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**THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF 'ANGER'**  
**IN ENGLISH AND POLISH - A COMPARATIVE STUDY**

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## Abstract

In the light of contemporary changes which may lead to the unification of several societies in the world, the question about the specificity of various nations' ways of thinking and feeling appears to be highly opportune now. The category of emotions, particularly of anger, which is treated as the basic and universal feeling by some and also as the only specific, Anglo-American emotion by others, has been chosen for this research to be investigated from a linguistic point of view. Two worlds: Slavonic in Polish and Germanic in English, are contrasted in this study. Such sources of information as dictionary descriptions, previous publications by other linguists (e.g. Wierzbicka, Kövecses, Lakoff, Diller) and the most important authentic modern English and Polish texts, which include the names of anger, have been under investigation here. Examination of these sources, mostly detailed in the textual analysis, allows the researcher to indicate one concept, 'anger', in English and two concepts, 'gniew' and 'złość', in Polish as the most central in the category under investigation. Semantic analysis of the texts, in which the lexemes dealing with these concepts (and one more peripheral concept, 'wrath') occur, leads to construction of their open explications. Such aspects of an emotional situation as an experiencer of the emotion, its causer, reason, object, evaluation, duration, manifestation and emotional surroundings are characterised here. These characteristics form the basis for a summarising comparison. It shows, firstly, that drawing distinct and sharp semantic boundaries between 'anger' and 'wrath' in English and 'gniew' and 'złość' in Polish is extremely difficult, as they overlap with each other in various aspects, and secondly, that full equivalents of the concepts examined do not exist in both languages. However, typical features of particular concepts or, more precisely, of their certain aspects in English and Polish, should be treated as specific marks of the situation typical of each concept being fixed in each language. These marks are recommended to be known to translators, lexicographers and foreign language teachers as being helpful in their „intercultural” work. Moreover, the historical and stylistical changes in the structure of the category examined lead the investigator to an open question about historical and cultural basis of these changes and of the future of the concepts analysed in this study. But this is a question to be answered in detail in another work of interdisciplinary research.

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## I. Introduction

### 1. Assumptions and theoretical background

Anger has been treated as one of the most basic emotions by many scholars, especially by psychologists and some semanticists (see: Ekman & Davidson /eds./ 1998 ; Johnson-Laird & Oatley 1989; Jordanskaja 1972; Nowakowska-Kempna 1986, 1995; Lakoff 1987; Kövecses 1986, 1995, 1998, Witwicki 1963 and others) and has been thought to be conceptualised in a large number of languages, if not in every language. Without expressing any strong view as to whether this is true or not (discussion in: Wierzbicka 1992 a, b, c, d, 1996, 1998) I assume that the general conceptual category of 'ANGER' can be found in English (the English 'ANGER' is represented by such concepts as, for example, 'anger', 'wrath', 'irritation' or 'rage') and in Polish (the Polish 'GNIEW' includes such conceptual examples as 'gniew', 'złość', 'irytacja', 'wściekłość'). These two languages form the basis for my comparative investigations.

The theoretical background of these investigations is set out in both structuralist and cognitive theories developed by Wierzbicka among others (Wierzbicka 1971, 1990 a, b, 1992 a, b, c, d, 1996, 1998) and Apresjan (1993, 1994, 1995) on the one hand, and Geeraerts (1988 a, b), Geeraerts & Grondelaers (1995), Kövecses (1986, 1995, 1998), Johnson (1987), Lakoff (1987), and Lakoff & Johnson (1988) on the other.

According to the cognitive theory mentioned above, the meaning of a linguistic item is its conceptualisation, that is to say, people's mental experience, a creation of a subjective conceptual structure which reflects their vision of the world (see Tabakowska 1995: 55). Thus "meaning" involves not only a set of conceptual characteristics but also a specific way of organising them. Hence, a definition of meaning should show how people understand the concept in question and how they tend to use it. In other words, the definition should recreate the linguistic image of a phenomenon to which this concept refers. The most helpful approach in describing such "linguistic images" of words seems to be an analysis of: (1) wide contexts of words, contexts created by speakers in their texts by means of typical syntactic structures and involving grammatical and semantic limitations;

conventionalised lexical contexts, namely idioms and collocations, which are very often based on metonymic and metaphorical conceptual transformations; (3) derivatives with their imaginative motivation; (4) the historical background revealed by etymological analysis.

## 2. Terms

Turning to the subject of the most important terms used in this thesis let us look at Diagram 1, where three different levels of the terms which interest us are shown.

**Diagram 1. Terms**

Emotions	ANGER anger, irritation, gniew, irytacja			
Concepts	I. `ANGER' ('ANGER' / `GNIEW')			
	II. `anger'    `irritation'    `gniew'    `irytacja'			
Lexemes	<i>anger</i>	<i>irritation</i>	<i>gniew</i>	<i>irytacja</i>
	<i>angry</i>	<i>irritated</i>	<i>gniewny</i>	<i>podirytowany</i>
	<i>anger</i>	<i>irritate</i>	<i>gniewać się</i>	<i>irytować</i>
	.....	.....	.....	.....

1. At the basic, psychological level the emotions themselves are listed. The capitalised term is here used to designate the whole category of emotions treated as various kinds of anger.

2. In the conceptual "sphere" there are at least two levels of conceptualisation: the more fundamental one, represented by such concepts as `anger' or `irritation' in English and `gniew', `złość' or `irytacja' in Polish. At this level linguistic differences are important. At the higher conceptual level a more general view is represented: capitalised `ANGER' in English and capitalised `GNIEW' in Polish. These two general terms are rather "artificial" expressions, helpful in descriptive and analytical work, but not obviously existing as

separate natural expressions in any real language<sup>1</sup>. Where appropriate, however, 'ANGER' is used as a common and convenient label for both Polish and English in this thesis.

3. At the third, lexical level various lexemes denoting various concepts from the languages under investigation are shown. In this study the term "lexeme" is used to denote an *'abstract' unit which occurs in different inflexional 'forms' according to the syntactic rules involved in the generation of sentences* (Lyons 1968: 197) (for example, the English lexeme *irritate* is represented in texts by such forms as *irritate, irritates, irritated* etc. and the lexeme *angry* has its textual representatives such as *angry, angrier, the angriest*).

The other set of terms that require explanation includes "metaphor", "metonymy" and "metaphtonymy". They are used in this study in the meanings that Lakoff and other cognitive linguists attribute to them (see Lakoff 1987, 1993; Lakoff & Johnson 1988; Lakoff & Turner 1989; Johnson 1987; Goosens 1990; Krzeszowski 1991; Croft 1993). These terms denote not stylistic vehicles which are used to "decorate" texts, but conceptual phenomena which are helpful in thinking about the internal and external world. According to Croft (1993: 345-346) metaphor is a conceptualisation of one semantic sphere in terms of the structure of another independent sphere (for example: the metaphor ANGER IS AN OPPONENT in the Polish expression *ktoś walczy z gniewem* 'sb. is fighting with anger'), whereas metonymy is a process of transformation which occurs within a single conceptualised semantic sphere (Lakoff 1987: 288) (for example: the metonymy OVERALL AGITATION STANDS FOR ANGER in the Polish expression *ktoś trzęsie się ze złości* 'sb. is shaking with anger'). As Goosens (1990: 323) claims, metaphor and metonymy are sometimes not distinct cognitive processes and they can be involved together in the same expression. For such phenomena Goosens proposes the general term "metaphtonymy" (for example: the metaphtonymy ANGRY BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL

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<sup>1</sup> In a view of the distinctions made here it is interesting to observe what Wierzbicka (1998: 5-6) claims in one of her latest works:

The conceptual categories of 'sadness' or 'anger' are highly relevant to the speakers of English, and also to the speakers of other languages which have words corresponding in meaning to the English words sad and angry or sadness and anger. In many other cultures, however, the conceptual grid provided by language is different.

Thus in my analysis 'ANGER' means the general idea of emotions that are similar in various senses to the English anger, but not necessarily exactly the same as English ones. Everywhere where it seems to be indispensable I use the expression *the general concept / category of 'GNIEW'* referring to Polish, instead of the more general term *the general concept / category of 'ANGER'*.

AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOUR in the Polish expression *ktoś warczy na kogoś* 'sb. is snarling at sb.' or in the English *sb. is snapping at sb.*).

### 3. The reasons and aims of the research

The most general aim of this study is to find analogies and differences between the Slavonic (Polish) and Germanic (English) linguistic systems in the conceptualisation of a sphere of emotional human life such as ANGER. The first target is the most general. What can be observed most recently is that now seems to be a very suitable time to carry out comparative semantic investigations in the emotional field, considering that contemporary political and economic changes are going to lead European countries into one large community which demands from people better understanding and better co-operation. Therefore people need to be aware of important differences in their mentality in order to be able to overcome them. Secondly, but in close connection with the first reason, the study is interesting from the ethnographic point of view, since different languages belonging to different cultures and different nations are compared here. And thirdly, it is worth mentioning that this will be especially useful from the practical linguistic point of view as the knowledge obtained may help in solving some translation, lexicographic, and also glottodidactic problems.

In order to see how two different languages (English and Polish) conceptualise the category of 'ANGER' it will be instructive to examine their vocabularies from the same points of view: using the same theories and studying materials by means of the same procedures. It must be pointed out, however, that the first part of the investigations has already been done, considering that the general category of Polish 'GNIEW' has been examined (Mikołajczuk 1994, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, forthcoming a, b), and studies related to English 'ANGER' have also been completed (Geeraerts & Grondelaers 1995; Kövecses 1986, 1995, 1998; Lakoff 1987; Reay 1991; Wierzbicka 1992 a, b, c, d, 1998). The problem is, however, that not all of this research is comparable. So I decided to use the same methods and procedures as in the Polish analysis and to find a compatible set

of results for the English part of the study, keeping in mind the previous works of scholars who investigated certain aspects of the category of English 'ANGER'.

#### 4. The key issues

There are interesting questions which arise from a comparative study of the Polish and English conceptualisation of ANGER.

The first set of these questions deals with the vocabulary structure of the category being investigated in both languages. Let us list them in turn: Firstly, which lexemes and lexical groups are used in Polish and English to talk about ANGER and what are the semantic relations between these lexemes and lexical groups? Secondly, which of the lexical groups are more central and which ones are more peripheral in both lexicons? Thirdly, are there any significant differences in the structure of the category being investigated in the languages?

The other group of questions refers to the metaphorical and metonymic conceptualisation of ANGER. What is therefore worth addressing is the question of which conceptual spheres, motivating metaphors, metonymies and metaphonymies are used by the Poles and the English to talk about ANGER, which of these conceptual phenomena are most developed in each language, and as a result what they could tell us about a typical situation involving ANGER in Polish and in English.

The next set of questions, which is closely related to the previous ones, is more analytically orientated. It seems to be very useful to find out which aspects of the emotion are conceptualised in various lexical items in each language, and, moreover, which of them Polish highlights and which ones English focuses on.

This last group of questions can be investigated by an analysis of both set English and Polish idioms, collocations and derivatives, and also of real texts in which these expressions occur. Wide textual contexts seem to be the most helpful in this kind of analysis.

To conclude *The Introduction* the structure of the main part of the thesis will be as follows. The first part of the thesis concentrates on the initial stage of the English study. What is first needed here is a review of definitions and comments that explain the meanings of lexemes belonging to the general category of English 'ANGER' in various English dictionaries. The next part focuses on a semantic analysis of words constituting the families of 'anger' and 'wrath', that are used in authentic English texts taken from the British National Corpus as well as from *The Herald 1998* databases on CD. After that, the results of the analysis of the Polish category of 'GNIEW' are shown, and then a comparison between the English and Polish basic concepts of 'ANGER' is presented.

## II. How much anger is there in English 'ANGER'?

(The general concept of 'ANGER' in selected English dictionaries as an aspect of a comparative Polish-English semantic study)

### 1. Aims, materials and procedure

As mentioned above, in this part of the thesis I examine some dictionary definitions of English lexemes denoting various kinds of anger. The main aim of this examination is to show how the category of 'ANGER' is organised in the English lexicon, which lexemes or lexical groups<sup>2</sup> are used to talk about anger and what the semantic relations between these lexemes or lexical groups are like, which items and lexical groups are more central and which are more peripheral.

In order to achieve these aims the following English dictionaries were chosen as a source of information: *Oxford English Dictionary on CD* (1992 - OED), *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language* (1986 - WebD), *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary* (1987 - ColE), and *Collins Cobuild New Student's English Dictionary* (1997 - ColN). Additional selected information comes from the *Historical Thesaurus of English on CD* (HTE), *Collins Paperback Dictionary and Thesaurus* (1998 - ColT), *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* (1987 - OALD), and *The Barnhart Dictionary of Etymology* (1988 - BDE) as well as from some bilingual dictionaries: *Great English-Polish / Polish-English Dictionary* (1990 - GEP/GPE), *Collins Praktyczny słownik angielsko-polski / polsko-angielski (Practical English-Polish / Polish-English Dictionary)* (1997 - ColPEP/ColPPE) and *Collins Polish-English / English-Polish Dictionary* (1996 - ColPE/ColEP). From the Polish perspective, the most useful publications are: *Słownik języka polskiego (Dictionary of Polish)* edited by Doroszewski (1958-1969 - SJPD) and *Słownik języka polskiego (Dictionary of Polish)* edited by Szymczak (1992 - the SJPSz) (see Appendix 3.).

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<sup>2</sup> The term "lexical group" is used in this thesis to denote a group of lexemes having the same morphological basis from a synchronic point of view. So for example, the lexical group of English 'anger' consists of such lexemes as *anger*, *angry*, *angrily*, *angerer*, *to anger*, *angerless*.

Using the materials listed above I looked for lexemes denoting anger in its different variants and I compared their definitions. The procedure of these investigations includes three main stages, as follows:

Initially I concentrated on OED, looking for statistically confirmed semantic relations between the lexical groups that are used to define lexemes from the category of 'ANGER' (let us call these groups "defining groups"). This stage of the investigation appears to be very helpful in discovering the most central concepts of English 'ANGER', meaning those concepts which have the biggest "defining power" in this category. It also is useful in specifying a few separate subgroups in the category presently being investigated.

The next step of the research was an analysis of the definitions given in several dictionaries for selected lexemes belonging to two lexical groups: 'anger' and 'wrath'. I started from definitions of the lexeme *anger*, which seems to be a kind of keyword in the category. What is interesting for us in these definitions is, firstly, what aspects of the emotion are taken into consideration, secondly, which words are used to define the entries examined, thirdly, what sort of general differences between the concept being defined and concepts close to it are shown in these definitions, and what questions appear there and have not received a satisfactory answer before. Some etymological details about *anger* are also given here as it seems to be useful for further parts of the analysis. After that definitions of two other lexemes from the group of 'anger', *angry* and *angrily*, as well as four lexemes from the group of 'wrath', *wrath*, *wrathful*, *wrathfully* and *wroth*, were described from a lexicographical point of view. All these lexemes are most frequent used in both groups to define entries in OED. Whereas the group of 'wrath' has been selected in this work as an interesting one in diachronic, stylistic, and especially comparative English - Polish perspective, the group of 'anger' has been taken into consideration as the best candidate for the basic lexical family in English conceptualisation of anger.

In the next stage of this study a general comparison of the descriptions of the most interesting lexical groups belonging to the English and Polish fields under examination is given. Additional information, which is helpful at this stage, comes from various linguistic studies (Diller 1994; Geeraerts & Grondelaers 1995; Kövecses 1986, 1995, 1998; Lakoff 1987; Wierzbicka 1992 a, b, c, d, 1996, 1998). The target of this more detailed comparison is to collect all the information about interesting concepts, especially to find some



debatable points that need to be investigated in the third part of the research, the study of real texts.

## 2. From centrality to peripherality - the structure of the category of English 'ANGER'

### 2.1. A lexical area of 'ANGER' in English vocabulary

At this stage of my investigation the main question to be answered is: which lexical groups in English constitute the category of 'ANGER', how are they related each other and consequently how are they organised?

Looking for these lexical groups, we can use five kinds of information sources: (a) indications given by other linguists who have written about emotions in English, especially about anger; (b) dictionaries; (c) real texts collected in databases; (d) opinions of a representative group of native speakers; (e) our own linguistic intuition. Without any opportunity to work with a representative (this means with a big enough and differentiated enough) group of native speakers, as well as being conscious of limits in my linguistic intuition in English as it is a foreign language for me, I attach the greatest importance to the first three sources mentioned above.

Let us start with the existing linguistic writing. Examining such works as Diller (1994), Geeraerts & Grondelaers (1995), Johnson-Laird & Oatley (1989), Kövecses (1986, 1995), Lakoff (1987), Reay (1991), and Wierzbicka (1992 b, 1998), we find a large number of English lexemes which are linked with the general concept 'ANGER'. The most frequent lexical families are: 'anger', 'rage', 'irritation', 'wrath', 'fury', 'madness', 'indignation', 'tantrum', 'ire', with nouns, adjectives and causative verbs (for example *anger*, *angry*, *rage*, *irritation*, *wrath*, *fury*, *furious*, *mad*, *indignation*, *ire*, *irascible* etc.). As was seen in the previous chapter (II.2.), most of these groups are also used in dictionaries to describe the meaning of *anger*. Johnson-Laird & Oatley (1989), for example, offer not only a theoretical, psycho-linguistic approach to the field of emotions, but also a more practical set of data given in an appendix. This appendix has the title: *A Corpus of 590 Emotional*

*Words and their Analyses in Terms of the Five Families of Emotional Modes*. 'Anger' is treated there as one of these five basic families and is used to define other lexical items. In this appendix 66 items are defined by words from the group of 'anger' and the next 32 are defined by lexemes related to 'anger', namely by items from the groups of 'irritation', 'annoyance', and 'hatred'. Examples such as these suggest that at least one sixth of the emotional lexicon in English conceptualises the category of 'ANGER'. But the level of "angriness" is not the same for all of the items gathered in the category of 'ANGER'.

Accordingly, after looking at the rich set of lexemes that have been described by linguists as denoting 'ANGER' and after checking their meanings in dictionaries, it may be observed that this category is neither simple nor uniform. Firstly, this is because its members naturally form a few different lexical groups, such as, for example, 'anger' with *anger, angry, angrily, angriness* and 'wrath' with *wrath, wrathful, wrather* etc. Secondly, this is because this category is split into various separated and flexibly structured, quite fuzzy subgroups according to certain criteria. The following criteria seem to be most significant:

1. **The chronological criterion** - in the lexical category of English 'ANGER', there exists a subgroup of archaic or rare lexemes, for example *angerly, wrothful, to irk* (OED), or obsolete ones, for example *angersome, angryable, iciously, indign, wrathness, wrethfull, irrit, irritate, ragesousness, outragely, furial, passionable, annoyous, noyful, impeevish, avex, resentive, madful or urke* (OED).
2. **The stylistic criterion** - the category is divided into various stylistic subgroups, for example: (a) expressive: *Irish, needle, spitfire, flare out, fire*; (b) literary, figurative, poetic: *ire, angered, indign*; (c) formal: *wrath*; (d) slang: *raggy* <sup>3</sup>, *mad*; (e) U.S. English: *ragesome, peeve, wrathili, mad*; (f) dialectal: *ragged* <sup>4</sup>, *noy, madhead*.
3. **The criterion of frequency** - many lexemes belonging to the category of English 'ANGER' listed in the dictionaries (especially in OED) are described as currently rare, for example: *ananger, exangeration, indignance, wrothsome, irritableness, irritament,*

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<sup>3</sup> In OED the second meaning of the entry *raggy* is as follows: „annoyed; irritated”.

<sup>4</sup> OED defines the second meaning of *ragged* in the following way: „That has suffered ragging, teasing, or annoyance”.

*rageless, enraging, furibundal, passionate, annoyancer, impeevish, vexable, resentment, madded.*

4. **The generic criterion** - a few lexemes have existed in English from its beginning. This means they were used as early as before the 11th century (*wrath, mad*). The others are loans from Latin, taken into English directly or more often through French between the 11th and 15th centuries (*rage, passion, indignation, annoyance, fury, irritation, vexation, exasperation*, or much later, in the 17th century: *resentment*). The third group of lexemes is formed by words coming from Scandinavian (in English, as OED records, since the 13-14th centuries: *irk, anger*).

5. **The imaginative criterion** - a large number of lexemes from the category of 'ANGER' have metaphorical and / or metonymic conceptual foundations (for example *flame, cross, fire, hothead*), as have most of the collocations and idioms denoting 'ANGER' (for example *to hit the roof, to see red, to make somebody's blood boil, to do a slow burn, to be hot under the collar* etc.).

6. **The criterion of 'sense relationship'** - in the whole category there are some items closer to each other. They form lexical sets, such as, for example, lexemes denoting intense anger, in lexical groups of 'fury', 'rage', 'passion', 'madness'.

The last criterion (number 6) seems to be very important at the level of more detailed analysis and description of particular lexical items; thus it is of greatest importance for lexicographers and translators. It is interesting to examine OED (on CD) from this point of view.

Our examination of OED started from looking for members of fourteen lexical families which were selected as meaningful for the category of 'ANGER', since they are repeatedly used in examined dictionaries to define the concept of 'ANGER' and they have various representants in different parts of speech. These are: 'anger', 'wrath', 'rage', 'fury', 'passion', 'madness', 'indignation', 'resentment', 'irritation', 'exasperation', 'annoyance', 'vexation', 'irk', and 'peeve'. It could be presumed that the "semantic force" of each group will not be the same. In order to examine the "semantic power" of each family all the lexical items belonging to these families that were registered in OED were firstly collected. Next the number of these families was compared (see Appendix 1. Tables I, II, III). However, this investigation turned out not to be very helpful in looking for the answer to

the question of the most semantically powerful families in the category. On the one hand, this is because the most developed families in this category, namely 'passion' (45 lexical items) and 'irritation' (41 lexical items), are polysemic and they denote not only anger, but also other feelings or even completely different notions, connected with the physiological and medical or even with the religious spheres. On the other hand, many lexemes from two other rich groups, i.e. 'wrath' (35 items) and 'rage' (30 items) are nowadays obsolete or occur only in dialects or in historically stylised texts. What may surprise us is that the family of 'anger' is quite small and involves only 21 items in OED.

Thus, I decided to continue with the next step in the investigation and check how often members of these families are used in OED to define lexemes from the field being examined (see Appendix 1.C. Table IVa.: Definitional groups of 'ANGER' in OED). This examination appears to be more useful in our research. The results are given in Table Iva (in Appendix 1.) and in the attached charts (Appendix 1.E. Diagram 1a). As can be seen, the family that is most often exploited in the dictionary definitions is 'anger'. Its items occur there 169 times (16.6 % of all definitional usage of lexemes from fourteen groups examined). The next most frequent family is 'passion' (used 142 times). It should be noticed, however, that there is a distinct difference between 'anger' and 'passion'. Whereas 'anger' defines its own items 36 times (this makes only 21.3 % of all its usages), (for example: *angering* Making *angry*, *enraging* in OED), 'passion' defines itself 119 times (83.8 % of its usages), (for example: *passionate* 1 Easily moved to angry *passion* or *wrath*, *prone to anger*, *hot-tempered*, *irascible* in OED) (see Appendix 1.B., 1.C.). The next most frequently used families in definitions of 'ANGER' are in turn: 'wrath' (101 times), 'rage' (98 times) and 'irritation' (91 times). Considering all these facts, we can state that 'anger' seems to be the most semantically powerful family in the category, as would be predicted, but the position of the other groups ('passion', 'rage', 'wrath', 'irritation') is not yet clear.

Looking at the same data from a slightly different perspective, we can find some more information about the structure of the category being investigated. Assuming that the number of families defined by each group of examined lexemes is meaningful, we can see that 'anger' again takes the highest position on the list of the investigated groups because it defines items from 10 families, but it shares this position with 'irritation' (which also defines lexemes from 10 groups, but not always from the same ones as 'anger' does). There

are three other very productive groups: 'annoyance' (occurring in definitions of 9 families), 'rage' (in 8 families) and 'passion' (also in 8 families). From this perspective 'anger' and 'irritation' appear to be the most important basic concepts for English 'ANGER', though the next three "definitional families" are very close to them ('annoyance', 'rage', 'passion').

What is also interesting in the light of the results given in Table IVa (in Appendix 1.) is the question of how often items from a particular group (for example 'anger' or 'wrath') are defined in OED by words belonging to the investigated field. The last line in Table IVa (in Appendix 1.) gives the answers. As we can observe here, 'wrath' seems to be the most frequently defined family (being defined by lexemes under investigation 161 times). The next groups are 'passion' (141 times), 'irritation' (123 times) and 'rage' (110 times).

'Anger' seems to be a very interesting group here, because the ratio of the frequency of 'anger' being defined by lexemes from the investigated category (only 68 times) to the frequency of 'anger' being used in definitions of this category members (as many as 169 times), appears to be meaningful: the ratio for 'anger' is 1 to 2.5, while for the other groups the ratio is much lower: not more than 1 to 1.6. It can be noted that this is one of the strongest pieces of evidence that the concept of 'anger' takes a special position in the category, appearing there as the most basic concept - understandable for most native speakers, if not for all, and because of that not needing to be explained in a detailed way in dictionaries.

On the contrary, 'wrath' as the most frequently defined family (not being polysemic at all) seems to be a secondary concept in relation to the others, especially to 'anger'. 'Anger' is used to define the family of 'wrath' most frequently, namely 47 times. "Secondary" could be explained in a psycholinguistic way: when speakers think about 'wrath', then 'anger' rather than the general concept of emotion or than any other concept is engaged in the speaker's mind as its direct conceptual domain (background). When we take into consideration certain limitations given in ColE in the definition of *wrath*, namely, *wrath* 'means the same as anger; a formal or old-fashioned word', we can treat the interpretation of its secondary character as highly proven. Charts 1 and 2 (in Appendix 1. Diagram 1a.) show the additional evidence for this. Thus, 'wrath' defines itself most often (74 times = 73.2 % of its usage) and the rest of the groups defined by it are in turn:

'irritation' (11 times), 'anger' (7 times), 'passion' (6 times) and 'indignation' (3 times). In this way it occurs only in groups defined also by 'anger'. Moreover, 'wrath' is the second defining group for 'anger' (defining it 7 times).

The relation between 'anger' and 'wrath' on the one hand, and 'anger' and 'irritation' on the other hand is very interesting from a comparative Polish-English perspective, as in Polish the most basic concepts in the category of 'ANGER' are both 'gniew' and 'złość'. What I want to find out is which of the English families is the closest to Polish 'gniew' and which to 'złość'.

To sum up, the analysis of the information given in OED allows us to state that, firstly, meanings of family members are very often defined by lexemes belonging to the same family, on the one hand, and by sets of synonyms, on the other hand. This method of semantic description presupposes that there is a similarity between and among all these families. As a result, it very often makes non-native speakers think that all these meanings are almost the same and that the lexemes in question (for example *anger*, *wrath*, *rage*) are interchangeable in texts. Fortunately, additional comments given by lexicographers in definitions (such as the information about style, frequency or chronology) as well as the order of the synonyms given, seem to be helpful in differentiating meanings. Moreover, certain groups of lexemes appear to be the most useful explicational instruments in OED. It is proposed that they be called "definitional groups". 'Anger' is without any doubt the most important, but 'irritation' and 'rage' also seem to be very good candidates for such "definitional groups" in English 'ANGER'. 'Passion', however, which takes a high position in this comparison, is not so important here because of its strong polysemmy and dominance in its own definitions, and 'wrath' is problematic because of its stylistic and chronological limitations.

In addition, it must be pointed out that all the groups investigated are semantically related to each other in a regular way. By looking at Table IVa (in Appendix 1.), we can see that, first, 'rage', 'fury', 'passion', 'madness' (together with 'anger' and sometimes 'wrath') define each other most often and form one separate subset in the category of English 'ANGER', being related also to 'irritation' and occasionally to 'exasperation'. As the lexicographic definitions show, the link between them may be described as a composition of high intensity and violence of the emotion (both these features can be found in the

meanings of adjectives used in dictionaries to define 'rage', 'fury' and 'passion', for example: *ungovernable, fierce, frenzied, violent, full of...*). Next, such families as 'irritation', 'exasperation', 'annoyance', 'vex', 'irk', 'peeve' (together with 'anger', 'wrath', 'rage', and sometimes 'madness' and 'passion') form the other big subset, for which the most typical characteristic seems to be focusing on the causative aspect of the emotion and dealing with other feelings, also based on painful physiological sensations. Lastly, the third subgroup emerging in the category under investigation is a set of 'indignation', 'resentment', 'wrath', 'anger' (occasionally together with 'rage' and 'irritation'). What links these together can be a kind of judgement, especially important for 'indignation' and 'resentment'. There is no space to discuss all these problems more fully here, but some of them will be taken into consideration by the way of textual analysis in the next part of the thesis.

When we look at all the sources and data (linguistic analysis and dictionary explanations), we find various attempts to create the structure of the category under investigation. Keeping in mind all of them and in addition using our own experience and "emotional knowledge", it is possible to reconstruct the important aspects of anger which are lexicalised in various lexemes, collocations and idioms in English and / or in Polish. They are as follows:

1. The emotion itself, its strength and durability.
2. A person being angry (the subject/experiencer of the emotion: X).
3. A reason for the emotion - a negatively evaluated event, behaviour etc. (Z).
4. An act of causing the emotion - with the originator of it, who becomes the object of anger in a typical situation.
5. Evaluation - of the causative event, of the emotion, and sometimes of its results.
6. Manifestation of anger.
7. Other emotions and/or attitudes accompanying anger or being emotional results of it.

The first four components are visible in ordinary syntactic structures, such as for example:

"X was angry with Y for Z"	[2-1-4-3]
"X raged against Z"	[2-1-3]
"Y irritated X with Z"	[4-4-2-3]

The other components emerge in idioms, collocations and in more extended contexts, where pieces of information are profiled in a different and more imaginative way.

Take as an example the following extract from an article entitled *The vanishing*, which was published in *The Herald* (13.06.1998, p.7):

[Linda's mother is suffering from dementia - A.M.] She only lives with "tiny slivers" of the present tense, and accesses the past only with the memory of certain feelings like **anger** or unhappiness. Thus when Linda tells her mum it's time to go back, or to catch the bus, her mother's immediate reaction is **anger** - remembered **anger** (...). "I don't know if we resolve that until after she dies. It's difficult to discover where her personality ends and her dementia begins. At the moment it's all on her terms, so it's not a relationship. I ask myself, who is it she is seeing? To my mum, I'm just the person who takes her out. I'm a composite of her niece, her sister, her daughter. I'm the jailer, she's the prisoner and there is no parole. That's our relationship. She takes a great deal of **anger** out on me. She's **angry** at being cut off from her friends, not being sure of herself, at me for not solving her problem. It's a living hell she's inhabiting. And I think that my mum is in for several more very, very unhappy years of it. It's never going to get any better. There's no future happiness for her".

In the passage quoted above it is possible to observe the following characteristics of English 'anger':

Anger as a *certain feeling* goes in harmony with such negative feelings as unhappiness [1, 7]. It is an *immediate reaction* to undesired events, situations etc.; thus it does not involve any thinking, but it could be *remembered* and repeated in favourable circumstances [1,3]. The negatively evaluated reasons for anger seem to be in the centre of the subject's attention, i.e. the mother here. A human causer of them is in the background rather, and sometimes he / she does not even exist. But the object of this emotion, here the daughter taking care of her sick mother, is profiled very clearly in this situation: her mother *takes anger out on* her and she is angry *at* her *for* not solving her problems. What links these two women is something unnatural, as the normal relationship - full of love, care and gratitude - has here been broken by the disease. Thus the subject behaves like a strange person, who feels harmed by the enemy *jailer* [2,4]. The evaluation of the whole situation is extremely negative, because both the past reasons and the present emotional results are bad, and even the future looks as if it could *never be better*. This is like *a living hell*. And in this hell of dementia anger also takes on a negative evaluation. Moreover, the unambiguously negative evaluation is given to all the reasons for anger as well as to the causer as the object of it from the experiencer's point of view, whereas the emotional results, namely the mother's anger itself and its psychological effects, are negatively evaluated from the speaker's (i.e. the daughter's) point of view [5]. Lastly, anger appears here as a feeling outside the human personality, since it is actualised when the disease starts and after the end of the personality. Thus, it seems to be a primitive emotion, which does



not need any consciousness and any control of the human mind and it remains as of the basic emotion from Ekman's photographs<sup>5</sup>. In the situation described, this emotion occurs repeatedly, immediately and *a great deal*, and so it must also be very strong [1].

Appendix 2a (see p. 176 ) gives a list of lexical members of the English category of 'ANGER' found and discussed in this subchapter as well as some other.

## 2.2. Looking for the most central families in English 'ANGER'

Membership in the category of 'ANGER', as well as in other categories of emotions or more generally of mental space, seems to be gradable. Thus, the lexemes discussed in the previous chapter and listed in Appendix 2a take various positions in the large area of 'ANGER', being spread between its centre and periphery. Looking for the most central lexical families there, we have in mind the following criteria:

1. **Productivity** - the most central items create the largest and most developed lexical families.

2. **"Dictionary definiteness"** - the most central items are used to define other lexemes, which are more complex or at least secondary, so the most central families must be those whose members are the most frequent definitional instruments.

3. **Neutrality or unmarkedness** - the most central items can occur in various registers and styles; thus the most central families involve members which are neither stylistically nor chronologically marked.

4. **Emotional explicitness** - lexemes denoting only anger, but not other emotions, are more central than items denoting various kinds of feelings.

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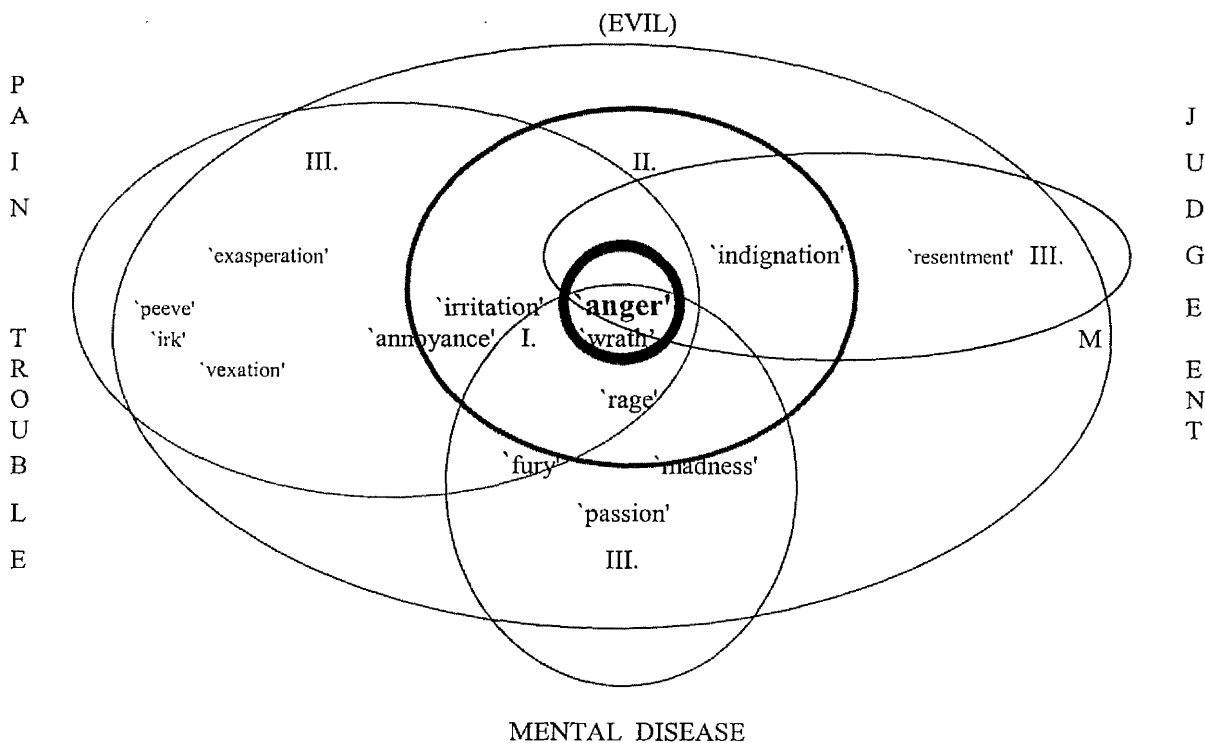
<sup>5</sup> Ekman's psychological works about basic emotions in human nature are quoted very often by investigators who are interested in human emotions (see Ekman & Davidson /eds./ 1998; Nowakowska-Kempna 1995; Wierzbicka 1992 a, b, c, d). The most famous experiment carried out by Ekman was the evaluation of a set of photos showing various mimic reactions on human faces. People taking part in this experiment had to guess what kind of emotion each person felt. As Ekman claimed, people from different cultures did not have any problems with recognising a few basic emotions, such as for example anger, sadness, or fear. Despite the fact that some of his results are questionable, many scholars have still treated them as truth (see Ekman & Davidson /eds./ 1998; Izard 1991: 238-243).

5. **"First meaning"** - lexemes concerning anger in their first meaning (this means: in their most typical meanings, which are recognisable and understood without any special context) are more central than those that concern (in their first meanings) symptoms, reasons or even things not in the emotional sphere at all.

6. **Cohesive imagery** - lexemes based on the most productive metonymies and / or metaphors of ANGER are more central than those whose motivation is less typical and less systematic (for example *seeing red* seems to be more central than *seeing green* with anger as red is the colour most often used in the conceptualisation of anger in English). However, it is necessary to point out that this last criterion is only an additional one and it may be of use only in the case of motivated lexemes.

We shall now try to use all these criteria in the reconstruction of the order of investigated families in the lexical sphere of English 'ANGER'. In Diagram 2a a schematic representation of the structure of the field under investigations is proposed.

**Diagram 2a**  
**The lexical families of 'ANGER' in English**



In the very centre of the category of 'ANGER', the family of 'anger' itself is situated. This is confirmed in various ways, even though the morphological productivity of this group is not very high (as it involves only 21 lexemes) and despite the fact that as

many as thirteen items from this group have chronological or frequency limitations. But given the criterion of definiteness (meaning: how often its members are used to define lexemes in dictionaries), this group stands, without any doubt, at the top of the list. It is used in the dictionary definitions most often (in comparison with the other families investigated), and it defines various lexemes from almost the whole category of 'ANGER' (from 10 families). Moreover, its usage in definitions of members of families other than 'anger' itself is as high as 79.7 % (see Appendix 1. Diagram 1a. Chart 1.). Next, taking the criteria of emotional explicitness and "first meaning", it may be noted that for members of 'anger' the most typical meanings focus on the emotion of anger, so they are also central from this perspective. However, the criterion of characterlessness seems here to be more problematic, since up to 62 % of items in the discussed group are chronologically limited or rare. In fact there are only four significant lexemes, two of which: *anger* and *angry*, are used very often indeed (the first 371 times and the second 313 times - in all the definitions in OED: see Appendix 1. Table I). These figures provide evidence that these two are the most strongly established in English.

The family closest to 'anger' is 'wrath'. Its first meaning relates to the emotion of anger and it is emotionally explicit. The morphological productivity of this group is very high, since it involves 35 items. But many of its members are rare, obsolete or archaic, and even the main noun *wrath* is described in the newest dictionaries (see ColE) as old-fashioned or at least formal. Apart from this evidence some of the information obtained from definitions could be taken as a counter-argument to its centrality, namely, that the family of 'wrath' is the family which is most often defined by words belonging to the investigated category and, as was already noted, it seems to be a secondary group in relation to 'anger'. Moreover, it is very often defined by itself (see Appendix 1. Diagram 1a. Chart 2.). But it appears to be an important link between 'indignation', on the one hand, and 'anger' and the other families, on the other hand as it seems to involve both features of anger and indignation (see its definitions in OED, OALD and WebD and their analysis in the next chapter - 3.3.). As the noun *wrath* is both much older than *anger* in English and rather old-fashioned nowadays, all of this group might be a kind of a relic from the previous stage of emotional language development. From this point of view it is very interesting from a comparative Polish-English perspective, since Polish is now at the stage of a competition between two central groups: the older 'gniew' and much younger 'złość'.

The family of 'indignation' seems to be situated a little further from the central group of 'anger'. On the one hand, it is not very productive and not very useful in definitions, but on the other hand it is emotionally clear, being referred to 'anger' in its first meaning and being especially close to 'wrath'. However, 'resentment', which has direct links with the family of 'indignation', is semantically more complex as it refers not to momentary emotion, but to an emotional state involving an experiencer's will and awareness and defined as 'an indignant sense' or 'a strong feeling of ill-will or anger', but never as 'an emotion'. Thus it takes a more peripheral position in the area.

Turning to the group of 'irritation' and the other families closely related to it, i.e. 'annoyance', 'exasperation', 'irk', 'peeve', and 'vexation', it seems as if they form their own central - peripheral structure which overlaps the 'anger' - 'wrath' - 'indignation' - 'resentment' structure and which is interesting from various points of view. The productivity of this superclass is very high, especially of 'irritation' (41 items; see Appendix 1. Table I), and the definitional frequency of it is also impressive (items from all this class occur 260 times in definitions of 11 families; see Appendix 1. Table IVa). However, it very often defines only its own members (51,1 %). Moreover, the groups of 'irk' and 'peeve' - because of their stylistic limitations, the family of 'vexation' - because of its polisemy and owing to its typical first meanings focusing on 'worrying, troubles', not on 'anger' itself, and finally, the group of 'exasperation' - because of its semantic relation not only to 'anger', but also to 'increasing diseases' - all of them seem to take rather peripheral positions in the category. Thus, two families, 'irritation' and 'annoyance', are most important in this superclass. But whereas 'irritation' is defined by 'anger' quite often (28 times), 'annoyance' is not. Also 'annoyance' is less definitionally useful than 'irritation' (73 times : 91 times) and occurs in one family fewer (9 : 10) (see Appendix 1. Table IVa). In this situation the family of 'irritation' seems to be the most central in the discussed superclass and the closest to the central family of 'anger'. 'Annoyance' is next, whereas the other groups from the class are more peripheral.

Finally it is necessary to turn to the last, but not the least important set of lexical groups, namely 'passion', 'rage', 'fury' and 'madness'. The most definitionally useful family in this class is 'passion'. Given the reservations about this which were mentioned before (polisemious and selfdefining), given the objections about 'madness' which, like 'fury', can denote not only anger, but also a mental disease or its symptoms, we consider the family of

'rage' as the most central in this class and most close to the central 'anger'. The group of 'rage' is very productive, definitionally useful, most of its members do have not any limitations in use, and it is directly related to violent 'anger'. The only one piece of evidence against its centrality is that it is polysemic and it can relate not only to anger, but also to a mental disease (but this meaning is yet obsolete and poetic) or to great popularity and fashion.

### **3. A lexicographical characteristics of lexemes selected from the groups of 'anger' and 'wrath'**

#### **3.1. Anger in English dictionaries**

Looking into dictionary definitions of *anger* I have found much more than I had expected to do, but unfortunately, as can be predicted, not everything I had wanted to find.

At the outset some more general remarks should be made about the techniques of organising material in the dictionaries which were examined. Let us compare Collins and other dictionaries. In the Collins volumes different syntactic roles of a word are treated as different meanings of one polysemous lexeme, not as separate homonymic items<sup>6</sup>. Moreover, the number of meanings described in the Collins definitions is limited to the most typical ones as its users are not native speakers<sup>7</sup>. By contrast, OED and WebD prefer

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<sup>6</sup> Discussing the problem of homonymy in dictionaries Moon (1987: 88) has pointed out that there are two reasons „for treating a single sequence of letters in two or more dictionary entries. First is that it has two or more discrete etymological roots”, and second is that it is a member of two or more word-classes. Here is his explanation of the Collins dictionaries' approach to this problem:

The Cobuild database was structured on a synchronic, semantic basis. It therefore seemed undesirable to treat as homonyms noun and verb forms - or other combinations - of the same words (...). Very often, senses of nouns were dealt with in sub-categories adjacent to associated verbs, and so on. Because access to an item is through its orthographic form and because etymological homonymy depends on knowledge that is not available to the dictionary user before he or she locates the word in the dictionary, it was decided to ignore homonymy completely when compiling the database. (Moon 1987: 88)

<sup>7</sup> As Hanks (1987: 121-122) claims while describing patterns of defining meanings in Collins dictionaries:

to divide words into separate homonyms which, first, play different grammatical roles in sentences, second, may have different synonyms and connotations, and last, need to be explained in different ways. It is also necessary to point out that OED contains a large amount of linguistic information that refers not only to contemporary English but to the previous stages of its development too. Thus many entries have a great number of meanings which do not exist in the present day English language. These phenomena are discernible in the elaboration of the category of 'ANGER' in OED.

Turning to the actual lexeme, it does not surprise us that, depending on the dictionary, *anger* seems to be either a polysemous or a homonymic word. Clear evidence of this can be found in a comparative study of the ColE and OED. In ColE *anger* is treated as a polysemous lexeme with two meanings: the first one refers to its nominal function, whereas the second refers to its verbal function. Both of them are related to the emotion of anger. On the contrary, in OED *anger* appears as two separate headwords: a noun and a verb. At the same time these two headwords are described as polysemous items having three meanings each (with a few additional variants). Some of these meanings are not linked with the emotion of anger since they refer to the sphere of physical pain (OED-3) and to the concept of trouble (OED-1), so we discard them and concentrate on senses connected only with anger.

