallen</i> ‘let the ID card fall on the table’	<i>El hombre dejó caer el carnet sobre la mesa, enfadado.</i> ‘let the ID card fall on the table’
3.	... <i>ich riss zornig die Tür auf</i> ‘angrily opened the door violently’	... <i>abrí enfadado la puerta</i> ‘opened the door angrily’
4.	... <i>nagelte die Flugtickets vor Wut an die Wand.</i> ‘nailed the airline tickets to the wall out of anger’	... <i>y de la rabia, clavó en la pared los billetes de avión.</i> ‘out of anger, he nailed the airline tickets to the wall’
5.	Wütend <i>stampfte Pinocchio mit den Füßen.</i> ‘stomped his feet furiously’	<i>Lleno de rabia, Pinocho empezó a patalear con los pies.</i> ‘full of anger, he started to stomp with his feet’
6.	... <i>schimpfte Geppetto und schlug zornig gegen das Türholz</i> ‘banged furiously on the wood of the door’	... <i>increpó Geppetto, y golpeó furioso la puerta de madera.</i> ‘banged the wooden door furiously’
7.	... <i>und stampfte wütend auf der Karte herum.</i> ‘trampled furiously around on the map’	... <i>dando furiosas patadas por encima del mapa.</i> ‘kicking furiously across the map’
8.	<i>knurrten die Koblode und hämmerten so wütend auf dem Rad herum, dass...</i> ‘hammered furiously on the wheel’	- <i>gruñeron los duendes y martillaron la rueda tan iracundos que saltaron astillas.</i> ‘hammered the wheel so irate’
9.	... <i>Mülleimer und knallte wütend den blechernen Deckel zu</i> ‘...trash can, and slammed the tin lid furiously to close it’	... <i>cerró el cubo dando un golpe furioso con la tapa de latón.</i> ‘closed the trash can with a furious bang with the brass lid’

In Spanish, the translation is literal in almost all cases. Only in example 3 does the translator temper the inherent aggressiveness of the German verb *aufreißen* ‘to open violently’ by choosing the more general Spanish verb *abrir* ‘to open’. It is also worth noting that there does not seem to be a precise lexical equivalent in Spanish for the kind of anger that is mixed with frustration and impotence. Instead, the translators have chosen several alternatives. In the first three examples, which in German include the less severe *ärgerlich* / *verärgert* or milder

forms of aggression, the translations use the more neutral anger terms *irritado / enfadado*. Examples no. 4 and 5 contain *Wut / wütend* in the original and *rabia* in the translation, both of which seem semantically compatible with the type of action described (nailing tickets to the wall, stomping one's foot). The same applies to no. 7: both the German *zornig* and the Spanish *furioso* are compatible with "banging on a door". However, the last three examples, including *wütend* in German, which is characterized by the aspect of frustration or impotence, sound somewhat awkward in Spanish. To a degree, this may be due to a semantic clash between *iracundo* and *furioso*, which are on the intense end of the anger spectrum, and the comparatively harmless actions of trampling on a map, hammering on a wheel, or slamming the lid of a trash can.

5. Conclusions

The main aim of this study was to illustrate how the translation process influences the portrayal of emotion concepts. The first part of the analysis has revealed language-specific tendencies in the conceptualization of German and Spanish ANGER in three domains (conceptual metaphor, physical effects and behavioral consequences). For example, the most frequent metaphorical conceptualization in German is ANGER IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER (THE BODY). In Spanish, ANGER is more often understood as an AUTONOMOUS FORCE that acts independently of the experiencer's will or as an OBJECT. Secondly, the effects of ANGER on the experiencer's body are noticeably more present in German texts, especially those related to SCREAMING or CRYING and CHANGE OF COLOR (especially turning red). Finally, the behavioral consequences consist predominantly of aggressive actions in both languages. However, in Spanish these are more often directed against persons, whereas, in German, the act of aggression is frequently committed against objects.

