

VISCERAL ORGAN IDIOMS IN ROMANCE LANGUAGES: EXPRESSING FEAR, JOY, ANGER

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1. INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This contribution is part of a project carried out at the “Iorgu Iordan – Alexandru Rosetti” Institute of Linguistics from Bucharest, that analyses somatic idioms¹ from genetic related languages: Romanian, French, Spanish and Portuguese² with the aim to classify them into onomasiological categories³ to point out similarities and differences between the studied languages, in a synchronic approach. Our motivation for this project is based on two aspects: (1) the etymological aspect⁴, the fact that many of the analyzed terms have Latin origin; (2) the frequency aspect, the terms are part of the fundamental Lexicon of the Romance languages; in addition, the Romance languages have developed many idioms based on them.

¹ The terms *idiom* and *phrase* are used in this paper in the sense described by Mel’čuk (1995: 167), presented below in 1.1. We agree with Igor Mel’čuk that “a phraseological expression, also called a set expression, set phrase, idiomatic phrase, multi-word expression, sometimes simply idiom, etc. is first of all a (multiword) phrase – that is, a linguistic expression formed by several (at least two) lexemes syntactically linked in a regular way” (Mel’čuk 1995:168).

² For Italian and other romance languages, although essential for this comparison, we have no collaborators for the project nor within the department.

³ The onomasiological approach to the analysis of the Lexicon aims to discover the conceptual basis of describing objects and to reveal the recurrent cognitive mechanisms used in the process of designating an object or a group of objects. Hessky & Ettinger (1997) have proposed a series of categories that help organize and explain the use of idioms, for didactic purposes. However, in this contribution we will not be referring to the onomasiological classification.

⁴ The terms referring to the human body and to the internal organs are of Latin origin (Sala 2006: 46).

This article is part of a series that analyzes how idioms are used to describe affective states in the mentioned languages, and follows the expression of fear, joy and anger (as *target domains*, in the cognitivist approach). We noticed that many idioms used to express these emotions are constructed around internal organ denominations.

The idioms analyzed in this paper were extracted from the main lexicographic works available in the mentioned languages, including from phraseological dictionaries (see *Sources* below), by reading the dictionaries or by searching by the visceral organ denomination⁵. We also checked the idioms in the *corpora* (of written texts) available online and on the Internet⁶ to see if they are frequent, if there is variation (in form) or if they represent just sporadic examples mentioned by the dictionaries.

For this analysis, we used two different frameworks: Mel'čuk's (1995, 2012) model for describing and classifying *set phrases/phrasemes* (see 1.1.) and the cognitivist approach that examines the use of metaphors in everyday language, Apresjan (1997), Clausner & Croft (1999), Lakoff & Johnson (1999, 2003), Kövecses (1986, 2000, 2002, 2005). All the terms used in this paper will be explained in the next paragraphs.

In the cognitivist approach, the term *experiential/embodied realism* (Lakoff & Johnson 1999) refers to the existence of complex cognitive mechanisms that come from the human experience and help the human mind to organize the knowledge. Taking into consideration this theoretical background, our research analyzes how the affective states are described by using specific linguistic means, *set phrases* constructed with visceral organs denominations, in the Romance languages. From the set phrases used to describe fear, joy and anger we noticed that those that are constructed around visceral organs denominations contain the following lexemes: Ro. *ficat*, Fr. *foie*, Sp. *higado*, Pt. *figado* (denominations for 'liver'), Ro. *fiere*, Fr. *fiel*, Sp. *hiel*, Pt. *fel* (denominations for 'bile', sometimes for the 'gall bladder'), Ro. *inimă*, Fr. *coeur*, Sp. *corazón*, Pt. *coração* (denominations for 'heart'), Ro. *mațe/măruntaie*, Fr. *tripes/entrailles*, Sp. *tripa*, Pt. *tripas/barriga* (denominations for 'intestines'⁷), Ro. *stomac*⁸, Fr. *estomac*, Sp. *estómago*, Pt.

⁵ The terms belong to the literary language. In some cases, we also mentioned terms from the popular/informal language.

⁶ The Internet can be used as a corpus for linguistic research as pointed out by recent studies (Fujii & Ishikawa 2000, Kilgarriff 2001, Fuertes-Olivera 2012). For our research, using such a resource proved to be useful, as the Internet gathers large volumes of highly diverse texts. "Legal, religious, literary, scientific, journalistic, and other texts will all be found there, just as they would in their non-electronic form" (David Crystal 2001: 31). The information found in the lexicographic sources offers only hints about the use of idioms in the day-to-day language, therefore a detailed analysis of the contexts in which they appear is a must.

⁷ Pt. *barriga* is en. *belly*.

⁸ Some Romanian phrasemes are constructed around the term *pipotă*, generally used to describe the stomach of the birds but extended to the human stomach. It is similar to pt. *bucho*, primarily used to describe the stomach of animals.

estômag, *bucho* (denominations for ‘stomach’) and Ro. *plămâni/bojoci*, Fr. *poumon(s)*, Sp. *pulmón(s)*, Pt. *pulmõ(es)* (denominations for ‘lungs’).

