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Conceptual Structures of Vietnamese Emotions

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CONCEPTUAL STRUCTURES OF VIETNAMESE EMOTIONS

by

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation presents a comparative study of the metaphoric and metonymic systems underlying the conceptualizations of two emotions, anger and sadness, in Vietnamese, American English, and Chinese. The analytic and theoretical approach is based on previous studies by Lakoff and Kövecses (1987), Kövecses (1988), Barcelona (1986), King (1989) and Yu (1995). The research presented here on emotion concepts reveals cultural variation and potential universals in the conceptualization of emotions. These results support the “Cultural Embodied Prototype” view proposed by Kövecses (2004:14) which proposes that conceptualizations of human emotions is motivated by both physiological embodied experiences (physiological embodiment) and the particular system of social-cultural experiences, which Maalej (2004, 2007, 2008) calls cultural embodiment.

This study, based on analysis of anger and sadness expressions in Vietnamese, presents conceptual metaphors, metonymies, and cognitive models of the two emotions in

Vietnamese in order to examine the similarities and differences in the ways the two emotions are conceptualized in Vietnamese, Chinese, and American English.

Recent research on metaphor (e.g., Steen 1999; Cameron 1999; Semino et al., 2004; Pragglejaz Group 2007) have stressed the importance of rigorous metaphor identification procedures. This study offers a new metaphor identification procedure, based on the principles of the MIP (Pragglejaz Group 2007), which is designed to improve the identification of conceptual metaphors, especially those in discourse contexts.

I examine discourse contexts to focus, in particular, on the metaphors and metonymies of the emotions in the three languages in order to distinguish the physiological and cultural embodied experiences which motivate them. The results of this study show that the shared and possibly universal conceptualizations of emotions can be found at the generic level, while the cultural variations of emotion operate at the specific level. The study thus contributes to the research on universality versus cultural specificity of emotion conceptualizations by presenting linguistic evidence of the use of emotion language in Vietnamese.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1. Introduction

This study examines conceptual structures of two specific emotions in Vietnamese: anger and sadness. My aim is to demonstrate that the conceptual metaphors and metonymies of the two emotions are based on both universal human bodily experiences and also culturally specific experiences. The cognitive-cultural models that underline the organizations, expressions, and interpretation of language associated with these two emotions are structured by metaphors and metonymies.

I will provide here a comparative study of the metaphorical and metonymic systems underlying the conceptualizations of two emotions, anger and sadness, in Vietnamese, American English, and Chinese. The Vietnamese data is based on my own corpus; the American English analysis is drawn from Barcelona (1986) and the Chinese data is from King (1989), and Yu (1995).

The data for the analysis of Vietnamese metaphors and metonymies of anger and sadness were collected from nine Vietnamese e-news websites, which were determined to be the most popular ones in Vietnam. Because the discourse context should be seen as an essential level of conceptual structure in both constructing and identifying conceptual metaphors, the contexts in which the emotions were expressed were also coded, including setting, topics, participants, and medium.

In the analysis, I apply the notions of main meaning focus and central mapping(s)/simple metaphor(s) to identify complex metaphors on the basis of the analysis of contexts of sadness and anger emotions in Vietnamese. The methods of

metaphor identification and analysis provide a complete account of how the two emotions are conceptualized in Vietnamese.

The research presented here on emotion concepts reveals cultural variation and also potential universals in the conceptualization of emotions. One of this study's main goals is to contribute to the debate on universality versus culture-specificity of emotion conceptualizations by presenting linguistic evidence of the use of emotion language in Vietnamese. The analysis is based on Kövecses (2004:14) theory of the "Embodied Cultural Prototype." This theory suggests that emotion concepts are "both motivated by the human body *and* produced by a particular social and cultural environment" (Kövecses 2004:14). That is, certain aspects of human emotion concepts are universal, in the sense that the emotions are conceptualized the same way across cultures, because they are grounded in universal human experiences. At the same time, certain aspects of the emotion concepts are recognized culture-specific because they are socio-culturally constructed.

1.1. Research questions

This study addresses four research questions in particular:

- (1) What motivates the Vietnamese conceptualizations of the two emotions? That is, do these conceptualizations arise from universal patterns of embodiment based on physiological experience, culturally-based embodiment, a combination of these two sources, or some other source?
- (2) What can account for the similarities and differences in the metaphorical and metonymic conceptualizations of the two emotions in Vietnamese, English and Chinese?

- (3) Are there any differences in the way anger and sadness emotions are conceptualized in Vietnamese, Chinese, and English in terms of cognitive cultural models of the two emotions?
- (4) How do metaphors transfer between cultures, and in particular, how have metaphors of emotions been borrowed into Vietnamese from Chinese and Western cultures?

These questions will be addressed by providing a close analysis of Vietnamese discourse to examine conceptual metaphors, metonymies and cultural models of anger and sadness emotions. These conceptual metaphors, metonymies and cultural models will be examined to determine the structures and contents of the two emotions concepts, and their universality and culture-specificity, and to describe how they represent local vs. borrowed conceptualizations. The characterization of these metaphors and metonymies will be based on an analysis of anger and sadness expressions in Vietnamese in addition to historical and anthropological studies of the Vietnamese culture.

1.2. Overview of the chapter

This chapter introduces the major theoretical issues and key literature that motivates this dissertation research and offers research questions for the investigation in the dissertation. This chapter is organized as follows. Section 1.3 introduces the study of emotion concepts and distinguishes between different approaches to emotion concepts. Section 1.4 and 1.5 briefly introduce conceptual metaphor and metonymy theories which provide the theoretical basis for study of emotion concepts (as well as other abstract concepts). Section 1.6 discusses the roles of cultural models in exploring the knowledge

structures of such emotion concepts and showing how such concepts are understood. Section 1.7 presents the organization of this study.

1.3. Studies of emotion concepts

In daily life, emotions are understood as strong feelings (such as fear, love, sorrow, or shame) and are often accompanied by physical reactions (blushing or trembling) (Merriam-Webster's Dictionary, 2017). However, various theories of emotions describe what emotions are and how they function, and these theories are much more complex than those of the simple lay view. In philosophy, emotions are viewed as subjective and irrational in the sense that they merely reflect what is in the mind of experiencers (Johnson 1995). For example, we love someone because we find the person meets our own expectation of being lovable. There may be no reason for this feeling, except that we just simply listen to our own heart. Emotions are also viewed as passive but also intentional (Johnson 1995). This is because we cannot choose what, when and how to feel and the occurrence of emotions must be about something. For example, "*We are proud of our achievement*", "*He is happy to have found her*", and "*She is grieved over losing a good friend*".

Contemporary theories of emotions assert that emotions have their conceptual structures constructed from biological and psychological experiences of human body as well as cultural experiences (Hoschild 1979; Harré 1980; Averill 1980; Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Wierzbicka 1986, 1999; Lakoff 1987; Kövecses 1986, 2000, and others). For example, we notice that someone was deeply in love by bodily or behavioral signs as shown in the following examples "*She blushed when she saw him*" and "*Her heart was*

on fire". Then she may not have an accurate perception of her situation as shown by "*She was blinded by love*" (examples from Kövecses 1986).

There is the question of how emotion is expressed. Kövecses (2004: 6-14) listed different views of emotion concepts, such as: the label view, the core meaning view, the dimensional view, the implicational view, the prototype view, and the social constructionist view.

The label view proposes that emotion language is just an association between a label (the words that refer to the emotions) and emotional phenomenon (physiological processes and behaviors).

The core meaning view regards that emotion language carries both significant and insignificant properties. The significant properties should be the core (denotative, conceptual, cognitive, etc.) meanings of words, and the insignificant properties should be the peripheral (connotative, residual, etc.) meanings of words. The core meaning can be described in terms of the smallest possible numbers of components, which Wierzbicka (1972, 1995) calls universal semantic primitives. For example, the English emotion word anger is defined as: "X feels as one does when one thinks that someone has done something bad and when one wants to cause this person to do something he doesn't want to do" (Wierzbicka 1972:62, cited in Kövecses 2004:7). In this definition, a number of universal semantic primitives such as: THINK, DESIRE, WANT, BAD, GOOD, CAUSE, DO, etc. are used to characterize the anger emotion.

Another representative of this core meaning view is Davitz (1969: 110-114) who identifies twelve meaning features or meaning components that build up definitions of the emotion concepts. For example, he defines the English word anger as being composed of

HYPERACTIVATION, MOVING AGAINST, TENSION, and INADEQUACY. Davitz (1969) uses twelve semantic features which are scored to show the comparative degree emotional involvement. Each of the twelve semantic features is distinguished by a score that shows the degree the emphasized feature in the definition. For example, in the definition of the anger emotion above, the score of *hyperactivation* is 53.0, of *moving against* is 46.0, of *tension* is 19.0, and of *inadequacy* is 16.8 (Davitz 1969: 116-117). Compared to the other views presented in the previous paragraphs, this view can bring a better insight into the structures of the emotion concepts. We can understand more about the anger concept from the examination of clusters of emotion features: hyperactivation, moving against, tension, inadequacy and making comparisons to the label view which emotion is an association between a label (the words refer to the emotions) and emotional phenomenon (physiological processes and behaviors).

The dimensional view posits that the meaning of emotion words can be represented by “a fixed set of dimensions of meaning rather than by a selection of a fixed set of properties or features” (Kövecses 2004:8). For example, Smith and Ellsworth (1985) show that 15 emotions (happiness, sadness, anger, fear, disgust, surprise, challenge, boredom, hope, interest, contempt, frustration, pride, shame, and guilt) can be characterized and differentiated in terms of cognitive appraisal dimensions: pleasantness, anticipated effort, certainty, attentional activity, self-other responsibility/control and situational control. They suggest that the experience of emotions is a result of the appraisal of one’s circumstances along these dimensions and these dimensions can be systematically used to characterize the emotions. For instance, anger is found associated with the appraisal of an unpleasant situation caused by another person; sadness was

associated with the appraisal of an unpleasant experience controlled by circumstances (p.828).

Solomon (1976, cited in Kövecses 2004:8) proposed thirteen dimensions that are sufficient to characterize emotions. These include DIRECTION, SCOPE/FOCUS, OBJECT, CRITERIA, STATUS, EVALUATIONS, RESPONSIBILITY, INTERSUBJECTIVITY, DISTANCE, METHODOLOGY, DESIRE, POWER, and STRATEGY.

However, Frijda et al. (1986:184) pointed out the uses of all these dimensions in characterizing emotions do not explain the content of emotion concepts due to the generality of the dimensions. Moreover, this approach also creates a gap between emotion meanings defined in terms of some “abstract constructs” and the actual emotional experiences occur in particular situations (de Rivera, cited in Kövecses 2004:9). For example, “anger” was characterized by strong appraisals of other agency and an unpleasant situation (Smith and Ellsworth 1985) while in daily life speech certain understandings of anger such as, explosion, destruction, revenge, etc. are not captured in the dimension view.

The implicational view proposes that emotion language is based on connotative meaning; what is more important in emotion meaning is its implication, not the core. Shweder (1991), the major supporter of this view, states that “To study what something means is to study what it entails, implies or suggests to those who understand it”. For example, the sentence “*I love my ‘dog’*” is to entail that I love an animal (example in p.244). Shweder indicates that the implicational meanings of emotions are culturally dependent. Therefore, meanings of emotion language vary in different cultures.

Different from the label view, the core meaning view, the dimensional view, the implicational view described above, the prototype view, and the social constructionist view propose that emotion concepts are best characterized by scripts, scenarios, prototypical cultural models or cognitive models which are made up of a sequence of stages of events that occur in a prototypical situation of the emotion (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987, Wierzbicka 1990, 1992, Kövecses 1986, 1990, 2004, Fehr and Russell 1984, Lutz 1988). Kövecses discussed major versions of these views: the prototype view (Kövecses and Palmer 1999), the social constructionist view (Lutz 1988), and the embodied cultural prototype view (Kövecses 2004).

The prototype view proposes that emotion scripts are motivated by human universal properties and functions in the relation to the environment. Therefore, emotion concepts that are grounded on universal human experiences (for example, an occurrence of anger associated with a rise in temperature in the body, or of fear associated with a decrease in body temperature) are viewed as universal or to have a universal meaning.

This view claims that metaphor and metonymy play a role in understanding and constructing emotions. In particular, the metaphor and metonymy associated with the emotion “contribute actively to the structure and content of the prototypical cultural models” (Kövecses 2004:199). For example, the cultural model of the anger emotion in American English is described as a five stage scenario including (1) offending event (cause of anger), (2) anger exists, (3) attempt at controlling anger, (4) loss of control over anger, (5) retribution (p. 211). This model is constructed by a number of metaphors and metonymies of the anger emotion such as: **THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS PHYSICAL**

ANNOYANCE, ANGER IS FIRE, ANGER IS DANGEROUS ANIMAL, ANGER CAN BE LET OUT UNDER CONTROL, etc. (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987:202-210).

Importantly, the authors suggest that one emotion may have more than one prototypical model. Kövecses (1986, 1988, 1990) suggests that many emotions, such as love, fear, and happiness, may have several prototypical models associated with them (each of them may have multiple prototypes). That is, “several members can acquire the status of “best example” within an emotion category”. This is because “given a category with several members, one member can be typical, another can be salient, a third can be ideal, and so on” (Kövecses 2004:13). Identifying prototypical and ideal models of the emotion concept presents more complex structures of the emotion concepts than to reveal the whole conceptual contents of the emotions.

However, others in the prototype view do not think that metaphorical and metonymical understanding play a role. They combine the prototype approach with some other view of emotional meaning. For instance, Wierzbicka (1990) combines the prototype approach with the core meaning approach to establish universal definitions of emotion concepts. She claims that prototypical scenarios of emotions composed of universal semantic primitives, which are supposed to be culture-independent, can be best to establish universal definitions of emotion concepts. For example, the definition of the English word anger: “X feels as one does when one thinks that someone has done something bad and when one wants to cause this person to do something he doesn’t want to do” (Wierzbicka 1972:62, cited in Kövecses 2004:7) is an example of how emotions are best understood in terms of scripts or scenarios which are composed of universal semantic primitives. The universal semantic primitives in this definition THINK,

DESIRE, WANT, BAD, GOOD, CAUSE, DO, etc. are basic terms which are culture-independent and cannot be defined or reduced further (see more in Wierzbicka 1999:28-29).

The social-constructionists disagree with the prototype view above that the conceptualizations of emotions can be the same across languages. They argue that emotion concepts are social-cultural constructs whose properties depend on particular aspects of a given culture (Amron-Jones 1986; Harré 1986; Lutz 1988). In a study of Ifaluk, Lutz (1987:292) pointed out the social nature of emotion. She observed that the Ifaluk define, explain, and understand emotions primarily by reference to the events or situation in which they occur. Lutz defines the Ifaluk concept *song* (which roughly corresponds to the concept of anger in American English) as follows:

(1) There is a rule or value violation, (2) It is pointed out by someone, (3) This person simultaneously condemns the acts, (4) The perpetrator reacts in fear to that anger, (5) The perpetrator amends his or her ways (Lutz 1988:157).

Lutz claims that this model of *song* (anger), as other emotions, is socio-culturally constructed. Its properties are embedded in particular aspects of the Ifaluk culture and society. In other words, the way Ifaluk speakers understand the *song* emotion is structured by the cultural model of the language.

According to this view emotional meaning arises in particular contexts and is culturally constructed. It means that this approach seems to support relativism and to deny universality of emotions. However, results of a series of studies in different fields such as psychology, and linguistics require a comprehensive review of the nature of emotion concepts. Studies by Ekman and his associates (1972, 1992) have established the

universality and cross-cultural variation in facial expressions of emotion. Kövecses (1986, 1990, 2000), Lakoff (1987, 1993), King (1989), Yu (1995, 1998), Maalej (2004, 2008), Matsuki (1995) and others prove that our emotion concepts are motivated by the human body, rather than being an arbitrarily social, cultural product. Since the human body has universal properties and functions which are motivations of our emotion concepts and language, it proves the universality of our emotion concepts even if we have different cultural background.

Kövecses proposed the “Embodied cultural prototype” view which synthesizes the prototype view and the social constructionist view. According to the “Embodied cultural prototype” view, emotion concepts “are both motivated by human body and produced by a particular social and cultural environment” (Kövecses 2004:14). That is, conceptualizations of emotions across cultures are based on both human embodied experiences and social-cultural constructions of such experiences. In particular, conceptualizations of emotion concepts are grounded in universal bodily experiences, at the same time different cultures assign cultural properties to specific elaborations of such experiences. For example, in English, the metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor that partly constitutes the anger emotion is based on the metaphor ANGER IS HEAT which is grounded in the physiological effects of anger (an increased body heat) and the metaphor BODY IS A CONTAINER OF EMOTION which is found in a number of languages such as Japanese, Chinese, Hungarian (for more see Kövecses 2000). There can be differences in the understanding of the container of anger concept in various languages. For instance, in English the body is seen as a container of anger while in Japanese, in addition to the body as a whole, the stomach/bowels area

(called *hara* in Japanese) is viewed as the principle container for the emotion. This example shows the role of human body and socio-cultural play in structuring the anger concept.

The next section presents the conceptual metaphor and metonymy theories which hold that metaphor and metonymy are the conceptual tools used to characterize abstract concepts. It also shows how metaphor and metonymy work in practice and why they are useful for characterizing abstract concepts including emotion concepts.

1.4. Conceptual metaphor theory

Conceptual metaphor theory, initiated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and elaborated in Lakoff (1993), treats metaphor as a matter of thought and cognition, not “just a matter of language” (Lakoff 1993:208). The conceptual metaphor theory holds that conceptual metaphors are manifested in metaphorical expressions of language. Hence, metaphorical expressions/ linguistic expressions (a word, phrase, or sentence) can lead to underlying conceptual metaphors which then allow us to understand the human conceptual system. It is because the metaphorical expressions are the surface realizations of the conceptual metaphors (that is, cross domain mappings) (Lakoff 1993).

Conceptual metaphor is defined as a set of correspondences between a source domain and a target domain. The source domain is the conceptual domain in which metaphorical expressions are drawn. The source domain is associated with tangible and physical experiences therefore it is typically concrete. The target domain is associated with abstract experiences such as emotions, thoughts, life, ideas, arguments etc. therefore it is more abstract than the source domain. The target domain is structured and

understood in terms of the source domain (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1993).

Consider the following examples referring to love:

- We're *at a crossroads*.
- We'll just have to *go our separate ways*.
- We can't *turn back* now.
- I don't think this relationship is *going anywhere*.
- *Where* are we?
- We're *stuck*.
- It's been a *long, bumpy road*. (examples from Kövecses 2000:6)

These examples show that we understand LOVE in terms of JOURNEY (*at a crossroads, go our separate ways, turn back, going anywhere* etc.). Understanding LOVE as JOURNEY allows us to map our experiences (*a crossroads, go our separate ways, turn back, going anywhere* etc.) which structure the concept JOURNEY onto the concept LOVE. The following mappings of the experiential source domain JOURNEY to the abstract target domain LOVE such as: the lovers are travelers on a journey together with their sharing life goals seen as a destination to be reached; the lovers need to decide what to do to get there; the journey is not easy; there are obstacles which may keep them from going to the destination, or make them depart, etc. (Lakoff 1993). These mappings allow us to make sense of the love emotion, to understand different stages of love, and to identify what to do to maintain the love. These mappings create the metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY¹. These systems of conceptual mappings show that the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY is systematically instantiated in a large number of metaphorical expressions of love (Lakoff 1993).

¹ The capital letters indicate concepts not words or linguistic expressions.

According to the conceptual metaphor theory, conceptual metaphors arise from both physical and cultural experiences. For example, by the metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY we have seen above emerge from the physical experiences (*go our separate ways, turn back, going anywhere*). These correspondences of the physical experiences lead to mappings which go beyond the physical experiences, so we can say “I don’t think this relationship is *going anywhere*.” The metaphor ANGER IS EXCESS *QI* IN THE BODY in Chinese (King 1989; Yu 1995, cited in Kövecses 2004:151) is an example of metaphor formed by cultural experiences. *Qi* is the Chinese cultural specific concept which is conceptualized as fluid or gas that flows through the body. Because *qi* is conceptualized as gas or fluid, it can increase and produce an excess. The correspondences between the body as a container and the cultural concept *qi* construct the metaphor ANGER IS EXCESS *QI* IN THE BODY in Chinese.

The conceptual metaphor theory claims that metaphorical conceptualizations which are produced from interpretations of daily and cultural experiences can provide and be a part of the cognitive structure for interpreting new experiences (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987). For example, the metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY is said to be a part of the cognitive structure in the mind of the speakers of the language. As we have seen, the conceptual metaphor maps the concrete domain of journey onto the abstract domain of love. The JOURNEY domain later can be used to interpret new experiential situations. For example, O’Connell (The Choice 2013) describes the college process by an expression “*College: Its’ About the Journey, Not the Destination*”. During college, students will have to go through their college years by completing the courses they are required to take, by joining activities to lengthen their resumes and by looking

for perfect job they can land after graduation. The college process suggests that the concept of college is conceptualized as a journey. We can lay out the correspondences between the source domain (journey) and the target domain (college) as follows: The travelers are the students. Learning is the vehicle. The goal of the students is the destination on the journey. Difficulties in college are obstacles to travel. And such experiences construct the metaphor COLLEGE IS A JOURNEY. The conceptualization of college here shows how the metaphor governs our reasoning and behaviors based on that reasoning.

The conceptual metaphor theory maintains that metaphor is a cognitive process and it is pervasive in people's everyday life (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Kövecses (2005) study, based on evidence from a number of studies of metaphors in a large number of languages, clarifies this feature of metaphor. He states that metaphor is "the cognitive processes that human beings use are *universal*, but their *applications are not*" (p. 293, italics in original). Therefore, comparing conceptual metaphors of different languages can reveal what aspects of human experiences, cognition and language universal and culture-specific. For example, the metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, which characterizes anger as a hot fluid in a container, is found in different languages, such as English, Hungarian, Japanese, and Chinese with minor differences. In English, anger is conceptualized as a hot fluid in a container (corresponding to the human body). In Hungarian, in addition to the whole body, the head is conceptualized as a container which can hold the hot fluid. In Japanese, besides the body, the stomach/bowels area (*hara* in Japanese) is seen as the major container for the hot fluid that corresponds to anger. Chinese shows another version of the container metaphor for the anger emotion

(*nu* in Chinese). The Chinese metaphor of anger bases on the *qi* concept which is grounded in ancient Chinese philosophy and medicine. *Qi* is also fluid or gas that flows through the body and can increase and produce an excess. Especially, *qi* may be present in different places of the body such as the breast, heart, stomach and spleen. Moreover, when anger *qi* is a fluid it is not hot, and this is different from English, Hungarian, and Japanese in which anger is a hot fluid. Therefore, when the fluid *qi* is built up, it produces pressure on the body or in specific body organs, such as the liver, gall-bladder (Kövecses 2000).

The conceptual metaphor theory has demonstrated that conceptual metaphors capture, represent, and explain the mappings and conceptualizations of abstract concepts. That is, conceptual metaphor reflects the way people think, reason, and imagine. Comparing conceptual metaphors of various languages will lead to the discovery of universal and culture-specific aspects of human language and cognition.

1.5. Conceptual metonymy theory

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) view metonymy as a cognitive process that plays an important role in human thought and language. They define metonymy as the use of one entity to refer to another. This definition shows that metonymy has a referential function, but like metaphor, it also provides understanding.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) provide a large number of examples to show that the ordinary use of language is systematic structured by metonymic thoughts. Consider the following linguistic expressions:

- We don't hire *longhairs*.
- He's got *a Picasso* in his den.

- The *sax* has flu today.
- *Watergate* changed our politics.

These linguistic expressions are metonymic expressions which are realizations of the following conceptual metonymies: THE PART FOR THE WHOLE, PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT, OBJECT USED FOR USER, THE PLACE FOR THE EVENT, etc. (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:38-39).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980:39) point out that, like metaphoric concepts, metonymic concepts are grounded in our experience which shapes the basis for understanding metonymic expressions. As such, people have no difficulties understanding the metonymic expressions above. For example, when we think or speak of *a Picasso* in the sentence “He’s got *a Picasso* in his den”, we do not just think of the work of art itself. We think of it in association with the artist, for instance, his conception of art, his technique, his role in art history, etc. (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Thus, the conceptual metonymy PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT is a part of our everyday way of thinking about products. This is evidence for Radden and Kövecses (1999) claim that metonymy is conceptual in nature and does not show up in language. Metonymic expressions are the realizations of the underlying conceptual metonymy.

There are close links between metaphor and metonymy. They are both cognitive phenomena and cognitive processes that are grounded in experiences and structure our thoughts and actions. The difference between metaphor and metonymy lies in the fact that metaphor involves cross-domain mappings, and metonymy involves a mapping within a single domain (Radden and Kövecses 1999; Kövecses 2004; Evans 2007). That is, the relation between the two domains in metaphor and metonymy is quite different.

While metaphor is the conceptual relation “A is understood in terms of B” (A is B), metonymy is the conceptual relation “A stands for B”. Consider the metaphor ANGER IS A HEAT OF FLUID IN A CONTAINER (Kövecses 1990:56), the anger emotion is understood in terms of “heat of a fluid in a container” while in the metonymy BODY HEAT STANDS FOR ANGER (Kövecses 1990:52), BODY HEAT stands for the anger emotion. That is, the presence of anger is signaled by the presence of “body heat”, in other word, “body heat” indicates the presence of anger.

The referential function of metonymy as Lakoff and Johnson (1980) indicate involves using expressions to pinpoint entities to talk about them. That is, certain aspect of one entity which is seen as outstanding and most important in a given situation. The aspect becomes a salient reference point which allows us to understand the other entity. The following examples: *She’s just a **pretty face***, *We don’t hire **longhairs***, *Napoleon lost at Waterloo*, *The **White House** isn’t saying anything* (examples from Lakoff and Johnson 1980:38-39) show that the salient point of a person or context is selected to talk about them. For example, in the expression *She’s just a **pretty face***, the word *face* substitutes for *person*, so the sentence can be understood as *She is a just pretty person*. However this sentence does not mean that she is pretty all over, but it suggests that *pretty face*, not intellect, character or other values, is all she has. Thus, *pretty face* is a salient point which allows us to understand the person in this situation (Radden and Kövecses 1999).

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), conceptual metonymies, like conceptual metaphors, are grounded in our experience range from physical experiences to cultural experiences. For example, the metonymy DROP IN BODY TEMPERATURE STANDS FOR FEAR describes the fear emotion based on our physical experiences: *getting **cold***

feet, the man broke out in cold sweat as a gun was to put to his head (examples from Kövecses 1990:71-72). To describe the fear concept, besides using common physiological effects, Chinese uses the following metonymies: LOSS OF SOUL (to be so scared that one loses one's soul), RUPTURE OF BODY ORGANS (*The heart and gall both split*) (examples from King 1989:115-117)². The metonymic examples in Chinese show that loss of soul, and split in internal organs are salient reference points which allow Chinese speakers to understand the fear concept. And the metonymies LOSS OF SOUL and RUPTURE OF BODY ORGANS are grounded in the Chinese medical practice and belief system (King 1989).

As such, comparing metonymic conceptualizations of abstract concepts in various languages would present the universal and culture-specific aspects of human experiences, cognition, and language. Although human experiences can be subjective but there are basic experiences, for instance, experiences of physiological body are found similar across languages. It is because all humans have the same body structure which would lead to similar bodily experiences (Kövecses 2004). For example, the metonymy BODY HEAT STANDS FOR ANGER found in different languages (Kövecses 2000, 2004) serves as evidence for a universal aspect of the anger emotion. The metonymies LOSS OF SOUL and RUPTURES OF BODY ORGANS (King 1989) are found in Chinese serve as evidence for culture-specific aspect of the fear emotion.

Metaphor and metonymy can interact to create the phenomenon which is called metaphonymy (Goossens 1995). Metaphonymy is a process showing metaphor derives from metonymy and metonymy within metaphor (Goossens 1995; Evans 2007). For

² Due to space limitation, I only cite the English translation of King's examples. The example in Chinese and its interlinear gloss are omitted.

example, the metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER has a metonymic motivation which consists of heat, pressure and agitation (Lakoff 1987:282-383). That is, the metaphor derives from the metonymy BODY HEAT STANDS FOR ANGER.

Metonymy within metaphor is recognized when a metonymic word is included in a metaphorical expression. For example, the idiom *to bite one's tongue* means to struggle not to say something that you really want to say (The Free Dictionary 2003, [http://idioms.thefreedictionary.com/bite+\(one%27s\)+tongue](http://idioms.thefreedictionary.com/bite+(one%27s)+tongue)). This idiom is an instantiation of the metaphor REFRAINING FROM SPEAKING IS TO PUT A FORCE (hold, bite) ON THE TONGUE in which tongue refers to a person's ability to speak. That is, within this metaphor there is the metonymy TONGUE STANDS FOR ABILITY TO SPEAK in which TONGUE is the body part that functions as the vehicle for the concept ABILITY TO SPEAK which contributes to the source domain TO PUT A FORCE ON THE TONGUE of the metaphor REFRAINING FROM SPEAKING IS TO PUT A FORCE (hold, bite) ON THE TONGUE.

This study focuses on conceptual metaphors and metonymies of emotions because they constitute the cultural models of the emotions as the studies of Lakoff (1987), Lakoff and Kövecses (1987), and Kövecses (1986, 1990) have shown. Therefore, the interaction between metaphors and metonymies of the emotions in Vietnamese is left for later research. The next section presents an overview of cultural models which govern the way people talk and think about abstract concepts including emotion concepts.

1.6. Cultural models

The present study examines the cultural models of the two emotions, anger and sadness in Vietnamese. Examining the cultural models of these two emotions will reveal

how Vietnamese people talk and think about the two emotions. Folk understandings have been called folk models, cultural models, idealized cognitive models, or prototypical cognitive models by different authors (Holland and Quinn 1987; Lakoff 1987; Kövecses 2004:114, 130, and others). Sharifian et al. (2008:12) argues that a cultural model “provides the members of a cultural group with “templates” for understanding certain aspects of their lives”. Quinn and Holland (1987:4) defines cultural model as “presupposed, taken-for-granted models of the world that are widely shared (although not necessarily to the exclusion of other, alternative models) by the member of a society and that play an enormous role in their understanding of that world and their behavior in it”. According to Kövecses (2014:114), folk understanding can be thought of as knowledge structures in our conceptual system. Therefore, folk models or cultural models can be thought of as “shared, structured knowledge” (Kövecses 2004:114) which “organize experience, create expectations, motivate behavior, and provide a framework for people to remember, describe and reconstruct events” (Balaban 1999:127).

Although folk models or cultural models would lead to a misunderstanding that folk/cultural models are in opposition to scientific or expert theories, Kövecses (2004) discusses the relationship between folk/cultural model and expert theories of emotions. He reasons that “whether and how the people who create our expert theories of emotion can free themselves from the folk theories that they obviously share with other members of their culture (in their “role” as lay people)” (p.114). He indicates the proved validity and usefulness of cultural models which are time-tested so cultural models need to be incorporated into current scientific theories of human emotions as a way of showing the role of cultural models in our understanding and structuring emotions. Psychologist

Averill (1974) has shown that his theories of emotions are based on the metaphors of emotions which structure the cognitive models of emotions (cited in King 1989:6).

According to Kövecses (2004), there are three kinds of relationship between folk theories and expert theories. First, expert theories of emotions are based on the folk models of emotions. For example, psychoanalytic theories of emotions view emotion as a form of agitation, that is, bodily disturbance. Second, the existence of particular metaphors in the folk models motivates the corresponding scientific theories. For instance, for the metaphor EMOTIONAL EFFECT IS PHYSICAL CONTACT, either laymen or experts can understand the existence of the emotion as a form of sensation. Third, the expert theory gives rise to a pervasive metaphor in the ordinary conceptual system. For example, the metaphor LOVE IS A UNITY OF TWO COMPLEMENTARY PARTS, which is the most common metaphor for love, derives from an expert theory proposed by Plato. Today, the metaphor became a part of the way we think and talk about love and we do not think of it as an expert theory anymore (Kövecses 2004:136).

The relationship between folk models and expert theories of emotions provides part of the theoretical background to the present study. Scientific theories of emotions look for expressive expressions and behaviors which can be identified or calculated objectively. For example, the anger emotion occurs and it is accompanied by a number of physiological responses such as an increased breathing rate, heart rate, body temperature, and physical agitation. Such results of scientific study may lead to an idea that these physical responses are culturally independent and can be the same across languages. However, once culture becomes involved in studies of anthropology, sociology and linguistics, there is a request to look at physiological responses corresponding to the

emotions to determine whether such physiological responses can present a complete understanding of the emotions. For example, in Chinese, the existence of anger causes physical pain and damage in internal organs such as the spleen, liver and heart (Yu 2002:360). In the Utku culture, people do not show any sign of anger because for them emotional control is one of the most important traits and among the “highest valued” of the culture (Briggs 1971:4). These two examples show cultural knowledge, experiences, and behaviors considered to make up culture play a role in structuring the way people talk and think about emotions. Therefore emotions should be considered as a natural and cultural phenomenon.

As we have seen, cultural models can be thought of as ways of understanding and accounting for human emotions. The models can be seen as a representation of a simplified or idealized world that is formed by everyday emotional experiences of the speakers of a given culture and shapes “what people believe, how they act, and how they speak about the world and their own experiences” (Gibbs 1999:154). For example, in English the cultural model of the heart sees the heart as the seat of emotions (Niemeier 2008:350). It is expressed by a number of expressions such as *That kindled love in his heart* and *His heart pounded with fear* (examples from Kövecses 1990:46, 70). Besides seeing the heart as the seat of emotion, the Chinese cultural model of the heart views the heart as the center of thoughts and ideas. This explains for the heart expressions in Chinese like: *I can't read his mind* (lit. his heart-thought) and *I can't figure out what's on his mind* (lit. what's his heart-thought) (Yu 2008:145).

Comparing cultural models of emotions across languages will reveal cross-cultural similarities and differences in the cultural models the emotions. For example,

Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) construct the cognitive, cultural model for anger in English including five stages: Stage 1: Offending event, Stage 2: Anger, Stage 3: Attempt at control, Stage 4: Loss of control, and Stage 5: Act of retribution. Kövecses (2004:144) characterizes the Hungarian anger emotion and finds that native speakers of Hungarian seem to have the same cultural model of anger (*düh*) with the English speakers. In a characterization of Japanese anger, Matsuki (1995:145) finds that Japanese speakers share the same cultural model of anger with the English speakers, however, “The scenario applies to Japanese anger, although Stage 3 is more elaborate than in English”.

The similarities and differences obtained by comparing cultural models of emotions will offer important insights into the nature of emotion concepts across languages. The similarities show that emotion concepts in different cultures share a basic structure which is “the product of human conceptualization that is profoundly influenced by certain universal properties of the human body” (Kövecses 2004:146). The differences show to what extent certain aspect of the emotion concept can be viewed different or just a variant from the others (see more in Kövecses 2004).

1.7. Organization of this study

This dissertation develops as follows. Chapter 2 reviews the embodiment hypothesis and discusses types of embodiment as motivations for the conceptualizations of emotions. Chapter 3 presents the research methodology and analysis employed in this study. Chapter 4 examines ANGER and chapter 5 examines SADNESS. Chapter 6 discusses cultural bases of the container metaphors in Vietnamese. Finally, chapter 7 summarizes the results obtained in this study and their implications for the theory of embodied

cognition and for studies on Vietnamese emotions. Limitations of this study and recommendation for future research are also identified.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the theoretical foundation of the embodiment hypothesis, discusses the embodiment of emotions, and describes the issue of universality and culture variations in emotion conceptualizations due to the embodied nature of metaphors and metonymies. This chapter is divided into six sections. Section 2.2 is an overview of the embodiment hypothesis which clearly states that the human body plays an important role in the emergence of meaning (Lakoff 1987, Johnson 1987, Lakoff and Johnson 1999, Gibbs 2006). Following is a review of two types of embodiment: physiological embodied experiences (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1987) which Maalej (2004, 2007) names physiological embodiment and cultural embodiment (Sinha and Jensen de López 2000, Maalej 2004, 2008). Section 2.3 presents the “Embodied cultural prototype” view proposed by Kövecses (2004:14) which suggests that emotion concepts are “both motivated by the human body *and* produced by a particular social and cultural environment”. Section 2.4 reviews the embodiment of emotions, that is, how emotions are embodied, namely how emotions are grounded in human physiological and culturally bodily experiences. Section 2.5 describes universality and cultural variations in emotion conceptualizations due to the embodied nature of conceptual metaphors and metonymies. Finally, section 2.6 ends with a summary and conclusions of this chapter.

2.2. Embodiment theory

This section presents the theoretical foundation of the embodiment theory (Johnson 1987, Lakoff and Johnson 1999) which views human bodily experiences as

constituting the grounding of human conceptualizations. Two types of embodiment, physiological embodiment (Lakoff 1987) and cultural embodiment (Sinha and Jensen de López 2000, Maalej 2004, 2008) will be discussed in turn.

2.2.1. Embodiment theory

The embodiment theory is central in cognitive linguistics stating that humans tend to use their bodies and everyday experiences to make sense of, to reason about and to act within the world they live in. That is, the human mind and cognition or meaning emerge from process of something becoming meaningful. Therefore, meaning is embodied, i.e., not arbitrary; our concepts are constructed from the interaction of the body and the external world (Johnson 1987:13). As such, the human body is viewed as the most important source for us to make sense of the world. More clearly, bodily experiences determine the structure and provide the grounding of our conceptual system (Johnson 1987, Lakoff and Johnson 1999).

How human cognition is embodied is explained in more detailed in Lakoff and Johnson (1999). Reason “arises from the nature of our brains, bodies, and bodily experience” and is “shaped crucially by the peculiarities of our human bodies, by the remarkable details of the neural structure of our brains, and the specifics of our everyday functioning in the world” (p. 4). This view has been supported by evidence across languages and cultures. Heine et al. (1991, 1997) finds that in African and Oceanic languages, terms for human body parts serve as the important source for the basic spatial concepts such as “up”, “down”, “front”, “back” and “in”. For instance, the word *head* accounts for 87% of all African and 61% of all Oceanic languages that were found to use body part terms for “up” terms such as “above”, “up”, “on”, etc. (Heine 1997:41).

English speakers typically make use of “an ego-centric coordinate system” (Levinson 2004:22) or body-defined coordinate system to describe locations of objects (e.g., *The house on the right*), or to give directions to someone (e.g., *Turn left*). If we did not conceptualize the human body as having right and left sides, these two expressions would not make sense (Kövecses 2010). Evidently, our basic spatial concepts are structured based on such spatial orientation systems grounded in the body.

How embodiment plays a role in structuring our abstract concepts is not only recognized in cognitive semantics but also in other fields such as psychology, anthropology, sociology, etc. which show that human bodily experiences indicate about what the person is feeling. Ekman et al. (1983) and Levenson et al. (1991) found that anger goes together with a set of measurable bodily changes such as blood pressure, pulse rate, skin temperature etc. The human body and human body parts were found to serve as the source to understand different aspects of life such as religions, morality, hierarchy of social power, states, and emotions, etc. (Douglas 1970, Mauss 1973, Shweder 1991, Damasio 1994). People at Kataragama, on an island of Sri Lanka, see the human body as a container of the self, spirit, and soul, also of the good (dignity, sanctity, purity) and the bad (dirty, disgusting, undignified or evil) of human beings. To clean the bad and the lowly out of the body, according to the folk theory, there are various rituals such as vomiting or spitting out what is toxic, and beating and driving out evil spirits, etc. (Shweder 1991:334). Douglas (1970) argues that “the human body is the most readily available image of the social system” (p. xxxviii). She suggests the links between the structure of a society and the structure of the human body by which the human body is used to understand the structure of the society. Consider the relationship of the head to

the feet that is used to describe the social hierarchy as in expressions *the head of the village*, *stay at the feet of the master*. Since the word *head* refers to the top, the upper part of the human body, it is used to refer the leading position as in *the head of the village*. The word *foot* refers to the end part of the leg of humans then it is used to refer to the lowest or inferior position in opposition to the head/superior position as in *stay at the feet of the master*.

Another example of the form of embodiment involves image-schemas. Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1999), Johnson (1987) claim that abstract concepts such as time, space, emotions, etc. are structured and given form by means of metaphorical elaborations of image schemas based on our bodily experiences. An image schema is defined “a recurrent pattern, shape, and regularity in, or of, these ongoing ordering activities. These patterns emerge as meaningful structures for us chiefly at the level of our bodily movements through space, our manipulation of objects, and our perceptual interaction” (Johnson 1987:29). In other words, image schemas are recurrent structures that arise from our everyday interaction with the environments. For example, we are aware of our bodies as containers of certain things we can put in (food, water) and out of which things can come out (wastes, blood, etc.). We can go in and out of containers like rooms, houses or cars. We observe putting things into and taking out of containers from our daily experience etc. (Johnson, 1987). From such repeated perceptions and experiences, the container concept emerges and becomes a part of our conceptual system. For example, the CONTAINER schema is found particularly relevant to our folk understanding of emotions. Emotions are viewed as events or states that happen inside the human body as a container. This view of emotion gives rise to the conceptual metaphor: THE BODY IS

A CONTAINER OF EMOTIONS and is reflected in expressions such as: *Emotion welled up inside her. She was filled with emotion* (Kövecses 1990:146). The CONTAINER schema as grounded in bodily experiences is significant in the way we conceptualize emotions.

In summary, the embodiment theory emphasizes that human mind is not arbitrary but embodied; it is grounded in human everyday experiences. Evidence from our language and thought support and demonstrate the embodiment theory: the way we conceptualize abstract concepts is bodily determined. The next section presents an overview of physiological embodiment (Maalej 2004, 2007) and cultural embodiment (Sinha and Jensen de López 2000, Maalej 2004, 2007, 2008) that are considered two types of embodiment.

2.2.2. Physiological embodiment and cultural embodiment

According to Ziemke (2003) the conception of embodiment has become important in cognitive science, however, there are different views concerning “what embodiment is and what kind of body is required for what type of embodied cognition” (p.1305). Ziemke listed different types and notions of embodiment have been used in previous work such as *situated embodiment* (Zlatev, 1997), *mechanistic embodiment* (Sharkey and Ziemke 2001), *phenomenal embodiment* (Sharkey and Ziemke, 2001), *social embodiment* (Barsalou, Niedenthal, Barbey and Ruppert 2003), *historical, physical, organismoid* and *organismic embodiment* (Ziemke, 2003: 1305, for more see Ziemke 2003). Lakoff and Johnson (1999) indicate three levels of embodiment, neural, phenomenological and cognitive unconscious which consist of “our own mental states, our bodies, our environment and our physical and social interaction” (Zlatev 2007). Nunez (1999)

identifies trivial, material and full embodiment. Rohrer (2001: 60-66) details ten levels for using the notion of embodiment which ranges from phenomenological meaning to the individual then collective representations. Maalej (2004) suggests three types of embodiment: physiological embodiment, culturally tainted embodiment, and culturally specific embodiment. Maalej (2007:88) commented on this fact that in spite of different terms and approaches to the notion of embodiment, the authors all agree at the directionality of the body-mind embodiment.

Maalej (2004) suggests that the term “physiological embodiment” referring physiological aspects of embodiment, and he names the terms “culturally tainted embodiment” and “culturally specific embodiment” (the latter two later were revised and called “cultural embodiment”) (Maalej 2004, 2007, 2008) referring to non-physiological aspects of embodiment.

The “physiological embodiment” type is the same as *embodied experience* proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1999) and it states that we humans make sense of the world due to the nature of our physical bodies. In particular, our biological body processes everyday experiences perceived from the five senses to create meaningful interpretations of experiences (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999). For instance, the way we make sense of anger emotion is based on a number of physiological experiences such as body heat, redness in the face and neck area, increased internal pressure (blood pressure, muscular pressure), agitation, etc. Such bodily experiences give rise to the anger metaphors: ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER (motivated by the concepts of HEAT, INTERNAL PRESSURE, and AGITATION of the cultural model), and

ANGER IS FIRE (motivated by the heat and redness aspects of the folk theory of physiological effects) (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987:197).

While the concept of an embodied mind emphasizes that the body helps to shape the way we think, feel and behave, the foundational work by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1999), Lakoff (1987), Johnson (1987) acknowledge the experiences of the body in the world shape our conceptual system. This shows that the interaction between the basic bodily experiences and the varied cultural experiences will determine to what extent part of our conceptual system is universal, or culture-specific. At the same time, the same bodily experiences can be interpreted differently by the local cultural knowledge and practices (Gibbs 1999). A combination of basic bodily experiences and culturally bodily experiences will fully show how human cognition is shaped. Gibbs (2006) provides a general definition of embodiment as follows: “People’s subjective, felt experiences of their bodies in action provide part of the fundamental grounding for language and thought. Cognition is what occurs when the body engages the physical, cultural world and must be studied in terms of the dynamical interactions between people and the environment. Human language and thought emerge from recurring patterns of embodied activities that constrain ongoing intelligent behavior. We must not assume cognition to be purely internal, symbolic, computational, and disembodied, but seek out the gross and detailed ways that language and thought are inextricably shaped by embodied action” (p. 9). According to this definition, the embodied mind is grounded in “subjective, felt experiences”.

Related evidence from cross-cultural language studies reveals that the embodied mind is structured not by physiological experiences but by the particular socio-cultural

practices that accompany language acquisition. Sinha and Jensen de López (2000) provide a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural study between the Danish, Zapotec and English languages, and examine children's acquisition of containment through the use of the body part terms in the three languages. The authors examined the use of *láani* in Zapotec (this noun means *stomach* in English) to refer to both the schematic spatial relation of English: *in* and *under*. While in English, a distinction between the spatial relation of canonical containment (enclosure within a canonically oriented container such as a cup) and the spatial relation of the enclosure within the bounded space of an inverted container (which is expressed by *in* and *under*) is made, Zapotec makes no such distinction. They found that prepositions *in* in English and *i* in Danish are both organized around canonical containment, while the Zapotec term is organized around the closure container without profiling its container. The authors concluded that not only neurophysiology but also the particular socio-cultural practices play a role in the acquisition of containment by Danish, Zapotec and English children.

Based on the result of their research, Sinha and Jensen de López argue that “the human body schema is a privileged but not unique source domain for the conceptualization of spatial relations” (p. 22). There are “other source domains (e.g. geophysical features, geographically or cosmologically based directional systems) also occur with high frequency,... [which] reflects their high experiential saliency” (p. 22). The important point here is “experiential”. However, it is not the physiological experiences but the cultural experiences related to the human body that seem to be the pervasive source domains for the embodied cognition. They propose “an extended conception of embodiment that is no longer restricted to the “humanly corporeal”” which

they call “cultural embodiment” (p. 22). With the extension, they state that the embodiment theory is “empirically well founded” and includes “at least aspects and features of the experientially or ecologically significant, non-corporeal world” (p. 24).

The conception cultural embodiment idea Sinha and Jensen de López offer is an extended view of the embodiment theory beyond human corporeal concepts based on “Vygotsky’s socio-cultural, or cultural historical, developmental psychology” (p. 37), which is also different from the conception cultural embodiment proposed by Maalej (2004, 2007, 2008). Maalej (2007:89) notes that “the social-cultural dimension of embodiment” mentioned in work of Sinha and Jensen de López “shapes the “cognitive unconscious” (the psychological dimension of embodiment) in ways that could be measured using psychological methodologies, thus reversing Lakoff and Johnson’s physiological to psychological to socio-cultural directionality of embodiment”. What important in their study is that they indicate the role of socio- cultural experiences in structuring the mind and language and open a new way to look at the nature of embodiment. Therefore an extended view of the embodiment theory is crucial because we have “failed to pay sufficient attention to the importance of culture and society in human cognition, in the motivation of linguistic structure, and in the acquisition of language” (Sinha and Jensen de López 2000:20).

Maalej (2004) investigates conceptualizations of anger in Tunisian Arabic, arguing for an extended view of embodiment with the conception of “cultural embodiment”. In Maalej’s (2007) work, the author analyzes linguistic expressions of anger in Tunisian Arabic. From the analysis, Maalej (2007) suggests that the embodiment theory needs to be extended because the physiological embodiment only “explains only

the portion of the emotion whose conceptualization comes as a result of a physical cause-effect relation” (p. 91). He proposes the conception “cultural embodiment” including “cultural specific embodiment” and “cultural tainted embodiment” to explain cultural aspects of the emotion. The three types of embodiment are presented below:

1) Physiological embodiment is when a body part is conceptualized as undergoing physiological changes that accompany the anger emotion (e.g., *He lifted blood up to my head*) (p. 57).

2) Culturally specific embodiment (e.g., *He caused my soul to leave me*) is motivated by a “correlation between anger itself and a body that is not the seat of this emotion” (p. 69).

3) Culturally tainted embodiment (e.g., *I found him growling like a camel*) “uses instances of emotion that can be traced back to physiological embodiment that it taints culturally by using culture-specific lexical items” (p. 69-70).

These different types of embodiment specifically indicate the nature of the emotion concept and the ways it is structured. The anger emotion is grounded in and structured by physiological and cultural embodied experiences. The physiological embodiment of anger is “based on folk physiology and captured in the conceptual metonymy THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION” (2007:102). This metonymy reflects a number of physiological responses associated with the anger emotion, for example, redness in face and neck area, body heat, agitation, etc.

The other two types of embodiment show influence from the Tunisian Arabic culture, employing human body parts and non-human forms (*camels, dust storm*) that are

culturally related to the emotion, as shown in the following expressions: *He caused my soul to leave me* (p. 66), and *I found him growling like a camel* (p. 70).

Maalej shows the importance of cultural knowledge in motivating such expressions. The expression *He caused my soul to leave me*, an example of the “cultural specific embodiment”, is grounded in the Tunisian Arabic folk religion which states that the soul is a part of the body; when people die, their soul leaves their body forever because that is intended by Allah (God) to be so. This idea is applied to talk about anger as shown in the expression. The expression *He caused my soul to leave me* suggests the metaphor BEING ANGRY IS LEAVING LIFE. The soul metaphor indicates the mapping between death (*leaving life*) and anger which shows that this metaphor is culturally not physiologically embodied (p. 68).

The anger expression *I found him growling like a camel* is understood based on the Arabic cultural knowledge of camels. When camels are angry, they will make some noise accompanied by foaming at the mouth, and they might become ferocious like a bull or even worse. Therefore, people need to stay away from camels when they are angry. This knowledge is mapped onto an angry person to construct the metaphor, AN ANGRY PERSON IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL. In this situation, the angry person shows violent behaviors towards the offender, and let out foam from the mouth like a camel (p. 71).

Maalej (2004) argues that “cultural embodiment” – the suggested extension of embodiment – has made embodiment bi-directional in terms of directionality of mapping and grounding from culture, not just the unidirectionality of physiological mappings. “Culture embodiment” marks an important departure from the original embodiment

theory and from Lakoff and Johnson's formulation that "the physiological body grounds cultural thought and never the reverse" (Maalej 2007:91).

However, the problem in Maalej's proposal for extending the embodiment theory is the third type of embodiment - culturally tainted embodiment. Maalej states that what makes the expressions: *I found him growling like camels* so cultural is the "cultural knowledge of camels" in the Arab countries (p. 71) motivate these expressions. The cultural knowledge of camels gives rise to the metaphor AN ANGRY PERSON IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL (p. 71) which is similar to the metaphor ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL, proposed by Lakoff and Kövecses (1987:206) which is found in different languages. For instance, in English: *He has a ferocious temper* (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987:206); in Japanese: *Terrible anger crawls around the eyebrows* (Matsuki 1995: 142), in Zulu: *It's not anger, it's a lion.* (Taylor and Mbense 1998:210), in Chinese: *to wink like a hawk and look like an osprey* (King 1989:149). These anger expressions from different languages indicate that the shared understanding of dangerous animals is used to identify angry person: a dangerous animal is similar to someone who is angry. This understanding of dangerous animals is undoubtedly a universal experience that produces the metaphor ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL found in different languages with surface differences due to cultural differences or possibly cultural preferences.

The expression *I found him growling like camels* should be considered grounded in universal human experiences. Therefore, it should be classified under the first type: physiological embodiment. To classify such expressions as "culturally tainted embodiment" would make it confusing to decide whether an experience is physiological

or cultural embodied and consequently how the emotion concept is structured and organized.

Maalej's (2007, 2008) work specifies the conception "cultural embodiment" which "can be contrast with the more physiological kind of embodiment" (Maalej 2008:396). In particular, "cultural embodiment occurs when physiological embodiment is departed from in significant ways, thus constructing a culturally-situated form of embodiment" (p. 396). That is, all physiological responses assumed to be associated with the emotions are all ignored in a given culture. Additionally, the way to conceptualize and to control experiences is constrained and filtered by the culture. For example, in Tunisian Arabic, body parts such as stomach, brain, nerve, bone, and testicle describe different degrees of anger: *fqa3-l-i ma3id-ti* (He burst open my stomach), *Haraq-l-i muxx-i* (He caused my brain to burn), *Haraq-l-i 3Saab-i* (He burnt my nerves), *digdig-l-i 3Daam-i* (He broke my bones into small bits), and *nfaxx-im-l-i* (He inflated my testicles) (Maalej 2004, cited in Maalej 2008:397). These examples show that anger is conceptualized in terms the body parts which do not actually undergo any physiological change when anger occurs. Such conceptualizations of the body parts are motivated by the Tunisian Arabic cultural model, that is, culturally embodied.

The conception "cultural embodiment" greatly contributes to the theory of embodiment to explain phenomenon which cannot solely be explained by physiological embodied experiences. Embodiment can be extended to cultural embodied experiences which can help explain how certain source domains are mapped onto certain target domains culturally, and why particular mappings occur. Cultural embodiment strengthens

the embodiment theory that human language and thought are not arbitrary but structured and organized by our both physiologically and culturally embodied experiences.

The next section discusses the “Embodied cultural prototype” view proposed by Kövecses (1995, 2004) which posits physiological embodiment and cultural embodiment to explain conceptualization of emotions. The view offers details for the nature of physiological and cultural embodiment which are physiology-based and also socio-culture-based.

2.3. The “Embodied cultural prototype” view

Kövecses (1995, 2004) and Maaleej (2004, 2007, 2008) have similar views but Kövecses proposes more details for physiological and non-physiological embodiment of emotions. As mentioned in chapter 1, the experientialists within the prototype view (Lakoff, 1987) posits that emotion concepts have prototypical emotion scripts, therefore conceptualizations of the emotions are largely universal or near universal across languages because they are grounded in universal human experiences (for example, an occurrence of anger accompanied by a rise in temperature in the body, or of fear associated with a decrease in body temperature). Although the social-constructionist view agrees that emotion concepts have script or scenario structures, they disagree that conceptualization of emotions would be the same across cultures. Kövecses (1995, 2004) reconciles the two contradictory views to propose that emotion concepts are “both motivated by the human body *and* produced by a particular social and cultural environment” (Kövecses, 2004: 14, italics in original).

There are major important points that the view acknowledges include the following. First, physiological embodiment motivates the conceptual metaphors of

emotions. Consider the folk understanding of emotion THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987: 196) which serves as a “basic structure” (Kövecses 2004:146) for a large number of metonymic expressions which motivate the anger concept based on the physiological effects the emotion has on a person. For example, a number of anger expressions motivate conceptual metonymies of anger such as *Billy’s a hot head* (BODY HEAT STANDS FOR ANGER), *When I found out, I almost burst a blood vessel* (INTERNAL PRESSURE STANDS FOR ANGER), etc. (Lakoff and Kövecses, 1987:197). Such conceptualizations of bodily experiences (BODY HEAT, INTERNAL PRESSURE, etc.) can be captured in terms of conceptual metaphors of anger such as ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER (e.g., *You make my blood boil, Simmer down*) (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987:198).