The second part of the study, the analysis of translated fragments containing anger words, is qualitative in nature and based on a much smaller sample (14 German novels and their Spanish translations). This imposes certain limitations on the generalizability of the results, not only because of the limited number of samples analyzed, but also because of the limited number of authors and translators. Nevertheless, even if the conclusions of the present study can only be tentative, the results provide interesting observations that warrant further investigation, since several indicators suggest that the expression of emotions is potentially problematic as a source of "strangeness" in the target text. Each of the three aspects analyzed in this paper contributes to this in a specific way.

Regarding conceptual metaphor, the results indicate that both source and target language preferences are present in the Spanish target texts. This in itself is unsurprising, but some of the translation solutions were unexpectedly awkward. What the analysis provides is a possible explanation for this awkwardness. If a source text expression is based on a conceptual mapping that is conventional in the source language but not in the target language, and if this expression is translated in a more or less literal way, the translation solution may sound strange because it is based on a metaphorical mapping the target reader is not used to.

A more marked deviation from target language conventions was observed in the translation of expressions referring to physical effects. As shown above, in German texts, it is conventional to characterize an angry person through redness or a raised voice. If all of these expressions are adopted literally in the translation

without adaptation, their sum will make a stronger impression on the Spanish reader than on the reader of the original texts. This can result in a strangeness in the text that has less to do with an unexpected choice of words than with how the characters express their feelings. Although there may be nothing peculiar in the literal rendering of each of these fragments in Spanish, the overall effect may be for Spanish readers to infer that the characters were constantly overreacting and venting their anger in exaggerated ways.

As for the behavioral consequences of the emotion, Section 4.3.1 showed that in German texts, angry behavior involves breaking things much more often than in Spanish texts. In particular, the anger word *Wut* is often combined with acts of impotence and frustration. In these cases, the choice of the anger word in the translation might cause strangeness if it is not usually associated with this type of behavior.

In a literary text, the portrayal of the characters' emotional makeup and reactions is extremely important in determining how the reader receives and experiences the text. If there are differences in the conceptualization of emotions between the source and the target language, translation might alter the target text reader's impression. This is true not only in the case of emotion words without a direct equivalent, like the well-known German *Gemütlichkeit* and *Schadenfreude*, but also when seemingly equivalent emotions are conceptualized differently. In such cases, source language conceptualizations may find their way into the target text undetected (as they are not linguistically suspect), exerting an effect on the target text reader that is not present in the source text.

A descriptive analysis such as the one conducted in this paper does not aim to evaluate the appropriateness of particular translation solutions. It is up to the translators to decide on their techniques and strategies, for example, whether to adopt a more literal, foreignizing approach or a domesticating one. However, semantic differences between languages, such as those described here, may not be as obvious as grammatical, lexical or collocational differences, and it is thus possible that translators may not always be aware of them. What this paper attempts to do is to raise awareness of such subtle differences in the conceptualization and expression of emotions and their possible effects on translated texts.

Acknowledgements

This publication is part of the research project PID2019-103953GB-I00, financed by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation: MCIN/AEI/10.13039/501100011033/. I am grateful for the comments of two anonymous reviewers and the editors, which led to considerable improvements on the original version.

References

- Barcelona, A. 1989. Análisis contrastivo del léxico figurado de la ira en inglés y en español. *Actas del VI Congreso Nacional de Lingüística Aplicada*. Universidad de Cantabria, Santander. Asociación Española de Lingüística Aplicada. 141–148.
- Bergerová, H. 2011. Emotionen im Spiegel bildlicher Sprache. Fallbeispiel „Ärger“. *Acta Facultatis Philosophicae Universitatis Ostraviensis / Studia Germanistica*, 6(8): 5–20. Available at <http://publikationen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/frontdoor/index/index/year/2014/docId/33968> [last accessed 22 June 2022].