1.1. UNDERSTANDING SET PHRASES

In our opinion, Igor Mel’čuk’s phraseological model explains and classifies these structures best: “An **idiom** is a multi-lexemic expression **E** whose meaning cannot be deduced by the general rules of the language in question from the meanings of the constituent lexemes of **E**, their semantically loaded morphological characteristics (if any) and their syntactic configuration.” (Mel’čuk 1995: 167)

In Mel’čuk’s view, the speaker conceptualizes the extra-linguistic reality (*ConceptR*) and verbalizes it by using a signified/semanteme (*SemR*), by following the standard rules of the language (*L*). The speaker has many possible variants, and he/she is free to do choose between them. Phraseology is described as a limitation of this freedom of choice: “It can preliminarily be said that phraseologization boils down to drastically reducing otherwise limitless choices available to the speaker who is in quest for a linguistic expression possible for the *ConceptR* he started with.” (Mel’čuk 1995: 173).

Mel’čuk (1995: 178) defines the idioms based on the *Free Phrases* vs. *Set Phrases/Phrasemes* opposition⁹ and classifies them according to degrees in:

Full phrasemes/Idioms: instead of the expected regular sum ‘A + B’ of the *signifieds* ‘A’ and ‘B’ an idiom has a *signified* ‘C’, different from this sum namely including neither ‘A’ nor ‘B’; the meaning of an idiom cannot be deduced by the meanings of its components, it is completely different.

Semi phrasemes/collocations: the *signified*, the meaning of the collocation includes the *signified*, the meaning of one of its two components.

Quasi-phrasemes/quasi-idioms: the *signified* includes the *signifieds* of both constituent lexemes plus an unpredictable addition ‘C’; the meaning of a quasi-phraseme can be deduced from the separate meanings of its components and there is also something extra.

Examples from the studied languages that illustrate this classification are shown in (1), (2) and (3) below. Our analysis takes into consideration only the first category, the full phrasemes (or idioms), exemplified in (1).

- (1) Ro. *a-i crăpa fierea* (‘to burst someone’s gall bladder’ meaning “to be angry of something”), Fr. *se manger les foies* (‘to eat one’s livers’ meaning “to regret something”), Pt. *dar o braço a torcer* (‘to give one’s arm to be twisted’ meaning “to admit one’s fault”), Sp. *no tener pelos en la lengua* (‘to have no hair on one’s tongue’ meaning “to be straightforward”).

⁹ See also Coșeriu (1977) and Vilela (2002): *técnica libre de discurso* (combinations of words governed by general rules of the language) vs. *discurso repetido* (set phrases) (Coșeriu 1977: 113 apud Vilela 2002: 159).

- (2) Ro. *iubire eternă*, Fr. *amour eternal*, Sp. *amor eterno* ('eternal love'), Pt. *ódio mortal* ('mortal hate', hate that is very intense)¹⁰
- (3) Ro. *nas acvilin*, Fr. *nez aquilin*, Pt. *nariz aquilino*, Sp. *nariz aguileña* ('aquiline nose').

According to Mel'čuk (1995: 179), the full phrasemes (idioms) have a *Dominant Semantic Node* (or *Dominant Semanteme*) "which resumes the whole sense (of the phraseme)". We used this acceptance to group the analyzed phrasemes into categories that refer to fear, joy and anger.

1.2. METAPHORS AND EMOTION

In the cognitivist approach, our conceptual system is reflected in the way we describe our everyday realities, therefore a conceptual metaphor is "understanding and experiencing one kind of things in terms of another" (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 6). A conceptual metaphor links two domains: the *source domain*, the conceptual domain from which the speaker draws the metaphorical expressions (e.g. love is a journey) and the *target domain*, the conceptual domain that the speaker tries to understand (e.g. love is a journey).

The emotion metaphors have been much discussed in the literature in the light of the *embodied mind* theory. The body parts and the processes the body is involved in serve as source domains for emotion metaphors Kövecses (1986, 2000, 2002, 2005), Lakoff & Johnson (1999).

Based on an inventory of the *image schemas* collected from the literature, Clausner & Croft (1999: 14) review "schematic patterns arising from imagistic domains such as containers, paths, links, forces and balance that recur in a variety of embodied domains and structure our bodily experience". These patterns are recurrent when verbalizing emotions, as we will see in the further sections of our study.

When discussing the emotion metaphors, Apresjan (1997: 181–190) identifies three metaphor types: *physiological*, *cultural*, and *cognitive*.

Physiological metaphors are based on "uncontrollable, immediate physiological reactions that are short-lasting in time". The mapping between the source domain and the target domain "is conditioned physiologically, i.e., the metaphors are based on certain physiological similarities" (Apresjan 1997: 181). As an example, see the association of fear to the sensation of feeling cold.

For the *cultural metaphor*, "the mapping is determined by evaluations, purely cultural factors and can be often subjective and arbitrary" (Apresjan 1997: 184). FEELING IS COLOR is the most illustrative metaphor as it describes how certain emotions, considered negative by the speakers, are associated with color terms or with expressions that refer to LIGHT or DARKNESS.

¹⁰ The example is from Vilela (2002: 178).

For the *cognitive metaphor* type, the correlation of the domains is “based on their cognitive affinity” (Apresjan 1997: 189).