As was stated in Chapter II.1., one of the main aims in these dictionary investigations is to find out which aspects of the emotion are considered in dictionary definitions. Let us use as an example the noun *anger*. In its noun meaning, *anger* is described as *a strong feeling or a strong emotion* (ColE, ColN, WebD) that is active (OED-2) and *that makes people want to quarrel or fight* (OALD). So there are given here both "genus proximum" of a definition ('feeling / emotion') and "differentia specifica" (the listed features). The reason for this emotion is *an action or situation* which one considers „unacceptable, unfair, cruel or insulting” (ColE) or, in other words, when one thinks „someone has behaved in an unfair, cruel or unacceptable way” (ColN). The emotion,

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The distinction between the possible and the typical is of the greatest importance (...). A user who is attempting to decode text is more likely to encounter the word in one of these common, typical patterns and structures than in other possible but rare structures, while a foreign learner who is struggling to encode English naturally and idiomatically needs guidance precisely on what is typical rather than on what is possible.

therefore, involves negative evaluations (among others moral evaluation) and is directed against *the person responsible for the situation / action evaluated negatively*.

What is interesting is that in all the six investigated definitions of *anger* the general information that rates anger among the hyperonymic category of emotions is given five times. In only one definition is this general category not mentioned (CoIT) and instead of it, a more detailed "genus" occurs there: 'displeasure' with accompanying "differentia specifica": *fierce*. This definition looks less descriptive than the others and is very close to definition by synonyms, especially because it is followed by a few synonymic words and expressions such as *extreme annoyance; rage; wrath* (CoIT).

Nevertheless, it may be noted that this does not mean that only CoIT uses synonyms to explain meanings. In fact, synonyms also occur in OED and WebD, but there they constitute an additional piece of information. OED gives only a simple list of nouns synonymic to the noun *anger* (*passion, rage, wrath, ire* and *hot displeasure*), whereas in WebD the synonyms (*ire, rage, fury, indignation* and *wrath*) are explained in comparison with the most general term: *anger* (WebD). While interpreting WebD's distinctions we can observe that differences between synonyms are of several kinds:

- (a) degree of generality: 'general' (*anger*) - 'more detailed' (the others);
- (b) degree of intensity: 'with no specified intensity' (*anger, indignation*) - '(more) intense' (*ire, rage, fury*);
- (c) opportunity of controlling the emotion: 'under control' (no information) - 'out of control' (*rage, fury*) - 'kept barely under control' (sometimes: *fury*);
- (d) expression of the emotion: 'inner' (no information - only *rage* described as *intense inner frustration*) - 'outer' (*rage, indignation*);
- (e) evaluation: 'moral negative evaluation of the cause' (*indignation, anger, wrath*) - 'negative evaluation of the emotion' (indirectly: *rage* as the emotion *reflecting temporary derangement*, and *fury* as the emotion *including extreme overmastering rage*);
- (f) willing: 'with the desire to revenge' (*wrath, rage*) - 'without the desire to revenge' (no information);
- (g) register: 'literary' (*ire*) - 'neutral' (no information as it seems to involve all the others).

What is interesting here is that really very little information, if any, about the nature of the experiencer and object of the emotion is given in the dictionaries. As I found out

while studying the Polish category of 'GNIEW', the relation between the subject (an experiencer) and the object (very often the same as the causer of the emotion, called by Lakoff *a wrongdoer*) is of great significance in comparisons of various close concepts of emotions. In English lexicographic definitions we could find only information that the typical subject of anger is a person ('you' in Collins dictionaries), whereas the object can be a person (CoLE, CoLN) or also *an action or situation* (CoLE). Only WebD tries to specify the relationship between the subject, object and causer, describing this relationship as *antagonism*. The evidence given above suggests that there is an interesting question which can be answered after more detailed investigations (of real texts). The question is: what are the (typical) social status and the (typical) relationship between the subject, the causer and the object of the emotion and are the differences relevant for different concepts of the emotion (and for different lexical groups) in English?

Next, to return to an earlier point, it is necessary to mention the other emotional meanings of *anger* that are explained in the dictionary definitions. There is an additional (apart from the first referring to pain, and the second referring directly to the emotion) metonymic meaning of the noun *anger* in WebD. *Anger* is there also defined as „a cause or motivation of anger, or if they resemble the state, appearance, or behaviour of an angry person” (as in the examples: *the anger of sea and sky, the monstrous anger of the guns* - Wilfred Owen) (WebD-3). This additional meaning leads our attention to a very important aspect of the emotion, hardly mentioned in dictionaries, which is the most typical ways of expressing anger. It indicates the following question to the former contextual investigations: what kind of emotional symptoms, behaviour, acts are connected with the various concepts belonging to the general category of 'ANGER' and what is the relationship between them and linguistic items? (A large amount of information about this aspect can be found in the following works: Geeraerts&Grondelaers 1995; Kövecses 1986, 1995, 1998; Lakoff 1987; Reay 1991).

A further point to make about the lexeme *anger* is that it can appear in sentences in a verbal position. As was mentioned before, in the different dictionaries this verbal function is treated on some occasions as a reason to divide this word and to have a separate verbal headword for *anger*, and on other occasions as a reason to divide its meanings only within one general non word-class orientated entry and to have a separate meaning there. In both types of entry these verbal meanings are explained in the same way. In all definitions



examined, the repeated phrase is: 'make (you / someone) angry'. The verb is described as a transitive verb with a causative function. It is worth noting that OED adds comments and synonyms to this general description (as follows: *Hence, through the idea of irritate: To excite to wrath, make angry, enrage* (OED-2)), whereas WebD gives the additional description: *to excite to anger* (using the same word in the definition as the word being defined, but in its nominal function) (WebD-1) and also defines one other verbal meaning of *anger*, i.e. an intransitive one: *to become angry* (in a reflexive function). It is very interesting from a comparative Polish-English point of view how the idea of causative and reflexive verbs is developed in the English category of 'ANGER', as in Polish this is very important (see Wierzbicka 1992 b; Mikołajczuk 1999).

To sum up this part of the analysis, it should be stated that firstly, many aspects of anger are described in English dictionaries but this does not mean that all important aspects are present. Some, such as the status of subject, causer and object, typical symptoms and expressions, intensity and even stylistic value of the word are not described there in a satisfactory way. Secondly, various analytical sentences are used, built from words semantically simpler than the defined entry in these explanations (e.g. *feel, you, someone, make*). Nevertheless, quite rich sets of synonyms or even words from the same family are also involved, such as the defined item (*anger, angry*) in the definitions examined. And thirdly, in the biggest dictionaries that are meant for English native speakers, not for foreign learners (OED, WebD), there are described not only the most typical meanings of *anger*, but also some important ones that look very interesting from an etymological perspective.

Despite the fact that etymology is not the main focus of my interest, diachronic explanations could be helpful in understanding modern meanings of the lexeme under investigation. As Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995: 173) claim, „(...) it is necessary to take into account the historical background of our emotion concepts to get a clear picture of the present-day situation (...)”<sup>8</sup>. Thus, at the end of this subchapter we turn our attention to

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<sup>8</sup> Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995: 176-177) explain their position in the following way:

(...) an adequate analysis of the motivation behind cultural phenomena in general and language in particular has to take into account the diachronic dimension. Cultural models, i. e., the more or less coherent sets of concepts that cultures use to structure experience and make sense of the world are not reinvented afresh with every new period in the culture's development. Rather, it is by definition part of their cultural nature that they have historical dimension. They can only fulfil their role of shaping a community's life if they have a historical permanence, that is, if they can be transmitted from generation to generation, assuring continuity over and above an individual's and an individual generation's activities (though not, to be sure,

some etymological data given in OED and HTE. According to OED, *anger* comes from Old Norse *angr* ('trouble, affliction') the root of which is *ang* with the meaning 'strait, straitened, troubled'. *Anger* is also related to an archaic word *ange* that involves either 'pain' and 'trouble' in its meaning (OED). In accordance with the general rule of semantic development, it could be predicted that historically the first sense of *anger* (even before it was borrowed into English) may have been a concrete one and such concepts as 'strait' and then 'physical pain' could have created the most basic and the oldest semantic background for *anger*. More abstract meanings, 'trouble' and 'anger', might have been elaborated from this basis. Both of them belong to the conceptual sphere of negative human experience and they have something in common, although nowadays they denote two different emotions - anger and fear<sup>9</sup>.

As we can see on the basis of the HTE, the first recorded appearance of *anger* (as a noun) in English was about 1375 or on the basis of the BDE about 1250 (whereas, for example, *wrath* has a longer history, having been in use as early as before 1150 - at the stage of Old English). From 1340 to 1786 *anger* was also used as an intransitive verb, referring to the emotional state of 'being angry', and since 1377 it has appeared in texts as a transitive verb in its causative function (HTE). Moreover, HTE records a short period of existence of a reflexive verb *anger* in former English (between 1400 and 1450). Therefore this diachronic perspective should be taken into consideration at a future stage of the study,

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unaffected by them). If cognitive models are cultural models, they are also cultural institutions, and as such, they carry their history along with them: their institutional nature implies their historical continuity. It is only by investigating their historical origins and their gradual transformation that their contemporary form can be properly understood.

<sup>9</sup> The relation between 'anger' and 'fear' is very interesting both from etymological and psychological points of view. According to OED and Jakubowicz (1998), one of English words denoting 'fear', i.e., *anxiety*, is related to Latin *anxietas* and *anxious* that belong to the same family as Latin *angere*. *Angere* means in Latin 'to squeeze, to strangle' (Jakubowicz 1998: 35) or in the OED interpretation: 'to trouble, to vex' (see entry *ange* in OED). The common ancestor for all these lexical group may have been proto-Indo-European word *\*angh-u-* 'narrow'. Hence, it seems to be very much possible that the same proto-Indo-European word was also the much older ancestor of English *anger*. So two concepts of emotions which are now different could have been born from one common concept of an unpleasant physical feeling thousands years ago (see also BDE *anger*). A similar situation is recorded by psychologists at the psychological level (see: Lowen 1991; Izard 1991). The etymological meanings of 'narrow' and 'squeeze' are very interesting from a comparative perspective because in Polish one of the most central nouns *gniew* seems to have a different etymological motivation that is connected with two different concepts, namely with 'fire, hot' or 'perish, decay' (SEB; SPoS-VII). As the Russian 'Etymologičeskij slovar slavjanskich jazykov. Praslavjanskij leksičeskij fond' (1979) suggests, however, Proto-Slavonic *\*gněvъ* is cognate with the verb *\*gnoviti*, which original meaning was 'to squeeze; to choke', which makes the Polish *gniew* and Russian *гнев* etymologically similar to the English *anger*.

i.e. in the analysis of the semantic behaviour of *anger* and its lexical relatives in real texts. That is where textual frequency and the role of various categorical realisations of *anger* in the present linguistic reality may be more easily discerned.

### 3.2. *Angry and angrily* in English dictionaries

The adjective *angry* is after *anger* the second word used most often in the English dictionaries examined to define entries belonging to the general category 'ANGER'. It is a derivative formed from the noun *anger* and registered in English texts since 1375 (according to BDE) or 1386 (according to HTE). Thus it occurred in Middle English and since then it has been used in several meanings.

OED lists nine different senses of the word examined. Some of them do not belong to the semantic field of emotions. One from the group of non-emotional meanings is „sharp, acrid in taste. Sharp, keen, as appetite” (OED-9), which is rare in modern English. The other one belongs to the sphere of physical feelings, particularly to the field of pain. Thus, we can say that, for example, a wound is angry, which means that it is „inflamed, smarting, as a sore”(OED-8) or „hot, red and painful” (CoIE-2). This quasi-medical sense of *angry* can be treated as a relic of the etymological, more concrete meaning of the adjective discussed, since it is described in BDE as „vexing, fierce, severe, inflamed”. But no information about the frequency of this meaning in modern English is given there. Its second position in the Collins' definitions may be, however, a signal of its rarity.

The qualifier "obsolete" occurs in OED with two separate meanings which deal with the concept of 'trouble'. Thus, *angry* also means „full of trouble actively; troublesome, vexatious, annoying, trying, sharp” including causation (OED-1), or „passively affected by trouble; vexed, troubled, grieved” (OED-2) including a resultative sense. The opposition between active - passive perspectives seems to be important in a linguistic conceptualisation of emotions, but the examples given in OED show that it used to be lexicalised in the adjective *angry* mainly in Middle English (the quoted texts come from the 14<sup>th</sup> - 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, apart from one dated 1667).

Despite the rare, obsolete or even archaic meanings mentioned above the most typical senses of the adjective *angry* are connected - directly or metaphonymically - with the concept of anger-emotion. Such aspects of the emotional situation as affection, its expression, symptoms and effects, an experiencer, a reason, and an object are important components which can be described by means of various applications of the adjective analysed. Thus, in different dictionaries the complex emotional content of the meaning of *angry* is divided into several senses (in OED five). With regard to people, *angry* can refer either to their feeling anger, or to its expression and symptoms (e.g. *actively affected against the agent or cause of trouble; feeling or showing resentment*, OED-3a). A frozen, set phrase *an angry young man* can even symbolise a whole generation of authors or activists who are „dissatisfied with and outspoken against the prevailing state of affairs, current beliefs, etc.” (OED-3c). The specific concept of *an angry young man* as well as its abbreviation in the form of a noun *angry* are quite new in English since they started to be popular in the 1950-s<sup>10</sup>.

On the contrary, there is also an archaic meaning of *angry*, strictly applying to the emotion treated as a static, long-term, periodical feeling: „habitually under the influence of anger; hot-tempered, irritable, choleric, passionate” (OED-7; see also WebD). In this sense anger appears as an emotional state rather than as a momentary emotion and it includes a kind of ability or possibility of the experiencer's personal character.

The next interesting aspect of *angry* in the dictionary descriptions is the way in which the object of the emotion is treated here. A syntactic position of the object in sentences such as 'X is angry at / with / about Y' can be filled by the name of a person or by a word denoting non-personal phenomena. OED puts a personal object of the emotion before an impersonal one in the definition mentioned before (see: *against the agent or cause of trouble* in 3a), whereas Collins dictionaries either do not involve any personal object in a definition of the same meaning (e.g. „when you are **angry**, you feel strong

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<sup>10</sup> As OED explains in 3c "specific" meaning:

The expression 'angry young man' and variants of it became commonly used, esp. by journalists, after the production of J. Osborne's play *Look Back in Anger* (first performed in 1956). The phrase did not occur in the play but was applied to Osborne by G. Fearon, a press reporter (...), thence used particularly of young writers, usually of provincial and lower middle-class or working-class origin, who denounced or satirized the 'Establishment' (...) and the abuses of the time; later applied by extension to any person, group, etc., in Britain and elsewhere who considered the times to be 'out of joint' (...). (OED - 3c)

emotion about something that you consider unfair, cruel, or insulting”, ColN) or put it in the second position (e.g. „someone who is **angry** feels or shows strong emotion about an action or situation which they consider unacceptable, unfair, or insulting, and about the person responsible for it”, ColE). Moreover, in the Collins' definitions quoted above the aspect of moral judgement is discernible, which allows the reader to treat the emotion as a member of the category of higher, typically human emotions. This judgement is connected with an intellectual evaluation of the reason of the emotion, namely of an action or situation which the experiencer does not accept.

Nothing is written there, however, about a temporal relation between the reason and the emotion. But the temporal information can be meaningful since it is treated both by psychologists and several lexicologists as an important criterion distinguishing emotions and their lexical concepts (for example, in several Polish linguistic works such distinctions as past action or situation being a reason of *wstyd* 'shame', future action or situation being a reason of *strach* 'fear', simultaneous action or situation being a reason of *smutek* 'sadness' are described - see Wierzbicka 1971; Nowakowska-Kempna 1986: 55-58; Pajdzińska 1990: 89-91 and others). Thus, only after looking into English texts can we answer the question as to whether temporal features are also significant for the English 'anger'.

The next question which appears in the investigations of lexicographic definitions of *angry* concerns the nature of an experiencer and the evaluation of her/his feelings. Collins' dictionaries give us two different interpretations of this. In ColE (1987) distance and a rather negative evaluation are suggested, since the experiencer is called there *someone* which, accordingly to the Collins' Cobuild dictionaries' rules, should be a sign that the denotate defined is not recommended and is socially undesirable<sup>11</sup>. In the dictionary published ten years later (ColN - 1997), however, the pronoun *you* is used to define the meaning of *angry* as if for last ten years the attitude of English speakers to the

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<sup>11</sup> John Sinclair (1991: 127) explains as follows:

In nearly every entry [in Collins Cobuild dictionaries - A.M.] there is reference to a person; the sort of person who will be using English. The neutral way of referring to this person is with the pronoun *you*, and in this sense it is used many times on each page of the Cobuild dictionary.

Occasionally, though, *you* is felt not to be appropriate. The implication of using *you* is that the sentence expresses something that anyone might reasonably and normally do, so when we are explaining things which are socially undesirable, the pronoun *you* may be replaced by *someone* (...). (Sinclair 1991: 127).

emotion of anger has been changed. Thus, it needs careful observation during textual analysis.

Not only the aspect of angry affection is shown in dictionary definitions. As was mentioned before, the expression of anger and its effects are also denoted by the adjective *angry* (e.g., „of mood or action: moved or excited by anger”, OED-4/). What kind of symptoms and behaviour are typical of and conceptualised in the lexeme *angry* is the question to be answered after examining authentic texts. In one definition only is specific information of the expression given, when OED defines the sixth and rare meaning of the adjective: „having the colour of an angry face, red” (OED-6). The more general description of angry expressions can, however, be found in the metaphonymic meaning of the adjective, namely the meaning lexicalised in such expressions as *an angry sky*, *angry billows*. The definition stresses here the appearance of the experiencer's face as well as her/his physical marks and acts (see: „bearing the physical marks of anger, looking or acting as if in anger; as an angry countenance (...)”, OED-5). Describing bad, unpleasant weather or generally dangerous natural phenomena, the adjective involves connotations of threat, dangerous intensity and lack of human control, which can be regarded as a semantic link between its emotional and non-emotional meanings. Moreover, the lexeme *threatening* added to the 'natural phenomena' meaning as a synonym of *angry* (ColE, WebD) turns the reader's attention to the effects of angry behaviour - to the object's fear.

At the end of the lexicographic analysis of the lexeme *angry* let us concentrate on the most interesting parts of its definitions given in ColN and WebD, namely its comparative parts in which such synonyms as *angry*, *mad*, *irate*, *wrathful*, *wroth*, *indignant* (WebD), *bad-tempered*, *furious*, *annoyed*, and *irritated* (ColN) are discussed.

*Angry* is here treated as a key-word and the following distinctions are given in the comparison between it and its synonyms:

(a) degree of intensity: 'whithout any specified intensity' (*angry*) - 'very intense' (*furious*) - 'less intense' (*annoyed*, *irritated*) (ColN);

(b) expression of the emotion: 'without implications about expression' (*mad*) - 'outwardly expressed' (*angry*) - 'vehemently expressed' (*irate*, *wrathful*, *wroth*) (WebD);

(c) evaluation: 'justifiable cause for displeasure' - often but not always implying it (*angry*) - with some justification (*indignant, wrathful, wroth*) (WebD);

(d) temporal characteristics of the emotion: 'feeling it on a particular occasion' (*angry*) - 'feeling it often' (*bad-tempered*) (CoIN);

(e) temporal characteristics of the cause: 'happening constantly or continually' (*irritated*) - 'no information' (the others) (CoIN);

(f) frequency and specific reference: 'a word less common than others' (*wroth*) - 'more common in reference to animals' (*angry, mad*) - 'most common in reference to natural phenomena' (*angry, wrathful*) (WebD).

If we compare similar distinctive descriptions of the noun *anger* in WebD (see Ch.II 3.1.) and of the adjective *angry* in CoIN and WebD, we can observe that in the characteristics of the adjective the aspects of control and will are not mentioned directly, whereas intensity, expression and temporal characteristics of the emotion and its reason seem to be more important here. In contrast to the meanings of the noun, the adjective meanings appear in synonymical and comparative descriptions as richer, more polysemous and not only emotional, and they manifest regular metaphonymic transformations in their conceptualisation.

The adjective discussed gives the foundation for the regular adverb *angrily*, which is formed by the suffix *-ly*. The meaning of this derivative is either not described separately (in CoIE, CoIN, OALD) or it is characterised regularly by more basic lexemes, *angry* and *anger*, and their less or more close synonyms (e.g. *in an angry manner: with anger* (WebD); *in an angry or wrathful manner, with anger or open resentment* (OED-2)). But in the entry of *angrily* OED also describes an additional, although obsolete, meaning of the adverb, connected with an active sense of the adjective: *vexatiously, grievously* (OED-1).

In the analysis of authentic English texts the features specified by lexicographers may be checked and more complete information about concepts involved in the discussed lexemes may be found.

### 3.3. *Wrath* and its derivatives in English dictionaries

In contrast to the lexeme *anger*, *wrath* seems not to be a frequent word in modern English, which several dictionaries confirm by using qualifiers: "literary" (CoIN, OALD) and "formal or old-fashioned" (CoIE). It must be noted, however, that only in works designed for foreigners are these qualifiers given. In CoIE and CoIN, definitions of *wrath* are, in fact, limited to the information, that its meaning is the same as the meaning of *anger*, so the difference between both lexemes seems to be only stylistic, but not semantic. OALD gives a little more information, describing *wrath* as *great anger; indignation*. Two concepts make the semantic basis for it here: 'anger' and 'indignation', and 'wrath' appears in this definition as a kind of 'anger', being its more intense variant. In ColT the great intensity of 'wrath' is also stressed. Thus, in the light of dictionaries prepared for foreign English learners, 'wrath' looks like a simple specific concept denoting (intense) anger (or indignation) and rare in modern texts.

Examination of definitions collected in dictionaries which are designed for native speakers (OED, WebD) presents a different picture of the lexeme being discussed, revealing that it is neither simple nor always stylistically and chronologically limited.

Firstly, *wrath* can be used as a noun (without any limitations, at least in some meanings), an adjective (synonymous with *wrathful*, *wroth* and *angry*, and somewhat rare) and as a verb (obsolete, with such meanings as: 'to be / become / grow angry', 'to make somebody angry' or 'to provoke somebody to anger'). Secondly, *wrath* occurs in texts in a few meanings, one of which belongs to the field of emotions only metaphonymically, thus in the expressions *wind's wrath*, *wrath of sun and storm*, *the great wrath of summer* it means „violence or extreme force of a natural agency, regarded as hostile to mankind or growth” (OED-1e) or, in other words, „intense force or raging violence usually joined with a seeming malevolence” (WebD-4). This meaning is close to the fifth (in OED) meaning of *angry*, but it has much stronger negative connotations. Violence, hostility and malevolence suggest that in the real emotion of *wrath* the experiencer's will to do something bad to the object is a significant factor.

Let us concentrate on the more emotional meanings of the noun *wrath*. According to OED, there is one obsolete meaning of this lexeme, occurring in two variants and



emphasising a great power, force, intensity and vehemence of the emotion; one of these variants, however, does not obviously deal with anger, but it is even connected with emotions regarded as positive in general. Thus, it can mean either „impetuous ardour, rage, or fury” (OED-3a) or „the ardour of passion, love, etc.” (OED-3b).

These obsolete meanings may be treated as a semantic background for the next two meanings. The first concentrates on the feeling in general and is defined in OED as „vehement or violent anger, intense exasperation or resentment; deep indignation” (OED-1). The second is more specific: „an instance of deep or violent anger; a fit or spell of ire or fierce indignation” (OED-2), and it looks momentary, involving an outward expression (in a typical situation). In WebD this second, momentary meaning has the specification "archaic". Thus, it suggests that nowadays the concept of `wrath' refers to more periodical emotion, stretched in time, and this factor may be important from a comparative point of view as in Polish the difference between two basic concepts, `gniew' and `złość', involves, among others, a difference in temporal characteristics, which fixes a new interesting direction for textual analysis.

Coming back to the first definition of *wrath* in OED, the reader must realise that it involves a few concepts from the category of `ANGER' not similarly close to each other, as there are `anger', `exasperation', `resentment' and `indignation'. WebD divides them forming two separate definitions for two separate meanings. The first one of these WebD meanings seems to involve the first three concepts from the OED definition, because it has the following description: „a strong enraged feeling expressed vehemently and accompanied by bitterness, malignancy, or condemnation (e.g. the wrath of workers and peasants)” (WebD-1). The next one concentrates on the concept of `indignation' in the following definition: „righteous indignation and condemnation esp. of a deity or sovereign (...)” (WebD-2), where the positive evaluation (at least from the experiencer's point of view) is clearly included (*righteous*), and a characteristic experiencer of the emotion is specified as somebody of a high status (*a deity, a sovereign*). A deity is also mentioned in OED as a characteristic experiencer of the emotion (OED-1d). These precise definitions from WebD may be very helpful in a comparative English - Polish study, as it is interesting to find out which of these two meanings of *wrath*, `malignant' or `indignant', is more often used in authentic texts nowadays.

A metonymic transformation of the meanings described above is „an act inspired by wrath” (WebD-3b; see also OED-5) as an effect of the feeling. This act can be a kind of righteous retribution (being an effect of `indignant feeling') or simple vengeance (being an effect of `malignant feeling'). OED specifies a separate definition for the meaning which connects both the emotion and its expression („anger displayed in action (...)”, OED-4). This seems to form an intermediate conceptual link between the pure emotional meaning of *wrath*, the feeling itself, and its resultative meaning, an act inspired by it.

To sum up, in the light of the dictionary definitions discussed above, `wrath' seems to have a lot in common with violence, great power, condemnation, justice and punishment, and both negative and positive evaluation. A specific experiencer of it is a deity or an important person representing a higher level of society. Moreover, outer expression and results of the feeling seem to be strongly emphasised in the conceptualisation of `wrath'.

All these features are also confirmed in the semantics of *wrathful*, *wrathfully* and *wroth*. Although Collins' dictionaries either do not involve them as entries at all (CoIE, ColN) or list only the adjective *wrathful* without any explanation of its meaning, the others define them so precisely that regular semantic relations between them and the noun *wrath* are clearly visible. Thus, *wrathful* has an emotional meaning: `feeling wrath' (WebD-1, OED-1), an expression meaning: `arising from, marked by wrath' (WebD-2, OED-2) and metaphonymic meaning: `having a threatening appearance, of the nature of wrath or anger' (WebD-3, OED-2). The adverb *wrathfully* formed from the adjective by the suffix *-ly* is in these dictionaries even more generally described by only one meaning: `in a wrathful manner' (WebD, OED).

There is one additional lexeme belonging to the group of `wrath' - *wroth*, although it is not directly derived from the noun *wrath*. Similarly to *wrath* it can represent various parts of speech. As a verb it is obsolete nowadays, but it used to mean `to become wrathful or angry; to manifest anger' or `to make somebody wroth or angry' (OED) (as an intransitive, transitive and reflexive verb). As a noun it is also obsolete and it denoted intense or deep anger (OED). Only its adjective representative is regarded in OED as alive in modern English without any temporal or frequency limitations (in its first, literal, and fourth, metaphonymic meanings). In fact, most of its meanings are also archaic, obsolete

or at least rare<sup>12</sup>. OED gives as the first and not limited meaning of the adjective discussed the following description: „stirred to wrath; moved or exasperated to ire or indignation; very angry or indignant; wrathful, incensed, irate” (OED-1), where the emotion seems to be very intense and can be treated as a culminative point of an action done by the causer of the emotion. The other not limited meaning (similar to the fifth meaning of *angry* and third meaning of *wrothful*) is connected not directly with the emotion, but (due to a semantic transformation) with natural phenomena and it occurs in such expressions as *a wroth wind*, *a wroth sea*, including violent intensity and threatening effects.

From a diachronic point of view the obsolete meanings of *wroth* seem to be very interesting, as they constitute an archaic background, not in the awareness of modern English speakers, but probably influencing their understanding of the lexeme examined. Such concepts as 'violent disposition or character' (OED-3), 'violent nature of animals' (OED-4), 'bad, evil' (OED-5), 'displeased, grieved; sorrow, sad' (OED-6a) and 'fearful, afraid' (OED-6b) form the basis for a strongly negative evaluation of the emotion, and also for a natural, not only human, aspect of the feeling, as well as for its dispositional, periodical character.

Looking more carefully at the etymology of all the lexemes belonging to the group of 'wrath' and discussed above, the reader may notice that this group has existed in English for a much longer time than the group of 'anger', as its representatives were registered in texts from 950 (*wrath*, *wroth*). *Wrath* developed from Old English *wrath* (known from about 725), whereas *wroth* developed from *wræththu* (about 950) and both of them had come from Proto-Germanic (see also Jakubowicz 1998). A concept of twisting and turning is given by etymologists as a concrete semantic source of the meaning of lexemes discussed. What is interesting is that one of the Polish basic concepts of 'ANGER', namely 'złość', may have a similar etymological background. It comes from the adjective *zły*, which originally used to denote a feature of being twisted, crooked, and then it has meant the evaluative feature: 'bad or wrong'. This general axiological meaning of *zły* is still alive in modern Polish and it has an English semantic counterpart, although in English this axiological meaning is yet archaic (it occurred only in Old and Middle English).

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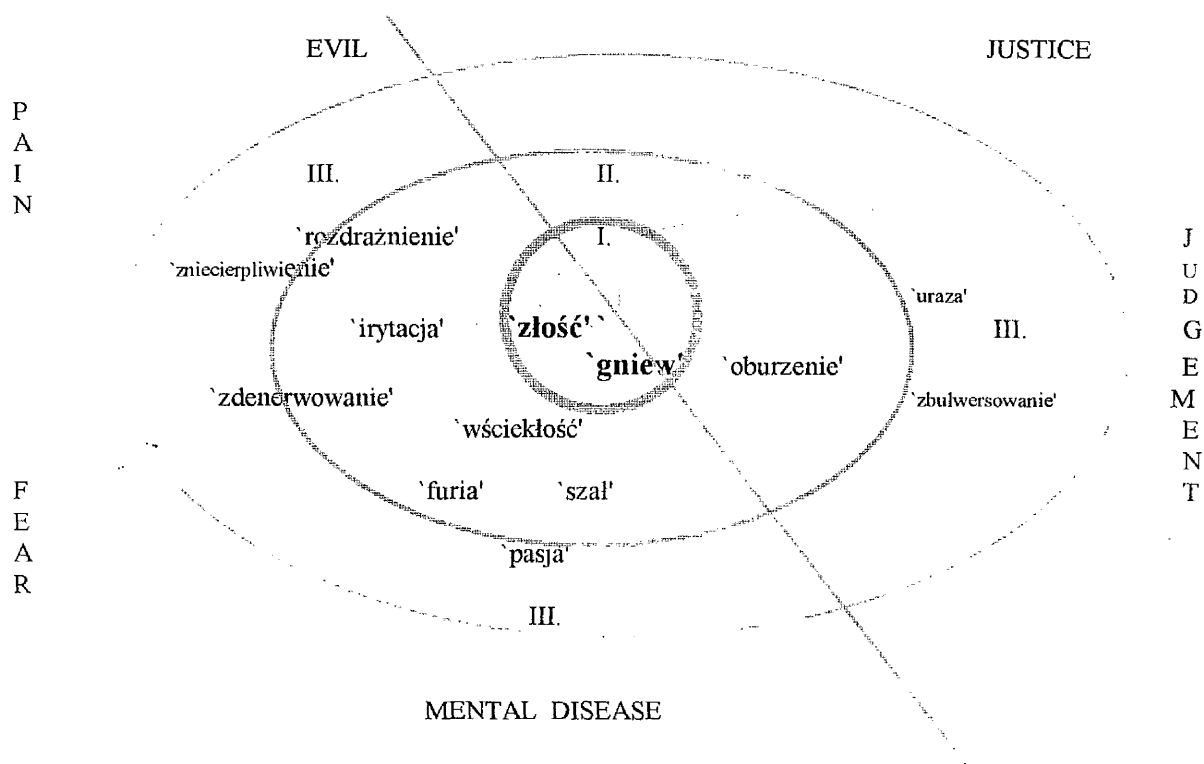
<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, English native speakers, both teenagers and adults, see the lexeme *wrath* as a literary and obsolete word, no matter in which meaning.

To conclude: on the basis of dictionary descriptions of lexemes belonging to the group of 'wrath' it is possible to find several features which make the concept 'wrath' close to Polish 'gniew' on the one hand (by the way of connection with deep indignation, righteous punishment, the high social position of the experiencer and God as an experiencer) and close to the Polish 'złość' on the other hand (by the way of connection with violent expression, obsolete negative connotations and similar etymology). An analysis of authentic texts should verify this characterisation.

#### **4. Selected comparative aspects of the structures of 'ANGER' in English and Polish - preliminaria**

At the end of Part II it is worth returning to the main subject of the thesis, i.e. a comparative perspective, and making general observations about similar and different features of the structure of Polish and English 'ANGER'. In order to do this we need to look at Diagram 2a: The lexical families of 'ANGER' in English (see II.2.2.) and at the following Diagram 2b, showing the Polish structure of the field under investigation.

**Diagram 2b:**  
**The lexical families of `ANGER' in Polish**



As can be seen from the diagrams, the biggest difference between Polish and English occurs in the very centre of the category in question. In English this centre is formed by one basic concept 'anger' with the most frequent lexemes: *anger* and *angry*. The other groups, such as 'wrath', 'indignation', 'irritation' and 'rage' are very close to the centre. Not very far from them there is 'annoyance' on the one hand, and 'fury', 'madness' and 'passion' on the other. In the more peripheral area 'irk', 'peeve', 'exasperation', 'vexation' and 'resentment' are situated.

By contrast, in Polish it is impossible to identify only one most central concept in the category being investigated. Evidence of its existence may be found in, for example, bilingual dictionaries, where the lexemes *anger* and *angry* are translated into words belonging to both the group of 'gniew' and the group of 'złość'. My research, which is based on almost 5 000 extracts from modern Polish texts also confirms this duality at the centre of the Polish category of 'ANGER'.

What seems to be very interesting from a comparative and historical point of view is the relation between the Polish central concepts 'gniew' and 'złość' in comparison with

the relation between the English central concept 'anger' and the old-fashioned, less central 'wrath'. Table V. in Appendix 1. presents some significant features of these four concepts.

Such aspects as etymology and history, frequency and style, significant subjects of the emotion, evaluation and definitional power are meaningful in this comparison.

1. From <sup>an</sup>etymological point of view the Polish 'gniew' derived perhaps from Proto-Slavonic \**gnětiti* 'to light the fire' or \**znejq, znbjati* 'to glow, to smoulder' or even \**gnbjq, gniti* 'to decay, rot', came into Old Polish and has denoted ANGER for over a thousand years in Polish, whereas 'złość' has also existed in Polish for a very long time, but in the field of evaluation, not emotions. It started to denote anger only in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

In English, 'wrath' is at least three hundred years older than 'anger' and it is indirectly related to *writh*, *wring*, and it used to mean 'bad, evil' in Old and Middle English, so its evaluation may (and probably used to) be negative just as the evaluation of 'złość'.

2. If we look at frequency and style, we can observe that:

- In modern Polish both 'gniew' and 'złość' are very frequent, but 'gniew' is more typical of higher style and literary works, whereas 'złość' is more natural and typical of lower style and spoken texts.

- In English 'anger' is without any doubt the most frequent lexical group in all kinds of texts, but 'wrath' is described as a rare, old-fashioned or at least literary concept (especially in dictionaries designed for foreigners).

3. For 'gniew', adult superiors and God are the most significant subjects of the emotion, whether people on the same social level and also devils are typical subjects of 'złość'.

In modern English this category has not been taken into consideration by scholars and it has to be investigated in the future. Only in Diller's work about *anger* and *wrath* in Middle English there is stated that the most typical experiencer of 'wrath' is God or any person having the greatest power (Diller 1994). At this stage of the research it can only be suggested that anybody may be the subject of modern 'anger' (see: *you* or *someone* in Collins dictionary definitions), but God still (as in Middle English) seems to feel rather

`wrath' than `anger' (though there has been a tendency in English in recent years to modernise religious language).

4. When thinking about evaluation, it can be stated that with `gniew' both negative and positive evaluation is involved, but with `złość' only a negative evaluation is possible.

According to Kövecses, `anger' is a neutral concept. But `wrath' seems to be ambivalent as it can be felt by a just God on the one hand, but it also involves many negative connotations through violence and malevolence (see: Ch.II.3.3.).

5. And last, but not least, the definitional power of `gniew' in Polish and `anger' in English is the highest, but `złość' also seems to be very useful in Polish in dictionary definitions - by contrast with `wrath'.

You can see these differences on charts collected in Diagrams 1a and 1b in Appendix 1. The most varied field is defined by lexemes from the family of `anger' (which defines itself only in 21 % of entries belonging to the general category of `ANGER', whereas almost 80% of definitions involving words from the group of `anger' describe different families, such as `rage', `wrath', `indignation' etc.). Polish `gniew' and `złość' seem to be in the middle on these scale, whereas `wrath' appears to take the opposite position (being used to define itself in 73 % of entries from the category of `ANGER' and only in 27% of definitions which describe lexemes from different groups).

Faced with evidence such as this, some predictions can be made. It seems to be quite probable that in the future the Polish concept `gniew' will cast in its lot with the English concept `wrath', becoming stylistically and chronologically limited. But there is one major distinction between `gniew' and `wrath'. Whereas in Polish the relatively new and clearly negatively evaluated `złość' is starting to dominate in the Polish area of `ANGER' nowadays, in English the neutral and very old concept has become central. This situation may also be related to the problem of national stereotypes, which do not have to be actualised in the life of each member of the nation, but live in the national imagination. In her paper entitled *Podwójne życie człowieka dwujęzycznego* ('The double life of a bilingual person') Wierzbicka notes that, according to the stereotype, Poles are very sensitive to negative events, whereas the English are more sensitive to the human will (Wierzbicka 1990a). This seems to correspond to the above evidence and interpretation of `anger', `wrath', `gniew' and `złość'.

The second aspect interesting at this stage of the research is the strength of emotions conceptualised in both languages (especially because it can also be related to national stereotypes). As various dictionaries show (see Chapter II.2.1., II.2.2.), and our linguistic and emotional experience suggests, the subcategory of the most intense and the strongest variants of 'ANGER' is conceptualised in English in the families of 'rage', 'fury', 'passion' and 'madness', and in Polish in the families of 'wściekłość', 'furia', 'pasja' and 'szał'. Thus it is possible to find many similarities between these subcategories in both languages, but this does not mean that there are no differences at all. What in English is most surprising for a person who can take a Polish perspective is the relation between the subcategory of 'rage' and the subcategory of 'irritation'. This is because English words belonging to the groups of 'rage', 'passion' and 'madness' are used in dictionary definitions to explain the meanings of words belonging to the subcategory of 'irritation' (20x), whereas in Polish this never happens (see Appendix 1. Tables IVa and IVb). 'Irytacja' seems to be not very intense, not sufficiently strong for Polish speakers to be explained by means of any lexemes from the subcategory of 'wściekłość' and its relatives. As a result we could postulate the interesting hypothesis that the scale of the strength of emotions in English may be less varied and flatter than the Polish one. Of course this kind of hypothesis must be tested carefully in a detailed textual analysis.

In sum, the most important groups of English 'ANGER' are, firstly, the basic family of 'anger', and secondly, the less basic, but also very interesting (especially from a comparative perspective) groups of 'wrath' and 'irritation'. In the next part of the thesis (III.) we will focus on the most basic family of 'anger', analysing its textual behaviour in English modern texts, and the family of 'wrath'. We shall, however, continue to bear in mind their important relations with the other families, the evidence of which we also find in the investigated texts .



### III. How much anger is there in authentic English texts?

(A semantic analysis of lexemes belonging to the groups of 'anger' and 'wrath' and registered in English texts selected from the British National Corpus and *The Herald* 1998 databases)

#### 1. The group of 'anger'

##### 1.1. Introduction

The lexical group of 'anger' is extremely well represented in English texts, although only nine textual words for it are used in real communication nowadays. The confirmation of this claim can be found in computer databases, three of which have been examined in this research: the British National Corpus (treated here as the main, fundamental and most representative source of information) and journalistic databases: *The Herald* 1998, *The Guardian* and *The Observer* 1998<sup>13</sup>. The following words belonging to the family of 'anger' have been found in the databases mentioned above:

Table I.: 'Anger' in databases

No	LEXEME	British National Corpus	<i>The Herald</i> 1998	<i>The Guardian &amp; The Observer</i> 1998	Total:
1.	<i>anger</i>	3835	566	1389	5790
2.	<i>angering</i>	13	6	19	38
3.	<i>angered</i>	345	158	263	766
4.	<i>angers</i>	63	30	49	142
5.	<i>angeres</i>	1	0	0	1
6.	<i>angry</i>	4203	654	1686	6543
7.	<i>angrily</i>	1102	106	235	1443
8.	<i>angerless</i>	1	0	0	1
9.	<i>anger-provoking</i>	1	(1)	(3)	(5)
	<b>Total:</b>	<b>9564</b>	<b>1521</b>	<b>3644</b>	<b>14729</b>

Some explanations should be given to Table I. Firstly, such words as *anger*, *angering*, *angered*, *angers*, *angeres* are listed separately here, although they are only

<sup>13</sup> I will refer to the databases as BNC (the British National Corpus), *H* (*The Herald* 1998) and *GO* (*The Guardian* and *The Observer* 1998).

different grammatical forms of the same lexeme. Thus, the verb *anger* can be represented in texts by such forms as: the present participle *angering*, the past participle *angered*, and the third person singular form in the simple present *angers*, whereas the noun *anger* has the following forms: the singular *anger*, the plural *angers* (rare) or the archaic Genitive singular *angeres*. In fact, *angering* and *angered* are treated by lexicographers both as grammatical forms of the verb and as different parts of speech: a noun and an adjective, thus as separate lexemes. The other two forms, *angers* and *angeres*, do not exist in dictionaries as separate entries, since they cannot be regarded as separate lexemes, but only as grammatical forms of the verb *to anger* and the noun *anger*. Moreover, because access to items in the computer database is in their orthographic forms and because the semantic and grammatical functions of these words can be discerned only after looking at particular texts, the decision was made to ignore the distinction between forms and lexemes when compiling materials. It will be possible to return to the problem of the part-of-speech distinctions immediately after examination of the assembled texts.

Secondly, one compound word, *anger-provoking*, is placed in Table I. It is recorded only once - in BNC, never in the dictionaries consulted, while in such magazines and newspapers as *The Herald*, *The Guardian* and *The Observer* we can find the expression *sth provoking someone's anger*, which is the basis for this composition. Thus, it could be treated as a representation of the noun *anger*, not as a separate lexeme having any special, additional meaning, although it is an adjectivisation of the expression mentioned above. *Anger-provoking* is registered in the BNC in a spoken text:

(1)

So um it also means that a lot of activities which we would regard as pleasurable as adults y'know sort of intimacy, affection, sexuality. Erm again er can be understood by the sex abuse survivor as being unpleasant, disgusting, **anger-provoking**, fear-provoking and soforth. (BNC)

It seems justified not to analyse this word separately, but to consider it along with other texts in which the noun *anger* appears.

Next in Table I. there are listed two more words which occur very seldom in databases: *angeres* (1x) and *angerless* (1x). They are not described separately in this thesis, because of the lack of sufficient examples for analysis. The first one occurs in a text which is both archaic and poetic. The word *angeres* is the archaic Genitive form of *anger* and denotes a possessive relation between an experiencer and her/his emotion:

The other rare adjective, *angerless*, occurs in a negative sentence which is a commentary on a description of family life:

(2)

„The pretence that the constant repetition of a few words constitutes a story becomes an insult to the child's intelligence" (ibid. , p.221). Leila Berg (1977, p.49) has drawn attention to the sexual and social-class stereotyping and the absence of emotion in the stories: Although the family in the orthodox reader cannot exist at all — there is no family so griefless, **angerless**, humourless, or so utterly devoid of conflict as the family in the orthodox reader — it is recognisable in externals: "the detached house" father at leisure with the lawnmower (or going to the office with the briefcase), the large dog and the aristocratic cat, the tidy organised family consisting only of one father, one mother, one son, one daughter. (BNC)

In extract (2) the structural meaning of this adjective is the same as its real meaning, i. e. 'without anger', but its connotations are negative rather than positive, as absence of emotions (grief, anger) as well as absence of humour seem to make a family unreal. Thus, it is possible to draw the conclusion that anger appears here as one of the most typical emotions existing in real family life. Being connected with grief on the one hand (representing the dark side of life) and humour on the other hand (representing the bright side of life), anger makes this life more realistic and interesting. So, in contrast to *angerless*, *anger* seems here even to acquire an additional, positive connotation.

All the other words from the group of 'anger' listed in Table I. occur in English texts more often than the ones discussed. The most frequent in this group is the adjective *angry* and then the noun / verb *anger*. It is interesting to see how often *anger* is used in texts as a noun and how often as a verb, because the frequency of these two parts of speech is different in Polish and English and may be connected with different emotional attitudes (more passive or more active) in both languages (see Wierzbicka 1992b).

In the next sections the meanings and textual behaviour of the six most often used words from the group of 'anger' are analysed. We start with the adjective *angry*, then continue with its derivative *angrily*, and after that describe *anger*, *angers*, *angering* and *angered*, which play different roles in texts as different grammatical forms or different lexemes.

In textual analysis selected extracts from two databases mentioned above are used: from BNC and *The Herald* 1998. Although some of the words examined occur in databases very frequently, the author of this present work had access only to one hundred (or fewer) extracts of texts which included each word. The one exception is the word *anger*, for which 131 extracts from BNC and 100 extracts from *The Herald* 1998 could have been selected.

The other words are represented 100 times each from BNC and 100 times each from *The Herald* 1998 (*angry, angrily, angered*) or less, if they are less frequent (*angering* 13 in BNC and 6 in *H*; *angers* 63 in BNC and 30 in *H*).

In the analytical part of the thesis the British National Corpus is treated as the main source of textual information, whereas materials taken from *The Herald* 1998 are used occasionally, when comparison and more detailed information are needed.