- Dewaele, J.-M. 2006. Expressing Anger in Multiple Languages. In *Emotional Experience, Expression, and Representation*, A. Pavlenko (ed.), 118–151. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Durst, U. 2001. Why Germans Don't Feel "Anger." In *Emotions in Crosslinguistic Perspective*, J. Harkins and A. Wierzbicka (eds), 115–148. Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Fries, N. 2004. Gefühle, Emotionen, Angst, Furcht, Wut und Zorn. In *Emotion und Kognition im Fremdsprachenunterricht*, W. Börner and K. Vogel (eds), 3–24. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.
- Hofstede, G. 1980. *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values*. Beverly Hills / London: Sage.
- Hofstede, G. 1991. *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Hofstede, G. 2001. *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions, and Organisations Across Nations*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Holoborodko, A. 2013. *Some Problems of Translating Emotion Words from Russian into Japanese in F. Dostoevsky's novel "White Nights": Contrastive Analysis of Three Japanese Translations with the Russian Original Text Concerning Emotional Discourse*. PhD thesis, Hitotsubashi University. Available at <https://hermes-ir.lib.hit-u.ac.jp/hermes/ir/re/25755/lan020201300103.pdf> [last accessed 22 June 2022].
- Kövecses, Z. 2005. *Metaphor in Culture. Universality and Variation*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Kövecses, Z. 2014. Conceptualizing Emotions. A Revised Cognitive Linguistic Perspective. *Poznan Studies in Contemporary Linguistics* 50(1): 15–28.
- Kövecses, Z., Szelid, V., Nucz, E., Blanco-Carrión, O., Akkók, E. A. and Szabó, R. 2015. Anger Metaphors across Languages: A Cognitive Linguistic Perspective. In *Bilingual Figurative Language Processing*, R. Heredia and A. Cieslicka (eds), 341–367. Cambridge / New York: CUP.
- Lakoff, G. and Kövecses, Z. 1987. The Cognitive Model of Anger Inherent in American English. In *Cultural Models in Language and Thought*, D. C. Holland and N. Quinn (eds), 195–221. Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.
- Lamprinou, A. 2011. Translated Romances: The Effect of Cultural Textual Norms on the Communication of Emotions. *Journal of Popular Romance Studies*, 2(1), 1–14.
- Lamprinou, A. 2012. *A Study on the Cultural Variations in the Verbalisation of Near-Universal Emotions: Translating Emotions from British English into Greek in Popular Bestseller Romances*. PhD thesis, University of Surrey.
- Lutz, C. A. 1988. *Unnatural Emotions: Everyday Sentiments on a Micronesian Atoll and Their Challenge to Western Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Molés-Cases, T. and Oster, U. 2019. Indexation and Analysis of a Parallel Corpus Using CQPweb: the COVALT PAR_ES corpus (EN/FR/DE>ES). In *Parallel Corpora for Contrastive and Translation Studies: New Resources and Applications*, M. T. Sánchez Nieto and I. Doval (eds), 197–214. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Ogarkova, A. and Soriano, C. 2014a. Variation within Universals: The "Metaphorical Profile" Approach to the Study of Anger Concepts in English, Russian and Spanish. In *About Metaphor and Intercultural Communication*, A. Musolff, F. MacArthur and G. Pagani (eds), 93–116. London: Bloomsbury.
- Ogarkova, A., and Soriano, C. 2014b. Emotion and the Body: A Corpus-based Investigation of Metaphorical Containers of Anger across Languages. *International Journal of Cognitive Linguistics* 5(2): 147–179.
- Ogarkova, A. and Soriano, C. (in press). Anger: A Language-based Perspective. In *Language and Emotion. An International Handbook* (Vol. 3), G. L. Schiewer, J. Altarriba and B. C. Ng (eds), Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