More recent studies show an interconnection between the conceptual metaphor and synesthesia. As Salzinger (2010: 60) suggests, synesthesia represents “the physical basis for the cognitive processes we call metaphor”. Although experience through the senses can be perceived in the same way by the human beings, there are cultural factors that play an important role in our perception.

It is well known that the phrasemes are the verbal expression of images borrowed from everyday realities. “In the level of content of most idioms (especially if they are synchronically motivated) two aspects can be distinguished: actual meaning and image component.” (Dobrovolskii 1998: 57 apud Pamies 2002: 11)

In many languages, as well as in the Romance languages, abstract concepts as feelings or emotions are verbalized using bodily experiences and some of these experiences are related to visceral organs.

2. IDIOMS AND EMOTION METAPHORS

Our analysis starts from the target domain (the affective states) and tries to identify the source domains, drawing attention on the similarities and differences between the studied languages. As we mentioned above, for this contribution we chose the following affective states: FEAR, ANGER and JOY. We believe that the mentioned languages verbalize similar images.

In the next section we analyze the identified phrasemes (specifying the lexicographic source). At first, we classify them in tables according to the term referring to the visceral organ and then we mention some contexts extracted from the corpora. The source of the examples is mentioned in brackets (by including a shortened link or a citation from the corpora)¹¹. For a proper understanding of the examples, we give the literal translation of the phrasemes and of the contexts provided.

2.1. FEAR

The phrasemes used to express FEAR are constructed around the following lexemes: Ro. *inimă* (‘heart’), *ficat* (‘liver’), Fr. *foie* (‘liver’), Sp. *corazón* (‘heart’), *tripas* (‘intestines’), Pt. *coração* (‘heart’), *estômago* (‘stomach’), *barriga* (‘belly’) illustrated in the tables 1, 2 and 3, and in the examples that follow.

¹¹ For the contexts presented in this section, we used corpora available online: CoRoLA for Romanian, TLFi, CNRTL, EXPRESSIO for French, CREA for Spanish and CRPC for Portuguese (for the detailed list, see *Sources*). When necessary, we also selected contexts from Reverso.net and the online database of different newspapers, popular publications, or magazines (e.g., *adevarul.ro*, *republica.ro*, *dor.ro*, *lemonde.fr*, *lefigaro.fr*, *elmundo.es*, *público.pt*, *dn.pt* etc.) after a previous Google search of the phraseme. We mention the domain of the Internet page, e.g., *republica.ro*, followed by the shortened URL. This method provides access to familiar language. We did not take into consideration the internet slang used on forums, comments, social media etc. as this can be the subject of another study.

Table 1

Heart			
Romanian <i>inimă</i>	French	Spanish <i>corazón</i>	Portuguese <i>coração</i>
<i>a i se face/a avea inimă</i> cât un purice ‘to have/make one’s heart (the size of) a flea’ Mărănduc, DEX <i>a i se strânge inimă</i> ‘to tighten one’s heart’ Mărănduc <i>a-i îngheța cuiva inimă</i> ‘to freeze one’s heart’ Mărănduc	Ø	<i>estar con / llevar / tener el corazón en un puño</i> vs. <i>meter / poner el corazón en un puño a alguien</i> ‘to be with / carry / have one’s heart in a fist’ vs ‘to put someone’s heart in a fist’ Neagu, Seco, RAE <i>encoger el corazón</i> vs. <i>encogerse el corazón</i> ‘to shrink one’s heart’ vs. ‘to shrink someone’s heart’ Seco, RAE <i>helar el corazón</i> <i>helarse el corazón a alguien</i> ‘to freeze one’s heart’ vs ‘to freeze someone’s heart’ Seco, RAE <i>ponérsele el corazón en la garganta</i> ‘to put someone’s heart in the throat’(Seco) <i>subírsele (a alguien) el corazón a la boca/ a la garganta</i> ‘to go up one’s heart in the mouth/in the throat’ (Seco)	<i>Ficar/ter com o coração nas mãos</i> ‘to keep/have one’s heart in one’s hands’ DEC, DILP

- (1) Ro. În mai 2014, imediat după inaugurarea Monumentului Memorial al Martirilor Holocaustului din Cluj, treceam aproape zilnic prin părculețul unde era amplasat și mă apropiam de monument **cu inimă cât un purice**. (republica.ro, <https://bit.ly/3VuJ4lQ>) ‘In May 2014, immediately after the inauguration of the Holocaust Martyrs’ Memorial Monument in Cluj, I passed almost every day through the small park where it was located and approached the monument with a heart (as big as) a flea.’
- (2) Ro. Mă uit la copiii care au venit împreună cu părinții lor din Ucraina și **mi se strânge inimă**. (republica.ro, <https://bit.ly/3H9HWQe>) ‘I look at the children who came with their parents from Ukraine and my heart shrinks.’
- (3) Ro. Singurătatea personajelor îmi dă târcoale și pe alocuri **îmi strânge inimă**. (liternet.ro, <https://bit.ly/2vpPWcE>) ‘The loneliness of the characters follows me and sometimes it squeezes my heart.’
- (4) Ro. Un monstru zămislit de nebunie și coșmar se coborî în fața lor urlând **de-ți îngheța inimă-n piept**. (CoRoLa) ‘A monster of madness and nightmare came down in front of them screaming to freeze their heart in their chest.’
- (5) Sp. Todos **estamos con el corazón en un puño** ante la incertidumbre por los tres periodistas españoles desaparecidos en Siria. (diariodesevilla.es,

<https://bit.ly/3XUJROt>) ‘We are all with our hearts in a fist in the face of uncertainty about the three Spanish journalists who disappeared in Syria.’