## 1.2. *Angry*

The adjective *angry* is the most frequent lexeme from the group of 'anger', occurring in modern English texts as often as 6543 times (in BNC, *H*, *G* and *O*). In 100 extracts from BNC *angry* occurs 97 times in its (nowadays) basic 'emotional' meaning (referring to the emotion or its symptoms and results). It is registered there only once in a „quasi-medical” meaning, when it describes an inflamed spot on the human body (*an angry spot on the side of his nose*, BNC-8). *Angry* is also used twice there to characterise natural phenomena which are unpleasant for mankind, intense, dangerous, and out of human control. There are, first, *the lava billows like a black and angry ocean* (BNC-11), and second, *an angry storm* (BNC-89). This is metaphonymically motivated by the nature of the emotion itself, as it can be also dangerous, intense and out of the experiencer's control.

Let us turn to the most frequent, „emotional”, meanings of the adjective in question. *Angry* exists in texts in various expressions, most often in its predicative function as complement: 'X is / was angry...' (34x in BNC), where the information about the existing emotion is stressed.<sup>14</sup> The subject in this structure is there an experiencer of the emotion, seen as a passive individual or a group who are surrounded by their anger, as in (3). Sometimes, however, the adjective is used in texts in its attributive function and it seems to create an explanatory context for other information such as an experiencer's behaviour. The examples of this are the following:

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14

What is interesting, is that the most frequent method of talking about *being / feeling / getting / becoming angry* etc. is the third person narration, describing a non-narrator's emotions (68% in BNC) or first person narration, also describing a non-narrator's emotions (12% in BNC). The second person narration, such as in a question, *Are you angry?* occurs only 9 times in the materials examined, whereas an experiencer's confession of her/his anger (in the first person narration) occurs in BNC only 8 times. It suggests that "being angry" is easy recognisable from an observer's point of view and can be described by her/him without the need of more detailed investigation, so it appears that it is an emotion which is shown openly rather than hidden deep inside.

- (3) Madame Kettle is this evening a very angry lady and when people are **angry**, it is easy for an experienced interrogator like myself to make them talk. (BNC-55)
- (4) But things started going a bit wrong before she could start [her new job - A.M.]. One day she was hanging around the shop when Nick Kent followed her in, **angry**. They'd had a row. He took his belt off and started whacking Chrissie with it. (BNC-3)
- (5) To prevent quarrels between Modi and Jeanne's mother, he was housed with the other artists in a villa higher up on the hill. **Angry** at being separated from Jeanne, Modigliani spent much of his time drinking in a windowless little bar where local artists met, where he drank and ran up debts. (BNC-13)
- (6) [...] some Maghrebis are turning their frustration not against him [their former hero - A.M.] but against the West. **Angry** students have burnt the Stars and Stripes, the Tricolor and the Union Jack on the streets of Algiers. They see the war as an unequal contest between a 30-nation coalition and a lone Arab country, the purpose of which was to destroy the only Arab state capable of standing up to Israel. (BNC-5)

The information about the results of the emotion is given there. We will return to this problem later.

Concentrating now on the nature of the experiencer of the emotion, we have to state that this is in the majority of cases a human subject (96% in BNC), most often an individual. In 15% of BNC extracts, however, anger is experienced by a group of people (see 6). This group usually has its own opinions and judgements, and its members do something as an act of protest - against the improper, unjust, dishonest or unwise behaviour of other groups, nations, governments, politicians, sportsmen, etc. The typical relationship between these group-experiencers and their opponents is one of otherness and even hostility (see 6).

This is the case with experiencers of anger who support sports teams or are involved in sport and who, though they do not obviously form distinct groups, remain strangers. They are not close to the objects of their emotions, but despite this fact they feel a kind of disappointed expectation towards them, just as in (7).

- (7) Dalglish's incredible decision to leave Liverpool provoked feelings of bitterness among some Merseyside supporters, **angry** at the way the club had been abandoned in the crucial run-in to the season. (BNC-25)

Sometimes (but rather seldom) an experiencer and a generator of the emotion are linked by a closer relationship, such as that between parents, lovers or friends. Anger appears here as an emotion which breaks down proper relationships and makes life more difficult, eg. in (8).

(8)

The child knows that he may only win the object or activity back by compliance. [...] Restraint is used, after a warning, to bring about the end of undesirable behaviour. It must be given firmly and consistently but only by parents who are known not to become excessively **angry** or physical toward the child. (BNC-33)

Nevertheless, anger may be also treated as a normal part of everyday family life (as in 2 - see Ch.III.1.) and it can even lead to a real tragedy:

(9)

He didn't think much of Aileen's idea about a crazed killer roaming the streets of Perth; the most likely perpetrator was probably someone Caroline had been having a fling with, who had got **angry** at her for some reason and killed her. Jamieson had learned that violent crimes are most often committed by family members or lovers, and that was where his efforts should be concentrated. (BNC-86)

Since access to the texts collected in BNC is limited to extracts involving only one paragraph, it is sometimes difficult to describe precisely the experiencer's nature. Because of this it seems useful to take into consideration also materials from the *Herald* 1998 database (100 complete texts). The results of such investigation are interesting. The most frequent situations in which people are described as being angry are in turn: politics and public life (33x), sport (21x), work (9x), crime (8x), trade and services (5x). The main link between them is the relation of strangeness, distance and antagonism which may even turn into hostility (as between enemies at war). The opposite situation, which applies when an experiencer and a generator / object of the emotion are close each to other and know each other very well (like parents and children, wives and husbands, lovers, friends), is represented in 100 *Herald* selected texts only ten times. Even if we remember that this newspaper is thematically oriented towards sport, politics and crime, we still may suggest that for anger described there by means of the adjective *angry* strangeness is much more typical than intimacy.

A separate group of anger-experiencers is represented by people called *Angry Young Men* (3x). Typically they behave in a strange way to protest against traditional society with its habits and customs, morality, aesthetic preferences, philosophical and political ideas. Thus, they usually do not have any particular human object as their opponent, because their opponent is the whole of traditional society. Originally the expression *angry young man* was applied to young English writers publishing their works in the 1950s (see 10). Then it started to be a name given to any person who revolts against the existing world (see 11).

(10)

Nine days into 1957 Anthony Eden quit, having consigned Britain's role as the world's third power to the bottom of the Canal together with President Nasser's block ships. With the dreams of 1945's Labour victory long gone, and the pretensions of the Conservatives painfully exposed it was the hour for the group of young meritocrats who had done well out of the peace, the **Angry Young Men**. Kingsley Amis's *Lucky Jim* was popular. A woolly-jumpered Colin Wilson was photographed for the press in his Notting Hill bedsit and under the tree in Hampstead Heath where he had worked on his best-seller *The Outsider*, a paean to the existential rebel Wilson wished to be. John Osborne's *Look Back In Anger* added to the chorus from the lost boys of the lower middles. (BNC-72)

(11)

Everyone wanted to be a „star”, either in films, music or television (and perhaps even in religion). But the new teenagers also created new social phenomena and philosophies: „the generation gap” appeared, „**angry young men**” ranted and raved and „beatniks” smoked reefers and read about Zen. The „Teddy Boys” probably heralded that other new aspect of teenage consumerism — the beginning of modern youth subcultures. (BNC-28)

Turning to the nature of an anger-experiencer's opponent, we can observe that it may be a person directly indicated in a sentence (as in 8, 9) or visible in a wider context. The human objects of someone's anger can be politicians, councillors, sportsmen, their managers and their fans, employers, judges and officers, but much less frequently parents, children and lovers. It should be stressed, however, that the information about a human object of the emotion does not seem to be most important from the English speakers' point of view, since it is not always obviously mentioned in the texts examined, especially when a speaker refers generally to the emotion - anger at a situation, not a person (see 3, 5).

Some grammatical observations may help in finding additional information about the object of anger. Both in the examples quoted above (see 5, 7, 9) and in other texts selected from BNC, the adjective *angry* is often followed by a preposition (*with, toward, at, for, about, against, over*). The prepositions most often used with it are: *with* (11x), *at* (8x), and *about* (5x), whereas others occur in the texts we have examined only once. While

*towards* and *with* introduce to the sentence a human object in BNC, *for*, *about*, *against* and *over* never do, but *at* can play a double role - linking both with the human object (although very seldom) and with an abstract object to denote a situation or action which is the reason for the emotion.

While looking at OED entry for the adjective *angry*, the reader finds six prepositions listed as occurring with it. Three of them are described as obsolete: *of*, *for*, and *upon* (only *for* is recorded in the BNC texts examined, where it occurs 4 times). The next three prepositions have an additional description in OED: „*at*, *about*, the occasion; *at* a person when the subjective feeling is denoted, *with* a person when the anger is manifested; but the tendency is to use *with* for both” (OED-3b). What may be observed in authentic texts is that in BNC *with* is always used to talk about people as the objects of the emotion. In *Herald*, however, one exception is found: although in six texts *with* links an anger experiencer with her/his human object, once it occurs when introducing an event or a state seen as the cause of the emotion (non-human object). The preposition *at* presents the opposite situation. It occurs with non-human objects (referring to various reasons for the emotion) more often (in BNC 6x, in *H* 25x) than with a human object (as the object of the emotion: in BNC 2x, in *H* 5x). These human objects introduced in the sentence by the preposition *at* are of a special kind. On two occasions it is a person who had been killed by the experiencer of anger (BNC), on another two it is a narrator speaking about her/himself (*at me*, *at myself* - *H*), and in three instances the group-object (*H*). Most of these examples seem to be connected with the most typical situation. Firstly, the cause of the emotion is an action or situation expressed by an abstract noun in the sentence, thus it is conceptualised as a thing. Secondly, a dead person who is a victim of an anger-experiencer also acquires features of inanimate objects from a conceptual perspective. Thirdly, even a group of people may be thought of as less human and less animate than individuals; as the group loses individual human characteristics, so their similarity to an abstract concept is also justifiable. Only examples applying to the narrator (in a first person narrative) do not fit this description and they tally with the OED explanation of a more subjective point of view in using *at*.

Looking at the cognitive basis of the prepositions themselves, some interesting regularities can be found. The basic meaning of prepositions is usually a concrete one; the typical, concrete functions of those discussed here are as follows: *with* `by means of; in the



company of, *at* 'indicating position in space or time', *for* 'intended to be received or used by; in order to help or benefit; representing; because of', *about* 'in or near the place', *against* 'in contact with; in an opposite direction to', *over* 'higher than; on or across the top of; on or to the other side of; during; more than', and *toward* 'in the direction of' (ColT, LD).

Let us look at their behaviour in the texts examined. *With* seems to indicate a „periodical companionship” of somebody who is typically a human causer of the emotion, whereas *at* is more momentary, which corresponds with Osmond's explanation (Osmond 1997):

„It seems that we are usually angry with people because their continued presence or existence continues to feed our emotion. Yet when we use some anger-type words, most notably mad, it is arguably more acceptable to say

(50) I am so mad at Tom.

than

(51) I am so mad with Tom.

At draws attention to the intensity of the moment and the associated physical reaction.” (Osmond 1997: 118)<sup>15</sup>

Three other interesting prepositions are *about*, *over* and *for*, which usually introduce a reason for the emotion into texts. The difference between *at* and *about* seems to be a difference between an unambiguous and an approximate description of events or situations, whereas *over* indicates a completed past action with additional connotations of excessiveness. Let us look at the examples given below.

(10)

A 14-year-old boy fired a pistol at his principal, tossed the gun in a bush, and slipped back to [the] math class because he was **angry** at being sent home from school.

The boy missed and the principal, Matteo Rizzo, was not hurt in Wednesday's shooting.

„He had been **angry** over an incident that involved his friend.” Rizzo said, „We had him go home to cool off.” (H-2)

(11)

This latest coup was attempted not by officers anxious to vindicate the army's honour, but by disgruntled sergeants and corporals, most of them too young to have taken part in the dirty war. The arrested 600 included 33 officers and 540 non-commissioned officers, the vast majority of them aged 33 or less. They have plenty to be **angry** about. Argentine sergeants, who these days can usually read and write, are seldom promoted to be officers. Their pay and conditions are miserable and there are far more of them than the army can usefully employ. Since the early 1980s the army's strength and budget have been cut in half. The average number of conscripts in training has fallen from 80,000 to about 15,000. (BNC-4)

<sup>15</sup> The examples given by Osmond (1997) differ in their usage, as (50) seems acceptable in US English, whereas (51) seems more acceptable in UK English.

In (10) the reason for the boy's anger is described twice. In the introductory sentence of the article a journalist points this out directly, using the preposition *at*. Then, one of the people involved in the accident, namely the school principal who was the object of his pupil's anger, mentions events which had taken place earlier and yet which do not seem to have been serious enough to cause a normal person to react in such a violent, aggressive way. The preposition *over* is used here to indicate the past, complete action. Thus, the same anger is shown in one text from two different points of view - the journalist's (as an informer) and the object's (as a commentator) and the difference between them is expressed, amongst other things, by a different choice of prepositions, *at* and *over*.

The next preposition, *about*, is used in (11) in its typical context. It begins with a general sentence, and then more detailed information about the reasons for anger is given. As Osmond (1997) explains and example (11) confirms, „About brings to mind the idea of approximation rather than precision; of a range of things existing round a central situation” (Osmond 1997: 119). This „range of things” is listed in the additional part of the text, following the sentence discussed.

At the end of the description of the semantic functions of the prepositions occurring with the adjective *angry* it is worth turning to the preposition *for*. In the part of BNC which has been examined it always occurs together with *with* or *at* when they introduce human objects of the emotion. In such sentences *for* creates a special background, giving some additional information about the reason for the antagonism between the experiencer and her/his object, as we can see in (12).

(12)

Karen lived with her abusive partner for 12 years. She put up with a daily routine of beatings, verbal abuse and threats (...). The first attempt to escape her tormentor was with a telephone call to a local police station (...). Karen was pointed in the direction of Women's Aid, which arranged for her and the children to escape to a safe house (...).

„I was **angry** at myself for not doing it sooner, but I know the person I should be **angry** with is him for doing it at all.”  
(the *Her.*-42)

Because *for* needs a human object as well as a human experiencer in a sentence, the reader may conclude that it introduces to the text a kind of emotional reason which seems to be more deliberate, as if designed by a causer, especially because an intention is also involved in other meanings of *for*. In English a similar function is performed by the preposition *to*, which, however, never occurs in connection with the adjective *angry*. According to Osmond, *to* involves the experiencer's good intentions towards the object,

which stands in contrast to 'being angry' where the intentions are usually bad (see Osmond 1997: 127).

Although various reasons for the emotions are often introduced into English texts by means of prepositional structures, subordinate clauses can play a similar role. If they begin with *that* or *because*, they stress a causative relation between the emotion and the action or situation which follows, while if they begin with *when* or *after*, they stress a temporal relation between them (see 13, 14).

(13)

PACKIE BONNER is **angry** that Glasgow Celtic boss Liam Brady would not let him go on loan to Premier Division club Middlesborough. The-transfer-listed Republic of Ireland goalkeeper is desperate for first team football, especially as the Republic face tough away World Cup assignments against Denmark and Spain. Bonner said: „Nothing has changed at Celtic. I want to leave the club.” (BNC-35)

(14)

He had first introduced himself to her as Stephen and she had never shown any wish to call him Dad. Did that matter? Rationally, no; emotionally, for all his rejection of the feeling, yes. He suddenly realised that the boy she was talking to — Michael Scala, whose parents were Italian— looked like that waiter at the hotel in Greece. Michelle had been **angry** when by chance he and Veronica had found them together in her room, both almost naked but apparently not having completed what had begun. She had been indifferent to warnings about the risk of pregnancy or worse and had sulked over the strict limitations they placed on her for the remainder of the holiday. (BNC-54)

But the very special structure which stresses the reason for the emotion is one in which the main position of the syntactical subject is taken in a sentence by a noun denoting the reason and a causative verb *to make* is used (see 15).

(15)

Andrew had turned his head, taking another look at his protégée. She had washed her hands and face at the pump in front of the inn. As he had suspected, her skin had the unmistakable radiance of youth. It made him **angry** again. "You're just a nuisance and I've got to find something to do with you, horse-thief though you be." "I'm not!" "Yes you are and don't argue with me. Well, what's it to be? Wild Tor or Manfro Draper's bed?" (BNC-41)

When it comes to the nature of the expressed reason, the reader of the English texts we have examined can find the following kinds of causes of anger:

(a) unjust, dishonest behaviour or action in general on the part of anger-causer or precisely against the experiencer or other people represented by the experiencer (20x in BNC), for example:

- (16) An acceptance of this offer without a fight will certainly lead to the future offers of any, if any being even lower. I move. (...) When the Tory government announced the one and a half per cent pay ceiling for public service workers, many public service workers quite rightly so, were **angry**. (BNC-100)

(b) the causer's improper behaviour which consists in breaking rules in such spheres as morality, status, truthfulness and keeping promises (in family life, in friendships, at work, or more generally in public life) (22x), as is shown by examples (14), (17) and (18).

- (17) My rebellion was only half-consciously directed at my father's choice of reading matter for me, although his disapproving and often **angry** comments made it clear that he took my behaviour as a personal affront. I wanted to choose for myself, yes, but I also wanted to escape into a world of certainties, which I knew to be unreal while desperately wanting to believe that it might have some reality. I wanted to escape from being at home, from being at school and, quite consciously and openly, from being myself. (BNC-32)

- (18) SUPERSTAR Shirley Bassey slapped and insulted her personal assistant during a row in a hotel room, a court heard yesterday. Hilary Levy, 44, who had worked for the singer on and off for 15 years, claimed she was sacked by Miss Bassey after a dispute over working hours. Miss Levy told Brentford County Court, west London, that Miss Bassey hit her on the back and called her a "Jewish bitch" after consuming "a fair amount of champagne". (...) The star (...) also denied sacking Miss Levy and calling her a "bitch". She told the court she was **angry** after Miss Levy slammed her bedroom door in the hotel. (H-11)

(c) an obstacle, a difficulty in the experiencer's plans or actions (13x), as in (19).

- (19) Beeson, the England captain, scored his first victory over the world No. 9. Zarak Jahan Khan, with one of the finest performances of his career, and then complained about the remarks he claimed his opponent had been making during the rallies. „I told him that was quite unnecessary,” Beeson said. „It made me **angry**, and that sort of thing makes me get stuck in.” (BNC-2)

(d) making the experiencer feel helpless and/or worse than (s)he thinks (s)he is (e.g. a fool, stupid) in other people's eyes:

- (20) „Did you speak to Miss Needham?” Markby almost shouted before Simon could finish. „And as she walked away from you, did you utter the words, „Wait until Boxing Day” or any words similar to that?” „I don't remember.” „Yes, you do. You were **angry**. You had some cause to be. She pushed you. She made you look a bit of a fool in front of anyone else who was watching. Didn't it make you **angry**? Wouldn't you have liked to get your own back?” (BNC-31)

(e) physical or emotional harm done to the experiencer, as in (21).

(21)

„How is the spot-nosed monkey?” Robert smiled. „He's doing fine. There are two girl keepers who spend as much time as they can with him and are giving him so many titbits that he's getting thoroughly spoiled. But when he sees me he gets very **angry** and chatters away furiously. Won't let me touch him. Obviously blames me for sticking a needle into him, and I expect he always will.” (BNC-93)

In the light of the list of examples given above it seems that, in English, anger may be connected with an intellectual evaluation of its reason (see groups (a) and (b)). Because of this 'anger' may be placed in the category of higher, typically human emotions, although in BNC its experiencer is not only a person, but also an animal (in (22) monkey) or at least (s)he is similar to an aggressive animal (4x) such as an eagle, a hawk or a lion.

The similarity between animals and angry people directs our attention to the problem of symptoms and expressions of the emotion. Such linguistic expressions as an *angry voice / words / note / critique / comments / statement / insistence / retort / disputes / debate* show that the most typical way of expressing anger is to say or to write something. In fact, in BNC this kind of expression is given at least 41 times, both by means of the linguistic structures mentioned above, and in a wider context (see (17), (20), and also (22)).

(22)

„Ciao, Carlo,” she said in freezing tones, giving Alexandra a frosty look. „Gina! Caro!” Carlo got to his feet. „It has been such a long time! Where have you been?” „Living in the same apartment as always,” Gina said. She seemed rather **angry** about something. „But I have lost your telephone number” „— and I still have the same name in the telephone directory,” snarled Gina. „Or have you lost your glasses too?” „Gina,” said Carlo reproachfully, „how can you speak in such a way?” (BNC-53)

According to (22), an angry person's speech may be full of irony, bitterness and malice. Sometimes (s)he can become even more aggressive and stern, shouting, screaming or, like animals, snarling and growling at other people (see 23).

(23)

I told her my name, who I was, and that you were old, but in good health, and had journeyed very far into the wood. I told her of my mother Elethandian, your wife, and I would have told her more but she began to scream at me. She called me a liar. She was very **angry**. She said that I was a fraud. She said the police would come to take me into the stockade like the cruel and wild animal I was. (BNC-85)

A special group of angry symptoms concerns the experiencer's appearance (10x). An angry person may have *an angry scowling face with flaring, angry nostrils, a frosty, sharp look* and *chattering teeth*. Her/his breath can *be angry and indrawn*, and all her/his body can *shake*. A representative description is given in (24).

(24)

By the time she reached this point in her narrative, Lou's eyes had hardened, her nostrils were flaring and her small-boned hands were gripping her knees like talons. She reminded Melissa of an **angry** young hawk. „She sat there wearing her cat-at-the-cream expression and saying how lovely it would be for all three of us to be together again!” Lou spat out the words as if they had turned rancid in her mouth. „Did you think she was trying to get him back?” asked Melissa. „I didn't know what to think.” (BNC-81)

Instead of speaking in an angry way or writing angry letters to newspapers, and having an angry appearance, people sometimes also take more dangerous, violent actions, *attacking the others, fighting with them, hitting them, throwing things away, or even killing animate objects* (see 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 18). Although these violent actions happen quite often (23x in BNC), there are psychologists which claim the „dangerous” rule in English society is that one should try to suppress one's anger and angry reactions (3x). This danger is explained in the following way:

(25)

Indeed I think it is positively dangerous to hold negative feelings in. The childhood messages that we get from our parents and teachers are things like, „Good little girls don't get **angry**” and „I hope you're being a good girl today”. This can result in women feeling it's wrong to tell people how they feel, especially if they feel **angry**. Many women never really express any anger. The best way to let off steam is with people who love you and don't judge you. However, we could hurt the people who love us most if we don't negotiate with them a time and method for letting out anger. (BNC-29)

Apart from the cultural limitations imposed on expressing anger, especially by girls and women, some important features of anger are evident in example (25). Firstly, anger is allocated here to the category of negative emotions, since its expression may be dangerous for other people, and also holding it in can be dangerous for the experiencer (see also (26)).

(26)

It was late, and Harriet knew David would be asleep in a minute or two. They lay with a space between them. But it was no longer a space full of anger. Harriet knew that he was too permanently exhausted to be **angry**. Anyway, he had decided not to be **angry**: it was killing him. (BNC-27)

Secondly, anger can be controlled by a person and, according to the author of (25), its expression may be directed in various ways after negotiations with people. Moreover, if one *negotiates a time and method for letting out anger*, it is safe for the surroundings.

One of the safer methods for expressing anger seems to be a distance created by the experiencer (6x), a distance between her/him and her/his opponent who used to be in a

closer relationship before. Thus an angry person *sends the object away, refuses to meet her/him, leaves the club or stays out of the council.*

In sum, the most frequent symptoms and expressions of 'anger' are not harmfully aggressive (angry speech, angry appearance, distance = 57%, whereas violent action = 23%), which may be connected with the approximate intensity of the emotion.

On the one hand, such expressions as *to be excessively angry, to grow furiously angry, to feel disproportionately angry* and *as/like an angry lion* stress the extreme intensity of the emotion (5x). More frequent, however, are constructions with semantic modifiers such as *very* (6x), *so* (4x), *such* (1x) and the emphatic *did* (1x) which point out the great power of the emotion. On the other hand, there are also a few examples of less intense anger, when an experiencer is described as *rather angry* (2x), *half laughing, half angry* (1x), or *just angry* (2x). If we look at example (27), we can observe that 'anger' takes the first position on the list of various kinds of anger ranging from the least intense to the most intense, and it is here treated as an emotion which is not all that powerful.

(27)

She leaned across and used her fingers to smooth his brow. „Stop frowning. It makes you look like a walrus. Why are you so bad-tempered, Paul?” Schramm gave up. He slumped in his seat. „God knows,” he said. „You've been playing God lately. You tell me.” „All right, listen. You're **angry** because you know you're wrong. You keep denying this, but you're too honest to get away with it. Last time we met you weren't just **angry**, you were furious. You were in a rage with me. Why? Because I did what you had always wanted to do.” „Kill helpless patients? Not me, doctor. Not me.” (BNC-82)

In the light of (27) 'anger' seems to be less powerful than fury and rage, as if it indicates a normal, ordinary level of intensity. This feature can be confirmed by the high percentage of texts in which no information about its power is given (78% in BNC).

The last question about the nature of the emotion shown in texts involving the adjective *angry* is temporal characteristics of the emotion. On the one hand, using expressions such as *to become angry* (1x), *to get angry* (8x), *to begin to feel angry* (1x) stresses the beginning of the emotion which is seen here as a temporal process. After the starting point the experiencer *grows angry* or *builds up* her/his emotion (2x) and then can *stop being angry* (1x). On the other hand, with the help of temporal modifiers (*again* - 2x; *sometimes* - 2x; *never* - 1x; *often* - 1x; *once* - 1x; *this evening* - 1x) authors treat anger as a momentary and/or repeatable emotion. In spite of this, sentences including the structure 'X

is angry' or 'X feels angry' very often do not make precise the temporal nature of 'anger', as if this were inessential.

Another interesting feature that may be observed on the basis of the materials examined concerns the emotional surroundings of the concept 'angry', namely in answer to the question: which emotions usually appear in the immediate context of the adjective *angry*? It is most frequently accompanied by the lexemes that belong to the same general category of 'ANGER' (32x): 'anger' (6x), 'fury' (6x), 'madness' (4x), 'rage' (3x), 'upset' (3x), 'bitterness' (2x), 'bad-temper' and 'ill-humour' (3x). There are also other variants of 'ANGER', but each is recorded only once in the texts examined in this subchapter: 'resentment', 'irritation', 'annoyance', 'animosity', 'jealousy'. The next category of emotions accompanying the adjective *angry* is 'FEAR' (22x), represented by the groups of 'anxiety' (4x), 'afraid' (3x), 'fear' (3x), 'scare' (2x), 'worry' (2x) and a few others which occur only once (eg. *threatened, frightened, jeopardize*). The emotion of fear is the emotion of an anger-experiencer or her/his object. In addition, a group of 'disappointment and negative surprise' (10x) as well as a group of 'disapproval, contempt and disgust' (10x) create an emotional background for anger. What may surprise the reader is that *angry* occurs fairly often in conjunction with words which denote positive emotions and emotional states, such as love (9x), respect (5x), happiness (4x), restraint (4x), calm (3x) and kindness (3x). These positive affections form in texts either a sphere of emotionality opposed to anger or an emotional background for anger (see 9, 25). In some cases a positive feeling is even directly linked with anger which may give a special kind of pleasure for its experiencer, as in (28).

(28)

It's OK — death is fairly quick Sir, — I write in reply to the letter, „Fox Control”. I wonder if „name and address supplied” would volunteer to be chased five miles by an **angry** mob being happy in the knowledge that when caught he or she would not be beaten up but dispatched humanely? The mob volunteers, if forth coming, would I'm sure enjoy the chase. Unfortunately it would not be possible to ask the victim if he or she enjoyed it. (BNC-16)<sup>16</sup>

In this way anger appears here as an ambivalent emotion, which is not only negative, but also (sometimes) can give some positive feeling to the experiencer.

To sum up, in the light of texts analysed above, the emotion of 'being angry' can be described as a typically human feeling directed against a human object (who usually is the

<sup>16</sup> It needs to be noticed here, however, that a description of „positive” anger is ironic in (28).



causer of the anger) or without any specified human opponent. It is caused by something bad which had been done by the causer or something that had happened in the experiencer's life previously. The experiencer evaluates the reason for the emotion negatively (sometimes taking into consideration the moral and intellectual system of values) and anger is the direct reaction to this negative evaluation. The experiencer may be an individual or a whole group of people, and usually (s)he/it is alien, not close to the human object of the emotion. Both opponents are involved in politics, sport, crime, work or social life, less often they are members of the same family, lovers or friends. The typical expression of this kind of anger is not violent (speaking and writing, distance). The social level of an experiencer does not have to be higher than that of her/his opponent, although sometimes it is. Anger is most often linked with other emotions<sup>v</sup> from the same group, especially the most intense ('fury', 'rage'), but it seems to represent a rather average intensity.

### 1.3. *Angrily*

The adverb *angrily* occurs in the databases we have examined 1443 times. In 100 extracts from BNC available for the research this is always used in a meaning which concerns the situation of the emotion. Due to its adverbial form and function this lexeme is very useful in descriptions of an anger-experiencer's behaviour and appearance. Thus, it can be treated as a grammatical phenomenon whose conceptual role is to profile - from the whole schema of an emotional situation - the symptoms and expressions of anger.

These symptoms and expressions are similar to those found in texts in which the adjective *angry* is used. However, the proportions between their different types are not the same in the case of the adverb and adjective (especially because the information about the symptoms and expressions of anger is not central to the conceptualisation of the adjective). The most general collocation which profiles an aspect of how anger is expressed is *to react angrily* (8x in BNC). The other ones are more specific. The most typical specific reaction relates in this case to speech (77x). It can be ordinary, uncharacteristic speech (e.g. *to say / tell something angrily*), or more precise, for example: a) using a loud voice and being aggressive in speech (e.g. *to shout / scream / roar angrily at somebody*); b) making

unpleasant sounds (such as in *to shriek / screech / snap angrily*); c) doing something additional when speaking angrily (e.g. *to protest / deny / demand / complain angrily*); d) arguing with somebody in an angry, emotional way (e.g. *to argue angrily*). A representative example of this large category is (29).

(29)

Mark's face hardened into an expression of bitter hatred. He had been deeply hurt twice before by the Corporation, but this last kick in the stomach on [his] final departure was the last straw. He flung the contract at the feet of the American. „You call these terms generous?” he demanded **angrily**. „I call it a bloody insult!”. The American was visibly shaken by the Englishman's angry response. „Sorry you feel that way about it, Mark. You can keep the company car,” he added quickly. „You sure the Corporation can afford it?” Mark asked sarcastically. „What did Muldoon say?” he added sharply. (BNC-41)

In fact, the angry experiencer's reaction in (29) is quite aggressive. That is discernible not only in his spoken behaviour (his use of swearing, *bloody*, and an exclamative sentence), but also in his physical action, since flinging things at someone's feet is a visible, vehement and aggressive sign of protest. This is only a short step to real, open, damaging aggression.

Open aggression is mentioned in BNC 32 times (so more often than in the contexts of the adjective). In these cases *angrily* describes directly such vehement actions as *to kick / throw / knock over something angrily*, where the objects of the action are things in the experiencer's surroundings. In the wider context there may be information about more general situations which can be called aggressive, namely attacks and fights. The role of spoken aggressive behaviour is in those cases usually of a great importance too (as in 29). It may even be the only factor described in a text metaphorically by means of the image of a real attack and fight, as in (30).

(30)

While Mr Tsongas stayed out of the New York contest, Mr Clinton and Mr Brown had a bruising fight. They argued **angrily** over who was the real „Prince of Sleaze” for running commercials attacking the other's honesty. Mr Clinton was battered with new questions about avoiding the Vietnam war after admitting he received his call-up papers. (BNC-62)

Turning back for a moment to example (29) we can observe that the third type of feature which confirms somebody's anger (apart from speaking and real or metaphorical aggression) is the anger-experiencer's appearance. In defining the typical appearance of an

angry person in BNC we may observe that a *hardened face* with *angrily narrowed eyes*, *angrily looking at somebody*, and even *scowling at somebody*, as well as vehement movements of the experiencer's head, hands and whole body create his / her typical image. This often belongs to the group of uncontrolled, unintended symptoms of the emotion. Such mostly physiological symptoms of anger are mentioned in BNC 29 times (see 31).

(31)

„(...) Take our kids away from us because you reckon you know what's good for them better than what we do? You're no better than a Hitler.” Startled, George turned his head to stare at a woman who was standing up somewhere in the middle of the tight-packed rows of the audience. Her face was red with emotion and she was standing with her head poked **angrily** forward. „Who do you think you are, you scientists?” she cried shrilly. „Didn't you have a mother that loved you? And haven't you got kids of your own? Would you let someone take your kids away? Or is it all right for you to keep your own kids, but the likes of us, ordinary people, who've got to give up—” (BNC-69)<sup>17</sup>

An interesting feature of an anger-experiencer's reaction to something is her / his creation of a distance between her / him and her / his opponent. This may just take the form of leaving a place, person, organisation which are connected with the bad event which is the reason for somebody's anger. Firstly, it occurs when the experiencer feels that (s)he has done everything which could be done, so abandoning the meeting seems to her / him to be the only non-aggressive method of protesting against the evil. Secondly, this may also happen when the experiencer has a privileged position and feels that (s)he has sufficient power to order people to leave her / him. (32) is an intermediate example of these two cases, and an interesting situation of the second kind is described in (33) (a text with some archaic linguistic features).

(32)

The CEGB denied that it was intended as a bribe. When it came to the special compulsory purchase hearings (taken as part of the Hinkley C Inquiry), the Board also fell flat on its face. After the CEGB barrister mentioned in passing that the Board was in fact already applying to build a completely new road, skirting the village, the Inspector **angrily** abandoned the proceedings. He later recommended the reimbursement of the objectors' costs. Maureen Randall, who led the protest group Combwich Residents Environmental Concern with her husband John, said at the end of the inquiry that she had started off with „no particular views on nuclear power”. She was now determinedly against. (BNC-70)

(33)

Now my Cid knew the evil disposition of the King towards him, and when he received his bidding, he made answer that he would meet him between Burgos and Bivar. And the King went out from Burgos and came nigh unto Bivar; and the Cid came up to him and would have kissed his hand, but

<sup>17</sup> In the light of this, the feeling indicated by the adverb seems to be more aggressive, more active and more „expressive” (in both speech and an experiencer's appearance) than the feeling indicated by the adjective (described in Chapter III.1.2.).

the King withheld it, and said **angrily** unto him, Ruydiez, quit my land. Then the Cid clapt spurs to the mule upon which he rode, and vaulted into a piece of ground which was his own inheritance, and answered, Sir, I am not in your land, but in my own. And the King replied full wrathfully, Go out of my kingdoms without any delay. (BNC-97)

In (33) the demand to leave the land is connected with two aspects of the situation of anger. Firstly, the King is angry because the Cid, in the King's opinion, entered his kingdom and broke the law, and this is the reason for his anger. Thus, his demand that the Cid leave his land is a wish to see the law respected. Secondly, this also seems to be the direct angry reaction of a powerful man who does not like to have any contact with a wrongdoer / his opponent, since the King does not allow the Cid to kiss his ring and to stay with him. What appears to be important here is the fact that the adverb *wrathfully* also occurs in this text as a synonym of *angrily*. It provides evidence of a link between a great difference in the social status of both opponents, and allows the possibility of using the adverb *wrathfully* in this kind of situation (see III.2.2.).

If we concern ourselves with the nature of the experiencer and her / his opponent, namely with the nature of their relationship, we can only confirm the results shown in Chapter III.1.2. (*Angry*), even though neither the experiencer nor her / his opponents are the main focus of sentences containing the adverb *angrily*. On the basis of selected texts from BNC, in which it was possible to define a kind of experiencer and wrongdoer, it must be said that the relation of strangeness is still the most typical in such cases. Moreover, the categories of politics (especially international conflicts) and of the life of society (conflicts between a government or a council and people or conflicts between employers and employees) are represented here most often (31x). The next type of characteristic relationship deals with family life, where the most typical experiencers of anger are parents or grandparents (10x). They normally have the greatest power and authority in such families. By contrast, children are anger-experiencers only in four texts. This protective power also makes teachers (1x) and doctors (1x) resemble the previous group, since, like parents, they take care of and are responsible for their charges. The third field in which doing something angrily occurs frequently is crime (12x). Policemen and detectives as well as criminals, superiors and subordinates, belong to the group of anger-experiencers, but most of its members have more power (8x) and only a few are from the same (colleagues) or lower (subordinates) level. In the light of this, anger in the context of *angrily* seems to be more powerful and more dependent on the higher social or political position of an

experiencer than anger in the context of *angry*. It must be also noted that information about an object, given directly in the sentence involving *angrily*, is relatively rare in the BNC texts examined (16x). A wrongdoer is only mentioned when an author explains the reason for the anger, so this object is merely part of the description's background. Sometimes the object of the anger is not the generator of it, but simply another person who is more easily available to the experiencer and, because of this, is chosen by her / him as a target of their anger, as in (34), or, alternatively, even a thing may become the object of somebody's anger, as in (35).

(34)

(...) But now, propped in his high-backed chair, he cackled with a malicious glee. „Virtue Mine Honour, eh? It suits you, Lachlan! Heh, heh!” He stopped, coughing harshly, but as he sipped at the medicine Master Beaton held to his lips he was still grinning. **Angrily** Lachlan turned on Hector. „Well, master scholar! Hector Odhar, they're calling you now, I'm told, for that you can scarcely be called swift, nor my father brown, with his wisps of hair like dandruff! Sing to us now, some of your Latin, maybe, and give us the benefit of your great learning!” To keep the fragile peace Hector agreed. (BNC-90)

(35)

Tiny, patchwork, coastal fields were centred by small, four-square-to-the-wind crofts, some still turf-thatched; proprietorial, black-eyed sheepdogs snapped **angrily** at our car's wheels as we passed. (BNC-95)

As the reader can see in (35), not only people, but also animals feel anger. This is, however, the only instance of an animal anger-experiencer recorded in the BNC texts we have examined (and there are no examples of this kind in 100 extracts from *H*). An inanimate subject of anger is registered in BNC three times, but in fact its action and behaviour is the result of an angry human experiencer's action or behaviour, as in (36) and (37).

(36)

„We are right in front of it,” said the driver. „Nae lights. Ye get bombed in this country if ye show a light. Now will you either pay yer fare or get off ma tram!” „Great, great,” replied Ben, still laughing as he jumped down and rejoined his comrade in the jeep. The tram clanged its bell and rattled off **angrily** into the gloom. (BNC-65)

(37)

Their new songs range from the rhythmic and tuneful Big Nuthin', with its gently cynical catalogue of the anticlimaxes of life, to an unaccompanied half-spoken, half-sung piece, The Anti-sex Backlash Of The Eighties, dealing wittily and **angrily** with sexual politics. These ladies deserve careful listening, but there are patches, as on Nocturne, where the music is far less interesting than the well-written and atmospheric lyrics. (BNC-28)

Focusing on the most typical reasons of the emotion connected with the lexeme *angrily*, we can divide these into at least five groups (whose boundaries are not obviously sharply defined, but whose members are closely related to each other):

1. The reason for anger and an angry reaction described by the lexeme *angrily* is most often (30x) somebody's immoral, unfair or unkind behaviour. The feeling of justice is the important aspect of this conceptualisation, and this is either individual (in 29 and 38) or collective (in 39).

(38)

„He's all right Jack! He's got two thirds of a bloody great American salary four times greater than mine for doing similar work. That gives him a pension nearly ten times greater than the one I've got. I'm not surprised he didn't say much. Who the hell would want to rock the boat on a deal like that! Do YOU think that's fair?" he shouted **angrily**. „But you're not an American, Mark. You're an Englishman." „So." „So bullshit!" Mark exploded. (BNC-42)

(39)

„But surely that is the core of the problem! Women have been brought up to accept the role of second-class citizens, subject to their husbands' whims and opinions. Is it any wonder that men regard them as half-wits?" Catherine exclaimed **angrily**. „Only male contempt for women as a class perpetuates the present system. As a fair-minded man, you must accept that women are treated as if they are the sole cause of illegitimacy. But who gets these poor wretches with child? They are not criminals, but the innocent victims of men. If women had the vote, something would be done!" „No doubt." (BNC-78)

In this group the intellectual negative evaluation of the cause is discernible, which is confirmed particularly by the examples where profound explanations of the reason are given (as in 38 and 39). This is based on a system of moral values.

2. The reason for an angry reaction may also stem from a difficulty or difficult situation in which the experiencer cannot do what (s)he wants to do or has to do what (s)he does not wish to do (as in 40). This can even lead to a loss of the benefits which (s)he had expected to gain (as in 41) (21x). What is interesting in most examples from this group is that the difficulty is not a matter concerning one individual, but more often affects a group of people (a company, a party, a country), as in the following examples:

(40)

Catering is just one of the areas BA is examining for potential cost-cutting. And at BA's annual meeting last week, chairman Lord King said: „Our business is to get people into planes and fly them. I don't want to make bread rolls; I want to eat them." However, Maurice Decarteret, operations manager at BA's Catering Centre South, Heathrow, reacted **angrily** to suggestions that catering might be contracted out. He said: „We would be looking to make ourselves viable in-house before going down that road, and we are well able to do it." Mr Decarteret also pointed out that if catering

services were contracted out, „very delicate industrial relations issues” would be high-lighted. (BNC-20)

(41)

China fury at British base move By KEVIN HAMLIN HONG KONG — China reacted **angrily** yesterday to Hong Kong's decision to move a centrally-located British naval base to an outlying island, a switch apparently designed to undercut any plans China had for a high-profile military presence after 1997, writes Kevin Hamlin. Although China wanted the naval base retained, Chief Secretary Sir David Ford announced that by 1992 it would be moved from its central site to make way for land reclamation. (BNC-14)

The negative evaluation of such reasons may be sensory when an angry reaction is expressed directly; but it does not necessarily preclude an intellectual component.

3. The next group of reasons is to some extent connected with the two previous instances. In general, it encompasses various situations of disagreement between people (17x), especially in respect of politics. The wrongdoer's acts are treated in such cases by her / his opponents as breaking the law or some common rules. In this interpretation an intellectual evaluation is included in the conceptualisation, for example in (42).

(42)

Reuter adds from Washington: President George Bush yesterday **angrily** denounced followers of Gen Aoun and said a partition of Lebanon would be totally unacceptable to the world community. (BNC-24)

4. Angry reactions happen also in situations where somebody accuses the other person of something unfairly or wrongly, and when (s)he makes her/him worse in the eyes of others and undermines somebody's authority (43).

(43)

Berlusconi, unabashed by his own creation of what amounts to a duopoly, bangs the drum of the free market against RAI, claiming that the licence payers' money is being squandered to break down unwanted competition. The Director-General, Biagio Agnes (like all RAI executives a political party appointee), has **angrily** accused the Berlusconi camp of „dragging in even the authorities of the state and seizing every opportunity to attack the public broadcasting service with statements of such arrogance that they betray weakness and sheer lack of class despite (Berlusconi's) economic power and much-vaunted influential friendships” .”Empty words,” barked back the entrepreneur. (BNC-10)

The accusation does not need to apply solely to political life, because it may also occur in the private lives of a man and a woman (see 44).

(44)

„Don't be so damn selfish, woman. If you could be trusted to look after the kid properly, he wouldn't need clothes from other people, would he?” „Have you even looked at it? It's the wrong size. It's far too big for him.” She sighed **angrily**, then narrowed her eyes into slits and stared at Buddy's broad

back. „And just who dares to say that I don't look after my son properly? What lies have your sisters been spreading about me this time? Answer me, damn you. I have a right to know what goes on behind my back.” (BNC-49)

5. Sometimes (but very infrequently - there are only two instances in the BNC texts examined) the reason for a person's angry reaction is not a single act or event, but human features which are seen in a negative light such as intellectual constraints and naivety.

The negative evaluation includes not only a reason for the anger in the examples given above, but it can also relate to the emotion and especially in the case of the adverb *angrily* to emotional reactions. In the database we have examined there are more examples of this. Thus, for instance, a boy, after his father has spoken angrily to him, states:

(45) As I hated anger and blame, I became wretched. (BNC-35)

A direct evaluation is also given by the narrator of a school story in which a teacher *flapped the duster angrily*. The writer comments on the act as follows:

(46) The class was not giving the kind of demonstration of good behaviour she [the teacher - A.M.] would have liked. (BNC-57)

The speaker (in 45) and the narrator (in 46) take into consideration the object's or even the experiencer's point of view and this represents a kind of emotional and moral evaluation. Only once in the BNC texts examined is an evaluation registered that is not merely negative. Let us look at the description in (47) which is probably written by a psychologist.

(48) The required standard of self-control is kept fairly constant, but in order to assess the strength of the provocation, it is necessary to consider the relevant personal characteristics. This demonstrates the interaction between the excusing elements in provocation (not just the loss of self-control, but the degree of provocation experienced) and the justificatory elements (to an extent, D was right to react **angrily** to what had been said or done, unless the alleged provocation was self-induced or was a legally justified act). The interaction between these elements is a complex one [...]. Thus, the standard of self-control is not constant but may vary, according to Camplin, with the age and sex of the defendant. (BNC-47)

The positive evaluation of an angry reaction is here given as a conditional one. If the reason for the emotion has been provoked by the angry experiencer, (s)he is guilty and the



emotional reaction cannot be excused. And if somebody reacts angrily to events which are legally correct, this is not right and positive. Thus, only illegal action or provocation which is not self-induced may lead to proper, fair, angry expression. A positive evaluation is possible here, but, as we see, not obvious. The positive value may exist despite the lack of control which is regarded in (47) almost as a synonym of angry reactions.