The anger expressions above show that the source domains of physiological experiences are mapped onto the target domain of anger (BODY HEAT for ANGER, THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER for ANGER). That is, embodied physiological experiences motivate metonymic and metaphoric expressions of anger which show the cognitive link between physiological embodiment and emotion, an abstract concept. Kövecses (2004:190) concludes that “the body does indeed play an important role in emotion”.

Second, while anchored in universal physiological embodiment, the Embodied prototype view acknowledges the role of culture in conceptualizations of emotions. A given culture would select or filter physiological experiences or human body parts for specific target domains of abstract concepts. Consequently, the way those abstract

concepts are conceptualized can be variant across cultures. Kövecses (2004:167) suggests that each culture “has developed its own distinctive concepts that dominate explanations in the given culture and through which members of the culture interpret their (emotional) experiences and, on the other, subtle differences in the conceptualization physiology may also lead to differences in folk understanding”. For instance, the metaphor ANGER IS THE HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER is found in different languages such as English, Hungarian, Japanese, Chinese, etc. However, there are considerable differences in conceptualization of anger across the languages. In English and Hungarian, anger is viewed as the hot fluid in a container – the body, but in Japanese (Matsuki 1995), not only the body is viewed as the container but also the stomach area (*hara* in Japanese) is seen as the principle container for the hot fluid that is associated with anger. When anger becomes intense, shown by *hara* rising, the chest (*mune*) is filled with anger and eventually anger reaches the head (*atama*). Chinese offers a version of the HOT FLUID metaphor (Yu 1995). The conceptualization of anger in Chinese is based on the notion of *qi*. *Qi* is energy that is conceptualized as a fluid or gas that flows through the body. The fluid or gas can increase and produce an excess. The location of *qi* can be identified based on how *qi* is conceptualized. Generally, *qi* can be in different places of the body including the breast, heart, stomach and spleen. When *qi* is viewed as a fluid, it is not hot; its temperature is not specified. Accordingly, Chinese does not produce the steam entailment as in English. When *qi* is a fluid, it builds up then produces pressure in the body or a specific internal organ. The pressure will lead to an explosion that represents the loss of control over anger (for more see Kövecses 2000).

Additional examples show that cultures play important roles in understanding abstract concepts. Although the human body is a potential universal source domain for structuring abstract concepts, conceptualization of body part to describe abstract concepts is different across culture. In English, the heart is conceptualized as a container of love: *She gave him her **heart**, That kindled love in his **heart**, My **heart's** on fire* (examples in Kövecses 1990:46). In Indonesian, the liver (*hati*) is viewed as a container of romantic love and other basic emotions: “*I fell in love with (lit. fell **liver** onto) a young man whose look is far more striking...*”, “*Children are (your) sweetheart (lit. fruit **liver**...)*” (Siahaan 2008:56). In Chinese, the heart is conceptualized as the central of faculty of cognition: “*However, he can only put this matter in his **heart** to think about, but dare not speak it out*” (Yu 2008:143). These examples indicate the role the cultures play in understanding those emotion concepts. In particular, the given culture assigns special importance or salience to certain aspect of bodily experiences or certain body parts to make them meaningful in understanding those abstract concepts. Apparently, how to feel or to think is culturally determined (Kövecses 2004:187).

Recent findings (King 1989, Yu 1995, 2003, 2008, Matsuki 1995, among many others) from cross-cultural studies of emotion concepts have supported the “Embodied Cultural Prototype” view proposed by Kövecses (1995, 2004) that emotion concepts across cultures are based on both universal and cultural embodied experiences. In other words, they are grounded in recurring physiological experiences but also shaped by culture-specific metaphorical understanding of physiological experiences and body parts. This shows that the cultural and physiological aspects of emotions, metaphorical language about the emotions are fundamental parts of our everyday cognition. By

applying “Embodied Cultural Prototype” view, researchers would be able to obtain an exhaustive description and analysis of emotion concepts.

The current study has adopted the “Embodied Cultural Prototype” view to investigate emotion concepts in Vietnamese. In particular, this study employs the “Embodied Cultural Prototype” view to examine if emotion concepts in Vietnamese that are motivated by both universal physiological experiences and culture-specific experiences.

The next section reviews the embodiment of emotions that is an important grounding for the metaphorical and metonymic expressions of emotions. In other words, conceptual metaphors and metonymies of emotions arise from and are grounded in embodiment, including physiological embodiment and cultural embodiment.

2.4. The embodiment of emotion

The embodiment theory “not only views cognition as mediated by our bodily experiences [...], it also views the more abstract target domains of cognition, e.g., those of thought, emotion and language, as based on concrete source domains such as the human body and the conceptualizations of the internal body parts” (Sharifian et al. 2008:7). Across languages and cultures, the body and body parts are frequently used to conceptualize and describe emotions, thoughts and many other abstract concepts. In other words, the body and body parts are employed to be the source of conceptualization for such abstract concepts including emotions. What is the nature of the embodiment of emotions?

The occurrences of emotions give rise to a number of physiological effects on the body. For example, when people are sad or depressed, they tend to have a drooping

posture: *He **dropped his head** sadly*, eyes looking down: *Her eyes were **downcast***. *She was quite sad*, lack of brightness (when looking): *There has been no **shine** in her eyes since she lost her husband* (Barcelona, 1986:21). On the contrary, when people are happy, they tend to have light, to feel light (not to be weighed down), to stay upright, etc. (Kövecses 2010:111). Conceptualizations of the physiological effects of sadness (i.e., physiological embodiment of sadness) give rise to the conceptual metonymies of sadness: DROOPING POSTURE STANDS FOR SADNESS, EYES LOOKING DOWN STANDS FOR SADNESS, LACK OF BRIGHTNESS (when looking) STANDS FOR SADNESS (Barcelona 1986:21). Similarly, conceptualizations of physiological effects of happiness motivate the conceptual metonymies of happiness: HAVING LIGHT STANDS FOR HAPPINESS, FEELING LIGHT STANDS FOR HAPPINESS, BEING UP STANDS FOR HAPPINESS (Kövecses 2010:111). These metonymies are special cases of the general metonymy: THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987: 196) which is considered as a basic structure of emotions: Emotions all have manifestations of physiological effects.

Such emotion metonymies of sadness and happiness give rise to the metaphors of sadness and happiness: SADNESS IS DOWN: *Mike brought me **down** with his ironical remarks* and SADNESS IS DARK: *Her **glum** manner is the worst thing about her*. (Barcelona 1986:9-10), Other examples of happiness metaphors include HAPPINESS IS LIGHT: *He was **beaming** with joy*, HAPPINESS IS FEELING LIGHT (not HEAVY): *I was **floating***, HAPPINESS IS UP: *I'm feeling **up** today* (Kövecses 2010:111). These examples show that, through metonymies of sadness and happiness, the concepts of sadness and happiness are based on our physiological embodied experiences. This

confirms the physiology-based of the metonymies and metaphors of sadness and happiness.

Although the human body and certain basic emotional reactions remain basically the same across cultures because we share the same bodily structure, it does not mean that we always share the same conceptualizations of the body or bodily experiences associated with emotions. While researchers stress the possibility for universal conceptualizations of emotions in terms of the body (Wierzbicka 1996, 1997, Kövecses 2000, 2005), other researchers especially emphasize the cultural influences on interpretations of the body and body parts to describe emotions (King 1989, Matsuki 1995, Enfield and Wierzbicka 2002, Kövecses 2000, 2004, 2005, Yu 1998, 2002, 2003, 2008, Maalej 2004, 2007, 2008). For example, in English the heart is viewed as a container of emotions: *to open one's heart to someone* (Niemeier 2008:355); in Kuuk Thaayorre, a Southwest Paman language spoken on the west coast of Cape York Peninsula, the belly, and especially the liver, are viewed as containers of emotions and character: *I hold (worries) in my belly* (Gaby 2008:34); in Indonesian, the liver is conceptualized as the container of romantic love, and other basic emotions: *I fell in love with (lit. fell liver onto) a young man whose look is far more striking...* (Siahaan 2008:56). It is important to notice that each culture can select any one of these emotion – body part associations to understand the emotions.

These above examples suggest that different cultures can set up different cultural understandings of the roles of the body or body organs to understand the emotions. The HEART metaphor in English is structured based on the metonymy THE HEART STANDS FOR A PERSON'S FEELING which is shaped by the folk belief about the

heart then grounded in physiological embodied experiences of the heart. The HEART metaphor in English employs embodied experiences of the heart which provides physiologically experiential grounding for the metaphor.

Different from the HEART metaphor in English, the LIVER and BELLY metaphors in Kuuk Thaayorre and Indonesian are structured from culturally embodied experiences in the culture to describe emotions. These metaphors can be traced down to the ethnomedical beliefs and practices in the Kuuuk Thaayorre and to the ancient Indonesian ritual of liver divination and Indonesian cultural beliefs which claim that the liver and the belly are responsible for describing emotions in the two languages (for more see Gaby 2008, Siahaan 2008). It is evidence to confirm the culturally embodied experiences of the two metaphors.

This section has reviewed the embodiment of emotions and provided examples from a wide range of cultures showing that the embodiment of emotions is not only physiologically but also culturally determined. This is highlighted by the “Embodied Cultural Prototype” view proposed by Kövecses (1995, 2004) that emotion concepts are “both motivated by the human body and produced by a particular social and cultural environment” (Kövecses 2004:14). The two types of the embodiment of emotions, physiological embodiment and cultural embodiment provide another perspective to the issue of universality and cultural variations in emotion conceptualizations across languages discussed in the next section.

2.5. Universality and cultural variations in emotion conceptualizations

The issue of universality and cultural variations in emotion conceptualizations has been documented in anthropology, psychology and cognitive linguistics (Lutz 1988,

Mesquita 2001, Levenson et al. 1992, King 1989, Matsuki 1995, Kövecses 2000, 2005, 2010, 2015, Yu 1995, Taylor and Mbense 1998). Findings of the previous research indicate that the universality of the conceptualizations of emotion can be the result of the universal embodied experiences or universal embodiment (expressed by similar metaphorical and metonymic uses of the body part terms) that are shared across languages; the cultural variation is the reflections of cultural differences. These points have been suggested by the embodiment theory with two types of embodiment - physiological and cultural embodiment.

Kövecses (2010:46) argues that the universality of the conceptual metaphor is found at the generic-level, while the cultural variations occur at the specific level. The universality of conceptual metaphor can be captured in terms of universal physiological experiences. These metaphors are likely to be universal because the metaphors are motivated by the physiological responses that are associated with the emotion regardless of cultural environment. For example, the metaphor **THE BODY IS A CONTAINER OF EMOTIONS** is found in various different languages and has a universal status because it is grounded in the universal embodied experience or universal embodiment. That is, the human body is considered as a container; emotions are considered to exist inside the body/container; we can let go of emotion by letting it out of the container. The universal embodiment of the common physiological experiences leads to the universality of the metaphor **THE BODY IS A CONTAINER OF EMOTIONS**.

However, despite the fact that the metaphor **THE BODY IS A CONTAINER OF EMOTIONS** is pervasive across languages, this metaphor shows its cultural variation reflected in different languages. For example, in English, the heart is viewed as a place

where sincere and honest feelings are stored (*from the bottom of one's heart*); losing love possibly causes heartbroken (*heartbroken after break up*). In Indonesian, sincere and honest feelings are stored in the liver (*...it should come from the bottom of (our) heart... lit. it should correspond with the **deepest, lighted liver***), and losing love would cause liver broken (*'broken heart (lit. broken liver)*) (Siahaan 2008:46). These examples show that the specific-level realization of the same universal metaphor may vary from culture to culture.

Thus, the universality and cultural variations in emotion conceptualizations can be found from (1) the source domain to understand the target domain of emotions, and (2) the specific realization of the underlying conceptual metaphor across languages (Kövecses 2010).

Emotions are structured in terms of conceptual metaphor and metonymy. Kövecses (2005, 2010) has not discussed the universality and cultural variation in metonymic conceptualizations. The findings of previous research show that there are universal metonymic patterns are suggested for some target concepts, such as BODY HEAT STANDS FOR ANGER, REDNESS IN FACE AND NECK AREA STANDS FOR ANGER. At the same time, there are cultural variations of the same conceptual metonymy have been recognized, such as: the metonymy BODY HEAT STANDS FOR ANGER's specific-level realization shown in English: *Don't get hot under the collar*, in Chinese: *My face was peppery hot with anger* (examples from Kövecses 2000:165). This shows that Kövecses' (2010) proposal of the universality and cultural variation of metaphors can be applied to the case of conceptual metonymy.

With regard to the source domain in terms of which the anger emotion is conceptualized in English and other languages as indicated in previous research in

English, Chinese, Japanese and Hungarian (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987, King 1989, Yu 1995, 1998, Matsuki 1995, Kövecses 2000), there are commonalities and cultural variation in the conceptualizations of anger in the four languages. In terms of metonymy, the four languages share the metonymy BODY HEAT STANDS FOR ANGER in which specific and different body parts can stand for anger. For example, in English: *Don't get hot under the collar*; in Chinese: *My face was peppery hot with anger*; in Japanese: *My head got hot*; in Hungarian: *hotheaded*. Also, in these languages, physiological responses and behavioral responses are made to stand for anger: INTERNAL PRESSURE STANDS FOR ANGER, PHYSICAL AGITATION STANDS FOR ANGER, INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION STANDS FOR ANGER (For more see King 1989, Yu 1995, 1998, Matsuki 1995, Kövecses 2000). However, English shows a large number of metonymies associated with body heat to conceptualize anger, Chinese does not. It is because the way Chinese speakers conceptualize anger does not involve a hot fluid (Yu 1995).

Consider conceptual metonymies of anger in English and Chinese. King (1989) and Yu (1995) found that English and Chinese share the following universal metonymies: BODY HEAT, INTERNAL PRESSURE, REDNESS IN THE FACE AND NECK AREA, AGITATION, and INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION. However, the Chinese data shows support for the metonymic conceptualizations of anger in terms of HEADACHE, STOMACHACHE, DIZZINESS, EFFECT ON APPETITE, WEIGHT LOSS, SICKNESS, and DEATH (King 1989:144-146). There is no linguistic evidence in English showing that English speakers conceptualize anger in terms of such metonymies like Chinese speakers.

In terms of conceptual metaphors, for instance the conceptual metaphor of anger, there are shared metaphors of anger found in English, Chinese, Japanese, Hungarian, such as: THE BODY IS A CONTAINER OF ANGER, ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, ANGER IS A NATURAL FORCE (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987, King 1989, Matsuki 1995, Kövecses 2000). Below, the metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER is analyzed for the cross-culture commonalities and variations in the conceptualization of anger. The four languages make sense of anger by using the shared metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER. Kövecses (2000) explained that the shared metaphor found in the four languages is grounded in similar physiological effects of the emotion on the body that people experience. That is, when people are angry, they experience body heat, internal pressure, redness in the neck and face area. These similar physiological effects give rise to similar conceptualization of anger across cultures.

The specific-level realization of this metaphor shows its cultural variation across languages. In English, anger is contained in the whole body. In Hungarian, in addition to the body, anger is placed in the head and so this conceptualization of anger is specific to Hungarian (Kövecses 2000). In Japanese, different from English and Hungarian, apart from the body, anger (*ikari* in Japanese) is placed in the stomach/bowel area (*hara* in Japanese) (Matsuki 1995). In Chinese, anger is conceptualized in terms of *qi* – energy that flows through the body, which is grounded in the Chinese medicine theory and is held in the body and body parts such as: breast, heart, stomach, and spleen (King 1989:160-162). Noticeably, while English, Hungarian, and Japanese view anger as a hot fluid, the *qi* fluid or gas in Chinese is not hot; its temperature is not specified (Yu, 1995).

Such observations suggest that both physiological and cultural embodied experiences affect conceptual metaphors and metonymies of emotions. According to Kövecses (2005:160) “two languages or varieties may have the same conceptual metaphor, but the linguistic expression of the conceptual metaphor may be influenced or shaped by differences in cultural-ideological traits and assumptions characterizing different cultures”. Along with Kövecses’ claim, we can recognize the relationship between universal and cultural embodiment and the universality and cultural variations of emotion conceptualizations. The universal embodiment (universal human embodied experiences) functions at the generic level and contributes to the universality of emotion conceptualizations; the cultural embodied experiences operate at the cultural variation of the conceptualization of emotions.

2.6. Summary and conclusions

This chapter has reviewed key literature in emotion conceptualization: the embodiment theory, two types of embodiment (physiological embodiment and cultural embodiment), the “Embodiment Cultural Prototype” view, and the issue of universality and cultural variation in emotion conceptualization. These problems and issues are relevant to an understanding of the topic of conceptualizations of emotions in Vietnamese in this study. This chapter has pointed out that the “Cultural Embodied Prototype” view, which highlights the role of physiological factors and social-cultural factors that represent physiological embodiment/ universal embodiment and cultural embodiment (Maalej 2004, 2007, 2008), can fully explain emotion conceptualizations; especially, the universality and cultural variations of emotion conceptualization can be determined based on the physiological and culture embodiment of emotions.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology for this study. There are significant methodological issues that have been discussed in the previous research of metaphor studies (Steen 1999,; Grady 1997a, 1997b; Cameron 1999; Heywood et al 2002; Ritchie 2003; Semino et al. 2004; Charteris-Black 2004; Deignan 2005; Stefanowitsch 2006; Martin 2006; Pragglejaz Group 2007) that are the foundation to establish the methodology used in this study. This chapter is divided into four sections. Section 3.2 presents a methodological overview of metaphor research including data collection and problems in metaphor identification. Section 3.3 presents and discusses previous metaphor identification procedures which attempt to solve the problem of metaphor identification. Section 3.4 introduces the methodology of this study. In this section, I introduce the material and data collection of emotion metaphors in Vietnamese, the metaphor analysis and the metaphor identification procedure, which was developed based on metaphor identification procedures proposed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007). Finally, section 3.5 summarizes main issues of this chapter.

3.2. Methodological overview

This section discusses major methodological issues in cognitive metaphor research which are foundational to design the research methodology for this current study. These issues are the method of data collection in metaphor research and the procedure of metaphor identification which will be presented to explain the reasons for the methodological choices made for this study.

3.2.1 Data collection method in metaphor research

Traditional conceptual metaphor analysis was criticized for being intuitive, biased, and lacking scientific rigor and objectivity (Deignan 2005, Stefanowitsch 2006). Traditional metaphor researchers examined data collected from their own lexicons, decontextualized sentences, dictionaries and thesauri and they used intuitively generated linguistic examples to establish conceptual metaphors (Kövecses 2011:24; see more in Murphy 1996, Jarkel 1999, Glucksberg 2001, Haser 2005, Semino et al 2004). Therefore, the results of traditional metaphor analysis may be not exhaustive and reliable (Stefanowitsch 2006; Deignan 2005, 2006). Recent work in corpus-based investigation has cast doubt on the validity of some conceptual metaphors and suggests different conclusions about the conceptualizations which motivate such metaphorical expressions (Gevaert 2005, Semino 2006, Stefanowitsch 2006). Gevaert (2005), for example, on the basis of her diachronic corpus analysis, re-examined the metaphor ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER propose by Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) which is claimed to be the central metaphor in the conceptualization of anger in American English. Gevaert concluded that ANGER IS FIRE is “the basic conceptualization” (p.206) not ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER because the conceptualization of anger in terms of fire is “the most widespread and constant conceptualization” (p.206) of all the anger metaphors in American English.

Another recent diachronic corpus-based study, Stefanowitsch (2006) work looked at metaphors of anger, sadness and other emotions. He found additional conceptual metaphors underlying the conceptualization of these emotions, such as: ANGER IS HEAT/COLD, ANGER IS LIQUID, ANGER IS DARKNESS, ANGER IS A PLANT,

etc. (p.76); and SADNESS IS DEPTH, SADNESS IS A LIQUID, SADNESS IS AN AURA, SADNESS IS A WEATHER PHENOMENON etc. (p.88).

Semino (2006:40-45) reanalyzed the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) as ANTAGONISTIC COMMUNICATION IS PHYSICAL CONFLICT because the former metaphor is too restricted in terms of both source domain and target domain. Regarding the source domain, many of her examples do not or not only relate to the domain of WAR but to the more general domain of PHYSICAL CONFLICT. Concerning the target domain, some of her examples relate to arguments but other relate to critical, forceful or antagonistic communicative behaviors which may not be a part of an argument. Semino suggests that the examples she discussed should be better seen as manifestations of a more general conceptual metaphor which may be referred to as ANTAGONISTIC COMMUNICATION IS PHYSICAL CONFLICT.

The differences between the results of traditional conceptual metaphor analysis and these corpus-based analysis call for real-world metaphor research in real world contexts (Low et al 2010). In particular, research on how metaphor is shaped, what factors influence the comprehension and creation of metaphor, and how people use metaphor for particular purposes and in specific situations is needed in order to provide a complete description of metaphor. More recent research has involved collecting naturally occurring data and doing more quantitative work (Low et al. 2010:2).

Research employing corpus data to investigate metaphorical expressions in naturally occurring data include Goatly (1997), Deignan (1997, 2005), Cameron and Deignan (2003), Stefanowitsch (2004, 2006) and Semino (2006). Corpus data enables

researchers to investigate linguistic expressions in a large scale and therefore can “provide the basis for more reliable hypotheses about possible underlying conceptual metaphor” (Semino 2006:37). According to Stefanowitsch (2006:12), this kind of research can uncover intriguing facts about conceptual metaphors that were not indicated by the traditional metaphor analysis.

Semino (2006) revisits the CONDUIT metaphor proposed by Reddy (1979) and Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Based on her corpus analysis, she points out that the authors’ claim about the pervasiveness of the linguistic expressions which are instantiations of the metaphor is not supported by the corpus data. The CONDUIT metaphor can only account for 21% of all metaphorical expressions in the corpus. In the same article, Semino also shows that the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR, proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) can only account for some linguistic expressions in which verbal conflict is understood in terms of physical conflict. Therefore she suggests that the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR should be replaced by a more general metaphor: ANTAGONISTIC COMMUNICATION IS PHYSICAL CONFLICT. Stefanowitsch (2006) compares the list of emotion metaphors proposed by Kövecses (1998) and the list of emotion metaphors obtained through his corpus-based investigation. He points out that the list of emotion metaphors proposed by Kövecses, can be supplemented by the metaphorical expressions of emotions found in corpus data.

While the corpus-based analysis of metaphor shows advantages, it has limitations which cause some methodological concerns. There are two main issues that need to be considered: 1) the representativeness of the corpus, and 2) the feasibility of conducting a thorough search of the data and retrieving all instances of metaphor.

The first issue involves the ability of the corpus to represent a range of discourse genres. Deignan (1997:163) acknowledges that the representativeness of the corpus is an important consideration. Because her corpus is built from written texts, we cannot be certain that it represents the range of metaphors we use in conversation. According to Deignan, it is difficult to collect spoken texts because people do not tend to allow their conversations to be recorded. Moreover, it is expensive and time-consuming to transcribe spoken texts into a computer database. Deignan says a written corpus “is not truly representative of the language” (p.163). A written corpus should be supplemented with conversational data like those found in the Santa Barbara corpus and the Corpus of Contemporary American English.

The second issue involves the challenges of conducting a thorough search of the data and the difficulties involved in accurately retrieving all instances of metaphor. There is a question of how to deal with the large amount of data of metaphorical expressions in the corpus. As Deignan (1997:162) admits, the computer can only search for word forms, not conceptual metaphors. The researcher has to hand-search concordance lines. This raises the question of whether the corpus-based analysis delivers a complete list of metaphors.

Oster (2010:731) also discusses the problem of searching the corpus, noting that the researcher can only retrieve a list of expressions including the key lexical units. Therefore, the expressions that are used figuratively to describe an emotion without specifically naming it will be left undetected. This means that the data obtained through the corpus analysis is limited, and therefore the identification of linguistic and conceptual metaphors based on the corpus-based analysis may not be complete.

Similarly, Kövecses (2008) argues that the corpus-based analysis did not find certain metaphors such as EMOTIONS ARE OPPONENTS, EMOTIONS ARE NATURAL FORCES, EMOTIONS ARE INSANITY which define key aspects of emotion concepts: control, passivity and lack of control. Those metaphors are significantly unique to particular emotion concepts and represent our basis of knowledge about these emotion concepts. Moreover, the metaphors that were found by the corpus based analysis, such as: (EMOTIONAL) STATES ARE CONTAINERS, (EMOTIONAL) STATES ARE OBJECTS, CAUSES (OF EMOTIONS) ARE FORCES, and (EMOTIONAL) CHANGE IS MOTION, can be applied to any state, cause or change of the emotions. This shows that these are not useful in characterizing the content and the structure of the prototypical models of the emotion concepts (p.173-174).

Corpus-based studies often argue that the use of corpus data allows us to take into account the significant role of context in investigating metaphors. They point out that conceptual metaphor is closely related to the context in which it is used and, in fact, often shaped by that context. However, a number of the corpus-based studies (Stefanowitsch 2006, Deignan 2006, 2008, 2010) investigate metaphors using only minimal contexts, particularly the immediate contexts of metaphorical expressions. Researchers look at metaphor within collocations, which is a co-occurrence of two or more words within a given distance from each other (Sinclair 1991) or metaphorical patterns for specific lexical items (Stefanowitsch 2006:66). For example, the word *fire* was investigated in fire-collocational expressions such as: *playing with fire, get on like a house on fire, [be] under fire* (Deignan 2006:118). Further Stefanowitsch found the metaphor ANGER IS CAPTIVE ANIMAL is structured from metaphorical patterns of the word anger, such as:

anger be loosed, X unleash/let loose/release anger, X lock away/domesticate anger (Stefanowitsch 2006:74). Obviously, such minimal contexts cannot capture all the important factors that influence the comprehension and production of metaphor. The resulting description of metaphorical concepts may not be as thorough as we would like. For example, as mentioned in previous work (Kövecses 2015, Leezenberg 2001, Low et al. 2010 and others), metaphor is structured by its use in the context of communication, therefore, factors such as the speaker's life histories, how they use metaphor for particular purposes and in particular situations, etc. contribute to the production of metaphor (Kövecses 2015). These factors cannot be found in such minimal contexts used by the corpus-based analysis. I would argue that investigating metaphor must be based on larger contexts which can bring a more comprehensive description of metaphor.

3.2.2 Contexts

A number of researchers have emphasized the crucial role of contexts in metaphor investigation (Kövecses 2004, 2005, 2010, 2015; Gibbs 1999; King 1989; Yu 1995, 1998; Matsuki 1995; Balaban 1999; Leezenberg 2001; The Pragglejaz Group 2007; Steen et al. 2010; Ritchie 2003; Cameron 1999, 2003; Cameron and Deignan, 2006; Deignan 2005, 2009; van Dijk 2009). Their findings show that conceptual metaphor is both closely related to and also shaped by their context of use.

Context, in its broader sense, includes linguistic and non-linguistic factors (Kövecses 2015:2) and can be “characterized by different aspects such as: physical, social, cultural, discourse, etc. and it consists of factors such as the setting, topic, audience and medium which can all influence metaphorical conceptualization” (Kövecses 2010:204).

A number of research studies (Kövecses 2000, 2004, 2005, 2010; King 1989; Yu 1995, 1998; Matsuki 1995) have indicated the role of socio-cultural contexts, namely “cultural systems” of given languages (Kövecses 2015:123) in conceptualizations of anger in different languages such as Hungarian, Chinese, and Japanese. For example, in Hungarian, anger is conceptualized in terms of hot fluid in the head (*his head almost burst*) (Kövecses 2004:150), in Chinese, anger is understood in terms of *qi* (the energy that flows through the body) (King 1989, Yu 1995, 1998), and in Japanese, anger is conceptualized in terms of hot fluid in *hara* (the stomach/bowels area) (Matsuki 1995). Yu (1995, 1998) and Matsuki (1995) have indicated that the socio-cultural contexts partly structure the conceptualizations of anger in Chinese and Japanese. Kövecses (2005:234) suggests that investigating metaphors needs to be placed in the broader cultural contexts by which a culture (or subculture) provides understanding of any of its concepts. The researchers present cultural values of the anger concept which are entrenched in the cultural systems and influence the way the anger concept is conceptualized and expressed metaphorically in the languages.

Cameron (1996, 1999, 2003), Cameron and Deignan (2008), and Kövecses (2015) emphasize the important role of discourse context observed in naturally occurring data that uses metaphor. According to Cameron (2003), the discourse context of a metaphor can be characterized as comprised of three different aspects: the situational context (participants, situation, and goals), the immediate linguistic context, and the textual/interactional context. These elements of the context provide information about how people use metaphor, for particular purposes and in specific situations which all can

contribute to the formulation and processing of metaphor, and they also help us describe the nature of the metaphor (Cameron 2003:4, 2008).

Kövecses (2015) asserts the crucial role of context in the emergence of and use of metaphor. He notes that context may be at play at various scales or levels. He states that speakers' metaphorical mind depends on the surrounding physical, social, and mental environment. The surrounding environment consists of the situational context and the linguistic context (or cotext)³. As such, contexts can be understood at different levels from the range of individuals to the cultural, historical and social background. This characterization of contexts indicates that the context-based approach is essential in developing a complete identification of linguistic and conceptual metaphors.

In order to include the assessment of context in the investigation of conceptual metaphors, researchers have to deal with the problem of how to identify conceptual metaphors in naturally occurring data (Leezenberg 2001; Heywood et al. 2002; Cameron 1999, 2003; Cameron and Deignan 2006; Steen et al. 2010; Trim 2011 and others).

Metaphor identification involves two specific questions: (1) distinction between metaphorical and non-metaphorical language in context and (2) labeling the source domain and target domain of metaphor (Steen 1999; Cameron 1999, 2003; Semino et al 2004, 2006; Hanks 2006; Deignan 2006; Gibbs 2010 and others).

3.2.2.1. Distinguishing metaphorical from non-metaphorical language

Context is key to the distinction between metaphorical and non-metaphorical expressions. Moon (1998:184, cited in Deignan 2009:21) states that the example “*Put*

³Kövecses (2015) claims that the body is also seen as context. That is “the embodiment of metaphor as a contextual feature, which is a reinterpretation of the bodily basis of metaphor” (p.xi). This study is aware of the body as context of emotions, but more focuses on situational and linguistic contexts of metaphor in which interactions of participants relating to the emotions are revealed.

one's feet up" has both literal and metaphorical meaning. The metaphorical meaning 'relax' may indeed involve the raising of one's feet, but does not necessarily have to.

Hanks (2006) shows that the metaphoricity of words "represents a normal (though a secondary) use of the words concerned" (p.17). That is, the context (the frame) in which the words/expressions in consideration occur can determine their metaphoricity or their degrees of metaphoricity. For example, in literal contexts the word *storm* denotes a kind of atmospheric phenomenon; the words *torrent*, *mountain*, *lake* denote kinds of geographical locations. But all these words have secondary patterns of use which can be considered metaphorical. Therefore *a storm of protest*, *a torrent of abuse*, *a mountain of paperwork*, *a lake of blood* can be recognized as metaphorical expressions and they are contrasted with other uses of the words that are not metaphorical but instead refer to weather or geographical locations (p.17-18).

In more detail, Hanks suggests that the notion of "resonance" between the source and the target domain defines their degree of metaphoricity. That is, the more semantic properties that are shared between the two domains, the less metaphorical the metaphor is. For example, he compares "a *desert* of railway tracks", and "a *desert* of barren obsession". In the first phrase, there is a shared property of physical location between *railway tracks* and *desert* but in the second phrase, the target refers to an abstract quality (someone's state of mind) and therefore it has a greater semantic distance from the source. Thus, according to Hanks, the first phrase is less semantically resonant (i.e., less metaphorical) than the second one. This argues that there is no clear distinction between metaphorical and non-metaphorical meaning, but rather a continuum.

With respect to metaphoricity, Cameron (1999:114-115) proposes four different criteria to determine whether a word/expression is metaphorical. The first criterion is based on *etymological criteria*, i.e., metaphoricity is a matter of history. For example, **salary** can be metaphorical because it originally referred to salt given to Roman soldiers.

The second criterion proposed by Cameron is *relative to speech community norms*, i.e., metaphoricity is a matter of convention and probability. For example the expression **hot spells** is not a metaphor because that is how the concept (denotes a spell of hot weather) is encoded.

Cameron's third criterion is *relative to individual background knowledge*, that is, metaphoricity is a matter of individuality and experience. For example, **hot spells** is metaphorical because a particular child links it to **witches**.

The fourth criterion is *relative to what is activated by an individual on a particular occasion*, i.e., metaphoricity is a matter of activation during processing. For example, the example **I can read your lips** may or may not be metaphorical depending on the activation of **read** as symbolic and thus incongruous with **lips**.

What can be learned from the different criteria to distinguish metaphorical and non-metaphorical expressions of the two authors above is that they were established but not based on actual contexts. Consequently, the distinction between metaphorical and non-metaphorical expressions is dependent on probabilities and context, rather than being fixed values.

3.2.2.2. Labeling the source and target domains

The second task of metaphor identification is how to precisely identify the source domain and the target domain (Semino 2006, Stefanowitsch 2006, Richie 2003, Haser

2005). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) proposed the formula of metaphor: A IS B, which consists of a source domain and a target domain. The target domain is understood in terms of the source domain. The source domain is generally more of a physical domain while the target domain is a more abstract one. The choice of a particular source-target domain is motivated by experiential basis (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Kövecses 2010). For example: the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:4) where argument is the abstract target domain, and war the concrete source through which argument is conceptualized.

A number of studies have shown that identifying the source domain and target domain of a conceptual metaphor is a complex endeavor. It is because there are no criteria to identify what level of generality should a metaphor posit (Vervaeke and Kennedy 1996, Ritchie 2003, Haser 2005, Semino et al 2004, Semino 2006, Stefanowitsch 2006). In particular, there is no agreement in identifying how broad a source domain and a target domain should be. For instance, the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980:4) has been reanalyzed regarding its generality. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980:4), the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR can account for a number of expressions such as: “Your claims are *indefensible*”, “He *attacked every weak point* in my argument”, “His criticisms were *right on target*”, “I *demolished* his argument”, “I’ve never *won* an argument with him”. Vervaeke and Kennedy (1996) suggest that war is not necessarily the source domain of argument. Rather there are a few concepts that can be considered to be the source domains of argument. Therefore, they propose a number of metaphors which can be used or are used for the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR. For example: ARGUMENTS ARE SPACE

follows from the idea that an argument can be considered a series of acts which occur in space. Hence, arguments metaphorically can be said to happen in space as in “*He undermined my whole position*” and “*He bypassed my argument*” (p.276). Similar analyses are applied to other metaphors such as ARGUMENT IS A BODY, ARGUMENT IS BRIDGE, ARGUMENT IS COMPETITION, ARGUMENT IS A BODY etc. (p.275, 276).

Ritchie (2003) pointed out that there are many expressions that are manifestations of the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR (proposed by Lakoff and Johnson 1980), such as: ‘Your claims are *indefensible*’, ‘He *attacked* every weak point in my argument’ and ‘His criticisms *were right on target*’. These expressions, though, can be associated with a number of different source domains, such as sports or games, in addition to war. Ritchie (2003:12) concludes, “Most of the metaphorical expressions Lakoff and Johnson (1980) cited as evidence for an underlying metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR are also consistent with ARGUMENT IS CHESS or ARGUMENT IS BOXING. Therefore, ARGUMENT IS WAR “is not necessarily the primary conceptual metaphor for contentious argument” (p.2). That is, ARGUMENT is not necessarily understood in terms of WAR, and could instead be understood in terms of CHESS or BOXING.

In a similar vein, Haser (2005) considers the level of generality for the source domain of a metaphor in her discussion of the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). She argues that metaphorical expressions leading to the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR mentioned in Lakoff and Johnson (1980) can each be traced to at least two different source domains (Haser 2005:176). For instance, win in expressions like, ‘I’ve never *won* an argument with him’ (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:5) appear to be

linked to GAME-PLAYING. Weak point and on target in ‘He *attached every weak point* in my argument’ and, ‘His criticisms were *right on target*’ (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:5) appear to be associated with PROPER PLACEMENT. Demolish and undermine in ‘I *demolished* his argument’ and ‘We can *undermine* the argument’ are associated with BUILDINGS. Haser’s discussion illustrates the complexity of selecting the source domain of ARGUMENT.

In her work, Semino (2006:42-45) also reanalyzed the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR and her results support Ritchie’s (2003) critique. Semino argues that the formulation of the metaphor is too restricted both in terms of source domain and target domain. The metaphor can explain some of the expressions which construct ARGUMENT in terms of physical conflict. Her study shows that examples describing the source domain of verbal conflict relate to the more general domain of PHYSICAL CONFLICT, including violence and aggression, rather than WAR specifically. In addition, Semino argues that examples linked to the WAR domain relate to critical, forceful, or antagonistic communicative behavior in general - that is, the examples include those describing aggressive communicative behavior that may not be part of an argument. Therefore, she suggests that the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR should be reanalyzed as ANTAGONISTIC COMMUNICATIVE BEHAVIOR IS PHYSICAL CONFLICT.

The studies above indicate that there may be alternative choices for identifying the source domain and target domain of the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR. The complexity of identifying the source domain and the target domain becomes even more complicated by the distinction between primary metaphors and complex metaphors,

proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1999), and Grady (1997a,b; 2005). Primary metaphor consists of correlation between subjective experiences such as *good* with physical experiences such as *up* to form GOOD IS UP. Other primary metaphors which are structured by such correlations are: DESIRE IS HUNGER, HAPPINESS IS BRIGHTNESS, KNOWING IS SEEING (Grady 1997b: 27). Learning those types of primary metaphors, for us, is automatic and unconscious. This is because UP, HUNGER, BRIGHTNESS, SEEING, etc. are universal bodily experiences and they create universal primary metaphors.

Primary metaphors can be combined to form larger structures, which are called complex metaphors. The primary metaphors function as metaphorical correspondences within the complex metaphor. For example, THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), according to Grady is a complex metaphor consisting of two primary metaphors: ORGANIZATION IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE and PERSISTING IS REMAINING ERECT. These metaphorical mappings allow us to reason about **theory** in terms of **physical structure** and **remaining erect** (the arrangement or relation between parts of physical objects and they are in upright position while working) (Grady 1997a: 273).

However, if there are two kinds of metaphor, primary metaphors and conceptual metaphors, then which metaphor should be identified in a corpus study? Due to the complexity and abstractness of the complex metaphor, identifying primary metaphor (that is, identifying the source domain and target domain of primary metaphors) seems to be reasonable. However, how to precisely label the target and source domain of those primary metaphors, to what level of generality the metaphor should be posited, and how

to formulate the complex metaphor from the primary metaphor were not discussed in Grady's work. In some of the 100 metaphors he analyzed (1997 b: 281-299), the source domain and target domain of primary metaphors can be grouped in the range of abstract to specific, for example: ATTRIBUTES ARE POSSESSIONS, ESSENTIAL IS INTERNAL, (LOGICAL) ORGANIZATION IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE, and ALTERNATIVES ARE DIFFERENT AVAILABLE PATHS (1997b:136). Further, several source domains of primary metaphors are found grounded in cultural values rather than in bodily experiences, as in BAD IS FOUL-SMELLING. The olfactory sense is grounded in bodily experiences but the judgment of bad and **foul-smelling** is subjective and governed by individual tastes and cultural norms (see more in Mischler 2008:19, 20). This indicates that the metaphor is not grounded in direct physical experiences and therefore it cannot be classified as a primary metaphor. These metaphors show that primary metaphor is not likely to be universal as it was claimed (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 1980).

3.2.3. Identification of complex metaphors

In this study, based on the analysis of contexts of anger and sadness emotions in Vietnamese, I demonstrate the advantages of identifying complex metaphors rather than primary ones. The identification is based on recognizing simple metaphors and the main meaning of the focus (or foci) of the source domain, as discussed further below, because these characterize and construct the complex metaphors (Kövecses 2005, 2010). As Kövecses points out, "complex metaphors are more important to cultural considerations" and it is the complex metaphor rather than the primary metaphor "with which people actually engage their thought in real cultural contexts" (Kövecses 2005:11).

Kövecses defines the simple metaphor as the one which “emerges from what we find important in connection with basic physical entities and events that make up the human world, such as BUILDING, FIRE, PRESSURIZED CONTAINER, WAR, JOURNEY, BODY, PLANT, MACHINE, SPORTS and so on” (Kövecses 2010:328). He states that all these entities and events have a main meaning focus which is defined as “the basic and central knowledge about the source” (p.11) inherited by the target and widely shared in a community (p.138). For example, we use FIRE as a source domain to understand a number of abstract concepts such as EMOTIONS, ARGUMENTS, etc.: *He was blazing with rage; The young boy was burning with a fierce emotion; Tempers flared and harsh words were exchanged* (examples in Kövecses 2010:141-142). The examples above show that “intensity of a situation” is what we primarily think about when we describe or think about such situations. So, INTENSITY is the main meaning focus of the source domain HEAT (OF FIRE) which is transferred to the target by the mapping: INTENSITY (OF A SITUATION) IS HEAT (OF FIRE).

According to Kövecses, the notion of main meaning focus allows us to talk about the same thing that the notion of primary metaphor can explain. However, the notion of the main meaning focus is more useful because of its “culture-sensitivity”. It is because it does not only account for the physical factors which are based on universal human experiences but also reflects ideas linked with a source domain which are widely shared by speakers of a given language that contribute to establish the connection between the source and the target domain. Therefore, it can capture cross-cultural shifts in the source domain and the abstract concepts they describe. For example, in English, heat (of fire) is mapped onto the intensity of anger as in the metaphor ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A

FLUID IN A CONTAINER (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987:198) while in Chinese heat (of gas) is mapped onto the intensity of the emotion as in ANGER IS THE HOT GAS IN A CONTAINER (Yu 1995:69).

The main meaning focus characterizes the source domain and provides the major theme for the metaphor, and it can therefore suggest basic constituent mappings between a source and a target domain. These mappings are obtained between basic elements of the target and the source. Kövecses states that: “To know a conceptual metaphor is to know the set of mappings that applies to a given source-target pairing. It is these mappings that provide much of the meaning of the metaphorical linguistic expressions (or linguistic metaphors) that make a particular conceptual metaphor manifest” (2010:14). For example, the constituent mappings of the fire metaphors which have INTENSITY as the main meaning focus can be presented as follows:

Source: FIRE		Target: SITUATION
the thing burning	→	the entity involved in the situation
the fire	→	the situation (action, event, state)
the heat of the fire	→	the intensity of the situation
the cause of the fire	→	the cause of the situation (Kövecses 2010:144)

Central mappings are sub-mappings that project the meaning focus of the source onto the target. The mapping INTENSITY (OF A SITUATION) IS HEAT (OF FIRE) shown above is the central mapping of the metaphor A SITUATION IS HEAT (OF FIRE) in which the meaning focus “intensity of a situation” is linked with “heat of (fire)”. This has been named the “central mapping” because, firstly, it can account for the majority of the fire-related linguistic expressions in the language. Secondly, it leads to the

emergence of other mappings and metaphorical entailments (e.g., maintaining intensity, sudden increase in intensity, latent intensity). And thirdly, following Kövecses (2010), this central mapping reflects major human concerns related to the situations they engage in and is motivated, both culturally and experientially.

Kövecses proposes the terms “simple metaphors” for those that capture the central mappings (INTENSITY (OF A SITUATION) IS HEAT (OF FIRE)) and “complex metaphors” for those that are composed of simple metaphors: ANGER IS FIRE, LOVE IS FIRE, ARGUMENT IS FIRE. In all these complex metaphors, the simple metaphor functions as a mapping and provides the major theme of the complex metaphors by mapping the main meaning focus of the source onto the target (2010:145).

The simple metaphor proposed by Kövecses (2010) is related to the primary metaphor in Grady’s work (1997). However, unlike the primary metaphor, which is said to have a “direct experiential basis” (Grady et al. 1996:181), the simple metaphor consists of the main meaning focus which captures both the physical aspects and social-cultural aspects of the metaphor. In this way, it seems to capture a more complete account of the human experiences which shape the metaphor. Therefore, when the simple metaphors are combined to structure the complex metaphor, based on whether they are grounded in physical or cultural experiences, or different cognitive processes, the complex metaphors can be identified as “potentially or partially universal” (Kövecses 2005:4). For example, the following simple metaphors: INTENSITY IS HEAT, INTENSITY IS QUANTITY, and INTENSITY IS SPEED jointly characterize the complex metaphor of anger in English, ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER (p. 27) which accounts for anger expressions, such as: *boiling with anger, making one’s blood boil, simmer down,*

blowing your stack, etc. (examples in Lakoff and Kövecses 1987). This metaphor is also found to exist in other languages such as Hungarian (Kövecses 2005) and Japanese (Matsuki 1995) with minor differences. In Hungarian, both the whole body and the head are viewed as containers which can hold the hot fluid (Kövecses 2000). In Japanese, in addition to the body as the container of the hot fluid, the stomach/bowels area (called *hara*) is viewed as the major container for the hot fluid that corresponds to anger (Matsuki 1995). This suggests the (near) universal and culture-specific aspect of this metaphor.

In this study, I apply the notions of main meaning focus, central mappings and simple metaphor to identify complex metaphors in my analysis of expressions of sadness and anger emotions in Vietnamese. I will argue that this approach provides a complete account of how the two emotions are conceptualized in Vietnamese, and that this can lead to a reliable formulation of the conceptual metaphors that underlie the metaphorical expressions of these two emotions in Vietnamese.

In particular, I suggest that the general meaning of the contexts of the emotions will limit and point to a particular target domain. I show how the source domain of the emotion metaphors is also recognized from the emotion contexts by analyzing 3-5 metaphorical⁴ words both preceding and following the emotion terms. This analysis will suggest the meaning focus of the source domain and then lead to the central mappings involved in the simple metaphor. This step also leads to the set of mappings between the source and the target domain. Example (1) illustrates this point:

(1) *Con mang theo cơn nổi đau mắt cha lên thành phố chẳng chia sẻ*

⁴I followed the metaphor identification procedure proposed by The Pragglejaz Group (2007) to identify metaphorical words which is discussed in the next section.

Child **carry with** child CLAS **pain** lose father up city don't share
cùng ai, chỉ biết khóc cho nhẹ lòng.

with who just cry for **light belly**

I carried the pain of losing my father to the city, did not share with anyone, just cried for relief.

The general meaning of the example above suggests that the target domain of the potential metaphor is SADNESS. Carrying the pain of losing father and crying for a light belly, i.e., crying for relief suggest that the source domain is BURDEN. Five metaphorical words before and after the emotion term: *nỗi đau* 'pain' (meaning sadness in this situation) in the example is analyzed: *mang theo* 'carry', *chia sẻ* 'share', *nhẹ lòng* 'light belly' (signifying relief). This set of words shows that this example has a meaning focus which is INTENSITY; this characterizes the domain, BURDEN. The target domain SADNESS inherits the meaning focus of the source domain: INTENSITY which leads to the central mapping/simple metaphor INTENSITY IS QUANTITY. This metaphor describes the domain BURDEN and functions as a mapping in the complex metaphors: SADNESS IS BURDEN in Vietnamese.

There are systematic conceptual mappings between the source domain BURDEN and the target domain SADNESS: the person who is sad is viewed as experiencing a burden which is caused by the existence of sadness. To have a relief of the emotion is to get rid of the burden by crying for a relief. These conceptual mappings motivate the sadness expressions in the examples above.

Notice that in the example above, the target domain is not explicit, but the general meaning of the context (the pain of losing father) suggests **sadness** to be the target domain. The analysis of the data in this study suggests that linguistic contexts, in which the emotions occur, should be seen as a significant level of cognitive processes in

identifying conceptual metaphors. That is, linguistic contexts play key role in constructing metaphors: the meaning focus emerges from the contexts which point out and describe the source domain and this focus then leads to the simple metaphor which structures the complex metaphor. The general meaning of the context indicates the target domain (whether the target domain is explicit or implied). The analysis to be presented in the following chapters illustrates the important role of context in precisely identifying the source and target domains to construct metaphors.

3.3. Previous metaphor identification procedures

This section introduces and discusses metaphor identification procedures proposed by Cameron (1999); Steen (1999) and Semino et al (2006), and The Pragglejaz Group (2007). According to Deignan (2010), metaphor identification is a technique to “identify the linguistic metaphors used to talk about a topic, and from these postulate underlying conceptual metaphors which are presumed to motivate them” in order to describe the conceptual structures that “both reflect and shape the thought patterns of the community” (Deignan 2010).

Cameron (1999) developed a metaphor identification procedure relying on contextual clues and the use of dictionaries. The procedure consists of five steps (Cameron 1999:117):

1. Trawl through the data looking for metaphor-like uses of language.
2. Use necessary conditions to identify a set of potential linguistic metaphors.
3. Remove as non-metaphors apparent incongruities that arise from error.
4. Remove as non-metaphors apparent incongruities that arise from shared understandings within the discourse context.

5. Impose boundary conditions to exclude certain types of potential metaphors from the set.

Step 1 looks for expressions/words that are metaphorically used (Cameron analyzes the example *Juliet is the sun*), based on the following five conditions: (1) the Topic term is stated explicitly, or its referent is visible to both producer and receiver, (2) the Vehicle domain is familiar to producer and receiver and produces an understanding of the Topic term, (3) the producer intends the utterance to be interpreted metaphorically, (4) the high level of incongruity between Topic and Vehicle makes it very likely that the receiver will interpret the expression metaphorically and so the incongruity is resolved by a transfer of meaning across the Topic and Vehicle (p.109), and (5) the form is not negative. For instance, **Juliet is the sun** is more typical than **I am not a smile** and **A is B** is its typical syntactic form (p.117-118).

Step 2 is to identify linguistic metaphors based on three conditions. In particular, one expression can be identified metaphorical if (1) it contains reference to a Topic domain by a Vehicle term (or terms) , (2) there is a potentially an incongruity between the two domains and (3) it is possible for a receiver to find a coherent interpretation which makes sense of the incongruity in the context and which involves some transfer meaning from the source domain (p.118).

The next three steps are performed to exclude non-metaphorical expressions. Steps 3 and 4 are to exclude expressions that may look like typical metaphors but actually are produced by errors or irregular situations. For example, *a slither of rock* may appear as a metaphorical expression, but in this context, *slither* seems to be used by mistake then it should be seen as a lexical error. This type would include expressions which may

appear to be metaphorical when viewed from outside the shared discourse world of speaker and listener, but not metaphorical within it. For example, the expression ***This pillow is my spaceship*** is produced by a three-year old child. In this context, the child views his pillow as a spaceship. This context shows that *spaceship* does not work as a metaphorical vehicle for *the pillow*. Therefore this kind of expression is not labeled metaphorical and is then excluded.

The last step is to identify the boundary conditions where disagreement of whether an expression is metaphorical or non-metaphorical lies. Cameron suggests that explicitness is required in respects of those judgments. In particular, she analyzes delexicalized verbs (like **make, put, have, or do**), and noun phrases of the given verbs. The analyst needs to describe the core or primary meaning of the verb and then decide if the primary meaning is being used in the utterance. For example, based on the core meaning of **have** to be possessing/experiencing as in **have a good time**, Cameron suggests that **have + concrete object/event** is primary and non-metaphorical, whereas **have + non-concrete object/event** is categorized metaphorical (p.122). The use of **have** in each utterance in her data will be compared with the primary meaning of **have**. She also emphasizes the role of the analyst in deciding the primary use of **have + noun phrase(s)**. In “*animals have fire*” (p.135), fire is used metonymically to refer to “the power to create and use fire for light, heat etc.”, so the analyst will decide if **have + abstract nouns for skills, powers, ideas** etc. is metaphorical or not. If it is decided that the primary, literal meaning does not extend as far as abstract nouns for powers, skills, ideas, etc. then **have** in “*animals have fire*” is metaphorical.

Noticeably, this procedure works with very simple examples/expressions and any expression can be potentially categorized metaphorical. No solid criteria to define the primary meaning of the expression were established. In this procedure, the primary meaning of one expression depends on the analyst's assumptions. This would produce disagreement on the decision whether the investigated expression is literal or metaphorical. Moreover, the identification of the Vehicle and Target domains is rather simple. It is based on the incongruity between the Vehicle and the Topic domain: if a high level of incongruity between the two domains exists, the receiver will highly interpret the expression metaphorically. In addition, Cameron does not explain how she labels the Vehicle and Topic terms in order to construct conceptual metaphors in the form A is B. For instance, Cameron (1999:125) provides the following example:

then we've got another classification (1.0) they're still human (.) so we can put them in a *big circle* that **says** human (.) but we can also *put them in two smaller circles* (.) that **say** (1.0) male female (italics and bold in the original).

Cameron explains that outside the school contexts, the use of **put them in a big circle/two small circles** refers to the Vehicle domain (big and small circles) that is highly incongruous with the Topic domain. The use of **say** refers to the Topic domain of labeling or naming a category (p.125). If a syntactic form of a conceptual metaphor is A is B, then what would be the metaphor established in this example and what would be its conceptual mappings across the two domains? The discussion above suggests that Cameron's procedure has not actually identified the conceptual metaphors which underlie these words.

In a second approach to metaphor identification, Steen (1999) also proposes a five-step procedure to identify and constrain conceptual metaphor from contexts, though his five steps differ from those of Cameron. The foundational idea of this procedure is “If metaphor in discourse can be explained by means of an underlying cross-domain mapping in conceptual structure, then it should be possible to move from the linguistic forms in the text to the conceptual structures that capture their meaning in some ordered fashion” (Steen 2009:199). With this procedure, several issues from language to conceptual structures should be resolved and tackled (p.199).

Steen proposes a proposition-based metaphor identification procedure. The procedure is presented below:

1. metaphor focus identification
2. metaphorical idea identification
3. nonliteral comparison identification
4. nonliteral analogy identification
5. nonliteral mapping identification (p.60-73)

The first step in this procedure is to identify metaphorical expressions. From the second step to the fifth step the process is to identify metaphorical propositions, metaphorical comparisons, metaphorical analogies, and metaphorical mappings. In this procedure, proposition is used as an intermediate level between linguistic expressions and the conceptual mapping level (Steen 2002). One of Steen’s example (1999:62) illustrates how the procedure works:

I have seen the mermaids riding seawards on the waves.

Step 1: *riding on* is the metaphorical focus because the concept RIDING-ON it refers to does not apply to the relationships between *mermaids* and *waves*.

Step 2: a method of propositional analysis is used to find the relationship between the metaphorical focus and the tenor of topic of the metaphor. The topic of the metaphor is “the literal part of the metaphorical idea” (p.62). The example above is analyzed as follows:

I have seen the mermaids riding seawards on the waves

P1 (SEE I P2)

P2 (RIDE-ON MERMAIDS WAVES)

P3 (DIRECTION P2 SEAWARDS)

The metaphorical idea in this expression is found in proposition P2. P2 does not involve words but the concepts RIDE-ON, MERMAIDS, WAVES, DIRECTION, SEAWARDS are activated by the words in the expression.

Step 3: This is the output of step 2, where propositions of literal and nonliteral concepts are transformed into comparative structures which are “implicit in the nonliteral mapping between domains for every conceptual metaphor” (p.66). In this step, Steen uses the re-write rules (proposed by Miller 1993, mentioned in Steen 1999) to transform the metaphorical idea found in P2 into nonliteral comparison, as below:

(RIDE-ON MERMAIDS WAVES) \rightarrow $(\exists F) (\exists y, y') \{ \text{SIM}[F(\text{MERMAIDS}, \text{WAVES}), \text{RIDE-ON}(y, y')]\}$ (Steen 1999:67)

Steen explains this formal notation as follows “there is an activity (or relation) F and two entities y and y’ such that there is a similarity between mermaids and waves “doing F” on the one hand and y riding on y’ on the other” (p.67).