- Ogarkova, A., Soriano, C., and Gladkova, A. 2016. Methodological Triangulation in the Study of Emotion. The Case of ‘Anger’ in three Language Groups. *Review of Cognitive Linguistics* 14(1): 73–101.
- Ogarkova, A., Soriano, C., and Lehr, C. 2012. Naming Feeling: Exploring the Equivalence of Emotion Terms in five European Languages. In *Dynamicity in Emotion Concepts*, P. Wilson (ed.), 3–35. Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang.
- Oster, U. 2010. Using Corpus Methodology for Semantic and Pragmatic Analyses: What Can Corpora Tell us about the Linguistic Expression of Emotions? *Cognitive Linguistics* 21(4): 727–763.
- Oster, U. 2012. “Angst” and “Fear” in Contrast: A Corpus-based Analysis of Emotion Concepts. In *Cognitive Linguistics between Universality and Variation*, M. Brdar, I. Raffaelli and M. Žic Fuchs (eds), 327–355. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press.
- Oster, U. 2014. Emotions between Physicality and Acceptability. A Contrast of the German Anger Words *Wut* and *Zorn*. *Onomázein* 30: 286–306.
- Oster, U. 2018. Emotions in Motion. Towards a Corpus-based Description of the Diachronic Evolution of Anger Words. *Review of Cognitive Linguistics* 16(1): 91–228.
- Oster, U. 2019a. Cross-cultural Semantic and Pragmatic Profiling of Emotion Words. Regulation and Expression of Emotions in Spanish, German and English. In *Current Approaches to Metaphor Analysis in Discourse*, I. Navarro (ed.), 35–56. Berlin / Boston: de Gruyter Mouton.
- Oster, U. 2019b. Vier Jahrhunderte *Wut*. Entwicklung eines vielschichtigen Emotionsworts. In *Germanistik im Umbruch - Linguistik, Übersetzung und DaF*, I. Doval and E. L. Lamas (eds), 37–45. Berlin: Frank und Timme.
- Rintell, E. 1984. But how Did You *Feel* about That? The Learner’s Perception of Emotion in Speech. *Applied Linguistics* 5: 255–64.
- Sinclair, J. 1996. The Search for Units of Meaning. *Textus* IX(1): 75–106.
- Soriano, C. 2013. Conceptual Metaphor Theory and the GRID Paradigm in the Study of Anger in English and Spanish. In *Components of Emotional Meaning: A Sourcebook*, J. R. J. Fontaine, K. R. Scherer and C. Soriano (eds), 410–424. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Soriano, C., Fontaine, J., Ogarkova, A., Quijano, C. M., Volkova, Y., Ionova, S. and Shakhovskyy, V. 2013. Types of Anger in Spanish and Russian. In *Components of Emotional Meaning: a Sourcebook*, J. J. R. Fontaine, K. R. Scherer and C. Soriano (eds), 339–352. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Soriano-Salinas, C. 2003. Some Anger Metaphors in Spanish and English. A Contrastive Review. *International Journal of English Studies*, 3(2): 107–122.
- Troiano, E., Klinger, R., and Padó, S. 2020. Lost in Back-Translation: Emotion Preservation in Neural Machine Translation. *Proceedings of the 28th International Conference on Computational Linguistics*. Barcelona. International Committee on Computational Linguistics. 4340–4354.
- Venuti, L. 1995. *The Translators Invisibility. A History of Translation*. London / New York: Routledge.
- Weigand, E. 1998. The Vocabulary of Emotion. A Contrastive Analysis of ANGER in German, English and Italian. In *Contrastive Lexical Semantics*, E. Weigand (ed.), 45–66. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Wierzbicka, A. 1999. *Emotions across Languages and Cultures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Address for Correspondence

Ulrike Oster

Departament de Traducció i Comunicació

Ulrike Oster

Universitat Jaume I

Av. Vicent Sos Baynat, s/n

12071 Castelló de la Plana

Spain

oster@uji.es

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7147-5132>