At the end of the description of the features of anger which are discernible in the contexts of the adverb *angrily* it is worth looking at the kind of emotional background in which people usually react angrily. The most frequent emotions conceptualised and mentioned in the contexts of *angrily* are: anger (20x, with 'anger', 'fury', 'hate', 'resentment', 'bitterness' and others), fear (8x, with 'fear', 'threat', 'worry' and others), amusement (6x, with 'amuse' and 'sarcasm'), sadness (4x, with 'sad', 'sorry' and 'despair') and a group of positive emotions (6x), mainly presented in texts as opposition to anger.

In sum, the adverb *angrily* helps English speakers to describe emotional reactions of anger, which are in the majority of cases various kinds of speech, but, in a minority, aggressive actions too. Moreover, aggression seems to be more typical for contexts of *angrily* than for contexts of *angry*. The reason for the emotion is typically immoral, unfair, unkind behaviour, or any difficulty or disagreement that arises between opponents. The experiencer and the object of the emotion are almost without exception people, but the position of the experiencer is often superior to that of the object, as the experiencer has more power and authority, and can really do (although this usually remains only a menacing possibility) something bad to the object. A negative evaluation of the reason often has moral and intellectual foundations, although this may also be direct and sensory. The emotion and its reactions can be negatively evaluated too - from a speaker's point of view. However, in special circumstances, a positive evaluation is also possible. The intensity of the emotion and its reactions as well as its duration are not described separately in the materials examined. Only such modifiers as *so*, *almost*, *strong* can suggest that the force of the reaction is fairly great.

### 1.4. Anger (noun)

*Anger* can represent two parts of speech: a noun and a verb. In 100 texts from BNC examined it is used 97 times as a noun and only 3 times as a verb. Thus in this chapter the noun concept of anger is discussed, whereas the verbal *to anger* will be included in the next chapter together with other forms of the verb, namely with *angers*, *angering* and *angered*.

The noun *anger* exists in the texts examined as part of various collocations, idioms and other more or less fixed expressions. Its syntactic environment may be of several kinds.

1. *Anger* is described by possessive pronouns which express the subject of the emotion (only 13x: *her anger* 8x, *his anger* 3x, *their anger* 1x and *hir anger*<sup>18</sup> 1x). It is only once linked with a noun in the Genitive (*horse's anger*), the form which directly denotes a particular subject of the emotion. This may suggest that in fact the experiencer of anger is not very specific, so it does not need to be mentioned, since it can be anyone.

2. *Anger* in prepositional constructions is used to give the reader various types of information. First, this expresses who is the object of the emotion (*anger with sb.* 5x, *anger at sb.* 2x) or what has been the cause of it (*anger at sth.* 6x, *anger with sth.* 2x, *anger for sth.* 2x, *anger over sth.* 1x, *anger about sth.* 1x). Second, there are constructions which answer the metaphorical question about the location of anger. Using the „imaginative“ (notional) schema of a container they express the inner location of the emotion in its subject (*anger in the community*, *in someone's mind*, *in sb.*, *inside sb.*, *within sb.*) or in the subject's body parts (*anger in someone's eyes*, *in someone's throat*). This suggests the internal nature of the emotion, which is linked to human control of it. Only twice in the texts examined is there prepositional evidence of the external character of anger registered (48).

(48)

Jane had never seen him so depressed, his **anger** frequently spilling over into words to her (...).  
(BNC-33)

Third, a special kind of prepositional phrase is constructed with the preposition *of*. It is fairly frequent in the texts examined and it helps to give information about:

a) The type of phenomenon anger is: *an emotion of anger* (2x), *a feeling of anger* (3x), *a high emotional arousal of anger* (1x).

<sup>18</sup> *Hir* is the form which occurs in a text with archaic features and this is not used in modern English.

b) The stages which may be recognised in a process of anger: beginning with the cause of anger, for example *The pressures of being poor, disabled, black, unemployed, or whatever, can lead to feelings of frustration, anger, resentment and depression* (BNC-94); the internal stage when somebody *shows not one hint of discomfort or anger* (BNC-82); its explosion as *the culmination of much anger* (BNC-30); and various symptoms and expressions such as *beautiful howls of rage and anger and fury* (BNC-56). The last stage may be *a displacement of anger* by something different (BNC-15).

c) The kind of emotions which are mixed or linked with anger: these are *a combination of guilt, anger and bitterness* (BNC-62), *the exhausting conflict of mixed emotions: the love, anger, frustration and guilt* (BNC-73) or *the conspiracy of jealousy, anger and the possibility of future revenge* (BNC-83).

Fourth, in other prepositional phrases, the noun *anger* plays the role of describing the verb, as in: *X does sth in anger / with anger / out of anger*. Potentially all these constructions can be used in English texts, but in 100 extracts examined only the first two are registered (three times each). The lack of expressions with the preposition *out of*, metaphorically conceptualising an emergence of anger from a human body container, may suggest that English 'anger' is not very external. According to Radden (1998), however, anger is a very intense emotion, overwhelming a person completely (*in anger*) and leaving her / him no choice in controlling her / his action, since „A person who emerges from the emotion container gains the freedom to decide on his own action (...)” (Radden 1998:288)<sup>19</sup>. What is interesting from a comparative point of view is that in English the preposition *from* is never used in this kind of „causal” construction, although its function is to express what the source, origin, starting point, or cause of something is. It may be suggested that in contrast to *out of*-phrases, *from*-phrases do not include information about

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<sup>19</sup> Radden concludes that:

„Emotions conceptualised as containers releasing a response and expressed by **out of**-phrase are lasting dispositions which motivate, but do not determine, a person's action. The person experiencing the emotion is fully aware of the emotion and manages to evade it and carry out some controlled action” (Radden 1998: 289). On the contrary, „Emotions conceptualised as containers and expressed by **in**-phrases are intense and predominantly negative. The physiological reactions triggered by them are processes or actions which are beyond the experiencer's control or responsibility” (Radden 1998: 279). *With*-phrases conceptualise the third kind of emotions which Radden terms „attendant emotions”. He characterises them as follows: „(...) emotions conceptualised as companions and expressed by **with**-phrases tend to be negative but are less intense than emotions conceptualised as containers. They give rise to reactions which are typically associated with them. These reactions are unintended and uncontrolled states or processes, but not intentional actions” (Radden 1998: 283).

control, because that which emerges *from* something can arise without any will or help. Thus, it may be suggested that the lack of *from*-phrases in the conceptualisation of emotions in English may confirm Wierzbicka's general thesis about the strong engagement of human will and thought in the English conceptualisation of emotions, including anger (Wierzbicka 1992b: 11-22). In OED the phrase *from anger* is confirmed only once in a sentence coming from 1440, thus it must be treated as archaic in present time.

3. *Anger* is also used as part of the predication in such expressions as: *to lead to anger* (2x), *to feel anger* (4x), *to express anger* (2x) and *to forget anger* (2x), which confirm its processual character. While observing the metaphorically and metonymically motivated meanings of expressions in which *anger* plays the role of a syntactic object supplementing a verb, the reader can also recognise a process involving the birth, development and end of the emotion, for example: *sth. produces / creates / rouses / gives way to / precipitates / turns to / prompts / changes to anger* (9x), *sb. augments / conquers / imprisons / fights her or his anger* (4x), *sb. succumbs to anger, shows anger, sb's gestures register anger, to see anger in the looks of sb., to watch the expressions of anger flitting across sb's face, to recognise sb's anger, sb's face is distorted with anger* (8x), *to flash anger at sb., to vent anger on sb. for sth.* (2x), *sb. forgets her/his anger* (2x) (40% of anger-occurrences in the texts examined). Anger is here conceptualised as an object which is an instrument in the hands of its experiencer or its observer, since it plays a subordinate role in a sentence.

4. *Anger* occurs also in sentences in the position of an active subject, taking control of its experiencer and of other people. It behaves like an animate creature, since it metaphorically *stands out, enters sth., takes its place, is aroused by sth., wells up in sb.,* and then *grows inside sb., works through sth., runs deeper than sth.* In the next stage *anger brings out sb's aggression, spills over into words, boils over, takes hold of sb., slices through sb. like a knife, turns sb. on, needs sth. to scorch and shrivel before it could be extinguished and it is clearing from sb's head* (21%).

5. *Anger* is also described by adjectives and other qualifiers, but not very often (only 7x). The expressions *much anger* (2x) and *such anger* (1x) suggest its great power, which may also be confirmed by the adjective *aggressive*, since aggression is always associated with great power. Both the adjective *aggressive* and the adjective *unreasonable*

underline a negative evaluation of the emotion, whereas another, *justifiable*, shows the opposite, namely, the positive value of anger. This is connected with an intellectual, moral assessment. The meaning of the expression *homosocial anger*, which emphasises the human character of the emotion developing in the experiencer's contacts with society, is in keeping with such an assessment.

Looking more carefully at the texts examined, we can find more detailed information about various aspects of anger conceptualised by the English noun.

What may be interesting is that the subject of the emotion may be not mentioned in the context of anger (20% of texts examined). This suggests that the role of the noun is not always to focus on the experiencer. However, from an examination of characteristic groups of subjects of anger, carried out on the basis of the materials from BNC, it was possible to discover the following:

1. Anger is felt by every human being, which is conceptualised in the texts by words with the general meaning: *you* (4x), *one* (2x) or *people* (1x), as in (50).

(50)

The Whip is an aid to reinforce the leg aid should the horse not respond. It should be used lightly but positively if required and the horse quickly rewarded when he responds. The whip is also used for conviction when needed it should be used with discretion and never to vent one's **anger** on a horse for one's own inadequacies. Firstly make sure your aids are clear and understandable before using the whip. (BNC-85)

This type of generic subject emerges in the kind of text intended for ordinary people rather than for specialists. Taken in conjunction with other texts which do not mention any subject, this allows the researcher to describe the experiencer of anger as anyone or, in other words, as no specific person. In addition, the lack of phrases in which the name of the experiencer is given in the Genitive (such as *God's anger*) confirms the vagueness of the subject (the only Genitive description is *horse's anger* - about a very specific and animal rather than human experiencer).

2. A group of people or a political organisation can be a collective subject of anger, such as *community, North America and Europe, countries, Irish farmers, Libyans, members of the meeting* (8x). People belonging to these communities usually share their opinions and react angrily to ideas and facts which are contrary to their expectation, as in (51).

(53)

Anger and fear in North America and Europe have also stymied dozens of Hong Kong-led investment projects in China. Just as unease about China's reliability as a production base has hurt Hong Kong manufacturers, anxiety over China's stability has undermined foreign financial confidence. Before Tiananmen, Jardine Fleming Investment, a Hong Kong firm specialising in China investments, was exploring 25 possible ventures in China. After the massacre, enthusiasm plummeted. Four of the prospective ventures have been dropped and another eight placed 'on hold', under pressure from queasy foreign investors. (BNC-9)

The power of an angry community is usually considerable because of its privileged economic or political position in the world or in a society. Sometimes, however, the group of angry people derives its strength from its numbers rather than from its status, since in some sense they are subordinate to their opponent and depend on him / her (for example: Irish farmers *vis-a-vis* the minister of agriculture, BNC-34).

3. Parents and guardians (7x), whose responsibility is to take care of their children and charges and who have the power to protect them from any evil, to punish them, or at least to show their disapproval of wrong behaviour, as in (52).

(52)

Pat is my older sister. She has recently left home, and whenever they talk about her my parents' voices are disapproving, as if she has gone off the rails in some way which they don't specify. It is either to do with sex or with overeating. She does seem to be heavier than she was when she lived at home, and she has dyed her hair blonde recently. Other than that, I can't see what it is about her that is so dreadful suddenly, but the tone of disappointment and warning in my mother's voice does (...) through me. I wouldn't want to prompt their disapproval and **anger**, so I try to eat less and my trips to the biscuit tin become fewer, or more sneaky. (BNC-48)

However, the parents' anger does not always play an educational role. It can also be a sensory reaction for various stimuli, and may even destroy family life:

(53)

There at least she began to speak. (...) „My head aches all the time. I have a burning fever - feel me sister, feel me. Inside me sometimes is such **anger**, **anger** with my babies, with my husband, with the whole of my life. Then suddenly I am panic-stricken. My head feels as though it is on fire. It started when I got home from hospital after having my baby. My husband gave me the news that my father had died back in home. He loves the babies. He is a good husband, but what can he do? And what can I do? How can I live, sister, how can I live!” (BNC-21)

4. An important person in a society (for example a prince, a head of the university or the most powerful being, God), also feels anger, but this kind of experiencer is very rare in the materials examined (and is mentioned directly only three times), so it does not seem to be very typical in the case of anger. What is interesting is that, in the only fragment

concerning God's emotions (54), *anger* occurs together with *wrath*, as if both of these nouns denoted two different feelings experienced by God.

(56)

Clearly a great deal of what religious traditions have to say about the Deity presupposes a personal God. We think of a being who shows various emotions towards creation - love, wrath, **anger**, sorrow, mercy and so on - and who is associated with particular activities that we think of as actions taken by persons, such as judgement. (BNC-59)

5. A large group of subjects emerges indirectly in the texts examined which are denoted by personal pronouns *she* or *he*. Because the extracts investigated are fairly short (only one paragraph in length), very often it is impossible to recognise what kind of person is being discussed. Sometimes there are lovers and friends, but also strangers. It does not matter how old they are and how much experience they have, since even little children can sense the emotion in question; however, the emotional reaction depends on someone's age and personal consciousness, as may be seen in (55).

(57)

Each child had his or her own particular repertoire with a preference for some actions over others, but with time they challenged their repertoire. The researcher found that there was a rapid decrease in outbursts as the child got older after the peak stage of eighteen months. Boys consistently showed more **anger** outbursts than girls. As the children increased in age from two to five years, there was the steady diminution in random direction - less expressions of **anger**, and an increase in retaliatory behaviour aimed at someone or something, arguing and fighting. (BNC-100).

6. Not only people and God but also animals (horses, snakes - 4x) can feel anger, which is the proof (albeit not wholly conclusive) of the biological (and not only human) nature of the emotion.

(56)

It is easy enough to recognise the extreme emotions of fear, **anger**, and elation in a horse, but what about the other emotions? (BNC-45)

The nature of an intentional, personal object of the emotion is even more indeterminate than the subject. In 79 texts (of 100 examined in BNC) it is not mentioned precisely and in the majority it is out of the context as if the aspect of the object were inessential to the English conceptualisation of anger. When it is given in a text, by means of phrases with the prepositions *with*, *at* or *on*, it usually occurs as additional information to the information about the cause of anger. Such personal objects can be members of the subject's family (a husband, a child - as in 52, 53), countries, governments and other

groups or organisations (for example *anger on Iraqi aggression*, BNC-84), and also animals (as in 50). Sometimes anger is directed against objects which have not intentionally taken any part in provoking the emotion. A prototypical situation of this kind is the emotional reaction to someone's death (57).

(57)

The death of others: There are several natural stages of human grief. These include sorrow, **anger** with the person who has left you, **anger** with the world for going on or other people for being happy, guilt for deeds undone or words unsaid and, of course, self-pity. All these feelings are normal and should not be thought to be „wrong“. Indeed, to suppress them or even to cut them short could be the cause of many problems in the future. Once you have experienced the full range of emotions, however, you need to be able to let them go - both for your own sake and that of the one who has died who must be allowed to continue on his (or her) own spiritual journey, wherever that may take him. (BNC-91)

As the above text explains, the object of anger can even be a whole human world. Moreover, a typically negative evaluation of the emotion is implied here. This negation exists not only in the subject's thoughts, but also in her/his behaviour since (s)he normally tries to suppress or to cut short her/his anger. The external evaluation given by the narrator - a specialist - is quite the opposite, as the writer advises us to accept anger as a normal reaction to someone's death.

In the nominative conceptualisation of anger the information about the reasons for the emotion seems to be much more important than that about the nature of its experiencer and object. Over 60% of the texts examined include information about the cause. The reader can find this in the nearest context of the noun (in prepositional constructions: *at sth.*, *with sth.*, *over sth.*, *about sth.*, *for sth.*) or in the broader syntactic context (subordinate clauses beginning with *that*, *because*, *when* or even in larger sequences of sentences that are chronologically or causatively related to each other) (similarly to the context of *angry*).

Immoral behaviour, isolation of rules of public life, injustice and any other actions evaluated negatively from a moral, social, specifically human point of view are the most representative reasons for anger in the texts discussed (18x) (as in 49, 58 and 59).

(58)

In reality, for a Chinese peasant, his sons conscripted for forced labour in the Japanese army, his women seized for their brothers, his land destroyed, the power of nationalism does not add an extra dimension to his anguish and **anger**. In isolation from these underlying realities, we are tempted to fill in the explanatory gap with imagination: The tremendous emotional energies released when men break their bonds with the village, the kin group and the family are all available for a new focus on politics. More frequently, this focus is nationalism. (BNC-71)



- (59) When you feel **anger** welling up within you, ask yourself whether or not it is justified. If you feel that it is, perhaps because of some injustice or a hurtful act, do something about it. If, however, you are just observing an aggressive attitude on the part of someone else, what is to be achieved by allowing it to make you angry? Are you capable of letting it go and walking away? If so, that is fine, but remember that walking away only works if you are able to dismiss the incident or attitude. It will do no good at all if it leaves you fuming internally for the rest of the day. (BNC-89)

As can be seen in (59), injustice represents only one type of cause of anger. The other type is not associated with moral and intellectual evaluation, but it is rather sensory, since it needs deeper reflection in order to be recognised. Examples of this second group of reasons are given in (60) and (61).

- (62) Being tailgated or cut up by road hogs were the kind of experiences most likely to provoke **anger** in other drivers - more so than traffic jams or encountering the police. (...) a driver **anger** scale (...) listed six potentially **anger**-provoking driving situations. Top of the list was discourtesy, followed by hostile gestures, slow driving, illegal driving, and traffic obstructions, with police presence the least **anger**-provoking of the six. (H-1)

- (63) In normal situations, babies experience frequent frustration from birth. They want food, and the only way they can express their desire for it is to cry. This is their signalling method. But the moment a baby cries for food he is frustrated in his desire. He cannot understand that he is waiting only a matter of moments before his desire will be satisfied. He just feels the desperation of hunger that is not being dealt with. And one thing we do know from the work of really scientific psychologists - those of the behaviourist school - is that frustration creates an aggressive response, **anger**. (BNC-66)

A very specific reason for anger is someone's illness or death (6x). It is usually conceptualised without any intended causer (wrongdoer). In this case anger seems to be a helpless man's direct reaction to injury (as in 57 and 62).

- (64) The story of Joni Eareckson is well known. In 1967, as a result of a diving accident Joni was made a quadriplegic. Bitterness, **anger** and rebellion became her reaction. One night, Cindy, her friend, spoke to her of the cross of Jesus and said: „He was paralysed too”. It had never occurred to Joni that on the cross Jesus was unable to move, virtually paralysed. She found that deeply comforting and was mentally able to see that he was carrying her pain and helplessness. (BNC-32)

Death intended by enemies during a war or an attack which is supposed to destroy the enemy organisation and its / his power may also provoke anger in whole communities, not only in individuals. Thus, this kind of emotion is treated by its experiencers as justifiable, well motivated, collective anger (such as in 63).

(63)

The Afghanistan and Sudan missile attacks are not going to prevent further attacks on American embassies and other targets. Indeed, they are going to increase them. The world of Muslim extremists has become too big and the frustration with and **anger** against the US in the Muslim countries is at a high pitch. These missile attacks are being taken as American aggression against Islam. This will result in stirring up more hatred and **anger** against America and increase sympathy and support for the radicals and extremists.

Political leaders like Tony Blair should not blindly support the Americans in their aggressive ventures but advise them to use political and peaceful means to fight terrorism. (*H-20*)

Close to the above group of reasons are the kind of causes which relate to irresponsible, inconsiderate actions by a wrongdoer, who also fails to carry out her / his duties correctly. This provokes justifiable anger within the society as a reaction to the danger caused by someone's irresponsibility (64).

(64)

A bitter dispute has erupted among three parties over who should be held responsible for the death of a disabled nine-year-old Dundee boy during a „fun“ helicopter trip arranged by a charity headed by Noel Edmonds. (...) The Air Accident Investigation Branch report found the aircraft was overloaded and ill-equipped during the flight and it criticised administration on the ground before take-off. Mr Edmonds, on reading the findings, blamed the accident on pilot error and insisted the helicopter should never have taken off in heavy rain last July for Glamis Castle, Angus. (...) Mr Edmonds, himself a pilot, said: „Quite clearly the pilot should not have attempted the flight under such conditions“. He said sadness and despair in the charity had now been replaced with a sense of **anger** and frustration. (*H-53*)

In sum, most of the examples examined (in both BNC and *H*) show that anger can represent a justifiable reaction to real (or imagined) harm which has happened to or been done by a wrongdoer to society or its members, which is connected with a moral, intellectual evaluation of the reason and the emotion which results. Exceptions to this tendency are such variants as *road anger* or psychopathic anger, which cannot have any justificatory explanation (65).

(67)

The teenager said he had intended to snatch Miss Kennedy's handbag but had savagely knifed her in the skull in a rush of **anger**. (...)

„Then a big rush of **anger**. As I pulled my arm down, it all came out. I think all the stress and frustration had all been released in that blow. I had not planned to dispose of it in that way - that was just the way I was feeling“, he said. (*H-17*)

The expression of such anger may be very dangerous, as fifteen texts from the 100 BNC extracts examined confirm. In these examples aggression is treated as a natural way of expressing anger. The aggression may be helpful for the experiencer especially psychologically, for letting go of anger in an act of aggression protects the subject from

accumulated harmful feelings. In other situations the aggression of an angry person becomes extremely dangerous for other people, not only for the wrongdoer, but also for strangers (65) and for the experiencer. A psychologist's advice in such cases runs as follows:

(66)

If you feel **anger** growing inside you, it is a good idea to do something physical. No, I don't mean punch the other person on the nose - apart from the fact that you will simply prolong or exacerbate the aggression, you will probably hurt your hand! But do something to get rid of your own aggressive feelings. Try digging the garden, thumping the pillow or even screaming (though not where you'll frighten the baby or the cat) - you will feel much better for it. (BNC-90)

Anger appears here as not only an aggressive feeling but also a very active one. This activeness, which may indeed be dangerous, can be controlled and directed into safer activity (66), but its basic motive is destruction, as example (67) demonstrates metaphorically.

(69)

Evelyn had wrought herself up to such a pitch that she was utterly unprepared for this turn of events. Her **anger**, newly kindled, needed something to scorch and shrivel before it could be extinguished. It flamed up now into shrill suspicion. (BNC-51)

The image based on the metaphor of FIRE draws our attention to more physiological symptoms of anger for this emotion causes people to feel hot and as though they were under enormous pressure which may explode at any moment.

As Lakoff (1987) states on the basis of his and Kövecses' analysis of American-English collocations and idioms: „The physiological effects of anger are increased body heat, increased internal pressure (blood pressure, muscular pressure), agitation, and interference with accurate perception” (Lakoff 1987: 381).

In the light of the BNC examples most of the effects listed above are confirmed in recorded English texts, and the first two, high temperature (conceptualised by expressions based on the images of FIRE and HEAT) as well as great pressure (visible in the image of explosion), are the metaphorical effects that are represented (13x), as the reader can observe in (67) and (68).

(68)

On that third morning, though, it had been Haynes who led out the home team, since Richards was in the press box breathing fire at Daily Express journalist James Lawton who had asked him for an explanation of the V-sign he had given to his own crowd. His outburst, it would seem, was the

culmination of much **anger** at press criticism of West Indian bowling, both the excessive use of bouncers and the slow over rate; but it was an astonishing way for a Test captain to behave, and he apologised to the team for not leading them out. (BNC-30)

Agitation is not so discernible in the texts examined, although in at least four examples the reader may perceive it in the experiencer's gestures and abrupt movements. In (69) this agitation seems to be a typical angry reaction, which, however, may be momentarily restrained.

(69)

The German's face became distorted with rage and **anger**, but he didn't move. He <sup>a</sup>remained like this for about a quarter of a minute. Then he walked back to his desk in the room and turned to face me again. He yelled something so loudly that my ear-drums rang. I walked in with my hands still in my pockets. (NBC-96)

As can be seen in (69), the agitation is accompanied by other expressions of anger, namely by facial and voice reactions. Both psychology (see Ekman & Davidson 1998) and folk theories discernible in natural language give evidence of the role played by facial expression in various emotions. This is also (and even directly) registered in the materials we have examined:

(70)

Facial expression is a rich source of information regarding the emotional state of the individual and some evidence of this can be found in the amount of space and time authors and playwrights give to describing the facial changes in their characters. One can transmit impressions such as disapproval, disgust, **anger**, irritation, pleasure, love and understanding by facial gesture, indeed its effectiveness is recognised in colloquial expressions such as *a look enough to kill* or *a sour look*. The eyes can be particularly revealing, and people vary in the amount of eye contact they make and maintain while communicating. (BNC-99)

Angry people intentionally look at their opponents in such a way as to threaten them. But the main function of an eye is to see and, as Lakoff states, interference with accurate perception belongs to the group of typical symptoms of anger. In the materials examined in this work this is confirmed only twice - indirectly and in a metaphorical, not a literal sense (63).

The absence of descriptions in which an angry person behaves like a blind man (which is possible in Polish) may be associated with the „cultural script” of the English to control their emotions and to avoid extreme feelings, which seems to work, if not in real life, then at least in written texts.

Vocal expressions of anger are better confirmed in the BNC (10x) (see 52, 61, 66, 69). Not only human *screaming* and *saying* something, but also reactions rather typical of animals, such as *growling*, *hissing*, *howls*, belong to this group (as in 71).

(71)

Maggie had been amazed at her own fury, rocked by the power of Fenna within her, breaking through the cool disdain she tried to preserve in front of this loathsome woman. Twenty minutes later she found herself inside the Head's office, white and trembling, so obviously terrified that the Head herself was taken aback. Maggie knew the source of her own fear: in her **anger** she had so nearly, so very nearly, launched herself into the air, growling a dragon's fury, sparks flying not from her eyes but from her mouth, raining blows from above, hovering over the teacher like St. Michael over the devil. And if she had ... If she had, all hell would have broken loose. Fenna would never have forgiven her. Fenna would have killed her. (BNC-18)

Anger in (71) is restrained by the experiencer as it is an outburst, dangerous to her, and might also shatter the relationship between her and her superior, making the subordinate's life a real hell.

Moreover, anger can have negative effects not only on the experiencer's psychology and, as a result, on her/his relations with other people, but also in her/his body. This is because such feelings as frustration, anger, resentment and depression *almost inevitably lead to physical illness* (BNC-94).

Finally let us look at the emotional context accompanying anger in the texts examined. The most frequently represented group of emotions in the context of the noun *anger* is the group of anger with such concepts as 'resentment', 'hate', 'fury', 'rage', 'wrath', 'irritation', 'bitterness', 'petulance' and 'indignation' (46x). The next is the group of fear (40x). This fear can be the reaction of people who have to be in contact with an angry person, or the experiencer's feeling as the cause of her/his anger, or only a feeling occurring simultaneously with anger and combining with it to form an emotional mix in the experiencer's mind. The third class accompanying 'anger' in texts is sadness (20x), and, though much less frequently, surprise (11x), frustration (7x), disappointment (6x) and others. The most interesting group seems to be that which concerns the relation between anger and fear on the one hand, and anger and sadness on the other. Psychologists place all these three emotions in the same major category of negative emotions, but anger, in contrast to the others, belongs to the subcategory of active feelings (which is confirmed by its connection with aggression) while fear and sadness are passive ones. It should be mentioned, however, that sometimes, especially when authors use longer lists of emotions

in their texts, positive feelings also occur in proximity with 'anger' (over 30 times, for example: love, joy, pleasure, happiness, calm).

Summing up all the results of the analysis and descriptions given in this subchapter, it is possible to characterise the emotion conceptualised in English texts by the noun *anger* as a feeling which can be experienced by everybody - both adults and children, both people in close relationships and strangers, both individuals and groups, both human beings and animals. The most important aspect of the emotion seems to be the reason for it, which is fairly often an act or event breaking moral, social or other rules and as a result is evaluated negatively by the experiencer. Since it is on the system of values (moral, social, aesthetic, etc.), this negative evaluation has an intellectual component, and thus the emotion engages the experiencer's thoughts solely at the first stage of the emotional process. Such emotion grows normally inside the experiencer until it reaches a culmination, after which it may explode and become dangerous for the object and also for the subject. Thus, for reasons of safety, the general rule is to try to hold the emotion inside and not to allow it to escape. Despite this rule the external expression of the emotion is only natural and it can even be justified as a mechanism of merited punishment. Because of this the evaluation of anger seems to be ambivalent, not merely negative, but even to some extent positive, especially if it is controlled and relates to a system of moral values. But not every kind of anger can be controlled, since the extreme variants and most powerful ones even take possession of the experiencer. As the texts examined show only a few examples of this „uncontrolled” kind of anger, in the main it seems to be not the most intense emotion, and so appears to be a feeling which allows itself to be directed according to the experiencer's will.

### 1.5. *To anger, angers, angering and angered* (verb in various forms)

In comparison with the lexemes discussed before (*angry, angrily* and *anger* as a noun) the verb *to anger* seems to be a secondary word, but <sup>that does</sup> ~~it has~~ not to mean a useless one, as it can occupy a special niche in the lexical system in English. Taking into consideration <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ statistical<sup>at</sup> results of the investigation, it must be stated that „verbal” forms of *anger* are used in the BNC texts examined almost ten times less often than the adjective *angry* and the

noun *anger*, and even three times less frequently than the adverb *angrily*, since its „share” in representation of the lexical group of `anger’ in these texts is only 4,6 % (see Table I. in part III, chapter 1.1. - the BNC column).<sup>20</sup> Thus, it is worth to see what kind of information is profiled by this verb in texts and what is its role in the system of English.

The first problem to be solved is the nature of the verb. In the semantic and formal classification of Polish verbs denoting similar emotions to English there are at least four types of lexemes which belong to the class of verbs:

- (a) reflexive imperfect *gniewać się* (= to anger oneself - `to be angry’);
- (b) causative imperfect *gniewać* (= to anger - `to make somebody angry’);
- (c) evolutive perfect (or culminative perfect) *rozgniewać się* (`to become intensely angry’) and *zgniewać się* (`to become deeply angry’);
- (d) complexive perfect *zagniewać się* (`to become evidently angry’) and *pogniewać się* (`to become angry for <sup>a</sup>longer time’ as its most frequent meaning) (see part IV.2.).

The types (c) and (d) are specific to Polish, as they represent a prefixal derivation heavily exploited there. The reflexive lexemes with perfective prefixes (*roz-*, *z-*, *za-*, *po-*) can then form causative verbs in a regular way - by means of a reduction of the reflexive postfix *się* (see causative examples: *rozgniewać*, *zgniewać*, *zagniewać*, *pogniewać*). Thus, in Polish the most regular opposition in the class examined is the contrast between reflexivity and causation. In English, however, the same regularity does not exist nowadays, which is confirmed in both the dictionaries and the texts examined. Most dictionaries (especially those intended for nonnative speakers) which were examined in this research reduce meanings of the verb *to anger* to the causative one `to make angry’ (OAL, ColE, ColN). Only OED and WebD (intended for native speakers) also give the reader another reflexive meaning `to become angry’. Moreover, in OED this meaning has an

<sup>20</sup> The table shows the frequency of textual words, so if there are homonyms, they are not distinguished there. For example the noun *anger* is represented ninety seven times in 100 extracts from BNC, whereas the verbal forms similar to the noun occur there three times. Next, the form *angers*, which occurs in BNC sixty five times, does not only represent the verb (third person singular in present simple - 25x), but in the majority of cases it is a proper name *Angers*, which is excluded from the analysis. Furthermore, as my access to BNC database is limited to one hundred extracts only, linguistic materials of the forms which are more frequent than 100 (*angered*, *anger*) are treated there as an exemplification and all the results concerning them are, of necessity, approximate.

additional label: *obsolete*. The limit expressed by this label is also confirmed in HTE (see Chapter II.3.1. - the last paragraph).

In the BNC texts examined only one extract might be „suspected” of a reflexive meaning of *anger*, but on certain conditions only. Let us look at the example (72).

(72) UN agency **anger** as first repatriates fly out. (BNC-24<sup>er</sup>)

Since the word *agency* is in (72) the singular and the lexeme *anger* does not have a singular ending (-s), it seems to be not the verb, but the noun with a possessive qualifier. However, if the meaning of the phrase *U(nated) N(ations) agency* is taken into consideration - with its metonymic reference to people working in the agency - it is possible to accept the plural form of the verb as being connected with the sense of plurality (denoted by the phrase). Because the latter explanation is not strong enough (not adequate enough), the claim can be formulated that in the English group of `anger' reflexivity is untypical and extremely rare, if it occurs at all.

The other meaning of the verb *to angry*, namely `to irritate or inflame a sore', mentioned in both OED and WebD, seems to be even more limited in English than the reflexive one, as it is described there as *obsolete* or *dialectal* and in the texts examined it never occurs. This meaning belongs to a different semantic category than emotions, because just like one of the meanings of the adjective *angry* it is connected with the sphere of pain and illness (a „quasi-medical” meaning) (see also Chapter II.3.1. and III.1.2.).

When focusing on the causative sense as the most representative one of the verb, some regularities in its textual usage can be observed. Let us look at certain specific aspects.

A basically formal analysis should answer the question which verbal forms are represented in the texts examined and how their frequency influences the meaning of the verb. The following forms were found in the material: (a) passive voice in various simple tenses (38x); (b) active past simple (36x); (c) active present simple (25x - only third person in the singular); (d) past participle as an adjective (9x); (e) active present perfect (12x) and active past perfect (3x); (f) present participle (8x) and active present continuous<sup>μ</sup> with this participle (2x); (g) gerund (5x) and (h) infinitive (2x).



Looking at the present tenses occurring in the database, it must be stated that continuous forms are over twelve times rarer than simple ones (2:25). This conforms with a more general tendency in English to speak about emotions, mental activity and senses - the last as involuntary actions - in simple tenses rather than in the continuous (Thomson, Martinet 1994: 156). Next, the highly frequent passive voice confirms that English anger is probably more passive than Polish *gniew* and *złość* (see Wierzbicka 1992b). Furthermore, even if the causative verb is used in its active construction (especially from the groups (b), (c) and (d)), it still occupies a position closer to passivity than to activity, since in causative sentences an anger-experiencer fulfils the syntactic position of a subordinate object, not of a main subject. The role of a more active experiencer could be performed with reflexive verbs, but they are (almost) never used in texts, as has been noted before, and their nearest equivalent is an analytic construction *to be angry*. This, however, also directs the reader's attention to the passive aspect of the emotion by involving the adjective.

Generally speaking, causative verbs are especially useful instruments which allow the writer or the speaker to focus on both the nature of an anger-experiencer and the reason for her/his emotion. Thus, the next step of this analysis and interpretation is the characterisation of these two aspects of „causative” anger.

The first person's point of view is a specific perspective connected with the present simple forms of the causative verb. This perspective is involved when the first person pronoun *me* is used to denote an anger-experiencer in texts (as many as 28% of the texts examined which use the form *angers* fulfil the above conditions). This can be seen in (73).

(73)

What really **angers** me is the exploitation of young women like us by advertisers, to sell their products. Usually the girl shown has nothing to do with the product anyway; the Cadbury's Flake advert shows a pretty, pouting blonde woman wearing a slip. I can't see any connection between her and the product. (BNC-6<sup>15</sup>)

The reason for anger is here clearly explained by means of logical argument. The unacceptable behaviour of people who most likely are strangers to the experiencer make her angry. Despite the personal perspective taken by the narrator, this strangeness is evident here. Moreover, the narrator identifies herself with a larger group of women (see: *like us*), thus her declaration seems to be a defence of the whole group.

What is interesting in the light of this is that the most typical experiencer of the emotion, described by the causative verb, is collective. Almost 70% of the cases where the verb occurs denote a collective experiencer, such as: nations, states, political parties, groups of managers, employees and employers, members of parliament, the government, councils and trade unions. Strangeness creates a distance between them and their opponents. This is evident in (74).

(74)

Yesterday, the Latvian parliament confirmed it would stick to a plan to introduce minimum five and ten-year residence requirements for candidates wishing to stand in local and republican elections. The law, similar to one already introduced in Estonia, **has angered** many thousands of Russians who have moved into the republic in recent years. (BNC-17<sup>ed</sup>)

The distance may have a feature of enmity, what can be observed not only in (74), but also, and even more distinctly, in (75), where it seems to be connected with a mixture of fear and justifiable indignation.

(75)

The man escaped from Coney Hill mental hospital in Gloucester, where he'd been sent exactly a year ago after being convicted of the assault of a three year old girl in the city. The man, Neil Gooding, is 33. He wrote to the victim's family two months ago from the hospital, **angering** the victim's family. Since Gooding's detention in Coney Hill, the city's MP has been campaigning for his transfer to more secure premises. (BNC-10<sup>ms</sup>)

A collective experiencer has usually a special power which allows them to protest against unwanted events and unfair behaviour. Also individuals, such as Lord Hanson, President de Gaulle, Professor Bethune-Baker, Oscar Wilde, Henry II, Zeus or the Old Trafford manager experience anger caused by their opponents, enemies or subordinates. All these angry individuals belong to the group of powerful „beings”. Their political, economic or metaphysical power gives their anger a special tone of dignity or at least of authority. This tone is involved in the Polish concepts of 'gniew' and 'oburzenie', but not in 'złość'. More typical of Polish *złość* are such experiencers as a lover, a friend, a wife or her husband, a child and enemies - whose social status is the same as that of their opponents or even lower. These experiencers very seldom appear in the texts examined (only 7%).

A personal opponent of an anger-experiencer is seen in texts with the causative verb as a causer of anger, or, in Lakoff's words, as a wrongdoer. The information about the causer is facultative in these texts, especially when the forms *angers* and *angered* are used.

(S)he is mentioned in the background, whereas the place of a syntactic subject is fulfilled here by the information about the reason, as in (76) and (77).

(76)

Prompted by Stevens' treaty at Walla Walla, there was an immediate rush east of the Cascades for land and for gold. The Indians **were angered** by this invasion, and on 29th October Stevens received news that the Yakima, Cayuse, Walla Walla, Umatilla and Palause Indians had risen against the settlers. (BNC-39<sup>ed</sup>)

(77)

Anti-drugs campaigners yesterday demanded a fizzy drink called Smack be withdrawn from sale and claimed the product could trivialise the dangers of heroin abuse. The soft drink, which shares the same name as the slang for heroin, **has angered** parents in a drugs blackspot. (...) Yesterday a leading drugs expert attacked Smack's Irish manufacturers and said the product could fan the flames of heroin abuse in Scotland. (H-1<sup>ed</sup>)

The secondary position of a personal causer of anger is mostly discerned in newspaper announcements in which the present simple form *angers* is used in their titles to introduce the subject of an article. Following this, in *Herald* 1998 there are thirty articles with *angers* and as many as sixteen of them have this form in their titles. There are sentences not mentioning a personal causer in titles such as „Move to centralise candidate list **angers** left wing”, „Unequal pay **angers** RCN”, „Landels ban **angers** Hawick”, „Latest fatality **angers** anti drug crusader”, „Sacking **angers** leading mason”, „Sleaze cover-up allegation **angers** Labour's Knight”, „Suicide scene **angers** Titanic officer's nephew”, „Index change **angers** asset managers” and „Warning **angers** Spanish”. According to this, the information about an experiencer and a reason for anger is for the reader much more important than the information about a causer.

The reason of anger described by the verb is similar to those denoted by the noun, the adjective and the adverb. Thus, the most frequent are reasons which are intellectually and morally evaluated, such as: unfair behaviour or action, breaking certain rules or undermining somebody's authority (71% of the texts examined). They are shown in examples given above and also in (78).

(78)

Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin **had angered** the Chinese Communist leaders, as they believed in rigid adherence to the Stalin-type government and they disapproved of any form of „co-existence”. (BNC-40<sup>ed</sup>)

Other reasons (but sometimes connected with the previous ones) may be termed „impediments” of people’s normal activity. There are for example economic obstacles in trademark, new taxes, additional obligations, unacceptable bans and commands, refusals and violent actions (18%). One example is shown in (79).

(79)

A report by the Law Commission on computer misuse, published this week, **angered** those who believe that hacking for fun should not be outlawed. (BNC-6<sup>ed</sup>)

The last group of reasons given in the texts examined is formed by abstract unacceptable features of people’s character, style of life and behaviour, such as muddleheadedness, conformity, effusions, pessimism and „freaky” appearance.

The above classification of reasons brings the verb especially close to the adverb *angrily*, but in the „verbal” context an intellectual, logical explanation of anger seems to be more important than in the „adverbial” one.

Anger is produced in a special kind of emotional atmosphere, of which disappointment appears to be one aspect, as in (80).

(80)

I protested. „You can check that for yourself! I ~~reported~~ the coordinates where we found Hirondelle over the radio, and those co-ordinates are twenty-miles north-west of Sister Island. That’s as close as we ever got to it”. He said nothing for a few seconds, and I sensed that I might have unsettled this policeman. I **had** also **angered** him, though his anger seemed directed at himself. He had come here on a misunderstanding; believing that Wavebreaker had been at Murder Cay when in fact we had not even been within sight of that mysterious island. (BNC-77<sup>ed</sup>)

The emotional base for anger is formed in the texts investigated not only of disappointment, but also fear (22x), surprise and confusion (10x), as well as disapproval and disgust (10x). Various words from the group of ‘anger’ accompany the verbal lexeme in the texts most often (42x; e.g. *anger* as a noun, *upset*, *bad temper*, *furious*). In this light a „causative” anger seems to be a natural reaction to something that breaks a routine of established common, political, economic or (rarely) private life. People normally react to new and unexpected events with fear, as if they were lost of their sense of security, but in the case discussed here they usually have a power that allows them to place themselves in a position superior to that of their opponents. This attitude is close to the Polish *oburzenie* and probably to the English *indignation*.

Angered experiencers express their emotion by saying something in order to criticise unacceptable actions and behaviour, to protest against them or also to threaten the causer (speaking as an expression of anger is mentioned 69 times in the texts examined). They behave in an aggressive way less frequently (19x), but if they do, they want to harm their opponents by destroying what is valuable for the latter (their political and economic power, their relationships or even their life). Examples of passive protest in these cases betray such symptoms as a refusal to cooperate with an opponent or a decision to leave her/him (11x). Physiological expressions, however, are unexpectedly rare in such cases (difficulties in speaking, and „making hair stand on end” - 2x).

All given data confirm the most passive and the least aggressive character of anger which is denoted by the verb (if we compare it with its realisation by means of other lexemes discussed before). This can be connected, to some extent, with the style of the texts in which the verb is used most often. Thus, a typical kind of text is a newspaper article or note. The main target of such a text is to inform readers about facts and opinions especially concerning politics, economy, public life, crime and sport. Ignoring physical expressions of anger, trying to logically explain its reasons, and giving precise information about its experiencers seems to fulfil the newspaper reader's expectations. Thus, anger denoted by the verb *to anger* can be acknowledged as a kind of „public” (not literary) feeling and also in this it is similar to the Polish *oburzenie* and its derivative family.

### 1.6. Explication

Let an open explication of the English basic concept ‘anger’ serve as a kind of conclusion to chapters 1.1.-1.6. in this part of the thesis<sup>21</sup>. The basic concept is represented in texts by the lexemes discussed above (*angry*, *angrily*, *anger* as a noun and *to anger*). The explication concerns these aspects of the emotion which characterise it and allow a speaker or a reader to recognise it. They have been described in previous chapters in detail, so this explication is a summary of them. Some features ascribed to it are obligatory, but some of them (especially in facets 5-7) do not have to occur in every case when a lexeme from the group investigated is used.

<sup>21</sup> A cognitive explication of lexical meaning is discussed by scholars in for example Bartmiński (ed. 1988, 1990). Bartmiński and Tokarski (eds. 1993), Wierzbicka (1990b, 1992 a, b, c, d, 1998).

**'Anger'**

1. An EMOTION of X (an experiencer: a person; especially someone strange, often having high status in politics and public life, trade and services, sport, work, and crime; a group of people; also a friend, a lover, members of a family; a child, an animal)
2. caused by an (unexpected) event or feature Z (unfair action or behaviour, breaking rules, doing harm to somebody, undermining an experiencer's (or her/his/their friends and relatives) authority; impediments; unaccepted human features),
3. done by a causer Y (a stranger: an opponent in politics and public life, trade and services, sport, work, and crime; less evident: somebody close to an experiencer).
4. The emotion is connected with an evaluation:
  - (a) negative - of the reason, morally and intellectually unaccepted or only inconvenient;
    - of the emotion itself as undesired, unpleasant and controlled only with difficulty;
    - of the results that may be negative for experiencers and for their surroundings;
  - (b) positive - as justifiable, preventive reaction to something wrong;
  - (c) neutral - of the feeling as natural, an everyday emotion experienced by people.
5. The emotion is relatively strong:
  - (a) it may be deep and difficult to recognise;
  - (b) it can rise and turn into a very intense emotion with outward expression;
  - (c) an experiencer is able to control it, but this needs a special effort to direct it into safer activity;
  - (d) it may decay without anyone's interference.
6. The emotion may be expressed within and outside an experiencer by means of:
  - (a) speaking and adopting other voices, sometimes violent and/or similar to those of aggressive animals; disruptions in speech;
  - (b) violent actions;
  - (c) distance and refusal to cooperate with a causer;

(d) change in an experiencer's face:

- angry nostrils;
- sharp looks and narrowed eyes;
- chattering teeth;
- hair standing in end;

(e) vehement movements of an experiencer's body;

(f) increased body temperature and great physical pressure.