Step 4: filling the empty slots from the output of step 3 brings a complete nonliteral analogy. In particular, in this step, empty slots F, y and y' in step 3 can be filled to replace the metaphorical focus, FLOAT replaces F (in step 3), or to fill in the second incomplete propositions in step3, JOCKEY and HORSE replace y and y'. Steen presents step 4 as follows:

(RIDE-ON MERMAIDS WAVES) → SIM[FLOAT(MERMAIDS, WAVES), RIDE-ON (JOCKEY, HORSE)]

Step 5: conceptual metaphor is established by “filling out the conceptual structure of the two sides of the nonliteral analogy, the source and target domain” (p.71). However, Steen does not demonstrate this step by the same expression that he has used, but uses instead a different expression *a watch dog committee*, which is the linguistic manifestation of a conventional metaphor and presents the following correspondences:

THE COMMITTEE-AS-WATCHDOG MAPPING

The committee corresponds to the watchdog.

The organizational domain corresponds to the yard.

The interest or activity at risk corresponds to the property.

Malpractice corresponds to trespassing.

Monitoring corresponds to watching.

Warning the public corresponds to barking.

Steen admits that step 4 and 5 in this procedure form the weakest part of the chain and “step 5 being the weakest of all” (p.73). Clearly, the different expression was used to illustrate step 5 indicates this point.

Semino et al. (2004) applied Steen's procedure to a corpus of conversation about cancer. They proposed some adjustments to Steen's procedure and added a sixth step. They suggest that one individual concept may have a range of literal and/or metaphorical associates (2004: 1288-9). For example, volcanoes and hibernating animals are listed as literal associates of BEING DORMANT because they both can describe the state of being dormant. A remission phase of cancer, which is shown in step 4 below, can be added as dormant:

Step 4: (BE CANCER DORMANT) → SIM [BE IN REMISSION (CANCER),
BE DORMANT (HIBERNATING ANIMAL/VOLCANO)] (p.1285)

In step 5, the authors did not indicate how to choose the target domain. Instead they listed possible target domains: REMISSION PHASE or CANCER. Depending on what target domain is chosen, a source domain will be chosen correspondingly, such as: REMISSION PHASE OF CANCER IS BEING DORMANT, or CANCER IS HIBERNATING ANIMAL/VOLCANO (p.1285).

In Semino et al's new six step 6, the mappings extracted from step 4 and 5 are to be evaluated in terms of primary and complex metaphors. In particular, the authors suggested that metaphorical uses of *dormant* could be explained in terms of primary metaphors, such as: ACTIVE IS UP/INACTIVE IS DOWN, ACTIVE IS AWAKE/INACTIVE IS ASLEEP, and INANIMATE ENTITIES ARE ANIMALS. These primary metaphors form a complex metaphor: SUSTAINED TEMPORARY INACTIVITY IS BEING DORMANT which would apply to many domains, including CANCER. Therefore, we can understand why only BEING DORMANT from the source domain HIBERNATING ANIMAL/VOLCANO is applied to the domain of CANCER. It

is because other elements of the source domain ANIMAL/VOLCANO are not applied to the complex metaphor: SUSTAINED TEMPORARY INACTIVITY IS BEING DORMANT (p.1291).

Gibbs (2002:80) comments on the proposition-based metaphor identification procedures followed by Steen and Semino et al. He states that embodied metaphorical mappings cannot be captured in propositions and, in fact, they resist propositional analysis and thus do not prove a satisfying approach to metaphor identification. In particular, Gibbs pointed out that Steen's five-step procedure is primarily inductive and the procedure results in identifying linguistic expressions that relate to conceptual mappings across two domains that would be different from the results of the deductive process that is usually performed in cognitive linguistics. Importantly, the two procedures do not show how to identify the target and source domains as well conceptual mappings across the two domains. Steen (1999:73) acknowledges that the reliability and strength of steps 4 and 5 need future research to be tested. The procedures of Steen (1999) and Semino et al. (2004) were not used this study because of their weakness in identifying target and source domains of metaphors and in delineating conceptual mappings, discussed in Gibbs (2002).

A third procedure for identifying metaphors is that of the The Pragglejaz Group (2007) proposed by a group of researchers⁵. This procedure, called MIP (the Metaphor Identification Procedure), is promoted as a prescriptive method of identifying linguistic metaphors in natural discourse, described as "an explicit, reliable and flexible method for identifying metaphorically words in spoken and written language" (Pragglejaz Group

⁵ Peter Crisp, Ray Gibbs, Alan Cienki, Graham Low, Gerard Steen, Lynne Cameron, Elena Semino, Joe Grady, Alice Deignan, Zoltán Kövecses.

2007:2). This procedure provides a tool for finding metaphors which move researchers away from the intuitive work and reduce all possible errors. In this procedure, a lexical unit is identified metaphorical or literal based on a comparison between its contextual meaning and its basic meaning listed in dictionaries. If the contextual meaning of the lexical unit is not identical to its basic/literal meaning, the lexical unit is marked as metaphorical.

The MIP consists of four basic steps of identifying metaphorical words and phrases:

- Step 1 requires a reading of the entire context to gain a general understanding of the text in which the linguistic metaphor appears.
- Step 2 is to determine the lexical units in the text.
- Step 3 requires that each lexical unit will be established with its contextual meaning and its more basic meaning (from the dictionary) related to a bodily action or historical context. The analyst will decide if the word's contextual meaning contrasts with its basic meaning by making comparisons.
- Step 4 If yes, then the word is metaphorical (Pragglejaz 2007:3).

The following example (2007:4) illustrates how the method works:

/ For / years / , Sonia Gandhi / has / struggled / to / convince / Indians / that / she /
is / fit / to / wear / the / mantle / of / the / political / dynasty / into / which / she /
married / , let alone / to / become / premier / .

The example is examined and then is broken down into individual words. Each word's contextual meaning and basic meaning from a dictionary source are compared to determine if the word is metaphorical.

For instance, the word *for* in the above example is not metaphorical because its contextual meaning (temporal duration) contrasts with its basic meaning (refers to the beneficiary or recipient of an action) but cannot be understood by comparison with it.

The word *struggled* is metaphorical because its contextual meaning (efforts in changing people's negative views or attitudes) contrasts with its basic meaning (use physical strength against someone or something), and can be understood by comparison with it: abstract effort is understood in terms of physical effort (p. 4, 5).

The MIP was designed to identify "metaphorically used words in discourse" (p.1) not to conceptual metaphors underlying these words. In particular, using the MIP would help metaphor researchers reach an agreement about whether a word is metaphorical but not indicate to which conceptual domain the word belongs. Like Steen's procedure, the MIP requires an enormous amount of work to determine if every word in a text is metaphorical and whether or not it participates in conceptual metaphor.

The three metaphor identification procedures above have made a considerable contribution to metaphor identification. They have proposed useful solutions to the difficulties of metaphor identification, such as, literal and metaphorical identification, and source and target domain identification. However, none of the three are entirely sufficient for discourse-based studies which aim to identify source and target domains and then establish conceptual metaphors and conceptual mappings between the two domains. In the next section I will present a metaphor identification procedure which I developed for

this study based on the principles of the MIP and incorporating the notion of meaning focus proposed by Kövecses (2010).

3.4. The methodology of this study

This section presents the methodology of this study, including the reasons for investigating the two emotions of anger and sadness, and the data collection and conceptual metaphor identification procedure I developed based on the Pragglejaz MIP (2007).

The procedure developed for this study employed context analysis and the ideas of meaning focus and simple metaphors developed by Kövecses (2010) as a means of identifying the conceptual metaphors underlying emotion concepts in Vietnamese. This procedure was designed for this corpus-based study as a way of capturing conventional patterns of thought based on the analysis of the collocates of the emotion terms and their patterns of use in discourse. The study relied on dictionaries to construct a set of frequently used lexical items that participate in metaphorical expression.

3.4.1. Data collection – Vietnamese emotions

This study provides an investigation the conceptualizations of Vietnamese emotions, beginning with only two of these emotions: *giận* ‘anger’ and *buồn* ‘sadness’. The study aims to discover the correlations between the emotions and physical experiences and the relationships of the emotions and the Vietnamese system of cultural beliefs and religions which play significant roles in shaping the conceptualizations.

In Vietnamese culture, people believe that there are a number of unavoidable emotions which humans must experience in their life. In general, there are two emotions

which can represent all humans' states and feelings: *vui* (happiness) and *buồn* (sadness).

For example:

(2) *những vui buồn chuyện đời, chuyện nghề* (vnexpress.com)

PL happy sad story life story career

'All happiness and sadness of life and careers'

Example (2) is a common phrase which refers to the happiness and sadness of life and careers, meaning the full range of emotions experienced in one's life and career.

Under the influence of Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism, Vietnamese culture has added more specific emotions that are believed to describe humans' emotional life. According to Taoism, Buddhism and Confucianism, there are seven emotions in human life, however, each religion offers a slightly different version of the seven emotions, as presented in Table 1:

<u>Taoism</u>		<u>Buddhism</u>		<u>Confucianism</u>	
S-V	Vietnamese	S-V	Vietnamese	S-V	Vietnamese
Hỉ	Mừng 'happiness'	Hỉ	Mừng 'happiness'	Hỉ	Mừng 'happiness'
Nộ	Giận 'anger'	Nộ	Giận 'anger'	Nộ	Giận 'anger'
Ái	Yêu 'love'	Ái	Yêu 'love'	Ái	Yêu 'love'
Ó	Ghét 'hatred'	Ó	Ghét 'hatred'	Ó	Ghét 'hatred'
Ai	Buồn 'sadness'	Tham	Tham 'greed'	Ai	Buồn 'sadness'
Cụ	Sợ 'fright'	Sân	Thù oán 'resentment'	Khủng	Sợ 'fear'
Dục	Muốn 'desire'	Si	Đốt 'ignorance'	Dục	Muốn 'desire'

Table 1: Seven emotions in Taoism, Buddhism and Confucianism (from thuvienhoasen.org); S-V means Sino-Vietnamese.

Vietnamese culture has selected certain emotions from the three versions of emotions in Buddhism, Taoism Confucianism. These emotions can be placed in two lists which may signal the influences of the two religions in the Vietnamese understanding of emotions.

(1) *hi* (happiness), *nộ* (anger), *ái* (love), *ố* (hatred) (Buddhism)

(2) *hi* (happiness), *nộ* (anger), *ai* (grief/sadness), and *ố* (hatred) (Taoism and Confucianism)

The two lists of emotions can be mixed and used interchangeably to refer to either particular emotions such as happiness, anger, sadness, hatred or love, or to the general emotions of human beings in general. For instance, the expressions in examples (3-4) both refer to different emotions in people's lives.

- (3) *những hi, nộ, ái, ố của đời người*
PL happiness anger love hatred of life people
- (4) *những hi, nộ, ai, ố của đời người*
PL happiness anger sadness hatred of life people

The understanding of the emotions of happiness, anger, love, hatred and sadness in Vietnamese are found to be either influenced or derived from seven basic emotions in Taoism, Buddhism and Confucianism as presented in Table 1. I focus on the emotions of sadness and anger. The other emotions, such as love, happiness, and hatred will be topics for future research.

The anger and sadness terms analyzed in this study are lexical items and expressions that are familiar to Vietnamese speakers and ones that are commonly used to talk about these emotions. These expressions are conventionalized expressions including clichés, proverbs, and idioms. The lexical items expressing the two emotions were collected from six Vietnamese dictionaries: *Dictionary of Vietnamese* (published in 2000), and five Vietnamese dictionaries of proverbs and idioms (published from 1971 - 2003). All expressions and words referring to the emotions of anger and sadness were collected. The data consist of 297 and 239 expressions of anger and sadness, respectively.

It is important to mention that dictionaries are valuable repositories of lexical knowledge (Zgusta 1971) but they do not provide sufficient information to explain why speakers of a given language think of, understand, and express their emotions in the ways they do. Therefore, in this study, discourse contexts in which the emotions occur were collected from nine Vietnamese e-news websites in order to capture those aspects which can influence the emotion conceptualizations, including: setting, topics, audience, and medium (Kövecses 2010). The nine e-news websites are the most popular in Vietnamese, according to alexa.com (2008).

	Domain	IP	extension	type	Server location
1.	vnexpress.net	210.245.31.22	.net	newspaper	VN
2.	ngoisao.net	210.245.86.31	.net	newspaper	VN
3.	vietnamnet.vn	203.162.168.143	.vn	newspaper	VN
4.	tuoitre.com.vn	203.162.163.35	.com.vn	newspaper	VN
5.	thanhnien.com.vn	123.30.108.28	.com.vn	newspaper	VN
6.	tintuonline.com.vn	203.162.71.81	.com.vn	newspaper	VN
7.	ttvnol.com	74.52.71.180	.com	discussion forum	VN
8.	webtretho.com.vn	118.69.206.166	.com	discussion forum	VN
9.	vnthuquan.net	85.214.70.196	.net	reference	Outsite

Table 2: Nine e-news websites which are used to collect emotion contexts. This table is achieved from <http://o.pe>

It should be noted that we, unfortunately, do not have psychological studies on the emotions expressed by Vietnamese people. Contexts that indicate physiological and behavioral responses are helpful to recognize the emotions. All necessary factors relating to the emotions will help us build a set of elements to identify the emotions in order to discover the nature of the emotion concepts. For instance, it is important to have a

context describing the progress of the emotions: how they exist, whether or not they are in progress or have ceased, how the self deals with the emotions, and what social, cultural factors are involved in the cognitive process of understanding, expressing, and handling the emotions. The contexts of the two emotions in this study were categorized according to the following factors:

1. Participants of the emotions (the self and the cause for the emotion)
2. Aspects of the emotion (the cause, the occurrence, progress and cease of the emotion)
3. How the participants conceptualize the emotion (physiological and behavioral responses revealing how they think)
4. Showing factors (if possible): social, cultural, historical, etc. relate to the participants, for instance, social relationships between participants, etc.

Example (4) shows a sample of contexts of anger in this study.

- (5) Ông Thấu giận tái mặt, ông Vịnh biết mình lỡ lời vội xin lỗi anh. Ông Thấu **hầm hầm** bảo ông Vịnh “cút đi cho khuất mắt tao
 Mr. Thấu **angry pale face** Mr. Vịnh know self slip word hurry sorry
 brother Mr. Thấu **aggressive** tell Mr. Vịnh “go away for out of eye I
 ‘Mr. Thấu was so angry that his face got pale. Mr. Vịnh (his younger brother) realized that he talked carelessly then said sorry to his brother. Mr. Thấu was furious, told Mr. Vịnh “go away, out of my sight”.’

The context for the expression of anger in example (5) above shows the progress of anger, how it occurs, how the self and the doer think of the offending event, how the self thinks, and controls the anger, etc. In particular, Mr Thấu is angry at his brother (anger exists) because his younger brother talks carelessly to him (the offending event). His face becomes pale (a physiological effect of anger). Mr Vịnh (the cause of anger)

evaluates what he has done. He tries to repair the damage by saying apology to his brother. Mr Thấu seems to try to control his anger after his brother shows his regret. He asks his brother to go away in order to prevent himself from saying hurtful and mean things, or doing something he may feel sorry later. Obviously, example (5) indicates that contexts contribute to the metaphorical conceptualization of the anger emotion and play an important role in shaping the emotion concept.

Regarding the contexts of the emotions, anger and sadness, in this study, every one of the first 100 examples of the emotions in those websites was read and then 10 examples which were able to be categorized according to the contextual factors above were selected. In particular, 2,970 contexts of anger, and 2,390 contexts of sadness were collected for this study's corpus.

The contexts of the emotions mostly contain three or five sentences. The sentence that contains the emotion expression is usually the second or the third sentence, respectively. The surrounding sentences can provide a scene of the emotions which shows who is experiencing the emotion and who the wrongdoer is, also the progress of the emotion, how the participants view the emotions in terms of physiological and behavioral responses, and possibly the social relationships between participants etc.

3.4.2. Metaphor identification procedure

Based on the MIP (2007) discussed in section 3.3 and the meaning focus proposed by Kövecses (2010), this study developed a metaphor identification procedure to investigate the concepts of sadness and anger in Vietnamese. In this procedure, conceptual metaphors of sadness and anger are identified by examining all lexical units that collocate with the two emotions in their contexts.

The metaphorical identification procedure for this study consists of the following steps:

Step 1: Read the whole context to establish its general meaning

Step 2: Determine words, phrases or expressions referring to the emotions based on (1) the actual emotion terms or (2) lexical units denote the emotions evoked by the context (this step requires the analyst's intuition and linguistic background for determining the lexical units' meanings).

Step 3: All lexical units in step 2 and their collocates in the contexts will be determined if they are metaphorical; slashes are used to indicate boundaries among lexical units. This analysis is based on the MIP (2007). If the basic meaning of the lexical unit contrasts with its contextual meaning but can be understood in comparison with it, then it is metaphorical. Vietnamese dictionaries are used to decide on the basic meaning of a lexical unit in this procedure.

Step 4: Identify the source and target domain

4.1 Target domain:

- a) If the emotion term is explicit, for example: **tức giận** (anger.crazy), the target domain is the emotion term: ANGER.
- b) If the emotion term is implicit, based on the meaning of the lexical units evoked by the context in step 3 to identify the target domain. For example, the meaning of the lexical unit refers to anger, the target domain is ANGER.

4.2 Source domain:

- a) Results of the metaphor analysis of step 3 bring a list of collocates of the emotion term. Five (or fewer than five) collocates which are metaphorically-used words both preceding and following the emotion terms will be grouped under their meaning foci to identify source domain.
- b) The number of collocates of each meaning focus will be calculated to determine whether the possible metaphor, the outcome of steps 4.1 and 4.2, is conventional or one-shot metaphor. The one-shot metaphor is defined by the only linguistic instance of a mapping. The conventional metaphor is defined by a systematic mapping from a source to a target domain which is reflected in everyday language (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). The more collocates of a source domain, the more systematic the mappings are, then the higher possibility the metaphor is conventional and vice versa. The number of the collocates of a source domain will reveal how the metaphor functions in the conceptual system of the concept. That is, the more collocates describing the source domain, the more distinctive aspect of the concept is. It will show the importance of the conceptual metaphor in the conceptualization of the emotion concept.

5. Formulate conceptual metaphors by the formula: Target domain is Source domain.

The following example is analyzed to illustrate the procedure as below:

- (6) *Mẹ/ không/nói/ gì/, chỉ/ im lặng/ **gánh chịu/ cơn giận/ điên cuồng/ của/ bố.***
 Mother don't say any, only silent **carry bear CLAS angry** crazy of father
 '(My) mother did not say anything, she silently suffered my father's fury.'

Step 1: The general meaning of this context tells how the mother endures the father's

anger.

Step 2: The word **con giận** refers to the anger emotion.

Step 3: **con giận** and its collocates are determined if they are metaphorical.

In example (5), words that are collocates before and after **con giận** are: *không/ nói/ gì/*, *chỉ/ im lặng/ **gánh chịu*** and *điên cuồng/ của/ bố*. They are analyzed as below:

The noun **con giận** is not metaphorical. Its basic meaning (a strong feeling of displeasure or hostility) is the same with its contextual meaning (a strong feeling of displeasure or hostility) and does not contrast with it.

The adverb **không** (don't) is not metaphorical because its basic meaning (to denote negative meaning for the actions followed) is the same with its contextual meaning (to denote negative meaning for the actions followed) and does not contrast with it.

The verb **nói** (speak) is not metaphorical. Its basic meaning (to produce words by means of sounds) is the same with its contextual meaning (to produce words by means of sounds) and does not contrast with it.

The supporting word **gì** (what) is not metaphorical. Its basic meaning (to denote a completely negative meaning) is the same with its contextual meaning (to denote a completely negative meaning) and does not contrast with it.

The adjective **im lặng** (silent) is not metaphorical. Its basic meaning (to denote an absence of noise or sound) is closely related to its contextual meaning (not saying anything about a particular matter) and does not significantly contrast with it.

The verb **gánh chịu** (carry-bear) is metaphorical. Its basic meaning (forced to accept something not good or damage) and it contrasts with its contextual meaning (to endure or suffer patiently from being badly treated) and can be understood by a comparison with it. We can understand **gánh chịu** (carry-bear) in terms of “being forced to accept something that is not good or is damaged”.

The adjective **điên cuồng** (crazy)’s basic meaning “mentally deranged” contrasts with its contextual meaning “insane and violent behavior” and can be understood in terms of it, therefore **điên cuồng** is metaphorically used in the sentence.

The conjunction word **của** (of) is not metaphorical. Its basic meaning (to denote possessing) is the same with its contextual meaning (to denote possessing) and does not contrast with it.

The noun **bố** (father) is not metaphorical. Its basic meaning (to denote a male parent) is the same with its contextual meaning (to denote a male parent) and does not contrast with it.

Step 4: Identify the source and target domain:

- a). The presence of the word **cơn giận** indicates the target domain ANGER.
- b). Group the collocates of **cơn giận** found in contexts in the whole dataset under their meaning foci.

Gánh chịu (carry.bear) in the example, is in the same list of other collocates of anger found in the data, such as: **bê** (carry), **nặng nề** (heavy), **nặng** (heavy), **nặng nhẹ** (heavy.light), **gánh nặng** (carry.heavy), **nặng chình chịch** (heavy.very), **đeo đá** (carry.stone), **mang** (carry), etc. These collocates share the meaning focus of the source domain: INTENSITY and suggest the source domain BURDEN.

Điên cuồng (crazy) is found in the same list of other collocates of anger in the whole dataset such as: **phát điên** (become.crazy), **phát rồ** (become.crazy), **điên lên (crazy)**, **phát khùng** (become crazy), **khùng lên** (crazy), etc. These collocates point out the meaning focus: INTENSITY which suggests and describes the source domain: INSANITY.

The meaning foci lead to the simple metaphors: Intensity is existence of physical burden (which comes from the mapping: The existence of burden is the intensity of anger), and Intensity is existence of insane behaviors (lack of control which comes from the mapping: the existence of insane behaviors is the intensity of anger)

Step 5: Formulate metaphors of anger: ANGER IS BURDEN, ANGER IS INSANITY

The target domain ANGER is general because it can cover a number of related anger expressions as shown above. The source domains BURDEN and INSANITY are found to be general and abstract because they seem to be common denominators for the two groups of related expressions cited above. Furthermore, the metaphors ANGER IS BURDEN, ANGER IS INSANITY indicate that the concept of anger is grounded in immediate physical experiences that is, the concept of anger- the less clearly delineated is understood in terms of the more clearly delineated, BURDEN and INSANITY (see in Lakoff and Johnson 1980).

Conceptual mappings from the source domain and the target domain of the anger metaphor are presented as below:

ANGER IS BURDEN

The cause the burden is the cause of anger.

The existence of the burden is the existence of burden.

The intensity of the burden is the intensity of anger.

The burden affects the self.

The burden can cause harm to the self.

To release the burden is to release anger.

ANGER IS INSANITY

The cause of the insanity is the cause of anger.

The existence of the insanity is the existence of anger.

Becoming insane is passing the limit point on the anger scale.

The intensity of the insanity is the intensity of anger.

Insane behavior is angry behavior (Kövecses 1995:60-61).

The metaphorical identification procedure set up in this study aims to provide an analytical tool for metaphor researchers to identify conceptual metaphors of emotions based on the contexts in which the metaphors are grounded. In particular, the analysis of the emotion expressions and of the contexts will help us capture the different aspects of the emotion concepts, construct conceptual metaphors of emotions, and build up conceptual mappings between source domain and target domain. This procedure is explicit in guiding metaphor analysts towards which expressions and collocates of the expressions to focus on, and how to label the target and source domain. The domain labels should be chosen in such a way that they best represent the frames of the source and target domain.

The procedure of this study employed context analysis, meaning focus (foci), and simple metaphors (Kövecses 2010) as guidelines to construct conceptual metaphors of emotion concepts. This procedure is useful for studies that use a context-based approach

and also ones that use a corpus-based approach in that it can present conventional patterns of thought based on the analysis of the collocates of the emotion terms and on the specific circumstances of the reflected patterns. Using dictionaries in this procedure is necessary to objectively determine if a lexical unit is metaphorical and how it partly characterizes the source domain of the concept. The procedure also shows that relying on the analyst's intuition and linguistic background is inevitably involved in interpreting the meaning of the context, determining the lexical units in the context (in step 1 and 2), and in labeling the target domain (how the lexical units' meanings suggest the emotion) and the source domain, as in step 4. These issues were addressed in Semino et al. (2004) in that an analyst's intuition cannot be completely eliminated.

3.5. Summary

In this chapter I have presented an overview of the major methodological issues in metaphor research especially those related to metaphor identification which provides the groundwork for the design of this study. I have also detailed the study methodology, including materials, data collection, and the data analysis procedure. I have reviewed significant metaphor identification procedures proposed by Cameron (1999), Steen (1999), Semino et al. (2004), and the MIP (2007) and indicated their influences on the metaphor identification procedure used here. Based on the MIP (2007) I set up a metaphorical identification procedure for this study which is based on the notion of the meaning focus and simple metaphors (Kövecses 2010), and which takes particular account of the contexts in which the metaphor is grounded. The methodology designed for this study, especially the metaphor identification procedure, is aimed to assist other metaphor researchers conduct an exhaustive, in-depth search for conceptual metaphors,

and thus arrive at a more accurate analysis in order to precisely describe the content of an emotion concept.

Chapter 4

Anger concept in Vietnamese

4. Introduction

This chapter presents a comparative study of the concept of anger in American English, Chinese, and Vietnamese. In particular, this chapter presents conceptual metaphors, metonymies, and a cognitive model of the anger concept in Vietnamese in order to compare the ways the anger emotion is conceptualized in the three languages. The shared metaphors and metonymies of anger are analyzed to show the role of universal physiological embodiment and cultural embodiment in motivating such conceptualizations.

This chapter is divided in seven sections. Section 4.1 provides an overview of the data. Section 4.2 and 4.3 present shared conceptual metonymies and metaphors of the emotion of anger. Section 4.3 also discusses a Chinese metaphor that has been used in Vietnamese, and shows that, under the influence of Vietnamese culture, the Chinese metaphor was restructured to become another Vietnamese metaphor. Section 4.4 provides non-shared metaphors of anger. These sections discuss the role of physiological and cultural embodiment in motivating such conceptualizations.

Section 4.5 and 4.6 examine the prototypical scenario as well as non-prototypical scenarios of anger in Vietnamese. Section 4.7 offers a summary and conclusion for this chapter.

4.1 Overview of the Data

This section provides an overview of the metonymies and metaphors of anger in Vietnamese. The charts below display the percentage ratios of metonymic and metaphorical expressions of anger, metonymies and metaphors of anger in the whole dataset.

This study collected 297 anger expressions from six Vietnamese dictionaries. Actual contexts of the anger expressions were collected from nine Vietnamese e-news websites. Each context usually contains three or five sentences. The sentence containing the emotion expression often is the second or the third sentence of the context, respectively. Ten contexts of each anger expression were examined to identify metaphorical and metonymic expressions of anger. In 2,970 contexts of anger, there are 1,968 expressions are metonymic and 2,361 expressions are metaphorical. These metonymic and metaphorical expressions constitute 45.46% and 54.53%, respectively, of the whole dataset, as shown in Figure 1. These percentage ratios of metonymic and metaphorical expressions of anger indicate that Vietnamese people rely on both metaphorical and metonymic expressions in describing anger.

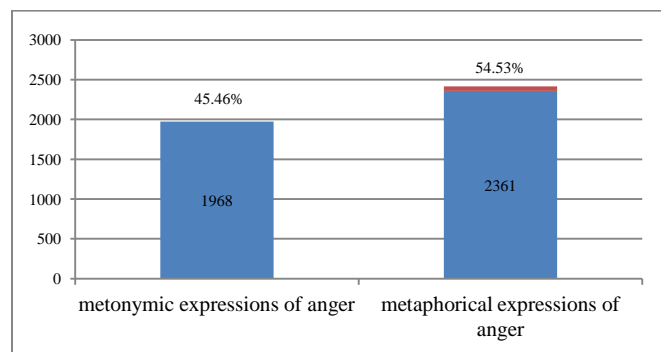


Figure 1: Percentage ratio of metonymic and metaphorical expressions of anger in the data of anger

4.1.1 Metonymies of anger

Figure 2 display metonymies of anger in Vietnamese. Each bar shows the frequency of the categorized metonymic expression of anger in the whole dataset. For example, the number of sickness expressions describing anger is 17 out of 1968 metonymic expressions then it accounts for 0.86% of the metonymic expression of anger in Vietnamese.

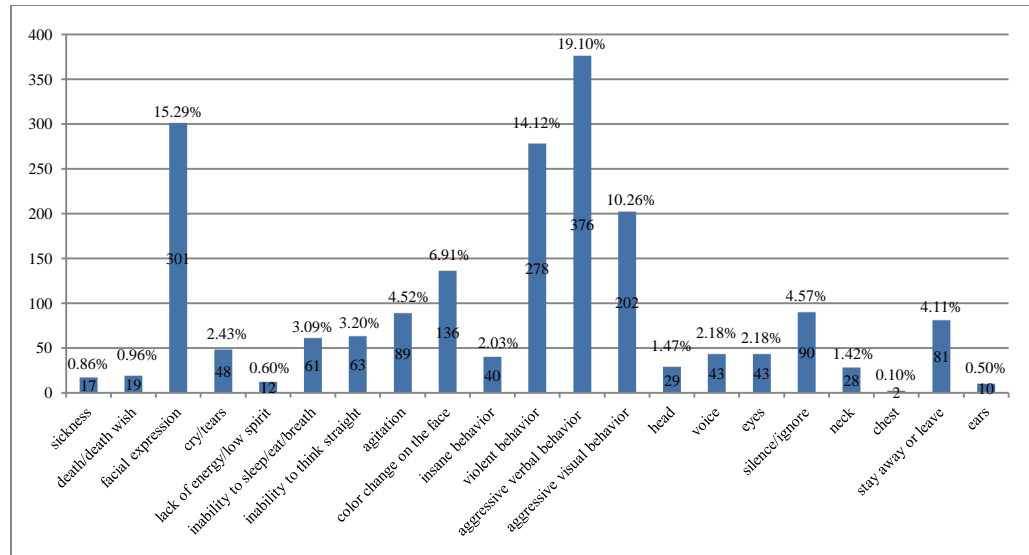


Figure 2: Metonymies of anger

4.1.2 Metaphors of anger

Figure 3 displays metaphors of anger in Vietnamese. Each bar shows the frequency of the categorized metaphorical expression of anger in the whole dataset. For example, the number of fire expressions describing anger is 361 out of 2361 metaphorical expressions. It accounts for 15.29% of the metaphorical expression of anger. In section 4.3.1 of this chapter, based on the number of the fire expressions describing anger, and the fire source domain telling different degrees of anger, I suggest that the metaphor ANGER IS FIRE is the central metaphor in Vietnamese whereas ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER is claimed to be the central metaphor in American English (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987).

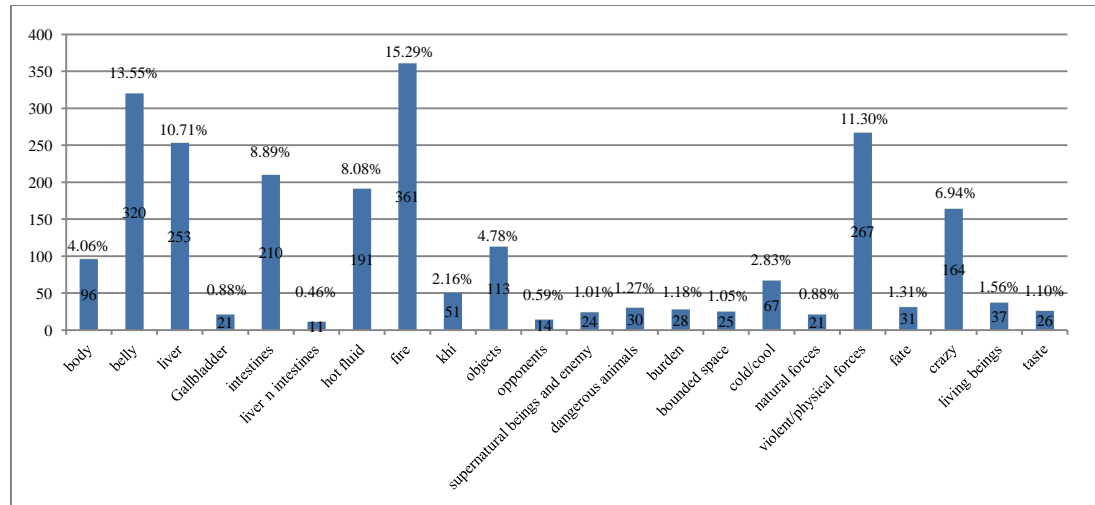


Figure 3: Metaphors of anger

4.2. Conceptual metonymies of anger in Vietnamese, Chinese and American English and physiological embodiment

In their study of the anger concept in American English, Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) established conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies that structure the concept of anger. Conceptual metonymies of anger, they say, are constructed by a set of physiological effects and behavioral reactions, as follows⁶:

- THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF ANGER ARE INCREASED BODY HEAT, INCREASED INTERNAL PRESSURE (BLOOD PRESSURE, MUSCULAR PRESSURE), AGITATION, AND INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION.
- AS ANGER INCREASES, ITS PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS INCREASE.

⁶ This study follows Lakoff and Kövecses (1987): metaphorical and metonymical concepts are written in capital letters

- THERE IS A LIMIT BEYOND WHICH THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF ANGER IMPAIR NORMAL FUNCTIONING

(Lakoff and Kövecses 1987:196)

These metonymies can be grouped under the general metonymic principle: “THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION” (p.196).

The model is applied to the shared metonymies of anger in English (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987:197) and Chinese (Yu 1995:67-68). These are presented below in Table 1, which is followed by examples of the same metonymies of anger in Vietnamese.

Metonymy effects	American English	Chinese
Body heat	Don't get <i>hot under the collar</i> . They were having a <i>heated argument</i> . Billy's a <i>hothead</i> .	Wo qi de lian-shang huo-lala de. I gas COM face-on fire-hot PRT <i>I got so angry that my face was peppery hot./ My face was peppery hot with anger.</i>
Internal Pressure	Don't get a <i>hernia!</i> When I found out, I almost <i>burst a blood vessel</i>	Bie ba fei gei qi zha le. don't BA lung PRT gas explode PRT <i>Don't break your belly skin with gas/rage.</i>
Redness in the face and neck area	She was <i>scarlet with rage</i> He got <i>red with anger</i>	Tamen zheng de gege mian-hong-er-chi they argue COM everyone face-red-ear-red <i>They argued until everyone became red in the face and ears.</i>

Agitation	She was <i>shaking</i> with anger. I was <i>hoping mad</i> .	Ta nu fa chong guan he angry hair push-up hat <i>His angry hair is pushing up his hat./</i> <i>He is extremely angry.</i>
Interference with accurate perception	She was <i>blind with rage</i> . I was beginning to <i>see red</i>	Wo qi de liang yan fa hei I gas COM two eye become black <i>I was so angry that my eyes turned black./ I was beginning to see black with anger.</i>
	Lakoff and Kövecses (1987:197)	Yu (1995:67-68)

Table 3: Metonymy and metonymic expressions of anger in English and Chinese

As previous literature has shown, the way we conceptualize anger arises from our bodily responses associated with the emotion. A part of our emotion concept is based on these physiological experiences, that is, they are embodied (Kövecses 2004:159).

Emotion studies in different languages provide evidence that anger is associated with a set of bodily changes such as increases in skin temperature, blood pressure, pulse rate, and more intense respiration. The physiological embodiment of anger is grounded in actual bodily changes which occur as the result of the emotion. The shared physiological embodied experiences would lead to the shared conceptual metonymies of anger as shown in Table 1: BODY HEAT STANDS FOR ANGER, INTERNAL PRESSURE STANDS FOR ANGER, and REDNESS I FACE AND NECK AREA STANDS FOR ANGER. Below are conceptual metonymies of anger in Vietnamese which are grounded in physiological embodied experiences shared with English and Chinese:

BODY HEAT

(7) Nghe thấy hàng xóm mìa mai, nó thấy **người nóng bùng**

Hear see neighbor speak ironically he see **body hot burn**
muốn lao sang nói cho rõ ràng.

want go over speak for clear

‘Hearing that the neighbor spoke about him ironically, he got hot and bothered,
and wanted to go over to quarrel.’

INTERNAL PRESSURE

(8) *Vợ trẻ lập mưu lấy được nhà và tiền, muốn li hôn,*

Wife young make conspiracy get house and money, want divorce,

chồng già tức hộc máu và ốm.

husband old **angry split blood** and sick.

‘His young wife wants to get a divorce after scheming to get his house and money,
he was so angry that he spat blood and became sick.’

REDNESS IN THE FACE AND NECK AREA

(9) *Sau khi chia tay cô vợ Cheryl, Ashley Cole vẫn thường xuyên liên
lạc và*

After when depart CLAS wife Cheryl, Ashley Cole still often
contact and

điều này khiến bồ mới của Cheryl nóng mặt.

this make boyfriend new of Cheryl **hot face.**

‘After divorcing his wife Cheryl, Ashley Cole still stayed in touch with her and this
made her new boy friend get angry (**his face was hot**).’

AGITATION

(10) *Bà ta nhảy chồm chồm tức giận vì bị ăn cắp gà.*

She **hop jump** angry because PAS stolen chicken

‘She was hopping mad because her chicken was stolen.’

INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION

(11) *Trong lúc tức giận mù quáng, các bậc cha mẹ có thể có lời nói*

While **angry blind** PL CLAS parents can have word

nhục mạ làm tổn thương con.

insult make hurt children

‘While parents are blind with anger, they can say words which insult or hurt their children.’

The English, Chinese, and Vietnamese examples of anger above suggest that the three languages use similar metonymic expressions of anger that reveal the shared conceptual metonymies of the emotion. This is expected because these expressions are formed by our bodily responses to the emotion, and that should be universal among human beings. It is because we human beings share the same body structure, so our bodies should share similar experiences of physiological changes corresponding to particular emotions. Studies by Ekman, Levenson, and Friesen (1983, 1991), and Levensen et al (1992) provide evidence that the universality of bodily changes correlating with particular emotions should be expected, such as increases in skin temperature, rising pulse rate and blood pressure, and intense respiration corresponding to anger. Physiological responses to emotions are not unique to particular culture. Therefore, the universality of physiological responses to emotion should be expected among human beings.

However, beside the similarities in the metonymic expressions of anger, there are also remarkable differences in expressing the emotion metonymically in the three languages. Vietnamese and Chinese tend to use more body parts in expressing the emotions than English does. In Chinese, *face, eyes, lungs, belly skin, temples, veins, ears, neck, hair, brows, moustache, hands, feet, teeth, head*, and the whole *body* are used in describing anger (Yu 1995:69). In Vietnamese, my data shows that **mặt** *face*, **mắt** *eyes*, **tai** *ears*, **tóc** *hair*, **lông mày** *brows*, **tay** *hands*, **đầu** *head*, **răng** *teeth*, **miệng** *mouth*, and **người** *the body* are used in anger expressions. In English, Table 1 shows only *head* and

blood vessel are specified in the two examples of anger: “Billy’s a *hothead*.” “When I found out, I almost *burst a blood vessel*.”

The question is why in Vietnamese and Chinese, anger expressions make use of more body parts. For example:

Chinese	Vietnamese
Ta qi de hun-shen fadou he gas COM both-hands quiver <i>His hands were quivering with anger</i>	<i>Day tay mắt miệng muốn đánh cho hả giận.</i> Clench hand close mouth want beat for satisfied anger '(He) clenched his hands , tightly closed his mouth wanted to beat (the person) for satisfying his anger.'
Ta qi de hi duo-jiao he gas COM constantly stamp-foot <i>He kept stamping his feet with rage</i>	<i>Nghiến răng kèn kẹt vì tức bạn chơi xấu</i> Grind teeth gnashing because angry friend play bad 'He was grinding his teeth because he was mad at his friend for tricking him.'
Yu (1995:68)	(examples from my data)

The examples in English, Chinese, and Vietnamese suggest that in English, the body parts used in anger expressions are more figurative and implied while in Chinese and in Vietnamese the body parts are used more literally and specifically. The preference of using body parts in expressing anger may indicate that the Chinese and Vietnamese people prefer to use visual identification in recognizing and understanding the emotion.

Another difference among English, Chinese, and Vietnamese is that Vietnamese and Chinese tend to use more somatic features that are common bodily symptoms responding to anger, such as: in Chinese **headache, stomachache, dizziness, effect on appetite, weight loss** (King 1989:144), and in Vietnamese: **sickness, effect on appetite, lack of energy** (my data). These somatic features are similar to medical symptoms. The understanding of anger in terms of somatic features or medical symptoms can be traced back in the traditional medicine in the two cultures. I believe that the more the traditional

medicine influences the daily language, the more somatic features should be used to describe the emotion. The Chinese traditional medicine (TCM) strongly influences the daily language (Yu 1995). TCM came to Vietnam as medical practice, not as a medical theory (Thai 2003) therefore TCM mostly stayed in medical contexts and was not popularized in the language. This explains why in Vietnamese the somatic features are less used than in Chinese. English does not use any somatic features in anger descriptions. The following table shows somatic features of anger in Chinese and Vietnamese.

Somatic features	Chinese	Vietnamese
Headache	qi de tout eng qi DE head hurt To have so much qi that one's head aches.	(no evidence)
Stomach ache	qi de wei teng qi DE stomach hurt To have so much qi that one's stomach aches	(no evidence)
Dizziness	qi de hun le tou qi DE hit confused head To have so much qi that one's head is spinning	(no evidence)
Effect on appetite	qi de chi bu xia fan qi DE eat NEG down rice (food) To have so much qi that one cannot eat	<i>Giận con chẳng ăn uống gì được.</i> Angry child don't eat drink what able '(She was) so angry at her children that she could not eat anything.'
Weight loss	qi shou le qi thin Le To become emaciated as a result of qi	(no evidence)
Sickness	qi bing le	<i>Cãi nhau với bạn trai tức phát ốm.</i>

	qi sick LE To become sick as a result of qi	Argue with boyfriend angry become sick (She) argued with her boyfriend. ‘She was so mad that she got sick. ’
Lack of energy		<i>Giận chồng đi không về, cô vệt vờ như ma.</i> Angry husband go don’t come, she stirred by the wind as ghost. ‘She was mad at her husband for not coming home. She was pale and feeble as ghost.’
Death	qi sile qi die Le To die from qi	
	King (1989:144-146)	(Examples from my data)

Table 4: Somatic features of anger in Chinese and Vietnamese

Table 4 shows differences in selecting bodily experiences to describe the anger emotion in Vietnamese and Chinese. Yu (2003, 2008) states that only certain bodily experiences are selected to express emotions in a given language because the culture in which the language is embedded functions as a filter allowing only certain bodily experiences which are culturally salient and meaningful to describe the emotion. Therefore, he argues for the role of cultural models in selecting particular physiological experience for anger description (Yu 1995:69). For instance, he points out the contrast between ‘*see red*’ as in ‘I was beginning to *see red*’ in English and ‘*see black*’ as in ‘I was beginning to *see black*’ in Chinese. They both express the interference of anger with visual expression but the English example selects *red* while the Chinese one selects *black*.

Colors are used to describe the anger emotion in Vietnamese too. However, different from Chinese and English, Vietnamese speakers prefer more colors, or different degrees of the same color to express anger. My data shows the following colors are selected to describe anger, such as: *đỏ ửng* ‘flush red as flame’, *đỏ gay* ‘crimson’, *đỏ bình* ‘blush hotly’, *đỏ tía* ‘wine-colored’, *đỏ rực* ‘red glow’, *đỏ lừng* ‘flaming red’, *đỏ lì* ‘dark red’; *tím* ‘purple’, *tím ngắt* ‘dark purple’, *xanh* ‘green’, *trắng* ‘white’, *trắng bệch* ‘off-white’, *tái* ‘pale’, and *tái mét* ‘ashen’. By contrast, in Chinese and English, the selections of color terms to express anger are rather limited. For example, in English: *red, scarlet, flushed* (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987:197), in Chinese: *black, red, pale, blue, purple* (Yu 1995:67).

The Vietnamese examples show that the physiological effects of the emotion of anger based on the color changes on the face are likely to be noticeable awareness which may have become cognitive preferences. Hence, the color changes on the face associated with anger become a physiological embodied experience, a part of the embodied cognition system. They are employed in metonymic expressions of anger and suggest the metonymy: COLOR CHANGES IN FACE AND NECK AREA STAND FOR ANGER which would be more general than the metonymy REDNESS IN FACE AND NECK AREA STAND FOR ANGER in English.

It is noteworthy to state that even there are differences in using body parts or bodily experiences in the emotion expressions but the physiological effects corresponding to the emotion to the speakers of the three languages should not be different (Yu 1995). This explains the similarities in conceptual metonymies of emotions which are motivated by the physiological embodiment of the emotion in the three languages.

4.3. Conceptual metaphors of anger in Vietnamese shared with American English and Chinese

This section presents conceptual metaphors of anger in Vietnamese compared with those in American English and Chinese. In particular, this section introduces the metaphors of anger in Vietnamese that are shared with English and Chinese and the culture-specific metaphors of anger in Vietnamese. I will analyze the specific realizations/elaborations of the shared metaphors of the three languages and the culture-specific metaphors to show that conceptual metaphors of anger in Vietnamese are grounded in both physiological and cultural embodiment.

4.3.1. Conceptual metaphors of anger in Vietnamese shared with American English and Chinese

In their research on anger in American English, Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) uncovered a number of conceptual metaphors of anger such as ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, ANGER IS FIRE, ANGER IS BURDEN, ANGER IS DANGEROUS ANIMAL and so on. They suggested that the concept of anger is largely constituted by those metaphors. They provide a list of metaphors of anger in American English, listed in Table 3 below.

King (1989) and Yu (1995, 1998) in their research on the concept of anger in Chinese point out that the speakers of Chinese use roughly the same metaphors as in American English which are also listed in Table 3. Followed is the metaphors and metaphorical expressions of anger that are also shared by Vietnamese.

American English	Chinese
ANGER IS HEAT (a) ANGER IS FIRE	ANGER IS HEAT (King 1989:155) (a) ANGER IS FIRE

<p>He's doing a <i>slow burn</i>.</p> <p>(b) ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER</p> <p>She is <i>boiling</i> with anger.</p>	<p>Nu huo Anger fire Anger (1989:156)</p> <p>(b) ANGER IS QI IN THE BODY(King 1989:159)/ ANGER IS THE HOT GAS IN A CONTAINER (Yu 1995:69)</p> <p>Qi means gas (see more in King 1989, Yu 1995)</p> <p>Huo qi hen da Fire energy very big To have a lot of fire qi (1989:158)</p> <p><i>qua-qi</i> gang gas get angry (1995:70)</p>
<p>THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTION</p> <p>He was <i>filled</i> with anger.</p>	<p>THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTION (King 1989: 160)</p> <p>qi man xiong tang qi full breast To have one's breast full of qi (1989: 160)</p>
<p>ANGER IS INSANITY</p> <p>She went into an <i>insane</i> rage.</p>	
<p>ANGER IS AN OPPONENT (IN A STRUGGLE)</p> <p>I'm <i>struggling</i> with my anger.</p>	
<p>ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL</p> <p>He has a <i>monstrous</i> temper.</p>	
<p>THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS A PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE</p> <p>You're <i>getting under my skin</i>.</p>	
<p>CAUSING ANGER IS TRESPASSING</p>	

Don't <i>step on my toes!</i>	
ANGER IS A BURDEN He <i>carries</i> his anger around with him.	
ANGER IS NATURAL FORCE It was a <i>stormy</i> meeting (Kövecses 2000:21)	ANGER IS NATURAL FORCE Da wei zhen nu Big as shake anger To shake with anger.
Lakoff and Kövecses (1987: 197-210)	(King 1989:165)

Table 5: Metaphors of anger in English and Chinese

The concept of anger in Vietnamese appears to be structured by a number of conceptual metaphors similar to those in English and Chinese. These metaphors are shown below in examples (12) – (34).

ANGER IS HEAT

- (12) *Vợ nói chồng không chịu làm việc nhà. Chồng nói vợ chỉ biết tiêu tiền.*
 wife say husband don't do housework. Husband say wife just know spend money.
Sau một lúc, cả hai bắt đầu nóng lên và một cuộc khẩu chiến lại xảy ra.
 After a while, both begin **heat up** and one CLAS mouth war again happen.
 'The wife said the husband did not do any house work. The husband said the wife was only good at spending money. After a while, both became hot and a war happened.'

ANGER IS FIRE

- (13) *Thấy con dâu phớt lờ lời nói của mình, bà Minh càng lúc càng tức. Cứ như*
 See daughter-in-law ignore word of self, Mrs Minh more time more angry like
bị đổ thêm dầu vào lửa, bà làm ầm lên, gọi điện cho con trai về dạy vợ.
 PAS pour more oil in fire, she make noise up, phone for son back teach wife
 'The fact that her daughter-in-law ignored her words made her more angry. It was like **pouring more oil on the fire**, she made a fuss, and called her son to come back to teach his wife.'

INTENSE ANGER PRODUCES SMOKE

- (14) *bố Tuấn vô cùng tức giận, hét ra lửa, thở ra khói khi biết con trai gay*
 Father Tuấn extremely angry, shout out fire, **exhale smoke** when know son gay
 ‘Tuấn’s father was so angry that fire was shooting out of his mouth. **Smoke was rising from his nostrils** when he knew his son was gay.’

ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER

- (15) *Mỗi khi vợ cứ ăn mặc đẹp ra ngoài đường để cho các gã trai ngắm nghĩa là*
 Whenever wife intend dress nice go out street for PL young men look BE
anh lại tức sôi máu.
 he again angry boil blood
 ‘Whenever his wife dresses up to go to the street for young men looking at, his blood was boiling.’

WHEN THE INTENSITY OF ANGER INCREASES, THE FLUID RISES

- (16) *Hương trợn mắt, mím chặt môi. Con giận dâng lên khiến cô không nói được.*
 Hương widen eye, purse tight lips. CLAS **angry rise up** make she don’t speak able.
 ‘Hương widened her eyes with her cheeks puffed up, pursed her lips tight. **Rising anger** made her speechless.’

INTENSE ANGER PRODUCES PRESURE ON THE CONTAINER

- (17) *Dù đã hẹn trước nhưng khi tới bến xe thì*
 Even PST appointment before but when arrive station car then
không thấy chồng ra đón, con giận trong bà bùng lên.
 don’t see husband out pick CLAS anger in she burst up.
 She told her husband to come to pick her up at the bus station but when she arrived, her husband was not there. She burst with anger (**the anger insider burst**).

WHEN ANGER BECOMES TOO INTENSE, THE PERSON EXPLODES

- (18) *Duy An chịu đựng mẹ quá lâu. Lần này nó tức giận gần như muốn nổ tung.*
 Duy An suffer mother too long. This time he **angry** almost want **explode**.
 ‘Duy An suffered his mother’s nagging and complaints for too long. This time he was so angry that he almost **exploded**.’

WHEN A PERSON EXPLODES, WHAT WAS INSIDE HIM COMES OUT

- (19) *Vợ ngang nhiên ôm eo nhân tình đi qua đi lại, anh Trinh tức nổ mắt.*
Wife blatant embrace waist lover walk across walk back Mr. Trinh **angry**
explode eye.

‘His wife rudely embraced her lover’s waist walking back and forth and this made Mr Trinh **explode (/his eyes exploded).**’

According to Lakoff and Kövecses (1987:198), ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER is the central metaphor of anger in English. It is because firstly, it can describe aspects of the metaphor of anger to a greater or lesser extent. Secondly it is manifested in a number of conventional linguistic expressions which can measure the productivity of the metaphor.

My data shows that ANGER IS FIRE is the central metaphor of anger in Vietnamese. The metaphor can describe different degrees of anger. For example, in Vietnamese, anger can be a burning fire (*lửa giận bùng lên*), a sparkling fire (*tóe lửa*), smoldering fire (*giận âm ỉ*), and lowered fire (*hạ hỏa*), etc. Different degrees of the fire correspond to the intensity of anger. The metaphor can account for the largest number of anger expressions, 361 (15.29%) of the whole dataset. This shows the productivity of the metaphor and makes the metaphor central role in the anger conceptualization in Vietnamese.

THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTION

- (20) *Con giận **dâng lên** ngùn ngụt, Mai hét toáng lên rồi đập phá.*

CLAS anger **rise up** strong, Mai scream up then mash

‘Anger surged in Mai. Mai screamed and started smashing furniture.’

ANGER IS NATURAL FORCE:

- (21) *Bố **nổi giận lôi đình** vì con gái 16 tuổi*

Father **rise angry thunder lightning** because daughter 16 years old

đưa bạn trai về nhà.

bring boyfriend come home.

‘Father **flew into a fury** because his 16 years old daughter brought her boyfriend home.’

ANGER IS INSANITY

(22) *Cô bồ Annie tức phát điên vì không thể chịu*
Girlfriend Annie **angry become crazy** because cannot bear
được tính “siêu sạch sẽ” của bạn trai.

PAS character super clean of boyfriend

‘His girlfriend Annie **went crazy** because she could not bear his “super cleanness”.

INSANE BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR ANGER

(23) *Ông Chung tức giận đến mức tóc tai dựng ngược cả lên vì cãi nhau với vợ.*

Mr. Chung angry to level hair ear stand on end all up because argue with wife

‘Mr. Chung was so angry that his **hair all stood up**, because of arguing with his wife.’

VIOLENT FRUSTRATED BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR ANGER

(24) *Akako dẫm chân thành thịch trút giận lên những bậc cầu thang.*

Akako **stamp foot pounding** pour anger on PL step stair.

‘Akako was **pounding her feet** on the stairs to show her anger.’

ANGER IS AN OPPONENT (IN A STRUGGLE)

(25) *con tức giận không kiềm chế được làm bà phát điên*

CLAS **angry don’t control able** make she become crazy

rồi đánh con, chửi chồng.

then beat child curse husband.

‘Her **uncontrollable anger** made her crazy. She beat her children, cursed her husband.’

ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL

(26) *Hắn bị chọc giận nổi lên tính khí hung bạo, rống lên âm ỉ.*

He PAS poke anger rise up character ferocious roar up loud

‘He was so annoyed because he was teased, so his ferocious temper was aroused

and he roared loudly.’

ANGRY BEHAVIOR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOR

(27) Bị mỉa mai, - Henrique giận dữ **gầm lên**: Câm ngay, đồ phá đám!

PAS sarcasm, - Henrique angry **roar up**: shut at once, (insult) disturb!

‘Being ironically spoken, Henrique furiously **roared up**: Shut up! You joy killer!’

AGGRESSIVE VERBAL BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR ANGER

(28) Vì cháu không chào mình, bà mất mặt, **chửi anh thậm tệ**.

Because nephew don’t greet her she lose face, **curse he ruthless**

‘Because her nephew did not greet her, she felt shame and so she **cursed him ruthlessly**.’

AGGRESSIVE VISUAL BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR ANGER

(29) Lư Lãng **giận** không nhịn được, hai tròng mắt đều sắp tóe ra lửa

Lư Lãng angry don’t bear able, two eyeball both almost splash out fire

nghiến răng nghiền lợi (...)

grind teeth grind gum

‘Lư Lãng cannot hold back her anger, her eyes are splashing anger, she was grinding her teeth.’

THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS A PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE

(30) giọng điệu khoe bác của Biền khiến tôi **ngứa tai gai mắt** không chịu được.

voice gesture brag of Biền make I itch ear irritate eye don’t stand able

‘I cannot stand Biền’s bragging which made my ears itch and irritates my eyes/ which annoyed me.’

CAUSING ANGER IS TREPASSING

(31) anh đi **quá giới hạn** rồi đấy. Tôi sắp **điên** đây.

You go **past limit** already EMPH I almost crazy EMPH.

‘You have **past the boundary**. I am going to be crazy.’

ANGER IS BURDEN

(32) Mẹ không nói gì, chỉ im lặng **gánh chịu** cơn giận điên cuồng của bố.