- (6) Sp. *Aunque la esencia de su arte consista en **ponernos el corazón en un puño**, (...) una trapezista es algo único, contundente, irrefutable...* (CREA) ‘Although the essence of her art consists in putting our hearts into a fist, (...) a trapeze artist is something unique, forceful, irrefutable...’
- (7) Sp. *Confiesa que se le **encogía el corazón** sólo de pensar que podían violar a su mujer o a sus hermanas.* (CREA) ‘He confesses that his heart was shrinking just thinking that they could rape his wife or his sisters.’
- (8) Sp. *El aullido que atravesó la pared me **heló el corazón**.* (CREA) ‘The howl that pierced the wall froze my heart.’
- (9) Sp. *Han sido víctimas de una violencia policial que **ha helado el corazón** a medio mundo.* (eldiario.es, <https://bit.ly/2JSMSJ2>) ‘They have been victims of police violence that has frozen the hearts of half the world.’
- (10) Sp. *Respeto y admiro todas las profesiones, pero la profesión de matador de toros **me pone el corazón en la garganta** solamente al decirlo.* (CREA) ‘I respect and admire all professions, but the profession of matador de toros puts my heart in my throat just by saying it.’
- (11) Pt. *O receio de ficarmos sem o tecto das casas, que faz-nos **ficar com o coração nas mãos** quando chove.* (CRPC) ‘The fear of being left without a roof in the houses, which makes us keep our hearts in our hands when it rains.’

Table 2

Liver			
Romanian <i>ficat(i)</i>	French <i>foie(s)</i>	Spanish	Portuguese
<i>a-i îngheța cuiva ficații</i> Mărânduc, DEX ‘to freeze one’s livers’	<i>avoir les foies (blancs)</i> TLFi ‘to have (white) livers’	Ø	Ø

- (12) Fr. *Ça te va bien de parler d’attaque, toi qui t’es toujours planqué, foireux ! (...). (...) s’il fallait que je fasse l’attaque, **je n’aurais pas plus les foies** que toi.* (TLFI) ‘It suits you well to talk about the attack, you who have always hidden, crazy! (...). (...) If I had to attack, I would not have more livers than you.’

Table 3

Stomach, belly			
Romanian	French	Spanish <i>tripa(s)</i>	Portuguese <i>estômago, barriga</i>
Ø	Ø	<i>encogerse la(s) tripa(s)</i> 'to shrink one's intestines/belly/stomach' Seco	<i>embrulhar o estômago</i> 'to wrap one's stomach' DEC <i>ter dores de barriga</i> 'to have belly pains' DEC

- (13) Sp. *¡y gracias que podemos contar con medios técnicos como consolación de esa ausencia que nos encoge las tripas!* (larazon.es, <https://bit.ly/3OYFL3W>) 'And thank you because we can count on technical means as consolation for that absence that shrinks our guts!'
- (14) Pt. *Espera com dores de barriga o momento da leitura da sentença.* (CRPC) 'She waits with belly pains for the sentence to be read.'
- (15) Pt. *No entanto, 2017 foi um pouco como uma montanha russa para o arquipélago caribenho, repleto de pontos incrivelmente altos e quedas de embrulhar o estômago.* (Reverso) 'However, 2017 was a bit like a montagne russe for the Caribbean archipelago, full of incredibly high points and falls to wrap one's stomach'.

FEAR is commonly conceptualized as a DECREASE IN SIZE of the visceral organ. Romanian, Spanish and Portuguese correlate FEAR with the decrease of the heart size as shown in the examples in (1), (2), (3), (5), (6), (7), (11), and the Spanish and Portuguese speakers, with the decrease of the stomach/guts size (14), (15).

The contexts shown in (5), (6) and in (11) are very similar. The locus of the emotion is the heart. The image described is that of the heart pulled out of the body, in one's hand (for Sp. *puño*, for Pt. *mão*).

FEAR is conceptualized as COLD as it is often associated with the physical sensation of being cold: "the reaction of one's body to 'fear' is the same as the reaction of one's body to 'cold' (shaking, quaking, temporary paralysis, pallor, etc.)". (Apresjan 1997: 181). This metaphor is reflected by the Romanian and Spanish expressions *a-i îngheța cuiva ficații* and *helarse el corazón a alguien* (literally 'to freeze one's livers' or 'to freeze one's heart').

Within the same source domain (that of the body processes), the Portuguese phraseme *ter dores de barriga* 'to feel belly pain' in (14) conceptualizes the image of FEELING SICK, often associated with DISGUST. In Apresjan's classification, this is a physiological metaphor, as it is based on a bodily reaction.

The French phrasemes *avoir les foies* (literally 'to have livers'), *avoir le coeur au ventre* ('to have the heart in the stomach') is used to describe COURAGE, while in the negative form as the example in (11) shows, it is used to denominate LACK OF COURAGE, FEAR. A particular case is represented by the correlation of the

emotion with a color. In *avoir les foies blanc* ('to have white livers'), the locus of the emotion is the liver, but the mapping between the source domain (BODY) and the target domain (EMOTION) is different as it is arbitrary as it is not based only on a physiological process (the cultural metaphor FEELING IS COLOR). (Apresjan 1997: 186).