7. The emotion might be simulated and hidden.

## 2. The group of 'wrath'

### 2.1. Introduction

An analysis of the texts in which lexemes from the lexical group of 'wrath' occur is of different kind from the analysis of the examples involving lexemes from the group of 'anger'. As was shown in part II, chapter 3.3., according to English dictionaries the lexemes denoting wrath are limited in English both stylistically (as literary or formal words) and statistically (as obsolete words). For that reason I have restricted my investigation of the group discussed to BNC only. In that corpus the following forms of the lexemes from the group of 'wrath' occur:

**Table II. 'Wrath' in database**

Number	LEXEME	British National Corpus
1.	<i>wrath</i>	360
2.	<i>wraths</i>	1
3.	<i>wrathful</i>	16
4.	<i>wrathfully</i>	13
5.	<i>wroth</i>	2
<b>In sum:</b>		<b>392</b>

The noun *wrath* occurs most frequently there (360x in the singular and once in the plural form), but, similarly to the case of *anger*, only one hundred texts from BNC were available to me for the purposes of a more detailed analysis, thus the results of *wrath*-investigations are, of necessity, approximate. Moreover, not only the emotional meaning of *wrath* is represented in these accessible texts, since as many as 24 examples are proper

names: *Cape Wrath*, the name of a beautiful, but also extremely dangerous place in Scotland on the Atlantic, and *Wrath*, the name of a family of eagles living in that place. These names are not arbitrary. The second one is a regular transposition from the name of a place to the name of beings which are living in that place, whereas the first one is explained in (1).

- (1) Cape **Wrath**, the most northerly point of Sutherland, is well named. Nature is in an angry mood here. The Atlantic has waged an unceasing war against this gaunt headland ever since the beginning of time, hurling its waves in fury at the unyielding rocks without respite; there is always the noise of thrashing waters. (BNC-33<sup>th</sup>)

Although there is no direct information about real, human emotion in (1), the picture of angry Nature is there a metaphonymic description in which such features as an immense power, which is extraordinary intense and dangerous, can be seen as the link between wild nature on the one hand, and the emotion, wrath (identified there with anger), on the other. Thus this is connected with an aspect of external symptoms of wrath. What seems to be important for the analysis is the coexistence of wrath and anger in the same text. As Diller (1994:303) has shown, even in Middle English both concepts were often interchangeable. On the basis of statistical data from BNC, which confirms the extraordinary frequency of the group of 'anger' in texts (9564x) and the secondary, minor role of the group of 'wrath' there (392x) - a ratio of 24:1 - answering the question which circumstances are typical of 'wrath' in texts can be helpful in a more precise description of the basic and central concept, 'anger'. This is also interesting from a comparative English-Polish point of view, due to the duality of the Polish centre of the category under investigation (owing the fact that Polish has two basic concepts in the centre, 'gniew' and 'złość').

Some other additional explanations are needed before the material analysis. Firstly, as Table II. shows, apart from the noun the other lexemes of the group examined occur in BNC less than one hundred times, so each occurrence in BNC is available to the investigator. Since the whole group of 'wrath' is, in sum, fairly weakly represented in database, all its members are examined together and they will be described in one short chapter.



Secondly, not only in the examples of the noun *wrath*, but also in the rest of the material examined non-emotional meanings of the words discussed are recorded. Namely, there is one occurrence of the second name of a landlord, *Wroth*, and five occurrences of the name of a dog, *Wrathful*. The last seems to have got its name due to being one of the best, most aggressive and efficient, hunting-dogs. Extremely violent activity is likely to be the feature which links human wrathful experiencers and a dog named *Wrathful*.

## 2.2. *Wrath(s), wrathful, wrathfully and wroth*

In a comparative bilingual perspective, the most interesting aspect in the conceptualisation of wrath is the characteristics of an experiencer of the emotion. In the texts from BNC which involve the noun *wrath*, as many as 50% include a superior experiencer of the emotion, and only 21% include non-superiors. As opposed to the group of 'Anger', an experiencer of wrath is most often God, both Christian and pagan (15%). Wrath is also the emotion of kings and other superiors who have political or professional power (10%), and of whole groups of people who possess a political, economic or military higher status than that of their opponents (12%). An additional kind in this superior experiencers' category is represented by parents and other adult relatives. They take care of children and are responsible for them, but, contrary to other kinds, they are close to their subordinates (6%). An exemplification of the most typical experiencers is given in (2), (3), (4) and (5).

(2)

The „elect” are saved from this just punishment because of a new „covenant of grace” established in Jesus Christ: he fulfilled the terms of the covenant of works, bore the penalty for Adam's breaking of it, and thus became the means of salvation for the elect. All men stand under God's just **wrath**; but the elect have his love opened to them through Jesus. This theology thus drew an outer and an inner circle, and located Christ in the inner one: the outer circle of sin and judgement stood quite independently of him. (BNC-37<sup>th</sup>).

(3)

In 1413 and again in 1460 the Chancellor of the University was ordered „under pain of the King's **wrath** of forfeiting the liberties and privileges of the University”, to issue a proclamation forbidding these practices, and to „arrest any man under his rule offending in that behalf”. (BNC-6<sup>th</sup>)

(4)

Non-consultation may be justified on one or more of these grounds, but only in unusual circumstances. An employer who breaks the news of redundancy to you at 4.30 pm on a Friday afternoon, adding that you need not bother to work out your notice, is likely to incur the **wrath** of most industrial tribunals. Even if he acts in such a way from what he misguidedly thinks are „humanitarian” reasons, the tribunal will be unlikely to be impressed, as the manner of dismissal

would eliminate the possibility, however remote, that following consultation, your job might be saved. (BNC-14<sup>th</sup>)

(5)

Early in life Marconi demonstrated a liking for experimentation, starting with childish and destructive episodes which incurred his father's *wrath*, but maturing into more sophisticated electrical experiments. (BNC-74<sup>th</sup>)

The most interesting experiencer in this superiors' category is God, as he was almost absent in the texts of the group of 'anger' examined previously (see III.1.4.). A special case in point is (6), where both *wrath* and *anger* occur.

(6)

God himself gets angry. There are references to God's anger throughout the Old Testament. Indeed Psalm 7:11 says that God is angry with the wicked every day. In the epistles of the New Testament, Paul often reminds his readers, as he does in Colossians 3:6, that human sinfulness itself occasions the *wrath* and anger of God. In the gospels, Jesus's wholeness as a man is illustrated both by physical and verbal anger on a number of occasions. The expulsion of the money-lenders from the Jerusalem Temple and the overturning of their tables was not expunged by the gospel writers as an unworthy, improper or inappropriate response from Jesus. It was an authentic deed in both senses of the term. (BNC-29<sup>th</sup>)

Looking at (2) and (6) the reader can claim that *wrath* and *anger* are very close to each other, but some differences in particular details may also be observed between them, since the writer of (6) feels the need to list both of them in one sentence. *Anger* seems to hold there the feature of real humanity, with its passions, even aggression; whereas *wrath* appears as a special kind of emotion, which has something in common with justice, judgement, and punishment, and which is more powerful than „normal” anger because of the dignity and authority of its divine experiencer. When describing the contrast between these two concepts in Middle English, Diller has written that „The Experiencer (of wrath in its full scenario - A.M.) is always superior to the Causer, the superiority being in terms of physical strength and/or power. Usually he is either God or a human potentate, while the Experiencer of anger is typically an ordinary human” (Diller 1994:302). And with regard to the contrast of an „offended value” in both concepts, Diller has then claimed that „With *anger* it is something like personal pride, self-love, comfort, with *wrath* it is the Experiencer's dignity and authority, whose functioning is relevant to an entire social order. In the case of God this coincides even with the order of the world” (Diller 1994:303). As described in section III.1., anger in modern English can also have similar features linked with people's dignity and authority, especially the kind of emotion which is denoted by the causative verb, *to anger*. Thus, on the one hand, we may state that for last five hundred

years the newer concept, 'anger', has inherited at least some of the features of the older concept 'wrath' (a special higher status of the experiencer and, to some extent, a dignity associated with this), because the latter has been used less and less frequently in texts. On the other hand, however, wrath seems to have gained something, too. While according to the Helsinki Corpus, in the Middle English the proportion between superior and non-superior experiencers of wrath was 1.8 : 1 (Diller 1994:302), now BNC records this contrast as somewhat greater - 2.4 : 1. The evidence given above suggests that the experiencer of wrath is nowadays even more „powerful” than a few centuries ago.

The materials of other lexemes from the group of 'wrath' (not of the noun shown in the previous paragraph) provide slightly different evidence. In the texts examined, which involve *wroth*, *wrathful* and *wrathfully*, superior experiencers occur almost twice infrequently as others (1 : 1.8) and this seems similar to anger rather than to wrath. It looks as if the adverb and the adjectives denote the emotion less distinctly than the basic noun, or at least not so distinctly in the range (status) of an experiencer as *wrath*. A similar situation may be observed in Polish with the adjective *gniewny* and the adverb *gniewnie* which have some contexts much more similar to the contexts of the group 'złość' than of their own group 'gniew' (see part IV).

What is important with regard to the experiencer of wrath is, firstly, that it is never felt by animals (only one animal being, although metaphonymically, connected with this emotion is the dog called *Wrathful*, but concerning the non-prototypicality of the adjective in the category examined see the above paragraph), however it is sometimes shown as the „emotion” or „mood” of Nature (of a stormy sea and the Atlantic - 2x). Secondly, a strangeness-closeness opposition seems to have representation<sup>times</sup> on both sides in wrath, since not only parental wrath (6%), but also complicated relations between lovers, friends, siblings and couples (up to 13%) may feel this emotion. This kind of „close” wrath arises when men's expectations regarding loyalty and honesty had been disappointed. This is a typical situation of Polish 'gniew'. Thirdly, there is some formal evidence in the syntactic behaviour of the noun *wrath* which can be regarded as a meaningful sign in the wrath-experiencer's characteristics. In the texts examined, *wrath* occurs in the following expressions: (a) *wrath* + *of* + the name of an experiencer (33x); (b) Saxon Genitive: an experiencer's + *wrath* (13x); (c) a possessive pronoun referring to an experiencer + *wrath* (9x). *Anger* creates such expressions very rarely - and never type (a), only on one occasion

type (b) and rather more often than *wrath* type (c) (see III.1.4.). This evidence confirms that the character of a wrath-experiencer is much more distinct and specific than that of an anger-experiencer and, in the light of this, the latter appears to represent emotion which does not need to be described definitively in texts for its experiencer may be everyone. Additionally, this is also a collective experiencer (in 20% of cases, e.g. (4)) and in this kind of situation the power of the emotion may be even strengthened by a number of its experiencers.

To turn to the object of wrath, it is consequently most often a person subordinate to the experiencer, but (s)he has not always to be mentioned in a text. One kind of object seems to be especially important here. Such expressions as: *to incur sb's wrath (by doing sth)*, *to risk the wrath of sb.*, *to attract the wrath of sb.*, and *to deserve sb's wrath* show that an object of wrath is typically its causer and for an experiencer (and in the full prototypical scenario also for an object her/himself) the emotion, which is inseparably linked with its effects, violent action, seems to be a deserved response to an object-causer's behaviour. In (7) the reader can find a clear example of this.

(7)

„And so you saw fit to vent your spleen on poor old Ling. What has he done to deserve your wrath?” Silas demanded. „You'd be wise to tell me. I want this matter cleared up”. Doreen looked down at her hands, then admitted reluctantly, „If you must know - he told Jean he likes Lucy, and that he hopes she will never leave this place. Can't you understand how it riled me?” (BNC-84<sup>th</sup>)

The expressions *to vent someone's spleen on sb.* and *sth. riled sb.* are used in (7) synonymously with *wrath* and together they direct the reader's attention to the symptoms, effects, evaluation and power of the emotion. As previously mentioned, the intense and great power of wrath must have been the basis for the proper names of dangerous and „violent” natural phenomena, namely the place on the Atlantic, *Cape Wrath*, and the hunting-dog, *Wrathful*. To some extent similar danger and violence is visible in (7) and in other cases which confirm that potential and factual objects of wrath are usually threatened by it and that they try to avoid it or at least to make its effects less dangerous. Sometimes they need other people's help to be protected from somebody's wrath. There are expressions especially useful in a description of such situations: *to avoid sb's wrath*, *(not) to be brave enough to incur sb's wrath*, *(not) to risk incurring sb's wrath*, *to shield / protect / save someone from sb's wrath*; *under pain of sb's wrath*, *the danger of sb's wrath*, *the defiance of sb's wrath*; *to warn someone of sb's wrath*, *to appease / assuage sb's wrath*

(16x in the texts examined). The above examples suggest that wrath is not only dangerous for its objects, but, fortunately, its experiencer is potentially reconcilable. Thus, the emotion may be controlled and a typical condition in which it might be assuaged is a kind of compensation, when an object is liable to a penalty. Such situations are similar to the typical use of Polish `gniew', but in `gniew' the penalty is usually in the experiencer's imagination, in the sphere of will, whereas in wrath it looks more realistic. Since the penalty is the result of judgement, a wrath-causer and her/his acts are evaluated negatively by an experiencer, as they are morally unacceptable to a „judge". The most significant case is God's punishment for human sins, as in (2), (6) and (8).

(8)

„Scenes of heart-rending misery, without being able to give effectual relief. But (...) we must do all we can and leave the rest to God." They remained one category of great natural calamities that, because of its scale and random impact, still seemed to be the work of a **wrathful** deity. This was the category of volcanos and earthquakes. The famous Lisbon earthquake of 1755, which had faint reverberations as far north as Scotland, led George II to issue a solemn admonition to his people to the effect that „the manifold Sins and Wickedness of these Kingdoms have most justly deserved heavy and severe Punishments from the Hand of Heaven." (BNC-4<sup>th</sup>)

The just and holy emotion shown in (8) seems to be very close to the Polish *święty gniew* [holy anger/wrath] and *święte oburzenie* [holy indignation], but it can never be translated into Polish *złość*, because the the negative connotations are too strong for this.

Turning back to the aspect of control, it must be added that wrath cannot always be controlled and when it is *rigid*, *impetuous* and *unappeased* it resists any control, just like in *rage*, *fury* or in Polish *złość*, *wściekłość*, *furia*.

The symptoms of the emotion are of several kinds. Such metaphonymically motivated expressions as *flames of wrath*, *the sudden explosion of wrath* and a wider context in which the fire-illustration is used show that the emotion rises to such a level that it gains a destructive power while being expressed by an experiencer. A poetic example of this is shown in (9).

(9)

O, day of **wrath**,  
O, day of mourning.  
See fulfilled the Prophet's warning.  
Heaven and Earth in ashes burning. (BNC-19<sup>th</sup>)

The above is a vision of Judgement Day. But „hot” wrath occurs also in everyday life, as in (10).

(10)

The sudden explosion of **wrath** between Gary Lineker and Graham Taylor comes as no surprise to close observers of the England camp. The seething had been going on more or less from the time Taylor took over as manager. (BNC-26<sup>th</sup>)

Wrath seems to be a culminative point of „hot” feelings and it is shown as a result of the emotional atmosphere which formed its basis. Thus, the emotion examined reminds the reader of a Polish concept denoted by the perfective resultative verb *rozgniewać się*, which, similarly to *the sudden explosion of wrath*, includes the external expression of intense emotion. In anger, hotness concerns not only the external results of the emotion, but also internal changes in the body of an experiencer, what might occur in a wrath-experiencer’s body too, but this is not registered directly in the texts examined.

The qualifier *sudden* turns the reader’s attention to the temporal characteristics of the emotion. In the light of this, wrath seems to be a momentary, temporary, short-lasting feeling, repeatable and arising suddenly, which is also confirmed by such linguistic expressions as *sth. was quickly followed by sb’s wrath*, *someone incurred sb’s wrath on Sunday*, *day of wrath*, *sth. was soon to bring so much wrath on sb’s head*, *once again someone has attracted sb’s wrath* (6x). However, the emotion may also last for longer than one day, but it is rather unprototypical, as in (11).

(11)

At this point Boswell decided he would hurry on ahead to secure their food and accommodation at Glenleg. To his astonishment, Johnson yelled angrily at him and there broke out the most serious row the pair is reported ever to have had in their long association. They even let the sun go down on their **wrath**. (BNC-72<sup>th</sup>)

The great intensity of wrath is obviously connected with its immense and dangerous power, because of which the emotion has an extremely threatening effect on its objects and surroundings. The violence of wrath includes military actions, crackdowns, forcing people to do what they do not want to do (e.g. abdication, humiliation, banishment, abuse) and physical harm (21x = 16%). As with anger there is another group of symptoms, namely various kinds of speaking (and writing), often also being violent, which is described by the verbs: *yell*, *bellow*, *snap*, *cry out*, *shout*, *gibber*, *mutter* and *say*, *tell*, *reply*, *comment*,

*explain, point out, demand, command, warn, accuse, insult* (37x = 28%). A textual exemplification of this is given in (12).

(12)

Her coldness struck him at once. „You stupid little fool!” he snapped, carrying her round to where the sleeping-bag lay open. Yet he deposited her on it as carefully as if she were china, and that brought a weak tear to her eye. „Don’t move. Don’t fight me, and for God’s sake do as you’re told!” he commanded in a voice of **wrath**. Paige didn’t have the strength or the will. (BNC-95<sup>th</sup>)

Another expression of wrath is a special way of looking at people. When an experiencer *raises his eyebrows, is rolling back his eyes, glares or glances at an opponent* and does it *with glittering eyes*, this must be threatening and unpleasant to an object (6x).

Sometimes wrath can also influence an experiencer her/himself, when it makes her/him *seem dazed*, brings to her/his mind some *grotesque ideas* or even becomes the cause of inappropriate perception, as in (13).

(13)

„It’s the need to unburden yourself to someone who will listen”, Lucy said. And while she sounded sympathetic, she was in reality infuriated with Doreen. In fact she was so **wrathful** that her mind conjured a bleak picture of the situation. (BNC-16<sup>th</sup>)

Symptoms shown above evidence the great power of wrath, and the qualifier *so* in (13) helps the writer to express this power. However, in (13) the power of the emotion manifest itself in its profoundness (depth) rather than in its more typical outward intensity, as the experiencer sounded different from what she actually felt. Thus, wrath might even be hidden.

The last repeatable symptom of wrath is the violent movement of an experiencer in the texts examined. This gives confirmation of the fact that a wrath-experiencer is active as (s)he *marches into the city, goes down somewhere, goes with all speed to the town or charges into the room* (5x). Usually these movements are connected with violent aggression, which accompanies them or is their target. This kind of violent activity seems to be recorded in a comparison *looking like the wrath of God* having nothing to do with the real wrath of God, but being rather an ironic description of a man who behaves aggressively and overbearingly, as in (14).

(14)

Wullie Robertson turned up, forcing his way into La Noblesse, looking like the **wrath** of God, or the son of some Pictish chieftain, and demanding, „Hyacinth! Where’s the Scragg?” (BNC-86<sup>th</sup>)

Wrath as an active violent emotion seems to be very close to such violent feelings as rage, fury and even madness. Its emotional context is created in the texts examined by several kinds of emotions and emotional states. There are: (a) anger and its relatives denoted by lexemes from the group of 'anger' (12x), hate (5x), rage and outrage (5x), vengeance (5x) and fury (4x) (42x together); (b) fear (16x); (c) sadness (14x); (d) shock and surprise (13x); contempt and distaste (7x) connected with acts of judgement and punishment (18x). These emotional surroundings may confirm the great power of wrath, especially in the light of the lack of less intense variants of anger such as irritation or exasperation, and it turns the reader's attention to the close links between wrath and moral or social evaluation. Thus wrath has a negative value from an object's point of view, as it is dangerous and can be very destructive, but as a just kind of feeling it gains also a positive value, being in its expression an act of justice, especially when its experiencer is God.

Another important aspect of the emotion is its reason, already mentioned in this chapter on several occasions. The reason is marked in a sentence by means of causative constructions with verbs: *incur* (13x), *provoke* (3x), *bring* (2x), *occasion* (1x), *arouse* (1x), *invoke* (1x), and by conditional structures involving the verb *warn* (2x). Usually these constructions include also the causer of the emotion, who is potentially seen as an object of someone's wrathful reaction, as was stated previously.

In about 25% of the texts examined a reason for the emotion is not mentioned directly and sometimes it is even impossible to identify it. However, at least in the causative and conditional sentences mentioned previously, the reason is fairly clear. In some other texts also a wider context allows the reader to see approximately what can invoke someone's wrath. The most typical reason for this emotion concerns human sins, which break moral and religious rules and which are to be complied with under pain of God's wrath. This reason seems to be incorporated into the meaning of the expressions: *God's wrath*, *the wrath of God*, *the wrath of Heaven*, *the wrath of deity and divine wrath*, even if it is not mentioned directly in a sentence. Sins belong to a larger group of reasons, representing the situation when any moral rules are broken. Thus such acts as military aggression, thefts, lies and slanders (some of them bringing individual harm, others belonging to a more abstract kind of guilt (21x)) together with acts against international and social law, and broken employment and job regulations (26x) form a large group of



intellectually and morally negatively evaluated behaviour which requires punishment from the perspective of a society or religion. This group may be widened by an offence against friendship and any other close relationship, for example family betrayal, childish disobedience, lack of acceptance or lack of trust and love (at least 12x). Less typical reasons for wrath are: irresponsible behaviour (5x), which can also be a disturbance in an experiencer's life (1x), and human features of a certain kind of greed and ignorance (1x). Also disturbances and troubles in sport may invoke the wrath of sports managers and sportsmen (5x). Most of these reasons are evaluated negatively from an experiencer's point of view, which is usually connected with her/his/their positive evaluation of the emotion itself. Thus wrath undoubtedly belongs to the group of higher feelings typical of humans alone.

To sum up, wrath seems to be similar to anger in many aspects, and differences between them are rather of the kind of arrangement of these aspects, in other words: of their various ranges in the whole scenario of each emotion, not of a distinct binary opposition. For wrath, the most important aspect is the nature of its experiencer who may be superior of the world (God, and, only once, His opponent, <sup>the</sup> Devil) or of a kingdom, state, in the job market or in other fields. It can also be a group of people having the power and authority which allows them to judge their opponents, superiors and subordinates. The second position belongs to a causer of wrath, who can be, and usually is, an object of the emotion. The secondary concern also the reason for the emotion.<sup>22</sup> Its most typical variant is in general breaking any rules by a causer, which an experiencer judges as a wrong, immoral or unjust act, and the emotion with its violent reaction appears as a just

<sup>22</sup> If we compare how often English writers use prepositional constructions with *wrath* and *anger* to inform a reader about subjects, reasons and objects of both emotions, we can observe some significant differences. Assuming that prepositional constructions are linguistic instruments useful in denoting close links between concepts and their most distinct aspects, the hypothesis can be stated that the more frequently some constructions are the more important are the aspects they reveal. With regard to a reason, *anger* occurs three times as often as *wrath* in the texts examined in such expressions as *anger at sth.* (6x), *anger with sth.* (2x), *anger for sth.* (2x), *anger over sth.* (1x) and *anger about sth.* (1x), while *wrath* occurs only in: *wrath at sth.* (1x), *wrath for sth.* (1x), *wrath about sth.* (1x) and *wrath against sth.* (1x). An even bigger contrast is visible when it comes to the problem of an object mentioned in prepositional expressions, which is evident in the following list: *anger with sb.* (5x), *anger at sb.* (2x), *anger within sb.* (1x), and *wrath over sb.* (1x), *wrath between sb<sub>1</sub> and sb<sub>2</sub>* (1x) (the ratio is here four to one). The opposite situation occurs only in the case of a subject, since *anger* is four times less frequent than *wrath* in constructions of the following kind: *sb's anger* (1x), *her/his/your/their anger* (13x), *adjective+anger* (1x), and *the wrath of sb.* (33x), *sb's wrath* (13x), *her/his/your/their wrath* (9x), *wrath between sb<sub>1</sub> and sb<sub>2</sub>* (1x), *adjective+wrath* (3x) (see also the main text above). This evidence seems to confirm statistically the privileged position of an experiencer in the conceptualisation of wrath, similarly to Polish *gniew*, and the more important role of a reason and an object in the conceptualisation of anger.

punishment for it. This reaction shows immense power, high intensity and the threat of destruction, which are usually much greater in wrath than in typical anger.

If, at the end, we look at the style of the texts in which the concepts of wrath and anger are used, we can also find some regularities there. While anger seems to be most typical of „everyday” texts in newspapers and various guidebooks, wrath most often occurs in literary texts (especially in fiction) and in works on moral and religious subjects. Nevertheless, it is not true that wrath cannot occur in non-literary texts. Even newspaper reports about sport and political conflicts can involve wrath, but this seems to be much more telling indeed than anger. Thus, wrath looks as if it were a marked concept contrary to unmarked anger.

### 2.3. Explication

An explication of the concept ‘wrath’, which is represented by the lexemes *wrath*, *wroth*, *wrathful* and *wrathfully*, has been reconstructed on the basis of the textual analysis in the following form:

#### ‘Wrath’

1. ‘An EMOTION of X (an experiencer: a superior, especially God or any human potentate in moral and religious life, or in politics, public life, work and sport; a group of people; parents and other members of a family who are normally responsible for their charges; lovers and friends)
2. caused by Y (a causer: a person; most often a subordinate in moral and religious life, in politics and public life, at work and in sport or in family life and relationships); according to X, Y should be aware of the threatening consequences of her/his/their behaviour,
3. as a causer Y acts in such a way Z (by breaking religious, moral, social and political rules (sins), undermining an experiencer’s (or her/his/their relatives, friends, class’s) dignity and authority; by family and relationship offence; by unreasonable behaviour and unacceptable human features) that (s)he/they need to be punished, becoming an object of an experiencer’s emotion.

4. The emotion is connected with an evaluation:

- (a) negative - of a reason, morally and intellectually unacceptable from X's point of view;  
- of results, which are threatening and dangerous for an object and their surroundings, and may be also inconvenient for an experiencer;
- (b) positive - of the emotion and its results treated by an experiencer as a justifiable reaction for a causer's wrong behaviour.

5. The emotion is very strong:

- (a) it is intense and easily recognised;
- (b) it quickly reaches a peak and explodes with dangerous outward expressions;
- (c) it might be controlled, but this needs a special effort by the object who has to do something good for an experiencer;
- (d) if extremely strong, the emotion cannot be controlled or appeased.

6. The emotion is expressed outside and (less often) inside an experiencer by means of:

- (a) speaking and making other noises, often violent and overbearing;
- (b) violent actions, physically and psychologically very dangerous to an object;
- (c) threatening glances with raised eyebrows;
- (d) interference with the functioning of an experiencer's mind;
- (e) increased temperature and physical pressure<sup>23</sup>.

7. The emotion might be simulated, but hiding it is very difficult and this would be unwanted as the emotion is to serve as a kind of reprimand and penalty to Y.

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<sup>23</sup> Increased temperature and physical pressure seem to be more distinct in the conceptualisation of 'anger' than in the conceptualisation of 'wrath', as for the latter this is confirmed only indirectly: in metaphors and metonymies.

## IV. How much anger is there in authentic Polish texts?

(Results of a semantic analysis of lexemes belonging to the groups of 'gniew' and 'złość' and registered in Polish texts selected from the PWN Corpus and the author's own database)<sup>24</sup>

### 1. Foreword

As the subject of the thesis is a comparison between English and Polish conceptualisation of anger, the results of a semantic analysis of Polish material need to be presented in this work after an English part. Considering that the Polish analysis has been published with details and with abundant textual exemplification in a separate book in Polish (Mikołajczuk 1999), I have decided to present here only its most important results. This allows the reader who cannot speak Polish to know the specificity of the Slavonic language in the field under consideration and this will be helpful in reacting a conclusive comparison at the end.

In part II, chapter 4 of the thesis some of the main key observations about the Polish structure of anger conceptualisation have been made. For the English reader the duality of the centre of the category seems to be the most interesting, since in the Polish centre two basic concepts, 'gniew' and 'złość', exist together. Both of them are active in modern Polish; in some contexts they can be used interchangeably, but in others they cannot. Thus English-Polish translators may have problems with selecting the best equivalent for a lexeme from the group of English 'Anger', and this is not only the case of choice between 'gniew' and 'złość', but also between many other groups (such as, for example, 'oburzenie', which is similar to the English 'indignation', or 'irytacja' - 'irritation').

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<sup>24</sup> The PWN Corpus is the database of modern Polish texts of a whole range of styles (from literary through informal to formal styles) which has been collected by the biggest Polish editorial company, PWN. The PWN Corpus gives a wide range of exemplifications of textual word usage, needed by editors of Polish language dictionaries. The older part of this corpus, designated in my thesis by the abbreviation K PWN, is a handmade set of files which has been used by authors of the largest Polish dictionary, *Słownik języka polskiego* edited by W. Doroszewski (first edition: 1958-1969, 11 volumes, abbreviation: SJPD) and its smaller and more popular version, *Słownik języka polskiego* edited by M. Szymczak (first edition: 1978-1981, 3 volumes, abbreviation: SJPSz). The newer part of the corpus, designated in the thesis by the abbreviation BD PWN, is a computer database composed of texts published in Polish since 1918 and consisting of about 22 000 000 words. This is the richest word corpus in Poland, since no National Polish Corpus ~~does not~~ yet exists. The author's database has been compiled on the basis of selected Polish texts (literary and journalistic) published in the majority after 1990 (see Appendix 3.).

However, as the first two are the most basic, the focus of the present analysis will be on them.

In the following chapters of part IV short semantic descriptions of lexemes from two central groups, 'gniew' and 'złość', will be given, and open explications of two basic concepts representing these groups will be shown. Only after that will a conclusive comparison between Polish and English basic concepts of anger be possible (in part V).

## 2. The problem of derivation in the Polish language

Before considering the semantic characteristics of certain Polish lexemes from two basic groups, some more general remarks on the derivational system in Polish need to be given. As may be seen in Diagrams 3a and 3b (p. 111-112), the central Polish lexical groups of anger are extremely rich due to their derivational processes - in comparison with English. Diagrams 3a and 3b show the potential (in brackets) and real (confirmed in the texts examined) „derivational power” of the Polish groups. Some regularities are observable in their case.

In the derivational centre of both groups are imperfective verbs: reflexive, *gniewać się* and *złościć się*, and causative, *gniewać*, *złościć*. In this research, the derivational direction from reflexivity to causativity is taken as being the most reasonable from a semantic point of view, although the opposite direction, from causation to reflexivity, may have a certain logic, especially with regard to formal reasons. Next, other central lexemes in both groups are nouns, *gniew* and *złość*. So each group has three central words, which are the basis for their derivatives: adjectives and adverbs on the one hand (e.g. *gniewny*, *gniewnie*; *złośliwy*, *złośliwie*), and many perfective verbs (their reflexive and causative versions, e.g. *rozgniewać się*, *rozgniewać*) on the other. Additionally, there are also some regular deverbal abstract nouns, derived directly from verbs or indirectly from them through their adjectival forms (e.g. *rozgniewanie (się)*). Another category is represented by nouns which denote people who are often angry or who are easily given to anger (*złośnik* `a boy / a man who often *złości się*'; *złośnica* `a girl / a woman who often *złości się*'; *gniewliwiec* `a man who often *gniewa się*', the last example being registered only in the

dictionaries examined) or who are malicious (*złośliwiec* 'a person (usually a man) who is *złośliwy*').

A special regularity is visible in the structure of reflexive verbs. In both groups, they are derived from imperfective verbs by means of prefixes. The prefixes inform us not only about a change from imperfectivity to perfectivity, but also about a change in the type of action. In both groups the most useful prefixes are *roz-*, *z-/ze-*, and *po-*. The others are present in only one of the groups (*za-* only in 'gniew' and *wy-* registered only in 'złość' but possible also in 'gniew'). It is obvious for the observer of the whole Polish derivational verbal system that each prefix has a special role. A productive prefix seems to create a characteristic image of the concept indicated by the derivative. This concerns both concrete and abstract concepts.

Prefix *roz-* informs Polish speakers about the evolutive growth of a thing (e.g. *rozkwitnąć* 'to blossom, to burst into flower'), great intensity (e.g. *rozchorować się* 'to become very ill'), the removal of some thing (e.g. *rozebrać dom* 'to pull down a house') and movement in all directions (e.g. *rozejść się* 'to scatter several ways, to go away'). Thus, in the conceptualisation of emotions this may be connected with their evolutive development and an increase in their intensity, and also with their external manifestations.

The prefix *z-/ze-* seems to be the reverse of the previous example, as it also gives information about the great power of any process, but in verbs of motion it indicates a direction inwards, not outwards (e.g. *zejść się* 'to gather, to come together'), and the unity of separate parts (e.g. *zebrać ludzi* 'to gather people, to lump people together'). In lexemes such as *zszarpać się* 'to shatter one's health', it denotes the maximal degree of „saturation” of the experiencer by her/his basic activity, her/his exhaustion by the action (see *Morfologia* 1984: 489). This may be connected with the great inner power of the emotion which does not always need to be expressed outwardly.

The prefix *po-* is used in Polish in at least two different meanings. In determinative verbs it indicates a short-term action (e.g. *pospacerować* 'to walk a little bit') and then has an additional sense about conveying the small amount of such an action. This makes the emotion conceptualised in it less powerful, rather moderate. In other verbs the prefix *po-* indicates the „complexive” nature of the action, focusing on the emotional process as its

result (e.g. *pokochać kogoś* 'to start loving sb'). This complexive meaning seems to be typical of long-term processes and states.

The prefix *za-* indicates an experiencer's complete absorption by an action (e.g. *zastuchać się* 'to listen with all one's ears') or going beyond one's endurance in the cause of the action (e.g. *zaharować się* 'to overwork, to work oneself to death'). In the verbs which concern localisation it shows a situation when a subject works on the whole surface of the thing (e.g. *zalać podłogę* 'to flood water on to the floor') and in the verbs which concern the process of localisation it shows a situation when something is fully covered by something (e.g. *zarosnąć* 'to overgrow (an area)') (see *Morfologia* 1984: 482-483). Next, in the verbs denoting physical or psychical states, the prefix *za-* concentrates the speaker's attention on the maximally negative effects for an object (e.g. *zanudzić kogoś* 'to bore somebody completely') (see *Morfologia* 1984:486). Thus in the names of emotions *za-* may include information about the great power of the feeling and it can suggest that an experiencer is completely overcome by the emotion.

The prefix *wy-* indicates in Polish high effectiveness, high intensity, completeness, external manifestation, wearing out and tiring by an action which requires effort (see *Morfologia* 1984:475-506). In verbs of emotion all these meanings form a context of great intensity, most obviously shown in external expressions which lead to a kind of fulfilment and to the end of the feeling.

The observations on the derivational Polish system presented above have been taken into account in the characteristics of certain lexemes from the groups of 'gniew' and 'złość'.

Diagram 3a: Derivation in the group of 'gniew'

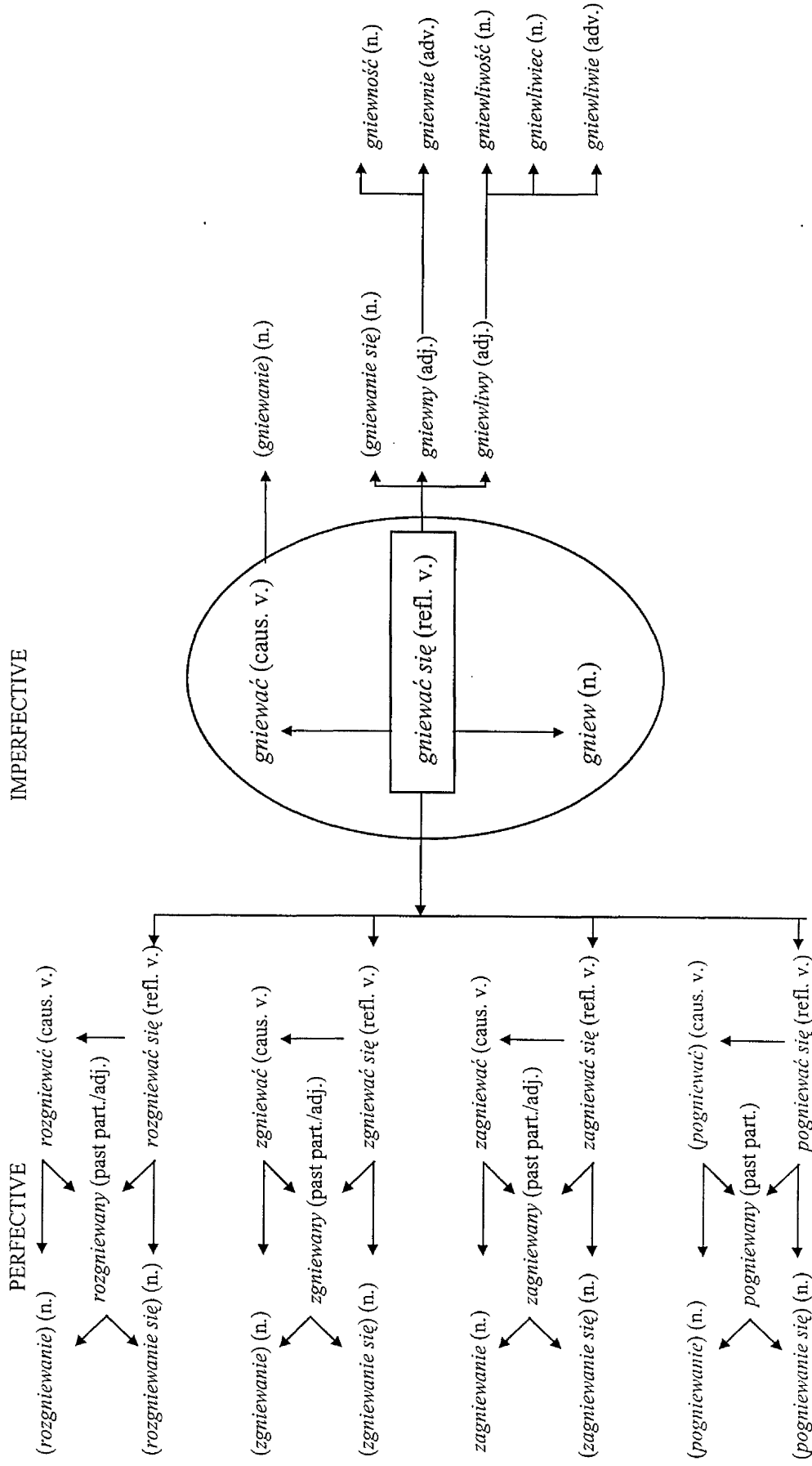
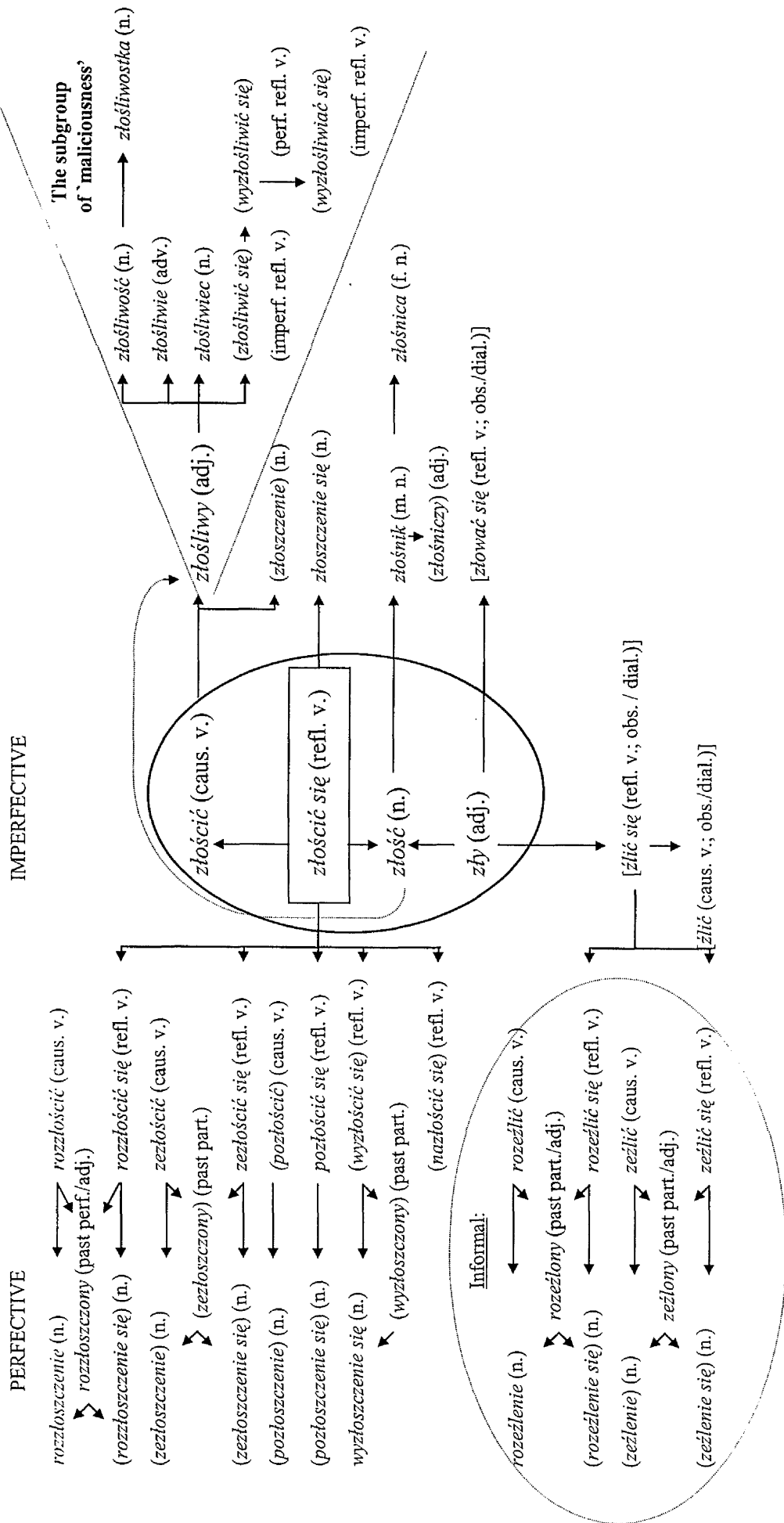




Diagram 3b: Derivation in the group of 'złość'



### 3. The group of `gniew`

#### 3.1. Introduction

The Polish group of `gniew` is remarkably rich in lexemes. Table III. lists the lexemes from this group which are recorded in modern Polish dictionaries (SJPD, SJPSz) and in the databases examined.

Table III. `Gniew` in databases

No	LEXEME	Author's Database	K PWN	BD PWN	Total:
1.	<i>gniew</i> (n.)	38	84	514	636
2.	<i>gniewać się</i> (refl. v.)	9	3	208	220
3.	<i>gniewać</i> (caus. v.)	2	1	23	26
4.	<i>gniewny</i> (adj.)	16	28	101	145
5.	<i>gniewnie</i> (adv.)	8	6	110	124
6.	<i>rozgniewać się</i> (perf. refl. v.)	0	0	45	45
7.	<i>rozgniewać</i> (perf. caus. v.)	3	0	12	15
8.	<i>rozgniewany</i> (past part./adj.)	0	0	39	39
9.	<i>zgniewać się</i> (perf. refl. v.)	0	3	7	10
10.	<i>zgniewać</i> (perf. caus. v.)	0	1	1	2
11.	<i>zgniewany</i> (past part./adj.)	0	1	1	2
12.	<i>zagniewać się</i> (perf. refl. v.)	0	1	0	1
13.	[ <i>zagniewać</i> (perf. caus. v.)]	0	0	0	0
14.	<i>zagniewany</i> (past part./adj.)	4	1	18	23
15.	<i>zagniewanie</i> (n.)	1	1	2	4
16.	<i>pogniewać się</i> (perf. refl. v.)	0	0	20	20
17.	[ <i>pogniewać</i> (perf. caus. v.)]	0	0	0	0
18.	<i>pogniewany</i> (past part.)	0	0	1	1
19.	<i>gniewliwy</i> (adj.)	0	1	0	1
20.	<i>gniewliwość</i> (n.)	0	0	1	1
21.	<i>gniewność</i> (n.)	0	1	0	1
	<b>Total:</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>1103</b>	<b>1316</b>

Some of the words listed in Table III. are noticeably rare and they do not occur in the linguistic materials (*zagniewać* and *pogniewać*) or they occur there, but exceptionally (*gniewność*, *gniewliwość*, *gniewliwy*, *pogniewany*, *zagniewać się*, *zagniewany*, *zgniewać*, *zgniewany*). Other words are represented fairly often in the texts examined and they seem to play the most significant role in the group (e.g. *gniew*, *gniewać się*, *gniewny*, *gniewnie*, *rozgniewać się*, *rozgniewany*).

As mentioned in chapter IV.2., the reflexive imperfective verb, *gniewać się*, is treated in this research as the main lexeme of the group, and the other words are its direct

or indirect derivatives. Table III. shows that the number of verbs is remarkable in this case, for as many as 10 verbal lexemes are registered in the group of 'gniew' (50% of all derivatives) and they occur in the texts examined 339 times, which is almost 26% of all occurrences of the lexemes from this group found in the texts. The most frequently verbs found in the texts are reflexive verbs (296x), whereas causative verbs are in the minority (43x). This is a rate of seven to one and seems to contrast with the fact that in English only one causative verb, *to anger*, but no reflexive verb occurs in the texts examined. Although verbs seem to play an important role in the Polish conceptualisation of the emotion, it is not verbs, but an abstract noun, *gniew*, which is the most frequent word in the databases examined. It occurs almost twice as frequently in the materials as all the verbs together (636x = over 48%). *Gniew* and other, rather peripheral nouns, *zagniewanie*, *gniewliwość*, *gniewność*, make the category of nouns the best represented part of speech from the group of 'gniew' in the texts (49%). Contrary to the English adjective, *angry*, whose frequency is the greatest in the group of 'anger' (44%), the Polish adjective *gniewny*, counted together with Polish past participles, which are used in texts both as past participles and as adjectives (*rozgniewany*, *zgniewany*, *zagniewany*, *pogniewany*) is less frequent (only 210x = almost 16%), and the adverb *gniewnie* is even rarer (124x = over 9%).