Mother don’t say any, only silent **carry suffer** CLAS angry crazy of father.

‘(My) mother did not say anything, she only silently suffered my father’s fury.’

ANGER IS A BOUNDED SPACE

(33) *Trong cơn tức giận, vợ dùng tất cả những lời lẽ tồi tệ nhất để xỉ vả chồng.*

In CLAS anger, wife use all P L word worst to reproach husband.

‘In anger, I used all the worst words to reproach my husband.’

ANGER IS A LIVING BEINGS

(34) *Bà nuôi cơn uất hận với chồng từ ngày ông ngoại tình với đồng nghiệp.*

She feed CLAS wrath with husband since day he adultery with colleague

‘She started feeding her wrath towards her husband since the day he had an affair with his colleague.’

The linguistic data above show the list of the shared conceptual metaphors of anger that Vietnamese shares with the English and Chinese. Examples include ANGER IS HEAT, as in example (12) (‘After a while, both became hot and a war happened’), ANGER IS FIRE, as in example (13) (‘It was like pouring more oil on the fire’) and THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTION, as in example (20) (‘Anger surged in Mai’).

The similarities in the metaphorical conceptualization of anger between Vietnamese and English are shown in the following metaphors of anger: ANGER IS PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE, ANGER IS TREPASSING, ANGER IS INSANITY, ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL, ANGER IS BURDEN, and ANGER IS AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE. The source domains of these metaphors focus on different aspects of the anger concept. For example, the metaphors ANGER IS PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE and ANGER IS TREPASSING focus on the cause of anger as in *ngứa tai gai mắt* ‘ears itch, eyes irritate’ and *đi quá giới hạn* ‘pass the boundary’, the

metaphors ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL and ANGER IS INSANITY on the angry behaviors as in *rống lên âm ỉ* ‘roar loudly’, *tức sùi bọt mép* ‘anger emits foam at the corners of mouth’, *tóc tai dựng ngược* ‘hair all stand up’, etc.

Although these metaphors are very similar to the metaphors for anger in English and Chinese, there are also marked differences in the conceptualizations of anger across the three languages and cultures. These are analyzed below.

The metaphor ANGER IS HEAT is found in the three languages. This metaphor describes anger in terms of temperature. Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) claim this metaphor is motivated by our physiological experiences (increase in skin temperature and pressure). Vietnamese, like English, relies on similar physiological experiences such as pressure and increases in skin temperature shown in (12): *nóng lên* ‘heat up’, (25): *kiềm chế* ‘repress’, and (18): *nổ tung* ‘explode’ in the metaphors of anger shown above. According to King (1989) and Yu (1995), this metaphor in Chinese is less prevalent in the language because Chinese speakers tend to conceptualize anger in terms of the pressure of gas rather than the pressure of fluid as in English. For example: “She’s got big gas in spleen (i.e. hot-tempered).” (Yu 1998:55)

The metaphor ANGER IS THE HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER conceptualizes anger in terms of the heat of the fluid in a container in both Vietnamese and English. From the commonsense knowledge of fluid in a closed container, it is known that fluid boils and rises up when heated, causing pressure on the container and if the pressure is high, it will cause an explosion. The correspondences between the heat of fluid and anger establish these conceptual mappings for the anger metaphor in Vietnamese. The folk knowledge is mapped onto anger in order to describe how we

understand the anger concept and construct the metaphor. The process of this physiological reaction is exemplified shown in examples (15)-(17): *sôi máu* ‘boiling blood’, *con giận dâng lên* ‘anger rises up’, *con giận bùng lên* ‘burst with anger’, and *nổ tung* ‘explode’.

According to Yu (1995) speakers of Chinese conceptualize anger in terms of an excessive *qi* (i.e. gas, energy that flows through the body), not a fluid as in English. The gas is neutral with respect to heat but the gas can increase and produce pressure on the body container. Therefore, Yu indicates that the metaphor ANGER IS A HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER is not used in Chinese to describe anger as in English.

Another difference in the shared metaphor of anger in the three languages is found in the metaphors THE BODY IS A CONTAINER OF THE EMOTION and ANGER IS FIRE. The metaphor ANGER IS FIRE is found in expressions which indicate that anger is fire contained in the body. In all three languages, anger is conceptualized in terms of fire, a destructive force which can be harmful to the angry people and also to people around them. In English, when anger gets intense, it produces steam (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987). However, Chinese speakers view anger in terms of hot gas (King 1989, Yu 1995), so in Chinese, there is no linguistic instantiations of the submetaphor INTENSE ANGER PRODUCES STEAM.

In Vietnamese, the common knowledge of fire tells us that there is fire then there will be smoke. This is shown in the proverb: *Không có lửa sao có khói* ‘if there is no fire why there is smoke’. Therefore, in Vietnamese, when anger gets intense, it produces smoke rather than steam. This example suggests that Vietnamese speakers view anger as

a burning solid rather than a boiling fluid as in English. For that reason, Vietnamese does not have the submetaphor INTENSE ANGER PRODUCES STEAM as in English.

This kind of variation in the shared metaphors of anger is also found in the metaphor ANGER IS A NATURAL FORCE. The natural force that corresponds to the emotion in Vietnamese is richer in types compared to that in English and Chinese. In English, *storm* corresponds to anger (Kövecses 2000:21), while in Chinese *earthquake*, *thunderbolt*, and *thunder* do (King 1989:165). In Vietnamese, the linguistic expressions show that *bão* (storm), *bão tố* (storm), *sóng* (wave), *động đất* (earthquake), *sấm* (thunder), *sét* (thunderbolt) which are components of the source domain NATURAL FORCE are used to emphasize the uncontrollable aspect of anger. These storm terms in Vietnamese describe the emotion with richer imagery (for example, *nổi cơn sấm sét* (lit. thunder and thunderbolt begin, i.e. fury), *cơn giận bão tố* (lit. a hurricane of anger, i.e. wrath) and show that the metaphor ANGER IS NATURE FORCE in Vietnamese is more elaborate than that in English and Chinese.

In summary, the three languages make use of the same metonymic and metaphoric principles in their conceptualization of anger. The general metonymic and metaphorical principles are grounded in common physiological embodiment. This common physiological embodiment confirms Kövecses's (2015:5) claim that "such universal embodiment may lead to the emergence of share conceptual metaphors" across cultures.

The Vietnamese language displays differences in the manifestations of the generic level metaphor at a more specific level. The metaphors are very similar among the three languages but there exist some important differences at the conceptual mapping level.

The Vietnamese examples suggest that the differences arise due to the influence of the Vietnamese cultural model which governs the selection of the linguistic expressions for particular experiences. This explains why the color changes on face are selected to be associated with anger, why the metaphor INTENSE ANGER PRODUCES STEAM does not exist in Vietnamese and why Vietnamese, similarly to Chinese, uses more human body parts which are expressed and specified in describing physiological effects of anger while in English the body parts seem to be implied.

Evidence from English, Chinese and Vietnamese in this section suggest that the general metaphors of anger seem to be elaborated at a more specific level of metaphorical understanding. In particular, the shared conceptualization of anger is grounded in universal human experiences, and the variations of such conceptualizations can be explained in terms of the cultural model used in each language which adds specific-level realizations to those universal conceptualizations of anger.

4.3.2. Metaphor transfers across languages: a borrowed metaphor of anger from Chinese

The issue of borrowing is rarely mentioned in the literature on metaphor within cognitive linguistics even though metaphor and borrowing are both considered as the key processes in enriching the lexicon of a language. Borrowing metaphors across cultures mostly refers to borrowing figurative uses of words in other languages. Therefore, the borrowing of figurative uses of words has been treated as other loanwords (Allan 2015). Treating borrowed metaphors as loanwords though is problematic because metaphor is a matter of thought, not just a matter of language (Lakoff and Johnson 1980).

In this section, I analyze the Chinese metaphor ANGER IS THE HOT GAS IN A CONTAINER proposed by Yu (1995). This metaphor has been used in Vietnamese but I argue that the Chinese metaphor, under the Vietnamese cultural model, was transformed to become another Vietnamese metaphor; therefore, there was no metaphor transference. My argument is based on the principle that conceptual metaphor is considered to be transferred only if two languages/cultures share the same target and source domain, and use the same metaphorical mappings. In contrast, a metaphor cannot be transferred if two languages do not share the same source domain or the language uses a unique source domain which does not exist in any other language.

The Chinese metaphor ANGER IS THE HOT GAS IN A CONTAINER is rooted in Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM). According to TCM, the energy that flows through the body is *qi* ‘gas’ (Yu 1995). Due to the linguistic and cultural contact between Vietnamese and Chinese, the metaphor came to Vietnamese along with TCM. The examples below show how the metaphor is manifested in the two languages:

Chinese

ANGER IS THE HOT GAS IN A CONTAINER

Ta nu-qi chong-tian.

he angry-gas soar-sky

"His angry gas is gushing into the sky (i.e. He's in a towering rage)."

(Yu 1995: 65)

Vietnamese

ANGER IS A HOT GAS IN A CONTAINER

Vợ ghen tuông, chồng nộ khí xung thiên

Wife jealous, husband angry gas soar sky

đăng tin ‘bán vợ’ trên facebook.

post news ‘sell wife’ on facebook.

‘His wife was jealous and that made his gas go up to the sky (he was in a towering rage), he posted comment on his facebook “sell wife”.’ (Example from my data)

The Vietnamese expression *nộ khí xung thiên* ‘angry gas soar sky’ is Sino-Vietnamese borrowed from the Chinese expression *nu-qi chong-tian* ‘angry gas soar sky’

(in Yu’s example) with a different pronunciation due to the intervening sound changes in Vietnamese and Chinese (Nguyễn 1998). However, in Vietnamese, the gas (i.e., *khí* in Vietnamese) in the metaphor is understood differently. Unlike the Chinese concept of gas as bodily energy flow, the gas in Vietnamese metaphor is expressed as a more transitory and less inherent phenomenon, as illustrated in examples (35) – (37):

- (35) *Thiếp thấy nộ khí tỏa ra từ thằng nhóc này không đáng sợ*
 I see anger gas **emit out** from kid this do not worth fear
 ‘I think the anger has emitted from this kid is not scary.’
- (36) *Nàng ngửa đầu lên trần liên tục hít thở pha loãng nộ khí trong lòng.*
 She back head up ceiling continue breath **thinner** anger gas in belly
 ‘She held her head back, repeatedly breathed to thinner anger in her belly.’
- (37) *Nộ khí bay đi đâu mất hết trước vẻ hèn mọn của kẻ ngược đãi chủ nó.*
 Anger gas **fly away** where lose all front appearance coward of CLAS abuse owner he
 ‘(His) anger was gone when he saw how coward the man who abused his owner was.’

Examples (35-37) show that *khí* in Vietnamese is perceived as *gas* which can be emitted, thin/dissipate, or fly away. Thus, *khí* in Vietnamese is understood as “vapor, air-fluid like substance, scattered in the sky and on earth that human eyes cannot see” (Đại nam quốc âm tự vị 1895-1896:486, my translation). The understanding of *khí* in Vietnamese shows that in Vietnamese *khí* is understood as a natural gaseous substance whereas in Chinese, gas is understood as energy that flows in the body. These two different understandings of gas describe two different source domains of anger which lead to two different metaphors of anger, in Chinese: ANGER IS THE HOT GAS (energy) IN A CONTAINER, and in Vietnamese, ANGER IS A HOT GAS (natural gaseous substance) IN A CONTAINER. As such, the Chinese conceptualization of anger as hot gas was not transferred to Vietnamese.

Since the Chinese metaphor ANGER IS THE HOT GAS IN A CONTAINER was not transferred to Vietnamese, but there are linguistic expressions employing *gas* to describe anger as shown above, the concept of *gas* was re-structured under the influence of the Vietnamese cultural model to create another gas metaphor. This is illustrated by the Vietnamese metaphor ANGER IS AN EXCESS OF GAS IN THE BELLY, INTESTINES AND LIVER (discussed in section 4.4.5 in this chapter) which describes anger in terms of an air-like short-lived substance, not the bodily energy flows as in the Chinese metaphor ANGER IS THE HOT GAS IN A CONTAINER.

The Vietnamese metaphor ANGER IS A HOT GAS IN A CONTAINER presents the following conceptual mappings: When the gas is heated, it creates internal pressure within the container that is the body. When the pressure gets really high, the gas expands and releases through an outlet; if not it will make the container explode. Moreover, when the gas gains enough strength, it escapes from the container and hits the sky which indicates that the person is wrathful. To control anger is to make the gas thinner, or to emit it. Anger stops when the gas flies away.

Yu (1995:64-66) describes how anger is understood in terms of hot gas in Chinese. When anger is heated, it will create internal pressure to the container. The force of the contained gas is really strong, it surges upward. When the pressure is really strong, the gas has to exhaust through some outlet or it may lead to an explosion.

The two different metaphors of hot gas in Vietnamese and Chinese indicate that the metaphor ANGER IS A HOT GAS IN A CONTAINER is motivated by two different sets of cultural experiences. The Chinese metaphor ANGER IS THE HOT GAS IN A CONTAINER is motivated by cultural views of physiology, because gas (*qi*) refers to the

physiological functions of internal organs according to Traditional Chinese Medicine (Yu 1995). The Vietnamese metaphor ANGER IS A HOT GAS IN A CONTAINER is inspired by the everyday experience of natural gaseous substances.

The transfer of the Chinese metaphor ANGER IS A HOT GAS IN A CONTAINER into Vietnamese was unsuccessful due to the fact that the Chinese uses a unique source domain, gas as life energy, which does not exist in Vietnamese. This unsuccessful metaphor transference indicates that the transfer of a conceptual metaphor across languages requires the target language shares the same conceptual source domain with the same elements as the source language in order to be fully transferable. The less transferable and non-transferrable occur when there are problems of conceptual incompatibility between the two conceptual systems of the two cultures. The more conceptually incompatible the two conceptual systems are, the less transferable the metaphor transfer is.

4.4. Cultural embodiment in conceptual metaphors of anger in Vietnamese that are not shared with American English and Chinese

This section discusses the cultural embodiment of the anger emotion in Vietnamese beginning with a discussion of how the cultural conceptualizations of the belly (*bụng*) and internal organs such as the intestines (*ruột*), liver (*gan*), gall-bladder (*mật*) (intestines), and Buddhism play an important role in understanding the anger concept.

Sections 4.2 and 4.3 have shown that physiological embodiment accounts for an important part of the conceptualization of anger in Vietnamese. This kind of embodiment focuses on the physiological effects the anger emotion has on the body, such as an

increases in skin temperature, blood pressure, pulse rate and more intense respiration. However, my data shows that it is very usual for anger in Vietnamese to associate with only one part of the body, but rather it is a set of certain internal organs that undergoes physiological effects as a result of the emotion. Maalej (2004:66) claims that “this kind of embodiment is motivated by a conventional cultural correlation between a given emotion and a certain bodily state”. If solely based on physiological embodiment, there are a large number of anger expressions in Vietnamese left unaccountable because the part of the body or the internal organs involved do not actually show any physiological effects as a result of anger.

Following the discussion of the role of the internal organs in the conceptualization of anger in Vietnamese, I discuss a range of other metaphors for anger that are not shared with English or Chinese, but that cast light on how anger is culturally embodied. These other metaphors, discussed in section 4.4.6, are:

1. ANGER IS UNPLEASANT TASTES
2. ANGER IS A MENTAL ANNOYANCE
3. ANGER IS SUPERNATURAL BEINGS AND ENEMIES

4.4.1. Anger is a heated fluid in the liver, intestines and gallbladder

In English, the metaphor ANGER IS A HEATED FLUID describes anger as a heated fluid located in the body (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987). When the fluid is heated – the anger, it produces an internal pressure in the container – the body. In Vietnamese anger is conceptualized as a heated fluid located in more specific locations, such as *gan* (liver), *ruột* (intestines), *mật* (gallbladder). An analysis of the following expressions will

show how the heated fluid kept in the liver, intestines and gallbladder is mapped onto the anger domain.

(38) *Hắn đang sôi gan sôi ruột vì bạn gái hủy hôn để
cưới người khác. Ruột gan muốn nổ tung vì giận người, giận đời.*
He PROG **boil liver boil intestines** because girlfriend annul promise of marriage to
marry person other. **Intestines liver** want **explode** because angry people, angry life.
‘He is furious (**his liver and intestines are boiling**) because his girlfriend annulled
their promise of marriage to marry another man. His **intestines and liver want to
explode** because of his fury towards her, towards life.’

(39) *Bà tức nổ gan nổ mật vì con dâu dám
cãi lại bà trước mặt hàng xóm.*
talk back she front face neighbor
‘She **flew into a rage** because her daughter in law dared to talk back to her in front
of her neighbors.’

Examples (38-39) show that the heated fluid in the liver, intestines and gallbladder is mapped onto anger. When the fluid in the internal organs is imaginatively boiling, it creates an internal pressure (an imaginative pressure) on the containers - the liver, intestines and gall-bladder and leads to an explosion in the liver and gall-bladder as shown in example (38). These examples describe the intensity aspect of anger *sôi gan sôi ruột* ‘the liver and intestines are boiling’ (example 38), which leads to the loss of control of anger *nổ gan nổ ruột* ‘the liver and intestines explode’ (example 39). Obviously, these internal organs do not show any physiological changes as the result of anger. There is no boiling and explosion in the liver, intestines and gall-bladder when the anger occurs.

The uses of the pair *gan - mật* (liver- gall-bladder) to describe anger can be traced back to the Chinese traditional medicine (TCM) and Yin-Yang theory in Vietnam. TCM

came into Vietnam since the second century. It was developed and incorporated into the folk medicine in the Northern Vietnam (Nguyễn and Nguyễn 1990). However, TCM came to Vietnamese as a medical practice not a medical theory (Hue Chan Thai 2003) and mainly stayed in medical contexts due to its medical knowledge. This explains the possible differences in using Chinese medical and internal organs terms in Vietnamese daily language. The Chinese concept *gan* discussed in section 4.3.2 is one example.

According to TCM, *gan* ‘liver’ and *mật* ‘gall-bladder’ are complementary to each other in function, what happens in the liver will affect the gall-bladder and vice versa. Also anger is considered as one of the major internal factors that causes liver diseases (Yu 1995:84). This explains the uses of the pair *gan- mật* ‘liver-gallbladder’ to describe anger in Vietnamese.

The uses of the pairs *ruột-gan*, *gan-ruột* ‘intestines-liver’, ‘liver-intestines’ to describe anger are found embedded in the Vietnamese cultural model and TCM. The Yin-Yang theory states that everything in the universe is governed by the law of unity of opposite. The words yin (feminine, negative) and yang (masculine, positive) represent this unity (Yu 1995). In TCM, the tube in human body through which food passes when it has left the stomach includes small and large intestines. In Vietnamese, the tube is culturally seen as consisting of nine pieces – *ruột* (intestines) while in TCM, small and large intestines are both considered as Fu organs. Under the influence of TCM, the Vietnamese *ruột* ‘intestines’ is assigned to be a Fu organ, similar to the small and large intestine in Chinese.

The understanding of *gan* ‘liver’ in Vietnamese appears not to be related to the liver in Chinese – an internal organ produces processes human blood and clean unwanted

substances out of it. In Vietnamese, *gan* ‘liver’ is conceptualized as a container of anger and courage. For example, *to gan* ‘big liver’ means courage, *sôi gan* ‘boil liver’ means angry (for more see chapter 6 of this dissertation).

Under the influence of TCM, *ruột* ‘intestines’ as yin and a Fu organ pairs with *gan* ‘liver’ – a yang and Zang organ. *Ruột-gan*, *gan-ruột* ‘intestines-liver, liver-intestines’ become pairs of Zang-Fu and yin-yang organs, are now complementary to each other in function; what happens in the liver will affect the intestines and vice versa.

The cultural background of pairs of the internal organs *gan-ruột* ‘liver-intestines’, *ruột-gan* ‘intestines-liver’, and *gan-mật* ‘liver-gall-bladder’ accounts for the uses of these pairs of internal organs in describing anger in Vietnamese. There is a the cultural correlation between the internal organs and anger which gives rise to the metaphor ANGER IS A HEATED FLUID IN THE LIVER, INTESTINES AND GALLBLADDER. Through the cultural background, the culture-based of this metaphor is confirmed.

Based on examples (38-39), we can make the discussion above clearer by laying out the conceptual mappings between the source domain (the liver, intestines and gallbladder) and the target domain (anger):

SD (the liver, intestines, gallbladder)	TD (anger)
The hot fluid in the liver, intestine, gallbladder	→ Anger
The liver, intestines, gallbladder	→ Angry person
The cause of the hot fluid	→ The cause of anger
The pressure on the container(s)	→ Anger causes the self to respond (physiologically)
The intensity of the pressure	→ The intensity of anger

The container(s) affected by the pressure → The self affected by anger: the anger causes behavioral responses

The hot fluid going out of the container(s) → The self loses control

4.4.2. Anger is a force in the liver, intestines and gallbladder

In English, anger is conceptualized as a force in a container. This conceptualization is based on the following conceptual links: the liquid inside a container is the anger, the pressure of the fluid on the container is the force of the anger on the angry person; the cause of the pressure is the cause of the anger force, and trying to keep the fluid inside the container is trying to control the anger (Kövecses 2004:155). In Vietnamese, anger is also conceptualized as a force in the liver and intestines however, the force is more detailed; it does not only cause pressure in the containers (the liver and intestines), but also flips them upside down as follows:

(40) *Tức nổ ruột vì chồng hay so sánh vợ với người cũ.*
 Angry explode intestines, because husband always compare wife with person old.
 ‘I was very mad because my husband always compared me with his ex-girlfriend.’

(41) *Con dâu ám chỉ mẹ chồng ít học làm bà tức lộn ruột lộn gan chửi bố mẹ con dâu*
 Daughter-in-law imply mother-in-law little study make she angry
upside down intestines upside down liver curse parents daughter-in-law
không biết dạy con.
 don't know teach child.

‘Her daughter-in-law alluded her being less educated which made her outrage (her intestines and liver flipped upside down). She scolded the parents of her daughter-in-law for not knowing how to teach their daughter.’

Examples (40-41) are manifestations of the metaphor ANGER IS A FORCE IN THE LIVER AND INTESTINES which describe anger as a force. The force can explode

the intestines, the gallbladder, flip the liver and intestines upside down and cause a great suffering to the self. This metaphor is a specific-level metaphor and an instantiation of the generic-level metaphor ANGER IS FORCE (for more see Kövecses 2004). It highlights the important aspect of anger, that is, the cause of the emotion. However, it should be noted that there is no actual explosion in the intestines, or actual flipping of the liver and intestines as a result of the emotion. There is a “cultural correlation” (Maalej 2004:66) between the internal organs and anger in which the internal organs are thought to be affected when the anger occurs. It is evidence demonstrating that this metaphor is culturally embodied.

The metaphor ANGER IS A FORCE IN THE LIVER AND INTESTINES is constructed based on the following mappings:

Source: FORCE

Target: ANGER

The force flips the intestines and liver upside down, the force explodes the intestines

→ The existence of anger

The cause of the force

→ The cause of anger

The intensity of the force

→ The intensity of anger

The control of the force

→ The control of anger

The resultant effect of the force

→ The response of the self caused by the anger

4.4.3. Anger is a heated fluid in the belly

This metaphor describes anger as a heated fluid in the belly. The heated fluid in the belly is similar to the heated fluid in the liver, intestines and gall-bladder. The fluid can be boiling or seething.

(42) *Nhìn thấy chồng đi với gái, trong lòng sôi sục nhưng không dám làm gì vì*

See see husband go with girl in **belly seething** but don't dare do any because
sợ mất mặt chồng.

afraid lose face husband.

‘(She) saw her husband cheating on her, she was furious (her belly was seething)
but she did not dare to do anything because she was afraid that her husband would
lose his face.’

(43) *Gọi mãi không thấy con dâu trả lời, ông Tú trong bụng*

Call forever don't see daughter-in-law answer Mr. Tú in **belly**

giận sôi lên, đạp đổ cái bàn.

angry boil up kick fall CLAS table.

‘Calling his daughter-in-law several times, but no answer, Mr. Tú was mad (**his
anger was boiling up in his belly**), he kicked the table over.’

Examples (42-43) show one interesting thing: no matter how hot the fluid is, it
does not produce any pressure in the belly and consequently there is no explosion. It
seems to contrast with our commonsense knowledge of the physical world that boiling
water can create pressure on the container. This logical contradiction can be explained
by the Vietnamese cultural model which views the belly as boundless which is shown by
a saying: *Không ai đo được lòng người* (lit. no one can measure human belly). That is, in
this case the belly can contain an immeasurable amount of the heated fluid. This explains
why the heated fluid does not produce any pressure in the belly therefore the belly does
not explode. (Chapter 6 discusses more details the conceptualization of the belly).

However, there is no implication of the explosion of the container does not mean
the control of anger is maintained, or no angry behaviors were exhibited. Example (43)
shows that Mr Tú was mad (*anger was boiling up in his belly*) and he lost control (*he
kicked the table over*).

Although the belly is boundless, it is still thought to have different sizes and qualities which can describe human emotions and characteristics. The size of the belly can be small or large. If someone has a large belly, *bụng dạ rộng rãi* ‘large belly’, the person is generous. In contrast, if he has a small belly, *bụng dạ hẹp hòi* ‘small belly’, *lòng dạ nhỏ nhen* ‘small belly’, we are saying the person is petty and small-minded. If someone has a good belly, *tốt bụng* ‘good-belly’, we mean the person is good-hearted and, in contrast, having a bad belly, *xấu bụng* ‘bad belly’, means the person is evil-minded.

From these conceptualizations of belly and human characteristics, we can recognize some metaphorical entailments which are details of knowledge carried over from the source domain to the target domain. They are “the larger the belly, the more generous the person is” and “the better the belly, the better the person is”. These help to explain why anger is not thought to occur in a belly which is large and good:

(44) *Mặc dù nó láo thế, nhưng anh ấy **rộng bụng** không chấp nhặt.*

Although he impertinent such but he **large belly** don’t resent petty mistake
 ‘Although the boy was so impertinent, the man does not have a grudge against the boy.’

(45) ***Bụng dạ hẹp hòi, nhỏ nhen** nên hay giận.*

belly narrow little so always angry
 ‘A person who has a little **belly** will always be angry.’

From the conceptual entailments above, we can see that the characteristics of SIZE and QUALITY are carried from the source domain of belly to the target domain of anger. The source domain belly and its characteristic in terms of SIZE and QUALITY, can give rise to the metaphorical entailment: LARGE AND GOOD BELLY DOES NOT CONTAIN ANGER.

Similar to the cases in which *gan* ‘liver’, *ruột* ‘intestines’, *mật* ‘gallbladder’ are containers of anger, the metaphor ANGER IS A HEATED FLUID IN THE BELLY is created by mapping the image of a boiling container onto anger. However, the analysis of *bụng* ‘belly’ shows that *bụng* as a container filled with heated fluid has no physiological basis. The way the culture views the belly and assigns characteristics to the belly to construct the metaphor reveals the culture-based foundation of this metaphor. A set of metaphorical mappings between the source domain (hot fluid in the belly) onto the target domain (anger) is presented below to show how the hot fluid, control, and the belly metaphor help us conceptualize the anger emotion, as follows:

Source domain	Target domain
The hot fluid in a container(s)	→ Anger
The container(s)	→ The angry person
The cause of the hot fluid	→ The cause of the anger
The pressure on the container(s)	→ Anger causes the self to respond (physiologically)
The intensity of the pressure	→ The intensity of the anger
The container affected by the pressure	→ The self affected by the anger: the anger causes behavioral responses
The attempt to control the hot fluid	→ The attempt to control the anger
The hot fluid going out of the container	→ The self loses control

4.4.4. Control anger is to put a force on the belly

As we have seen, anger is conceived of as a negative emotion which takes control of the self, forces the self to act in an unacceptable way. Loss of control can be harmful to the self and to the people around. That is why the self should control his anger (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987). In English, in order to control the emotion of anger, the self exerts a counterforce: *I suppressed my anger* (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987:199).

The metaphor ANGER IS A HEATED FLUID IN THE BELLY describes *bụng* ‘belly’ as one of the locations of the emotion. When the emotion occurs in the belly, one must act to control it by putting a force on the belly. For example:

(46) *Tức sôi ruột vì những gì mẹ chồng nói mà vẫn phải*
Angry **boil intestines** because PL what mother husband say but still must
nép lòng không cãi lại.
press belly don’t talk back
‘I was furious (my intestines were boiling) at what my mother-in-law said but I must try to refrain myself (**press my belly**) not to talk back to her.’

(47) *Tức đến sôi gan nổi mật vì thông gia khinh mình nghèo,*
Angry till **boil liver float gall** because in-law contempt self poor,
ông Bích cố ghìm lòng không đuổi về.
Mr Bích try **hold belly** don’t expel back
‘Mr Bích was boiling with anger (**his liver was boiling, his gall was floating**) because his in-laws looked down on his poverty, he tried to refrain (to hold his belly) from asking them to leave.’

The examples above show that anger occurs in *gan* ‘liver’, *ruột* ‘intestines’, *mật* ‘gallbladder’, and *bụng* ‘belly’. However, only the belly is employed in expressions about keeping the emotion under control, not the internal organs. In example (46) the self was angry at her mother in-law (her intestines were boiling) but she tried to control her anger by pressing her belly ‘*dằn lòng*’ so as not to talk back to her mother in-law. In example (47), the self was angry: his liver was boiling, and his gall was rising up in his gallbladder ‘*sôi gan nổi mật*’ because his in-laws looked down on him. He tried to control his anger by holding his belly ‘*kìm lòng*’ in an effort to not ask them to leave.

Examples (46-47) show that anger occurs in different locations: *gan* ‘liver’, *ruột* ‘intestines’, *mật* ‘gallbladder’, and *bụng* ‘belly’. No matter where the anger occurs, to keep the emotion under control, a force is put on the belly. The force on the belly is

explicitly expressed, such as *bấm bụng* ‘press belly’, *dằn lòng* ‘press belly’, *nén lòng* ‘squeeze belly’, *ghìm lòng* ‘hold belly’, and *kìm lòng* ‘hold belly’.

However, exerting a force on the belly to control anger is not always successful. If the force on the belly is not as strong as the cause of the anger, the self loses control over his emotion. Example (48) below is an illustration of losing control over the anger because the self cannot control the strength of anger:

(48) *Tôi cố dằn lòng để tha thứ cho tội ngoại tình của chồng nhưng không nổi.*

I try **press belly** to forgive for sin adultery of husband but don't able.

Tôi sỉ vả anh ta thậm tệ để cho anh ta phải thấy nhục nhã.

I insult he ruthless to for he must see disgrace

‘I tried to refrain myself (**to press my belly**) to forgive my husband's adultery but I could not. I insulted him ruthlessly for him to feel disgrace.’

In regard to controlling emotions, Lutz and White (1986) stress that the culture provides a set of guidelines which are constructed from moral and social codes to identify which emotions are good or bad in order to be expressed or controlled. It means that controlling anger is socio-culturally required.

In Vietnamese culture, controlling anger is strongly required to maintain the harmony in the community. Vietnam is an agricultural culture which highly values collective and harmonious relationships among members of the community. These values originate in the practice of irrigated rice cultivation which requires cooperation among members for building dikes and opening ditches, fighting against draught or flood, and so on. The rice farming life requires preservation and maintainance of harmonious relationships in the community and therefore people try not to make anyone feel offended (Phan 1998, Trần 2001). This cultural aspect is reflected in a number of idioms, fixed expressions, sayings or folk poems, such as:

- (49) *Lời nói không mất tiền mua, Lựa lời mà nói cho vừa lòng nhau* (folk poem)
 Word don't spend money buy. Select word for talk for satisfy belly each other.
 No money is spent to buy words, select words to speak to please someone's belly/
 'Words need to be carefully spoken to please someone's heart.'
- (50) *Một sự nhịn chín sự lành* (proverb)
 One thing endure, nine thing good
 'Enduring one thing will bring nine good things/A bad compromise is better than a
 good lawsuit.'
- (51) *Chín bỏ làm mười* (idiom)
 Nine round make ten
 'Nine rounds up to ten i.e., every fault needs pardon.'

Frijda and Mesquita (2000) note how people from collectivist cultures deal with negative emotions: "People from collectivist cultures focus more on the social consequences of emotional situations – that is, on the implications for social position of the individual and his or her group" (p.60). In general, Vietnamese people place a high value on avoiding negative emotions or actions which will disrupt the social harmony of the community, as shown in example (49). In cases where they have to deal with anger, they try to repress the emotion as illustrated in examples (50-51) because to lose control of anger would bring negative consequences to themselves and to the community.

4.4.5. Anger is an excess of gas in the belly, intestines and liver

In this metaphor, anger is characterized in terms of an excess of gas held in the belly, intestines and liver. In section 4.3.2 we discussed the Chinese metaphor ANGER IS A HOT GAS IN THE BODY in which the gas used to describe anger is hot. In this metaphor ANGER IS AN EXCESS OF GAS IN THE BELLY, LIVER AND INTESTINES, on the other hand, the gas used to describe anger is not conceived of as

hot, and this is a specific elaboration of the metaphor: ANGER IS A SUBSTANCE IN THE CONTAINER (Kövecses 2000:160).

- (52) *Vợ về muộn mà không gọi điện làm cho anh Hải tức đầy bụng,*
 Wife come back late but don't call make for Mr. Hải **angry full belly**
 'His wife came home late but did not call to let him know. Mr. Hải was mad (his belly was full of anger).'
- (53) *Ông tức đầy ruột đầy gan khi thấy bà hàng xóm mỉa mai*
 He angry **full intestines full liver** when see CLAS neighbor speak ironically
 'He was furious when heard the neighbor spoke ironically about him.'
- (54) *Tức nổ ruột vì bị cả Berba và Juve "xỏ mũi",*
 Angry **explode intestines** because PAS both Berba and Juve "led by the nose",
 'They were really angry (their intestines exploded) because both Berba and Juve played a trick on them.'

Examples (52-54) show that an excess of gas in the belly, the liver, and intestines corresponds to anger. When the amount of gas has exceeded the capacity of the containers, it creates a pressure on the container and eventually makes the container explode. As shown in example (53), the self became extremely angry because of being tricked and his intestines exploded as a result. This metaphor highlights the cause of anger (an excess of gas), the intensity of anger (an excess amount of gas), and the result of the anger to the self (the intestines explode). We can see these correspondences as follows:

Source: GAS	Target: ANGER
The excess of gas	→ The existence of anger
The cause of the excess of gas	→ The cause of anger
The amount of the gas	→ The intensity of anger

The control of the gas → The control of anger

The gas going out of the container → The response of the self caused by the anger.

This metaphor ANGER IS AN EXCESS OF GAS IN THE BELLY, LIVER AND INTESTINES is a different metaphor from the one in Chinese but it shares the overarching metaphor of THE BODY IS THE CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTION with English and Chinese, and is a specific elaboration of the metaphor ANGER IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER.

4.4.6. Other metaphors for anger in Vietnamese

In this section I discuss three other metaphors for anger that are not shared with English or Chinese, but which cast light on how anger is culturally embodied. These other metaphors are: ANGER IS UNPLEASANT TASTES, ANGER IS A MENTAL ANNOYANCE, and ANGER IS SUPERNATURAL BEINGS AND ENEMIES

4.4.6.1. Anger is unpleasant tastes

In daily life, people experience a variety of tastes such as sweet, bitter, sour, salty, spicy, and astringent. People tend to favor certain tastes which bring pleasurable sensations, such as: sweetness, which implies the presence of sugar or honey. People tend to decline certain tastes which bring unpleasurable sensations such as excessive bitterness and the associated acridness or sharpness.

It is obvious that, on the basis of physiological experiences, tastes are viewed in terms of pleasantness and unpleasantness. From the taste perception, we get metaphors in English about personality and about experiences: we can speak of someone as a *sweet person*. We wish someone to have *sweet dreams*. We have to accept the *bitter truth* even we don't want to. We should stay away from someone who is in *bitter mood*.

In Vietnamese, unpleasant tastes including *cay* ‘hot/spicy’, *đắng* ‘bitter’, *chua* ‘sour’ and *chát* ‘astringent’ are used to characterize anger, as in the following examples:

(55) *Anh giận cay giận đắng vì bị bạn gái bỏ rơi ở buổi tiệc*
He **angry spicy angry bitter** because PAS girlfriend abandon in party
‘He was mad at his girlfriend (**spicily and bitterly**) because his girlfriend abandoned him.’

(56) *Anh nói những lời chua chát khi tôi thú nhận quá khứ không đẹp đẽ của tôi.*
He say PLR word **sour astringent** when I confess past not beautiful
of I
‘He said **bitter** words when I told him about my dark past.’

In Vietnamese culture, unpleasant tastes such as: *cay* (spicy), *đắng* (bitter), *đắng cay* (bitter and spicy), *chua cay* (sour and spicy), *chua chát* (sour and astringent), *mặn chát* (salty and astringent), *chua xót* (too sour then stings the tongue), *mặn đắng* (salty and bitter) are associated with negative emotions such as sadness, anger, despair, hatred, and envy. The correlation between the unpleasant tastes and the negative emotions is apparent: they are all unpleasant and unwanted. This indicates that the metaphor ANGER IS UNPLEASANT TASTES is motivated by the taste perception, which is an embodied physical experience. The selection of which tastes we consider unpleasant and use to describe the negative emotion of anger in Vietnamese, is linked to culture. These physiological and cultural aspects of this metaphor make the metaphor both physiologically and culturally based.

The metaphor ANGER IS UNPLEASANT TASTES captures the unpleasant aspect of anger and indicates the cause of anger as in examples (55-56). A set of conceptual mapping that defines the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS UNPLEASANT TASTE is established as follows:

Source: UNPLEASANT TASTE		Target: ANGER
The existence of unpleasant taste	→	The existence of anger
The cause of the unpleasant taste	→	The cause of anger
The unpleasant taste disappears	→	The anger stops.

4.4.6.2. Anger is mental annoyance

Kövecses (2004:49) suggests that emotions can be understood in terms of both their assumed typical causes and their assumed typical effects: **Emotion is a cause of that emotion** and **Emotion is an effect of that emotion**. Then the causes of the emotion and the emotion effects can serve as source domain of the emotion. For example, ANGER IS PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE, HAPPINESS IS A PLEASURABLE PHYSICAL SENSATION.

In Vietnamese, anger is conceptualized as something that causes annoyance to the self's mind. The following examples illustrate how the MENTAL ANNOYANCE source domain is mapped onto the anger concept.

(57) *Con từng giận họ, cho nên con biết thù giận
I used angry them, so I know hate anger
không làm cho ta sống **thanh thản**.
don't make us live peace*

'I used to be angry at them so I know that anger prevents us from living **in peace**.'

(58) *Ai làm mình giận thì hãy biết tha thứ để mình thấy **thanh thản**
Who make self angry then let know forgive to self see **untroubled**
và người kia không thấy áp lực.
and person other don't see pressure*

'We should forgive who makes us mad so we can feel peace and the person does not feel pressure.'

Different from ANGER IS PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE, in which anger causes a lot of physical suffering to the self, the metaphor ANGER IS MENTAL ANNOYANCE shows that anger is perceived as something that causes mental suffering/annoyance to the self. The mental annoyance in this anger conceptualization involves a wrongdoer and a victim. The wrongdoer is at fault. The victim, the self, is the one who gets angry and his/her mind becomes annoyed. The anger will not stop until the mind is not disturbed. This conceptualization of anger is constructed from the following conceptual mappings:

Source: MENTAL ANNOYANCE		Target: ANGER
The existence of mental annoyance	→	The existence of anger
The cause of mental annoyance	→	The cause of anger
The mental annoyance disappears	→	The anger stops.

The mental annoyance in this anger conceptualization involves a wrongdoer and a victim. The wrongdoer is at fault. The victim, the self, is the one who gets angry and his/her mind becomes annoyed. The anger will not stop until the mind is not disturbed.

The metaphor ANGER IS MENTAL ANNOYANCE emphasizes the significant role of religions in constructing the anger concept. According to Buddhism, the Buddha teaches that anger disturbs people's mind. Therefore, to live peacefully, and to be free from affliction, we should learn how to let things go (Khả Anh 2015, my translation). This other religious aspect of the anger concept in Vietnamese shows that it is motivated by the particular cultural practice in the Vietnamese culture. This evidence indicates the culture-based of this metaphor.

4.4.6.3. Anger is supernatural beings and enemies

In many cultures, supernatural beings, such as gods, angels, witches, devils are said to reside in a world beyond our own. They have powerful destructive forces which can trouble or harm humans in both body and soul. They are especially associated with darkness, danger, violence and so on.

In Vietnamese culture, anger is conceptualized in terms of three gods that reside in humans, and six enemies from the outside that attack six human sensations. According to Taoism, there are three gods, Bành-sur, Bành kiển and Bành-chất residing in human body. They always provoke humans to do bad things. On the day Canh Thân (Canh Thân is the day when the five gates of the heaven are wide open) they will go to Heaven to report to the King of heaven about humans' sins. Because of the sins, humans will die soon so the three gods will not have to take care of humans (Đào 1931/2005:658, my translation).

According to Buddhism, there are six enemies (*lục tặc*) that will destroy people's religious lives. They are beauty, sounds, fragrance, taste, contact, and evil seeds of the six sensations of human body and life. These six enemies attract six sensations of Buddhist monks: eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body and mind and make them not feel peaceful. They are huge obstacles for monks to live their religious lives. That is the reason why Buddhism regards them as six enemies. (Đào 1931/2005, p.422-423; Từ điển Phật học Việt Anh – Thiện Phúc rongmotamhon.net).

(59) *Con dâu chưa có con. Mẹ chồng nổi cơn tam bành*
Daughter-in-law not yet have child. Mother-in-law rise CLAS **three god**
mắng con dâu “đàn bà hư hỏng không biết đẻ”.
scold daughter-in-law “women damage don't know give birth”

‘Her daughter in-law has not had any children yet. She **flew into a rage**, scolded at her daughter in-law: “Bad women do not know how to give birth”.’

- (60) *Bị nói là chả có mẹ kế nào biết thương con chồng, bà Tam nổi cơn tam bành lục tặc, ném ngay cái chổi trên tay vào mặt bà Sáu.*
 PAS *speak* BE no there step mother any know love child husband, Mrs.Tam rise
 tam bành lục tặc, ném ngay cái chổi trên tay vào mặt bà Sáu.
three god six enemy, throw immediate CLAS broom on hand in face Mrs. Sáu.
 ‘Being told that no stepmothers can love children of their husband, Mrs Tam flew into a rage, threw the broom in her hand on the face of Mrs. Sáu.’

The examples (59) and (60) shows that three gods (*tam bành*) and six enemies (*lục tặc*) are used as source domain to characterize the anger concept. Their occurrences are used together to emphasize the cause of anger. For instance, when the self sees or hears unwanted things, the three gods and six enemies will incite them to do something wrong, cause their mind to become disordered then take control of the self. This conceptualization of anger is established from the following ontological mappings between the target domain ANGER and the source domain SUPERNATURAL BEINGS AND ENEMIES

Source: SUPERNATURAL BEINGS AND ENEMIES		Target: ANGER
The existence supernatural beings and enemies	→	The anger
The disorder of the mind caused by the supernatural beings and enemies	→	The cause of anger
The supernatural beings and enemies control the self	→	The anger controls the self.

The metaphor ANGER IS SUPERNATURAL BEINGS AND ENEMIES emphasizes the religious aspect of anger. This metaphor portrays anger as a consequence

of being incited by supernatural beings and enemies (three gods and six enemies). This indicates that the metaphor ANGER IS SUPERNATURAL BEINGS AND ENEMIES is not motivated by bodily experiences but by the particular social- cultural practices of Vietnamese.

4.5. Cognitive model or prototypical scenarios of anger⁷

As has been pointed out in the previous sections, the conceptual metaphors and metonymies of anger describe different aspects of the anger concept. In their study on the cognitive model of anger in American English, Lakoff and Kövecses (1987:210) indicate that metaphors and metonymies of anger converge on a prototypical cognitive model of anger which describes the central aspects of the concept. The model is characterized as a five stage scenario (presented below). Non-prototypical cases of anger are minimal variants of the prototypical one.

This study applies the cognitive model of anger in American English proposed by Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) to the emotion of anger in Vietnamese in order to determine to what extent the model is applicable in Vietnamese and present similarities and differences of anger in the three languages, English, Chinese, and Vietnamese.

Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) construct the prototypical scenario of anger in

English as follows:

Constraints:

Victim = Self (S)

Agent of retribution

⁷ As mentioned in section 1.6, folk understandings have been called folk models, cultural models, idealized cognitive models, prototypical cognitive model, prototypical scenario (Holland and Quinn 1987, Lakoff 1987, Kövecses 2004). This study, following Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) uses cognitive model and prototypical scenario of anger interchangeably to refer to a collection of beliefs that Vietnamese culture holds about the emotion.

Target of Anger = Wrongdoer

Immediate Cause of Anger= Offending Event

Angry behavior = Retribution.

These constraints take part in the following stages:

Stage 1: Offending event

Wrongdoer offends S.

Wrongdoer is at fault.

The offending event displeases S

The intensity of the offense outweighs the intensity of the retribution (which equals zero at this point), thus creating an imbalance.

The offense causes anger to come into existence.

Stage 2: Anger

S experiences physiological effects (heat, pressure, agitation).

Anger exerts force on the S to attempt an act of retribution.

Stage 3: Attempt to control anger

S exerts a counterforce in an attempt to control anger.

Loss of control

The intensity of anger goes above the limit.

Stage 4: Anger takes control of S.

S exhibits angry behavior (loss of judgment, aggressive action).

There is damage to S.

There is danger to the target of anger, in this case, the wrongdoer.

Stage 5: Retribution

S performs retributive act against wrongdoer (this is usually angry behavior directed at wrongdoer).

The intensity of retribution balances the intensity of offence.

The intensity of anger drops to zero.

Anger ceases to exist.

King (1989) used this model to construct a prototypical model of anger in Chinese. He suggests two prototypical models of anger in Chinese in which stage 4 and 5 vary from that of English.

Prototypical scenario 1:

Stage 1: Offending Event

Wrongdoer offends S.

The offending event displeases S.

The offence causes an imbalance in the body.

Anger

Stage 2: Anger exists.

S experiences physiological effects (heat, pressure, agitation).

Attempt to control anger

S exerts a counterforce in an attempt to control anger.

Stage 3: Release of anger

S releases anger by exhibiting angry behavior (hitting etc. this may be directed at wrongdoer who is the target).

Stage 4: Restoration of equilibrium

The amount of discharged anger balances the excess in the body.

Stage 5: The imbalance disappears and equilibrium is restored.

The second scenario differs from the first one in stage 4 and 5:

Prototypical scenario 2:

Stage 4: Diversion

The force of anger is diverted to various parts of the body

S exhibits somatic effects (headaches, stomach aches, etc.)

Compensating event

Stage 5: The compensating event pleases S (this is usually sympathetic behavior directed at S)

The intensity of compensation balances the intensity of the offence.

The somatic effects of anger disappear.

Anger ceases to exist. (King 1989:173-174).

The prototypical scenario of anger in English is very similar to that in Vietnamese. In what follows, I will discuss how the English cognitive model of anger is applied to Vietnamese, and then the similarities and differences of the Vietnamese scenario of anger and the scenarios of English and Chinese are presented.

4.5.1. The prototypical scenario of anger in Vietnamese

As Lakoff (1987: 398) puts it, the prototypical scenario illustrates how the various conceptual metaphors map onto and converge on a prototype for anger. “This enables us to show exactly how the various metaphors are related to one another and how they function together to help characterize a single concept.” Similar to the other two languages, the Vietnamese cognitive model of anger relies on both metaphorical and metonymic expressions in describing anger. In 2,970 contexts of anger, there are 4,329 expressions describing anger in which 1,968 expressions are metonymic, 2,361 expressions are metaphorical. These metonymic and metaphorical expressions account for 45.47% and 55.53% of the whole dataset, respectively (for more details see the charts of the metaphors and metonymies of anger in section 4.1 of this chapter).

The five stages of the Vietnamese cognitive model of sadness are described as follows. Similar to English and Chinese, the prototypical scenario of anger in Vietnamese is also composed of five stages which is described as follows:

Stage 1: A situation where an offending event occurs

Stage 2: Anger exists. The self experiences physiological effects of the emotion (heat,

pressure, agitation).

Stage 3: Attempt to control anger is required by Vietnamese cultural and social regulations

Stage 4: The emotion’s intensity is greater than the self’s attempt. The self becomes irrational. He/she would lose his/her control by exhibiting angry behavior in the form of agitation, aggressive verbal or visual behaviors.

Stage 5: Consequently, he/she seeks retribution and then performs retributive acts against the wrong doer.

4.5.2. Differences among prototypical scenarios of anger in English, Chinese and Vietnamese

The cognitive models of anger in the American English, Chinese and Vietnamese show the remarkable in Stage 3: Attempt to control anger. My data indicates that Stage 3 in Vietnamese is more elaborate than in English and Chinese. Table 6 below shows the similarity of Stage 3 in English and Chinese; followed is the discussion of Stage 3 in Vietnamese.

	English	Chinese
Stage 3	Attempt to control anger: S exerts a counterforce in an attempt to control anger. Example: <i>I suppressed my anger</i> (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987:1999).	Attempt to control anger: S exerts a counterforce in an attempt to control anger. Example: <i>to keep in one’s spleen qi</i> (King 1989: 162).

Table 6- Stage 3: Attempt to control anger in English and Chinese

In English and Chinese, the attempt to control anger is rather simple. There are limited expressions describing how the anger is control, for instance, “suppress”, “turn his anger inward”, “keep his anger bottled up inside him” in English (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987:199); “to keep in one’s spleen qi” in Chinese (King 1989:162).

In Vietnamese, what makes the self control anger is more specific than those in English and Chinese. The attempt to control anger is required by societal regulation. When anger occurs, the self needs to control the emotion to maintain social harmony (see more in the discussion of the metaphor CONTROL ANGER IS TO PUT A FORCE ON THE CONTAINER). There is a set of proverbs in Vietnamese which serve as behavioral guides and which recommend control over anger. These include:

- (61) *Lựa lời mà nói cho vừa lòng nhau*
 Choose word that speak for fit belly eachother
 ‘Words need to be carefully spoken to please someone’s heart’
- (62) *Một sự nhịn chín sự lành*
 One endure nine good
 ‘A bad compromise is better than a good lawsuit’
- (63) *Chín bỏ làm mười*
 Nine consider ten
 ‘Nine rounds up ten (Every fault needs pardon)’
- (64) *Dĩ hòa vi quý*
 Take peace be precious
 ‘Making peace is treasure’

The attempt to control the emotion is a specific: call to put a force on the belly, no matter where anger occurs (in the body, the belly or in the internal organs). A group of expressions indicates how the control of anger is realized as follows:

- a) *Kìm lòng, ghìm lòng* ‘to hold the belly’
- b) *nén lòng, dấn lòng* ‘to press a force on the belly’
- c) *nhủ lòng, dăn lòng* ‘talk to the belly’ and
- d) *bấm bụng* ‘press the belly’

Examples from the corpus are shown in (65-66):

- (65) *Tức điên ruột mà phải nén lòng cho qua.*
 Angry **crazy intestines** but must **press belly** for pass
 ‘I went crazy (**my intestines went crazy**) but I had to suppress my anger (**to press my belly**) to let it pass.’
- (66) *Nghe mẹ chồng xỉ vả vẫn phải bằm bụng không nói gì.*
 Hear mother in-law insult still must **press belly** don’t speak any.
 ‘My mother in law insulted me but I had to suppress my anger (**to press my belly**) not to say anything towards her.’

When anger occurs, the self experiences the anger and the conflict happening inside the body, the belly or the internal organs. The self needs to control his/her anger in order to keep the social harmony by putting a force on the belly. When the self cannot control the anger, the act of retribution is performed. The use of the belly container seems to be the best way to control anger because it works (most of the time). The self does not do anything for his/her anger as shown in examples (65-66): The self went crazy but had to suppress his anger (to press his belly) to let things pass and the daughter in-law was insulted by her mother in-law but she suppressed her anger (to press her belly) not to say anything towards her mother in-law. In addition, there is no evidence that the belly container is exploded or broken even when the self loses control. It means that the damage caused by the anger is controllable.

Apparently, the attempt to control anger requires a rationalization which is influenced by cultural behavior guides. This shows that the socio-cultural context in which the conceptualization of belly is grounded is fundamental to understand the cognitive model of anger in Vietnamese.

Lakoff (1987: 398) notes that “The course of anger depicted in the prototype scenario is by no means the only course anger can take. In claiming that the scenario is

prototypical we are claiming that according to our cultural folk theory of anger, this is a normal course for anger to take. Deviations are both recognized as existing and recognized as being noteworthy and not the norm.” It is these deviations that are the topic of the following section.

4.6. Non-prototypical scenarios of anger in Vietnamese

This section explores nonprototypical scenarios of anger found in Vietnamese which are not found in either English or Chinese. Nonprototypical scenarios are defined as variants from their typical model (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987). The following tables present nonprototypical scenarios of anger in English and Chinese mentioned in Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) and King (1989). Followed is the Vietnamese non-prototypical scenarios of anger.

English	Examples
Insatiable anger	<i>His anger lingered on.</i>
Frustrated anger	<i>She was tearing her hair out.</i>
Redirected anger	<i>When I lose my temper, I kick the cat</i>
Exaggerated response	<i>Why jump down my throat? You have a right to get angry, but not to go that far.</i>
Controlled response	<i>He vented his anger on her.</i>
Constructive use	<i>Try to channel your anger into something constructive.</i>
Terminating event	<i>When his daughter smiled at him, his anger disappeared</i>
Spontaneous cessation	<i>His anger just went away by itself.</i>
Successful suppression	<i>He suppressed his anger.</i>
Controlled reduction	<i>He's just letting off steam.</i>

Immediate explosion	<i>I said "Hi, Roundeyes " and he blew up</i>
Slow burn	<i>He was doing a slow burn.</i>
Nursing a grudge	(no example listed)
Don't get mad, get even	(no example listed)
Indirect cause	(no example listed)
Cool anger	(no example listed)
Cold anger	(no example listed)
Anger with	(no example listed)
Righteous indignation	(no example listed)
Wrath	(no example listed)

Lakoff and Kövecses (1987:214-218)

Chinese nonprototypical models of anger

Chinese	Examples
Righteous Indignation	qi fen bu ping qi anger NEG even To be angry over an unfair situation
Lingering Anger	ta yu nu wei xi de dui A Si shuo he leftover anger not rest DE to A Si say He said to A Si with lingering anger.
Defence of Self-esteem	nao xiu cheng nu worry shame become anger to fly into a rage from shame.
Unknown offending event	Yi gu wu liyou de nu qi huran chong One CLAS NEG reason POSS anger qi suddenly

	dao ta de bijian
	rush to POSSS nose point
	A sudden burst of unexplainable anger qi rushed to the end of his nose.
Terminating Event	ba ta de nu dou rongjie le
	BA he POSS anger all melt LE
	Melt al his anger.
The “hothead”	a temper like a firecracker.
Immediate explosion	a firework fuse
Redirected anger	da bu dong niu da che
	hit NEG move ox hit cart
	to hit the cart because one can’t because one can’t make the ox move.
Unexpressible anger	you huo fa bu chu
	have fire emit NEG out
	The fire/anger can’t come out
Concealed anger	nao zai xin tou xiao zai lian shang
	anger at heart laugh at face on
	To be angry on the inside, but smiling on the outside
Fake anger	jia sheng qi
	false produce qi
	To pretend to produce qi
Terminating Event and anger changes in to Joy	Hui chen zuo xi
	Turn anger make happy
	To stop being angry and become happy.