2.2. JOY

JOY is considered, almost unanimously, one of the so-called primal emotions, and it is lexicalized and conceptualized in various languages. (Wierzbicka 1999: 51).

Tables 4, 5 and 6 show a list of joy-related metaphorical expressions identified in the analyzed languages:

Table 4

Heart			
Romanian <i>inimă</i>	French <i>coeur</i>	Spanish <i>corazón</i>	Portuguese <i>coração</i>
<i>a i se umple inimă</i> (de bucurie) Mărânduc 'to fill one's heart (with joy)', <i>a-i crește inimă</i> în piept Mărânduc, DEX 'to grow one's heart in one's chest', <i>a-i tresări inimă</i> Mărânduc 'to tremble/flinch one's heart', <i>a-i zburda inimă</i> Mărânduc 'to frisk one's heart', <i>a-l unge la inimă</i> Mărânduc, DEX 'to put balm on one's heart', <i>a râde inimă</i> în cineva Mărânduc, DEX 'to laugh the heart in someone', <i>a-i merge ceva la inimă</i> Mărânduc, DEX 'to go something in one's heart'	<i>avoir le cœur léger/en fête, s'en donner à cœur joie</i> Bénaben 'to have a light/festive heart, to give joy to the heart', <i>donner/mettre du baume au cœur</i> Bénaben 'to give balm to the hear', <i>gonfler le cœur de joie</i> Bénaben 'to inflate one's heart with joy', <i>remplir le cœur</i> (de joie) Bénaben 'to fill one's heart with joy'	<i>llenar el corazón</i> 'to fill one's heart' ¹² <i>no caberle a alguien el corazón en el pecho</i> Neagu, RAE 'not to fit one's heart in the chest', <i>tocarle a alguien en el corazón</i> Neagu, RAE 'to touch someone's heart'	<i>encher(-se) o coração</i> (de alegria) DEC 'to fill one's heart (with) joy'

¹² The idiom is not attested in the dictionaries, but we found many contexts in which it is used on the Internet. We included it due to the similarity with the Romanian and Portuguese idioms.

Table 5

Liver			
Romanian	French	Spanish	Portuguese
			<i>figado</i>
Ø	Ø	Ø	<i>desopilar o figado</i> DEC 'to relieve one's liver'

Table 6

Lungs			
Romanian	French	Spanish	Portuguese
		<i>pulmón</i>	
Ø	Ø	<i>reirse a pleno/todo pulmón</i> 'to laugh with full lung' (Bárdosi& González Rey)	Ø

The metaphor JOY IS INCREASE IN SIZE OF THE HEART is illustrated by the examples in (16) - (18) (for Romanian, French and Spanish).

- (16) Ro. *Când un nepoțel de patru ani îmi spune că mă iubește, **îmi crește inima** și simt că sunt, într-adevăr, miliardarul vieții mele.* (CoRoLa)
'When a four-year-old grandson tells me he loves me, my heart grows and I feel that I am indeed the billionaire of my life.'
- (17) Fr. *J'ai senti mon **coeur gonfler de joie**, se remplir de beauté.* (<https://context.reverso.net/>) 'I felt my heart swell with joy, fill with beauty.'
- (18) Sp. *Fernando Montoya, fundador de la Eskola y profesor de la misma, ha afirmado **que no le cabe el corazón en el pecho** de lo contento que está.* (eitb.eus/radio-euskadi, <https://bit.ly/3VVLLwn>) 'Fernando Montoya, founder of the Eskola and professor at this school, has stated that his heart does not fit in his chest, that is how happy he is.'

Another identified metaphor refers to JOY IS A (WARM) SUBSTANCE that fills an empty container, in this case, the heart. The same metaphor is used with other affective states like HAPPINESS, LOVE, GRATITUDE. To differentiate them, the speakers sometimes mention the affective state they refer to: ro. *de bucurie*, fr. *de joie*, sp. *de alegría* 'of joy'. In some contexts, JOY is implied by the meaning of the phrasemes.

- (19) Ro. *Mâine în zori voi părăsi acest frumos oraș, din care am văzut ceva, dar care mi-a încântat ochiul și **mi-a umplut inima de bucurie** și frumusețe.* (CoRoLa) 'Tomorrow at dawn I will leave this beautiful city, from which I saw something, but which delighted my eye and filled my heart with joy and beauty.'
- (20) Fr. *C'est un final à l'apogée exceptionnelle à **nous remplir le cœur et l'âme**.* (<https://context.reverso.net/>) 'It's a final at the exceptional peak that fills the heart and soul.'

(21) Sp. “**Me llena el corazón ver público en el estadio otra vez**”, dijo Djokovic (apnews.com, <https://bit.ly/3FuQkIO>) “‘It fills my heart to see the crowd in the stadium again’”, said Djokovic.’

(22) Pt. **O rosto de felicidade dele é de encher o coração de alegria!** (Reverso) ‘His face of happiness is to fill your heart with joy!’