A detailed semantic analysis of the Polish group of 'gniew' concentrates on the lexemes most frequently occurring in the texts (*gniew*, *gniewać się*, *gniewny*, *gniewnie*) or those which are the most interesting from a comparative point of view (*gniewać* and the groups of perfective verbs). The results of this analysis are shown in the next sections.

### 3.2. Imperfective *gniewać się* (refl. v.)

The emotion indicated by the verb *gniewać się* typically appears between two people who are connected by close emotional links (in a parental relationship, in love or friendship) or by professional links (in a superior-subordinate relationship). An experiencer has a privileged status in such cases, having greater experience and knowledge and having the power to punish people and to enforce the law, and / or having goods or qualities which are valuable from a causer's point of view. Such sentences as *X i Y gniewają się na siebie / między sobą* ('X and Y are angry at each other / with each other') and *X gniewa się z Y-iem*

(‘X is angry with Y’) show that two opponents may simultaneously play both the role of an experiencer and of an object, so their emotion is therefore „bi-directional”. When *gniew* occurs in their relationship, it is a disturbance in their mutual relations experienced as something unwanted by both sides. However, such emotion can have an educational value and, from the experiencer’s point of view, it is useful even when, from the object’s point of view, it is unpleasant as it has unpleasant effects. Thus the evaluation of this emotion is ambivalent.

The emotion appears as a result of an intellectual or moral evaluation of a situation which has begun in the moment prior to the emotion itself. The intellectual and moral judgement can be changed due to rational argumentation, so the emotion can be controlled.

The reason for such emotion is always negatively evaluated by an experiencer (and by a narrator who comments on the emotions of somebody else). There are three kinds of reason: (a) the breaking of certain rules by an object who acts against certain bans and orders; (b) the undermining of an experiencer’s system of values and beliefs; (c) harm done to an experiencer or to her/his family, relatives and friends.

As an imperfect verb, the lexeme *gniewać się* profiles the emotion’s dynamic state in an experiencer’s mind. In certain texts only a reader / a listener can see, on the basis of the context, that this is a long-term process or a repeatable feature or an event that is coming to an end.

The power of the emotion seems to be fairly great and it can increase. It is profound rather than intense, which is connected with the typical symptoms of the emotion. *Gniew* may be manifested by: (a) distance and breaking contact with an object or only the threat of doing so (characteristic for ‘*oburzenie*’ - ‘indignation’); (b) violent vocal reactions (threats, reprimands and abuse); (c) physical aggression (only in the last resort). Additionally, the profound but not extremely intense power of the emotion is confirmed by people’s doubts, as the observers and interlocutors of an experiencer often do not know for sure about her/his emotion. They only suppose and guess that somebody *gniewa się* (‘is angry’), so they look for an experiencer’s confirmation of her/his emotion, as is shown in (1).

(1)

Wyglądasz tak jakoś ... nierealnie. Jakby śniegowo. Jakby świerkowo. Chyba się nie gniewasz, że to mówię? (BD PWN)

[You look somehow ... unreal. As if snowy. As if sprucely. You’re not angry at me for saying this, are you?]

### 3.3. Imperfective *gniewać* (caus. v.)

Although the verbs *gniewać się* and *gniewać* denote the same emotion, there are some important differences between them. Firstly, the main lexeme, *gniewać się*, makes the existence of the emotion in an experiencer's mind the central information in a sentence, whereas its causative derivative, *gniewać*, places the information about the act of causation of the emotion in an experiencer and about its reason at the forefront. Secondly, the emotion denoted by the causative verb does not have to be linked with the existence of any human causer, because not only people can *gniewać kogoś* ('make somebody angry') by breaking certain rules, but this may be done by non-human impediments which are sometimes even fully independent of human beings and their will. When a human causer is absent in a situation described by the verb, the emotion of *gniewać* becomes close to *złościć*. *Złościć*, however, seems to be more intense, whereas *gniewać* is usually more profound.

### 3.4. *Gniewny* (adj.) and *gniewnie* (adv.)

An experiencer of the emotion indicated by the adjective *gniewny* and the adverb *gniewnie* is usually similar to that indicated by the verbs previously discussed. This is a person (or a personified animal) close to an object or a superior of an object, whereas objects are represented by people, and rather rarely by animals or even by personified vehicles. However, one specific situation of the emotion connected with the adjective is when people are *gniewni* ('angry (in plural)') not at particular human beings or their groups, but when they act to protect values appreciated by them. The main motive of their behaviour is a kind of opposition connected with commonly held opinions and then, its manifestation, namely with the experiencers' desire to remove or destroy (not obviously physically and directly) the reason for the injustice and evil. This situation is shown in (2).

(2)

Rozumiała, że oto ogląda doniosły moment, że być może w Polsce coś się za chwilę zmieni. Ci **gniewni** ludzie szli wymierzać sprawiedliwość. Tylko komu? Władzy, która tchórzliwie kryła się po gabinetach? Kremłowi, który był nieosiągalny nie tylko ze względów geograficznych? Czy historii? (BD PWN)

[She understood that she was witnessing a turning point, that perhaps something would be changed in Poland in an instant. Those angry people went to dispense justice. But to whom? To the authorities who were hiding themselves in their offices like cowards? To the Kremlin which was unattainable not only because of geographic reasons? Or to history?]

Typical experiencers of such kinds of *gniewny* protest are *młodzi gniewni* ('angry young (men)') who similarly to English *angry young men* do not accept traditional values and culture. The Polish expression *młodzi gniewni* is a direct translation from the English *angry young men*.

The most important role of the adjective and of the adverb in the texts examined is the role of a useful instrument in the description of the symptoms and effects of the emotion. As the contexts of these words show, the manifestation of the emotion is of various kinds. Firstly, there are vocal reactions, which are fairly often similar to the voices of animals (dogs, cats and wild animals). Secondly, there are gestures and violent movements of parts of the experiencer's body. Thirdly, there are threatening looks and facial expressions (knitted brows, fixed lips). Thus, a *gniewny* man looks as if he were about to commit an act of aggression and this is usually a threat intended to induce an opponent to stop or to prevent her/him doing something wrong (from the view point of X's system of values). Sometimes the metaphonymic experiencer of the emotion is Nature in uproar: a sea, water, a thunderbolt (similarly to English 'anger' and 'wrath'), as they can be as threatening and destructive as a *gniewny* man.

To return to the case when an object of the emotion is not human, it should be added that in such situation the emotion seems to be noticeably close to that conceptualised in 'złość', 'zniecierpliwienie' and 'zdenerwowanie'. In those concepts a spontaneous and non-intellectual negative evaluation of the reason is included and any kind of norm is not required. Moreover, it can be suggested that the adverb *gniewnie*, in particular, serves contexts in which a narrator describes expressions of not only 'gniew', but also of 'złość', 'irytacja' and 'zdenerwowanie'. This is more reasonable because such imperfective verbs as *złościć się*, *irytować się*, *denerwować się* and *niecierpliwić się* do not have equivalents that are semantically and formally identical to the adverb *gniewnie*.

### 3.5. Perfective *rozgniewać się* (refl. v.), *rozgniewać* (caus. v.) and *rozgniewany* (past part./adj.)

As mentioned previously (see IV.3.2.) derivatives with the prefix *roz-* are of two kinds: (a) the reflexive verb *rozgniewać się*; (b) the causative verb *rozgniewać* which comes directly from the first. Both provide the basis for a third word, *rozgniewany*, which is used in the texts examined as a grammatical form of these verbs, past participle (e.g. *rozgniewany na syna ojciec* 'a father *rozgniewany* at his son', *rozgniewany czymś król* 'a king *rozgniewany* with something') and as an adjective (e.g. *rozgniewana twarz* 'a *rozgniewany*-fem. face') (see SJPD, SJPSz).

When a Polish speaker says that *X rozgniewał się na Y-a za to, że Y Z (i XP)* ('X got angry at Y, because Y did Z (and so X did P)'), he informs a listener that there is an emotional process which arises as a culminative point in the situation in which an experiencer X (usually a superior or an adult protector) has a feeling directed onto an object Y (a subordinate or a child needing care and protection). The emotion is followed by a situation in which the future object Y breaks some bans, acts against the norms affirmed by an experiencer, does not fulfil X's commands or, more rarely, puts some obstacle in the way of X's plans. Such a situation is negatively evaluated by an experiencer and this is usually an evaluation of an intellectual or moral kind.

The emotion indicated by the verb *rozgniewać się* is intense and needs immediate external expression. A typical manifestation of the emotion are X's acts directed against an object and treated by her/him as a punishment for Y's guilt. From Y's point of view 'rozgniewanie się' is also evaluated negatively as an emotion connected with undesired effects.

The causative verb shows a similar situation to its reflexive base, but it brings out in stronger relief the process of causation and the reason for the emotion, whereas the reflexive verb profiles, first of all, an experiencer and her/his feeling.

The participle/adjective form seems to be most useful in descriptions of emotional symptoms. In comparison with the symptoms implicated in the contexts of the adjective *gniewny*, these of *rozgniewany* are more aggressive and they can be really more

destructive, as they are not limited to vocal and mimical and gesticulative forewarning of attack.

All the words with the prefix *roz-* confirm an extensive intensity and external manifestation of the emotion, which is often violent and destructive. This seems to be more similar to the English group of 'wrath' than typical of 'anger'.

### **3.6. Perfective *zgniewać się* (refl. v.), *zgniewać* (caus. v.)**

#### **and *zgniewany* (past part./adj.)**

The subgroup of words with the prefix *z-* is rare in modern Polish texts and according to dictionaries (SJPD, SJPSz) this is synonymous with the subgroup with the prefix *roz-*. The texts examined in my research show, however, some differences between these two categories. Even if both of them deal with the same great power of emotion and with the „culminative” character of its action, they, firstly, have somewhat different manifestations, since *z-*derivatives show non-aggressive emotion, whereas for *roz-*derivatives aggression is fairly typical; and secondly, they concern different aspects of emotional power: the great inner depth of 'zgniewanie' is contrasted with the great, but external intensity of 'rozgniewanie' (see IV.3.2.). Such differences are so subtle that they do not have to be apparent in all contexts.

### **3.7. Perfective *zagniewać się* (refl. v.), *zagniewać* (caus. v.)**

#### **and *zagniewany* (past part./adj.)**

The lexemes with the prefix *za-* indicate a kind of 'gniew' which is less intense than 'rozgniewanie' and less profound than 'zgniewanie'. Its symptoms are visible to observers as there is usually : (a) a facial change, (b) vocal behaviour, and (c) violent movements by an experiencer. The emotion seems to be a protest against the causer's activity which contradicts obligatory norms. Sometimes (though rather seldom) the emotion is X's spontaneous reaction to obstacles created by an object. Again, the



experiencer is usually a person of higher status (a superior, God, a protector, a loved person) and his/her opponent is a subordinate or someone emotionally dependent on the experiencer. 'Gniew' seems to be a departure from good relations between these people, and so is negatively evaluated by them. However, similarly to the case of *gniewać się*, it is also a desired reaction from an experiencer's point of view, as (s)he acts in defence of norms and values which (s)he accepts.

**3.8. Perfective *pogniewać się* (refl. v.), *pogniewać* (caus. v.)  
and *pogniewany* (past part.)**

The reflexive verb *pogniewać się* never occurs in the texts examined as a determinative verb. Its most typical function is to denote the emotion which links two people. The emotion follows on the breaking of certain norms by one of these two people, thus it is a negation of their former positive relations. Both partners evaluate this situation negatively, usually on the basis of intellectual or moral reasons. It is possible to control the feeling. Its experiencer can be its object at the same time in a kind of reciprocal scheme (e.g. *X i Y pogniewali się* 'X and Y got angry at each other'), yet is not obviously so. Reciprocity is possible when the status of both partners is approximately the same (friendship, acquaintance, love). The higher position of one of the opponents gives her/him the opportunity to feel a unilateral emotion (e.g. *X pogniewał się na Y-a* 'X got angry at Y'; like in imperfective *X gniewa się na Y-a* 'X is angry at Y'). The object of the emotion is not always the causer, as is shown in the context of the causative verb *pogniewać* in (3).

(3)

Pogniewasz rodziców swym wyjazdem. (SJPD)  
[You'll make your parents angry (at each other / at you) by your leaving.]

The most probable interpretation of (3) is that a situation in which T, who is different from X and Y (X and Y are parents of T), makes them angry at each other by her/his leaving. This is a reciprocal *gniew*, but its causer is not its experiencer nor its object. A situation more typical of other causative verbs, namely when there is an experiencer and a causer as a potential object of 'pogniewanie', is not present in the texts

examined nor in the dictionaries investigated, and it seems to be unnatural for a Polish speaker (e.g. *Y pogniewał X-a Z-em* 'Doing Z, Y has made X angry (for a long time)'). Also the case in which a reason is given in the central place in a sentence, which is characteristic for causative verbs, is absent from in the materials (e.g.. *Z pogniewało X-a* 'Something Z has made X angry (for a long time)'). This may be connected with the fact that for *pogniewać (się)* the emotional relation between the two partners appears to be the most important, as Polish speakers concentrate there on the problem of the transformation from partnership, friendship, or respect to mutual dislike, antipathy and even enmity. The reason for the emotion is backgrounded and its external manifestation seems to be out of the narrator's sight. Thus 'pogniewanie się' looks like a passive state rather than an event filled with X's activity. It does not have any special external, violent symptoms and its intensity is quite weak. Such an emotion has a tendency to last for a fairly long time, probably because it does not commit nor exhaust the experiencer as much as more intense feelings. Accordingly, it can be non-topical.. However, this emotion is treated as a serious threat, since it should be avoided or at least controlled. The non-topical and passive character of this kind of 'gniew' makes it less similar to prototypical emotions, but closer to emotional states.

It is not easy to find its English equivalent in the group of 'anger' nor in the group of 'wrath'. A bilingual dictionary definition of *pogniewać (się)* by Stanisławski (GEP/GPE) does not seem to be either convincing or sufficient, as the meaning under consideration is divided into two separate senses: (a) '(poczuć złość) to get angry (z kimś at sb); to be angry <cross> (na kogoś with sb)'; (b) '(poróżnić się) to have fallen out (z kimś with sb)'; *oni się pogniewali* 'they have fallen out; they have had a quarrel' (GPE II:83). The first sense seems to indicate a unilateral emotion, the second sense - a mutual one, but only for an English reader, as *z kimś* (in (a)) has the meaning of mutuality. In Polish it is possible to say *X pogniewał się z kimś* and *X pogniewał się na kogoś*, and only the second sentence can be translated as 'X got angry at somebody', since only the second is unilateral. In the translation 'to be angry <cross> with sb' a kind of mistake is also present, as the meaning of perfectivity and the starting point of the emotion are not included in the explanation. Even if the English language has a special grammatical, not lexical, instrument to express perfectivity, namely perfect tenses, it is incorrect to omit such information in descriptions of the meanings of Polish perfective verbs. Moreover, the prefixes of Polish perfective

verbs usually do not only carry the information of perfectivity, but also of a changed kind of action (*po-* = 'perfectivity' + 'starting point' + 'complexivity', see VI.2.). Regarding the (b) meaning mentioned above, the reader has to see a specific rearrangement of some emotional aspects. The Polish sentence *Oni pogniewali się miesiąc temu* 'They got angry at each other a month ago' focuses on the emotional relations between two people, and especially the beginnings of the emotion. The English sentence *They have fallen out for the while of last month* and more evidently a sentence *They had a quarrel a month ago* focus on certain symptoms and effects of the emotion. This seems to be close to Polish sentences in which the noun *gniew* is used in plural forms (see IV.3.9.).

### 3.9. *Gniew* (n.)

The noun *gniew* is usually used as the name of the emotion, especially in singular forms. The noun exists in a large number of phrases and expressions, some of which are particularly interesting from a comparative point of view.

Firstly, it is described by other words indicating an experiencer of the emotion. There are the following constructions: (a) an adjective (e.g. *Boży* 'divine', *królewski* 'royal, of the king') + *gniew* (26x); (b) *gniew* + the name of the experiencer in the Genitive (e.g. *gniew bogów* 'gniew of divinities', *gniew ludu* 'the people's gniew', *gniew ojca* 'father's gniew') (57x; 41 of them deal with an individual emotion and 16 with a collective feeling); (c) the possessive pronoun + *gniew* (44x). An experiencer seems to be an important aspect of the situation in this instance, similarly to English 'wrath' rather than to English 'anger'.

Secondly, *gniew* forms prepositional phrases which indicate the object of the emotion (*gniew na kogoś* - at somebody (11x), *gniew przeciw komuś* - against somebody (3x)) and its reason (*gniew na coś* - at something (5x), *gniew przeciw czemuś* - against something (1x) and *gniew o coś* - about something (3x)), but both aspects, of an object and of a reason, seem to be secondary in the conceptualisation of 'gniew' in comparison to the aspect of its experiencer. This is confirmed by the fact that an experiencer is mentioned in the texts examined by means of the above expressions nine times more often than an object

and even fourteen times more often than the reason for the emotion. This is also evidence of greater similarity between 'gniew' and 'wrath' than between 'gniew' and 'anger'.

Thirdly, there are some prepositional phrases which are based on the imaginative schema of a container. In Polish the most significant are the following: (a) *z gniewem* ('with gniew') (61x); (b) *w gniewie* ('in gniew') (42x); (c) *z gniewu* ('out of gniew') (33x). Since the *z*-('with')-construction is even more frequent than the *z*-('out of')-construction (of a ratio of 1.3 : 1), it may be suggested that Polish *gniew* is an emotion which overtakes its experiencer, which has great power, but which does not always need to be externally manifested.

The experiencer of the emotion indicated by the noun *gniew* is a superior first of all, but it can also be somebody of equal rank to the object, namely an opponent or a person close to X. A special kind of *gniew*-experiencer is a group of mutinous, conquered people who protest against their persecutors' actions. This type is also present in the case of both English 'anger' and 'wrath'. The reason for the emotion, which is negatively evaluated by the experiencer, is usually the breaking of certain norms by an opponent. As the concept of a norm is typically taken into consideration, the emotion belongs to the category of higher human feelings. However, it can also arise as a spontaneous reaction to any obstacle which makes an experiencer's normal functioning difficult. Such a reason seems to be more typical of Polish 'złość' and 'wściekłość' ('rage'). For English 'anger' and 'wrath', this is also not the most characteristic, although it can happen in their contexts, especially in the contexts of 'anger'.

The negative evaluation in 'gniew' is not only applied to the reason, but also to the emotion itself and its effects, since *gniew* has a bad influence on an experiencer and on the other. Additionally, in the Catholic Church it is one of the seven cardinal sins. As a desired reaction to Y's wrong behaviour, *gniew* can equally have a positive value.

In a typical situation *gniew* arises suddenly and, at least partly, independently of an experiencer's will. Then it develops gradually in an experiencer, becoming more and more powerful. Internal symptoms (increasing body temperature and blood pressure, the internal disturbance of X's organism) are characteristic for this stage of the emotion. Next, at its culminative point, *gniew* takes an external form: X's violent movements, threatening mimical and aggressive actions which can (but do not always have to) be seen as just

punishment. Finally it weakens and ceases. Sometimes, however, the process of internal development is „omitted” and gniew is seen as a sudden explosion of the emotion which is very intense and which obviously has external symptoms and effects (similarly to `rozniewanie się’ and to the English *explosion of wrath*). Gniew can be directed and limited by its conscious experiencer. Other people can also control it. Sometimes it becomes a long-term emotional state without any distinct symptoms, close to resentment and hatred, e.g. *X żywi gniew do Y-a* (‘X „nourishes” gniew towards Y’), *odwieczny gniew* (‘centuries-old gniew’) (just as in *X i Y gniewają się. X i Y pogniewali się (na siebie)*).

In plural forms, which are rare in the texts examined (only 1.5% of noun occurrences), the noun indicates several forms of X’s gniew (e.g. *gniewy babci Misi* ‘the fits of anger of grandma Misia’) or several experiencers of the emotion (e.g. *nasze gniewy* ‘our angers’). This is the case when various people feel gniew or when the emotion is mutual.

### 3.10. Explication

The open explication of the basic concept ‘gniew’, being a foundation for the lexemes from the whole group of ‘gniew’, discussed above, has the following form:

#### ‘Gniew’

1. ‘An EMOTION of X (an experiencer: usually a superior in a family, church, state; an equal and close partner: a husband or a wife, a lover, a friend; a community)
2. at a person Y (an object: a charge, a sinner, a subordinate; a husband or a wife, a lover, a friend - the possibility of mutual emotion; superior); according to X, Y is guilty,
3. because Y is the causer of an event Z (by breaking rules which are accepted by an experiencer, by doing harm to X or X’s family, relatives and friends, or (rarely) by putting obstacles in the way of X’s actions); X thinks Y is aware of her/his/their wrong behaviour.
4. The emotion is connected with the evaluation:
  - (a) negative - of a reason which in X’s opinion is a wrong done to him (or to her/his/their family, relatives and friends);

- of the emotion, as X has reservations about it and X tries to stop it;
- of the emotion-results which may impact negatively on X, Y and

on

their surroundings;

- (b) positive - of the emotion and its results, since being negative towards Y, they are X's willing response to evil and as such they can be seen as a deserved and just punishment for Y's wrong acts.

5. The emotion is (gradually becomes) strong:

(a) it arises suddenly, increases and after passing through a culminative point it is expressed outside an experiencer in an external form, and then it ceases; sometimes it lasts for a long time in a passive manner and becomes active in favourable circumstances; it may grow and decline spontaneously;

(b) it can be controlled by X, or - when too strong - it cannot be controlled;

(c) it may increase and decrease due to the activity of other people.

6. The emotion can be expressed inside and/or outside an experiencer by means of:

(a) disruptions in speaking; vocal reactions (often harsh and/or typical of animals); a refusal to cooperate: silence and severing relations with an object;

(b) facial change:

- a change in skin colour from normal to pathological red, pale, violet / purple, yellow;

- frowns and facial contraction;

- making a wry mouth, setting lips and teeth, gnashing teeth;

- a threatening look;

(c) violent actions (or only the threat of them);

(d) disruption in the fluency of movements, internal and external agitation (jerky movements, lack of co-ordination);

(e) disruption in the functioning of the heart and increased blood pressure;

(f) interference with accurate perception and disruption in logical thinking;

(g) increased body temperature;

(h) interference with breathing and swallowing, increased secretion of saliva.

7. The emotion can be hidden and simulated.'

## 4. The 'złość' group

### 4.1. Introduction

The group of 'złość' is „derivatively” even richer than the group of 'gniew', as it includes over 16% more derivatives. In general, the group of 'złość' is not as compact and homogeneous as 'gniew'.

Firstly, this is because its historically basic lexeme, the adjective *zły*, has two meanings: evaluative 'bad, wrong, incorrect' and emotional 'angry, cross'.

Secondly, a distinct subgroup is visible in 'złość', namely 'złośliwość', which is peripheral there but it plays a special role in the category. On the one hand, it refers to the category of illness, not only to the category of emotions (e.g. *nowotwór złośliwy* 'malignant tumour'). On the other hand, it indicates a special kind of emotional feature, as the main adjective in this subgroup, *złośliwy*, means 'malicious, evil-minded, vicious'. The lexical link between 'złość' and 'złośliwość' is the phrase *robić komuś na złość* ('to do something just to spite somebody') and the causative verb *złościć kogoś* ('to make somebody cross, upset, angry; to irritate, to vex, to exasperate somebody'). Thus a *złośliwy człowiek* is a man who often and willingly acts in such a way as to upset or harm somebody, to cause unpleasantness to his opponent, and takes pleasure in this. Although this group is listed in Table IV, it will be not described in detail in a separate section, because of its peripheral position in the category of 'złość'.

Thirdly, several stylistically and chronologically limited derivatives are included in the group of 'złość'. The verb *złić się* is not recorded in the modern dictionaries examined and this is an obsolete word which nowadays exists only in dialects or in extremely informal texts. Its meaning is synonymous with the meaning of *złościć się*. Additionally, its

perfective derivatives are still used in modern Polish texts, but they are typical of informal language and because of that are not considered in this research.

Table IV. 'Złość' in databases

No	LEXEME	Author's Databases (KW)	K PWN	BD PWN	Total:
1.	<i>złość</i> (n.)	32	72	520	624
2.	<i>złościć się</i> (imperf. refl. v.)	19	5	53	77
3.	<i>złościć</i> (imperf. caus. v.)	2	5	30	37
4.	<i>złoszczenie się</i> (n.)	0	0	1	1
5.	<i>rozzłościć się</i> (perf. refl. v.)	4	4	17	25
6.	<i>rozzłościć</i> (perf. caus. v.)	0	1	6	7
7.	<i>rozzłoszczony</i> (past part. / adj.)	1	5	18	24
8.	<i>rozzłoszczenie</i> (n.)	0	1	0	1
9.	<i>zezłościć się</i> (perf. refl. v.)	3	2	19	24
10.	<i>zezłościć</i> (perf. caus. v.)	1	2	4	7
11.	<i>(zezłoszczony</i> (past. part.))	0	0	0	0
12.	<i>pozłościć się</i> (perf. refl. v.)	0	2	0	2
13.	<i>(pozłościć</i> (perf. caus. v.))	0	0	0	0
14.	<i>wyzłoszczenie się</i> (n.)	0	1	0	1
15.	<i>zły</i> (adj.)	16	14	349	379
16.	<i>złośnik</i> (n.)	1	1	2	4
17.	<i>złośnica</i> (n.)	0	1	16	17
18.	[ <i>rozeźlić się</i> (perf. refl. v.)]	0	3	3	6
19.	[ <i>rozeźlić</i> (perf. caus. v.)]	0	2	0	2
20.	[ <i>rozeźlony</i> (past part./adj.)]	1	8	8	17
21.	[ <i>rozeźlenie</i> (n.)]	0	1	0	1
22.	[ <i>zeźlić się</i> (imperf. refl. v.)]	0	1	4	5
23.	[ <i>zeźlić</i> (imperf. caus. v.)]	0	1	1	2
24.	[ <i>zeźlony</i> (past part./adj.)]	0	1	1	2
25.	<i>złośliwy</i> (adj.)	17	47	213	277
26.	<i>złośliwie</i> (adv.)	8	4	63	75
27.	<i>złośliwiec</i> (n.)	2	7	5	14
28.	<i>złośliwość</i> (n.)	4	16	90	110
29.	<i>złośliwostka</i> (n.)	0	12	0	12
30.	<i>złośliwo-zabawowy</i> (adj.)	0	1	0	1
	<b>Total:</b>	111	220	1423	1754
	The subgroup of 'złośliwość' only:	31	87	371	489

#### 4.2. Imperfective *złościć się* (refl. v.)

The imperfective reflexive verb *złościć się* is treated in this study as a derivational basis for other lexemes from the group of 'złość', although from the historical point of



view the adverb *zły* and the noun *złość* were the foundations of the group about two hundred years ago.

The analysis of the selected texts in the databases examined allows the reader to characterise the emotion indicated by the verb *złościć się* as a feeling experienced by adult guardians, close to their charges, or of equal partners and, seldom, of children, subordinates and superiors. The categories of experiencers mentioned above make the meaning of *złościć się* similar to the meaning of *gniewać się*. However, there is one important class of experiencers in the conceptualisation of *złościć się*, who are absent in the conceptualisation of *gniewać się*, namely the class of strangers, even enemies to an object (such as drivers on the road and sport fans, who are present also in the conceptualisation of English 'Anger'). Possible enmity and the lack of God-experiencers in the contexts of *złościć się* seem to imply a negative evaluation of the emotion.

The reason for the emotion is also evaluated negatively from the personal experiencer's point of view, as it is usually an obstacle to X's actions. This does not require an evaluation based on intellectual or moral norms, being rather a sensory, spontaneous judgement, which determines that the emotion belongs to the category of universal, and not only human feelings (in contrast to *gniew*). The reason for *złoszczenie się* can, but does not have to be, linked with a particular human causer, and potential object (usually this is a child, a partner, or an enemy).

The most important aspects in the conceptualisation of *złoszczenie się* seem to be the emotion itself, its experiencer, its reason and the experiencer's activity, observable to those surrounding her/him. This activity is usually of a vocal, motorial and mimical kind and fairly often it portends violence. The experiencer's behaviour, being an external manifestation of X's emotion, can have destructive results not only for the object, but also for the experiencer and her/his surroundings, and this may influence a negative evaluation of the emotion. This kind of *złość* seems to indicate an experiencer's weakness and helplessness. Thus it can be an affront to X, as in (4), where this emotion is believed to be improper in a king's behaviour and cannot be positively evaluated, in contrast to *święty gniew* ('holy anger/wrath').

(4)

Maciuś znał etykietę dworską, wiedział, że królowi nie wolno kapryścić, upierać się, złościć, tym bardziej w takiej chwili nie chciał ułżyć godności i królewskiemu honorowi. Tylko brwi miał zsunięte i czoło zmarszczone. (BD PWN)

[Maciuś had known the Court ritual, he'd known that a king is not permitted to be capricious, to insist, to be cross; all the more he didn't want at such moment to offend dignity and royal honour. Only his brows were knitted and his forehead was wrinkled.]

The manifestation of the emotion, consciously controlled by the king in (4), suggests that the experiencer decides to show *gniew* rather than *złość* as if he would have chosen a more dignified version of anger while playing the role of a king, although he was a child and for a child *złość* was, not *gniew*, a more natural response.

The emotion conceptualised in *złościć się* seems to be not only less dignified, but also less serious than in *gniewać się*, and rather superficial, especially in the light of its possibly trivial reasons (e.g. *złościć się o byle co / bez powodu* 'to be cross over anything / without any reason'), of its manifestation in laughter and its experiencers who can be children.

#### 4.3. Imperfective *złościć* (caus. v.)

Similarly to *gniewać*, the causative verb *złościć* profiles the moment of causation of the emotion and of its reason, which are the most important factors. The situation described by the verb does not have to involve a human causer as even events independent of human will can cause the emotion. Usually there are obstacles which do not allow an experiencer to do what he wants. Such obstacles often last for the duration of the emotion and when they are removed the emotion disappears, because a process of compensation for a wrong or expiation of a guilt is not required. The emotion seems to be superficial in this context (just as in the context of *złościć się*), although it can also be extremely intense. Its natural background is a mixture of negative long-lasting or repeatable emotions and emotional states which create a favourable atmosphere for sudden explosions of an experiencer's *złość*.

The emotion is negatively evaluated from the narrator's point of view, because of its unpleasant symptoms and effects, but the emotional manifestation is described extremely rarely in the contexts of *złościć*. An experiencer seems to be more passive than

in the contexts of the reflexive verb. (S)he is there usually indicated by pronouns, not by nouns or adjectives, and pronouns play a secondary, subordinate role in the sentence.<sup>25</sup>

#### 4.4. Perfective *rozzłościć się* (refl. v.), *rozzłościć* (caus. v.) and *rozzłoszczony* (past part./adj.)

The lexemes with the prefix *roz-* in the group of 'złość' are similar in their meanings to their structural equivalents in the group of 'gniew'. The emotion conceptualised in them is very intense and is obviously expressed externally. Its manifestation is often violent and dangerous to the surroundings; therefore it has a negative evaluation. The culminative character of the emotion is also shared by its conceptualisation in both groups, 'gniew' and 'złość', by lexemes with the prefix *roz-*.

Particular differences, concerning the kind of an experiencer, object, reason and symptoms, are visible in the texts, too. For 'rozzłoszczenie (się)' the most distinct reasons are various obstacles in X's activity. An experiencer evaluates them in negative terms

<sup>25</sup> In my Polish study I have advanced the hypothesis that the number of reflexive and causative verbs used in texts may be significant for the characteristics of the range of experiencers and objects of the emotion. As typically the role of syntactic subject is given to an active „performer”, a causer or reason for the emotion, being syntactic subjects in causative sentences, seem to derive an active power from the subject. Therefore the emotion depends on them, not on the will of the subordinate passive experiencer (in the role of a syntactic object). In the light of this a possible interpretation of causative constructions may be that the emotion is to a great extent independent of an experiencer's will and cannot be controlled by X.

In a comparative analysis of two Polish groups, 'gniew' and 'złość', the above hypothesis seems to be verified, as in 'gniew' the reflexive verb *gniewać się* occurs over eight times more frequently in the texts examined than its causative derivative *gniewać*, whereas in 'złość' *złościć się* occurs only twice as often as *złościć*. If we compare both reflexive verbs, we can observe that the frequency of the first is almost three times higher than that of the second, but in the pair of causative verbs, *gniewać* and *złościć*, the ratio is opposite, as the first is 1.4 times rarer than the second. In the light of this, 'gniew' seems to be more amenable to control and more dependent on human will from the beginning of the emotion, while 'złość' seems more often to be independent of any control and will (see also Wierzbicka's remarks on the Polish syntax of things which happen to people and which are out of their control (Wierzbicka 1990a: 82-85)).

While looking at the English system, the reader may only state that the above hypothesis seems to be inadequate there. Firstly, because English speakers do not use any reflexive verbs in the conceptualisation of 'anger' and in the conceptualisation of 'wrath'. Secondly, because only one causative verb from the groups examined, namely *to anger*, is present in modern texts, but its frequency is not great. However, reflexive meanings may be indicated in English in different ways (e.g. by idioms and analytical constructions), but in such cases their conceptualisation is different from Polish.

On the basis of an analysis of the English material a slightly different suggestion seems to be relevant: that the dominance of causativity is linked there with the aspect of distance constructed between an experiencer and her/his emotion, because the emotion is seen as somebody else's, not the experiencer's, fault. This is understood in the light of a negative evaluation of the emotion, and it may apply not only to English, but also to Polish (with the distinctly negatively evaluated 'złość').

indirectly, without any special reflection. Moreover, X reacts with 'złość' even for unimportant reason and then, sometimes after a long time, (s)he realises (s)he has done something wrong *rozzłościwszy się* (by the fact of her/his 'rozzłoszczenie się'). Such a situation is typical of a child. In such emotion an experiencer is usually equal to her/his opponents or even weaker than them. (S)he can react with the emotion not in order to change an unacceptable situation (which may not be capable of being changed), but only to express her/his bad feeling and to do something wrong. The target of the emotion, namely its human causer-object is facultative in this instance. This situation is shown in (5).

(5)

- Ja go zerwałam.

- Bo ty byłaś bliżej, ale ja pierwszy zobaczyłem.

Helcia się **rozzłościła**, rzuciła grzyb i podeptała nogami.

- Nie potrzebuję tego grzyba.

Ale zaraz wiedziała, że źle zrobiła, bardzo się zawstydzila i zaczęła płakać. (BD PWN)

[„I picked it.” „Because you were closer to it, but I saw it first.” Helcia became angry, threw the mushroom onto the ground and trampled it under her feet. „I don't need this mushroom.” But at once she knew she had behaved in the wrong way, she became greatly ashamed of herself and started crying.]

The proportionally lower status of experiencers and greater frequency of unimportant reasons for the emotion in 'rozzłoszczenie (się)' (by comparison with 'rozzgniewanie (się)') seem to influence the reduced seriousness and lack of dignity implied in the emotion. Sometimes such a feeling appears as if it depreciated an experiencer's rank (e.g. of a superior), because it shows X's weakness. Thus an experiencer can be ashamed to experience this emotion.

#### 4.5. Perfective *zezłościć się* (refl. v.), *zezłościć* (caus. v.) and *zezłoszczony* (past part.)

Similarly to the group of 'gniew', in 'złość' lexemes with prefix *ze-* indicate an emotion of great power and of a culminative character, and this power is directed inwards rather than outwards, as the emotion seems to be profound rather than intense, in contrast to the emotion of 'rozzgniewanie (się)'. However, the power of 'zezłoszczenie (się)' is not as profound as in 'zgniewanie (się)', which is compatible with the other differences between the groups of 'gniew' and 'złość', as I have previously shown.

The past participle form, *zezłoszczony*, is not registered in the texts examined. This may be linked with fairly unimportant nature of the external symptoms of the emotion, which are usually non-violent, or even with the lack of such symptoms, because the past participle is a form typically used as an instrument in a condensed description of the whole emotional situation, which includes the emotion, its experiencer and its manifestation.

#### 4.6. Perfective *pozłościć się* (refl. v.) and *pozłościć* (caus. v.)

Although the causative verb, *pozłościć*, is possible in Polish, it is not used in the texts examined, and the past participle form, *pozłoszczony*, seems to be even more unnatural for Polish speakers, thus only the reflexive verb, *pozłościć się*, represents the group of 'złość' in a derivational *po*-type. Contrary to *pogniewać się*, *pozłościć się* is used in the texts examined only in its determinative meaning, never in a complexive sense. It indicates an emotion which usually lasts only for a short time, is superficial and not very intense. In its conceptualisation the final moment of the emotion seems to be more important for speakers than its beginning, as in (6).

(6)

- Syneczku - błagała Małgorzata. - Nie bądź taki hardy. Wiesz, jaki on jest. **Pozłości się, pozłości.**  
a potem mu przejdzie. (K PWN)

[..Sonny, don't be so impudent", Małgorzata entreated. „You know what he's like. He'll be cross for a short time. and then he'll get over it.”]

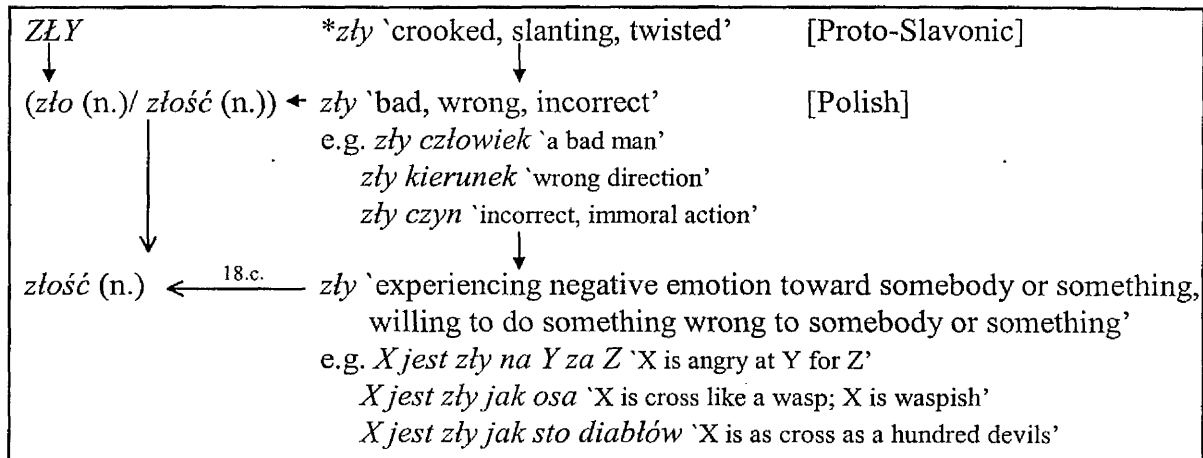
#### 4.7. *Zły* (adj.)

The adjective *zły* is the most problematic lexeme in the group of 'złość'. Because of its principal meaning, 'bad, wrong, incorrect', it belongs to the category of evaluation, not emotions, being a central lexeme in it (together with its antonym, *dobry* 'good, correct'). This axiological sense influences its emotional meaning, as it seems to determine that the emotion indicated by *zły* is negative in nature and cannot have any positive value.

The emotional meaning of *zły* has been deriving from its evaluative sense for two hundred years, since the eighteenth century, but even nowadays there are some contexts in

which these two senses coexist. Diagram 4. shows the process of the adjective's semantic development.

Diagram 4. The semantic motivation of the adjective *zły* (*na kogoś*)



The most typical expressions with the emotional sense of the adjective *zły* are the following: (a) *X jest zły na kogoś/na coś (za Z/o Z/ze Z)* ('X is cross, peevish at sb./sth. (for Z/over Z/that Z)'); (b) *X jest czegoś zły* ('X is somehow angry, cross, peevish'); (c) *X jest zły jak czort / lichy / diabeł / diabli / sto diabłów / wszyscy diabli* ('X is angry, cross, peevish just like the deuce / devil / devils / a hundred devils / all the devils'); *X jest zły jak pies / osa / giez / chrzan* ('X is angry, cross, peevish just like a dog / wasp / gadfly / horseradish'); *X jest zły jak nieszczęście / zaraza / cholera / choroba* ('X is angry, cross, peevish just like ill fortune / the plague / cholera / illness'); *X jest zła jak jędra / żmija / suka / pokrzywa* ('X (female) is angry, cross, peevish just like a witch (shrew) / viper / bitch / nettle'); (d) *X jest zły taki, że bez kija do niego nie podchodź* ('X is so angry, annoyed that you cannot come near her/him without a stick'). The first two groups of expressions focus on aspects of the experiencer, her/his emotion, its object and sometimes also its reason, whereas the other two groups profile the emotion's enormous power.

The texts examined show that an experiencer in the contexts of *zły* is most often an equal person to its object (in family and public life). An experiencer can be a stranger and an enemy, but also a person weaker than X's opponent. This weakness comes from being too young or too old, being ill or having a subordinate position at work. The group of „weak” experiencers is not present in the contexts of English 'wrath', but it seems to be at least possible in the contexts of 'anger'.

Additionally, such expressions as *X jest zły na siebie / na samego siebie / sam na siebie* ('X is angry, cross at her/himself') suggest that an experiencer and an object may be the same person, thus a negative evaluation made from X's point of view is distinct in this case. The reason for the emotion is seen as something unwanted by X and occurring against X's will. Moreover, on the basis of the evidence of (c) and of the texts examined, *złość* seems to be especially typical of animal experiencers such as dogs, wolves, horses, wasps, monkeys, cats and a bear, bull, ram or a fly. Because of their aggressive behaviour they are seen by Polish speakers as if they were *złe* (plural form), thus in the light of this the emotion gains an especially biological character. It is treated as not only human, but as a more common feeling belonging to the category of „lower” feelings which are not limited to people.

Symptoms of this emotion are of various kind: (a) significant <sup>expression</sup> ~~imitation~~ (threatening grimace, wrinkled forehead and frown, wry smile), a threatening look, a change in the colour of X's face (from its normal shade to red or pale), cries and the increased secretion of saliva; (b) vocal behaviour typical of aggressive people and animals, but sometimes also silence as a sign of distance; (c) violent gestures and aggressive acts against an object and their surroundings; more rarely: physical distance. A meaningful description of a man who is *zły* is given in (7) and (8), but in (8) the emotion comes to light from the context which links the evaluative and emotional meanings of the adjective.

(7)

Twarz mu się skurczyła **jak u złego wilka**, wargi uniosły, odsłaniając zęby. W oczach zamigotał płomień.

- Co to? - wycharczał. (BD PWN)

[He screwed up his face just like a *zły* wolf, his lips drew back showing his teeth. A flame flashed in his eyes. „What's that?”, he wheezed out.]

(8)

Najspokojniejszy chrześcijanin zamienia się w tym tramwaju w istotę biologiczną, **złą**, tramwaj wyzwała w nim zwierzę, którego jedynym motorem postępowania jest ślepa żądza pchania się, potracania, gwałtownych sprzeczek, kłótni, wyzwisk, wszelkich objawów nietolerancji względem znajdującego się w tej samej sytuacji bliźniego. (BD PWN)

[The most quiet Christian changes in the tram into a biological, *zły* being; the tram releases the beast in him, whose only motive power is a blind desire to crowd, nudge, barge past squabble, quarrel, use invective, and any other symptoms of intolerance towards his neighbour who is in exactly the same situation.]

Additionally, while comparing such sentences as: (a) *Złoszczę się na ciebie* and (b) *Jestem zły na ciebie*, a Polish reader has to admit that the first one, with the reflexive verb instead of the adjective, looks rather strange. This seems to be caused by the fact that the adjective is a better instrument to indicate internalised emotions which do not need to be

expressed externally, whereas the reflexive verb is much more useful in showing emotions which have external symptoms. Thus, (a) needs an external observer's perspective, while (b) seems to involve a view point typical of first person narration.

What is also significant for the Polish adjective *zły* is that it forms the adverb *źle*, but its meaning is only axiological, not emotional, so the Polish lexical system contains a gap in this instance. In the group of 'gniew' the full pair, adjective - adverb, exists (*gniewny* - *gniewnie*), but in the group of 'złość' the adverbial part is not present and its role is sometimes played by *gniewnie* (see IV.3.4.).

#### 4.8. *Złośnik* (masc. n.) and *złośnica* (fem. n.)

The nouns *złośnik* and *złośnica* indicate people who *złoszczą się* (too) often and (too) easily. *Złośnica* means a female experiencer and *złośnik* means a male experiencer of *złość*, but in the texts examined the first occurs over four times more frequently than the second (17:4). It should be pointed out, however, that *złośnica* occurs most often (13x) as a part of the title of a play by Shakespeare, *Poskromienie złościcy* (whose original English title is: *The Taming of the shrew*), so the frequency of this title makes the feminine noun frequent in the texts examined.