Ineffective anger	chui le qi ren you bu de zui out LE qi man still NEG take offence After one has vented one's qi the person is still not offended.
Controlled reduction	xiao qi bu xiao zhong dispel qi NEG dispel swelling Get rid of air/qi but not the swelling (i.e. of the leprosy/one's body full of anger) (Letting off steam). King (1989:174-182)

Vietnamese shares with both English and Chinese the non-prototypical anger cases above. Our data indicates different non-prototypical scenarios of anger in Vietnamese presented below. The non-prototype anger cases are followed by informal descriptions explaining their differences to the prototypical scenario and examples to illustrate the descriptions. Some non-prototypical scenarios of anger are put under the same label as in English, but there are differences in stages in the scenarios so they are listed here.

- **Self-deception anger**

Stage 1: Offending event

Stage 2: Anger exists

Stage 3: The self consoles himself because he cannot do revenge.

Stage 5: Anger stops.

(67) *Nó chửi mình thì cũng như nó chửi bố nó.*

He curse I then also like he curse father he

‘He cursed me then it was like he cursed his father also.’

No Stage 4.

- **Fate is the offender**

Stage 1: Life is unfortunate due to fate

Stage 2: Anger exists.

Stage 4: Loss of control: curse fate/life.

Stage 5: Anger stops when something fortunate happens.

(68) *Suốt một thời gian tôi giận đời, chửi đời vì không may mắn.*

Along one time I angry life, curse life because no luck,

‘For a long time, I was mad at life, so I cursed life because I was so unfortunate.’

No Stage 3.

- **Ineffective offending event**

Stage 1: Offending event. The self does not feel angry.

Stage 2, 3, 4 and 5 don't exist.

(69) *Rộng bụng không chấp nhặt*

Large belly don't resent petty mistake

‘Person who has large belly would tolerate mistake.’

- **The self is the cause of anger**

Stage 1: The self failed to do something.

Stage 2: Anger exists.

Stage 4: Loss of control: the self curses himself, cries, beats his chest

Stage 5: Anger stops after the self promises himself not to repeat the failure.

(70) *Tự giận mình sao ngu quá, bị nó lừa hết tiền*

self angry self why stupid much, PAS he trick out of money

‘I was angry at myself for my stupidity. He tricked me to get all of my money.’

No Stage 3

- **Incited anger**

Stage 1: Offending event by accident but the self does not notice until someone points out

Stage 2: Anger exists

Stage 4: Loss of control: go to confront the unintentional offender.

Stage 5: Anger stops when the unintentional offender explains, apologizes or does something to compensate for the event.

(71) *Hoàng nói rằng Minh lơ Tú trong cuộc họp là sỉ nhục Tú. Tú giận lắm*

Hoàng say that Minh ignore Tú in CLAS meeting BE insult Tú. Tú angry much
đến gặp Minh để hỏi. Minh giải thích rằng, thời gian có hạn, không thể liệt kê
 go meet Minh to ask Minh explain that time limit, cannot list all
hết mọi người. Tú à “hóa ra thế”, rồi thôi.

every people . Tú ah turn out then stop

‘Hoàng said that Minh ignored Tú in the meeting meaning Minh insulted Tú. Tú was mad then went to see Minh to ask for an explanation. Minh explained that time was limited he could not list all names of people. Tú “Ah! That how it was” then his anger stops.’

- **Anger never stops:**

Stage 1: Offending event

Stage 2: Anger exists

Stage 3: Attempt to control anger

Stage 5: Anger never stops.

(72) *Lấy nhau 30 năm, chồng ngoại tình, có con riêng. Bà Hoa giận điên*

Married 30 year, husband cheat have child private. Mrs. Hoa angry numb
người. Chồng xin tha thứ. Bà nghĩ “xấu chàng hổ ai” nên không làm
 body Husband ask forgive She think “bad husband shame who” so don’t make
to chuyện. Nhưng mỗi khi nghĩ đến con riêng của chồng ở ngoài đó,

big problem But every when think to child private of husband in out there,
bà lại trỗi lên lòng căm hận trong lòng, không bao giờ tha thứ được.

she again rise up CLAS angry in belly, never forgive able.

‘They had been married for 30 years. Her husband cheated on her and had a son of his own. Mrs. Hoa was so angry that her body was numb. Her husband asked for forgiveness. She thought “if husbands look bad, on whom will be blamed” so she did not make a fuss over it. But whenever she thought of her husband’s son out there, anger rose in her (her belly), she could not forgive him.’

- **Offending event is ignored**

Stage 1: Offending event is ignored. The self does not feel angry.

Stage 2, 3, 4 and 5 do not exist.

(73) *Biết mẹ chồng hay nói bóng gió, cứ lờ đi thôi, hơi đâu mà
Know mother husband always say shade wind, only ignore away, no breath to
cau mặt cau mày. Bà nói hoài cũng chán.*

frown face frown eyebrow. She say forever EMPH bored.

‘She knows that her mother in-law always insinuates something about her, but she ignores. She has no energy to frown her eyebrows. If her mother in law keeps saying like that she will be bored.’

- **Some unrelated event is viewed as retribution to the wrongdoer**

Stage 1: Offending event

Stage 2: Anger exists. (The self can’t/don’t do anything to the wrongdoer).

Stage 5: Something bad happens to the wrongdoer. Anger stops.

(74) *Bạn gái bỏ để lấy chồng giàu, hận lắm, nhục lắm. Khi gặp
Girlfriend break up to marry husband rich, resent much, shame much. When meet
lại mới biết là không có con. Đúng là ông trời có mắt.*

again just know BE don’t have child. True BE God have eyes.

‘His girlfriend broke up with him to get married a rich man. He was furious, and very shameful. When they met, he learned that his girlfriend did not have children. (He thought) It was true that God witnesses everything.’

- **Frustrated anger**

Stage 1: Offending event.

Stage 2: Anger exists. The self experiences physiological effects. The self cannot/don't do anything to the offender. The self goes away from the offender.

(75) *Cãi không lại vợ, chồng tức quá bỏ đi ra phố.*

Argue don't win wife husband angry much leave away out street.

‘Couldn't defend himself in an argument with his wife, the husband was so mad that he left for the street.’

4.7. Conclusions

This chapter has presented the conceptualizations of anger in Vietnamese which are based on general conceptual metonymies and metaphors that are embedded in physiological and cultural embodiment in Vietnamese. This chapter has compared and contrasted conceptual metonymies and metaphors and cognitive models of anger in Vietnamese, English and Chinese in order to reveal the differences and similarities of the anger conceptualization in Vietnamese. Particularly, general conceptual metaphors, metonymies and specific realizations or elaborations of the shared source domains of anger in Vietnamese were analyzed to explain for the similarities and differences in the anger conceptualizations in the three languages.

The similarities and differences in the anger conceptualization can be explained by the “Cultural Embodied Prototype” view proposed Kövecses (2004) which highlights the role of both physiological factors and cultural factors in constructing emotion concepts. These two factors represent two types of embodiment: physiological embodiment (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) and cultural embodiment proposed by Maalej (2004, 2007, 2008).

This chapter shows that similar physiological embodied experiences/ universal embodiment lead to similar conceptual metaphors and metonymies of the emotion. For example, the general metonymy and metaphor THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF EMOTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION, THE BODY IS A CONTAINER OF EMOTION, respectively are motivated by similar physiological embodiment in the three languages. For example, anger causes a set of physiological effects on human body such as increase in skin temperature, blood pressure, pulse rate, etc. Conceptualization of such physiological effects gives rise to the general metaphor and metonymy above.

The differences are found in the specific relatization of the general metaphors and metonymies of emotion and of socio-cultural practices in Vietnam. In English anger is conceptualized in terms of redness in the face and neck area, for example, in English: *scarlet, red, flushed* (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987:197). Chinese uses more colors than English to describe anger Chinese: *red, pale, blue, purple* (Yu 1995:67). Conceptualization of the colors gives rise to the metonymy REDNESS IN FACE AND NECK AREA STANDS FOR ANGER. Yu (1995:67) suggests that Chinese share the same metonymy with English. My data shows that Vietnamese prefers to use different colors in anger expressions, such as: *đỏ ửng* ‘flush red as flame’, *đỏ gay* ‘crimson’, *đỏ bừng* ‘blush hotly’, *đỏ tía* ‘wine-colored’, *đỏ rực* ‘red glow’, *đỏ lừng* ‘flaming red’, *đỏ lù* ‘dark red’, *tím* ‘purple’, *tím ngắt* ‘dark purple’, *xanh* ‘green’, *trắng* ‘white’, *trắng bệch* ‘off-white’, *tái* ‘pale’, and *tái mét* ‘ashen’. These physiological effects of anger on the face suggest the metonymy COLOR CHANGES IN FACE AND NECK AREA STAND FOR ANGER. Therefore, this metonymy can be said to be motivated by physiological responses which are likely to be noticeable awareness then becomes

cognitively preferences for the creation of the metonymy COLOR CHANGES IN FACE AND NECK AREA STAND FOR ANGER. This metonymy is more general than the metonymy REDNESS IN FACE AND NECK AREA STANDS FOR ANGER proposed by Lakoff and Kövecses (1987:197).

Another difference in conceptualization of anger in Vietnamese shows in the language-specific conceptualization of the containers of anger in Vietnamese. The metaphors THE BELLY IS A CONTAINER OF ANGER, THE LIVER AND INTESTINES ARE CONTAINERS OF ANGER are specific realizations of the general metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER OF ANGER.

The influence of Vietnamese religions evidently marks the difference in conceptualization of anger in Vietnamese. Anger is conceptualized in terms of mental annoyance, supernatural beings and enemies which structure the metaphors ANGER IS MENTAL ANNOYANCE, ANGER IS SUPERNATURAL BEINGS AND ENEMIES.

Interestingly, the metaphor ANGER IS UNPLEASANT TASTES has not been mentioned in previous works. Vietnamese people tend to use different tastes to describe anger, such as: *cay* (spicy), *đắng* (bitter), *đắng cay* (bitter and spicy), *chua cay* (sour and spicy), *chua chát* (sour and astringent), *mặn chát* (salty and astringent), *chua xót* (too sour then stings the tongue), *mặn đắng* (salty and bitter). The metaphor ANGER IS UNPLEASANT TASTES is structured by taste perception and also cultural preference. It is possible to say that this metaphor is both physiology and culture based.

The similarities and differences in conceptualizations of anger point to the role of cultural model in shaping the anger concept. The Vietnamese cultural model selects certain embodied experiences and cultural practices in motivating such

conceptualizations. For example, the belly, intestines, liver, and gall-bladder are conceptualized as the source domains of the anger concept. There are no actual physiological effects on such organs when the emotion occurs. As such, a particular emotion established a cultural correlation between a physiological effect or a body part and a certain conceptualization of the emotion (Maalej 2004). The culture-specific conceptualization of anger in Vietnamese can be explained by Kövecses' (2005:293) claim "Universal embodiment *can be overridden* by either social-cultural context (experiences) or cognitive processes (cognitive preferences)" (the italics in the original).

Chapter 5

Sadness concept in Vietnamese

5. Introduction

This chapter presents the conceptualization of sadness in Vietnamese, compares the ways the emotion is conceptualized in Vietnamese, American English and Chinese, and highlights culture-specific and shared aspects of the conceptualization of sadness. I present metaphors, metonymies, and cognitive models of the sadness concept in Vietnamese in order to compare the ways the sadness is conceptualized in the three languages. The analysis of the specific realizations of the metaphors and metonymies of sadness show similarities as well as culture-specific metaphors and metonymies in Vietnamese. The similarities in the shared emotion conceptualizations can be explained in terms of common physiological embodiments. The differences in culture-specific realizations and aspects of the sadness concept can be explained in terms of cultural embodiment, including the Vietnamese religions, which guide the preferred physiological and cultural experiences used to describe sadness.

This chapter is divided in seven sections. Section 5.1 presents an overview of the data of this study. Section 5.2 introduces and discusses shared and non-shared metonymies of sadness in Vietnamese with English and Chinese. The shared and non-shared conceptual metaphors of sadness in the three languages are discussed in section 5.3. Section 5.4 and 5.5 examine the prototypical and non-prototypical scenarios of sadness in Vietnamese in comparison with those in English and Chinese. Finally, section 5.6 offers a summary of the findings.

5.1. Overview of the Data

This section presents charts of metonymies and metaphors of sadness in Vietnamese. The charts below display the percentage ratios of metonymic and metaphorical expressions of anger, metonymies and metaphors of anger in the whole dataset.

This study collected 239 sadness expressions from six Vietnamese dictionaries. Actual contexts of the sadness expressions were collected from nine Vietnamese e-news websites (see in chapter 3). Each context usually contains three or five sentences. The sentence containing the emotion expression often is the second or the third sentence of the context, respectively. Ten contexts of each sadness expression were examined to identify metaphorical and metonymic expressions of sadness. In 2,390 contexts of anger, I identified 4,050 expressions describing sadness; of these, 2,796 expressions (69.03%) are metaphorical and 1,254 (30.96%) expressions are metonymic. These metonymic and metaphorical expressions constitute 30.96% and 69.03%, respectively, of the whole dataset, as shown in Figure 4. These percentage ratios of metonymic and metaphorical expressions of anger indicate that Vietnamese people rely more on metaphorical expressions in describing anger.

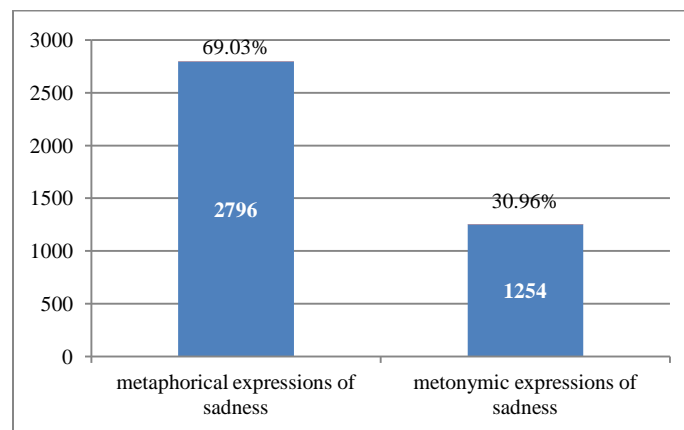


Figure 4: Percentage ratio of metonymic and metaphorical expressions of sadness in the data of sadness

5.1.1 Metonymies of sadness

Figure 2 display metonymies of sadness in Vietnamese. Each bar shows the frequency of the categorized metonymic expression of sadness in the whole dataset. For example, the first bar POSTURE shows the number of posture expressions describing sadness is 100 out of 1,254 then it accounts for 7.90% of the metonymic expressions of sadness in Vietnamese.

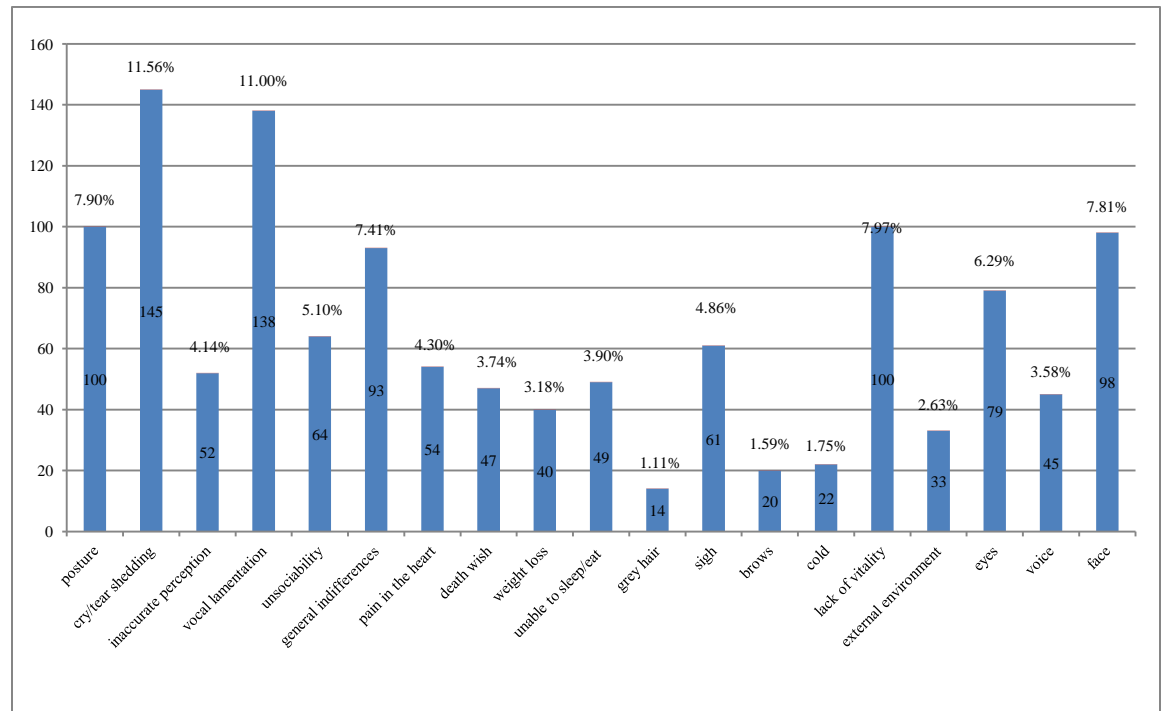


Figure 5: Metonymies of sadness

5.1.2 Metaphors of sadness

Figure 6 displays metaphors of sadness in Vietnamese. Each bar shows the frequency of the categorized metaphorical expression of anger in the whole dataset. For example, the first bar DARK shows the number of dark expressions describing sadness is 82 out of 2,796 metaphorical expressions. It accounts for 2.93% of the metaphorical expressions of sadness in Vietnamese.

Looking at Figure 6, I suggest that in Vietnamese the metaphor SADNESS IS FORCE (*nỗi buồn xé nát ruột gan* lit. sadness shredded the belly.) should be considered the central metaphor of sadness. Recall that in English, Barcelona's (1986:10) claims that the metaphor SADNESS IS DOWN is the central metaphor for sadness. It is because SADNESS IS DOWN is illustrated by the largest number of linguistic expressions, and is implicit in a number of other important metaphors as well, for example, metaphors describing the intensity of sadness (*I've touched bottom*), or metaphors describing the existence of sadness (*Their behaviors beat me down*).

The Vietnamese SADNESS IS FORCE is manifested by the highest number of linguistic expressions 319 out 2,796 metaphorical expressions. It accounts for 11.40% of the total of metaphorical expressions of sadness in my data. This metaphor describes the intensity of sadness which causes damage, pain to the body, belly, heart, and internal organs. Due to its implication of damage, this metaphor is also implicit in a number of other important metaphors, including the following:

- SADNESS IS FIRE

Nỗi buồn thiêu đốt 'Sorrow burns'

- SADNESS IS A SLOW BURNING FLAME

Kỉ niệm buồn âm ỉ trong lòng, lit. 'Sad memories were smoldering in the belly'

- SADNESS IS A BURDEN

Lòng nặng trĩu phiền muộn, lit. 'Belly is heavy because of sorrow'

- SADNESS IS PAIN IN THE HEART, BELLY, INTESTINES, LIVER

Ruột gan đau đớn vì chia tay lit. '(His) belly was in pain because of the breakup'

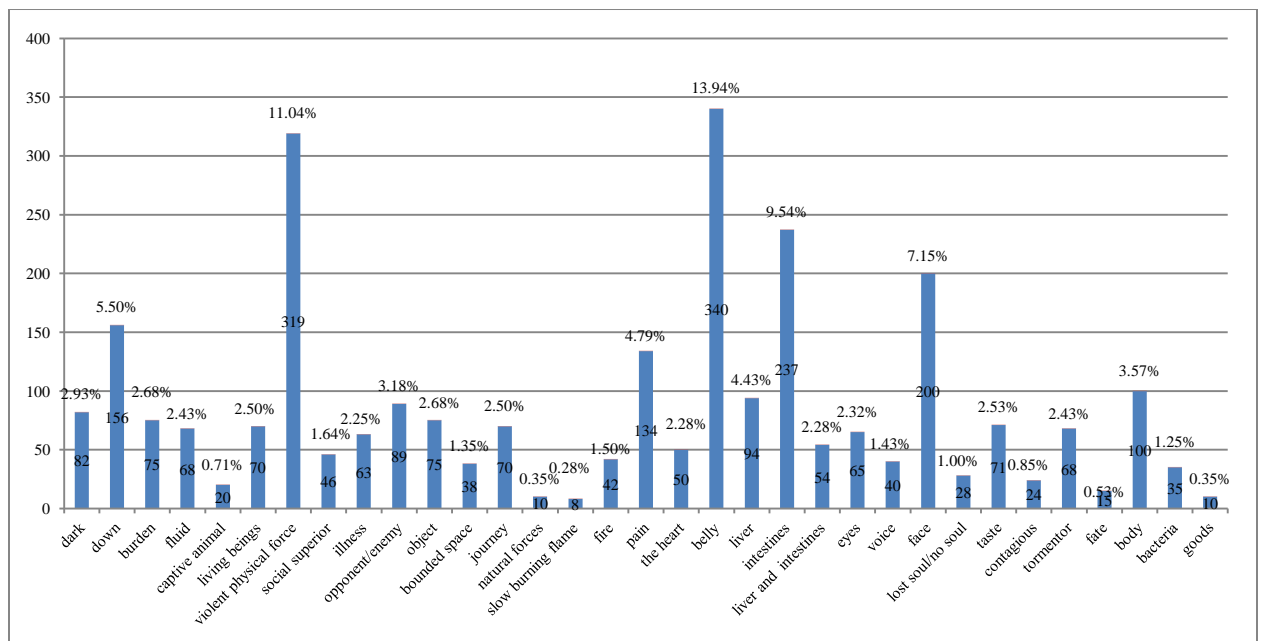
- SADNESS IS AN ENEMY

nỗi buồn xâm chiếm ruột gan, lit. ‘sadness invades the intestines and liver’

- SADNESS IS A NATURAL FORCE

Anh ra đi, cơn bão lòng em chẳng bao giờ hết, lit. ‘You left me. The storm in my belly never ends’.

These metaphors describe important aspects of sadness related to the metaphor SADNESS IS A FORCE. They highlight the intensity of sadness (SADNESS IS BURDEN, SADNESS IS FIRE/SLOW BURNING FLAME, SADNESS IS PAIN), the ability to control sadness (TO CONTROL SADNESS IS TO PUT A FORCE ON THE BELLY), and the sadness stops when it lessens (SADNESS IS BURDEN). As such, the metaphor SADNESS IS FORCE is manifested in the highest number of sadness expressions and also implicit in a number of other important metaphors, these factors suggest the central role of this metaphor in the conceptualization of sadness in Vietnamese⁸.



⁸ King (1989) did not mention the central metaphor in the Chinese conceptualization of sadness.

Figure 6: Metaphors of sadness

5.2. Conceptual metonymies of sadness in Vietnamese and physiological embodiment

This section begins with a discussion of the shared conceptual metonymies of sadness in Vietnamese, English, and Chinese. Specific realizations of the shared metonymies are analyzed to reveal the similarities and differences in the Vietnamese metonymic conceptualizations of sadness. This section also analyzes the transfer of the HEART concept from Western culture to Vietnamese to argue that the transfer of the HEART concept was only partial. A discussion of two Vietnamese non-shared metonymies of sadness follows in Section 5.2.2.

5.2.1 Vietnamese shared metonymies of sadness with American English and Chinese

Barcelona (1986), in his study of the concept of depression in American English outlined the conceptual metonymies and metaphors that structure this emotion concept. According to the American Heritage Dictionary, the term **depression** is most often used to refer to a medical concept: “A mood disorder characterized by persistent sadness or inability to experience pleasure combined with other symptoms including poor concentration, indecisiveness, sleep problems, changes in appetite, and feelings of guilt, helplessness, and hopelessness”. The term **sadness**, by contrast, is the most general term referring to “unhappiness, as that caused by affliction” (American Heritage Dictionary 2017). This definition of **sadness** shows its greater generality. Therefore, in this study, the term **sadness**, instead of **depression**, is used as the focus for analysis.

Barcelona (1986) identifies aspects of the folk theory of depression in American English, which I believe also apply to the more general emotion of sadness, as follows:

The folk theory of the physiological effects of sadness

- The physiological effects of sadness are: reduced heart function, reduced body heat, loss of energy and consequent weakness, tear shedding, and the interference with accurate perception.
- As depression increases, its physiological effects increase.
- There is a limit beyond which the physiological effects of sadness impair normal functioning.

The folk theory of the behavioral effects of sadness

- A drooping posture (of head, shoulders, trunk or all three), drooping jaw, drooping facial muscles around the eyes and mouth, eyes looking down and a lack of brightness in them, crying and vocal lamentation, unsociability, rejection of food, and general indifference.
- As the intensity of sadness increases, some of its behavioral effects increase.
- There is a limit beyond which an increase in any of these behavioral effects impairs normal functioning.

In what follows, I apply this model to the conceptual metonymies of sadness in American English⁹, Chinese, and Vietnamese. Examining how people talk about sadness in each language, I find eight metonymies of sadness based on physiological effects and eight metonymies based on behavioral effects in English and Chinese. The following table shows the full set of metonymic expressions of sadness and how they are instantiated in expressions of sadness in American English and Chinese.

Metonymies		American English	Chinese
A. Physiological			

⁹ Barcelona (1986) uses bold letters for conceptual metaphor and metonymy of sadness. This study uses capital letters for conceptual metaphor and metonymy of sadness to be consistent with presenting metaphors and metonymies of emotions in other chapters.

effects			
	1. Reduced heart function	I felt <i>heavy-hearted</i> after the news.	
	2. Reduced body heat	That has <i>chilled</i> my heart. She gave me an <i>icy</i> look	
	3. Loss of energy and consequent weakness	Finding that out has <i>knocked me down</i> .	mei jing da cai not have spirit <i>In low spirits</i>
	4. Tear shedding	Mike then <i>burst into tears</i> .	man yan han lei full eyes hold tears <i>One's eyes are full of tears.</i>
	5. Physical pain		chen tong de xin qing deep pain POSS feeling <i>A feeling of deep pain in one's heart</i>
	6. Agitation		chui xiong da tong beat breast big grief <i>To beat the breast in grief</i>
	7. Weight loss		ai hui gu li grief destroy bone stand <i>to be emaciated with grief (weight loss)</i>
	8. Lack of qi in the body; loss of life force		Yi qi xiao chen spirit downhearted <i>to feel sad and dejected</i>
B. The behavioral effects			
	1. Drooping posture (or jaw and facial muscles)	He <i>dropped his head</i> sadly.	
	2. Eyes looking down, lack of brightness (when looking)	She kept <i>looking down</i> all the time; There has been <i>no shine</i> in her eyes since she lost her husband.	
	3. Crying and vocal lamentation	She <i>cried</i> with the news.	man yan han lei full eyes hold tears

			<i>One's eyes are full of tears</i>
	4. Unsociability	Mary is so depressed she has <i>stopped going to parties.</i>	
	5. Rejection of food	The news crushed him. He <i>ate no food</i> that evening.	
	6. General indifference	<i>Nothing could draw his attention on his low days.</i>	
	7. Death wish		tong bu yu sheng pain NEG wish live <i>To be so full of pain that one doesn't want to live.</i>
	8. Interference with accurate perception	She cried herself <i>blind.</i>	
		Barcelona (1986:19-22)	King (1989:92-103)

Table 7: Metonymies and metonymic expressions of sadness in American English and Chinese

Table 7 shows that the metonymies of sadness in American English and Chinese are based on physiological and behavioral aspects, with the shared ones being more frequently expressive of physiological effects in Chinese and more often expressive of behavioral effects in English. All three languages share metonymies related to loss of energy, tear shedding, and crying or vocal lamentation. These physiological effects and behaviors are associated with sadness and construct conceptual metonymies for sadness, including reduced body heat, facial expressions, general indifference and so on. These representative specific metonymies structure the general metonymy THE PHYSICAL EFFECTS OF EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION (Kövecses 2010:108) and

THE BEHAVIORAL EFFECTS OF EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION

(Barcelona 1986).

Vietnamese shares all the physiological and behavioral effects of sadness in English and all of the physiological effects of sadness (except for number 8, loss of *qi*) in Chinese as shown below in examples (1) – (15):

THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS

1. REDUCED HEART FUNCTION STANDS FOR SADNESS

(76) *Tim mẹ ngừng lại khi nghe tin con bỏ học.*

Heart mother stop when hear news child drop out school

‘My heart stopped beating when someone told me that my son dropped out of school.’

2. REDUCED BODY HEAT STANDS FOR SADNESS

(77) *Giương mặt nó đang vui vẻ trở nên tái ngắt khi nhận được*

CLAS face she PROG joy become **pale** when receive

tin tai nạn của bạn.

news accident of friend.

‘Her face turned from happy to pale when received news of her friend having been in an accident.’

3. LOSS OF ENERGY AND CONSEQUENT WEAKNESS STANDS FOR SADNESS

(78) *Sau ngày chồng chết, bà kiệt quệ hẳn, ốm đau liên miên.*

after day husband die, she **exhausted** completely, **sick** constantly.

‘After the day her husband died, she had been completely exhausted and sick constantly.’

4. TEAR SHEDDING STANDS FOR SADNESS

(79) *Ứa nước mắt vì bố lúc nào cũng ốm, không có một ngày khỏe mạnh*

leak tear because father all the time EMPH sick, no have one day healthy

‘(Her) eyes became teary because her father was sick all the time, there was no day he was healthy.’

5. PHYSICAL PAIN STANDS FOR SADNESS

(80) *Thế là em ra đi, tim anh đau nhói, anh không thể ngờ được là em*
That's it you gone **heart I ache** I can't think able BE you
lại bạc bẽo đến vậy.

EMPH ungrateful like that

‘There you have gone, my heart aches, I could not believe that you could be that ungrateful.’

6. AGITATION STANDS FOR SADNESS

(81) *“Em mất vợ thật rồi, ra tù chẳng biết về đâu nữa rồi”,*
I lose wife real already, out prison don't know go where any more.
Sinh khóc rồi đấm ngực thùm thụp.

Sinh cry then **beat chest continuously**.

“I really lost my wife. When I get out of prison, I do not know where to go”. Sinh cried and beat his chest continuously.’

7. WEIGHT LOSS STANDS FOR SADNESS

(82) *Má mất, ba buồn rầu và gầy hẳn đi.*
Mother die father sad and **skinny clearly**.

‘(My) mother died, my father was sad and became really skinny.’

THE BEHAVIORAL EFFECTS

1. DROOPING POSTURE, JAW, FACIAL MUSCLES STANDS FOR SADNESS

(83) *Tôi lê bước về trạm xe bus, đầu cúi xuống, mắt nhìn chăm chăm xuống chân.*
I drag step to bus station, **head bend down, eye look stare down feet.**
Thế là mất hết cả rồi. Giờ tôi phải làm gì đây.

that BE lose all already. Now I must do what.

I dragged myself to the bus station. My head bent down. My eyes stared at my feet. I lost everything. What should I do now?’

2. EYES LOOKING DOWN, LACK OF BRIGHTNESS IN THE EYES STANDS FOR SADNESS

- (84) *Hỏi cô lâu có tin gì của chồng không, đôi mắt trở nên vô hồn,*
ask she long time have news what of husband or not **pair eyes become lifeless**
buồn bã: “không có tin gì anh ạ”.

sad: "don't have news any you".

‘When she was asked if she had received any news about her husband, her eyes became lifeless and showed sorrow, "There is no news".’

3. CRYING AND VOCAL LAMENTATION STANDS FOR SADNESS

- (85) *Họ đau buồn và than khóc khi mất người thân yêu*
They pain sad and **lamentation cry** when lose people loved.

They were sad and lamented when they lost their loved ones.

4. UNSOCIABILITY STANDS FOR SADNESS

- (86) *Phát hiện bạn trai lừa dối, tôi quyết định cắt đứt mọi liên lạc với anh ta.*
Discover boyfriend cheat I decide cut every contact with he
và chọn cách sống lặng lẽ, thu mình sau cú sốc đầu đời.

and choose way **live quiet**, **shrink body** after CLAS shock first time in life.

‘After finding my boyfriend cheating on me, I decided not to contact him, and chose to live quietly.’

5. REJECTION OF FOOD STANDS FOR SADNESS

- (87) *Con gái chưa chồng, thông báo có thai, bà buồn phiền,*
Daughter don't have husband, announce have fetus, she **sadness**
không ăn uống mấy ngày.

don't eat drink few day.

‘Her daughter, who was not married, told her that she was pregnant. She was sad and worried and not to able to eat for a few days.’

6. GENERAL INDIFFERENE STANDS FOR SADNESS

- (88) *Vợ và con chết trong tai nạn giao thông. Anh đau đớn tột độ,*

Wife and child die in accident transportation. He pain extreme,
lang thang mà không biết mình đang đi đâu,
wander but don't know self PROG go where,
không biết đến cả lời chào của hàng xóm
don't know even EMPH greeting of neighbor.

His wife and children died in a car accident. He was in extreme pain. He was wandering but did not know where he was going. He even did not notice his neighbor's greetings.'

7. DEATH WISH

- (89) *Nhưng xin anh đừng phớt lờ em như thế, em sẽ rất đau buồn, chỉ muốn chết thôi!*
But please you don't ignore I like that, I will very pain sad, **only want die** emph
'But please don't ignore me like that. I would be very sad. I would just want to die.'

8. INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION STANDS FOR SADNESS

- (90) *Con chết đau khổ tột độ, thần kinh tê liệt, cô chẳng nhận ra ai,*
Child die miserable extreme nerve paralyze she **don't recognize who**
thậm chí chẳng biết mình là ai nữa.
even don't know self BE who EMPH.

'Her son died. She was extremely unhappy. Her mind was paralyzed. She did not recognize anyone, even she did not know who she was.'

Vietnamese shares with English and Chinese a large range of physiological and behavioral metonymies of sadness. If Vietnamese speakers felt sad, they would experience the following physiological and behaviors effects of sadness:

- Their heart would stop beating (*tim ngừng lại*) in example (76) or they would feel a pain in their heart (*tim đau nhói*) as in (78).
- Their face may look pale (*mặt tái ngắt*) in example (77).

- They become weak due to a loss of energy (*kiệt quệ, ốm đau sau khi chồng chết*) as in (79). They cry or have tears in their eyes (*nước mắt ứa ra*) as in (80).
- They would beat their chest (*đấm ngực thùm thụp*) as in (81).
- They would lose weight gradually (*gầy hăn đi*) as in (82).
- They don't look upright and have a drooping posture of their head (*đầu cúi xuống*) as in (83).
- Their eyes would show no brightness as in (84).
- They would cry and moan about their sadness (*than khóc*) as in (85).
- They would live quietly, stay away or avoid people (*sống lặng lẽ, thu mình, không nói chuyện với ai*) as in (86).
- They would reject food (*không ăn uống*) as in (87) and become indifferent to everything around (*không biết đến lời chào của hàng xóm*) as in (88).
- Their sadness would make them want to die (*chỉ muốn chết*) as in (89).
- Sadness would affect their ability to perceive reality (*chẳng nhận ra ai*) as in (90).

Vietnamese does not share with the Chinese the metonymy LACK OF QI IN THE BODY/ LOSS OF SPIRITUAL LIFE FORCE STANDS FOR SADNESS. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the notion of *qi* is rooted in Traditional Chinese medicine. *Qi*, the energy that flows through the body, is used to understand several emotions, including happiness/joy, anger and sadness in Chinese (King 1989). The uniqueness of *qi* as part of a metonymy of sadness in Chinese is based in cultural embodiment, in widespread social

acceptance of the concepts of Traditional Chinese medicine, and thus it may not be found in other languages.

Although Barcelona (1986) mentions both reduced heart function and physical pain in his list of metonymies for sadness or depression, he does not single out pain in the heart as being an important metonymy for sadness.

Niemeir (2012:204) explains the physiological embodiment of the Western heart metaphors such as: *cry one's heart out*, and *to eat one's heart out*: “these metaphors are based on a prior metonymic understanding: one experiences a certain kind of physiological pain when hurt or disappointed, or when suffering a loss, and subjectively this pain is interpreted as stemming from diverse types of weapons [...]”. Based on Niemeier’s (1997, 2008, 2012) studies on the heart which point out the physical pain of the heart as the result of sadness and disappointment, I would suggest adding the metonymy: **PHYSICAL PAIN OF THE HEART STANDS FOR SADNESS** to the list of the metonymies of sadness in American English. This metonymy is used to compare and contrast the heart expressions involved sadness in Vietnamese, Chinese, and English in this study. Notice in Table 7, English has the expression ‘I felt heavy-hearted’ and Chinese has the expression **chen tong de xin qing** ‘deep pain (in the heart)’. Both are linked to the metonymy **PHYSICAL PAIN OF THE HEART STANDS FOR SADNESS**.

Among the shared metonymies of sadness, the heart expressions in Vietnamese show both similarities and differences compared to those in English and Chinese in the structuring the sadness concept. Prior to the 19th century, Vietnamese did not use the heart to describe emotions. In six dictionaries of Vietnamese proverbs, idioms, and folk poems which were used to collect data for this research, emotions such as anger, sadness,

love, fear, worry are not described in terms of the heart but instead in terms of the belly. Since the late 19th century, Vietnamese began to be influenced by Western culture through the French culture. The HEART concept was transferred to Vietnamese and subsequently HEART started to be used to describe two emotions, sadness and love; examples (76) and (78) above show how the heart is used in descriptions of sadness.

In the first novel written in the Vietnamese current orthography, *Thầy Lazaro phiến* of P.J.-B Nguyễn Trọng Quản (Cao, 2009), the HEART was used to describe the character's sadness after his wife died with the heart expressions “*tôi như thể không còn trái tim nữa, trái tim tôi như thể đã hóa ra tro bụi rồi*” which is translated as “I seem not to have my heart any more, my heart seemed to have turned to ashes and dust’ (Nguyễn P.J.-B, 1887:2, my translation). It would be seen as the first occurrence of HEART in Vietnamese.

The Western usage of HEART provided new expressions for aspects of the sadness emotion in Vietnamese, expressions which had never been named before. Now they are lexicalized to contribute to the understanding of the sadness emotion in Vietnamese. However, my data shows that only two physiological aspects of HEART, the heart beat and the physiological pain of the heart, have been used in Vietnamese.

These are shown in example (90-91):

(90) *Tim bà **ngừng** lại vì nghe tin dữ*

‘Her heart **stopped beating** when she learned the bad news’

(91) *Tim em **đau nhói** vì anh bỏ em*

‘My heart was in **pain** because you broke up with me’

These two metonymic expressions are manifestations of the metonymies: REDUCED HEART FUNCTION STANDS FOR SADNESS, and PHYSICAL PAIN OF THE HEART STANDS FOR SADNESS.

There is a need for a medical explanation for the metonymy REDUCED HEART FUNCTION STANDS FOR SADNESS. According to Dr. O'Connor (cited in Couzens 2009), reduced heart functions refer to "the capacity at which the heart is pumping is reduced". Sadness is associated with reduced heart rate, along with reduced energy and weakness.

My data shows that there is only one manifestation of the Western HEART metonymy REDUCED HEART FUNCTION STANDS FOR SADNESS accepted in Vietnamese, and that is the reduced heart rate. Other symptoms of the "reduced heart functions", such as breathlessness, chest discomfort, pressure or tightness, fainting etc. (Peter Yan Cardiology Clinic 2017), were not transferred to expressions of sadness in Vietnamese. Therefore, the expression "*His heart failed* him when he was told the truth" (Barcelona 1986:19, italics in original) is not used in Vietnamese because it reflects a medical symptom of the heart, not "the heartbeat" which is the only accepted expression of sadness related to the heart in Vietnamese.

The reason for only two metonymies of the heart being transferred to Vietnamese is that this transfer was reduced by the native Vietnamese cultural model. In Vietnamese, before the HEART came to be used in metonymic expressions of sadness, BELLY was used to describe different emotions, but solely as a location or container that is has a particular size or quality, without any elaboration of physiological effects. The use of HEART in metonymic expressions was borrowed because it brought new ways to

describe emotions physiologically, which wasn't done with the use of BELLY. However, only two features of the heart were selected to be used in Vietnamese. For example, only one symptom of the “reduced heart function” was transferred to Vietnamese; the others were not transferred because their western medical meanings were not in line with traditional Vietnamese understandings of anatomy and physiological function

Interestingly, my data shows that the HEART concept was assigned some metaphorical characteristics and the understanding of the Vietnamese BELLY. For example, metaphorical attributes of BELLY such as quality and size, endurance abilities, and a place to store or hide things were assigned to the heart concept. For example, the BELLY can be large or small (*tấm lòng **mênh mông**/ lòng dạ **hẹp hòi***), so the HEART can also be **large** or **small** (*trái tim **mênh mông**/ trái tim **hẹp hòi***); the BELLY can be **pure** (*tấm lòng **trong sáng***) then the HEART can be **pure**, too (*trái tim **trong sáng***). This shows that the conceptualization of the HEART as a container now is now very similar to the conceptualization of the BELLY, though the metonymies associated with HEART function are more elaborated. Table 8 below shows the attributes of the BELLY which are shared with the HEART.

Attributes	Belly (<i>lòng/bụng</i>)	Heart (<i>trái tim</i>)
<i>Rộng rãi</i> ‘large’, <i>mênh mông</i> ‘enormous’	x	x
<i>Nhỏ bé</i> ‘small’, <i>hẹp hòi</i> ‘little’	x	x
<i>Đen tối</i> ‘dark’, <i>trong sáng</i> ‘pure’	x	x
<i>vàng</i> ‘golden’	x	x
<i>tan nát</i> ‘smashed’	x	x

<i>chôn vào</i> ‘bury in’, <i>mang</i> ‘carry’	x	x
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Table 8: Attributes of the heart and the belly in Vietnamese (x shows the attribute is applicable to the heart or the belly term).

The HEART expressions describing sadness added new emotion expressions to the system of emotion descriptions in the language. Again, certain features of the HEART were selected to describe sadness in Vietnamese. That is, certain HEART expressions which were not conflicting with the system of emotion description would be selected. For example, the heart expressions *cry one’s heart out* (examples from Niemeier 1997: 95) would not be selected because the belly expressions can express the same thing “*khóc hết ruột gan*” ‘cry with all the belly’. The heart expression would be incompatible with the Vietnamese cultural model, therefore it was not selected into Vietnamese.

This comparison of the use of body terms in emotion expressions shows that the Western HEART concept was re-structured to integrate within the Vietnamese conceptual system. We have seen that the transfer of the HEART concept was only partial due to the pre-existing cultural concept of the role of the body in emotions.

5.2.2. Vietnamese metonymies of sadness not shared with American English and Chinese

Beside the shared metonymies of sadness, there are also conceptual metonymies of sadness in Vietnamese that are not found in the two languages. We see in examples (92-93) that sadness is understood in terms of sighs and grey hair:

SIGH STANDS FOR SADNESS

(92) *Mỗi khi nghĩ đến em trai đang sống cô đơn bà lại lặng lẽ thở dài.*

Whenever think about younger brother PROG live lonely she again quiet **sigh**

‘Whenever thinking about her younger brother who is living lonely, she quietly sighs.’

GREY HAIR

(93) *Cha mẹ **bạc tóc** vì con hư.*

Parents white hair because children spoiled.

‘Parents’ hair turns grey because of their children’s mischief.’

Experientially, a sigh is commonly associated with sadness. When someone is sad, they frequently sigh. In example (92), the sister sadly sighs because she thinks of her brother who is living alone and lonely. A sigh is an effect of sadness, therefore the metonymy SIGH STANDS FOR SADNESS should be added to the folk theory of the behavioral effects of sadness discussed in Barcelona (1986).

Example (93) expresses sadness as aging: the parents’ hair turned grey because of their children’s mischief. In Vietnamese, grey hair is associated with sadness. This correlation is expressed in proverbs and common sayings, illustrated in examples (94) and (95):

(94) *Lo **bạc râu**, **sầu bạc tóc** (proverb)*

Worry white beard, **sad white hair**

‘Worry makes beard white, sadness makes hairs grey.’

(95) *Tôi **bạc tóc** vì người ta **bạc tình** (a saying)*

I **white hair** because he white love

‘My hair turned white because he was unfaithful.’

The metonymy GREY HAIR STANDS FOR SADNESS describes an effect of sadness: sadness turns people’s hair grey. This metonymy is found rooted in Traditional Chinese medical theory. According to Traditional Medicine, “when people suffer from stress or grief which will damage *tâm và tì* (roughly equivalent to the heart and spleen), it

results in a lack of *qi* and blood. The lack of *qi* and blood causes hair to not receive necessary nourishment, and so it turns gray.” (Dr. Dương Bích Liên cite in Đỗ, 2012, my translation)

The two metonymies of sadness **SIGH STANDS FOR SADNESS** and **GREY HAIR STANDS FOR SADNESS** confirm that physiological experiences are part of structuring the Vietnamese conceptualization of sadness, a conceptualization that is reinforced by the teachings of Traditional Medicine.

In all three languages, American English, Chinese and Vietnamese, we observe the same metonymic principle, with each language encoding a conceptualization of sadness that associates the emotion with related physiological experiences. The metonymy of sadness, **GREY HAIR STANDS FOR SADNESS**, in Vietnamese is supported and strengthened by the teachings of Asian Traditional medicine. This section has argued in favor of physiological embodiment as a basis for the metonymies used in the expression of sadness in Vietnamese.

5.3. Vietnamese metaphors of sadness and cultural embodiment

This section presents the shared metaphors of sadness in Vietnamese, English, and Chinese. Specific realizations of the shared metaphors are analyzed to show the similarities and differences in the conceptualization of the emotion in the three languages. A discussion of non-shared metaphors of sadness in Vietnamese follows. The discussion here supports Maalej’s (2007) position that physiological embodiment explains only a portion of the conceptualization of emotion. His argument (2007: 89) that the social-cultural dimension of embodiment shapes conceptualization and that we must acknowledge the importance of cultural knowledge in motivating emotion expressions.

We see in what follows the bi-directionality of mapping between culturally-situated and physiological embodiment, and the ways in which physiological mappings are grounded in and shaped by cultural understandings. As Kövecses (2004: 14) puts it, emotion concepts are “both motivated by the human body *and* produced by a particular social and cultural environment.”

5.3.1. Metaphors of sadness in Vietnamese shared with American English and Chinese

Barcelona (1986) and King (1989) have shown that the conceptual structure of the sadness concept in American English and Chinese consists of a system of conceptual metaphors that are based on general metonymic principles. For instance, Barcelona (1986:23) argues that the metonymic conceptualization of sadness in American English is motivated by the folk theory of the behavioral effects of sadness. That is, a group of behavioral effects of sadness that are the most salient ones from a perceptual standpoint, such as a drooping posture of head, shoulders, trunk, drooping jaw, drooping facial muscles, eyes looking down etc. are instantiations of the general metonymy: THE BEHAVIORAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION. Barcelona (2000:23) claims that groups of such metonymies give rise to the central metaphor SADNESS IS DOWN in American English.

Table 9 below presents conceptual metaphors of sadness in American English and Chinese. The metaphors of sadness presented here in American English were identified in Barcelona (1986). These metaphors were summarized and modified in Kövecses (2000). The metaphors of sadness in Chinese are based on King (1989:103-105). Note that the metaphors that are shared between American English and Chinese are: SADNESS IS

DOWN, SADNESS IS DARK, SADNESS IS A PHYSICAL FORCE, SADNESS IS A SUBSTANCE CONTAINED IN THE BODY. Following Table 9, I will present metaphors and metaphorical expressions of sadness in Vietnamese.

American English	Chinese
<p>SADNESS IS DOWN (1986:9)</p> <p>Mike <i>brought</i> me down with his ironical remarks.</p>	<p>SADNESS IS DOWN</p> <p>qing xu di luo</p> <p>mood low drop</p> <p>to be sad and depressed</p>
<p>SADNESS IS DARK (1986:10)</p> <p>The news cast a <i>gloom</i> over the village.</p>	<p>SADNESS IS DARK</p> <p>an ran xiao hun</p> <p>gloomy disappear soul</p> <p>Low-spirited</p>
<p>SADNESS IS A PHYSICAL FORCE</p> <p>That was a <i>terrible blow</i>. (Kövecses 2000:25)</p>	<p>SADNESS IS A PHYSICAL FORCE</p> <p>bei bu zi sheng</p> <p>grief not self win</p> <p>to be overcome with grief</p>
<p>SADNESS IS A SUBSTANCE INSIDE THE PERSON CONTAINER (1986:12)</p> <p>She <i>was filled with sorrow</i>.</p>	<p>SADNESS IS IN THE BODY</p> <p>nan huai bei tong</p> <p>full bosom grief</p> <p>To have a bosom full of grief.</p>
<p>SADNESS IS COLD (1986:11)</p> <p>What he did <i>chilled</i> my heart.</p>	
<p>SADNESS IS A LACK OF VITALITY</p> <p>This was <i>disheartening</i> news. (Kövecses 2000:25)</p>	

SADNESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER I am <i>filled</i> with sorrow. (Kövecses 2000:25)	
SADNESS IS A NATURAL FORCE <i>Waves of depression</i> recurrently <i>came over</i> her. (1986:13)	
SADNESS IS AN ILLNESS (1986:13) Mary is <i>heart-sick</i> . Time <i>heals</i> all sorrows.	
SADNESS IS INSANITY (Kövecses 2000:25) He was <i>insane</i> with grief. ¹⁰	
SADNESS IS A BURDEN (Kövecses 2000:25) The theft <i>lay heavy on</i> his conscience.	
SADNESS IS A LIVING ORGANISM (1986:14) That will only make her depression <i>stronger</i> .	
SADNESS IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL INSIDE THE PERSON (1986:15) His feelings of misery <i>got out of hand</i> .	
SADNESS IS AN ENEMY OR OPPONENT Depression has <i>attacked</i> her again (1986:15)	
SADNESS IS A BOUNDED SPACE I fell <i>into a deep depression</i> (1986:16)	
SADNESS IS A JOURNEY (1986:16) He is <i>at the worst stage</i> in his depression.	
THE HEART IS THE CONTAINER OF	

¹⁰ My data does not capture the metaphor SADNESS IS INSANITY in Vietnamese.

SADNESS (1986:17) My heart <i>sank</i> when you told me about it.	
SADNESS IS A SLOW BURNING FLAME This pain is <i>consuming</i> her (1986:17)	
SADNESS IS SOCIAL SUPERIOR She was <i>ruled</i> by sorrow (Kövecses 2000:26) ¹¹	
Barcelona (1986: 8-18), Kövecses (2000:25-26)	(King 1989:103-105)

Table 9: Metaphors of sadness in American English and Chinese

The concept of sadness in Vietnamese appears to be structured by a system of conceptual metaphors similar to those in American English and Chinese as shown in examples (96) – (113) below:

SADNESS IS DOWN

- (96) *Tuần nào mẹ chồng đến thăm là tuần đấy cô ủ rũ chỉ*
 Week any mother-in-law come visit BE week that she **droop** only
mong ngày cuối tuần trôi qua nhanh.
 want day weekend pass fast
 Any weekend her mother-in-law came for a visit was the weekend she was cheerless wanting the weekend passed fast.

SADNESS IS DARK

- (97) *Mặt mũi ủ dột vì thi trượt, cô tự hỏi sao cuộc đời mình đen tối thế!* face
gloomy because exam fail, she self ask why life self black that
 ‘Her face is gloomy because she failed the exam. She asked herself why her life was this unfortunate.’

¹¹This study added some metaphors of sadness proposed by Kövecses (2004) to the list of metaphors of sadness proposed by Barcelona (1986) to present a complete list of sadness metaphors in English.

SADNESS IS COLD

- (98) *Bố mất rồi. Mẹ lạnh lẽo nhìn mọi người chẳng nói lời nào.*
Father die. Mother **cold** look people don't say work any
'My father died. My mother coldly looked at people without saying a word.'

SADNESS IS A LACK OF VITALITY

- (99) *Cụ Phiệt héo ruột héo gan vì chứng quên của con trai*
Mr. Phiệt **wilt intestines wilt liver** because CLAS amnesia of son
làm hỏng đời anh.
make ruin life he.
'Mr. Phiệt was really sad because his son's life was ruined because of his amnesia.'

SADNESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER

- (100) *Đây là lần gặp cuối cùng, nỗi buồn dâng đầy trong mắt mọi người.*
this is CLAS meet last, CLAS sad **rise full** in eyes everyone.
'This was the last meeting. People's eyes were filled with sadness.'

SADNESS IS A PHYSICAL FORCE

- (101) *Cầu thủ Việt Nam đổ gục trên sân sau trận thua sốc trên sân nhà.*
Soccer players Vietnam **fall down** on field after match fail shock on field home
'Vietnamese soccer players collapsed on the field after their shocking defeat on their home field.'

SADNESS IS A VIOLENT, NATURAL FORCE

- (102) *Anh bỏ em ra đi. Con bão lòng em chả bao giờ hết được.*
You leave me go away. **CLAS storm belly** I don't ever over able.
Em chả thể yêu ai được nữa.
I can't love anyone able more.
'You left me. The storm inside me never stopped. I was not able to fall in love with anyone.'

SADNESS IS AN ILLNESS

(103) *Những vết sẹo nơi tim có gì **chữa lành lặn** được...*

PL CLAS scar at heart there thing heal intact able.

‘Nothing can heal the scars at heart.’

SADNESS IS A BURDEN

(104) *Nỗi buồn **đè nặng** đôi vai gầy của mẹ.*

Sad **crush heavy** pair shoulder skinny of mother.

Ngày ấy cha đi luôn không về.

That day father go ever don’t come

‘Sorrow burdened my mother’s shoulders. That day my father left and never came back.’

SADNESS IS A LIVING ORGANISM

(105) *Nam buồn vì vợ không biết cư xử với bố mẹ. Nỗi buồn trong Nam*

Nam sad because wife don’t know behave with parents. CLAS sad in Nam

*cứ **lớn** dần lên cùng với đủ thứ việc nhà bề bộn.*

EMPH **grow** gradual up together with a lot of work house busy.

‘Nam was sad because his wife did not know how to behave to his parents. His sadness was growing along with his worries of a series of housework.’

SADNESS IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL INSIDE THE PERSON

(106) *Chia tay, vài năm rồi, mà nỗi buồn đau đó vẫn **gặm nhấm***

Break up, few years already, but CLAS sad pain that still **gnaw**

trái tim em mỗi khi có ai đó nhắc đến anh.

Heart I when there someone remind to you.

‘We broke up few years ago but that sadness is still gnawing my heart when someone mentioned your name.’

SADNESS IS AN ENEMY OR OPPONENT

(107) *Nỗi buồn **xâm chiếm** ruột gan khi anh đau lòng nhận ra*

CLAS sad **invade** intestines liver , when he pain belly recognize
cô ấy rời bỏ anh vì anh không có tiền.

she leave he because he don't have money.

'A sorrow invaded his mind when he painfully recognized that she left him because he didn't have money.'

SADNESS IS A BOUNDED SPACE / UNBOUNDED SPACE

(108) *Sau khi anh nói chia tay, tôi rơi vào nỗi đau bị phụ bạc*

After he say break up, I **fall into** CLAS pain PAS treacherous

'After he said we should break up, I fell into the pain of being treacherous.'

THE HEART IS THE CONTAINER OF SADNESS¹²

(109) *Vào Facebook, nhìn hình 2 người lòng em thắt lại*

Enter Facebook, see picture 2 people belly I tighten

tim em nhói lăm anh biết không.

heart I throb very you know not

'On Facebook, seeing pictures of two of you, did you know that my heart tightened, my heart was throbbing?'

SADNESS IS A SLOW BURNING FLAME

(110) *Kỷ niệm buồn cứ âm ỉ trong lòng, nước mắt lại rơi mỗi khi nhớ lại.*

Memory sad EMPH **smolder** in belly, tear again fall whenever remember.

'(My) sad memories were smoldering in my heart. My tears were shedding whenever I thought of it.'