In Romanian JOY is conceptualized in terms of SPACE, through the vibration of the heart (*zburda* ‘to jump around’, *tresări* ‘to flinch’) in (23), (24) or through the directionality of an action to the heart (*a merge* ‘to get to’) in (25).

(23) Ro. **Eu am colindat țara de aici la mare. Îți zburda inima când vedeai holdele.** (sanatateabuzoiana.ro, <https://goo.gl/29gM9u>) ‘I traveled the country from here to the sea. Your heart frisked/trembled when you saw the (corn)fields.’

(24) Ro. **Întinzându-mi grămăjoara de timbre, îmi tresări inima de bucurie.** (CoRoLa) ‘Showing my little pile of stamps, my heart trembled with joy’

(25) Ro. **Mesajul transmis i-a mers la inimă boxerului din Pechea** (libertatea.ro, <https://goo.gl/tjynYB>) ‘The transmitted message went to the heart of the boxer in Pechea.’

JOY is also conceptualized as a physical sensation of lightness correlated to the DECREASE IN WEIGHT OF THE HEART. This conceptualization, found in French and Portuguese, is exemplified in (26) and (27).

(26) Fr. **...ne croirai jamais qu'un révolutionnaire puisse d'un cœur léger ouvrir aux autres, les portes de la mort** (CNRTL) ‘I will never believe that a revolutionary can, with a light heart, open the gates of death to others.’

(27) Pt. **Se quiserem desopilar o fígado... rir até passar mal...** (Reverso) ‘If you wish to relieve/relax your liver... laugh until you feel sick...’

Examples of synesthetic metaphors, like JOY IS TOUCHING, are found in Romanian, French and Spanish, as shown in (28), (29), (30) and (31). In this case, the emotion is correlated with the pleasant sensation of touching one’s skin (ro. *a unge la inimă*, fr. *donner du baume au Cœur* ‘to put balm on one’s heart’ sp. *tocar el corazón* ‘to touch one’s heart’).

(28) Ro. **Manelele, fie de jale, fie de bucurie, l-au uns la inimă pe sărbătorit** (stirileprotv.ro, <https://goo.gl/JwxMi>) ‘The manel¹³, either of mourning or of joy, anointed the heart of the celebrated one.’

(29) Fr. **Il est important de trouver les petites choses qui nous mettrons du baume au cœur** ((<https://context.reverso.net/>)) ‘It is important to find the little things that will put balm on our hearts.’

(30) Fr. **Le succès du Peugeot 2008 met du baume au cœur d'un PSA en crise.** (latribune.fr, <https://goo.gl/s71DQT>) ‘The success of the Peugeot 2008 puts balm at the heart of a PSA in crisis.’

¹³ Songs of oriental origin very popular in Romania.

- (31) Sp. *Lo que logró la Selección de Costa Rica en el Mundial Brasil 2014 tocó el corazón de todo un país* (nacion.com, <https://bit.ly/3FsB7YH>) ‘What the Costa Rican National Team achieved in the 2014 Brazil World Cup touched the heart of an entire country.’

The Romanian *a râde inima în cineva*, the Fr. *s'en donner à cœur joie* and the Sp. *reírse a pleno/todo pulmón* are based on the conceptual metonymy THE INTERNAL ORGAN FOR THE SELF / THE PERSON THAT IS LAUGHING OR RECEIVES JOY. The meaning of these phrasemes is also triggered by the semantics of its components (Ro. *a râde*, Fr. *joie*, Sp. *reírse*).

- (32) Ro. *Ghiță e om harnic și sârguitor și așa se gândește mereu să adune ceva pentru casa lui. Are și el, ca tot omul, o slăbiciune: îi râde inima când își vede sporul.* (CoRoLa) ‘Ghiță is a hardworking and diligent man and so he is always thinking of gathering something for his house. He has a weakness, like all humans: his heart laughs when he sees his growth.’
- (33) Fr. *Les voies du Canal Saint-Martin sont également fermées pour que les vélos et les piétons puissent s'en donner à cœur joie.* (EXPRESS) ‘The lanes of the Canal Saint-Martin are also closed so that bicycles and pedestrians can give themselves joy to their heart / have a great time.’
- (34) Sp. *El sentimiento cuando escuchas la risa de tu hijo o cuando dice algo que es absolutamente extraño, reflexivo o sensible, no puede equipararse con reírse a todo pulmón, ver una película o pasar un rato muy agradable con un amigo.* (nytimes.com, <https://bit.ly/3F3NCbU>) ‘The feeling when you hear your child laugh or say something that is absolutely bizarre, thoughtful, or sensitive cannot be compared to laughing in full lungs, watching a movie, or having a great time with a friend.’

2.3. ANGER

Table 7 shows a list with phrasemes that verbalize ANGER.