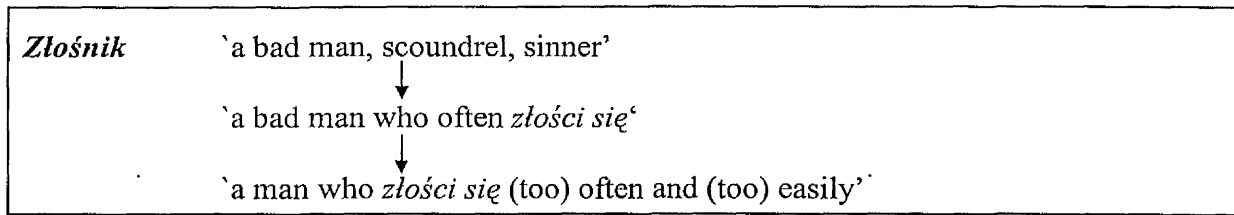
In Polish, derivatives with the suffix *-(n)ica*, indicating girls and women like in *złośnica*, have a strongly negative value (e.g. *kochanica* 'mistress, negatively') and they share this value with other categories derived by means of the suffix *-(n)ica*, such as the names of diseases (e.g. *nerwica* 'neurosis'). Thus a girl or a women described as *złośnica* seems to be a bad person in the narrator's opinion.

The masculine noun, *złośnik*, does not seem to have such a negative value in the light of the structure of the derivational system in Polish, but its archaic axiological meaning present in the texts examined reflects its negative evaluation. Twice in the material analysed *złośnik* indicates people who are arraigned for morally or politically bad behaviour. First, there is Christ who is tried by Pilate for his so-called incitement to revolt, and second, there are adult children undergoing public trial for persecuting their old



mother. In both cases historical and modern meanings of the noun are involved. The semantic development of the noun *złośnik* is shown in Diagram 5.

**Diagram 5. The semantic development of the noun *złośnik***



In the most natural situation *złośnik* and *złośnica* indicate people who are always ready to be cross and whose frequent explosions of *złość* are extremely unpleasant and even destructive for their families and friends, as in (9).

(9)

Chłop był uczciwy, robotny, ale nerwowy i **złośnik**. Bił żonę za byle co. (SJPD)  
 [The man was honest, hard-working, but (also) irritable and *złośnik* („cross-patch”). He beat his wife for no reason at all.]

An experiencer described by people as *złośnik* or *złośnica* seems to remain so even for his or her whole life, from childhood till adulthood (10).

(10)

On się wcale nie zmienił od dziecka. Jak był mały, też był taki **złośnik**. Narozrabiał, napsocił - a potem nie umiał się przyznać do winy, nie umiał przeprosić. Tupał nogami albo się zaciął i nic nie gadał. Do dziś mu to zostało. (BD PWN)  
 [He has not changed at all since his childhood. When he was a boy, he was also a **złośnik**. He ran wild, played all sorts of pranks and then he was unable to admit he was guilty, he was unable to say „sorry”. He stamped his feet or he stammered and said nothing. And that’s how he still goes on.]

In contexts of the above kind an experiencer of *złość* does not have to be conscious of her/his motives and control her/himself, thus the emotion may apply even to a baby. As a permanent and also unwanted feature, it can be treated as a kind of addiction. Thus such American books as *Anger, Alcoholism, and Addiction. Treating Individuals, Couples, and Families* by R.T. and P.S. Potter-Effron (translated into Polish *Złość, alkoholizm i inne uzależnienia. Teoria i praktyka terapii*, 1994), *Angry All the Time* by R. Potter-Effron (translated into Polish *Życie ze złością*, 1996) or *Managing Anger* by G. Lindenfield (translated into Polish *Okiełznać gniew. Strategia opanowywania trudnych emocji*, 1995)

seem to be directed just to *złośnik* and *złośnica* in order to help them in their fight with their bad habits.<sup>26</sup>

#### 4.9. Złość (n.)

*Złość* is an abstract noun indicating the emotion denoted by the reflexive verb *złościć się* and is a paradigmatic derivative from this verb (similarly to: *gniewać się* → *gniewny*). However, from a historical point of view, it can be also treated as a derivative coming from the adjective *zły*, as both of them had an evaluative meaning before acquiring an emotional sense (see Diagram 4.), although *złość* has nowadays lost this older meaning.

In the texts examined the noun *złość* is the most frequent lexeme from the group of 'złość' (624x). Polish dictionaries define it by means of the following synonyms: *irytacja* ('irritation, anger'), *wzburzenie* ('commotion'); *gniew*, *pasja* ('passion'), *wrogość* ('enmity'), *uraza* ('rancour'). As it can be seen, *gniew* occupies third place on this list, whereas first place is given to *irytacja*.

Considering this information, let us look at the emotional „surroundings” of *złość* and *gniew* in the texts examined. Table V. registers the frequency of lexemes from the whole category of 'GNIEW' which occurred in the contexts of both nouns, *gniew* and *złość*.

Table V. The emotional surroundings of *gniew* and *złość* in their contexts

<i>GNIEW</i>			<i>ZŁOŚĆ</i>		
No	Lexical groups	The frequency in close context	No	Lexical groups	The frequency in close context
1.	'gniew' (anger, wrath) <sup>27</sup>	32	1.	'gniew'	31
2.	'złość + złośliwość' (irritation, anger + malice)	(24+4)=29	2.	'złość + złośliwość'	(15+5)=20
3.	'wściekłość' (rage)	21	3.	'wściekłość'	18
4.	'żal (o)' (rancour, grudge)	19	4.	'zdenerwowanie'	15
5.	'oburzenie' (indignation)	17	5.	'żal (o)'	13
6.	'pogarda, obrzydzenie' (contempt, disgust)	13	6.	'obraza, uraza'	11
7.	'uraza, obraza' (rancour, resentment)	11	7.	'irytacja'	9
8.	'irytacja' (irritation, vexation, exasperation)	6	8.	'pogarda, obrzydzenie'	7

<sup>26</sup> Because of its negative evaluation, *anger* in the title *Managing Anger* should be translated by the Polish *złość*, not *gniew*.

<sup>27</sup> The English glosses given in brackets are taken from GEP/GPE.

9.	'zniecierpliwienie' (vexation, irritation)	6	9.	'zniecierpliwienie'	6
10.	'zdenerwowanie' (irritation, vexation, exasperation)	5	10.	'rozdrażnienie'	6
11.	'rozdrażnienie' (irritation, exasperation, provocation)	4	11.	'oburzenie'	4
Total:		163	Total:		140

The evidence given above suggests that 'irytacja' together with 'zdenerwowanie', 'zniecierpliwienie' and 'rozdrażnienie' (which are close to each other) are more frequent in the contexts of *złość* than in the contexts of *gniew* (1.7:1), whereas the most typical emotional surroundings for *gniew* are emotions connected with indignation: 'oburzenie', 'pogarda' and 'obrzydzenie' (1:2.7). Thus, the concept of *złość* appears to come closer in its meaning to the Polish 'irytacja', and the concept of *gniew* - to the Polish 'oburzenie'. In the English texts examined the most frequent emotions occurring in the contexts of *anger* are disgust, disapproval, resentment and indignation, which makes it more similar to the Polish *gniew* than to *złość*, whereas the most typical emotional context of *wrath* is constructed by extremely intense emotions: fury, madness, rage, ire and passion. In the light of this Polish *złość* does not have its equivalent either in *anger* with its connections to indignation and resentment, or in *wrath* with its links to highly intense feelings.

An experiencer of *złość* is usually equal to her/his close colleague or friend, husband or wife. It can be also a stranger and enemy (on the road, in the shop, at war, in politics). Superiors, guardians as well as children and subordinates are less typical experiencers of *złość* in the texts examined.

Similarly to other lexemes from the same group, *złość* indicates an emotion whose reason is an obstacle to X's activity. Such reasons are spontaneously evaluated negatively by an experiencer, without any special intellectual or moral judgement. Less frequent reasons are represented by Y's breaking some rules, which leads to harm personal to X.

The emotion itself and its symptoms are usually evaluated negatively, too, which is strongly linked with surviving connection between the noun *złość* and the adjective *zły* in its main, axiological meaning. However, there is at least one characteristic expression including the noun *złość*, which is close to the subgroup of 'złośliwość' (malice), namely *robić komuś na złość* ('to do sth. just to spite sb.'). It concerns a kind of positive attitude on the part of X in its conceptualisation, as doing *komuś na złość* seems to give some pleasure to a subject, even if this is not accepted by a narrator.

In comparison to `gniew', `złość' looks more superficial, more external and more intense, being to some extent closer to `wrath' than to `anger' in the latter aspects. In typical situations it arises suddenly and usually independently of an experiencer's will, then it develops very rapidly with certain physiological symptoms (increasing blood temperature, disruptions in the functioning of the heart, disruptions in breathing). At its culminative point `złość' emerges, usually being expressed in vocal reactions (loud and offensive), ~~intense~~<sup>expression</sup> and red coloration of the face, and noticeably often in physical aggression. Sometimes a „helpless złość” may be also expressed by crying. The stage of internal development of the emotion is, however, often omitted, because złość is usually shown as an externally expressed feeling. It can end as suddenly as it started. Thus, złość seems to be more natural feeling than gniew, it is typical not only of mature people, but also of children and many animals, which is fixed in the Polish stereotypes of certain animals (first and foremost dogs and wasps), so it does not have the dignity and majesty accorded to gniew. Even people who cannot cope with difficulties and troubles are złość-experiencers, as helplessness and weakness seem to be natural in złość, but extremely untypical of gniew.

Złość is a finite, short-lived emotion, which is often repeatable. Sometimes, however, it can become a permanent feature of an experiencer's character, lasting for years, which is readily actualised in various situations and which gives others a motive for calling its experiencer *złośnik* or *złośnica*. But, contrary to gniew, which can also be a long-lasting process, the „non-actual” złość does not need and usually does not have any particular object (e.g. *starcza złość* `złość of old people').

The noun *złość* is usually used in a singular form in the texts, but not always. If it occurs in the plural, it indicates repeatable psychological and physical reactions typical of złość, e.g. quarrels (6x) or in religious, *archaic* texts it means somebody's sins (6x). Also in certain singular occurrences, namely in the expression *złość ludzka* (`human złość') the noun seems to refer sins. In the light of this an important contrast becomes evident: while złość represents the world of human sinners' feelings, gniew represents the world of God's and the saints' emotions.

#### 4.10. Explication

The lexemes from the group of `złość' are related to each other by a common basic concept, whose explication is proposed below.

##### `Złość'

1. `An EMOTION of X (a person or an animal as an experiencer: an equal and close partner at work, within the family family; a stranger and an enemy (a wrongdoer); a superior and a guardian; a person of a lower status: a child, an old man, a subordinate)
2. at Y (an object: an equal close partner at work, within the family; a stranger and an enemy; a subordinate and a charge (a child); a superior and a guardian; an undetermined object) or at things and events (treated as objects); in X's opinion
3. Y caused an event Z which is the reason for the emotion (in a typical situation: Y disturbs X in X's normal activity; Y breaks rules accepted by X, doing harm to X).
4. The emotion is connected with a negative evaluation:
  - of a reason which is a fact undesired by X;
  - of the emotion, in which X feels bad and (s)he tries to hold it in;
  - of its symptoms and results, as X wants to do something bad and this can be destructive for Y, X and for their surroundings.
5. The emotion is very intense:
  - (a) it arises suddenly, independently of X's will, then it rapidly increases, exceeds internal boundaries and explodes in external symptoms and behaviour, and finally it ceases (usually spontaneously);
  - (b) sometimes it lasts for a long time and is actualised repeatedly in favourable circumstances;
  - (c) it is superficial; it rises and declines spontaneously;
  - (d) it may be controlled by X, but, if too intense, cannot be restrained;
  - (e) usually it is not capable of being assuaged by other people.

6. The emotion can be expressed (and usually is expressed) within and outside an experiencer by means of:

(a) disruptions in the fluency of speech; abnormal vocal reactions (too loud, typical of animals, unpleasant) and severing relations with an object (quarrels); a refusal to cooperate (silence and rejection);

(b) violent actions against an object Y or surroundings, sometimes also against X her/himself;

(c) facial changes:

- the change of the colour of skin from normal to pathological (red (most often), pale, livid-blue, green, yellow, violet-purple);
- a grimace on the face, clenching teeth and drawing back lips, gnashing teeth, showing teeth, a grimace in a smile;
- a threatening look;
- crying;
- laughter;

(d) disruption in the fluency of movements, internal and external agitation (jerky movements, lack of co-ordination), unnatural bearing (leaning forward, arching the back);

(e) disruption in the functioning of the heart and increased blood pressure;

(f) interference with breathing and swallowing, increased secretion of saliva;

(g) increased bodily temperature;

(h) interference with accurate perception and disruption in logical thinking;

(i) malfunctioning of the internal organs.

7. The emotion may be hidden; on rare occasions it may be simulated.'

## V. A comparison of the selected concepts from the general category of `ANGER' in English and Polish

The conceptualisation of anger was investigated in this research by means of a semantic analysis of real texts. The ways in which two English concepts, `anger' and `wrath', and two Polish concepts, `gniew' and `złość', are understood by English and Polish speakers were the main subject of interest. In the previous parts of the thesis the manifold features and aspects of the conceptualisation were shown. This recapitulative comparison concentrates on the characteristics of these aspects in order to present certain tendencies in the conceptualisation of three central concepts: `anger' in English and `gniew' and `złość' in Polish. As required, remarks on less central concepts, `wrath' in English and `oburzenie' in Polish will also be made. The differences between concepts which are presented in this chapter are not of a structuralist oppositional kind. They do not allow the reader to delimit distinctly and sharply the boundaries of the concepts described. The differences are rather connected with certain tendencies observable in the conceptualisation of particular concepts. Thus the most typical features registered do not exclude other features which, although less typical, can also be represented in real texts.

The results of the analysis, demonstrated in previous parts of the thesis and in a separate study concerning the Polish material (Mikołajczuk 1999), create the basis of the comparative characteristics given below. As the Polish system is more familiar to the author of this work, the features of Polish concepts are taken as the starting point in each paragraph.

1. The kind of **experiencer** of the emotion is significant both in the Polish and in English conceptualisation of anger. In Polish `złość' the most typical experiencer is a person who is the equal of an opponent, e.g. a friend, a husband or a wife and a stranger, an enemy, even somebody who is bad by nature (a murderer, the devil). This is strictly connected with a negative evaluation of the emotion. By contrast, in Polish `gniew' (and also in `oburzenie') the most characteristic experiencer is somebody of a higher status. This status results from X's real (in `gniew') or (often) only alleged (in `oburzenie') higher standing: in the universe - God as an experiencer of gniew; in a state, at work or in any organisation - a king, a commander, an official superior or a moral leader - are experiencers of gniew and oburzenie; or within the family - parents - are usually experiencers of gniew. This higher

status is connected with dignity, majesty the emotion's great power. Such features are also typical of English 'wrath'. However, the closeness linking an experiencer and an object seems to be more distinct and more important in the conceptualisation of *gniew* than in the conceptualisation of *wrath*. The latter is typically so dangerous and destructive that it shatters the close relations between X and Y and creates an unwanted distance between them. This distance is also present in Polish 'oburzenie', as its experiencer has a feeling of superiority over others which is typical of the relationship between a preacher and sinners in church. Such a distance makes a group of people an especially meaningful experiencer of *oburzenie* (e.g. *powszechne oburzenie* 'public indignation'). The group as a collective experiencer can also occur in 'gniew', but this is unusual in 'złość'. The last concept seems to be the most individual in the set of concepts being investigated. In English a collective experiencer is notably recorded in the contexts of both 'anger' and 'wrath', but it does not mean that, in general, experiencers in these two cases are the same. Because it links people in manifold situations and relationships (in politics and public life, in trade and services, in sport, crime and at work as well as in friendship and family life), 'anger' looks as if it were spread through out a whole population. It can be experienced by superiors (typical of 'wrath'), but also by equal opponents and subordinates (like 'złość'). Because of this it seems to be a much more common emotion than 'gniew' and 'wrath' and it comes closer to 'złość' as a result. However, the individual character of 'złość' does not allow the reader to identify 'anger' with 'złość'. Additionally, 'złość' excludes the positive evaluation of an experiencer, whereas 'gniew' and 'oburzenie' as well as 'anger' and especially 'wrath' are open to it.

2. An experiencer's **will** and **consciousness** are engaged in the conceptualisation of the emotion in both languages in various ways. In Polish their actualisation is weakest in 'złość' and much more distinct in 'gniew' and 'oburzenie'. This is because 'złość' is not limited to the feelings of adults, who normally have a fully developed consciousness, but can also be experienced by children and animals. Thus it belongs to the category of „lower” feelings, which are common in the world of nature in its entirety, and are biological and fundamental for „higher”, more complex emotions. In addition English 'anger' seems to be a member of the category of „lower” feelings, whereas 'wrath' does not. Similarly to Polish 'gniew' and 'oburzenie', 'wrath' is usually experienced by adults who have their own (or at least acknowledge some) system of values and views and who use it when evaluating



others' behaviour. Therefore 'wrath', 'gniew' and 'oburzenie' represent a category of „higher” emotions which are the results of human moral and intellectual development.

3. An experiencer's consciousness and will may be actualised immediately at the starting point of an emotional process when a **reason** for the emotion and its **causer** are evaluated by an experiencer. In 'gniew' a typical reason is the behaviour of a person Y who breaks rules accepted by X (e.g. a sin, social injustice, personal harm). In 'złość' the link with rules is not obligatory, as the emotion arises most often when an obstacle is placed in the path of X's activity or plans. An experiencer's evaluation of such reasons does not require any reflection or conscious decision; it may be fully spontaneous. Moreover, an obstacle does not have to have any human causer. In the light of this both 'anger' and 'wrath' seem to be more similar to 'gniew' than to 'złość', however obstacles also occur in situations conceptualised in 'anger', but they are extremely unusual in situations conceptualised in 'wrath'. 'Wrath' grows closer to 'gniew', but also to 'oburzenie' in which the most typical reason is Y's general negation of values affirmed by X. In X 's opinion these values should be obligatory within community life.<sup>28</sup>

4. The aspect of **causation** of the emotion seems to be particularly strongly fixed in the English conceptualisation of anger. First, the only verb in both lexical groups, 'anger' and 'wrath', used in the texts examined is the causative verb *to anger (sb.)*. Second, the

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<sup>28</sup> Some more general suggestions may be proposed against the backdrop of the comparison given in paragraph (3.) and of Wierzbicka's claims about the meaning of the Russian lexeme *gnev*. Wierzbicka writes that this lexeme involves necessary, basic, ethical principles, in contrast to English *anger* (Wierzbicka 1998:19-20). The investigator of the Polish and English conceptualisation of the emotion may take this into consideration and construct a kind of situational model prototypical of particular concepts.

The first situation is when X reacts emotionally to something which had or has happened to her/him; this reaction is spontaneous, as if the unconscious in its starting point. This is the case with Polish 'złość' (and probably with Russian 'serdit'sja').

The second situation is when X thinks that something wrong has been done to her/him by Y: such conscious thought leads to the emotion; logical argumentation, or in other words, intellectual explanation is present. This is the case with English 'anger'.

The third situation is when X thinks that Y did something wrong to her/him which should not have been done by Y: such conscious thought leads to X's emotion; moral argumentation, or in other words, ethical explanation is present. This is the case with Polish 'gniew', Russian 'gnev' and also with English 'wrath'.

The fourth situation is when X thinks that something wrong has been done which should never have been done: such conscious thought leads to X's emotion; moral argumentation, or in other words, ethical explanation is present. This is the case with Polish 'oburzenie' (and probably with English 'indignation').

In reality the above situations may be combined and each concept can occur in circumstances which are less typical for it, which has been confirmed by the analysis of the texts examined (parts III. and IV.).

most frequent expression in wrath-contexts is the phrase with a causative meaning, *to incur somebody's wrath*. Causation seems to help English speakers to talk about the emotion as if it were not its experiencer's fault. If they say, *Y angered X* or *Z angered X* it appears as if they would like to say, 'X is angry, but this is not X's fault; Y is a wrongdoer or there is only guilt and X does what (s)he has to do in such circumstances'. This explanation fits in with Lakoff's prototypical scenario of 'ANGER' (Lakoff 1987). Additionally, the reason for the emotion is usually logically motivated which confirms that a rational distance between an experiencer and her/his emotion is present. In the light of this the emotion seems to have a negative evaluation as something undesired from an experiencer's and narrator's point of view. In the Polish texts examined, causative verbs are less frequent than their reflexive equivalents, but in the conceptualisation of *złość* causativity seems to play a more important role than in the conceptualisation of *gniew*. This may be connected with the more distinct negative evaluation of the *former*:

5. As was mentioned before, **reflexivity** is highly typical of the Polish system. Reflexive verbs imply a fairly different explanation than do causative verbs. When Polish speakers say, *X gniewa się* or *złości się na Y-a*, it appears as if they would like to say, 'X experiences the emotion „manufacturing” it within her/himself, and X wants to show the emotion to Y'.<sup>29</sup> Such an interpretation suggests that in Polish culture (even negative) emotions are seen as natural feelings which people experience everyday and which do not have to be especially explained; indeed, they rather need to be expressed. Therefore the distance between an experiencer and her/his emotion seems to be narrower in Polish than in English and in the case of reflexive verbs it does not exist (see Wierzbicka 1992b).

6. Concerning the aspect of **evaluation**, it needs to be shown that the negative evaluation is evident, inter alia, in an experiencer's desire to hold the emotion in and to control it. In the Polish conceptualisation such control is most distinct in 'gniew' and

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<sup>29</sup> On „manufacturing” emotions see Wierzbicka's description of the meaning of the Russian reflexive verb, *serdit'sja* (Wierzbicka 1998:23-24) or her remarks on English and Polish regarding frequency of adjectives and verbs in both languages and on their connections to „cultural scripts” (Wierzbicka 1992b: 15-22). The author explains the specificity of Polish reflexive verbs in the following words:

Far from suggesting any control over one's emotions, verbs of this kind suggest that the experiencer is innerly „acting out” an involuntary impulse, amplifying it and giving it full vent. They imply nothing of that „rerouting of the trajectory of feeling” (from impulse to expression) that Hoffman links with „the quick movement of self-analysis and explanation” encouraged by Anglo-culture. On the contrary, they imply both a voluntary attitude of giving in to the impulse and an immediate expression of the feeling. (Wierzbicka 1992b:19).

`złość', since an experiencer tries to restrain the emotion as something unpleasant. X does it more successfully in `gniew' than in `złość' as the latter is more spontaneous and intense. By contrast, `gniew' and `oburzenie', though never `złość', indicate an emotion which is desired by X and/or by a narrator as<sup>30</sup> means of opposing evil. Therefore it also has a positive value. The same may be said about `wrath', but in wrath-evaluation an object's point of view seems to be much more important than an experiencer's because of its extraordinarily destructive power (e.g. *Y risks X's wrath, sb protects Y from X's wrath, X's threat of wrath*). Additionally, a positive evaluation of Polish 'gniew' is connected with an experiencer's desire to counteract evil directly and actively, whereas in `oburzenie' it is linked with an experiencer's will to express her/his opposition only vocally, without any active, constructive participation in the eradication of evil. This makes oburzenie seem remote, which seems to be evaluated negatively rather than positively in Polish culture.

The English conceptualisation looks highly complicated in such cases. On the one hand, `wrath' may have a positive value from an experiencer's point of view as a desired reaction against evil, but because it usually leads to psychologically and physically harmful and destructive punishment, it is generally evaluated negatively. On the other hand, `anger' seems to be more open both to a positive and negative evaluation, depending on its evaluator, which makes it similar to Polish `gniew', but not to `złość'.

The evaluation of the emotion is fixed in linguistic metaphors which are used by speakers to talk about the feeling. Kövecses (1998: 142-143) numbers such source domains as ILLNESS - HEALTH, UP-DOWN, LIGHT-DARK, WARM-COLD, VALUABLE-NONVALUABLE among conceptual instruments which help speakers to make an evaluation. According to him, „these source domains only apply to happiness - sadness and pride - shame. Emotions like anger, fear, love, lust and surprise are not conceptualised as inherently good or bad” (Kövecses 1998:143). Regarding anger, this claim is confirmed in works by Wierzbicka (Wierzbicka 1998:16).<sup>30</sup> However, it does not seem to be universal as in Polish the

<sup>30</sup> In one of her newest explications of English 'anger' Wierzbicka includes a component (d): „I want to do something to Y (...)” and then she declares her doubts:

Moving now to component (d), I acknowledge that it might be better to phrase it in terms of „something bad” rather than „something”, and in the past. I have phrased it like this myself (cf. e.g. Wierzbicka 1992 a, b, c). But both solutions have their problems. For while X's intended (or desired) action is indeed „bad” from Y's point of view, it does not seem necessary for X to see it in that light. For example, angry parents may well think that in wanting to punish a misbehaving child they want to do something good, not something bad (probably even „good for the child”). The idea that by „doing something BAD TO the child” I will be „doing something GOOD FOR the

conceptualisation of gniew and złość (and of other variants of the emotion examined) the ILLNESS-metaphor is extremely productive (cf. Mikołajczuk 1998: 164-170, 182-183; Mikołajczuk 1999: 178, 213) and it is more distinct for `złość' than for `gniew' (e.g. *atak złości* `an attack of złość', *paroksyzm złości* `a paroxysm of złość', *X jest chory ze złości* `X suffers from złość; X is ill with złość', *X jest zły jak zaraza* `X is zły like the plague'; *konwulsje gniewu* `convulsions of gniew'). An additional domain, not mentioned by Kövecses, but especially important in the Polish conceptualisation, is the domain of transcendental evil. This is typical of `złość', but not of `gniew', and such beings as the devil and witches represent this domain (e.g. *szatańska złość* `devilish złość', *piekielna złość* `hellish złość', *zły jak sto diablów* `zły like a hundred devils', *zła jak jędza* `angry like a witch'). The opposite domain to the domain of the devil and hell, present in the złość-conceptualisation, is the domain of God, saints and heaven, present in the conceptualisation of gniew and oburzenie (e.g. *święte oburzenie* `holy indignation'), which make them especially similar to the English conceptualisation of wrath (e.g. *Holy Wrath, looking like the wrath of God*) (cf. Mikołajczuk 1998: 175-177, 183; Mikołajczuk 1999: 177, 213).

7. The problem of evaluation and punishment turns our attention to **the object** of the emotion. In Polish an object seems to be obligatory in `gniew', although (s)he may sometimes not be mentioned in the context of its lexemes, and it is a human being (usually of a lower status than the experiencer). In `złość' an object does not have to be determined, but even if it is, it does not have to belong to the class of human beings. Sometimes the emotion (especially złość) is transferred from a real causer to other people or to things which become substitutes for a proper object. Moreover, in `gniew' and chiefly in `złość', the identity of the object and the experiencer is possible (when *X złości się* or *gniewa się* at her/himself), but this is not possible in `oburzenie' (in which the distance between two opponents looks to be too great). In English, more precisely, in `anger', the object of the emotion seems to be not as important as in `gniew', and its case is therefore more similar to `złość'. However, in Wierzbicka's explications of the prototypical situation of `anger', an object is always included (e.g. „(d) I want to do something to this person (...)” (Wierzbicka

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child". is not incoherent; but it is not clear whether it really represents the angry person's point of view. On balance, therefore, it seems better to phrase component (d) without the word „bad", on the assumption that the whole configuration of components will imply something undesirable from Y's point of view anyway. (Wierzbicka 1998: 18).

1998:20)).<sup>31</sup> Additionally, as both 'anger' and 'złość' may apply in a situation in which the object and experiencer are one (and the same) person (e.g. *angry at himself*, *zły na samego siebie*), they are close each other. In relation to 'wrath', the object is seen as a real target of the experiencer's wrathful activity in the light of the process of causation (e.g. *Y incurred X's wrath*). This is usually somebody of a lower status than an experiencer, as in the typical 'gniew'.

8. The last three aspects of the conceptualisation of the emotion are connected, namely **the power** of the emotion, its **temporal characteristics** and emotional **manifestation**. In Polish 'gniew' the most typical symptoms and expressions are vocal expressions (disruption in the fluency of speech, violent vocal reactions, threats and reprimands), then facial change (threatening <sup>EXPRESSIONS</sup> ~~mannery~~ and look, the red colour of the face being a symptom of high body temperature and intense bodily pressure), aggressive, violent activity (or its only presentiment) and distance from an object. In 'złość' aggressive behaviour is more distinct and more harmful to X's surroundings, which in English is similar to 'wrath' rather than to 'anger', although 'wrath' seems to be even more destructive than Polish 'złość'. Accordingly the Polish concept 'oburzenie' appears to be different, as it is expressed typically by vocal behaviour, without any physical aggression but with violent gestures which are a sign of surprise, pathos, opposition and a feeling of superiority, close to contempt. Thus, it seems to be easy to imitate such an emotion. The concepts of surprise, superiority and contempt create in the English texts a meaningful context for 'wrath' and so they come close to Polish 'oburzenie'. Moreover, 'oburzenie' is a feeling which ceases quickly, almost at the moment of its expression, whereas 'gniew' and 'złość' may become long-lasting emotions (e.g. *pogniewać się*, *złośnik*, *złośnica*). This seems to be possible also

<sup>31</sup> Wierzbicka explains that her explication is „a prototypical scenario, applying to the everyday use of the words *angry* and *anger*. For it needs to be recognised, first of all, that the everyday use of these words differs from the use of psychologists, psychotherapists, counsellors, and other professional people (...)” (Wierzbicka 1998:17). The reader, however, can look at this explanation carefully and compare it with her acknowledgement about the scenario, which implies that:

(...) *anger* has to be directed against a person, whereas in fact people speak sometimes about *anger* directed against things or about *anger* without a clear target. For example, one may kick, *angrily*, a washing machine which refuses to work; or a victim of an accident (not caused by other people) may be said to feel a lot of *anger* about his or her resulting condition. (Wierzbicka 1998:16-17).

On the one hand, such unprototypical situations, in Wierzbicka's opinion, are confirmed in the texts examined which involve lexemes from the group of 'anger'; and it would be incorrect to say that all such examples do not belong to the everyday use of these words. On the other hand, the situations listed above are also present in the Polish contexts of 'złość', being more typical of them than of the contexts of 'gniew'.

for English 'anger', which is especially distinct in the texts written by psychologists (for example in the title: *Angry all the time*), but it appears, rather, impossible for 'wrath' (only once in the texts examined was wrath described as lasting longer than a moment, namely as a feeling which did not end before night fall). Typical circumstances in which 'gniew' ceases are harm-compensation and adjustment of a wrong done previously to X by Y, while in 'złość' there is a spontaneous cessation of the activity of negative factors such as obstacles. Since English 'anger' can be forgotten by its experiencers, it conforms to 'złość' in the aspect under discussion rather than to 'gniew', but in many cases, similarly to 'wrath', it may also have characteristics such as those given above which are similar to 'gniew'.

Turning to the aspect of the power of the emotion, it may be suggested that the profoundest emotion (of all the examined cases) is Polish 'gniew', although in certain circumstances it can also be noticeably intense. 'Złość' and 'oburzenie' seem to be more superficial than 'gniew', but are also fairly intense. Because of their high intensity they usually need to be expressed outwardly immediately. This outward expression characterises also 'wrath'. It can even be suggested that the *outward* manifestation of 'wrath' is an obligatory aspect in its conceptualisation, similarly to 'złość' (especially to its reflexive variants, e.g. *złościć się, rozzłościć się*). For 'anger' this aspect does not seem to be as meaningful as for 'wrath', and without any context it seems to be neutralised, although Lakoff numbers it in its prototypical scenario (Lakoff 1987). He probably does so because of the meaning of the adverb *angrily* which implies the external manifestation of the emotion. Similarly, in the Polish group of 'gniew', the adverb *gniewnie* is a useful lexical instrument denoting emotional symptoms and expressions, just like the English adverb *wrathfully* (and the Russian adverb *serdito*, described by Wierzbicka (Wierzbicka 1998: 24-25)). Additionally, the fact that, in Polish, reflexive verbs with their „manifestational” implications are used fairly often in texts, and the fact that, in English, in the groups examined, the adjective *angry*, with its implications of passivity, occurs with the greatest frequency, may suggest some differences regarding the level of intensity of the emotions conceptualised in both languages. While accepting the thesis that active emotions are usually more intense than passive ones, the reader has also to accept the statement that, in the light of this, English 'anger' seems to be less intense than 'złość' and less powerful than 'gniew', but also weaker than 'wrath'.

## VI. Conclusion

At the end of the thesis it would be interesting to consider what practical and theoretical benefits may be made of the results of the investigations presented in this work.

First, the results may be helpful in bilingual lexicography, as detailed information about meanings of particular lexemes in two languages can be introduced into dictionary entries. For example, in *Collins Praktyczny słownik angielsko-polski, polsko-angielski* (ColPEP/PPE) the reflexive verb *złościć się* (*na kogoś / o coś*) is translated into 'to be angry (at sb./over sth.)'. As my investigations have shown, however, the „passive” adjectival conceptualisation of the emotion does not correspond to Polish reflexivity. Since the emotion is conceptualised in the Polish verb discussed as something „active”, this should be registered in its dictionary explication. The question is how to do this regarding the two different functions of a bilingual dictionary. On the one hand, a dictionary of this kind is used by native speakers when they want to find in the foreign language lexical equivalents of words known to them from their own language, which are to help them in writing or speaking the foreign language (let us call this a „broadcasting” function). On the other hand, a bilingual dictionary is used by people who want to find an explanation (in their own language) of the meanings of words occurring in a text written or spoken in the foreign language and so their target is to understand this text (let us call this a „receiving” function). It appears extremely difficult to describe words of emotions in such dictionaries, as they usually do not have full equivalents in the two different languages. Thus, authors of a bilingual dictionary may give only close equivalents of words (but this is not the best solution from a „receiving” point of view) or they can offer descriptive, analytical explanations (which is unsatisfactory from a „broadcasting” point of view). In my opinion, both these attitudes may be linked and the description of *złościć się* may consist of two parts, „explanational” and „equivalental”, for example: *złościć się* 'to be angry actively, with the will to show the emotion to others'; *to be angry / irritated / exasperated / vexed / cross, to chafe, to fret*.

Second, the results of this comparative semantic analysis can be helpful in translators' work. Let us look, for example, at a few English and Polish texts which need to be translated.

- (1) The snake raised its head, hissing in fear or **anger**, tongue darting. (BNC-61)
- (2) Boys consistently showed more **anger** outbursts than girls. As the children increased in age from two to five years, there was a steady diminution in random directionless expressions of anger, and an increase in retaliatory behaviour aimed at someone or something, arguing and fighting. (BNC-100)
- (3) She seemed to have completely forgotten her **anger** over the dinner party (...). (BNC-63)
- (4) There was also particularly strong support from women, one writer in a protest magazine of the period describing nuclear power as „the ultimate tyranny of male technology”. But the most common motive for protest was a mixture of worry about the dangers, mistrust of uncontrolled technological advance, and **anger** at the way the authorities were ignoring public opinion. As SCRAM’s magazine put it in 1978: „It is no surprise that people are disillusioned with democracy and very **angry**. It is no surprise that people are prepared to risk their lives before the bulldozers. There are no conventional channels left”. (BNC-67)
- (5) Czyż nie powinniście pamiętać, mili moi, że sami jesteście winni, że życiem swoim, pełnym grzechu i nieczystości, sprowadzacie na siebie **gniew** Boży? (BD PWN)

In the first case the noun *złość* seems to be a better equivalent of *anger* than the noun *gniew* because of an animal experiencer of the emotion. The snake in Polish culture is stereotypically seen as a bad creature, connected with the devil, so its feeling cannot be of the same kind as the feeling of God, i.e. ‘gniew’. Additionally, the main motive allowing the narrator to tell a listener about the snake’s emotion in (1) is its behaviour and this „manifestational” character of ‘anger’ again makes it closer to ‘złość’ than to ‘gniew’.

In the second text both the kind of experiencers, for these are children, and the occurrence of external emotional expressions, which are fairly aggressive in fact, allow the reader to translate *anger* by *złość*. Additionally, there is information about the directionless character of the experiencer’s behaviour, which is much more typical of ‘złość’ than of ‘gniew’.

In the next fragment the way in which anger ceases makes the emotion more similar to Polish ‘złość’ than to ‘gniew’. This is because ‘złość’ is usually superficial and can be easily forgotten, even without any special effort by its causer, whereas ‘gniew’ needs a kind of compensation, so the situation shown in (3) fits a typical situation of Polish ‘złość’ rather than of ‘gniew’.

In the last English example given above a different kind of ‘anger’ is presented. Its experiencer is collective, as this is a group of people who share the same opinions and feelings towards the authorities. They protest against a nuclear enterprise sanctioned by the authorities, and their anger results from the authorities’ ignorance of public opinion. Such



behaviour by the authorities breaks democratic rules and this seems to be the main reason for the emotion. Collectivity, reference to rules and a kind of public judgement make the emotion serious, dignified and similar to Polish 'gniew' and 'oburzenie' rather than to 'złość'. Additionally, the active character of the experiencers' behaviour (risking their own lives) allows the reader to choose *gniew* as the best equivalent of *anger* in these circumstances.

In the Polish example presented in (5) the experiencer's superior position, for this is God, and the morally evaluated reason for the emotion, suggest that the choice of English *wrath* for the equivalent of *gniew* would be best in this context. Moreover, the style of the text, full of solemnity, typical of <sup>u</sup>sermon and slightly old-fashioned (which is confirmed by the intensive particle -ż used in the question word *czy*, as well as inversions and the address *mili moi*) correspond to the *archaic* character of English *wrath*.<sup>32</sup>

Considering the different frequency of the lexemes from four groups examined in both languages, namely the proportional relation between 'gniew' and 'złość' in Polish and lack of such proportion in the light of the undoubted dominance of 'anger' in English, the investigator may formulate certain questions which can be addressed to historians, anthropologists and psychologists. As has been shown in the thesis, the present conceptual and lexical structure of the category of anger is the result of long-term development. In English, the older concept 'wrath' (before the eleventh century) has become more and more limited in texts over about a thousand years, whereas the younger concept 'anger' (from about the fourteenth century) has gained at least some of its features during the last seven hundred years (moral and religious contexts, superior experiencers, great power). In Polish,

<sup>32</sup> My proposed version of translation of the texts discussed is given below.

(1) Wąż podniósł głowę, sycząc ze strachu lub złości i błyskawicznie wysuwając język.

(2) Badania jednoznacznie dowodzą, że chłopcy wyraźnie częściej okazywali wybuchy złości niż dziewczęta. Ponieważ wiek dzieci zwiększał się od dwóch do pięciu lat, towarzyszył temu stały spadek liczby nieukierunkowanych przejawów złości oraz wzrost liczby działań odwetowych skierowanych na kogoś lub na coś w kłótni i w walce.

(3) Zdawało się, jakby zupełnie zapomniała o całej złości z powodu kolacji.

(4) Szczególnie silnego wsparcia udzieliły im panie. Jedna napisała w proteście do któregoś z czasopism w tym okresie, uznając energię atomową za „najwyższą tyranie męskiej technologii”. Najpowszechniejszym motywem protestu była jednak mieszanina obaw przed zagrożeniami, braku zaufania do niekontrolowanego rozwoju techniki oraz gniewu na władze za sposób, w jaki ignorują one opinię publiczną. Czasopismo SCRAM w 1978 r. opublikowało na swych łamach następujący komentarz: „Nikogo nie dziwi, że ludzie są rozczarowani demokracją i pełni gniewu. Nikogo nie dziwi, że są nawet przygotowani na to, by ryzykować życie w starciu z buldożerami. Nie pozostawiono im żadnego innego wyjścia”.

(5) „My dears, you should remember that you are the only ones who are guilty, that by your own lives full of sins and impurity you incur God's wrath, shouldn't you?”

the competition between 'gniew' and 'złość' began merely two hundred years ago and at present it hangs in the balance, although certain indications such as its greater popularity in everyday speech, the wider range of situations to which it applies and its more biological, hence more basic character, suggest that in the distant future 'złość' may win out. From the historical and anthropological points of view it is interesting why, from the eighteenth century onwards, Polish speakers began to talk about anger using not only an old, often dignified concept of 'gniew', but also a new one, distinctly linked with a negative evaluation. Is this connected with political and social changes, especially with the partitions of Poland and the struggle for independence lasting over one hundred years, and then, after World War II, with forty five years' struggle against communism? In English, the most stubborn competition between 'wrath' and 'anger' occurred between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries. Which historical (political, social and cultural) facts and processes motivated this? Such questions cannot be answered in this thesis but they seem to be reasonable and worthy of more detailed interdisciplinary investigation (see, for example, Zisovitz and Stearns 1986).

Finally it should be noted, too, that the research which has been presented in this thesis may be useful for general linguistics, as it has been shown how strongly certain grammatical structures of languages are linked with their semantic systems (e.g. causativity in English contra reflexivity in Polish, grammatical tenses in English contra prefixation in Polish) and with a typical attitude to emotions in communities which speak these languages (e.g. passivity - activity, reflection - expression).

Differences in the conceptualisation of one emotion in two languages and two cultures are, however, not the only features it is possible to discover. They were the main subject of interest in this study, indeed, but it does not mean that any regular similarities between two or more languages and between the ways they conceptualise emotions cannot be found. In fact, many similarities exist. Some of them were shown in this thesis. The most important one is the general structure of the emotional situation, in which such aspects as the experiencer, the emotion, its reason, causer, object, evaluation, power, temporal characteristics and manifestation can be distinguished. Moreover, in both languages certain shared conceptual metaphors and metonymies are present (Mikołajczuk 1998, Forthcoming b) and their common basis seems to be human physiology. In this light

the study may be concluded by Kövecses, who says that „the conceptualisation of anger is influenced by both culture and physiology” (Kövecses 1995:195).

Appendix 1. Additional tables, diagrams and charts

A. Tables I-II-III: Selected lexical families of 'ANGER' in English (Their lexical representations in the Oxford English Dictionary on CD)

TABLE I.

ANGER	+causation	+causation	-causation/	-causation/	-causation/	+causation			
anger n; v	371	exasperation n	19	indignation n	88	wrath n   a   *v Obs formal or old-fashioned	93	irritation	134
angry n; a; *v	313	exasperate pa pple & ppl a; v	24	indign a poet   *' v Obs	1	wrathful *'	1	irrit >> a Obs	0
angrily adv	53	exasperatedly ' adv	1	indignatory ' a rare	0	wrathful a	35	irritability	26
angriness rare	1	exasperatedness *' Obs	1	indigned *' ppl a Obs	0	wrathfully 'adv	8	irritable a	77
angered ppl a	5	exasperater >>	0	indigne [-fr-Eng-est]	1	wrathfulness '	4	irritableness 'rare	1
angryful *a	0	exasperating ' vbl n   ppl a	14	(indignity) *' v Obs	0	wrathhead *' Obs!	1	irritably adv	8
angering vbl n   ppl a	0	exasperatingly ' adv	2	(indignity) n	40	wrathful 'adv U.S.	0	irritament 'rare or Obs	0
angerless a	0	exasperative a	0	(indignity) *' adv Obs	1	wrathful *' vbl n Obs	1	irritancy	(2)
angeryly adv arch	0	exasperator	0	(indignous) *' a Obs rare	0	wrathless *' a	0	irritant a! & n	(27)
(angerness) *Obs rare	0	exasperated ppl a	14	indignate -	0	wrathful >> adv	0	irritate *ppl a! Obs [-'2]v!	93
angrysome *'a Obs	0	exasper *' v Obs	0	indignant a (n)	36	wrathness *Obs!	0	irritated ppl a	50
anger *' v Obs rare	0			indignantly adv	3	wrathful a orig U.S.	1	irritatedly 'adv	2
angryable *'a Obs rare	0			indignance ' rare	0	wrath Obs Sc wrath a	0	irritating ppl a	68
(ange) *Obs rare	1			indeign *' v Obs rare	0	wrath *' n Obs   v! 2 Obs	2	irritatingly 'adv	3
angre, -ful	0			endcign *' v! Obs rare	0	wrathful *' n Obs   *'adv Obs	3	irritative a	1
(angrisc) *v	0			indignancy rare	0	wrathliche *' adv	0	irritator rare	1
(angrice) *Obs rare	0					wrathful *' ppl a	1	irritatory a rare	0
anger *	1					wrathful *' vbl n	1	irrite *' a Obs   *' v Obs	0
exageration *Obs rare	0					wrathful *' a Obs	0	ire n   *' v Obs rare!	37
nanger *' v Obs rare	0					wrathfully *' adv	1	ireful a	2
						wrathfulness 'Obs	1	irefully adv	0
						wrathful *' a & adv Obs	0	irefulness	1
						wrathful Obs	0	ireless a rare	0
						wrathful *' a Obs!	0	irour *' Obs	2
						wrathful *' n! Obs! bez *' a rare! *' v Obs	25	irous *' a Obs	0
						wrathful *' adv Obs	1	irously *' adv Obs	0
						wrathful 'a Obs or arch	1	irascible a	0
						wrathfully 'adv	2	irre *' n Obs	0
						wrathfulness '	1	irred *' ppl a Obs rare!	1
						wrathful 'adv	1	irrescent a	0



TABLE II.