SADNESS IS IN THE BODY

(111) *Tôi giữ sầu muộn trong người, không sẻ chia với ai cả.*

I keep sorrow **in body**, don't share with anyone EMPH

'I kept my sorrow for myself and didn't share with anyone.'

SADNESS IS SOCIAL SUPERIOR

¹² This study presents the heart metaphor **The heart is the seat of the emotions** (Barcelona 1986:17) as THE HEART IS A CONTAINER OF SADNESS to be consistent with other container metaphors discussed in this study.

(112) *Đừng để cảm giác nặng lòng **dẫn dắt** chị đến một cuộc*

Don't let feeling heavy belly **lead** she go one CLAS

hôn nhân khác chưa chắc đã tốt đẹp hơn.

marriage different not sure EMPH good more.

'Don't let your sorrow lead you to another marriage which is not necessarily better.'

SADNESS IS A JOURNEY

(113) *Anh đi rồi, **đông qua xuân đến**, mà em vẫn buồn da diết.*

You go already, **winter go spring come** but I still sad tormenting

'You went away. The winter went, the Spring came but I was still tormented by the sadness you caused.'

The Vietnamese shared metaphors of sadness indicate the similarities in conceptualizations of the three languages in terms of the source domain of sadness such as down, in example (96), darkness (97), physical force (101), and containment within the body (111).

Some of the metaphors of sadness in Vietnamese differ from those in English and Chinese, as in the following metaphorical expressions: SADNESS IS VIOLENT FORCE (*sadness is a storm in my belly*) in example (102), SADNESS IS ILLNESS (*nothing can heal scars in the heart*) in example (103), and SADNESS IS BURDEN (*sorrow crushed her shoulder*) in example (104). As Barcelona (1986) writes, though, these metaphors can be considered as part of the more general metaphor THE HEART IS A CONTAINER OF SADNESS.

Section 5.2.1 has found that besides the two physiological effects of the heart, the other uses of the heart term in Vietnamese are metaphorical. Certain metaphorical aspects of the belly are projected on the heart in Vietnamese. This means that the

conceptualizations of emotion centered in the heart are also equivalent to those emotions being centered in the belly in Vietnamese. Consequently, if in English, all the metaphorical expressions of the metaphors: SADNESS IS VIOLENT FORCE, SADNESS IS A FLUID IN THE CONTAINER, SADNESS IS BURDEN, SADNESS IS ILLNESS, and SADNESS IS DOWN are based on a metonymic understanding of the heart, in Vietnamese, the heart metaphorical expressions (shown in Table 10 below) are based on a metaphorical understanding of the belly.

SADNESS IS VIOLENT FORCE	
<i>I was broken-hearted when she left me.</i>	<i>Tim (lòng) em tan nát khi anh lạnh lùng quay đi.</i> Heart (belly) I broken when you cold turn away 'My heart/belly was broken when you coldly turned away.'
SADNESS IS A FLUID IN THE CONTAINER	
Her <i>heart</i> was filled with sorrow.	<i>Trái tim (lòng) cô ấy tràn ngập buồn phiền.</i> Heart (belly) she flood sorrow 'Her heart/belly was filled with sorrow'
SADNESS IS BURDEN	
She feels really <i>heavy-hearted</i> .	<i>Tim (lòng) mẹ nặng trĩu vì con nghiện ngập.</i> Heart (belly) mother heavybecause child drug addicted My heart/belly is heavy because my child is addicted to drugs.
SADNESS IS ILLNESS	
Your <i>heart</i> ache has just one remedy: forget all about it''.	<i>Anh cố quên việc em làm trái tim (lòng) anh đau đớn.</i> I try forget what you make heart (belly) I ache I tried to forget what you did made my heart (belly) ached.
SADNESS IS DOWN	
She feels really <i>heavy-hearted</i> .	<i>Trái tim (lòng) cô ấy nặng trĩu vì con hư</i>

Examples from Barcelona (1986:17)	Heart (belly) she heavy because child spoil Her heart (belly) was heavy because of her spoiled son.
Examples from Barcelona (1986:17)	Examples from my data

Table 10: Comparison of metaphorical expressions based on heart in English and on both heart and belly Vietnamese

The metaphor SADNESS IS VIOLENT FORCE and their metaphorical expressions in English and Vietnamese in Table 10 are analyzed to exemplify for the differences in metaphorical expressions of the heart metaphors above. In English, one's heart can be seen as broken when hurt or suffering a loss. This metaphorical understanding is based on a metonymic understanding of the heart: severe emotional pain can cause physical damage to the heart. This understanding of the heart structures the metaphor SADNESS IS VIOLENT FORCE and its metaphorical expressions, such as: *I was broken-hearted when she left me.*

Similarly, in Vietnamese, severe emotional pain is seen as a violent force which can cause damage to the belly: *Lòng em tan nát khi anh lạnh lùng quay đi.* 'Lit. My belly was broken when you coldly turned away.' This metaphorical understanding of the belly structures the metaphor SADNESS IS VIOLENT FORCE and its metaphorical expression. This understanding of the belly is assigned to heart term to structure the heart metaphorical expressions: *Tim em tan nát khi anh lạnh lùng quay đi.* (My belly was broken when you coldly turned away).

5.3.2 Sadness is an object

For example, the metaphor SADNESS IS AN OBJECT, which underlies expressions of sadness as a physical object, is based on our everyday perception of

handling physical objects which can be piled up when they grow in quantity. Below is an analysis of those metaphors:

SADNESS IS AN OBJECT

(114) *Nỗi buồn nào chồng ốm, rồi con nghiện ngày càng **chồng chất***

CLAS sad EMPH husband sick then child addict day more **pile up**

làm bà quy hẳn.

make she collapse complete.

‘The sadness of her husband having been sick, of her son having been addicted to drug had made her collapse completely.’

This metaphor is motivated from our everyday experiences of handling physical objects. Physical objects can be piled up when they grow in number. We can explain how the OBJECT source domain is mapped onto the SADNESS source domain as follows:

Source domain: Object

Target domain: Sadness

The substance in the container

→ The sadness

The cause of the substance

→ The cause of sadness

The amount of object

→ The intensity of the sadness

The higher amount of the object

→ The greater effect of the sadness on the self

The greatest amount of the object

→ The greatest response of the self to the sadness

Thus, the conceptual link between physical objects and sadness gives rise to the conceptual metaphor SADNESS IS AN OBJECT. This highlights the experiential basis of the metaphor which is grounded in everyday experiences. That is, this metaphor is structured by “an actual embodied experience which fits a particular source domain for an abstract target domain can and does influence the way we think about the abstract target (Kövecses 2005:22).

5.3.3. Container Metaphors of Sadness

5.3.3.1 English heart vs. Vietnamese belly as a container for sadness

The English *heart* metaphorical expressions describing sadness above match to *belly* metaphors in Vietnamese. That is, the metaphors in Vietnamese are structured by cultural embodied experiences of the BELLY, and they can be considered culturally embodied. The cultural basis of the HEART metaphors highlights the differences in the expressions describing sadness in Vietnamese and in English.

This study recognizes some metaphors of sadness which have not been recognized in Barcelona (1986) and King (1989). Those metaphors are: SADNESS IS AN OBJECT, EYES ARE CONTAINERS OF SADNESS, THE FACE IS A CONTAINER OF SADNESS, and THE VOICE IS A CONTAINER OF SADNESS. Those metaphors are included in this section because they are, like other shared metaphors, grounded in our everyday experiences.

5.3.3.2 Other containers for sadness: The voice, eyes, and face

In the following metaphors, VOICE, EYES and FACE are viewed as containers of sadness. These metaphors are commonly used in different languages because they arise from human bodily experiences which provide basic structure for our abstract reasoning. Johnson (1987) points out the role of the container schema as one of the most fundamental schemas in abstract reasoning. The container schema consists of an interior, an exterior and a boundary. Previous studies have shown that our conceptual metaphors of emotions are motivated by the container schemas, for example, ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987:198), FEAR IS FLUID IN A CONTAINER (Kövecses 1990:75), SADNESS IS A FLUID IN A

CONTAINER (Kövecses 2004:25). The EYES, FACE, and VOICE container metaphors should be added the system of container metaphors in the structuring of abstract concepts.

VOICE IS A CONTAINER OF SADNESS

(115) *Giọng bác buồn buồn khi kể về đứa con trai mất tích cách đây 6 năm.*

Voice she sad when tell about CLAS son missing from now 6 year.

‘Her voice was sad when she talked about her son who went missing six years ago.’

The voice container is very different from other containers. It has no visible dimensions therefore it cannot contain any physical entities. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) claim that human tends to impose artificial boundary and surface on various things when they do not have a clear cut boundary and surface naturally. This explains how the voice is seen as a container in this metaphor.

In examples (116), sadness is viewed as a substance in the invisible voice container. Although the voice is an invisible container but it is still affected by the substance: the voice can be broken as in

(116) *Sau khi kể những bất hạnh của đời bà cho tôi nghe, đến đây bà*

After tell PL misfortune of life she for I listen, here she

không chịu nổi nữa, giọng vỡ òa, nước mắt.

don’t stand able any more, **voice broken out** sob.

‘After telling me her all misfortune of her life, now she could not bear it any more, her voice was broken and she started sobbing.’

We can explain the conceptual mappings between the VOICE source domain and the SADNESS target domain as follows:

Source domain: VOICE

Target domain: Sadness

The substance in the container

→ The sadness

- The pressure on the container → The sadness causes the self to respond
- The intensity of the pressure → The intensity of the sadness
- The container affected by the pressure → The self affected by the sadness
- The substance going out of the container → The response of the self caused by the sadness.

These conceptual links give rise to the metaphor VOICE IS A CONTAINER OF SADNESS.

EYES ARE CONTAINERS OF SADNESS

(117) *Mắt anh chất chứa nỗi buồn của một người luôn thất bại trong đời.*

Eyes he contain CLAS sadness of one person always fail in life

‘His eyes contain sadness of the person who always fails in life.’

In example (117) we see that sadness is metaphorically conceptualized as a fluid and is contained in the eyes. The eyes container shows the existence of sadness, however, different from the voice container, the eyes container does not show pressure on the container, therefore the eyes container remains unaffected which indicates the low intensity of the sadness emotion therefore it does not cause the self to respond to the emotion.

FACE IS A CONTAINER OF SADNESS

(118) *Khuôn mặt bà buồn bã kể về người bạn thân đã mất.*

Face she sad tell about CLAS friend close PST die.

‘Her face became sad when she told about her best friend who died.’

The metaphor FACE IS A CONTAINER OF SADNESS describes sadness as a substance in the FACE container. The face now is viewed as a flat container - one dimensional container on which the emotion substance is displayed. Like the EYES metaphor, the metaphor indicates the existence of the emotion. There is no pressure on the container due to the low intensity of the emotion therefore the FACE container

remains unaffected. This metaphor indicates that because of the low intensity of the emotion, the self is not affected by the emotion and does not have any response to the emotion.

5.3.4. Summary

This section has illustrated the shared metaphors and metonymies in Vietnamese, American English, and Chinese and it has shown how those metaphors are grounded in common physiological embodiment. For example, the physiological effects of sadness such as the drooping posture, jaw or facial muscles, eyes looking down, lack of brightness in the eyes, physical pain, are shared in the three languages to structure the similar sadness metonymies: DROOPING POSTURE STANDS FOR SADNESS; EYES LOOKING DOWN, LACK OF BRIGHTNESS IN THE EYES STAND FOR SADNESS; PHYSICAL PAIN STANDS FOR SADNESS which give rise to the shared metaphors of sadness: SADNESS IS DOWN, SADNESS IS DARK, and SADNESS IS A PHYSICAL FORCE. This section also analyzed the metaphor SADNESS IS AN OBJECT, and considered the physiological and cultural bases for container metaphors in the expression of sadness. I have suggested that the voice, face, and eyes should be added in the system of container metaphors to describe sadness.

The differences in the shared conceptualization of sadness are found at the specific construals of the Western heart and its metaphorical and metonymic expression in Vietnamese. Two physiological aspects of the heart term were transferred to Vietnamese to describe sadness. The other uses of the heart, under the Vietnamese cultural model, were metaphorically conceptualized the same as the Vietnamese *belly*, for example, THE HEART IS A CONTAINER OF SADNESS is the same as THE BELLY

IS A CONTAINER OF SADNESS. The cultural differences in the shared metaphorical and metonymical expressions of the heart to describe sadness indicate the cultural shaping of these shared metaphors.

5.4. Metaphors of sadness in Vietnamese not shared with American English and Chinese: Cultural embodiment and social practices of sadness in Vietnamese

As has been demonstrated so far, metaphors and metonymies of sadness show the role of physiological embodiment in accounting for a major part of the conceptualization of sadness Vietnamese. Physiological embodiment is the basis for the use of body parts, such as the heart, and the physiological effects and resulting behaviors of sadness in structuring the expression of sadness. However, it is also very common for sadness in Vietnamese to be associated with body part(s) such as the belly, intestines or liver which do not undergo any physiological changes. For example, in the Vietnamese expression *Lòng mẹ buồn lắm vì con không về* ‘The mother’s belly is sad because her son has not come home’, we see the use of belly, which is not associated with any physiological changes, used to describe sadness.

This section demonstrates that non-shared Vietnamese metaphors of sadness come as cultural embodiment. As Maalej (2008:396) points out, “cultural embodiment occurs when physiological embodiment is departed from in significant ways, thus constructing a culturally-situated form of embodiment.” The notion of “cultural embodiment” proposed by Maalej (2004: 66) is “motivated by a conventional cultural correlation between a given emotion and a certain bodily state.”

The following sections provide an analysis of non-shared Vietnamese metaphors of sadness.

5.4.1. Sadness is a pain in the liver, intestines, and belly

This metaphor shows that sadness is conceptualized in terms of the pain in the internal organs – the liver, intestines, and belly.

- (119) *Trong phiên tòa, khi gia đình nạn nhân chửi bới mẹ có
con giết người mẹ đau thấu tận ruột gan.*

In trial, when family victim curse mother have
child kill people mother **pain** pierce through EMPH **intestines liver**

‘During the trial, when the victim family cursed me for having a son who was a murderer, I felt pain in my intestines and liver / pain in my heart.’

- (120) *Con hư thì bố mẹ đứt từng khúc ruột.*

Children spoil then parents **broken every piece intestines.**

‘If children are spoiled, the parents’ heart is broken/ every single piece of the parents’ intestines would be broken.’

The examples in (119) and (120) describe the mother’s intestines and liver in pain as if these internal organs were pierced when she was cursed for having a son who was a murderer in (119), and as if the parents’ intestines were broken into pieces because their children were spoiled, in (120). The examples show that the liver, intestines are seen as containers the sadness, so they may rupture under the suffering of emotion. This is shown in the examples (119), *đau thấu tận ruột gan* (pain pierced through the intestines and liver); *đứt từng khúc ruột* (broken every single piece of the intestines) in example (120). The pain described in this metaphor SADNESS IS PAIN IN THE LIVER AND INTESTINES, and also in the metaphor SADNESS IS PAIN IN THE BELLY discussed below, show that the concept of sadness is structured by the general metaphor THE CAUSE OF SADNESS IS A VIOLENT FORCE, as analyzed by Barcelona (1986:12).

5.4.2. The intensity of sadness can rupture the belly

(121) *Anh nói dối em là đi họp nhưng thực ra là hẹn hò với người khác.*

You lie me BE go meeting but actually BE date with person different

lòng em tan nát em khóc cả đêm.

Belly I in pieces I cry all night.

‘You lied to me going to a meeting but actually you went on a date with another girl. I was heartbroken (my belly was broken in pieces). I cried all night.’

(122) *Bố đau lòng lắm khi nhìn thấy con mắc hết*

Father **pain belly** much when see child make emph

sai lầm này đến sai lầm khác.

mistake this emph mistake that.

‘I was heartbroken (my belly was in pain) when I saw you made a lot of mistakes.’

Examples (121-122) describe the girl’s belly was broken into pieces when she found her boyfriend was cheating on her; the father’s belly was in pain because his son made so many mistakes. These examples show that the belly is seen as a container of the sadness. As with the intestines and liver container metaphors illustrated above, the belly may rupture due to the severity of the emotion too, shown in example (121): *Lòng em tan nát*. ‘My belly was broken into pieces.’

The examples (119-122) show that in the metaphors SADNESS IS PAIN IN THE INTESTINES AND LIVER and SADNESS IS PAIN THE BELLY, intense sadness is specifically conceptualized as an intense pain in the liver, intestines and belly. The intensity of the emotion is indicated by sufferings of the internal organs and the belly. This reveals that SADNESS IS PAIN IN THE INTESTINES, LIVER AND BELLY are structured by the general metaphor THE CAUSE OF SADNESS IS A VIOLENT FORCE analyzed by Barcelona (1986:12).

5.4.3. To control sadness is to put a force on the belly

As discussed above, in Vietnamese sadness is conceptualized as located in the belly, intestines, and liver. The reason the internal organs and the belly are associated with sadness lies in the Vietnamese cultural model which views the internal organs and the belly as containers of emotions and innermost feelings. Due to its larger capacity, the belly is conceptualized as the locus for control of the emotion: TO CONTROL SADNESS IS TO PUT A FORCE ON THE BELLY. This metaphor is illustrated in examples (123-124).

(123) *nghe con kể những ngày tháng vất vả ở nhà chồng, mẹ nén lòng*
listen child tell PL day month difficulty at house husband, mother **press belly**
để không khóc, nhưng nước mắt cứ ứa ra.

to not cry but tears just shedding

‘Hearing that my daughter had a difficult time at her husband’s house, I (pressed my belly) tried to control myself not to cry but my tears were falling freely.’

(124) *Nhìn con nằm thiêm thiếp trong bệnh viện, bố mẹ đau xé ruột gan*
See child lie unconscious in hospital, parents pain tear intestines liver
nhưng cố kìm lòng để khỏi khóc

but try hold belly to not cry.

‘Looking at you lying unconsciously in the hospital, we felt a pain of our intestines and liver being torn/ our hearts were in pain, but tried to hold our belly/ tried to control ourselves not to cry.’

In example (123), the mother was sad and wanted to cry after her daughter told her how unhappy and difficult time she had at her husband’s house. She *nén lòng* ‘press belly’ to keep herself from crying. In example (124), the parents’ liver and intestines were in pain as if the internal organs were being torn (*đau xé ruột gan* ‘pain tears the intestines and liver’) when they saw their son was injured and lying in the hospital room;

they had to *kìm lòng* ‘hold their belly’ to control themselves from crying. The examples indicate the role the belly is understood as playing in controlling sadness.

However, when the sadness become highly intense, the belly may fail to control it; the person will lose his control over the sadness, as shown in example (125):

- (125) *Cõi lòng tan nát vì anh lấy vợ rồi*
belly broken into pieces because he marry already
cô ngồi thụp xuống khóc nức lên.
 she sit slump down cry sob up.
 ‘Her heart was smashed (her *belly was broken into pieces*) because he got married, she crouched on the ground and burst out sobbing.’

After the sadness is released, that is, when the sadness is not contained in the belly any more, then the person feels better, as the belly becomes light when the sadness lessens, as illustrated in example (126):

- (126) *Sau khi khóc một lúc, cô thấy nhẹ lòng đi và tự nhủ, quên anh ta đi.*
 After cry one time she feel **light belly** emph and tell herself forget he emph
 ‘After crying for a while, she felt better (her belly is light) and told herself “forget about him”’.

We can layout the conceptual mappings¹³ of the containers (the belly, intestines, and liver) and the sadness emotion as follows:

Source domain: The belly, intestines, liver	Target domain: Sadness
The substance in the container	→ Sadness
The containers	→ The belly, intestines, liver
The violent force on the containers	→ The self affected by sadness (psychological responses)

¹³ The conceptual mappings of the containers (the belly, intestines and liver) are based on the structure of the “container” metaphors analyzed by Kövecses (2004:155).

The cause of the violent force	→	The cause of sadness
The intensity of the force	→	the intensity of sadness
The containers affected by the force	→	the self affected by sadness (behavioral responses)
The substance going out of the container	→	the self loses control
The empty container(s)	→	Sadness stops.

5.4.4. Sadness is unpleasant tastes

This metaphor SADNESS IS UNPLEASANT TASTE maps the source domain of UNPLEASANT TASTES onto the target domain of sadness; sadness is described in terms of bitter, sour, and pungent tastes, as shown in examples (127-128).

(127) *Chị buồn cay đắng cho cuộc đời hẩm hiu của mình.*

She sad **pungent bitter** for life unlucky of self.

Chồng lấy cắp tiền của chị đi đánh bạc.

Husband steal money of she go gamble.

‘She was so bitter and pungent/ she was sad for her unfortunate life. Her husband stole her money to go gambling.’

(128) *Thua cay đắng, U23 Việt Nam chẳng buồn ăn uống*

Lose **pungent bitter**, U23 Việt Nam don’t care eat drink.

‘After their (pungent and bitter) bitter defeat, U23 Vietnamese (soccer players) did not care about eating.’

As mentioned in chapter 4 on anger, in Vietnamese, negative emotions: *anger*, *sadness*, and *despair* are conceived in terms of unpleasant tastes such as: *bitter*, *pungent*, *sour*. Sadness in Vietnamese is found associated with a group of unpleasant tastes: *chua chát* ‘sour and acrid’, *chua xót* ‘painfully sour’, *cay đắng* ‘pungent and bitter’, *đắng cay* ‘bitterly pungent’. Examples (127) and (128) characterize sadness in terms of particular

unpleasant tastes: bitter (*cay*) and pungent (*đắng*). The metaphor SADNESS IS UNPLEASANT TASTE is constituted by the following correspondences:

Source domain: UNPLEASANT TASTES	Target domain: SADNESS
The existence of unpleasant tastes	→ The existence of sadness
The cause of the unpleasant tastes	→ The cause of sadness
The disappearance of the unpleasant tastes	→ Sadness stops.

5.4.5. Sadness is a tormentor

This metaphor SADNESS IS A TORMENTOR describes sadness as a person who causes the self great pain. This metaphor is illustrated in examples (129-130):

- (129) *Chẳng để nỗi buồn dày vò quá lâu, Ronaldo và đồng đội đi hát*
 Don't let CLAS sadness **torment** too long, Ronaldo and friends go sing
 karaoke giải tỏa sau trận thua đêm qua.
 karaoke relieve after match fail last night.
 'Ronaldo and his teammates did not let the sadness of being defeated torment them too long, they went to singing karaoke to get a relief after their defeat last night.'
- (130) *Cậu vào học đại học, mang theo nỗi buồn day dứt*
 He enter study university, carry along CLAS sadness torment
 về mối tình đầu đầy thất vọng.
 about CLAS love first full disappointment
 'He went to college carrying along the sadness of his first love which was very disappointed and had been tormenting him.'

Kövecses (1990:75) indicates the conceptualization of fear in English is based on the TORMENTOR concept: FEAR IS A TORMENTOR. This study of sadness in Vietnamese found that the source domain TORMENTOR also applies to sadness. Similar to fear in English, sadness in Vietnamese is conceptualized as afflicting the self with great pain. However, the cause of the pain from fear in English is conceptualized as an

ENEMY, or a HIDDEN ENEMY, while the pain from sadness in Vietnamese is caused by a sad event conceptualized as a tormentor. This point is illustrated in examples (129) and (130). The metaphor SADNESS IS A TORMENTOR describes sadness in terms of the pain which causes great sufferings to the self. The following correspondences can be found to structure this metaphor:

Source domain: TORMENTOR	Target domain: SADNESS
The pain caused by a tormentor	→ Sadness
The cause of the pain	→ The cause of sadness
The pain stops	→ The sadness stops.

5.4.6. Sadness is bacteria

In this metaphor, SADNESS IS BACTERIA, sadness is conceptualized in terms of bacteria which cause living things to become rotten or spoiled. One human experience that is used in understanding the concept of sadness is that of organic decomposition, such as the decay of fruits, vegetables, meat, bread, milk, fish, etc. In general, the decay in food is caused by the growth of molds, bacteria, or yeasts that contaminate food. This experience underlies the conceptualization of sadness in terms of bacteria in Vietnamese.

The metaphor is illustrated in examples (131-132):

(131) *Thì thoảng mình lên cơn khùng làm anh khóc, anh buồn thối ruột thối gan.*

Sometimes I rise CLAS mad make he cry, he sad rot intestines rot liver

‘Sometimes I got difficult and that made him cry. His intestines and liver were rotten (he was very sad)’

(132) *Tết đến rồi, mà chẳng có tiền mình buồn thối ruột.*

New Year come already but don't have money I sad rot intestine

‘New Year has come already but I do not have money. I am really depressed, my

intestines are rotting.’

Examples (131-132) illustrate how the source domain BACTERIA is mapped onto the target domain SADNESS. In (131), the girlfriend sometimes became difficult which made her boyfriend sad (his intestines and liver rotted). In (132), New Year was coming but the self did not have money and that made her depressed (her intestines were rotten). The metaphor SADNESS IS BACTERIA is structured by the following mappings:

Source domain: BACTERIA	Target domain: SADNESS
The existence of bacteria	→ Sadness
The cause of the bacteria	→ The cause of sadness
The removal of the bacteria	→ The sadness stops.

5.4.7. Sadness is fire in the body

Unlike the shared metaphor of sadness mentioned in section 5.3.1, SADNESS IS A SLOW BURNING FLAME, this metaphor SADNESS IS FIRE IN THE BODY describes sadness in terms of FIRE in a way that highlights the intensity of the fire and of the emotion: the stronger the fire, the stronger the emotion.

(133) *Từ ngày con trai nghe vợ, phiền muộn **thieu đốt** làm bà héo mòn.*
Since day son listen wife, sorrow **burn burn** make she withered.
‘Since the day her son only listens to his wife, her sorrow burned her and she became sick.’

(134) *nỗi buồn xa xứ **thieu đốt** anh ngày đêm. Anh chỉ muốn về nhà.*
CLAS away from home **burn burn** he day night. He only want back home.
‘The sadness of being away from home burned him days and nights. He only wanted to go home.’

This metaphor describes the intensity of the emotion, the loss of control over sadness, and how dangerous the emotion is to the self. My data show that the fire here is not “regular fire”: the existence of the fire does not raise the temperature of the self and does not produce any smoke when the intensity of sadness increases. This is because the fire here is instead an invisible fire whose understanding is rooted in Buddhism. In “The Fire Sermon”, the Buddha taught about human sufferings coming from many forms: birth, old age, sickness, and death, as well as from emotions, greed and desires, ignorance and delusion. The suffering is fire, and the metaphor SADNESS IS FIRE IN THE BODY, is based on this cultural metaphor that SUFFERING IS FIRE.

The Buddha said that humans are burning “with the fire of lust, with the fire of hatred, with the fire of delusion; burning with birth, with aging, with death; with sorrow, with lamentation, with pain, with displeasure, with despair”. The cause of suffering is attachment to positive, negative, and neutral sensations and thought; therefore, to extinguish the emotions, which cause suffering, is to set oneself free from attachment (The Fire Sermon Aditta-pariyaya Sutta, Samyutta Nikaya 3.28; translated by Bhikkhu Bodhi; tuvienlienhoa.net/kinhdien/uni/u-vbud/vbidx). Obviously, the fire in this metaphor is the religious fire but its damage to the self is not less than the fire of the physical world.

This metaphor is similar to the metaphor ANGER IS FIRE IN THE BODY analyzed by Lakoff and Kövecses (1987:203). The analysis of FIRE and ANGER by Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) is used in the following table to analyze the sadness emotion in Vietnamese with modification:

Source domain: FIRE	Target domain: SADNESS
----------------------------	-------------------------------

The fire	→ Sadness
The thing burning	→ The sad person
The cause of the fire	→ The cause of sadness
The physical damage to the thing burning	→ Mental damage to the sad person
The capacity of the thing burning to serve its normal function	→ The capacity of the sad person to function normally
An object at the point of being consumed by fire	→ A person whose sadness is at the limit

5.4.8. Sadness is loss of soul or sadness is no soul

In this metaphor, sadness is described as the loss of soul or the absence of a soul. This metaphor is found rooted in the traditional Vietnamese beliefs. According to these beliefs, human beings have *hồn* (soul) and *ví*a (vital spirits) which make up human's spiritual essence. *Hồn* (soul) is considered to be independent of the body. When someone is dreaming, according to Vietnamese beliefs, their soul temporarily leaves their body to travel. When someone has fainted or is unconscious due to serious illness, others should go up to the roof of their house or to the crossroads to call the person's soul to come back. This will allow the ill person to regain his/her consciousness (Trần 2001:248).

The metaphor of SADNESS IS LOSS OF SOUL is illustrated here in examples (135-136):

(135) *Chồng mất, tôi sống vô hồn, vật vờ như chiếc bóng.*

Husband die, I live no soul fickle like CLAS shadow

'My husband died, I lived in grief (without my soul). I was fickle like a shadow.'

(136) *Con chết, tôi buồn như mất hồn, thấy cuộc sống của mình vô nghĩa.*

Child die, I sad like lose soul, find life of I no meaning.

‘My son died. I was grieved (I lost my soul). I found my life meaningless.’

Examples (135) and (136) show the correlation of sadness and the loss or absence of soul: when sadness occurs, the self’s soul leaves his/her body, then the self experiences emotional suffering from this loss of soul. This implies that when the self retrieves her soul, the sadness stops. The metaphor SADNESS IS LOSS OF SOUL seems to be based on the following set of conceptual mappings:

Source domain:	Target domain:
The loss of soul	→ Sadness
The cause of the loss of the soul	→ The cause of sadness
The retrieval of the soul	→ The sadness stops.

5.4.9. Summary

This section has analyzed Vietnamese non-shared metaphors of sadness and demonstrated that those metaphors are motivated by cultural embodiment and by Vietnamese religion and traditional beliefs. Without cultural embodiment, the Vietnamese non-shared metaphors of sadness could not be explained. The analysis of sadness metaphors and metonymies which are based on both physiological embodiment and cultural embodiment in this section confirms the combination of physical and cultural embodiment as an important grounding for the conceptualizations of sadness in Vietnamese.

5.5. Cognitive models or prototypical scenarios of sadness

Based on the conventional expressions of sadness in American English, Barcelona (1986) proposed a prototypical cognitive model of sadness. He showed that metaphor and

metonymies of sadness converge on the prototypical cognitive model which describes the central elements of sadness. The model is characterized as a five stage scenario (presented below). Non-prototypical cases of sadness are minimal variants of the prototypical one.

The Model of Sadness in American English (Barelona 1986:26-28)

Circumstances affecting the person

DF:	Depressing Face
AL:	(Other) Aspects of Life (of the person affected)
PE:	Physiological Effects of Depression
BE:	Behavioral Effects of Depression

Predicates

E:	Exist
F:	Exert Force On
CL:	Control
Th:	Think
H:	Harmful
GInc:	Gradual Increase
GDc:	Gradual Decrease
C:	Cause
O:	Occur
Int:	Interest

Scales of Intensity

I(D):	Intensity of Depression
I(Int(AL)):	Intensity of Interest in Other Aspects of Life (of the person affected by depression).

I(PE): Intensity of Physiological Effects

I(BE): Intensity of Behavioral Effects.

End Points

Z: Zero

L: Limit

Constraints

V=S: The Victim (of Depression) is Self

C(D)=DF: The Cause of Depression is the Depressing Fact

The Prototypical Scenario of Sadness in American English (Barelona 1986:26-28)

Stage 1: *The Depressing Fact*

- O(DF): A depressing fact occurs. (This depressing fact can either be a depressing event or a series of them or a depressing state of affairs.)

Examples: His foolish behavior really lowered my spirits. So many misfortunes knocked him down.

Stage 2: *Depression*

- E(D): Depression exists
- GInc(I(D)) **so that** I(D): The intensity of depression gradually increases until equals the intensity of S's interest in the aspects of his life affected by the Depressing Fact.
- PE(S): S experiences at least some of the physiological effects of depression.
- BE(S): S displays at least some of the behavioral effects of depression.
- F(D,V) **so that** CL(DV): Depression exerts force on its victim in an attempt to control him/her.

Example: After failing his exams, John fell into a depression. He had put a lot of work into them (The intensity of depression equals S's interest in AL)/He came out of the

examination room *pace-faced, head hung down*: he had failed (PE and BE are shown). / That *gave me a wrench. I was almost seized* by a fit of depression (In these examples, D exerts force on and tries to control S).

Stage 3: *Attempt to control depression*

- F(S,D) **so that** CL(S,D) **and not** (E(PE and BE): S exerts force on his/her depression in order to control it and prevent PE and BE from showing. S is not viewed now as a (passive) victim, as in the last formula in Stage 2; now he or she is regarded as an active person. (Giving in to depression and showing it by losing control over one's body and behavior is not socially advantageous. Besides, it may be (physically or mentally) damaging to S. Therefore, S, must control his depression to prevent its effect from showing openly.

Example: He *tried to hold back his tears. She tried to keep control*. Luckily, he's *taking it easy*, but this was a terrible blow.

Stage 4: *Loss of control*

- I(D)>L: the intensity of depressing goes over the limit.

- CL(D,S): Depression takes control of S.

- H(S): There is harm to S.

- I(PE)= L: S displays the behavioral effects of depression in their extreme form.

Example: Mike feels *crushed*. (this example depicts a state of depression whose intensity goes over the limit). John was *prostrate* (Extreme PE and BE; harm to S). John *burst into tears* (extreme PE and BE). John was *overcome by sorrow* (Depression controls S).

Stage 5: - GDc(D): There is a gradual decrease of depression. (This process has variable duration, but it is always within the limits of 'normal' depression; a deviation from normal duration would be *brooding*)

- NOT (C(DF,D)): (The above process continues until) the Depressing Fact is no longer

the cause of depression.

- I(D)=Z: The intensity of depression then drops to zero.

- NOT (E(D)): Depression ceases to exist.

Examples:

Johnny then *started to feel better*. He had been depressed for a while (Gradual decrease of depression)/ She was *finally able to remember her dead husband without breaking down* (the DF is no longer a cause of depression)/ Johnny finally *felt relieved*. (The intensity of depression is at zero and ceases to exist).

Relief is seen as a process taking place over time spans of variable length.

This model is applicable in Chinese as King (1989: 106) has shown. The Chinese cognitive model of sadness also consists of five stages with a little difference in the content of the model.

The Cognitive model or Prototypical Scenario of Sadness in Chinese (King 1989:106)

- (1) There is a situation where S. is separated permanently from loved ones (parents, spouse, friend, etc.) in life or death
- (2) Grief exists.
S experiences emotion in terms of intensive physical pain and agitated behavior.
Also weight loss and loss of qi.
- (3) S receives support of friends and relatives
- (4) S expresses grief through crying
- (5) Grief gradually and slowly ceases to exist.

The cognitive models of sadness in Vietnamese is proposed below. I begin with a discussion of how the English cognitive model of sadness is applied to Vietnamese, and then I consider the similarities and differences in the cognitive models of sadness in Vietnamese, English, and Chinese.

5.5.1. The prototypical scenario of sadness in Vietnamese

Much like the models of sadness proposed for English and Chinese, the Vietnamese cognitive model of sadness relies on both metaphorical and metonymic expressions in describing sadness. However, Vietnamese speakers seem mostly rely on metaphorical expressions to describe the emotion. My data shows that among 4,050 expressions describing sadness, 2,796 expressions (69.03%) are metaphorical and 1,254 expressions (30.96%) are metonymic. (For more details, see the charts of the metaphors and metonymies of sadness in section 5.1). Thus, like English, Vietnamese seems to rely more on metaphors than metonymies (Barcelona 1986). Chinese, by contrast, relies heavily on metonymies closely related to the body, rather than metaphor (King 1989:106)

Metaphors and metonymies of sadness constitute the Vietnamese cognitive model of sadness including five stages are described as follows:

The Prototypical Scenario of Sadness in Vietnamese

- Stage 1: Sadness event occurs
- Stage 2: Sadness exists.
The self feels sad and experiences physiological effects of the emotion (reduced body heat, physical pain, loss of energy, dropping posture, jaw, facial muscles, tear shedding, etc.).
- Stage 3: Attempt to control sadness.
- Stage 4: The self would loses his/her control by exhibiting behaviors of sadness, including crying and shedding of tears, vocal lamentation, dead wish, sigh, and general indifferences.
- Stage 5: There is a gradual decrease of sadness then sadness stops.

5.5.2 Differences among cognitive models of sadness in English, Chinese, and Vietnamese

The cognitive models of sadness in the American English, Chinese, and Vietnamese show differences in Stages 1 and 3. Table 11 below shows these differences in English and Chinese; followed is those in Vietnamese.

	Am. English (Barcelona 1986: 26-8)	Chinese (King 1989: 106)
Stage 1	A depressing fact occurs. <i>His foolish behavior</i> really lowered my spirits. <i>So many misfortunes</i> knocked him down.	Sadness is caused when there is a situation where S. is separated permanently from loved ones (parents, spouse, friend, etc.) in life or death
Stage 3	Attempt to control depression: to hold back, to try to keep cool, to take it easy	S receives support of friends and relatives

Table 11: Differences in Stage 1 and 3 of the cognitive models of sadness in English and Chinese

In Stage 1, the cause of sadness in Vietnamese is more general like the one in English: a sadness-evoking event occurs; the cause of sadness in Chinese, on the other hand, is more specific: the self is separated permanently from a loved one due to separation or death.

Stage 3 centers on an attempt to control sadness. Barcelona (1986:27) states that we are socially discouraged from giving in to sadness or from showing sadness, because this signifies a loss of control over our bodily and behavioral responses. This loss of control can cause damage to the self mentally and physically. In American English, Stage 3 the attempt to control sadness is expressed by phrases like *to hold back*, *to try to keep cool*, *to take it easy*. In Chinese, the control is affected by the support of friends or relatives.

In Vietnamese, the attempt to control sadness is more detailed and specific than the ones in American English and Chinese. In Vietnamese, controlling sadness involves putting a force on the belly (*bụng*), as in these expressions: *Kìm lòng, ghìm lòng* ‘to hold back or press the belly’, *cầm lòng* ‘hold the belly’, *nén lòng, dằn lòng* ‘to press a force on the belly’, *nén chặt lòng* ‘press the belly tightly’, *bấm bụng* ‘press the belly’, or *nhủ lòng, dãn lòng* ‘influence the belly by talking to it’.

My data shows that this control of sadness in Vietnamese is strongly associated with cultural notions of social face. For example:

- (137) *Tôi tan nát cả cõi lòng vì chồng bỏ đi nhưng tôi nén lòng không khóc lóc.*
 I **in pieces whole belly** because husband leave but I **press belly** don't cry
Tôi sợ hàng xóm thương hại tôi.
 I afraid neighbor **feel pity** me
 ‘My belly was broken in pieces because my husband left me but I tried to (press my belly) control myself not to cry. I was afraid the neighbors would feel pity for me.’
- (138) *Buồn đến đứt ruột vì chồng con chẳng ra gì thế mà vẫn phải cố kìm lòng không bộc lộ ra ngoài vì sợ ‘xấu chàng hổ ai’*
 Sad so broken intestines because husband children nothing but must try
 suppress belly don't reveal out because afraid bad husband shameful wife.
 ‘She was so broken hearted / her intestines were broken because her husband and children were not good but she tried (to hold her belly) not to reveal it because she would feel shame if people know about her husband and children.’

The conception of social face in Vietnamese, as Phạm’s (2014:225) study suggests, is “made up of social roles and role driven characteristics, and positive qualities and achievements”. This view of social face is consistent with the research of Brown and Levinson (1987: 311-2) on the concept of “positive face” which is “the positive consistent self-image or ‘personality’ (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants,” and “the want of every member

that his wants be desirable to at least some others”. It is also in line with the concept of face in Spencer-Oatey’s study (2000) which is likewise related to identity and social psychological values.

The importance of social face and its relationship to the expression of emotion in Vietnamese is articulated through proverbs, idioms, and sayings which are considered as a set of norms that function to guide behavior in Vietnamese society. Examples of such proverbs and sayings are shown in (139-140):

- (139) *tốt đẹp phô ra, xấu xa đậy lại*
good show out bad cover
‘Showing good things, hiding bad things’
- (140) *tốt danh hơn lành áo*
good name better nice shirt
‘A good name is better than riches.’

The data analyzed for this study demonstrates that the control stage of the cognitive model of sadness is rooted in the Vietnamese concept of social face. Sadness is a negative emotion. It should be hidden because it may affect the self’s social face as in examples (139-140). This supports my claim that metaphors of emotion in Vietnamese are culturally as well as physiologically embodied. It is the Vietnamese cultural model that underlies the importance of controlling sadness within the cognitive model of sadness in the language.

5.5.3. Summary

This section presented the similarities and differences in the cognitive models of sadness in Vietnamese, English, and Chinese. The three languages share the same five steps of the cognitive models of sadness, the relying on both metaphors and metonymies to structure the cognitive model which suggests the basic structure of the emotion “cause

of emotion → emotion → response” (Kövecses 2000:161). The differences are found in the fact that Vietnamese and English seem to rely on the metaphors of sadness rather than metonymies, while Chinese uses metonymies of sadness more frequently. Another difference is that the cause of the sadness in Vietnamese and English is more general while in Chinese, it is more specific. The last difference was shown in Stage 3, where the attempt to control sadness in Vietnamese is more elaborate and richer than the ones in English and Chinese, in line with the importance of controlling emotion in order to maintain social face in Vietnamese culture.

5.6. Non-prototypical scenarios of sadness in Vietnamese

Barcelona (1986:28) describes non-prototypical scenarios of sadness that arise from minimal variations upon a prototypical case. In this section, I will explore non-prototypical scenarios of sadness in Vietnamese.

Barcelona analyzed some non-prototypical scenarios of sadness in American English as follows¹⁴:

Contagious depression:

The DF is another depressed person's behavior. A new element is introduced, Sb ('Somebody else').

In Stage 1. D(Sb)= DF

Example: He's a real *wet blanket*.

Consciously exaggerated depression:

S is really affected by a DF, but for some reason he/she presented to be more affected

¹⁴ King (1989) did not list any non-prototypical scenarios of sadness in Chinese.

than is really the case.

In Stage 2. $I(D) < I(\text{Int}(AL, S))$: The intensity of depression does not reach the intensity of S's interest in the aspects of his life concerned.

Example: She *snivels* all the time. Don't pay too much attention to her.

Recurrent depression:

The whole cycle, from Stage 2 to Stage 5, is repeated over and over again at regular or irregular intervals.

Example: She used to have *frequent fits of depression* after her husband died

Controlled depression

After the attempts to control depression in Stage 3, S manages to keep its physiological and behavioral effects below the limit point, and thus remains in control. There are, thus, no stages 4 and 5.

In Stage 4: $I(PE)$ **and** $I(BE) < L$

$CL(S, D)$

Example: In a supreme effort, she *managed to pull herself together* right before the meeting.

Brooding:

S is responsible for the fact that depression does not go away so that the intensity of depression remains above zero and depression lasts a long time.

- $C(S(E(D)))$

- $I(D) > Z$

- $\text{NOT}(GDc(D))$

Stage 5 becomes a 'brooding' stage instead of being a relief stage:

Example: She sat there *brooding on whether life was worth living*. (1986:28)

The examples in (141-147) below, illustrate non-prototypical scenarios of sadness in Vietnamese which have not been recognized in English. Each variation includes examples, followed by brief descriptions of each case.

Sadness with no cause: There is no event provoking sadness, but S feels moody.

(141) *Có những lúc buồn vẫn vợ, cái buồn chẳng ra sao,*

there PL time sad CLAS nothing, CLAS sad don't problem

cũng không rõ vì sao, buồn vô cớ. chẳng thiết làm gì, chỉ thở dài.

Also don't know why, sad no reason, don't want do any, only sigh.

'Sometimes he was moody, no reason at all. He did not give an interest into anything.

Just sighed.'

Only Stages 1, 2 and 5. The intensity of sadness is just above zero. There are no physiological effects. S displays a mild behavioral effect of sadness, and the sadness gradually stops.

The cause of sadness is fate: S is affected due to some misfortunes which are considered to be caused by fate.

(142) *Số phận mang đến cho đời bà nhiều bất hạnh, chồng chết,*

Fate bring to life she many misfortune husband die

con chết, nhà cửa không còn. Số bà đã vậy, chả thể thay đổi được.

children die, house don't have. Fate she like that, can't change able.

'Fate brought to her life a lot of misfortunes, her husband died, her children died,

her house was gone. That was her fate. Nothing could change it.'

S displays both physiological and behavioral effects, including crying and lamentation. The intensity of sadness is below the limit point, and S remains in control. No stages 4 and 5.

The cause of sadness is the external environment:

The environment (weather, streets) is not like what S expects: it rains too much, or it is crowded.

(143) *Trời mưa suốt, nhìn mưa thấy buồn.*

It rain all the time, look rain feel sad.

‘It rained all the time. Looking at the rain I felt sad.’

The intensity of sadness is just above zero. There are no physiological and behavioral effects.

The sadness stops when there is a change in the environment. No stages 3 and 4.

The cause of sadness is not related to S: S sees/hears some sadness-evoking event and feels sad.

(144) *Nhìn cháu bé mấy tháng tuổi bị bỏ rơi, không ai cầm được nước mắt.*

Look baby some months old PAS abandon, no one hold able tears.

‘Looking at the infant who was abandoned no one could hold their tears.’

No stage 4. Sadness stops when S no longer sees the thing that evoked sadness.

S’s profession is to be sad: S is hired to cry at funerals. S feels sad as if S’s loved ones died.

(145) *Bà làm nghề khóc thuê đám tang. Lần nào đi khóc, bà cũng*

She make job cry hire funerals. Time any go cry, she also

thấy đau đớn như người thân của mình chết vậy.

feel pain like people close of she die EMPH.

‘Her job is to cry at funerals. Any time cry at funerals, she always feels

pain like her loved ones died.’

The cause of sadness is actually not related to S. S displays physiological and behavioral effects. No stage 3. Sadness stops when the job is finished.

Temporarily inexpressible sadness: The cause of sadness is so overwhelming that S is temporarily unable to display any physiological and behavioral effects of the emotion.

(146) *Nỗi đau mất chồng lớn quá. Bà không khóc nổi, dù rất muốn khóc cho nhẹ lòng.*

CLAS pain lose husband big very. She can’t cry though *want cry for light belly*

‘The pain of the fact her husband died made her not able to cry although she wanted to cry for a relief (for her belly is light).’

Temporary; no stages 3, 4. Sadness does not stop until S displays effects of sadness.

Controlled sadness: S experiences physiological effects of sadness (pain in the heart), but no behavioral effects are displayed.

(147) *Nghe người yêu cũ nói đi lấy chồng, tim đau nhói nhưng vẫn cố nói lời chúc mừng.*
hear girlfriend ex say get married, heart throb but still try say word congratulation.
‘When his ex-girlfriend said she was going to get married, his heart was pierced pain
but he tried to say congratulation.’

S keeps the sadness below the limit point and remains in control. No stage 4.

5.7. Conclusions

This chapter presented the Vietnamese conceptualization of sadness and compared it with the ones in American English and Chinese. In particular, this chapter has compared and contrasted conceptual metonymies, metaphors and cognitive models of sadness in the three languages in order to reveal the differences and similarities of the Vietnamese conceptualization of sadness with the other two languages. General metaphors, metonymies, and specific realizations or elaborations of the shared domains of sadness, culture-specific metaphors and metonymies of sadness in Vietnamese were analyzed to account for the similarities and differences in the sadness conceptualizations of in the three languages. The analysis demonstrated the role of both physiological embodiment and cultural embodiment, including Vietnamese religious and social practices, in structuring the conceptualization of the emotion.

The similarities and differences in the shared conceptualization of sadness in Vietnamese can be explained by the “Cultural Embodied Prototype” thesis proposed Kövecses (2004) which highlights the role of both physiological factors and cultural factors in constructing emotion concepts. These two factors represent two types of embodiment: cultural embodiment and physiological embodiment, as proposed by Maalej (2004, 2007, 2008).

The discussion in this chapter began with a description of the sadness concept as understood in terms of conceptual metaphors and metonymies in the three languages. The linguistic evidence shows the similarities and differences in conceptualizations of sadness in the three languages in terms of the source domain of sadness.

In terms of conceptual metonymies, the linguistic evidence suggests both similarities and differences. The three languages all use metonymies which are grounded in the human body, but each language highlights a different body part as the container for the emotion: the heart in English, the heart and internal organs in Chinese, and the belly, intestines, and liver in Vietnamese. Additionally, the three languages have expressions pointing to the physiological and behavioral effects associated with sadness in order to understand the emotion. The following physiological and behavioral effects associated with sadness are found in all three languages: **LOSS OF ENERGY AND CONSEQUENT WEAKNESS, TEAR SHEDDING, PHYSICAL PAIN, CRYING AND VOCAL LAMENTATION.**

However, while the data in English and Vietnamese support the metonymic conceptualization of sadness in terms of **REDUCED HEART FUNCTION, REDUCED BODY HEAT, DROOPING POSTURE, JAW, FACIAL MUSCLES, EYES LOOKING DOWN and LACK OF BRIGHTNESS IN THEM, UNSOCIALABILTY, REJECTION OF FOOD, GENERAL INDIFFERENCES, and INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION** there was not linguistic evidence to demonstrate the use of these metonymies in Chinese. There were, however, examples that show that Vietnamese and Chinese share other metonymies of sadness, including **AGITATION, DEATH WISH, and WEIGHT LOSS** which were not found in the analysis of English. Notably,

Vietnamese and Chinese each had culture-specific metonymies which are rooted in Vietnamese and Chinese Traditional Medicine, such as GREY HAIR STANDS FOR SADNESS in Vietnamese, and LACK OF QI IN THE BODY STANDS FOR SADNESS in Chinese.

In terms of conceptual metaphors, all three languages share the same source domain of sadness seen in following metaphors: SADNESS IS DOWN, SADNESS IS DARK, SADNESS IS A PHYSICAL FORCE, and SADNESS IS IN THE BODY.

Vietnamese and English share the following metaphors: SADNESS IS COLD, SADNESS IS LACK OF VITALITY, SADNESS IS A NATURAL FORCE, SADNESS IS AN ILLNESS, SADNESS IS A BURDEN, SADNESS IS A LIVING ORGANISM, SADNESS IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL INSIDE THE PERSON, SADNESS IS A BOUNDED SPACE, THE HEART IS A CONTAINER OF SADNESS, SADNESS IS A SLOW BURNING FLAME, and SADNESS IS SOCIAL SUPERIOR.

Turning to a review of the differences between the Vietnamese conceptualization of sadness and that in English and Chinese, we find both borrowed as well as culture-specific conceptualizations of sadness in Vietnamese. The HEART stands out as a transferred concept which is used to talk about SADNESS in Vietnamese. We saw that the transference of the Western HEART concept was governed by the Vietnamese cultural model. The two features of the heart: physical pain and heartbeat were transferred to structure the metonymies: PHYSICAL PAIN STANDS FOR SADNESS and REDUCED HEART FUNCTION STANDS FOR SADNESS. The metonymy REDUCED HEART FUNCTION STANDS FOR SADNESS presents its difference by using only one of the symptoms of heart reduced function, a reduced heart beat, in its

metonymical expression. Under the influences of the Vietnamese cultural model, the Western HEART was assigned certain characteristics of the Vietnamese BELLY.

This argument provides an explanation for why the following heart expression and belly expressions can be used interchangeably: *Tim em tan nát khi anh lạnh lùng quay đi* ‘My **heart** was broken when you coldly turned away’ and *Lòng em tan nát khi anh lạnh lùng quay đi* ‘My **belly** was broken when you coldly turned away’. These examples suggest that the heart metaphors in Vietnamese are structured not by the physiological effects of the heart but by culturally-based notions related to the belly in Vietnamese. This suggests that metaphors that involve body part terms in Vietnamese are culturally as well as physiologically embodied.

Another difference in the Vietnamese conceptualizations of sadness is found in the culture-specific metaphors and metonymies of sadness in Vietnamese. The metonymies of sadness such as: SIGH STANDS FOR SADNESS and GREY HAIR STANDS FOR SADNESS can be explained in terms of the general metonymy: THE EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION. The two metonymies are based on the physiological embodied experiences of sadness which are based in Vietnamese Traditional Medicine. This confirms both the physiological and cultural embodiment of these two conceptual metonymies.

The culture-specific metaphors of sadness in Vietnamese reveal another difference in the Vietnamese conceptualization of sadness which is grounded in the Vietnamese religions of Buddhism and Taoism. The influence of Vietnamese religions marks a difference in the conceptualizations of sadness in Vietnamese in that sadness is understood in terms of fire in the body. Importantly, the fire is a religious fire but its

damage to the self is not less than the fire in the physical world. The knowledge of Buddhism structures the metaphor SADNESS IS FIRE IN THE BODY. Sadness is also understood in terms of loss or absence of soul which indicates the role of Taoism in constructing the metaphor SADNESS IS LOSS OF SOUL OR NO SOUL.

The metaphors SADNESS IS PAIN IN THE BELLY, SADNESS IS PAIN IN THE LIVER AND INTESTINES, SADNESS IS UNPLEASANT TASTES, SADNESS IS A TORMENTOR, and SADNESS IS BACTERIA strongly point to another difference in the Vietnamese conceptualization of sadness. These metaphors point to a conceptualization of sadness that is constructed based on cultural embodiment (pain in the belly, liver and intestines), taste perception (unpleasant tastes), implied physiological embodied experiences (tormentor), and an imaginative process of decay of the intestines (caused by bacteria).

In explaining the similarities and differences in the sadness conceptualizations in English, Chinese, and Vietnamese, this study made mention of the Embodied Cultural Prototype thesis which highlights the roles of both cultural factors and physiological factors in constructing emotion concepts. This study also suggests that culture-specific metaphors of sadness in Vietnamese: SADNESS IS UNPLEASANT TASTES, SADNESS IS PAIN IN THE BELLY, SADNESS IS PAIN IN THE LIVER AND INTESTINES, SADNESS IS FIRE IN THE BODY, SADNESS IS LOSS OF SOUL or NO SOUL, etc. are grounded in both physiological experiences and cultural preferences (unpleasant tastes), cultural embodiment (pain the belly) and in the Vietnamese religions. The analysis in this chapter contributes to the research on universality versus culture-

specificity of sadness conceptualizations across cultures by presenting linguistic evidence of how the emotion is conceptualized in Vietnamese.

Chapter 6

Cultural bases of the container metaphors in Vietnamese

6. Introduction

This chapter examines the conceptualizations of the internal organs *ruột* ‘intestines’, *gan* ‘liver’, *mật* ‘gall bladder’, and the body part *bụng* ‘belly’ as the containers of most emotions, thoughts, and cultural values in Vietnamese¹⁵. I will explore the linguistic expressions that include these internal organs and the belly and show how they relate to Vietnamese cultural model. It is my contention that Vietnamese culture, plus the influence of Traditional Chinese Medicine and philosophy, motivates these conceptualizations.

The chapter also includes a discussion of how these internal organs and the belly, which Vietnamese speakers use in thinking and talking about their emotional and mental experiences, are culturally significant concepts. A comparison with the English concepts of heart and mind and the Chinese concepts of heart, liver, and gall-bladder reveals the differences and similarities with the Vietnamese conceptualizations of the belly and internal organs.

This chapter is divided in seven sections. Following this introduction to the chapter, Sections 6.1 through 6.3 discuss the conceptualizations of the Vietnamese internal organs, *ruột* ‘intestines’, *gan* ‘liver’, and *mật* ‘gall-bladder’ in turn. Section 6.4 examines the conceptualization of *bụng* ‘belly’, which can be considered the center of the

¹⁵ This chapter is limited to these internal organs and the belly as containers of emotions because they constitute a great portion of the data of this study. Moreover, the analyses of sadness and anger in chapters 4 and 5 shows that these containers of emotions reveal culture-specific aspects of the emotion concepts in Vietnamese. This chapter does not discuss other body parts such as eyes, face, and voice because it seems apparent why they are chosen to be containers of emotions. Because they display the emotions visibly, it would be easy for anyone to recognize them from the appearance of another person’s eyes, facial or voice expressions.