Table 7

Bile			
Romanian <i>fiere</i>	French <i>bile</i>	Spanish <i>bilis</i>	Portuguese
<i>a fi plin de fiere</i> ‘to be full of bile’ Mărânduc <i>a-i plesni/crăpa fierea de necaz</i> Mărânduc, DEX ‘to burst one’s bile of sorrow’ <i>a vărsa fiere</i> Mărânduc ‘to spill one’s bile’	<i>avoir la bile enflammée</i> TLFi ‘to have an inflamed bile’ <i>faire jaunir qqn de bile</i> TLFi ‘to turn somebody yellow with bile’ <i>déverser/décharger/ épancher/ exhaler/ vomir sa bile (sur qqn)</i> TLFi ‘to pour out/unload/ vomit one’s bile (on somebody)’	<i>revolverse/alterarse la(s) bilis</i> RAE ‘to rise up/to agitate one’s bile’ <i>almacenar bilis</i> ¹⁴ Seco ‘to store bile’ <i>tragar/tragarse la bilis</i> ¹⁵ Seco ‘to swallow one’s bile’	Ø

¹⁴ According to Seco, *acumular rabia o irritación contenida* ‘to build up anger or contained irritation’.

¹⁵ According to Seco, *aguantarse la rabia o la irritación* ‘to hold back anger or irritation’.

- (35) Ro. *Preotul care-și folosește poziția pentru a-și întări autoritatea în fața comunității (...), este asemeni oricărui conducător: egoist, manipulator, uneori atroce, alteori **plin de fiere**...* (CoRoLa) ‘The priest who uses his position to strengthen his authority in front of the community (...), is like any leader: selfish, manipulative, sometimes atrocious, sometimes full of bile.’
- (36) Ro. *Nicio țară nu suportă la infinit alarme aeriene la fiecare 7 minute. **Iranului îi va crăpa fiera de ciudă**...* (ziare.com, <https://bit.ly/2Fh1puD>) ‘No country can endure air alarms every 7 minutes indefinitely. Iran’s bile will burst with anger/hatred...’
- (37) Fr. *Avoir la bile enflammée* signifie ainsi «être dans une grande colère. De même, dans *Le Misanthrope* de Molière, la réplique d’Alceste: «Ne m’offrent rien qu’objets à m’échauffer la bile» est une manière de dire «Ne m’offrent rien qu’objets à me mettre en colère». (lefigaro.fr, <https://bit.ly/3Fp79on>) ‘To have an inflamed bile thus means to be in great anger. Similarly, in Moliere’s *Le Misanthrope*, Alceste’s line Don’t offer me anything but objects to make my bile run hot is a way of saying Don’t offer me anything but objects to make me angry’.
- (38) Ro. *Femeia asta de peste 50 ani a participat la o cursă de 5,50 km pe care mulți dintre răutaciosii care **varsă fiera** în comentarii nu ar fi făcut față.* (evz.ro, <https://bit.ly/2Fg3kji>) ‘This woman in her 50s ran a 5.50km race that many of the naysayers spilling/spitting bile in the comments wouldn’t have been able to handle.’
- (39) Fr. *Et chacun de verser sa bile, d’apporter sa dose de venin. Je dois dire que d’une manière générale, les commentaires sur les blogs et sur l’Internet ont de quoi faire frémir.* (lemonde.fr, <https://bit.ly/3VwacAW>) ‘And everyone to pour their bile, to bring their dose of venom. I must say that in general, comments on blogs and on the Internet are enough to make people shudder.’
- (40) Sp. *Marichalar le sacó de sus casillas, le toco la fibra, **le revolvió la bilis** y ... no supo controlar.* (elmundo.es, <https://bit.ly/3P5z8ww>) ‘Marichalar got him out of his mind, touched his nerve, stirred his bile and... he couldn’t control.’
- (41) Sp. *A José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero **se le revolvió la bilis** ayer al ver la instantánea publicada en algunos medios.* (elperiodicodearagon.com, <https://bit.ly/3FuUW1A>) ‘José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero’s bile rised up yesterday when he saw the snapshot published in some media.’
- (42) Sp. *Ante la información que puso en manos de Uribe el consejero Restrepo, otro a quien las críticas de Pardo a la negociación con las AUC le **ha alterado la bilis** en más de una ocasión, se desató una de las ya conocidas pataletas presidenciales.* (semana.com, <https://goo.gl/3kHd9m>) ‘Given the information that counselor Restrepo put in Uribe’s hands – another whose bile was altered by Pardo’s

criticism of the negotiations with the AUC on more than one occasion – one of the well-known presidential tantrums was unleashed.’

The locus of anger is the bile in Romanian, French and Spanish. The bile is either visualized as a fluid that gets hot to the boiling point, Fr. *avoir la bile enflammée* in (37) or as a fluid that increases in volume (explosion of the gall bladder) and must come out, Ro. *a fi plin de fiere, a-i plesni / crăpa fierea de necaz, a vărsa fiere* in (35), (36), (38), Fr. *déverser sa bile (sur qqn)* in (39), and Sp. *revolverse la(s) bili(s)* in (40), (41). Such phrasemes reflect the ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor (Kovecsés 1986: 12–20) and the ANGER IS HEAT metaphor (Apresjan 1997: 180).

According to both authors, there are certain physical effects of anger that motivate this conceptualization. There is the ‘increase in body heat’ component that corresponds to the image of the boiling fluid and the ‘internal pressure’ component associated to a certain tension (in this case causing the container to crack or to overflow).

In terms of the image schemas (Clausner, Croft 1999: 15), these phrasemes correspond to CONTAINER – OUT image. Since this is a negative emotion, thus considered bad (for the mind), it is rejected, and it comes out of the container, or it makes the container crack (Ro. *a-i plesni / crăpa fierea*).