-causation/		+causation		-causation/		+causation		-causation		+causation	
RAGE		FURY		PASSION		ANNOYANCE		PEEVE			
rage n   *a Obs   v	169	fury n   *v Obs rare	79	passion n   v	(445)	annoyance	173	peeve n orig U.S   v orig U.S.	3		
rageful a	1	furying ppl a	1	passioning vbl n	1	annoy n   v	99	peevied ppl a	1		
ragefully adv	1	furious *a Obs	0	passionable *a Obs rare	0	annoyancer rare	0	peevisly adv	84		
rageless 'a rare	0	furibund a	0	passional a	1	annoyed ppl a	39	peevisly adv	10		
ragelessness '	1	furibundal *n Obs rare	0	passionate a (n)   *v Obs	84	annoyer	1	peevishness	11		
ragous a Obs exc dial	0	furied a rare	0	passionating vbl n	2	annoyful * ' a Obs rare!	0	impeevish * ' v Obs rare	1		
rageously *adv	1	furify v rare	0	passionately adv	28	annoying vbl n   ' ppl a	98	impeevished ppl a	1		
rageousness *Obs	1	furiousant ' a Her	1	passionateness	5	annoyingly ' adv rare	3				
rager	0	furiousity	1	passionate *a Obs rare	0	annoyingness '	0				
ragery *Obs	0	furioso a (quasi-adv); n	2	passioned ppl a	1	annoyment rare	0				
ragesome a U.S. rare	0	furiously adv	44	passionedly adv	1	annoyous * ' a Obs	1				
raging vbl n   ppl a	54	furiousness	0	passionful a rare	1	annoyously * ' adv Obs rare	0				
ragingly adv	1	infuriant ' n	0	passionfulness '	1	enjoy * ' n Obs   v Obs	1				
raginess Obs rare!	1	infuriate a   v	11	passionless a	3	enjoying ' vbl n	1				
enrage * ' n Obs bez.*v	18	infuriately ' adv	1	passionlessly adv	1	enjoyous * ' a Obs rare	0				
enraged ppl a	38	infuriating ' ppl a	1	passionlessness '	1	noy n   Obs exc dial   v Obs (exc dial)	2				
enragedly ' adv	1	infuriatingly ' adv	1	apassioned * ' ppl a Obs rare!	0	noyed ppl a	2				
enragedness '	1	infuriated	1	apassionate -	0	noyance * ' Obs	0				
enragement	0	infuriated ppl a	8	disimpassioned ' ppl a	0	noyancy *Obs rare!	1				
enraging ppl a rare	5	furor	2	dispassion ' n   * ' v Obs	1	noyant *a Obs	0				
outrage n   *a (adv) Obs   v   2	48	furore	2	dispassionate a   * ' v Obs rare	9	noyment *Obs!	0				
outraged ppl a	2			impassion v	3	noyous *n Obs	0				
outragedly *adv Obs	0			impassionable a	0	noyously *adv Obs	1				
outrageness *	1			impassionate a   rare   a2 rare   v	0	noyful *a Obs	0				
outrageousness '	3			impassioned ppl a	31	noyfully *adv	1				
outrageous a (adv)	40			propassion * ' Obs	1	noyfulness 'n Obs	1				
outrageously ' adv	11			unpassionate ' a rare	2	noying *vbl n Obs   ppl a Obs	0				
outrager '	1			dispassioned '	1	noyer *Obs!	0				
outraging ppl a	0			dispassionate * ' ppl a	1	i-noyed ME pa pple	0				
outrageousite * ' Obs	0			dispassionately ' adv	2						
				dispassionateness '	1						
				impassioned ppl a	0						
				impassionately ' adv	0						
				impassionedly ' adv	1						
				impassionedness '	1						
				impassionment ' rare	0						
				impassive a	11						



TABLE III.

	++causation	/? - causation/ +causation	MADNESS		
vex <i>n</i>   <i>v</i>	109	resent * ' <i>n</i> Obs rare   bez * ' <i>v</i>	10	mad <i>n</i> 2 <i>dial</i> & U.S. <i>slang</i>   <i>adj</i> <i>v</i>	287
vexable <i>a</i> rare	0	resenter	0	maddened <i>ppl a</i> rare   <i>v</i>	0
vexata <i>questio</i>	0	resentful ' <i>a</i>	14	maddened ' <i>ppl a</i>	7
vexation	106	resentfully ' <i>adv</i>	1	maddening ' <i>ppl a</i> & <i>vbl n</i>	9
vexatious <i>a</i>	42	resentfulness ' <i>a</i>	1	maddeningly ' <i>adv</i>	1
vexatiously ' <i>adv</i>	7	resentment * ' <i>Obs</i> rare	0	madful * ' <i>a</i> Obs rare!	0
vexatiousness	2	resenting ' <i>vbl n</i>   ' <i>ppl a</i>	0	madhead * ' <i>1</i> Obs   * ' <i>2</i> Obs <i>exc dial</i>	0
vexatory ' <i>a</i>	0	resentingly ' <i>adv</i>	1	madly <i>a</i> rare   <i>adv</i>	31
vexed ' <i>ppl a</i>	59	(resentive) * ' <i>a</i> Obs	0	madman	26
vexedness ' <i>rare</i>	1	(resentless) * ' <i>a</i> Obs rare!	0	madwoman	0
vexedly ' <i>adv</i>	0	resentment	77	madness	106
vexer	3	(unresented) ' <i>ppl a</i>	0	madship * ' <i>Obs</i>	0
vexful * ' <i>a</i> Obs rare	0	(unresentful) ' <i>a</i>	2	madden <i>v</i>	8
vexing ' <i>vbl n</i>   ' <i>ppl a</i>	15	(unresentfully) ' <i>adv</i>	1		
vexingly ' <i>adv</i>	1	(unresentfulness) ' <i>a</i>	0		
vexor	0	(unresenting) ' <i>ppl a</i>	0		
avex * ' <i>v</i> Obs	0				
	(340)		(107)		(475)
<b>IRK</b>					
irk <i>n</i> rare   <i>a</i> Obs   <i>v</i> arch	2				
irked ' <i>ppl a</i>	1				
irking ' <i>vbl n</i> & ' <i>ppl a</i>	1				
irkful * ' <i>a</i> Obs rare 0	0				
irksome <i>a</i>	22				
irksofely ' <i>adv</i>	2				
irksofeness	4				
urke Obs var. of irk <i>a</i>	0				
	32				



## B. Definitional groups of 'ANGER' in the *Oxford English Dictionary* on CD

### 1. 'Anger'

A word used in a definition ↓	of 'an ger'	of 'ex as per a tion'	of 've xat ion'	of 'in dig nat ion'	of 'w rat h'	of 'irr itat ion'	of 'ra ge'	of 'fu ry'	of 'pa ssi on'	of 'an no ya nce'	of 'pe ev e'	of 'ir k'	of 're sen tm ent'	of 'ma dne ss'	T o t a l
<i>anger</i>	14	13	-	6	22	15	6	5	6	-	-	-	1	4	92
<i>angry</i>	21	-	-	-	22	8	6	1	8	-	-	-	1	1	68
<i>angrily</i>	1	-	-	-	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
<i>angered</i>	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<b>Total:</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>169</b>

### 2. 'Exasperation'

A word used in a definition ↓	of 'an ger'	of 'ex as per a tion'	of 've xat ion'	of 'in dig nat ion'	of 'w rat h'	of 'irr itat ion'	of 'ra ge'	of 'fu ry'	of 'pa ssi on'	of 'an no ya nce'	of 'pe ev e'	of 'ir k'	of 're sen tm ent'	of 'm ad nes s'	T o t a l
<i>exaspera tion</i>	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
<i>exasperate</i>	-	3	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6
<i>exaspera tedly</i>	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>exaspera tedness</i>	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>exaspera ting</i>	-	4	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
<i>exaspera tingly</i>	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>exaspera ted</i>	-	3	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
<b>Total:</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>22</b>

## 3. 'Indignation'

A word used in a definition ↓	of 'an ger'	of 'ex as per ation'	of 've xat ion'	of 'in dig nat ion'	of 'w rat h'	of 'irr itat ion'	of 'ra ge'	of 'fu ry'	of 'pa ssi on'	of 'an no ya nce'	of 'pe ev e'	of 'ir k'	of 're sen tm ent'	of 'm ad nes s'	T o t a l
<i>indignation</i>	-	-	-	9	7	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
<i>indign</i>	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>indignant</i>	-	-	-	10	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	12
<i>(indignity)</i>	-	-	-	5	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
<i>(indignly)</i>	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<b>Total:</b>	-	-	-	26	8	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	40

## 4. 'Wrath'

A word used in a definition ↓	of 'an ger'	of 'ex as per ation'	of 've xat ion'	of 'in dig nat ion'	of 'w rat h'	of 'irr itat ion'	of 'ra ge'	of 'fu ry'	of 'pa ssi on'	of 'an no ya nce'	of 'pe ev e'	of 'ir k'	of 're sen tm ent'	of 'm ad nes s'	T o t a l
<i>wrath</i>	3	-	-	3	28	4	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	40
<i>wrath</i> <i>er</i>	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>wrathful</i>	3	-	-	-	11	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	18
<i>wrathfully</i>	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	7
<i>wrathful-ness</i>	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	4
<i>wrathead</i>	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>wrathing</i>	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>wrathy</i>	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>wrethe</i>	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
<i>wrethed</i>	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>wrething</i>	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>wrethfully</i>	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>wrethful-ness</i>	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>wroth</i>	-	-	-	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
<i>wrothe</i>	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>wrothful</i>	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>wrothfully</i>	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
<i>wrothful-ness</i>	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>wrothily</i>	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>wrothiness</i>	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>wrothly</i>	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
<i>wrothy</i>	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<b>Total:</b>	7	-	-	3	74	11	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	101

## 5. 'Irritation'

A word used in a definition ↓	of 'an ger'	of 'ex as per ation'	of 've xat ion'	of 'in dig nat ion'	of 'w rat h'	of 'irr itat ion'	of 'ra ge'	of 'fu ry'	of 'pa ssi on'	of 'an no ya nce'	of 'pe eve'	of 'ir k'	of 're sen tm ent'	of 'm ad nes s'	T o t a l
<i>irritation</i>	-	-	3	-	-	12	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	18
<i>irritability</i>	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
<i>irritable</i>	1	-	-	-	-	8	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	11
<i>irritant</i>	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
<i>irritate</i>	2	3	1	-	1	5	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	14
<i>irritated</i>	1	1	1	-	1	4	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	10
<i>irritatedly</i>	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>irritating</i>	1	1	1	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
<i>irritatingly</i>	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>irritative</i>	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>ire</i>	1	-	-	-	7	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
<i>ireful</i>	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
<i>irefulness</i>	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>irascibility</i>	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
<i>iracundio- usly</i>	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>inirritant</i>	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<b>Total:</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>91</b>

## 6. 'Rage'

A word used in a definition ↓	of 'an ger '	of 'ex as per ati on'	of 've xat ion '	of 'in dig nat ion '	of 'w rat h'	of 'ir rit ati on '	of 'rag e'	of 'fu ry'	of 'pa ssi on'	of 'an no ya nc e'	of 'pe ev e'	of 'ir k'	of 're se nt me nt'	of 'm ad ne ss'	T o t a l
<i>rage</i>	2	-	-	-	3	-	19	7	-	-	-	-	-	3	34
<i>rageful</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>ragefully</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>ragefu- lessness</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>rageously</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>rageous- ness</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>raging</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	18
<i>ragingness</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>enrage</i>	1	1	-	-	3	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	8
<i>enraged</i>	1	1	-	-	2	3	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	14
<i>enragedly</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>enraged- ness</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>enraging</i>	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
<i>outrage</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
<i>outrage- ness</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>outrage- ousness</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>outrageous</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
<i>outrage- ously</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<b>Total:</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>98</b>

## 7. 'Fury'

A word used in a definition ↓	of 'an ger '	of 'ex as per ati on'	of 've xat ion '	of 'in dig nat ion '	of 'w rat h'	of 'irr itat ion '	of 'ra ge'	of 'fu ry'	of 'pa ssi on'	of 'an no ya nc e'	of 'pe ev e'	of 'ir k'	of 're sen tm ent '	of 'm ad nes s'	T o t a l
<i>fury</i>	-	-	-	-	3	-	8	19	-	-	-	-	-	3	33
<i>furying</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>furiosity</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>furioso</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>furiously</i>	1	-	-	-	1	-	8	3	-	-	-	-	-	2	14
<i>infuriate</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
<i>infuriately</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>infuriating</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>infuria- tingly</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>infuriation</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>infuriated</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
<i>furor</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
<b>Total:</b>	1	-	-	-	4	-	17	34	-	-	-	-	-	6	62

## 8. 'Passion'

A word used in a definition ↓	of 'an ger'	of 'ex as per ati on'	of 've xat ion'	of 'in dig nat ion'	of 'w rat h'	of 'irr itat ion'	of 'ra ge'	of 'fu ry'	of 'pas sion '	of 'an no ya nc e'	of 'pe ev e'	of 'ir k'	of 're se nt me nt'	of 'm ad ne ss'	T o t a l
<i>passion</i>	1	2	-	-	1	1	6	6	66	-	-	-	-	-	83
<i>passioning</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>passional</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>passionate</i>	1	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	15
<i>passiona- ting</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
<i>passiona- tely</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	1	5
<i>passione- dly</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>passionful</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>passion- fulness</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>passion- lessly</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>passion- lessness</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>dispassion</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>dispas- sionate</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	5
<i>impassion</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
<i>impas- sioned</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	9
<i>unpassio- nate</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
<i>dispassio- ned</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>dispassio- nated</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>dispassio- nateness</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>impassio- nedly</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>impassio- nedness</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>impassive</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	5
<b>Total:</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>142</b>

## 9. 'Annoyance'

A word used in a definition ↓	of 'an ger '	of 'ex as per ati on'	of 've xat ion '	of 'in dig nat ion '	of 'w rat h'	of 'irr itat ion '	of 'ra ge'	of 'fu ry'	of 'pa ssi on'	of 'an no ya nce'	of 'pe ev e'	of 'ir k'	of 're sen tm ent '	of 'm ad nes 's'	T o t a l
<i>annoy</i>	-	-	1	-	1	1	2	-	-	5	-	-	-	1	11
<i>annoyance</i>	-	-	4	-	-	4	2	-	-	16	-	1	-	-	27
<i>annoyed</i>	-	-	2	-	-	3	1	-	-	4	1	-	-	-	11
<i>annoyer</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
<i>annoying</i>	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	9	-	2	-	-	14
<i>annoyous</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
<i>ennoying</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
<i>noy</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
<i>noyed</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
<i>noyancy</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
<i>noyously</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
<i>noyfully</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
<i>noyfulness</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
<b>Total:</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>73</b>

## 10. 'Peeve'

A word used in a definition ↓	of 'an ger '	of 'ex as per ati on'	of 've xat ion '	of 'in dig nat ion '	of 'w rat h'	of 'irr itat ion '	of 'ra ge'	of 'fu ry'	of 'pa ssi on'	of 'an no ya nc e'	of 'pe ev e'	of 'ir k'	of 're sen tm ent '	of 'm ad nes s'	T o t a l
<i>peeve</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
<i>peeved</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
<i>peevisish</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	4
<i>peevisishly</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
<i>impevi- shed</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
<b>Total:</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	8

## 11. 'Irk'

A word used in a definition ↓	of 'an ger '	of 'ex as per ati on'	of 've xat ion '	of 'in dig nat ion '	of 'w rat h'	of 'irr itat ion '	of 'ra ge'	of 'fu ry'	of 'pa ssi on'	of 'an no ya nc e'	of 'pe ev e'	of 'ir k'	of 're sen tm ent '	of 'm ad nes s'	T o t a l
<i>irk</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	2
<i>irked</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
<i>irking</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
<i>irksome</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	3	-	-	5
<i>irksome- ness</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
<b>Total:</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	7	-	-	10



## 12. 'Vexation'

A word used in a definition ↓	of 'an ger'	of 'ex as per ation'	of 've xat ion'	of 'in dig nat ion'	of 'w rat h'	of 'irr itat ion'	of 'ra ge'	of 'fu ry'	of 'pa ssi on'	of 'an no ya nce'	of 'pe ev e'	of 'ir k'	of 're sen tm ent'	of 'm ad nes s'	T o t a l
<i>vex</i>	2	-	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	9
<i>vexation</i>	1	-	6	-	-	2	-	-	-	4	2	-	-	-	15
<i>vexatious</i>	1	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	9
<i>vexatiously</i>	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
<i>vexatiousness</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
<i>vexed</i>	1	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	1	2	-	-	15
<i>vexedness</i>	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>vexing</i>	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3
<i>vexingly</i>	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<b>Total:</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>56</b>

## 13. 'Resentment'

A word used in a definition ↓	of 'an ger'	of 'ex as per ation'	of 've xat ion'	of 'in dig nat ion'	of 'w rat h'	of 'irr itat ion'	of 'ra ge'	of 'fu ry'	of 'pa ssi on'	of 'an no ya nce'	of 'pe ev e'	of 'ir k'	of 're sen tm ent'	of 'm ad nes s'	T o t a l
<i>resent</i>	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
<i>resentful</i>	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	3
<i>resentfully</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>resentfulness</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>resentingly</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>resentment</i>	3	-	-	5	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	19
<i>unresentfully</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
<b>Total:</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>28</b>

## 14. 'Madness'

A word used in a definition ↓	of 'an ger '	of 'ex as per ati on'	of 've xat ion '	of 'in dig nat ion '	of 'w rat h'	of 'irr itat ion '	of 'ra ge'	of 'fu ry'	of 'pa ssi on'	of 'an no ya nc e'	of 'pe ev e'	of 'ir k'	of 're sen tm ent '	of 'm ad nes s'	T o t a l
<i>mad</i>	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	6	-	-	1	-	-	35	49
<i>maddened</i>	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	5
<i>maddenin g</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	5
<i>madde- ningly</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
<i>madly</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	4
<i>madness</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	-	-	1	-	-	7	16
<b>Total:</b>	-	-	-	-	-	9	5	14	-	-	2	-	-	50	80

C. Table IVa.

Definitional and defined groups of 'ANGER' in *Oxford English Dictionary* on CD

GROUPS	Defining lexical groups →													Total:	
	Anger	Wrath	Rage	Fury	Passion	Madness	Indignation	Resentment	Irritation	Exasperation	Annoyance	Vexation	Irk		Peeve
anger	36	47	12	6	14	5	6	2	28	13	0	0	0	0	169
wrath	7	74	0	0	6	0	3	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	101
rage	6	8	87	19	1	5	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	98
fury	1	4	17	34	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	62
passion	2	1	7	6	119	1	0	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	142
madness	0	0	5	14	0	52	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	2	82
indignation	0	8	5	0	0	0	26	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	40
resentment	3	1	0	0	0	0	7	16	1	0	0	0	0	0	28
irritation	6	12	2	0	1	1	0	0	52	5	1	6	0	5	91
exasperation	0	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	3	14	0	0	0	0	22
annoyance	1	1	6	0	0	1	0	0	9	0	44	7	3	1	73
vexation	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	18	21	2	3	56
irk	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	7	0	10
peeve	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	8
<b>Total:</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>161</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>982</b>

D. Table IVb.

## Definitional and defined groups of 'ANGER' in Polish dictionaries (SJPD, SJPSz)

GROUPS	Defining lexical groups		Defined lexical groups										Total:		
	↓	→	Gniew	Złość	Wściekłość	Furia	Pasja	Szał	Oburzenie	Wzburzenie	Irytacja	Zdenerwowanie		Rozdrażnienie	Zniecierpliwienie
gniew	50	20	14	4	3	3	3	7	3	6	0	0	4	0	114
złość	12	45	17	4	2	1	1	0	0	2	1	0	5	0	89
wściekłość	1	0	34	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	39
furia	0	0	3	4	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
pasja	1	1	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
szal	0	0	1	3	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
oburzenie	2	1	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
wzburzenie	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	11
irytacja	7	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	5	0	6	0	38
zdenerwowanie	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	57	2	11	2	86
rozdrażnienie	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	12	4	14	4	37
zniecierpliwienie	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	24	0	0	25
<b>Total:</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>483</b>

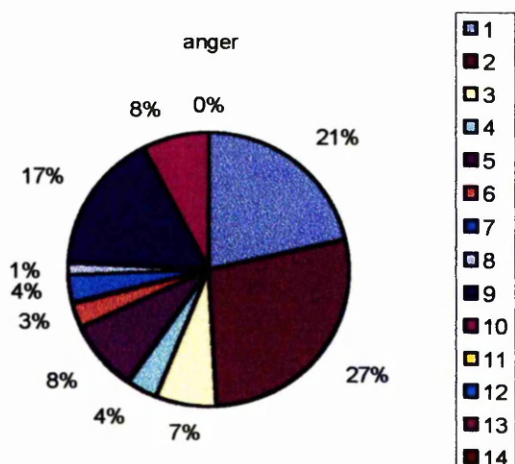
**E. Diagram 1a.**

**Three defining groups of 'ANGER' used in explications of concepts (1-14) in the *Oxford English Dictionary* on CD**

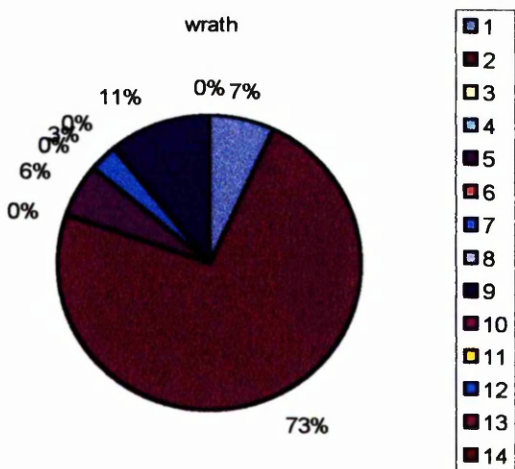
Numbers are symbols of the groups being defined by a particular concept.

- |                   |                     |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1 - 'anger'       | 8 - 'resentment'    |
| 2 - 'wrath'       | 9 - 'irritation'    |
| 3 - 'rage'        | 10 - 'exasperation' |
| 4 - 'fury'        | 11 - 'annoyance'    |
| 5 - 'passion'     | 12 - 'vexation'     |
| 6 - 'madness'     | 13 - 'irk'          |
| 7 - 'indignation' | 14 - 'peeve'        |

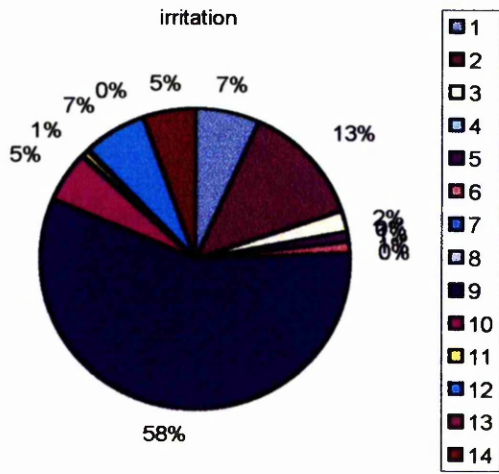
**1. The defining group of 'anger' used in dictionary definitions**



**2. The defining group of 'wrath' used in dictionary definitions**



3. The defining group of 'irritation' used in dictionary definitions



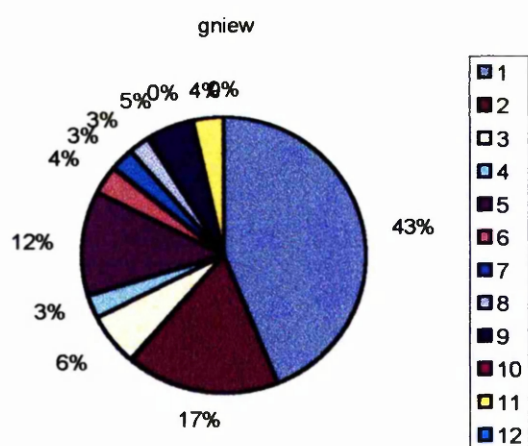
## F. Diagram 1b.

### Three defining groups of 'ANGER' used in explications of concepts (1-12) in Polish dictionary definitions (SJPD, SJPSz)

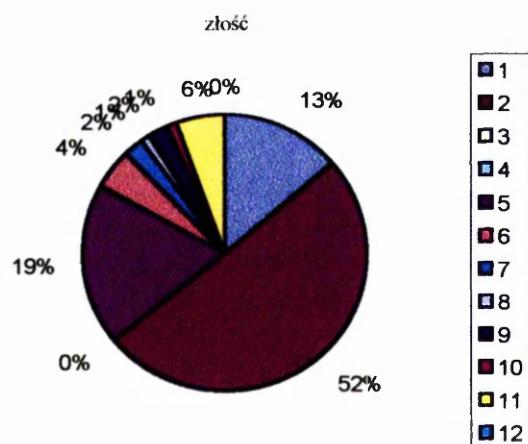
Numbers are symbols of the groups being defined by a particular concept:

- |                  |                          |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 - 'gniew'      | 7 - 'oburzenie'          |
| 2 - 'złość'      | 8 - 'wzburzenie'         |
| 3 - 'wściekłość' | 9 - 'irytacja'           |
| 4 - 'furia'      | 10 - 'zdenerwowanie'     |
| 5 - 'pasja'      | 11 - 'rozdrażnienie'     |
| 6 - 'szal'       | 12 - 'zniecierpliwienie' |

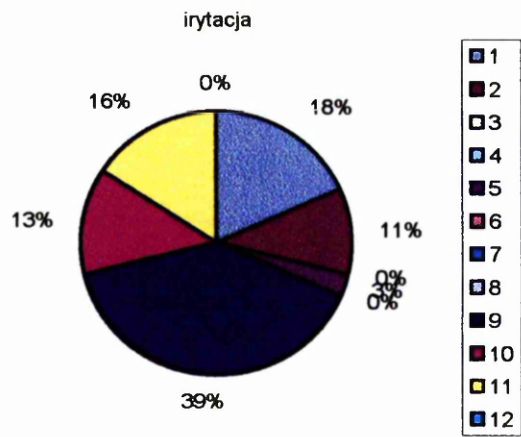
#### 1. The defining group of 'gniew' used in dictionary definitions



#### 2. The defining group of 'złość' used in dictionary definitions



### 3. The defining group of 'irytacja' used in dictionary definitions





G. Table V. Polish 'gniew' and 'złość' versus English 'anger' and 'wrath'

Language →		POLISH		ENGLISH	
No	ASPECT	'gniew'	'złość'	'anger'	'wrath'
1.	<b>Etymology and history</b>	+ <i>Gniew</i> ← *protosl. * <i>gnētiti</i> 2 'to light the fire' or * <i>znějā</i> , <i>znbjati</i> 'to glow, smoulder' or * <i>gnbjā</i> , <i>gniti</i> 'to decay, rot' (in Old Polish).	+ <i>Złość</i> ← <i>zły</i> ; * <i>zlb</i> 'crooked, not straight' → protosl. 'bad, wrong' → still 'bad, wrong' until now, but since the 18th cent. also 'angry' (in New Polish with the emotional meaning).	+ <i>Anger</i> ← Old Norse <i>anгр</i> 'trouble, affliction' ← <i>ang</i> 'strait, straitened, troubled'; also in relation to <i>ange</i> 'pain, trouble' (probably with protoindoeuropean root * <i>angh-u-</i> 'narrow'); (in ME, the 14th cent.).	+ <i>Wrath</i> ← Old English <i>wræðdu</i> (= MLG <i>wrēde</i> , Old Norse * <i>wreið</i> <i>i</i> ; in relation to English <i>writhe</i> 'to twist, to put crooked' (while <i>wrong</i> is related to <i>wring</i> which means 'squeeze tightly; twist forcibly etc.' (in OE before the 11th cent.)).
2.	<b>Frequency and style</b>	+ Very frequent in modern texts, but rather typical for higher style and literary works.	+ Very frequent in modern texts, but in spoken Polish at least as frequent as in written Polish; more natural and typical for lower style and spoken texts.	+ Very frequent in spoken and written texts, without any stylistic characteristics.	+ Rare and rather old-fashioned or literary.
3.	<b>Significant subject of the emotion</b>	+ Adults (parents, teachers, superiors); + God.	+ Everybody, especially people of the same social status, also children. + Devil; - God.	+ Everybody; - God.	+ God.
4.	<b>Evaluation</b>	+ Negative; + positive.	+ Negative; - positive.	+ Neuter; + positive; + negative.	+ +Negative; ++ positive.
5.	<b>Definitional power</b>	114x (1,3 : 1)	89 x (1 : 1)	169x (1,7 : 1)	101x (1 : 1)

## Appendix 2a. A list of lexical members of the English category of 'ANGER' (a semantic and grammatical classification)

1. (a) Nouns denoting the emotion: *anger, wrath, rage, fury, indignation, resentment, madness, passion, irritation, annoyance, exasperation* etc. (b) Analytical phrases denoting the state of being angry, for example *be angry, be furious, be indignant, be rageful, be wrathful, be ireful, be irate, be resentful, be mad, be passionate, be cross, be fuming*, or denoting the process of feeling anger, for example *feel wrath, feel indignant*. (c) Verbs denoting feeling or manifesting the emotion, such as *to rage about something, to resent something*, or obsolete and rare: *to indign somebody, to mad, to fume up, to fire*. (d) Idioms denoting the emotion: *a chip on one's shoulder, to see red, to run hot*, and many others.

2. (a) Verbs denoting the act of passing into anger (inchoative): *to fly into anger, to flame up / on, to fume away, to irritate, to aggravate, to peeve, to needle, to chafe, to nettle, to touch*. (b) Idioms denoting the act of passing into anger: *to touch on the raw, to stroke against the hair, to rub the wrong way, to get under (a person's) skin, to get up someone's nose* etc.

3. (a) Verbs indicating the process of becoming angry, for example *rage, fume up, fire off, flame out, blaze up, rile up*. (b) Idioms denoting the process of becoming angry: *to take fire, to fly off the handle, to get one's back up, to get one's monkey up, to go up in the air, to hit the ceiling, to hit the roof, to lose one's cool, to lose patience*.

4. (a) Nouns denoting angry people, very often people who are susceptible to being angry or people behaving in an angry way, for example *fury, furioso, furiosa, indignant, resenter, madhead, madman, passionate* (not very frequent in use). (b) Adjectives denoting characteristics of angry people: *angry, hot, wrathful, wrath, wrathful, ireful, irate, furious*. (c) Idioms characterising angry people: *as mad as a wet hen, out of patience*, etc.

5. (a) Nouns denoting people or things who / that cause somebody's anger, for instance *rager, irritant, irritator, exasperator, annoyancer, annoyer, vexer, vexor, gad-fly, pin-prick, niggle, pin-prod* (with stylistic and frequent limitations). (b) Adjectives characterising people, things, events that made someone angry: *angering, irritating, provoking, piquing, exasperating, irritative, needling, infuriating*.

6. (a) Causative verbs denoting the act of causing anger, for example *to anger somebody, to enanger somebody, to irritate somebody, to ire, to exasperate somebody, to infuriate somebody, to annoy somebody, to peeve somebody, to vex somebody, something irks somebody, to provoke somebody, to madden somebody, to burn up somebody, to steam up somebody*. (b) Adverbs characterising acts and events which cause someone's anger: *exasperatedly, exasperatingly, irritatedly, irritatingly, provokingly, aggravatingly*. (c) Idioms denoting an act of making somebody angry: *to put someone's back up, to get one's rag out, to drive someone up the wall, to send someone up the wall, to twist the lion's tail* and others.

7. (a) Nouns denoting manifestation of anger, for example *wrath, blaze, fume, passion, explosion, misword, storm, warmth, gnash, violence, aggression*. (b) Verbs denoting manifestation of anger, such as *to vent, to bristle, to fly out, to flame up / out, to explode, to rage, to blow, to tear, to scream, to gnash, to stare, to quake, to shout at somebody*. (c) Adjectives denoting features of behaviour and the look of an angry person. for example *wrathful, angry, choleric, irascible, wrathful, irate, hot, passionate, red, grudgeful, resentful, piqued*,

*indignant, fire-eyed, flame-eyed, wild, violent, aggressive*<sup>33</sup>. (c) Adverbs denoting an angry manifestation, for instance *angrily, wrathfully, wrathily, wrothily, hotly, enragedly, ragefully, fumingly, iratedly, heatedly, indignantly, resentfully, offendedly*. (d) Idioms denoting manifestations of anger: *the blood boils, peppered tongue, in a fume, to blow hot coals, to speak daggers, to look black, to look daggers, to beat with the teeth, to bite the teeth*.

8. (a) Nouns denoting emotions and / or attitudes accompanying anger or being its results, for example *choler, hastiness, waspishness, irascibility, irritability, temper, touchiness, impatience, bile, biliousness, ill-humour, ill-naturedness, moodiness, tantrum, miff, pet, sourness, bitterness, acrimony, hatred, offence*. (b) Verbs and analytical constructions denoting emotions and attitudes which occur in the background of anger or which follow it, such as *to hate somebody, to offend somebody, to be quick-tempered, to be stomachy, to be peevish, to be ill-tempered, to be bad-tempered*.

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<sup>33</sup> In the opinion of some English native speakers, such words as *resentful, grudgeful* and their families do not represent anger. It seems to me, however, to be true only if we take into consideration the lexical concept *anger* (as well as in Polish *złość*), not the more general category of 'ANGER'. This is very interesting from the comparative point of view, as in Polish although *złość* does not seem to be connected with *oburzenie, uraza, żal* (which are the Polish equivalents of English *indignation, resentment, grudge*), *gniew* is in a close semantic relation with them (especially in the meaning of its verbal derivative *gniewać się z kimś*, which denotes the following feeling: 'mieć do siebie wzajemną urazę, żal' / to feel a mutual resentment, grudge/ SJPSz, or in other words: 'żyć z kimś w niezgodzie' /to be on bad terms with sb, to be at war with sb/ GEP/GPE). Thus in the light of this opinion, English *anger* seems to be closer to Polish *złość*, not to *gniew*.

**Appendix 2b. A list of lexical members of the Polish category of 'ANGER'**  
**(a semantic and grammatical classification)**

1. (a) Nouns denoting the emotion: *gniew, oburzenie, złość, wściekłość, pasja, furia, rozjuszenie, szal, irytacja, zdenerwowanie, zniecierpliwienie, rozdrażnienie* etc. (b) Reflexive verbs denoting the process of feeling anger: *gniewać się, oburzać się, złościć się, wściekać się, irytować się, denerwować się* etc. (c) Analytical phrases denoting the state of being angry, for example *być złym na kogoś, być zdenerwowanym, być wściekłym na kogoś / za coś, być oburzonym na coś / na kogoś*. (d) Idioms denoting the emotion: *flaki się w kimś przewracają, żółć kogoś zalewa, nagła krew kogoś zalewa*, and many others (often with metonymic and metaphorical foundations).

2. (a) Reflexive verbs denoting the act of passing into anger (inchoative, resultative, complexive): *rozgniewać się, pogniwać się, zagniewać się, zgniwać się, oburzyć się, rozzłościć się, zezłościć się, wściec się, rozwścieczyć się, zirytować się, poirytować się, zdenerwować się, nadenerwować się* etc. (b) Idioms denoting the act of passing into anger, for example *wpaść w gniew / złość / szal / furję, dostać ataku furii*. (c) Idioms denoting the process of becoming angry: *gniew / złość / wściekłość / oburzenie ogarnia kogoś, opanowuje kogoś, budzi się w kimś* etc. (Most of them have metonymic or metaphorical foundations.)

3. (a) Nouns denoting angry people, very often people who are susceptible to being angry or people behaving in an angry way (irascible): *złośnik, złośnica, furiat, furiatka, pasjonat, awanturnik, awanturnica, choleryk, impetyk, sekutnica, jędza, nerwus* etc. (b) Adjectives denoting angry people (used as nouns): *gniewny, wściekły, zły*.

4. Nouns denoting people who have caused somebody's anger (wrongdoers): (a) Words indicating people who cause consciously somebody's anger: *judziel, podżegacz, wicherzyciel*. (b) Words indicating people who are susceptible to behave in an irritable way: *złośliwiec, impertynent*.

5. Nouns denoting events and results of irritable behaviour (a cause): *afront, zniewaga, inwektywa, obelga, drwina, przytyk, policzek, złośliwość, docinki*.

6. (a) Causative verbs denoting the act of causing anger: *gniewać, rozgniewać, zgniwać, zagniewać, oburzać, oburzyć, złościć, rozzłościć, zezłościć, wściekać, rozwścieczyć, irytować, zirytować, poirytować, denerwować, zdenerwować, podenerwować* and *drażnić, podrażnić, rozdrażnić, jątrzyć, rozjątrzyć, rozjuszyć, judzić, podjudzać, podżegać*. (b) Idioms denoting the act of causing anger: *doprowadzić kogoś do wściekłości / furii / pasji, budzić w kimś złość / gniew / oburzenie, wywoływać w kimś złość, coś kogoś ugryzło, ktoś zalał komuś za skórę* etc.

7. (a) Verbs denoting manifestation of anger (with a metonymic and metaphorical foundation): *nachmurzyć się, zachmurzyć się, pochmurnieć, naburmuszyć się, zasepić się, zaperzyć się, nadymać się, krzywić się, nasrożyć się, naindyczyć się, zagniewać się* (sometimes they can also be connected with other emotions. for

example with worry, sadness or discontent). (b) Adjectives and past participles denoting experiencer's features: *gniewliwy, nerwowy, drażliwy, choleryczny, osowaty, jędzowaty, swarliwy, kłótniwy, awanturniczy, wybuchowy, impulsywny, porywczy, popędliwy, zapalczywy, krewki, zaczepny, agresywny* etc. (they most often indicate susceptibility to anger and to angry behaviour.) and *gniewny, zagniewany, rozzłoszczony, naindyczony, nachmurzony* etc. (c) Idioms and collocations denoting manifestation of anger, for example *poczerwienieć z gniewu / ze złości / z wściekłości, zielony ze złości, płonąć gniewem, dusić się ze złości, zapieniść się w złości*.

8. (a) Verbs denoting angry experiencer's behaviour: *fukać, burczeć, warczeć, wyzywać, gromić, grzmieć, lżyć, bić się, awanturować się, kłócić się, kłąć, pieklić się* and others. (b) Adverbs denoting angry behaviour features: *agresywnie, gniewnie, kąśliwie, napastliwie, opryskliwie, porywczco, wściekle, zaczepnie, zajadle, złośliwie* etc. (c) Nouns denoting angry behaviour: *fumy, fochy, dąsy, fanaberie, grymasy, humory, kwasy, agresja, awantura, bijatyka, bura, burda, gderanina, impertynencje, kłótnia, niesnaski* etc. (d) Idioms and collocations denoting angry behaviour: *wybuchać gniewem / złością / wściekłością, robić komuś piekło, wylać na kogoś całą złość, odbić na kimś swoją złość, wyladować na kimś swój gniew*, etc.

9. (a) Nouns denoting emotions and attitudes accompanying anger and / or being its results: *obrazą, uraza, obruszenie, pretensja, żal, awersja, antypatia, abominacja, niechęć, niezadowolenie, nienawiść, zapalczywość, mściwość* etc. (b) Verbs denoting emotions and attitudes accompanying anger and / or being its results: *obrażać się, obrazić się, obruszać się, obruszyć się, nienawidzić, nie cierpieć, nie znosić*. Most often they are used as the names of long-lasting emotions. But these long-lasting emotions create a background conducive to activating anger.

### Appendix 3. Databases and dictionaries used in the research

#### 1. English databases

- (a) British National Corpus on CD (abbreviation: BNC).
- (b) *The Herald* 1998 on CD.
- (c) *The Guardian* and *The Observer* 1998 on CD.

#### 2. Polish databases

- (a) The PWN Computer Database on CD (abbreviation: BD PWN).
- (b) The PWN Database of File (abbreviation: K PWN) - written excerpt.
- (c) The Author's Database (abbreviation: KW) - excerpt made by the author of this thesis from:

- selected books:

- Herbert, Zbigniew (1991), *Barbarzyńca w ogrodzie*. Lublin.
- Huelle, Paweł (1991), *Opowiadania na czas przeprowadzki*. Londyn.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1996), *Pierwsza miłość i inne opowiadania*. Londyn.
- Janion, Maria (1991), *Projekt krytyki fantazmatycznej. Szkice o egzystencjach ludzi i duchów*. Warszawa.
- Konwicki, Tadeusz (1989), *Rzeka podziemna, podziemne ptaki*. Warszawa.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1990), *Nowy Świat i okolice*. Warszawa.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1991), *Zorze wieczorne*. Warszawa.
- Kozicki, Stefan (ed.), (1982), *Dziki i ludzie*. Rzeszów.
- Niczyperowicz, Andrzej (ed.), (1996), *Abecadło dziennikarza*. Poznań.
- Owsiany, Ewa (1993), *Bezdomność Boga*. Kraków.
- Siedlecka, Joanna (1981), *Po ogniu*. Warszawa.

- selected issues of Polish magazines and newspapers:

- Gazeta Wyborcza* 1996 (issues 1. - 10. 06.1996; 25. and 31. 07.1996; 6. and 16. 08.1996);
- Życie* 1996 / 1997 (24. 10.1996; 4. 11.1996; 18.-19. and 30. 01.1997); *Rzeczpospolita* 1996 (6. 08.1996; 14. 11.1996); *Słowo. Dziennik Katolicki* 1996 (5. and 6. 08.1996);
- Trybuna* 1996 (27.-28. 07.1996; 6. 08.1996); *Życie Warszawy* 1996 (6. 08.1996); *Super Express* 1996 (6. 08.1996); *Kurier Polski* 1996 (6. 08.1996); *Polityka* 1997 (8. 02.1997).

### 3. English dictionaries:

- *The Barnhart Dictionary of Etymology* (1998) (ab. BDE)
- *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary* (1987) (ab. CoLE)
- *Collins Cobuild New Student's English Dictionary* (1997) (ab. CoIN)
- *Collins Paperback Dictionary and Thesaurus* (1998) (ab. CoIT)
- *Historical Thesaurus of English on CD* (ab. HTE)
- *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English. New Edition* (1989) (ab. LD)
- *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* (1987) (ab. OAL)
- *Oxford English Dictionary on CD* (1992) (ab. OED)
- *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language* (1986) (ab. WebD)

### 4. Polish dictionaries:

- Anusiewicz, Janusz, <sup>and</sup> Skawiński, Jacek (1996), *Słownik polszczyzny potocznej*. Warszawa - Wrocław: PWN, 1996. (ab. SPP)
- Brückner, Aleksander (1989), *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*. Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna, 1989 (reprint). (ab. SEB)
- Cienkowski, Witold (1993), *Praktyczny słownik wyrazów bliskoznacznych*. Warszawa: Polska Oficyna Wydawnicza BGW, 1993.
- Doroszewski, Witold (ed.) (1958-1969), *Słownik języka polskiego*, 11v. Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna-PWN, 1958-1969. (ab. SJPD)
- Karłowicz, Jan, Kryński, Adam Antoni, Niedźwiedzki, W. (1900), *Słownik języka polskiego*, 8v. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy (reprint).
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- Skorupka, Stanisław (1989), *Słownik frazeologiczny języka polskiego*, 2v. Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna, 1989.
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- \_\_\_\_\_ (ed.), (1974- ), *Słownik prasłowiański*, 7v. Kraków: Ossolineum, 1974-. (ab. SPrS)
- *Słownik wyrazów obcych* (1991). Warszawa: PWN, 1991.
- Szymczak, Mieczysław (ed.) (1992), *Słownik języka polskiego*, 7nd. ed., 3v. Warszawa: PWN, 1992. (ab. SJPSz)

### 5. Bilingual dictionaries:

- *Great English-Polish / Polish-English Dictionary. Wielki słownik angielsko-polski / polsko-angielski*, 12ve ed., 4v. (1990) (ab. GEP / GPE)
- *Collins Praktyczny słownik angielsko-polski / polsko-angielski (Practical English-Polish / Polish-English Dictionary)* (1997) (ab. ColPEP / ColPPE)
- *Collins Polish-English / English-Polish Dictionary. Collins Słownik polsko-angielski / angielsko-polski*, 2v. (1996) (ab. ColPE / ColEP)



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## Index of abbreviations and symbols

A.M.	initials of the name Agnieszka Mikołajczuk
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
BDE	<i>The Barnhart Dictionary of Etymology</i> (1998)
BD PWN	The PWN Computer Database on CD
BNC	The British National Corpus on CD
caus. v.	causative verb
cf.	compare
CoIE	<i>Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary</i> (1997)
CoIN	<i>Collins Cobuild New Student's English Dictionary</i> (1997)
CoIPE/EP	<i>Collins Polish-English / English-Polish Dictionary</i> (1996)
CoIPEP/PPE	<i>Collins Praktyczny słownik angielsko-polski / polsko-angielski</i> (1997)
CoIT	<i>Collins Paperback Dictionary and Thesaurus</i> (1998)
dial.	dialectal
e.g.	for example
esp.	especially
etc.	and so on, and the rest
fem. n.	feminine noun
GO	<i>The Guardian</i> and <i>The Observer</i> 1998 on CD
GEP/GPE	<i>Great English-Polish / Polish-English Dictionary</i> (1990)
H	<i>The Herald</i> 1998 on CD
HTE	<i>Historical Thesaurus of English</i> on CD
i.e.	that is, in other words
imperf.	imperfective
K PWN	The PWN Database on Files
KW	The Author's Database
LD	<i>Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English. New Edition</i> (1989)
masc. n.	masculine noun
n.	noun
OAL	<i>Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English</i> (1987)

obs.	obsolete
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary on CD</i>
past part.	past participle
perf.	perfective
PWN	The Polish Scientific Publishers
refl. v.	reflexive verb
sb.	somebody
SEB	Brückner, A. (1989), <i>Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego</i> .
SJPD	Doroszewski, W. (ed.), (1958-69), <i>Słownik języka polskiego</i> .
SJPSz	Szymczak, M. (ed.), (1992), <i>Słownik języka polskiego</i> .
SPP	Anusiewicz, J., Skawiński, J. (1996), <i>Słownik polszczyzny potocznej</i> .
SPrS	Sławski, F. (ed.), (1974-), <i>Słownik prasłowiański</i> .
sth.	something
WebD	<i>Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language</i> 1986)
X	an experiencer of the emotion
Y	a causer and/or an object of the emotion
Z	a reason for the emotion