Vietnamese conceptual system. These sections show that the conceptualizations of these internal organs and the belly are grounded in the Vietnamese folk beliefs, and the influences of Traditional Chinese philosophy and medicine. Section 6.5 reviews the cultural bases for the container metaphors of emotions, thoughts, and cultural values in Vietnamese. Section 6.6 offers conclusions for the chapter.

6.1. The Vietnamese cultural model of *ruột* ‘intestines’

This section shows that the conceptualization of *ruột* ‘intestines’ is rooted in the Vietnamese folk belief that *ruột* ‘intestines’ is viewed as the seat of human life. I explore the conceptual mappings of *ruột* ‘intestines’ and compare these mappings to several abstract concepts in Vietnamese. The conceptual mappings show how the Vietnamese cultural model links *ruột* ‘intestines’ to human emotions, thoughts, characteristics, moral and cultural values. The conceptualizations of *ruột* ‘intestines’ are compared to those of the English heart and head and the Chinese heart to reveal the conceptual similarities and differences of the organs as the containers of the emotion concepts in all three languages.

This presentation of the conceptualizations of *ruột* ‘intestines’ is organized as follows: I begin here with an overview of the understanding of *ruột* in Vietnamese culture. In Section 6.1.1, I focus on the use of the *ruột* ‘intestines’ as a metaphorical container of emotions and thoughts. Its use as a representation of human characteristics and behaviors is illustrated in Section 6.1.2, the uses of *ruột* ‘intestines’ to describe close families ties, behaviors, and cultural values is shown in Section 6.1.3, and its use in describing denote importance and valuables is addressed in Section 6.1.4.

Ruột ‘intestines’ is one of the internal organs in our body and understood as “part of the alimentary canal, starting from the end of the stomach to the anus” (Từ điển Tiếng

Việt, 2000:838, my translation). The definition shows what the intestines are and how they function in the body. However, the understanding of *ruột* ‘intestines’ is much more complicated in Vietnamese. In Vietnamese folk understanding, the *ruột* ‘intestines’ is believed to consist of the source of human life and where family ties are established. For example:

(148) *Mẹ dứt ruột sinh ra con.*

Mother tear **intestine** give birth out child
‘Mothers tear their intestines to give birth to children.’

(149) *Chị em là **khúc ruột** trên, **khúc ruột** dưới nên phải thương nhau.*

Siblings COP **piece intestine** up **piece intestine** down so must love each other
‘Siblings are different pieces of the same intestines so they must love each other.’

Examples (148-149) present the understanding of the intestines as the seat of human life. Children come from their mother’s intestines. That is, to give birth to children, mothers tear their intestines into pieces as in example (148). Each piece of the intestines represents each of the mother’s children. Therefore the order of every intestinal piece represents the birth order of children within a family as shown in example (149).

As well as denoting the seat of life, *ruột* ‘intestines’ is conceptualized as the seat of emotions, thoughts, and other abstract concepts. A possible explanation for this conceptualization involves the understanding of the intestines as the source of new life: if the intestines are viewed as the seat of life, they can be viewed, by extension, as also both the source and a container for all the basic elements of human life, including emotions, thoughts, and life experiences. This conceptualization of *ruột* ‘intestines’ reflects a cultural model that is widespread among Vietnamese speakers which has its basis in the Vietnamese belief that *ruột* ‘intestines’ is the seat of human life.

The belief that *ruột* ‘intestines’ as the seat of thoughts and other mental activities is manifested in mythical folktales¹⁶. In the folk story, “The medicinal resurrected plant, or the story of Cuội on the Moon” in *A Treasure Chest of Vietnamese Folklore* (Nguyễn 1958-1982/2000), we find an account of intellectual change in human beings beginning when their intestines were replaced. When Cuội’s wife was killed by robbers, her intestines were thrown into a river. To revive her, Cuội replaced her intestines with a dog’s intestines. Since that event, her mind was changed and she did the opposite of what she was told to do, or she completely forgot about the instructions (Nguyễn 1958-1982/2000:777, my translation). This story points out the influences of the Vietnamese cultural model in constructing the understanding of the Vietnamese *ruột* ‘intestines’.

6.1.1. *Ruột* ‘intestines’ as a container of emotions and thoughts

In Vietnamese, the intestines are viewed as containers of different emotions such as: anger, sadness, worry, happiness, and love as follows:

- (150) *Những ngày ở cùng em chồng làm em tức lộn ruột.*
 Plural day live with sister in-law make I angry **up side down intestines**
 ‘Living with my husband’s siblings made me angry (lit., ‘made my intestines upside down’).’
- (151) *Xa con chị buồn thắt ruột.*
 Far away child she sad **tie intestines**
 ‘Living far away from her child made her depressed (lit., ‘her intestines were tied’).’
- (152) *Lo cháy ruột cho kì thi sắp tới.*
 Worry **burn intestines** for exam coming
 ‘She was so worried for the coming exam (lit., ‘her intestines were burned’).’

¹⁶ Mythical stories are “mystical, bizarre stories with the intervention of magical forces”, and “involve in superstitious, witchcraft, sorcery and religious forms of primitive men” (Nguyễn 1958/2000:34-35), and reflect thought patterns of the Vietnamese on the information of “native artistic creation” (Hy Tue, 1997 in Nguyễn 1958/2000: 1478).

(153) *Thương em đứt ruột giả đờ ngó lơ.*
 Love you **broken intestines** pretend ignore
 ‘I love you so much (lit., ‘my intestines are broken’) but pretend not to see you.’

(154) *Nhìn con lớn lên ngoan ngoãn bố mẹ mát từng khúc ruột.*
 See child grow up good parents **cool every piece intestines**
 ‘Seeing children growing up healthy and well educated, parents are happy (lit., ‘parents feel cool in every piece of their intestines’).’

Examples (150) – (154) illustrate how the intestines are conceptualized as containers of anger, sadness, worry, unexpressed love, and happiness. Negative emotions (anger, sadness, worry, and unexpressed love) are understood to greatly impact the intestines. As examples, the intestines could be ‘upside down’, in (150), ‘tied’ (151), ‘burned’ (152), or ‘broken’ (153). Those adjectives describe the intensity of the emotions and point to the physical effects of emotion-evoking experiences, as in the metaphor, **PASSIVE EXPERIENCES ARE THE PHYSICAL EFFECTS OF FORCES**, as analyzed by Kövecses (2004:42).

Different from the negative emotions, happiness is a positive emotion (example 154) which brings great comfort and coolness to the intestines. This is in line with the more general metaphor, **HAPPINESS IS A PLEASURABLE PHYSICAL SENSATION** (Kövecses 2004:49).

As well as containing the emotions above, *ruột* ‘intestines’ is found to be associated with thoughts and other mental activities. For example:

(155) *Tôi lú ruột, quên cả đi đón vợ ở sân bay.*
 I **forget intestines**, forget EMPH go pick up wife at airport.
 ‘I was absent-minded (lit., ‘my intestines forget’), could not remember anything. I even forgot to go to pick up my wife at the airport.’

(156) *Nhớ như chôn vào ruột những lời dặn dò*

Remember like bury in intestines PL word remind

về nghề viết của anh

about occupation write of he

‘I remember deeply (lit., ‘bury words in my intestines’) what he reminded me about being a writer.’

Example (155) is about absent-mindedness, in which RUỘT stands metonymically for the self (PART FOR WHOLE). Forgetful intestines refer to an absent-minded person. In example (156), *ruột* ‘intestines’ is regarded as place to store received knowledge *nhớ như chôn vào ruột* (lit., ‘remember like to bury in the intestines’).

The conceptualizations of *ruột* ‘intestines’ similarly correspond to the conceptualizations of the Western HEART/HEAD where the heart is conceptualized as “the centre of emotions” and the head is conceived of as “the centre of rational judgment” (Niemeier 2008:365). This is shown in the following expression in Vietnamese: “*buồn thắt ruột*” (lit., ‘the intestines are tied because of sadness’). We can compare the English word *heartrending* (Niemeier 1997:96); with the Vietnamese “*nhớ như chôn vào ruột*” (lit., ‘remember (something) like bury it in the intestines’). The use of HEAD as a container of thoughts and emotions is also exemplified by English “*Put these weird thoughts out of your head*” (Niemeier 2008:364).

The conceptualization of *ruột* ‘intestines’ is also similar to the conceptualization of the Chinese HEART. In Chinese, the heart is conceptualized as the center of thoughts, ideas and emotions (Yu 2007:28, 2008). For example: “*However, he can only put this matter in his heart to think about, but dare not to speak it out.*”, and “*This question has always been weighing on her mind* (lit., ‘heart-top’)” (Yu 2008:143)

However, unlike Chinese HEART and English HEART and HEAD which are associated with different emotions and thoughts, Vietnamese INTESTINES is only

associated with limited emotions such as, sadness, worry, unexpressed love, and happiness, and with absent-mindedness and as a place to store received knowledge. The uses of different internal organs and body parts in describing emotions in English, Chinese, and Vietnamese suggest that the way people think of and describe the emotions is deeply influenced by the cultural models and cultural embodiment of these internal organs and body part in each language.

6.1.2. *Ruột* ‘intestines’ as a representation of human characteristics and behaviors

In the following examples, INTESTINES are conceptualized as a representation of human characteristics and behaviors. In particular, characteristics and behaviors are understood in terms of the location and health of the INTESTINES.

(157) *Anh ấy ruột để ngoài da, nói năng bộc tuếch bộc toạc*

He **intestines place out skin**, speak light headed light headed

không để ý gì.

don't pay attention any

‘He wears his heart on sleeve (lit., ‘his intestines are placed on his skin’). He speaks light-headedly. He does not pay attention to his audience.’

(158) *Nó hay sốt ruột, làm việc gì cũng chỉ mong chóng xong.*

She always **fever intestines** do things any also only want soon finish

She is impatient and careless (lit., ‘her intestines are in fever’). Whatever she does, she always wants to get it done quickly.

Example (157) tells about someone who is honest, always says what he thinks or feels without any consideration, so sometimes he offends others (Tratu Soha 2015, my translation). His behaviors and actions are due to the dislocation of his intestines *ruột để ngoài da* ‘his intestines are placed on his skin’. The intestines are supposed to be within the human body, so their dislocation refers to the person’s characteristics, i.e., rude honesty. Obviously, his emotions and thoughts are displayed improperly and are

therefore not socially acceptable in the Vietnamese culture. In example (158) the illness of the intestines *sốt ruột* (lit., ‘the intestines are in fever’) refers to impatience and carelessness that go along with wanting to get things done quickly. The illness of the intestines in this example describes negative characteristics – impatience and carelessness which are also not socially acceptable in the culture.

Examples (157-158) show the association of *ruột* ‘intestines’ with human characteristics and behaviors. The dislocation and irregular temperature of *ruột* ‘intestines’ are used in describing negative characteristics and behaviors, impatience and carelessness, which are not socially accepted in Vietnamese. These two examples suggest that a cultural value is added to this aspect of the intestines which is the concept of SOCIAL ACCEPTABILITY.

This section also shows the conceptualization of *RUỘT* ‘intestines’ is similar to the conceptualization of the English HEART. In English, the heart is perceived to have a default location but it can be dislocated. The dislocation of the heart stands for particular feelings or character traits (Foolen 2008:381). The English expression: *wear your heart on your sleeve* ‘to show your true feelings openly’ (Foolen 2008:382) can be seen as equivalent to the Vietnamese expression: *ruột để ngoài da* ‘the intestines are placed on the skin’. The dislocation of the heart in English and *ruột* ‘intestines’ in Vietnamese refers to a common understanding that at times, “it is necessary to stifle the expression of the felt emotion and to use another expression as a mask” because “it is not advantageous to always ‘wear one’s heart on one’s sleeve’ (Riggio 2016:241).

6.1.3. The uses of *ruột* ‘intestines’ to describe close family ties, family behaviors, and cultural values

This section presents how *ruột* ‘intestines’ is conceptualized as a representation of close family ties, a basis for proper family behavior, and cultural values. Section 6.1.1 described how *ruột* ‘intestines’ is seen as a place where a person’s life begins. For this reason, family members and relatives are seen to come from the same intestines. Hence, *INTESINES* is seen as an indicator in identifying family members and relatives. For example:

- (159) *bố mẹ ruột*
parents intestines
‘parents’
- (160) *con ruột*
children intestines
‘offspring’
- (161) *Anh chị ruột*
brother sister intestines
‘siblings’
- (162) *cô ruột*
aunt intestines
‘aunt’
- (163) *bà con ruột rà*
relative intestines
‘relatives’

Examples (159-163) describe a family connection between family members and relatives. Parents, children, siblings, and other relatives are viewed as linked to the same *ruột* ‘intestines’. This understanding of *ruột* ‘intestines’ reveals a specific Vietnamese cultural value: Close family ties are defined by the intestines.

This specific cultural value guides people what attitudes and behaviors they are supposed to have to their family members and relatives as seen below:

(164) *máu chảy ruột mềm* (idiom)

blood shed **intestines** soft

‘Siblings or relatives care about each other, willing to help when others are in need.’

(165) *tay đứt ruột xót* (idiom)

hand broken **intestines** sting

‘Siblings or relatives care for each other.’

In examples (164-165), *máu* ‘blood’, *tay* ‘hand’ and *ruột* ‘intestines’ are considered as parts of the body and they symbolize family members and relatives. These examples show that what happens to one part of the body must impact the others: when the blood is shed, the intestines soften; when the hand is cut, the intestines sting. That is, one has a great deal of affection for one’s relatives or family members and when bad things happen to them, one’s intestines would become soft as in *ruột mềm* ‘soft intestines’ or painful as in *ruột xót* ‘the intestines sting’.

The possible impact or damage to *ruột* ‘intestines’ suggests that this conceptualization of *ruột* ‘intestines’ is similar to that of the English HEART: HEART as a metonymy for A PERSON’S FEELING and HEART as a metonymy for a PERSON AS A WHOLE¹⁷ (Niemeier 2008:351, 352). People would feel soft and have altruistic feelings in their heart when they feel love or care for others, described as *soft heart* or *tender heart*. Experiencing negative emotions would cause damage to someone’s heart as described by *aching heart* or *broken heart* (Niemeier 2008:352, 353).

This section shows that in terms of its conceptualizations as the container of emotional activities, a representation of human characteristics and behaviors, close family

¹⁷ The conceptualization of the heart as a PERSON AS A WHOLE entails that the heart is not only seen as a part of a person but in a more generalized way as referring to the person as a whole (Niemeier 2008:352)

ties, and family behaviors and cultural values, the Vietnamese conceptualization of RUỘT ‘intestines’ is very similar to that of the Western HEART. *Ruột* ‘intestines’ stands for A PERSON’S FEELINGS and for a PERSON AS A WHOLE.

6.1.4. The uses of the intestines to denote importance and valuable possessions

This section presents how *ruột* ‘intestines’ is conceptualized as a representation of importance and valuables. The following examples show that *ruột* ‘intestines’ is linked to money or other valuable materials:

(166) *đồng tiền liền khúc ruột* (proverb)

money near piece **intestines**

‘Money must be kept close to the intestines (i.e., People must keep their money close).’

(167) *Của là cuống ruột* (proverb)

Valuable material possession BE stem **intestines**

‘Valuable possession is the stem of the intestines (i.e., Valuable material possessions are viewed as the apple of one’s eyes)’

Examples (166-167) show that money and other valuable material possessions are considered as important as the intestines, the seat of life in Vietnamese culture.

Therefore, they must be attached to the intestines or to be protected as the stem of one’s intestines (i.e., the apple of one’s eye). The association between the intestines and money and other valuable possessions denotes the concepts IMPORTANCE and VALUABLE and reveals another aspect of the intestines: Being important and valuable is being attached to the intestines.

In terms of IMPORTANCE and VALUABLE, the Vietnamese INTESTINES reflect the cultural model of the intestines in identifying what can be seen as important

and valuable and how to safeguard them. This makes the intestines storage of important and valuable objects.

The discussion of *ruột* ‘intestines’ shows that the conceptualizations of the Vietnamese intestines are rooted in the cultural model of the intestines which actually influences the language use and motivates a number of abstract concepts such as: EMOTIONS, THOUGHT, HUMAN CHARACTERISTICS, BEHAVIORS, ATTITUDE, CULTURAL VALUES, and CLOSE FAMILY TIES, as shown in Figure 1 below:

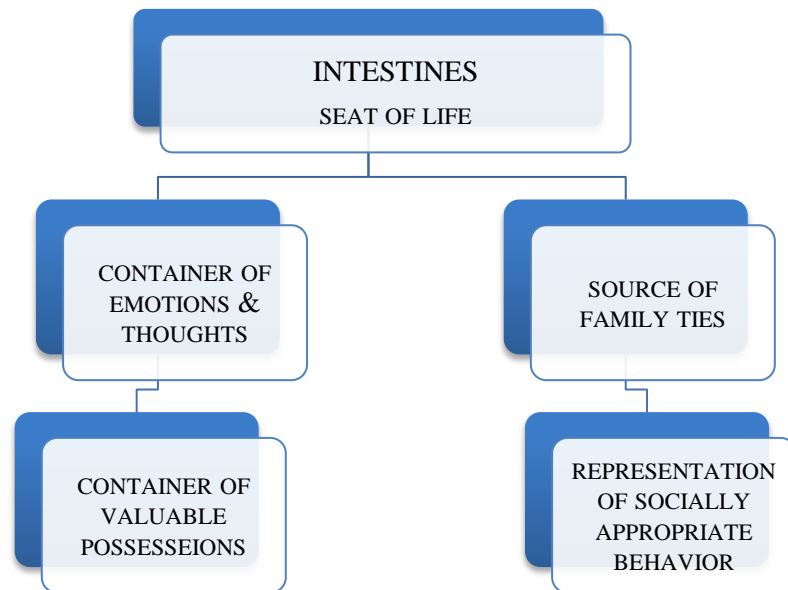


Figure 7: Metaphor and extensions for INTESTINES in Vietnamese

As a source domain of such abstract concepts, the intestines provide examples of “the cultural embodiment of the mind” (Maalej 2008:423). That is, the way Vietnamese people think and talk about these abstract concepts in terms of the intestines is motivated by the cultural imaginations of the intestines through the intestines metaphors and metonymies. It is cultural imagination that mediates and motivates “cultural

embodiment”, a kind of embodiment which is “contrasted with the more physiology kind of embodiment” (Maalej 2008:396).

6.2. The Vietnamese Cultural Models of *gan* ‘liver’

The liver is an internal organ understood as “a part of the digestive system whose function is to secrete bile to digest fats” (Từ điển Tiếng Việt 2000:371, my translation). The definition reveals the basic understanding of the liver: what the liver is and what it functions in human body. However, in Vietnamese, *gan* ‘liver’ is not just simply an internal organ of the human body rather it is strongly linked to ideas of human courage and anger. The liver is conceptualized as a container for courage and anger.

In historical times in Vietnam, people believed that by eating their enemies’ liver, their enemies’ courage would be destroyed and, consequently, their anger would be extinguished. This notion was found documented in a Vietnamese dictionary published in the end of the 19th century: when ferocious people caught their enemies, they disemboweled and ate their enemies’ livers *ăn gan* ‘eat liver’ for revenge (Đại Nam Quốc Âm Tự Vị 1895-1896:346, my translation).

The belief that eating one’s enemies’ livers, which contain their courage, would satisfy anger was also documented in Trần Hưng Đạo’s Proclamation, written in 1258, to his military officers before the second Mongol invasion of Annam (the old name of Vietnam). The proclamation was to motivate his soldiers’ spirit to fight against the incoming Mongol invaders. “I tremble with anger because I have not yet stripped our enemy’s flesh, flayed their skin, chewed up their liver, and drank their blood” (Trần Hưng Đạo, Ngữ văn 8, tập 2, 2004:55, my translation). This belief is also found in the Funeral Oration for the Partisans of Cần Giuộc by Nguyễn Đình Chiểu written in 1861, to

praise, mourn and honor the brave partisans who fought against the French Colonists in Cần Giuộc in 1861. He wrote: “One day (I) saw French white ships running on the river, (I) want to come to eat their livers” (Nguyễn Đình Chiểu, Ngữ văn 11, 2003:31, my translation). These writings suggest that the cultural model of *gan* ‘liver’ involved its use by Vietnamese people to understand and structure the emotions of courage and anger.

6.2.1. *Gan* ‘liver’ as a container of anger and courage

In my corpus, there are examples that indicate that in current Vietnamese, LIVER is still understood as a container of anger and courage. In expressing courage, person whose liver is big, as in *to gan* or *cả gan* ‘big liver’, can be said to be brave. Similarly, a person whose liver is small as in *gan bé* ‘small liver’, young, as in *non gan* ‘young liver’, or shy, as in *nhát gan* ‘shy liver’, can be said to be cowardly.

LIVER is also used in the expression of anger. *Sôi gan* ‘boiling liver’ describes one’s anger: when he is angry, his liver boils. These are evidenced by the following example:

(168) *Con dâu cả gan cãi, bà sôi gan, quăng quyển sách ra cửa.*

Daughter in-law **big liver** talk back she **boil liver** throw CLAS book out door
 ‘Her daughter in-law dares (lit., ‘big liver’) talking back to her made her boil with anger (her liver was boiling), she threw a book towards the door.’

Example (168) describes a woman is boiling with anger (lit., ‘her liver was boiling’) because her daughter in-law dares (lit., ‘she has a big liver’) to talk back to her. This example shows that anger is conceptualized as a hot fluid in a pressurized container, the liver. The hot fluid affects the container – the self and causes the self to respond (throwing a book towards the door). This example also shows that the liver is perceived a

container of courage - the human abilities to face danger or fear. The daughter in-law has “a big liver” so she dares to talk back to her mother in-law. This example implies that the capacity of the liver can tell about the amount of courage one has. That is, the bigger the liver, the more courageous one is and vice versa. Therefore, the amount of courage that is contained in the liver, whether great or little, can determine the person’s abilities to face danger or fear. Example (168) is an instantiation of both of the conceptual metaphors: THE LIVER IS A CONTAINER OF ANGER, and THE LIVER IS A CONTAINER OF COURAGE.

The conceptualization of Vietnamese LIVER corresponds to the conceptualizations of the English HEART and the Chinese LIVER. Arrien (2010:80) finds that in American culture, weak-heartedness indicates the lack of courage, and strong-heartedness refers to courage and integrity. A person who is weak-hearted is unable to face conflict in an honest and creative way, so tends to avoid conflicts and reconcile with others which people with a strong heart would not do. This conceptualization of the Western heart is similar to the conceptualization of the Vietnamese liver.

The Vietnamese conceptualization of *gan* ‘liver’ corresponds to the Chinese conceptualization of the liver. Yu (1998, 2002) provides evidence showing that in Chinese, the liver is viewed as a container of anger: *dong gan-huo* (move liver-fire) ‘get angry; flare up; fly into a rage’ (Yu 2002:349). However, anger-substance in the liver in the two languages is different. In Chinese, anger is conceptualized as FIRE or HOT GAS in the liver (Yu 1995, 1998) whereas in Vietnamese, anger is conceptualized as HOT FLUID in the liver (discussed in chapter 4). The similar conceptualization of the liver as

a container of anger in Vietnamese is accounted for by the influence of TCM (Traditional Chinese medicine) in the language.

The use of different internal organs (the heart in English and the liver in Chinese and Vietnamese) in anger and courage descriptions indicate the cultural bases of the HEART and the LIVER metaphors in structuring the two emotions in the three languages. As a source domain of the emotions, anger and courage, the Vietnamese *gan* ‘liver’ shows a good illustration of cultural embodiment of the emotions; the conceptualizations of the two emotions are structured by the Vietnamese model of *gan* ‘liver’ which is founded on the Vietnamese cultural understanding of the liver and the influence of TCM.

6.2.2. The pairing of *gan* ‘liver’ and *ruột* ‘intestines’: TCM’s yin and yang, Zang and Fu

In Vietnamese, *gan* ‘liver’ and *ruột* ‘intestines’ form pairs or compounds: liver-intestines and intestines-liver. Both pairs are used to describe emotional and mental activities. This section discusses how the two- internal organs are combined, how they are conceptualized as the seat of emotions and thoughts, and compares the conceptualizations of the pairs with those of the English HEART and HEAD and the Chinese HEART to reveal the similarities and differences in the three cultural systems.

I argue that the combinations of the Vietnamese intestines and liver are due to the influence of Traditional Chinese medicine (TCM). However, if the combination of the Chinese internal organs reflects TCM, for example, the liver combines with the gall-bladder, the heart with the small-intestines (Yu 1998:74), the combination of the Vietnamese liver and intestine only shows an image of TCM.

Traditional Chinese medicine (TCM) is a style of traditional medicine which originated in China and evolved over thousands of years. TCM was developed based on two important theories: the theory of five elements and the theory of yin-yang. Five elements and yin- yang are the most fundamental concepts in TCM because they are the foundation of TCM diagnosis and treatment of health problems (For more see Yu 1995, 1998).

The concepts yin and yang describe two primal opposing but complementary forces which are found in everything in the universe. For example, yin is passive, feminine, night, cold, water, etc. and yang is active, masculine, day, hot, fire etc. (More examples of yin-yang opposites, see in Table 1). Yin and yang can transform into each other, consume and support each other under certain conditions. For example, if water (yin) is heated, it evaporates into vapor or gas (yang) which becomes liquid (yin) when cold (Yu 1995).

Yin	Moon	Land	Night	Cold	Water	Winter
Yang	Sun	Heaven	Day	Heat	Fire	Summer
Yin	Stative	Controlled	Dim	Cold	Soft	Weak
Yang	Dynamic	Excited	Bright	Hot	Hard	Strong
Yin	Passive	Covert	Internal	Lower	Downward	Fluid
Yang	Active	Over	External	Upper	Upward	Gaseous

Table 12: Some opposites of yin and yang (Yu 1995:82)

According to TCM, the human body is a unity in function. The unity is based on the opposing and complementary relationships of yin and yang. The body parts, internal organs and tissues are classified based on their functions and locations according to the

theory of yin and yang. For example, the lower body is classified yin while the upper body is yang; the internal body belongs to yin and the external body belongs to yang. Other yin yang pairs in the body include the downward (yin) versus the upward (yang), the fluidic (yin) versus the gaseous (yang) (Yu 1995).

In TCM, the five element theory is applied to define nature and the human body and the potential relationships between them as well. All natural phenomena, human internal organs, and emotions are organized into five groups which are FIRE, EARTH, METAL, WATER and WOOD that represent patterns and relationships among them. For example, wood generates fire with its fuel; fire generates earth because things are burned turn into earth; earth generates metal because metal comes from earth; metal generates water because metal is melted it becomes fluid. On the other hand, wood restrains earth because trees can harm earth by getting its nutrients; earth restrains water because floods can be restricted by dams or earth banks; water restrains fire because water can put fire out; fire restrains metals because fire can melt metal; metal restrains wood because metal tools are used to cut wood. In general, the relationships between the five elements are expressed in terms of supporting and controlling. For example, water nurtures wood and puts out fire but is controlled by earth (Yu 1995, Trần 2001).

According to TCM, the internal organs in the human body are divided into two classes: Zang and Fu. It is important to note that, in TCM, Zang Fu is a functional categorization rather than an anatomical one. Organs classified as Zang are responsible for the manufacture and storage of *qi* and blood, while the Fu organs are understood as transmitting and digesting particular substances. The Zang category includes the five organs of primary importance: the liver, heart, spleen, lung, and kidney. The Fu category

includes the gall-bladder, small intestine, stomach, large intestine, and bladder. Each of the Zang organs is paired with each of the Fu organs, for example: the liver pairs with the gall-bladder, the heart pairs with the small intestine, etc. (Yu 1998).

The theory of yin and yang, the foundation of TCM, focuses on the interdependence of what may appear to be opposite forces. According to this theory, all Zang organs are classified as yin, and Fu organs are as yang. Each Zang (yin) organ combines with (i.e., is complementary to and interconnected with) a Fu (yang). For example, the liver, a Zang (yin) organ pairs with the gall-bladder, a Fu (yang) organ to make a Zang-Fu / yin-yang pair. The pair of the liver and gall-bladder belongs to the element of wood (Yu 1995, 1998), and is associated with the East, Spring, and the taste of sourness, the emotion of anger and the sense of sight. More pairs of the internal organs such as the heart plus the small intestine, the spleen plus the stomach, the lung plus the large intestine, and the kidney plus the bladder - and their associations with element, location, season, taste, emotion and sense - can be seen in Table 2 below:

Element	Wood	Fire	Earth	Metal	Water	
Locations	East	South	Center	West	North	
Seasons	Spring	Summer	Late Summer	Autumn	Winter	
Tastes	Sour	Bitter	Sweet	Spicy	Salty	
Human Organs	Zang Fu	Liver Gall- bladder	Heart Small intestine	Spleen Stomach	Lung Larger intestine	Kidney Bladder
Emotions	Anger	Happiness	Anxiety	Grief	Fright	
Sense	Eyes	Tongue	Lips	Nose	Ears	

Table 13: Five categories under the five elements (from Yu 1995:84)

Importantly, the relations between the internal organs are identified under the interactions within the five basic elements (wood, fire, earth, metal, and water). The five basic elements are in relations of supporting and controlling. In the case of the pair of gall-bladder and liver, according to TCM, these two internal organs are complementary to each other in function. What happens to the liver, such as liver disease, will affect the gall-bladder and it is shown in the eyes. The emotion of anger is believed to cause liver disease. The association between the liver and anger is believed found in those who get angry easily so they tend to be vulnerable to liver disease; and those with liver disease tend to be quick to anger. In Chinese, it is believed that the liver with excessive heat always starts in spring when the weather is windy and the wood is abundant (Yu 1998). The categorization and conceptualization of those concepts based on the five element theory are illustrated in the Table 2.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, TCM was introduced to Vietnamese during one thousand years of Chinese occupation (Hue Chan Thai 2003). Under the influence of TCM, particularly the theory of internal organs, the Vietnamese intestines are combined to make a pair of organs which appears to be in accordance with TCM.

There are reasons to determine that the Vietnamese intestines and liver make up this pair of organs. In TCM, the intestines include the large and small intestines. The large intestine is paired with the lung; the small intestine is paired with the heart. They are not paired with the liver. Therefore, the intestines in this pair should be the Vietnamese intestines. Regarding the liver in this pair, this liver is not viewed under any categorizations and classifications as the Chinese liver. For example, it is not linked with eyes, spring, sour, and eat as the Chinese liver shown in Table 12. Moreover the

substance in this liver is hot fluid, as shown in previous sections, while the substance in the Chinese liver is *qi*. Thus, the liver in this pair should be the Vietnamese liver.

Under the influence of TCM, the classifications and relationships of the Chinese internal organs as organ networks were applied to the Vietnamese intestines and liver. Therefore the two organs are connected to describe abstract concepts in which the liver is assigned to be a Zang organ, and the intestines are Fu organs similarly to the Chinese classifications of these organs.

Because the Vietnamese liver and intestines are not Zang Fu organs in nature, they do not need to follow all the classifications and relationships of the internal organs in TCM. In particular, in TCM, the order of a Zang-Fu pair is fixed: a Zang organ comes before a Fu organ (Yu 1998:78); the relationship between a Zang and a Fu organ is that they are “complementary to each other” (Yu 1998:75). That is, what happens in one organ will affect the other. However, the relationships between the Zang organs and the Fu organs are not applied to the Vietnamese pair of the intestines and liver. The following examples provide evidence for this point:

- (169) *mát ruột mát gan* = *mát gan mát ruột*
 cool **intestines** cool **liver** cool **liver** cool **intestines**
 ‘joy’ (lit., ‘cool in the intestines and liver’) ‘joy’ (lit., ‘cool in the liver and intestines’)
- (170) *rối gan rối ruột* = *rối ruột rối gan*
 tangled **liver** tangled **intestines** tangled **intestines** tangled **liver**
 ‘to worry’ (lit., ‘the liver and intestines are tangled’) ‘to worry’ (lit., ‘the intestines and liver are tangled’)
- (171) *sốt ruột sốt gan* = *sốt gan sốt ruột*

fever **intestines** fever **liver**

‘to be impatient’ (lit., ‘the intestines and liver are in fever’)

fever **liver** fever **intestines**

‘to be impatient’ (lit., ‘the liver and intestines are in fever’)

Examples (169-171) provide four element idiomatic expressions involving the pair of the liver and intestines, two on each side. The liver side and the intestines side make up these idioms. In these idioms, the intestines or the liver can either stand before or after the other without changing these idioms’ meanings. For example: the intestines side *mát ruột* ‘the intestines are cool’ in the idiom *mát ruột mát gan* ‘the intestines and liver are cool’ meaning joy can stand after the liver side as in *mát gan mát ruột* ‘the liver and intestines are cool’ meaning joy. The change of the intestines side’s position in this idiom does not change the whole idiom’s meaning.

Notably, the relationship between the Vietnamese liver and the intestines is one-way dependence. That is, the liver depends on the intestines to stay in the pair. In particular, if the liver side stands alone, its meaning is literal as in *mát gan* ‘the liver is cool’ or absurd as in *rối gan* ‘the liver is tangled’ and *sốt gan* ‘the liver is in fever’¹⁸. The examples suggest that the liver side can exist in the idiom because it repeats the condition of the intestines. In example (20) the condition of the intestine is ‘cool’, so the condition of the liver is also ‘cool’: *mát ruột* ‘the intestines are cool’ → *mát gan* ‘the liver is cool’. This repetition of the intestines condition in the liver is found in other examples (169-171): *rối ruột* (the intestines are tangled) → *rối gan* (the liver is tangled), *sốt ruột* (the intestines are in fever) → *sốt gan* (the liver is in fever). The repetition of the intestines’

¹⁸ The idiom *sôi gan, sôi ruột* ‘the liver boils, the intestines boil’ is different from other idioms involving the pair of the liver and intestines. It is because the Vietnamese liver is associated with anger as discussed in section 6.3. Therefore, the liver side in this idiom equals with the intestines side. Both the liver side and the intestines side in this idiom refer to anger.

condition in the liver points out that the relationship between the liver and the intestines is a dependency, i.e., the liver depends on the intestines, while in Chinese, the relationship between Zang Fu organs is complementary each other.

The understandings of the Vietnamese pair of the intestines and liver have influenced the conceptualization of the Vietnamese pair as containers of emotional and mental activities. The pair is metaphorically viewed as containers of different emotions such as happiness, anger, sadness, love, worry, and thoughts. The emotions and thoughts contained in the pair are considered more intense than contained in the intestines alone. It is because the emotions and thoughts are believed to occur in and affect both the intestines and liver. For example, happiness makes one's intestines expand *nở từng khúc ruột* 'every piece of the intestines expands'. When the emotion is getting stronger, it expands the liver and intestines *nở gan nở ruột* 'the liver and the intestines expand'. Similarly, the intensity of different emotions and thoughts described by the pair of the liver and intestines can be seen in the following expressions: *buồn héo gan héo ruột* 'sadness withers the liver and the intestines', *lo cháy ruột cháy gan* 'worry burns the intestines and liver', *yêu cháy gan cháy ruột* 'love burns the liver and liver', *tiếc đứt ruột đứt gan* 'regrets cut the intestines and liver', *lú ruột lú gan* 'the intestines and the liver are in poor intellectual status/ there is no memory or intelligence in the intestines and liver', and *nhớ như chôn vào ruột vào gan* 'to remember like bury in the intestines and the liver'.

The conceptualizations of the pairs of *gan* 'liver' – *ruột* 'intestines' and *ruột* 'intestines' - *gan* 'liver' correspond to the conceptualization of the HEART and HEAD in English (see Niemeier 1997, 2008, 2012) and the HEART in Chinese (see Yu 2008). That

is, the pair of the liver and intestines is conceptualized as the seat of different emotional and mental activities, such as happiness, sadness, worry, love, and absent-mindedness. For example, the Vietnamese examples involving the intestines and liver in this section indicate that the pair of the intestines and liver is linked with different emotions. The pair of the liver and intestines seems equivalent with the heart in English and Chinese which is also linked with various emotions. For example, in English, the heart is linked with both positive and negative emotions, such as: friendly, altruistic, empathetic, love, jealousy, or regret (Niemeier 2012:201, 203). In Chinese, the heart is associated with happiness, relief, admiration, vexation, disappointment, etc. (Yu 2008:141).

The Vietnamese expression *lú ruột lú gan* ‘the intestines and the liver are in poor intellectual status i.e., there is no memory or intelligence in the intestines and liver’ suggests that the pair of the intestines and liver is viewed as containers of intellect. This pair is equivalent with the English HEAD as the seat of intellect (Niemeier 2008) and the Chinese HEART as the center of thoughts and ideas (Yu 2008).

In summary, the analysis of the expressions in which the Vietnamese pair of the liver and intestines show that the pair is conceptualized as a container of different emotions and thoughts. Although the Vietnamese pair of the liver and intestines does not describe different mental activities like the Chinese HEART, the pair is more like the Chinese HEART which is perceived as the seat of emotion and cognitive activities, collapsing the concepts of the HEART and HEAD in English.

6.3. *Mật* ‘gallbladder’

This section discusses the conceptualization of *mật* ‘gallbladder’ as a container of fear. In Sections 6.3.2 and 6.3.3, I discuss the pair, *gan mật* ‘liver-gallbladder’, as a

container of fear, courage, and anger in Vietnamese. This concept of the gallbladder joined with the liver as a pair of Zang Fu organs was transferred to Vietnamese along with the adoption of the principles and beliefs of Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM).

In this section, I explore the conceptual mappings of *mật* ‘gallbladder’, and the pair *gan mật* ‘liver-gallbladder’ onto the concepts of fear, courage, and anger in Vietnamese. The conceptualizations of *mật* ‘gallbladder’ and the pair of *gan mật* ‘liver-gallbladder’ are compared with those of the Chinese gallbladder, and the Chinese liver-gallbladder pair based on Yu’s (2002, 1995, 1998, 2003) research to examine the similarities and differences in the conceptualizations of the internal organs as containers of the emotion concepts in the two languages.

6.3.1. *Mật* ‘gallbladder’ as a container of fear in Vietnamese

The Chinese belief that the gallbladder’s conditions determining the amount of courage a person has - which structures the metaphor GALLBLADDER IS A CONTAINER OF COURAGE (Yu 2003:13) - was borrowed into Vietnamese. However, the uses of the gallbladder in Vietnamese emotion descriptions are different from those Chinese. In Chinese, the gallbladder expressions specifically describe courage but in Vietnamese, the gallbladder expressions specifically describe fear, or the absence of courage. Examples (27) and (28) illustrate this.

(172) *Bị cổ động viên chặn đánh sau khi thua trận, sao Porto*

PAS supporters block beat after lose match, star Porto

sợ vỡ mật

fear **broken gallbladder**

Being beaten by their supporters after they lost the game, star Porto soccer players were **frightened** (lit., ‘their gallbladders were broken’).

(173) *Nghe tiếng hổ gầm, Đỗ Phong Hải sợ mất mật, ngất xỉu tại chỗ.*
Listen voice tiger roar Đỗ Phong Hải fear **lose gallbladder** faint at place
'Heard the tiger roar, Đỗ Phong Hải was **scared to death** (lit., 'his gallbladder was lost') then fainted at the spot.'

Generally, courage is understood as “the state or quality of mind or spirit that enables a person to face difficulty, danger, pain, etc., without fear; bravery” (<http://www.dictionary.com/browse/courage>). This definition shows that fear and courage are closely related; courage cannot be understood without fear. In other words, fear and courage are the two sides of one coin; to study courage, fear cannot be left out of the picture.

In Chinese, courage is understood in terms of the metaphors GALLBLADDER IS A CONTAINER OF COURAGE and COURAGE IS QI (GASEOUS VITAL ENERGY) IN THE GALLBLADDER (Yu 2003:13). That is, courage is believed to be contained in the gallbladder. The state of the gallbladder's *qi* (a gaseous vital energy or life force) whether “strong” or “weak”, “solid”, or “void/vacuous” determines the amount of courage a person has. The *qi* will cause internal pressure on the container when it is “strong” or “solid” (Yu 2003:19).

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the notion *qi* is unique to the Chinese culture, and the concept is not shared within Vietnamese culture. Thus, only the metaphor GALLBLADDER IS A CONTAINER OF COURAGE was transferred to Vietnamese to describe fear in Vietnamese

As discussed in section 6.2, in Vietnamese, courage is understood in terms of the liver. The liver's condition can determine the amount of courage a person has with which to face difficulty, danger, or pain. People are courageous if they have *to gan* ‘big liver’.

Conversely, cowardly people have *gan bé* ‘small liver’ or *non gan* ‘weak liver’. These expressions show that positive conditions of the liver are used to describe courage and, in contrast, negative conditions of the liver can describe fear.

Because in Vietnamese, the liver is associated with courage, borrowing the Chinese metaphor THE GALLBLADDER IS A CONTAINER OF COURAGE would be incompatible with the Vietnamese metaphor THE LIVER IS A CONTAINER OF COURAGE. Because the Vietnamese liver expressions suggesting fear, on the other hand are limited in number, the gallbladder expressions implying fear were adopted to contribute to the Vietnamese system of understanding fear - the other side of courage. Specifically, the state aspect of the gallbladder in the Chinese metaphor GALLBLADDER IS A CONTAINER OF COURAGE (Yu 2003) was transferred to Vietnamese to become THE STATE OF THE GALLBLADDER IS FEAR which is manifested in examples (172-173).

Example (172) describes the Porto soccer players were frightened (their gallbladders were broken) when they were beaten by their supporters after they lost a game. In example (173) Đỗ Phong Hải was scared to death (his gallbladder was lost) when he heard the tiger roar. To explain for the emotion of fear in these two examples, we can interpret that there is no courage in the gallbladder when they face the danger. The fear strikes them and makes their gallbladder broken in example (172) and lost in (173). Therefore they do not have any courage in their gallbladder to face the danger. As such, the state of the gallbladder, broken or lost, represents the fear anger in Vietnamese. The Chinese gallbladder concept was transform to fit in the Vietnamese culture.

6.3.2. The folk understanding of the *mật* ‘gallbladder and *gan* ‘liver combination

In Vietnamese, *mật* (short for *túi mật* ‘gallbladder’) is an internal organ of human body which is understood as “an egg-shaped sac under the liver containing bile” (Từ điển Tiếng Việt 2000:1063, my translation). This definition presents a general idea of how the gallbladder functions in human body medically. In the Vietnamese language, the understanding of *mật* ‘gallbladder’ provides a foundation for the understanding of fear, courage, and anger. That is, the state of the *mật* ‘gallbladder’, whether broken or missing, can determine the amount of fear or courage.

This understanding of *mật* ‘gallbladder’) is found rooted in TCM which interprets the function of the gallbladder as connected to the nervous system as a whole: “certain aspects of the nervous system are traditionally ascribed in Chinese medicine to the gallbladder” (Wiseman & Feng 1998, p.234, cited in Yu 2003:17). The gallbladder is believed to determine “one’s personality and terms of boldness and timidity” (Chen 1989, Wang et al 1997, cited in Yu 2003:17). The Chinese metaphorical uses of the gallbladder to describe courage and fear were transferred to Vietnamese. In particular, the Chinese concept of GALLBLADDER combines with the Vietnamese LIVER to represent the concepts of courage and fear, and the Chinese GALLBLADDER was transferred as well and used to describe fear in Vietnamese. The transfer of the Chinese concept of GALLBLADDER to Vietnamese provides another ways to express the emotions.

Based on the belief that “the liver and the gallbladder are coupled together as a paired combination of *Zang* and *Fu*” (Yu 2003:18, italics in original), LIVER in Vietnamese is categorized as a Zang organ (discussed in more detail in section 6.2), and it is paired with the GALLBLADDER, a Fu organ. In this pair of Zang Fu organs, the LIVER always stands before the GALLBLADDER. Although the Vietnamese and

Chinese pairs of the LIVER and GALLBLADDER are both metaphorically viewed as containers of anger, courage, or fear, the conceptualization of LIVER and GALLBLADDER in Vietnamese has some differences from the Chinese understanding. The idiomatic expressions in examples (174-177) illustrate these differences:

(174) *sôi gan sôi mật*
boil **liver** boil **gallbladder**
'very angry' (lit., 'the liver and gall-bladder are boiling')

(175) *bầm gan tím mật*
bruise **liver** bruise **gallbladder**
'very angry' (lit., 'the liver and gall-bladder are bruised')

(176) *to gan lớn mật*
big **liver** big **gallbladder**
'courage' (lit., 'the liver and gall-bladder are big')

(177) *non gan bé mật*
weak **liver** small **gallbladder**
'timid' (lit., 'the liver and gallbladder are young')

Examples (174-177)¹⁹ are idiomatic expressions describing anger (the liver and gall-bladder are boiling or bruised), courage (the liver and gall-bladder are big) and timidity (the liver and gallbladder are weak and small). These idioms contain four elements, two on each side. Note that the liver cannot stand alone to describe the same meaning of the whole idiom; the gallbladder must be paired with the liver or it does not make sense, for example: *sôi mật* 'boil gallbladder', *tím mật* 'bruise gallbladder', *bé mật* 'small gallbladder' or *lớn mật* 'big gallbladder' in Vietnamese do not sound quite right.

Examples (174-177) show that the pairing with gallbladder repeats the condition of the liver. In example (174) the condition of the liver is 'boil', so the condition of the

¹⁹ There is no record of these expressions in Chinese (cf. Yu 1995, 1998, 2002, 2003; King 1989).

gallbladder is also ‘boil’: *sôi gan* ‘boil liver’ → *sôi mật* ‘boil gall-bladder’. Similarly, the repetition of the liver’s condition is found in other examples (175-177): *bầm gan* ‘bruise liver’ → *tím mật* ‘bruise gallbladder’, *to gan* ‘big liver’ → *lớn mật* ‘big gallbladder’, *non gan* ‘weak liver’ → *bé mật* ‘small gallbladder’.²⁰ In each case, the pairing of the organs indicates the intensity of the emotion.

In TCM, the liver and the gallbladder are said to “complement each other” (Wang et al., 1997 p.758, cited in Yu 2003:18). In these Vietnamese idioms, the gallbladder side’s inability of standing alone and its repetition in the liver’s condition suggest that the relationship between the liver and the gallbladder in the Vietnamese pair is a one-way dependence. That is, the meaning of GALLBLADDER depends on its pairing with LIVER to represent anger, courage, or timidity. Like INTESTINES and LIVER, GALLBLADDER is used metaphorically to describe abstract concepts in Vietnamese. The adoption from Chinese of this notion of GALLBLADDER stems from the adoption of TCM into Vietnamese culture, and serves to describe new aspects of the emotion concepts that contribute to the understanding of these emotions in Vietnamese.

The next section presents how the understandings of the gallbladder, and the pair of the gallbladder plus liver, influence the conceptualizations of *mật* ‘gallbladder’, and of the pair *gan* ‘liver’ – *mật* ‘gallbladder’ as containers of courage/fear and anger in Vietnamese.

²⁰ *Non* (weak or young) and *bé* (small) can be seen in the same semantic field. They both refer to lack of strength.

6.3.3. The pairing of *mật* 'gallbladder' and *gan* 'liver' as a container of courage and fear

As mentioned in the previous section, under the influence of TCM, the liver and gallbladder is conceptualized as a pair in Vietnamese used to describe one's courage or fear. Consider the following examples:

(178) *Hắn to gan lớn mật dám giả mạo chữ kí của bố để bán nhà.*
He big liver big gall-bladder dare forge signature of father to sell house
'He was daring to forge his father's signature to sell the house.'

(179) *Bà ta bị dọa báo cảnh sát đã sợ vỡ gan vỡ mật.*
She PAS threaten report police PST fear broken liver broken gallbladder
Being threatened to be reported to the police, she was in great fear (lit., 'her liver and gallbladder were broken').

As mentioned in the previous sections, the amount of courage people have can be determined by the capacity of the liver in combination with the gall-bladder. The bigger the liver plus the gall-bladder, the greater courage people have. The combination of a big liver and a big gall-bladder points out much greater courage as shown in example (178). The son is very daring and fearless to forge his father's signature to sell their house. He does this with both of his "big liver and big gall-bladder".

Example (179) indicates the more intensity of fear when fear occurs in both the liver and gallbladder. The occurrence of fear breaks both organs. Therefore the emotion is considered more intense than when it occurs in the gallbladder only. When the two organs are broken, there is no courage contained in either for the woman to use in facing the threat. Thus, the woman is in fear. As such, the imperfect state of the liver and gallbladder pair represents fear in Vietnamese.

6.3.4. The pairing of *mật* ‘gallbladder and *gan* ‘liver as a container of anger

In addition to describing courage and fear, the pair of the liver and gall-bladder in Vietnamese is found to describe the intense of anger as shown in the following example:

- (180) *Hân bầm gan tím mật vì mẹ chồng*
Hân **bruise liver bruise gall-bladder** because mother in-law
mĩa mai cô ít học.
sarcasm she little education

Hân lost her temper (her liver and gall-bladder were bruised) because her mother in-law made a sarcastic remark implying she was less educated.

- (181) *Sôi gan nổi mật khi chồng ngoại tình*
Boil liver boil gall-bladder when husband adultery
về nhà vẫn giả dối yêu vợ.
come home still fake love wife

(She) was indignant (lit., ‘her liver and gallbladder are boiling’) about her husband’s adultery but at home he still faked his love to her.

Examples (180-181) describe how the emotion of anger affects the two internal organs: anger bruises “the liver and the gall-bladder” and makes “the liver and the gall-bladder boil”. Through these examples, the higher intensity of anger is indicated because anger occurs and affects the two internal organs. This understanding gives rise to the entailment: INTENSE ANGER PRODUCES PRESSURE ON THE LIVER AND GALLBLADDER.

6.3.5. Summary

In this section, I have presented the Vietnamese expressions of courage/fear and anger involved the liver, gallbladder, and the pairing of the two internal organs. The Vietnamese liver is associated with COURAGE and ANGER. The Chinese gallbladder is associated with COURAGE. In order to have additional ways of describing the fear

concept in Vietnamese, the state of the Chinese gallbladder was adopted to represent FEAR in Vietnamese.

The pair of the Vietnamese liver and Chinese gallbladder looks like a pair of Zang Fu organs in TCM. However, they are not actual Zang Fu organs (see Section 6.2.2) so they do not follow TCM principles. For example, in TCM, the relationship between the gallbladder and the liver is they complement each other, but as shown in the Vietnamese idiomatic expressions, the gallbladder depends on the liver to remain in the pair. This evidence suggests that the pair of the Vietnamese liver and the Chinese gallbladder, similar to the pairs of the liver and intestines in Vietnamese, does not reflect but rather shows an image of TCM.

As source domains of the emotions courage, fear, and anger, the Vietnamese liver, the adopted Chinese gallbladder, and the pair liver and gall-bladder provide good examples of cultural embodiment of the emotions. The conceptualizations of these emotions are structured by the cultural understandings of the two internal organs: the liver in traditional Vietnamese culture and the gall-bladder, as borrowed from Chinese. Hence, this culture-specific conceptualization of the Vietnamese pair of the liver and gall-bladder is due to the Vietnamese cultural model which sets up specific perspectives from which certain aspects of the Vietnamese liver and the Chinese gallbladder are viewed as meaningful in the understanding of the anger, and courage/fear concepts.

6.4. Bụng ‘belly’ in Vietnamese

This section presents conceptualizations of *bụng* ‘belly’ as a container of emotions, thoughts, knowledge, and other mental activities. In particular, this section explores why *bụng* ‘belly’ is conceptualized in such specific ways. This section also

outlines the Vietnamese cultural model which underlies the conceptualizations of *bụng* ‘belly’ in the domain of those abstract concepts. A comparison with the conceptualization of the English HEART/HEAD and of the Chinese HEART shows differences from and similarities with the Vietnamese conceptualizations of *BỤNG* ‘belly’.

6.4.1. Belly terms in Vietnamese

In Vietnamese, *bụng* ‘belly’ is defined as “the part of human body or other mammals containing the intestines, stomach, etc.” (Từ điển Tiếng Việt 2000:89, my translation). There are a number of terms referring to *bụng* ‘belly’, such as: *Bụng, lòng, dạ, lòng dạ, bụng dạ, ruột gan/gan ruột*. These are translated in a Vietnamese-English dictionary (Bùi Phụng 1995: 165, 406, 980, 1413) as follows:

- **bụng**: 1. stomach, belly; abdomen; womb; 2. Heart
- **dạ**: 1. stomach, belly; abdomen; 2. Heart, mind, memory, courage
- **bụng dạ**: heart, feelings
- **lòng**: 1. internal organs; entrails, intestines; guts, bowels, viscera. 2. Heart; feelings.
- **lòng dạ**: heart; have the heart/mind to.
- **ruột gan**: innards (Bùi Phụng 1995: 165, 406, 980, 1413)

These *bụng* ‘belly’ terms refer, both metonymically and metaphorically, to 1) the part of the body containing the stomach, intestines, and other internal organs, 2) the heart, and 3) the mind. These terms are grouped under the general term, BELLY. They are all used to describe abstract concepts such as: emotions, thoughts, characteristics, and so on in Vietnamese. Below are details of how these BELLY terms are used in Vietnamese.

The term *bụng* ‘belly’ refers to “the body part of human body or other mammals containing the intestines, stomach, etc.” For example, if someone has eaten full of his stomach, he is said *ăn no bụng* ‘to have had one’s fill’. Besides, *bụng* ‘belly’ is regarded as a container of emotions, thoughts, knowledge and other mental activities. For example, if someone is angry, his belly is said to be full of anger as in *tức đầy bụng* ‘belly full of anger’. People think, do math, make plans, or keep knowledge in their belly as in *nghĩ bụng* ‘think in the belly’, *tính nhẩm trong bụng* ‘do mental arithmetic in the belly’, and *trong bụng nghĩ kế* ‘make plans in the belly. Knowledge is kept in *bụng* ‘belly’ so the knowledge can be measured by *bụng* ‘belly’ as in *đầy một bụng chữ* ‘to have a belly full of characters’. Also, *bụng* ‘belly’ is used to describe human characteristics. If someone is good hearted, he is said *tốt bụng* ‘to have a good belly’; on the contrary, if the person is evil-minded, he is said *xấu bụng* ‘to have a bad belly’.

The term *lòng* refers to the space inside and outside of the belly. For example, when a mother hugs her baby, she holds her baby to her belly *ôm con vào lòng*. Notably, the space inside the belly is imaginatively viewed as the seat of abstract concepts such as emotions, thoughts knowledge and human characteristics. So, if someone has secrets, she will secretly keep them inside her *lòng*: *giữ kín trong lòng* ‘to keep secret in the belly’. Love is believed to be kept in *lòng* as in *lòng ngập tràn tình yêu* ‘the belly is full of love’. So, to solve love problems is to disentangle threads of love in *lòng* as in *gỡ rối tơ lòng* (‘to disentangle threads in the belly). People who are sincere have a *lòng chân thật* ‘sincere heart’ and a sincere appreciation is from the bottom of *lòng*: *lời cảm ơn từ đáy lòng* ‘an appreciation from the bottom of the heart’. Thoughts and memories, and knowledge are placed in *lòng*. For example, when someone can memorize something

very well, he *học thuộc lòng* ‘learns by heart’. A great scholar is called to have a belly full of characters *đầy một bụng chữ* ‘a belly full of characters’.

Dạ means the belly. To have a light meal is called *ăn lót dạ*. Similar to the terms *lòng*, and *bụng*, *dạ* is also conceived of as the place where emotions occur. When one’s love for someone has changed, he is said to *đổi dạ* ‘change of heart’ means to change the belly. Different from the other two terms, *dạ* is used to describe one’s abilities to acquire and apply knowledge and skills. To be smart is called *sáng dạ* (lit., ‘bright belly’) and in contrast, to be dull is called *tối dạ* (lit., ‘dark belly’).