Sometimes, the locus of the emotion is the stomach, in Ro. *a nu mai încăpea rânza* în¹⁶ *cineva* ‘to no longer fit the stomach in one’s body’, *a i se umfla cuiva pipota*¹⁷ ‘to have one’s stomach swell’ in (40), the spleen, in Fr. *décharger sa rate* ‘to discharge one’s spleen’, the intestines, in Ro. *a fierbe mațele în cineva*, ‘to boil one’s guts/intestines.’ (41) or the lungs, in Ro. *a mânca bojocii*¹⁸ *cuiva*¹⁹ ‘to eat one’s lungs. The CONTAINER – OUT image applies to the idioms analyzed for Romanian and French. The image verbalized by the Romanian phraseme in (43) stands for the ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor.

- (43) Ro. *Pe mine mă doare nepăsarea asta resemnată de care majoritatea dați dovadă crezând că a semnala prostia, nedreptatea, situațiile ilogice sunt fie semne inutile că doar România e țara nimănui, fie e vorba de vreunul în care s-a umflat pipota, așa, dintr-o dată și are chef să facă pe deșteptul.* (CoRoLa) ‘I am pained by this resigned indifference that most of you show, believing that pointing out stupidity, injustice, illogical situations is either a useless sign that only Romania is no man's land, or it is a matter of someone in whom the spleen has swelled all of the sudden and feels like playing the smart one.’

¹⁶ Ro. *rânză* corresponds to the English term *gizzard* and it is used informally to refer to the human stomach.

¹⁷ Ro. *pipotă* also corresponds to the English term *gizzard*.

¹⁸ The term *bojoc-bojoci* is used to denominate the lungs of the animals.

¹⁹ According to Mărânduc, *a exaspera pe cineva* ‘to exasperate someone’.

- (44) Ro. *Ca tipologie, mai ales soția vorbește cu pereții. Aparent, soțul zace inert într-un colț, ca bușteanul defrișat ilegal (iar uneori abia șoptește-n barbă niște invective la adresa consoartei), deși îi fierb mațele pe dinăuntru.* (paginadepsihologie.ro, <https://bit.ly/3HdI5IE>) ‘As a typology, especially the wife talks to the walls. Apparently, the husband lies inert in a corner, like an illegally cleared log (and sometimes barely whispers in his beard some invectives against his wife), although his guts are boiling inside.’

3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

As many researchers pointed out, the body parts (in this case the internal organs) and the physical processes the human body is involved in serve as source domains for emotion metaphors. In this paper we tried to identify the metaphors used in verbalizing fear, joy and anger with idioms constructed around a visceral organ denomination. We also wanted to show some similarities and differences in the Romance languages that we studied.

According to our analysis, the locus of fear, joy and anger in the mentioned languages is often represented by the heart, the liver, the stomach, the intestines and the bile.

Fear is conceptualized as a decrease in size of the heart in Romanian, Spanish and Portuguese and of the stomach in Portuguese, or as a physical sensation of being cold, associated with the liver in Romanian and Spanish. In French, fear is correlated with the color white.

Joy is conceptualized in terms of growth (increase in size of the heart, in Romanian, French and Spanish) or as movement (in terms of space, in Romanian). It is also associated with light weight/relief of the liver in French and Portuguese or with the physical sensation of touching in French and Romanian. Except Portuguese, all the studied languages have idioms that include the term for the heart used to describe joy.

Anger is associated with the bile in Romanian, French and Spanish, with the intestines in Romanian and with the stomach in Romanian and French. It is conceptualized as a hot fluid in a container, the dominant image being that of the bile coming out of its container, the human body. It is also correlated to the increase in size of the stomach, in Romanian and French. Also, in Romanian, causing anger (annoyance) in somebody else is verbalized as eating someone's lungs. We found no idioms constructed with the denomination of a visceral organ that describe anger in Portuguese.

In conclusion, we observed that the studied Romance languages use similar images to express fear, joy and anger although, it is not always the same locus of the emotion that is conceptualized.

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EXPRESIILE SOMATICE ȘI MECANISME DE REDARE A STĂRILOR AFECTIVE (FRICĂ, BUCURIE, FURIE) ÎN ROMÂNĂ, FRANCEZĂ, SPANIOLĂ ȘI PORTUGHEZĂ

Rezumat

Articolul de față își propune o analiză sincronică comparativă a unităților frazeologice construite cu denumiri ale părților corpului omenesc folosite pentru a exprima emoții precum frica, bucuria și furia în română, franceză, spaniolă și portugheză. Pornind de la o clasificare a frazelor cu termenii rom. *ficat, fiere, inimă, mațe, stomac*, fr. *coeur, entrailles, estomac, foie, fiel, rate, tripes*, sp. *corazón, hiel, higado*, și pt. *coração, bucho/estômago, fel, fígado, pulmões/bofes, tripa(s)* (cf. modelului propus de Mel'čuk 1995, 2014) și luând în considerare faptul că frazele descriu imagini mentale care fac referire la diverse concepte, analiza își propune să descrie principalele metafore conceptuale și mecanisme cognitive care acționează în cadrul vocabularului afectiv și stau la baza asocierii domeniului-sursă reprezentat de părțile corpului omenesc cu domeniul-țintă al emoțiilor (Lakoff & Johnson 1999).