Lòng dạ and *bụng dạ* are compound nouns formed by *lòng* and *dạ* and *bụng* and *dạ* respectively. They point to different referents of the belly. *Bụng dạ* indicates human’s digestive system in generally. If one’s digestive system does not work well, it could affect his stomach, so he is said to have *bụng dạ không tốt, ăn gì cũng đau* (lit., ‘the belly is not good; eating anything would cause stomach ache’). *Lòng dạ*, like the term *lòng*, refers to the imaginative space inside the belly which is viewed as the seat of emotions and thoughts. When someone is sad, he is said to have *lòng dạ buồn thiu* ‘to have a sad belly’. When he feels joy, he is said to have *lòng dạ vui sướng* ‘to have a happy belly’. The terms *bụng dạ* and *lòng dạ* are interchangeably used to describe a human’s character. If one is small-minded, he is said to have *lòng dạ hẹp hòi* (lit., ‘a narrow belly’), in contrast if someone is generous, he is said to have *bụng dạ rộng rãi* (lit., ‘a large belly’). Then to know someone’s character means to know his belly as in *hiểu rõ lòng dạ/ bụng dạ anh ta* (lit., ‘to know his belly’).

Ruột gan ‘intestines-liver’ and *gan ruột* ‘liver-intestine’ are compound nouns formed by *ruột* ‘intestines’ and *gan* ‘liver’. These combinations of the two internal organs

can be explained by the influence of TCM as mentioned in Section 6.2.2. The transfer of TCM, especially the theory of internal organs, assigned the Vietnamese liver and the intestines the roles and functions of Zang and Fu organs, respectively. Therefore, the Vietnamese liver and intestines are combined to make a pair of the two organs which looks similar to a pair of Zang Fu organs in TCM. However, they do not follow TCM because they do not match with TCM's Zang Fu paired organs. Recall the pairings shown in 2, Section 6.2.2:

Human	Zang	Liver	Heart	Spleen	Lung	Kidney
Organs	Fu	Gall-bladder	Small intestine	Stomach	Larger intestine	Bladder

It is important to point out the differences in the pairs of *ruột gan* ‘intestines-liver’ and *gan ruột* (liver-intestines) and the pairs of (X) *ruột* – (Y) *gan* ‘X intestines-Y liver’ and (X) *gan* – (Y) *ruột* ‘X liver -Y intestines’ mentioned in the previous sections. The pairs of *ruột gan* ‘intestines-liver’ or *gan ruột* ‘liver-intestines’ signify *bụng* ‘belly’, while the pairs of (X) *ruột* – (Y) *gan* ‘X intestines-Y liver’ and (X) *gan* – (Y) *ruột* ‘X liver -Y intestines’ indicate the two internal organs: liver and intestines. This is summarized in Table 14 below:

<i>ruột gan</i> (intestines-liver)	<i>gan ruột</i> (liver-intestines)	refer to	the belly
(X) <i>ruột</i> – (Y) <i>gan</i> ‘X intestines – Y liver’	(X) <i>gan</i> – (Y) <i>ruột</i> ‘X liver - Y intestines’	refer to	the liver and intestines

Table 14: Indications of the belly and the liver and intestines in Vietnamese

The reason the pairs of the intestines and liver in the form *ruột gan/gan ruột* ‘intestines liver/ liver intestines’ indicate the belly can be found from the daily uses of the

two organs. The combination of the two organs in the form *ruột gan/gan ruột* ‘intestines liver / liver intestines’ does not refer to the liver and intestines specifically. They are general terms which convey an abstract concept. In addition, the two internal organs are contained in the belly and for that reason they metonymically stand for the belly (THE CONTAINED FOR THE CONTAINER). Hence, the abstract concept that *ruột gan/gan ruột* ‘intestines liver / liver intestines’ convey is the belly concept.

Unlike the pairs of *ruột gan/gan ruột* ‘intestines liver/ liver intestines’, the pairs of (X) *ruột* – (Y) *gan* ‘X intestines- Y liver’ and (X) *gan* – (Y) *ruột* ‘X liver -Y intestines’ refer to the intestines and liver specifically. As examples above shown, the liver and intestines describe how, in particular, the two internal organs are affected when an emotion occurs in them. Therefore, the pairs the pairs of (X) *ruột* – (Y) *gan* ‘X intestines- Y liver’ and (X) *gan* – (Y) *ruột* ‘X liver -Y intestines’ cannot refer to the belly.

This section has presented the general understanding of the Vietnamese belly, provided a list of the belly terms and details of their uses in describing emotions, thoughts, human characters, and knowledge. The term *bụng* ‘belly’ is used in this study as the representation of the whole list because the term *bụng* ‘belly’ is a common and basic word; it refers to the belly, a body part of human beings.

The next section explores the Vietnamese cultural model of the belly which is the grounding of the conceptualizations of the Vietnamese emotional and mental activities. Exploring this cultural model sheds light on the specific Vietnamese worldview and the conception of the belly as a culture-specific construct.

6.4.2. The Vietnamese cultural model underlying the conceptualization of *bụng* ‘belly’

The Vietnamese concept of BỤNG ‘belly’ lies at the center of the Vietnamese conceptual system. This is because the belly is traditionally believed to be the central seat of emotional and mental activities in Vietnamese. In other words, most emotional and mental activities derive from and are contained in the belly. This can be explained by Vietnamese folk philosophy about the relationship between foods and the belly.

Originating from an agricultural culture, the thinking of the Vietnamese speakers (and farmers, in particular) always connects with food production, food, and nourishment (Nguyễn 2008). For the Vietnamese, food is not only essential for survival but also for doing great things in life, as shown in the following proverb: *Có thực mới vực được đạo* ‘with eating, (people) can do great things’. Moreover, when people are hungry, they will not be able to distinguish what is right or wrong so they may do something risky or harmful. For example, the idiom *Bụng đói tai điếc* (lit., ‘a hungry belly makes the ears deaf’) meaning ‘a hungry belly can hear nothing’ indicates that people who are hungry totally focus on their needs for food and nothing else would interest them. Therefore, they would ignore moral principles and do bad things (Từ điển thành ngữ Việt Nam, n.d., my translation).

For the farmers, poor harvests and famines are a frequent concern (Nguyễn 2008). This is because farming depends on the weather which has a significant impact on crop yields, and no one can forecast what the weather or the yields will be. Crop failures cause famines, a widespread scarcity of food which results in *đói bụng* (lit., ‘the belly is hungry’) meaning ‘hunger’. Therefore, the belly becomes the object of their concerns and

thoughts. Then, the belly is used to describe all life phenomena such as folk philosophy, moral principles, human behaviors and characters, and natural phenomena as well (Nguyễn 2008), for example: the words *thật bụng* or *thật lòng* (lit., ‘the belly is honest’) refers to ‘honesty’ and *rộng bụng* (lit., ‘the belly is large’) means ‘generosity’. The belly is also used to talk about relationships: *đi guốc trong bụng* (lit., ‘to wear wooden shoes in someone’s belly’) expresses the meaning ‘to know someone very well’. The shape of the belly is invoked in descriptions of the body and the landscape, as in *lòng bàn tay* (lit., ‘belly of hand’) meaning ‘palm’, *lòng sông* (lit., ‘belly of river’) referring to ‘riverbed’, and *lòng biển* ‘belly of ocean’ which means ‘seabed’.

Primarily, the belly is seen as a container of food: when the belly is filled with food, the belly becomes *căng bụng* (lit., ‘stretched belly’) ‘the belly is stretched with food’. The example in (182) illustrates the process where the BELLY concept is derived from this experiential understanding of the belly:

(182) *ăn no căng bụng*

eat full stretch **belly**

‘The belly is stretched with food.’

The question is why the belly is chosen to be the container of food while the stomach or intestines is actually the place where the digestion of food occurs. The answer lies in the visual change of the belly when it is filled with food: the belly visibly becomes bigger with food. The stomach is inside the belly and its expansion with food is not visibly recognized. As such, the belly’s expansion with food is more salient, from an experiential point of view, than that of the stomach. That is why, the belly, not the stomach, is chosen to be associated with food in Vietnamese. Therefore, when people are hungry, they are said to be *đói bụng* ‘hungry belly’; and when they are full, they are said

to be *no bụng* ‘full belly’. The following examples provide more illustrations of this point:

(183) *ăn một **bụng** cơm mỗi ngày*

eat one **belly** rice every day

‘to have a belly full of rice every day (i.e., to eat rice everyday)’

(184) *Con mắt to hơn **bụng*** (proverb)

eye big more **belly**

‘The eyes are bigger than the belly (One takes or cooks food more than they could eat.)’

Since the belly is the container of food, the belly becomes a measurement of the amount of food people can eat as in example (183) *một bụng cơm* ‘a belly of rice’. If someone cooks food more than they can eat, it is said that their eyes are bigger than their belly as in example (184): *Con mắt to hơn bụng*. Then the belly as a container or measurement is used not just for food but for other substances in Vietnamese. Consider examples (185-187):

(185) *Nó tức đầy **bụng** vì bị nói là học dốt.*

She angry full **belly** because PAS say BE study bad

‘She was very angry (her **belly** was full of anger) because she was told that she was not a good student.’

(186) *Nhìn con thành đạt **lòng** mẹ sung sướng vô cùng.*

See child happy, **belly** mother happy much

‘Seeing her children become successful makes her very happy (lit., ‘makes her belly is very happy’).’

(187) *Đầy một **bụng** chữ*

Full one **belly** characters

‘a **belly** full of characters (i.e., knowledgeable)’

These examples show that from the simple understanding of BELLY as a container of food, which involves concrete and visible materials, the use of BELLY is extended to be a container of abstract and invisible materials such as emotions, thoughts, knowledge, and other mental activities. BELLY as a container of food “the belly is stretched with food” (example 182) is extended as a container of happiness and anger in examples (185, 186). In example (185), the person’s belly is full of anger because she was told that she was not a good student. In example (186), the mother’s belly is very happy to see her children’s success. From being seen as a measurement of the amount of food people can eat such as, to have a belly of rice and the eyes are bigger than the belly in examples (183-184), the belly becomes a measurement of knowledge in example (187). If someone has a belly full of characters, the person is said to be knowledgeable.

The belief that the belly is viewed as the container of knowledge is reflected in Vietnamese folklore and also in contemporary literature. A folk story tells about a Vietnamese scholar who was very knowledgeable but he did not have a good reputation for his knowledge. It was rumored that he did not study well and was not knowledgeable. One day, to respond to the rumor, he was lying top naked in his front yard. People passed by asked him what he was doing. He answered that he was drying his books (Truyện Trạng Quỳnh, 2014). This story tells us that the scholar kept the knowledge he learned from books in his belly.

Ngô Tất Tố, a Vietnamese writer in early 20th century explained why famous writers and poets were often poor, saying “If they were rich, their belly would be full with rice, their back would feel comfortable, and their belly would lose its memory (lit., ‘their belly is full with rice, their back is warm, their belly loses their memories’) so

where they could store their knowledge and ideology?” (Ngô 1939, my translation).

According to the writer, knowledge and ideology are stored in the belly. If the belly is full of rice, there would have no room left for knowledge of the world. By this saying, the writer implies that if famous writers were rich, they would have the material wherewithal to satisfy their mundane needs of life, and thus they would not look for spiritual values such as wisdom and philosophy.

The two stories above indicate that, knowledge, convictions, worldview, and other abstract concepts are located in the belly. They are no different than food; they are taken into the human body and stay in the belly. However, unlike food, the amount of knowledge or ideology cannot be visibly recognized from the belly because they produce no visible change in the belly. This is when the belly becomes abstracted from the concrete belly, a container of food, to become a container of abstract concepts such as emotions, thoughts, beliefs, and knowledge. The above examples and two stories demonstrate that the concrete belly as a container of food becomes abstracted to be a container of abstract concepts.

This section has presented the Vietnamese conceptualization of *bụng* ‘belly’ as the central seat of emotional and mental activities was established from the Vietnamese cultural belief of the belly. As part of the body, the belly is seen as a container of food then the belly becomes abstracted to be a container of emotions, thoughts, knowledge, behavior, and character. This suggests that the belly provides the conceptual bases for Vietnamese speakers to understand these abstract concepts. In the next sections, I analyze BELLY expressions to demonstrate that THE BELLY IS A CONTAINER OF EMOTIONS, THOUGHTS, AND OTHER MENTAL ACTIVITIES in Vietnamese.

6.4.3. Bụng ‘belly’ as a container of emotions

In Vietnamese, *bụng* ‘belly’ is understood as a container of a range of emotions. This conceptualization of the belly is found across languages (Matsuki 1995 for Japanese, Sharifian 2008 for Persian, Gaby 2008 for Kuuk Thaayorre, a Southwest Paman language spoken on the west coast of Cape York Peninsula). In Vietnamese, the belly is associated with both positive and negative emotions, for example, gratefulness, happiness, and love, but also anger, sadness, , and worry. In what follows, I analyze the linguistic expressions of the belly that show that the belly is conceptualized as a container of emotions:

(188) *Từ đáy lòng, anh biết ơn vợ đã giúp đỡ anh vượt qua thất bại.*
From bottom belly he grateful wife PAS help him overcome failure
‘From the bottom of his heart (lit., ‘his belly’)’ he was **grateful** to his wife who helped him overcome his failure (in life and work).’

(189) *Cha mẹ tan nát cả lòng vì con nghiện.*
Parents crush whole belly because children addicted to drug
‘The parents’ heart were **crushed** (lit., ‘their belly was crushed’) because their children were addicted to drugs.’

(190) *Cuối cùng, cô ấy cũng mở lòng đón nhận tình yêu mới.*
Finally she EMPH open belly receive love new
‘Finally, she has opened her heart (lit., ‘her belly’) to accept a new **love**.’

As can be seen, example (188) is about the emotion of gratefulness. That this is a sincere emotion, is evident because it arises from “the bottom of the belly”. Sadness is seen as a violent force that crushes the parents’ belly in example (189). Example (190) talks about the emotion of love in which the belly is metaphorically viewed as a container being opened to receive love. In examples (188-190), the Vietnamese expressions “from the bottom of the belly”, “crushed belly”, and “open one’s belly” have their English and Chinese equivalents as in “from the bottom of one’s heart”, “broken heart, heart-broken,

broken-hearted”, and “open one’s heart”, respectively (Niemeier 1997:93-96), and “the depth of the heart”, “from the bottom of the heart” (Yu 2008:140-141). These examples show that the metaphorical abstractions based on *bụng* ‘belly’ in Vietnamese correspond to the metaphorical conceptualizations of the heart in English and Chinese. Therefore, the Vietnamese metaphor THE BELLY IS A CONTAINER OF EMOTIONS is similar to the metaphor HEART AS A CONTAINER (of emotions) which Niemeier (2008:354) and Yu (2008:140) identified in English and Chinese, respectively.

BELLY in Vietnamese represents the ways speakers think about and express their emotions. As this study has shown, in Vietnamese, emotions are perceived to occur in the internal organs and in the belly. No matter where the emotions occur, the belly is always used to control the emotions and prevent the associated physiological and behavioral effects from showing. For example:

- (191) *Tức sôi ruột vì mẹ chồng tai quái,*
 Angry boil intestines because mother in-law wicked
nhưng cô kìm lòng lờ bà ấy.
 but she **repress belly** ignore her
 ‘She was boiling with anger (lit., ‘her intestines were boiling’) because of her wicked mother in-law, but she tried to ignore her (by repressing her belly).’
- (192) *Buồn hết cả người vì bạn trai đối xử với bố mẹ không tốt*
 Sadness whole EMPH body because boyfriend behave to parents not good
nhưng nó nén lòng không thể hiện ra mặt.
 but she **press belly** don’t express out face ‘She was so sad because her boyfriend behaved badly to her parents but she tried (lit., ‘press her belly’) not to show it on her face.
- (193) *Khi con ra đời, bố không kìm lòng được.*
 When you born, father don’t **hold belly** able
Bố đã bật khóc vì hạnh phúc.

father PAS burst tear because happiness

‘When you were born, I was not able to hold back (lit., ‘hold my belly’). I burst into tears because of happiness.’

The linguistic expressions in examples (191-193) show attempts to control the emotions and how the emotions get out of control when the belly is not kept in control. In these examples, the self tries to control anger occurring in the intestines (example 191), sadness in the body (193), and happiness in the belly (example 193) by exerting a force on the belly such as *nén lòng* ‘press the belly’ or *kìm lòng* ‘hold the belly’. If the force on the belly is weaker than the internal pressure caused by the emotion, the self would fail to control the emotion as shown in example (193): he could not hold his belly so he burst into tears.

When the emotions become less strong or begin to stop, the belly is no longer under pressure as shown in examples (194-195) below:

(194) *Lòng nhẹ bớt khi có người chia sẻ nỗi buồn*

Belly light less when have people share CLAS sad

‘She felt less sad (lit., ‘her belly became less heavy’) when someone consoled her.’

(195) *Đang điên ruột vì con về muộn không gọi điện, bà bỗng dịu lòng khi nghe con xin lỗi.*

calm belly when hear child sorry

‘She was very angry (lit., ‘her intestines were crazy’) because her son came home late without letting her know. She suddenly felt less angry (lit., ‘her belly was calm’) when her son apologized to her.’

This section has shown that the Vietnamese the belly is linked with various emotions such as: gratefulness, anger, sadness, happiness, love, worry, and disappointment. The linguistic expressions of those emotions are manifestations of the Vietnamese folk belief that human emotions derive from and are contained in the belly.

This section also demonstrates that in terms of its conceptualization as the container of various emotions, the Vietnamese BELLY is very similar to the conceptualizations of the HEART in English and Chinese.

6.4.4. *Bụng* ‘belly’ as a container of knowledge, thoughts, and other mental activities

In addition to being conceptualized as a container of emotions, *bụng* ‘belly’ is also understood as a container of thoughts, knowledge, and other mental activities. The belly is where all mental activities happen. Such mental activities of the belly are expressed by a number of verbs such as ‘think’, ‘calculate’, and ‘make plans’:

(196) *Nó cứ im im thế, chả ai biết được bụng nó nghĩ gì.*

He EMPH quiet that no one know able **belly** he think what
 ‘He is quiet so no one knows what is on his mind (lit., ‘what his belly thinks’)’

(197) *Cô biết hết toan tính trong lòng mẹ chồng để chiếm tài sản của cô.*

She know all calculate in belly mother-in-law to take asset of she
 ‘She knew all her mother-in-law’ attempts (lit., ‘calculation in her mother-in-law’s belly’) to take her asset.’

(198) *Nó không nói gì với chủ, trong lòng bắt đầu vạch kế hoạch chạy trốn.*

He don’t say any with master in belly begin make plan run away
 ‘Saying nothing to his master, he began to make a plan (lit., ‘he makes a plan in his belly’) to run away.’

In examples (196-198), ‘knowing what in one’s belly’ is trying to figure out the thoughts on his mind; ‘calculation in the belly’ is ‘calculation in the mind’ and ‘make plans in the belly’ is ‘make plans in the mind’. Notably, qualities of mental or intellectual activities can be determined based on the conditions of the belly as in examples (199-200):

(199) *Nó sáng dạ, học nhanh lắm.*

He bright belly, learn fast

‘He is smart (lit., ‘has a bright belly’) so he learns fast’.

(200) *Hắn tối dạ, học cả ngày vẫn không nhét được một chữ nào vào bụng.*

He dark belly, study all day still don’t insert able one character any in belly

‘He was dull (lit., ‘has a dark belly’). He studied a whole day but still was not able to memorize any characters (lit., ‘cannot insert a character in his belly’).’

In example (199) the person has a ‘bright belly’ (meaning he is smart) so he can learn fast. In contrast, the person in example (200) has a ‘dark belly’ (meaning he is dull) so he has a poor intellectual ability to study. After a day of learning, he still cannot memorize a character (literally, he cannot ‘insert a character in his belly’). These two examples show that learning is governed by the belly. The knowledge one learns from study is received and contained in the belly.

These examples above demonstrate how BELLY is conceptualized as the MIND where all mental activities take place. This is further evidenced by the following examples indicating that BELLY is conceptualized as a container of secret emotions and thoughts.

(201) *Sống để **bụng**, chết mang đi* (idiom)

live place **belly**, die bring away

‘To keep a secret forever, (I) place it in my belly when I live and take it with me when I die.’

(202) *Tôi giấu trong **lòng** những suy nghĩ về vợ cũ của chồng để anh khỏi buồn.*

I hide in **belly** PL thought about wife old of husband for he not sad

‘I hid my thoughts about my husband’s ex-wife in my heart (lit., ‘in my belly’) so he would not feel sad.

(203) *Anh chôn sâu **mối tình đơn phương** trong **lòng** và thề chẳng yêu ai nữa.*

He bury deep love unilateral in **belly** and vow don’t love anyone again

He buried his unilateral love deep in his heart (lit., ‘in his belly’) and vowed that he would never be in love with anyone again.

People cannot see what is inside one's belly. Therefore, what is inside the belly stays concealed, or secret. Moreover, the acts of 'placing in the belly', 'burying in the belly', and 'hiding in the belly' in examples (201-203) indicates that the belly is conceptualized as a safe-keeper for all the innermost thoughts and emotions. Importantly, the safe-keeper – the belly – can be closed or opened. When closed, the emotions or thoughts remain untouchable. When opened, people can access to the speaker's emotions and thoughts as shown in examples (204-205):

(204) *Chuyện tình tay ba của nó nên giữ kín thay vì phơi bày*
 Story love hand three of he should keep closed instead expose
gan ruột cho ai cũng biết.

belly for everyone EMPH know

His triangle love should have been kept secret instead of showing it for everyone to know (lit., 'showing his belly for everyone to know').

(205) *Ông giãi bày gan ruột cho bạn hiểu mình.*

He display **belly** for friend understand himself

'He displayed his belly for his friends to understand him, i.e., He confided his guts out.'

These two examples illustrate how one's innermost emotions and thoughts are conceptualized as revealed by the acts of 'exposing' and 'displaying', which suggest an openness of the BELLY – the safe-keeper. In particular, the innermost thoughts and emotions are conceptualized as stored at the bottom of the BELLY. When they are at the bottom of the BELLY, the emotions and thoughts are considered to be very sincere. For example:

(206) *"Con mình gay" là suy nghĩ từ đáy lòng của bà*

Child I gay BE thoughts from bottom **belly** of she

mà bà không dám nói ra.

but she don't dare speak out.

“My son is gay” was the thought from her heart (lit., ‘from the bottom of her belly’), but she did not dare to say it out loud.’

(207) *Từ đáy lòng tôi khổ sở lắm khi biết rằng chồng
From bottom belly I miserable much when know that husband
tôi có con bí mật trước khi lấy tôi.
I have children secret before marry I*

From the bottom of my heart (lit., ‘the bottom of my belly’), I was unhappy to know that my husband had children secretly before he married me.

Examples (206) and (207) are evidence that BELLY is conceptualized as a container with depth similarly to HEART in Western and Chinese culture as noted by Niemeier (2012:207) and Yu (2008:141). Unlike the Western HEART, where the innermost feelings are stored at the bottom, and similar to the Chinese HEART, the bottom of the Vietnamese BELLY contains both the innermost thoughts and emotions.

This section has provided examples to show that the conceptualization of the Vietnamese BELLY as the seat of the mind or of intellectual activities is similar to the conceptualization of the English HEAD: *Head* as the LOCUS OF REASONING, (Niemeier 2008:360, 363) and the Chinese HEART: *Heart* as the center of thoughts and ideas (Yu 2008:143). It should be mentioned that in Vietnamese, intellectual activities are also associated with *đầu* ‘head’, which is similar to the conceptualization of the HEAD in English, as in the example: *nghĩ đau cả đầu* ‘thinking hurts the head’. This example suggests that **đầu** mostly refers to the human brain. This understanding of **đầu** indicates an influence of the Western medicine in Vietnamese²¹.

²¹ The word entry **đầu** (means head) in the dictionary Đại Nam Quốc âm Tự vị (1895: 282-283) only explains the head as the upper part of the human body. The sense that the head contains the brain which involves mental activities was not included in the definition of the word **head** in Vietnamese dictionaries until 1970 in Từ điển Tiếng Việt (Vietnamese dictionary) by Lê Văn Đức. It appears to be widely known

6.4.5. Bụng ‘belly’ in expressions of moods, characteristics, and behaviors

This section describes how *bụng* ‘belly’ is understood to represent human mood, characters, and behaviors. In Vietnamese, the condition or the state of the BELLY are used to describe people’s moods. Having peace of mind may be described as having a ‘peaceful belly’ (*yên dạ, yên lòng, yên bụng*) and being self-assured may be told as having a ‘steady belly’ (*vững dạ, vững lòng, vững bụng*). Consider the following examples:

(208) *Mẹ yên lòng khi thấy con miệt mài học tập.*

Mother peace belly when see child hard working study

‘I had a peace of mind (lit., ‘my belly is in peace’) when I saw you study hard.’

(209) *Sự ủng hộ của cô làm anh vững dạ đi tiếp lên sân khấu.*

CLAS support of she make he steady belly go continue up stage

‘Her support made him feel assured to go on towards the stage.’

Examples (208-209) and other the BELLY expressions such as ‘steady belly’ (*vững bụng, vững lòng*) and ‘peaceful belly’ (*yên lòng, yên bụng*) in Vietnamese reveal the cultural conceptualizations of the belly: ‘a peaceful belly is inner calm and tranquility’ and ‘a steady belly is self-assurance’. The mother in example (208) feels peace in her belly when she sees her son study hard. The man in example (209) feels steady his belly with his friend’s support so he can keep going to the stage. As such, having a ‘peaceful belly’ refers to a mental state of being free from fear and anxiety and having a ‘steady belly’ refers to one’s trust in his or her abilities. The Vietnamese BELLY in this sense is conceptualized similarly to the Western MIND. That is, having a peaceful belly is having a peace of mind, a state of calm, quiet and tranquility.

that Western medicine is the source for the idea that it is the brain within the head that is the source of mental activities.

A number of Vietnamese BELLY expressions demonstrates that the BELLY can define human characteristics, as in examples (210-213):

(210) *Mẹ bị lạc, may mà gặp bác tốt bụng này đưa về nhà.*
Mother PAS lost lucky EMPH meet uncle good belly this take back home
'I was lost, but luckily I met this kind-hearted gentleman (lit., 'this good bellied gentleman') and he brought me home.'

(211) *Kẻ xấu bụng vu oan cho con gái ông chữa hoang.*
CLAS bad belly slander for daughter he pregnant out of wedlock
'Evil-minded people (lit., 'bad bellied people') made up stories that his daughter was pregnant out of wedlock.'

(212) *Anh ấy bụng dạ rộng rãi ai nhờ giúp là giúp luôn.*
He belly wide who ask help EMPH help right away
'He is generous (lit., 'has a wide belly'). Whoever asks for help, he helps them right away.'

(213) *Kẻ bụng dạ nhỏ nhen hay nhớ lỗi của người khác.*
Person belly small always remember fault of person other
'People who are petty (lit., 'have a small belly') always think badly about others.'

Examples (210-213) present the BELLY as the source domain for human characteristics such as kindness, cruelty, generosity, and pettiness. These are described by the conditions of the belly expressed by two pairs of antonyms: good/bad, wide/small. On the basis of these antonyms, the positive and negative characteristics of human nature are differentiated. Kindness, care, and generosity are conceptualized in terms of 'good belly' (*tốt bụng*) and 'wide belly' (*bụng dạ rộng rãi*), and unkindness, cruelty, wicked intentions (or evil-mindedness and small-mindedness) are understood in terms of 'bad belly' (*xấu bụng*) and 'small belly' (*bụng dạ hẹp hòi*). These mappings show the Vietnamese cultural models in which the BELLY represents human characteristics linked with conditions of the BELLY.

Examples (210-213) suggest that one's behaviors are based on the nature of the BELLY. People who have a 'good belly' or 'large belly' tend to be kind, caring, and generous; these are people who, for example, like to help others in need. In contrast, in examples (210, 213), people who have a "bad belly" or "small belly" tend to be unkind, selfish, or to have harmful or malicious intentions, people who would, for instance, cause harm to people by their evil intentions.

In contrast to Vietnamese BELLY, the HEART in Western culture can contain only 'good things' not 'bad things'. For example, a person can be described as 'kind hearted' or 'warm hearted' not 'evil hearted' or 'vicious hearted' (Wierzbicka 1992:48). However, the MIND in Western culture can be assigned with negative traits such as: 'evil-minded', 'small-minded', 'narrow-minded', or 'dark mind'. These examples suggest that Vietnamese BELLY as a representation of human mood, characteristics and behaviors serves as a combination of the MIND and the HEART in Western culture.

6.4.6. Bụng 'belly' as the emblem of one's true self

The BELLY is conceptualized as one's true self, that is, as the safe-keeper of the secret and innermost thoughts and emotions which constitute one's true self. In this understanding, the true self is comprehended as the inner voice acting as a guide to what is right and wrong in one's behaviors. Consider the following examples:

(214) *Mourinho tự dối lòng, không chấp nhận*

Mourinho self lie belly don't accept

rằng phòng ngự có vấn đề.

that defense have problem

'Mourinho was deceiving himself (lit., 'lying to his belly) not to accept that the defense of the team had problems.'

(215) *Em tự hứa với lòng sẽ không gặp anh nữa. Anh có vợ rồi. Em không muốn làm điều gì để phải thẹn với lòng.*
I self promise with belly will not meet you anymore. You have wife already I don't want do anything to must shame with belly
'I promised to myself (to my belly) that I will not meet you anymore. You are married. I do not want to do anything which makes me feel shame (to my belly).'

Examples (214) and (215) describe the cultural conceptualization of *bụng* 'belly' as one's true self'. For example, the expressions 'one lies to his belly', 'one promises to his belly', and 'one would feel shame to his belly' refer to one's orientation of behavior to the true self, expressed by BELLY. The notion of 'true self' in Vietnamese has an equivalence in English, which is 'conscience'. The true self – one's conscience – is assumed to be honest, objective, and flawless. Therefore, when people do bad or immoral things against their conscience, they 'lie to their belly' then they would 'feel shame to their belly'. When they 'promise to their belly' to do the right things is when they follow the dictates of their conscience - their true selves. This conceptualization of the Vietnamese BELLY is similar to that of the Chinese HEART, 'Heart as the locus of one's true self' (Yu 2008:147). In contrast to Chinese though, where HEART is viewed as the container of true self, the Vietnamese BELLY is itself the true self.

In summary, this section has argued that the Vietnamese BELLY provides the conceptual foundation for perceiving abstract concepts such as emotions, thoughts, knowledge, personal characteristics, and behaviors. Such conceptualizations of BELLY are not arbitrary but grounded in the Vietnamese cultural model which was originated in the Vietnamese folk philosophy of the relationship between food and the belly. The concept of the BELLY comes from Vietnamese agricultural culture in which the beliefs and experiences of Vietnamese farmers who had direct ties with food production were

taken as common sense. In older times, rice farming depended heavily on unpredictable weather and physical labor. These two factors did not guarantee consistent crops. Therefore, worries about poor harvests leading to famines – and empty bellies - became a frequent concern. For that reason, the BELLY became the object of the Vietnamese people's concerns.

From the visual perception of the belly as the container of food which is concrete, and visible materials, the belly became abstracted to be the container of abstract and invisible materials such as emotions, thoughts, knowledge, and other mental activities. The data presented in this section has shown that, in the Vietnamese language, the belly is conceptually mapped onto the target domains of abstract concepts such as emotions, thoughts, knowledge, and characteristics. The conventional expressions used to talk about emotions in terms of BELLY represent a coherent conceptual organization based on metaphor.

The analysis of linguistic expressions of the belly has demonstrated that the *bụng* 'belly' is conceptualized as the center for all emotional and mental activities in Vietnamese based on the Vietnamese folk philosophy of the relationship between food and the belly. It is clear that the Vietnamese BELLY is similar to the HEART in Chinese and is the combination of both the HEART and the MIND in Western cultures.

A summary discussion of the cultural bases for the container metaphors of abstract concepts in Vietnamese is provided in the next section.

6.5. The cultural bases of the container metaphors in Vietnamese

This chapter has attempted to demonstrate that *ruột* 'intestines', *gan* 'liver', *mật* 'gall-bladder', and *bụng* 'belly' are the source domains as containers of abstract concepts

including emotions, thoughts, and culture-specific values. In particular, the belly and internal organs provide metaphoric conceptualizations for the emotions, thoughts, and other abstract concepts and this highlights the cultural bases for the conceptualizations of those abstract concepts. The particular uses of the specific body parts and internal organs as the containers of emotions and other abstract concepts in the language can be explained in terms of cultural embodiment (Maalej 2008).

According to Maalej (2008:396), cultural embodiment “can be contrasted with the more physiological kind of embodiment”. For the domain of emotions, cultural embodiment involves parts of the body that are culturally correlated with a particular emotion (Maalej 2004:51). This underlies, for example, the cultural correlation between the emotion of anger and *hara* ‘the stomach or bowel in Japanese (Matsuki 1995), anger and *hati* ‘the liver’ in Indonesian (Siahaan 2008), or anger and *bụng* ‘the belly’, *gan* ‘the liver’ and *ruột* ‘the intestines’ in Vietnamese (presented in more detail in Chapter 4). These studies show that the occurrences of the emotions in the languages are not the results of any physiological changes to the body parts or internal organs. They are, rather, evidence of cultural embodiment which are “mediated and motivated by cultural imagination” (Maalej 2008:423). These studies assert that the emotion of anger in these languages is culturally embodied and culture plays a role in the conceptualization of the emotion concept.

The differences and similarities in the Vietnamese, English and Chinese conceptualizations of the metaphors THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS and ANGER IS A SUBSTANCE (FLUID/GAS) IN THE CONTAINER (Kövecses 2000:161) can be explained in terms of both physiological embodiment, i.e.,

common bodily experiences, and cultural embodiment i.e., more specific socio-cultural experiences. The physiological embodiment makes it possible to identify possible universality in the conceptualization of anger. For instance, the shared metaphors THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS and ANGER IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER mentioned above show that the three cultures view the emotion in terms of some kind of substance (fluid or gas) inside a closed container, the human body (Kövecses 2000:161). These two conceptual metaphors show physiological experiential grounding because they are grounded in common physiological characteristics and bodily experiences. For example, in all three languages, when one experiences anger he/she would feel that he/she *was filled* with anger. He/she would try to control the anger by *keeping the anger inside him/her*. When he/she could not, he/she would lose the control over anger. As such, the universality in the metaphorical conceptualization of anger derive from experiences of the human body that are shared across languages, because these anger metaphors reflect the shared physiological characteristics and bodily experiences associated with the emotion. Therefore, the universality in the conceptualization of anger is possible primarily because of physiological embodiment.

Whereas shared metaphorical conceptualization, for example the metaphor ANGER IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER can show the cross-cultural similarities in the conceptualizations of the emotion at a generic level, this metaphor also indicates more specific conceptualizations or elaborations of the CONTAINER at a specific level. In particular, the more specific conceptualizations of the CONTAINER are motivated by specific and salient cultural knowledge of the CONTAINER. For example, in English, the metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER the anger concept at a

more specific level. For example: *You make my blood boil, Simmer down, Let him stew* (Examples from Kövecses 2000:161). These examples suggest that a container corresponds to the human body, a fluid inside the container, the fluid can be heated and the hot fluid, especially the heat of the fluid, corresponds to anger. According to Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995), the association between the English anger and the hot fluid is related to the notion of the 'four humors' in Euro-American tradition.

In contrast to this conceptualization of anger in English, anger in Chinese is viewed as 'excess *qi*' in the body and internal organs (King 1989:160). For example: *She's got big gas in spleen (i.e. hot-tempered), He's got gas pent up in his liver (i.e. been irritable) recently. He's puffing and blowing with gas (i.e. gasping with anger)* (Examples are from Yu 1998:54-55). These examples show that in Chinese, the container(s) of anger correspond to the body and also to specific internal organs: the spleen and liver. Anger in Chinese seems to be seen as both fluid and as gas in the container(s). But unlike English, the fluid does not seem to be hot - its temperature is not specified. Both the fluid and gas can build up to create pressure on the container(s) and consequently, an explosion which corresponds to the loss of control over anger. King (1989) and Yu (1995, 1998) suggest that the Chinese anger concept is associated with the gas concept which is embedded in TCM and Chinese philosophy.

Similar to English, the Vietnamese version of the container metaphor also characterizes anger as a hot fluid in a container. Similar to Chinese, in addition to the body as a whole, the internal organs, that is, the liver, intestines, and gall-bladder, are seen as major containers for the hot fluid that corresponds to anger. However, the notion of hot fluid in Vietnamese seems to arise from the physical experience of the felt warmth

of blood; this provides the heat component of the Vietnamese anger metaphors. The uses of the specific internal organs in anger metaphors in Vietnamese, as this chapter has discussed, is rooted in the Vietnamese cultural models and the influence of Traditional Chinese Medicine and philosophy.

Thus, the specific conceptualization of the anger concept in each language is motivated by the particular systems of cultural concepts of the languages (Kövecses 2000). As a result, the more specific conceptualizations or elaborations of the anger metaphors in English, Chinese, and Vietnamese are partly structured by the specific cultural knowledge and experiences of the body, and internal organs as shown in the following metaphors: ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN THE BODY, ANGER IS EXCESS QI IN THE BODY AND INTERNAL ORGANS, and ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN THE BODY AND INTERNAL ORGANS in English, Chinese, and Vietnamese respectively.

In the three languages, the body, mind, heart, internal organs, and belly are metaphorically viewed as containers of anger. Different containers of anger in the three languages suggest that cultural embodiment of anger is motivated by cultural salience. Boer (1999:55) argues that “a source domain is more likely to be used for metaphorical mappings as it becomes more salient in everyday experience”. That is, everyday social experiences make people aware of a particular source domain and that is how the source domain is chosen and used in metaphorical conceptualization. For instance, in Vietnamese, the daily observation of food production linked to the observation that the belly stores food (due to its visual changes when filled with food) leads to the conception that the belly also can store knowledge and other culture-specific values. The belly

becomes a productive source domain providing metaphoric conceptualizations for abstract concepts such as emotions, thoughts, and knowledge. Also, the belly serves as a source in conceptualizations of specific-culture values such as secrets, human mood, characteristics, behaviors, and the true self. The uses of the belly as a form of cultural explanation for emotions, thoughts, and culture-specific concepts indicate that as the source domain of those abstract concepts, the Vietnamese BELLY is an illustration of the cultural embodiment motivated by cultural salience.

In terms of cultural salience, the similarities and differences between Vietnamese and Chinese conceptualization of the anger emotion are precisely differentiated. According to Yu (1995, 1998, 2002), the Chinese language employs the word *qi* (gas) to refer to the emotion of anger in the language. *Qi* is a culturally significant notion embedded in the Chinese medicine and philosophy: *Qi* is energy which is conceptualized as gas that flows through the body. When the gas increases then produces an excess in an internal organ or the body, this is when the emotion of anger occurs. Therefore, the occurrence of *qi* in the liver, the heart or the spleen indicate the physiological effects of anger on these internal organs as shown in the following expressions: ‘You again expanded the gas in spleen (i.e., got angry)’, ‘He’s got gas pent up in his liver (i.e., been irritable) recently’, ‘I am feeling the gas in heart is impeded (i.e., feeling unhappy)’ (Yu 1998:55).

However, this metaphorical conceptualization of the Chinese internal organs and the notion *qi* does not appear in the Vietnamese language despite the influence of TCM in the language and culture. This is because the *qi* concept is unique to Chinese culture. The concept cannot be transferred to Vietnamese or any other language which does not share

this concept with the Chinese culture. This explains why *qi* is not used for Vietnamese anger descriptions, that is, the GAS metaphors cannot be anger metaphors in Vietnamese.

Unlike Chinese, in Vietnamese, the notion of hot fluid, not *qi*, is mainly used for anger descriptions. The notion ‘hot fluid’, originating from the common feeling of a rise body heat accompanying anger and the experience of the warmth of blood, is used for metaphorical mappings of anger. In particular, the occurrence of the hot fluid in the body or internal organs corresponds to anger as shown in the following expressions: *sôi máu* ‘boiling blood’, *sôi gan* ‘boiling liver’, *sôi gan nổi mật* ‘boiling liver boiling gall-bladder’ (examples from my data). This explains why the HOT FLUID metaphors can be anger metaphors in Vietnamese.

The examples of gas and hot fluid in a container in Vietnamese and Chinese anger expressions provide evidence of cultural embodiment motivated by cultural salient concepts. As shown above, the Chinese anger metaphors are constructed based on the physiological effects caused by *qi* on the internal organs. Such knowledge is culturally salient and encoded in the Chinese conceptual system of anger. However, in Vietnamese, the knowledge of hot fluid, not *qi*, is culturally salient and therefore it structures the metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID in the Vietnamese conceptual system of anger. This may explain why the Chinese gas concept is not used in metaphorical conceptualization of anger in Vietnamese, despite the influence of TCM in other metaphors in the language.

The specific elaborations of anger in the three languages show that each language has selected a culturally salient concept to understand the anger emotion. For the container metaphors of anger, the use of the internal organs in anger metaphors seem more salient in Chinese and Vietnamese, but the body as a whole seems to be more

outstanding in English. These salient concepts motivate the specific conceptualizations or elaborations of the general anger metaphors. As such, those salient concepts to each of the cultures are selected to provide cultural understandings of anger and therefore are encoded in the more specific elaborations of the emotion in this conceptualization.

6.6. Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has presented the conceptualizations of the Vietnamese internal organs: *ruột* ‘intestines’, *gan* ‘liver’, *mật* ‘gallbladder’ and *bụng* ‘belly’ as containers of emotions, thoughts, human characteristics, and moral and cultural values. The analysis of linguistic expressions concerning the Vietnamese belly and internal organs presented in this chapter reveals that the BELLY and internal organs are culturally significant concepts that Vietnamese speakers recruit in thinking and talking about their emotions, including the emotions of anger and sadness. This chapter shows that the ways the internal organs and the belly are conceptually mapped onto the target domains of these abstract notions are not arbitrary but rooted in the Vietnamese cultural models which originate in the Vietnamese folk beliefs and the influences of Traditional Chinese medicine and philosophy.

The comparison of the conceptualizations of HEART and MIND in English, of HEART, LIVER, GALL-BLADDER in Chinese, and of BELLY, INTESTINES, LIVER and GALL-BLADDER in Vietnamese reveals the differences and similarities in the cross-cultural conceptualizations of emotions. As Lakoff (1987: 380) has pointed out, “emotions have an extremely complex conceptual structure”. The differences and similarities of the conceptualizations of the body part and internal organs in understanding emotions and thoughts in the three languages can be explained in terms of

a combination of physiological embodiment and cultural embodiment. My comparison of emotion metaphors in the three languages has, in particular, indicated the significant role of culture in motivating such conceptualizations. Cultural embodiment is based in culturally salient concepts, which form the basis for the container metaphors in the three languages.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

7. Introduction

This chapter presents the conclusions of this study and it is divided into four sections. Section 7.1 presents a summary of the goals and methods of this study. Section 7.2 reviews the results of the study with respect to the research questions in presented in Chapter 1, and draws some conclusions based on the results. Section 7.3 explores some possible implications of the results of this study. Finally, Section 7.4 and 7.5 considers some limitations of this research and makes recommendations for future studies.

7.1 Summary of the study

These preceding chapters provided a comparative study of the metaphorical and metonymic systems underlying the conceptualizations of two emotions, anger and sadness, in Vietnamese, American English, and Chinese based on previous studies of Lakoff and Kövecses (1987), Kövecses (1988), Barcelona (1986), King (1989), and Yu (1995). The research presented here on emotion concepts reveals cultural variation and also potential universals in the conceptualization of emotions. These results support the “Cultural Embodied Prototype” view proposed by Kövecses (2004:14) which highlights the roles of both cultural factors and physiological factors in constructing emotion concepts. In particular, this theory holds that the conceptualization of human emotion concepts is motivated by both general physiological embodied experiences (physiological embodiment) and the particular system of social and cultural experiences of the language community. Maalej (2004, 2007, 2008) calls this latter system cultural embodiment, and emphasizes the influence from culture on the conceptualization of emotions.

This study, based on analysis of anger and sadness expressions in Vietnamese, presents conceptual metaphors, metonymies, and cognitive models of the two emotions in Vietnamese in order to examine the similarities and differences in the ways the two emotions are conceptualized in Vietnamese, Chinese, and American English. This comparison was intended to tease apart the role of physiological embodiment and the influence of culture and social practice.

Recent research on metaphor (e.g., Steen 1999, Cameron 1999; Heywood et al., 2002; Pragglejaz Group 2007) have stressed the importance of rigorous metaphor identification procedures. This study offers a new metaphor identification procedure, based on the principles of the MIP (Pragglejaz Group 2007), which is designed to improve the identification of conceptual metaphors, especially those in discourse contexts.

I examined discourse contexts to focus, in particular, on the metaphors and metonymies of the emotions in the three languages in order to distinguish the physiological and cultural embodied experiences which motivate them. The results of this study show that the shared and possibly universal conceptualizations of emotions can be found at the generic level, while the cultural variations of emotion operate at a more specific level. The study thus contributes to the research on universality versus cultural specificity of emotion conceptualizations by presenting linguistic evidence of the use of emotion expressions in Vietnamese.

7.2 Summary of the results

The research questions for this study are structured based on the central question: What do expressions of the two emotions, anger and sadness, in Vietnamese reveal about

how the emotion concepts are represented in the Vietnamese conceptual system? The four more specific research questions are reviewed below:

1. What motivates the Vietnamese conceptualizations of the two emotions? That is, do these conceptualizations arise from universal patterns of embodiment based on physiological experience, culturally-based embodiment, a combination of these two sources, or some other source?
2. What can account for the similarities and differences in the metaphorical and metonymic conceptualizations of the two emotions in Vietnamese, English and Chinese?
3. Are there any differences in the way anger and sadness emotions are conceptualized in Vietnamese, Chinese, and English in terms of cognitive cultural models of the two emotions?
4. How do metaphors transfer between cultures, and in particular, how have metaphors of emotions been borrowed into Vietnamese from Chinese and Western cultures?

7.2.1 Question 1: Universals vs. cultural embodiment

What motivates the Vietnamese conceptualizations of the two emotions? That is, do these conceptualizations arise from universal patterns of embodiment based on physiological experience, culturally-based embodiment, or from both of these two sources?

In chapter 4, this study presented a list of physiological effects of anger on the human body in Vietnamese which are found both in English and Chinese as well. They are: body heat, internal pressure, redness in face and neck area, agitation, and interference

with accurate perception; these are actually physiological changes of the body that accompany anger. Since Vietnamese, English, and Chinese belong to three different language families, and have developed independently for much of their history, the impact of the other two languages on Vietnamese through linguistic contact is not a significant factor in recent Vietnamese history. Therefore, the similarities in the physiological effects caused by the emotion should be considered as potentially universal forms based on the physiological experiences of human beings.

Besides the shared physiological experiences of anger, there is a set of particularly physiological effects and behaviors associated with anger which are particularly used in Vietnamese anger expressions: color changes on the face, tears, sickness, silence, death wish, inability to eat, sleep or breathe, and lack of energy. This indicates that Vietnamese people may consider these other aspects of their bodily functioning to be more salient in relation to the emotion of anger. Therefore, these effects are frequently used by Vietnamese speakers as ways of expressing the emotion. My data shows that those particularly physiological effects and behaviors accounts for 23% metonymical expressions of anger in Vietnamese. These physiological effects can be seen as more detailed expressions of the universal forms of the physiological effects of anger. For example, ‘death wish’ is a specific expression of the metaphor, “the physiological effects of anger are (...) interference with accurate perception.” (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987:196)

The correlations between anger and these physiological effects in Vietnamese are captured by the general metonymy **PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION** (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987) which yields a system of

metonymies for anger such as: BODY HEAT STANDS FOR ANGER, REDNESS IN FACE AND NECK AREA STAND FOR ANGER, etc. (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987:197). These metonymies for anger have been found in English, Chinese, Japanese, Tunisian Arabic, and Vietnamese, etc. (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987, King 1989, Yu 1995, Matsuki 1995, Maalej 2004). This suggests that these metonymies constitute a universal based on the physiological embodiment of anger (Maalej 2004). Such universal embodiment of anger has led to the universal conceptual metaphors: THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR ANGER, ANGER IS FIRE, ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, etc. (Kövecses 2005, 2010).

Chapter 4 also provides evidence that it is very frequent for anger in Vietnamese to be associated with certain body parts which do not undergo any physiological change as a result of anger. For example, the Vietnamese belly, intestines, liver, and gallbladder are conceptualized as containers of anger in the language. The association between these body parts and the emotions suggests a cultural correlation between the body part(s) and anger, which is in line with Maalej's (2004, 2008) notion of cultural embodiment. This cultural embodiment of anger in Vietnamese leads to culture-specific metaphors of the emotion such as: ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN THE LIVER, INTESTINES AND GALLBLADDER, THE BELLY IS A CONTAINER OF ANGER, CONTROL ANGER IS TO PUT A FORCE ON THE BELLY, ANGER IS SUPERNATURAL BEINGS AND ENEMY (IN THE BODY), and ANGER IS UNPLEASANT TASTES.

This conceptualization of anger is similar to the conceptualization of sadness in Vietnamese. The concept of sadness is also motivated by both universal and cultural embodiment. Universal physiological embodiment includes metaphors and metonymies

centering on a drooping posture (of head, shoulders, and trunk), facial expressions such as, eyes looking down and a lack of brightness in them, crying, the rejection of food, crying and vocal lamentations, and general indifference. These are the physiological and behavioral effects that accompany sadness which are found in the Vietnamese, English and Chinese. In addition to these similarities of the physiological experiences of sadness, more particular forms of the shared physiological and behavioral effects of sadness are found in Vietnamese, such as sighing and grey hair. These are found in Vietnamese sadness expressions, but not (or not as frequently) in Chinese or English, though both ‘sigh’ and ‘grey hair’ expressions describing sadness may sound familiar and understandable to speakers of Chinese and English in expressing the emotion. This difference in usage of particular expressions also supports the idea that the way Vietnamese people experience sadness includes cultural and psychological factors in addition to physiological factors.

The correlations between sadness and the physiological effects in Vietnamese are captured by the two metonymies PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION and BEHAVIORAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION (Barcelona 1986). These general metonymies yield a system of metonymies for sadness such as: DROOPING POSTURE, JAW, or FACIAL MUSCLES STANDS FOR SADNESS, TEAR SHEDDING STANDS FOR SADNESS, and LOSS OF ENERGY AND CONSEQUENT WEAKNESS STANDS FOR SADNESS. (Barcelona 1986:19-22). From these metonymies, we can see how embodied in physical experience the sadness concept is. That is, they present physiological and behavioral-based descriptions of the emotion. As such, these metonymies, reflected in

English (Barcelona 1986), Chinese (King 1989), and Vietnamese, suggest the universal forms of the physiological embodiment of sadness which lead to potentially universal metaphors of sadness, such as: SADNESS IS DOWN, SADNESS IS DARK, and SADNESS IS COLD.

Cultural embodiment also plays significant role in the conceptualization of sadness in Vietnamese. In particular, cultural embodiment of sadness occurs when there is association between sadness and certain body parts which do not receive any physiological change as a result of sadness. For example, the Vietnamese belly, intestines and liver are conceptualized as the seats where sadness occurs, but they do not experience any actual physiological change involved in sadness. As a result, the cultural correlation between the belly and internal organs and sadness leads to culture-specific metaphors of sadness such as: THE LIVER AND INTESTINES ARE CONTAINERS OF SADNESS, THE BELLY IS A CONTAINER OF SADNESS, SADNESS IS PAIN IN THE LIVER, INTESTINES AND BELLY, SADNESS IS AN UNPLEASANT TASTE, SADNESS IS FIRE IN THE BODY, SADNESS IS LOSS OF SOUL/NO SOUL, and SADNESS IS UNPLEASANT TASTES.

In sum, the analyses of the anger and sadness expressions in this study support the theory that the conceptualizations of the two emotions in Vietnamese arise from both universal embodiment and cultural embodiment. The data presented suggest that just as physiological embodiment motivated by physiological experiences provide experiential grounding, cultural embodiment motivated by culturally salient concepts provide cultural grounding of the conceptual metaphors of the two emotions. In particular, both the physiological effects and the cultural experiences of the two emotions structure the

conceptualizations of the two emotions in the language. The conceptualizations of anger and sadness in Vietnamese are both physiologically and culturally bound.

7.2.2 Question 2: Comparing the metaphorical and metonymic conceptualizations of anger and sadness in Vietnamese, English, and Chinese

The question here asks about the similarities and differences between the Vietnamese conceptualizations of the two emotions and those in English and Chinese.

This dissertation showed the similarities and differences in the ways Vietnamese, English, and Chinese speakers express and conceptualize anger and sadness. The similarities are explained in terms of universal embodiment, that is, physiologically embodied experiences which are the grounding of universal metonymies and metaphors. The differences can be explained in terms of cultural models and cultural embodiment which is the grounding of the culture-specific metaphors of the two emotions in the three languages.

Evidence from the three languages indicates that the two emotions go with similar sets of physiological changes. Anger, in all three languages, is conveyed with expressions about bodily changes such as an increase in body heat, blood pressure, and agitation. Sadness is expressed with reference to drooping postures, physical pain, agitation, and lack of energy. That these bodily changes are associated with the emotions in Vietnamese, English and Chinese – three unrelated languages – highlight the physiologically embodied nature of the emotion concepts and also suggest the universality of these bodily changes in experiencing the emotions. As such, the (universal) physiological embodiment of the emotions provides experiential grounding for shared metonymies and metaphors of the emotions such as: BODY HEAT STANDS

FOR ANGER, ANGER IS HEAT, ANGER IS FIRE, THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR ANGER; DROOPING POSTURE STANDS FOR SADNESS, LACK OF BRIGHTNESS (WHEN LOOKING) STANDS FOR SADNESS, SADNESS IS DOWN, and SADNESS IS DARK, and THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR SADNESS.

These metaphors and metonymies of anger and sadness are structured by certain universal properties of the human body which strongly suggest the universality of these metaphors and metonymies. Although the extent of universality of these metaphors and metonymies which are manifested in linguistic expressions may vary in each language, the universal physiological experiences which structure the shared metaphors and metonymies cannot be denied. The similarities in the metaphorical and metonymic conceptualizations of sadness and anger in the three languages can be accounted for in terms of embodiment based in the universal physical experience of the two emotions.

The differences in metonymic and metaphorical conceptualizations of anger and sadness in the three languages can be explained in terms of cultural models and cultural embodiment. Consider the general metonymy PHYSIOLOGICAL / BEHAVIORAL EFFECTS STAND FOR SADNESS found in the three languages. Besides the shared physiological effects and behaviors, Vietnamese and Chinese uses culture-specific physiological and behavioral effects such as: SEPARATION (in Chinese, King 1989:95) and SIGH and GREY HAIR (in Vietnamese, my data) to describe sadness. These metonymies are physiologically and behaviorally grounded conceptual metonymies for the emotion which are embedded in Vietnamese the cultural models (the traditional beliefs). The different ways of talking about sadness in these cultures highlight the role of culture in determining which physiological and behavioral symptoms are invoked in the

descriptions of the emotions. As such, these metonymies reflect cultural variations of the general metonymy PHYSIOLOGICAL / BEHAVIORAL EFFECTS STAND FOR SADNESS at the specific level.

Similarly, consider the general metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS (Kövecses 2000:161) which has been found in Vietnamese, English and Chinese. King (1989) and Yu (1995, 1998)'s research and this study indicate that this container metaphor is more elaborate in Chinese and in Vietnamese than it is in English. In particular, the two languages use specific body parts and internal organs in anger related expressions. For example, Chinese employs the body, the breast, heart, stomach, spleen, liver and gallbladder to describe anger (Yu 1995, 1998). Vietnamese makes use of the liver, gallbladder, intestines and the belly to understand the anger concept (my data). The uses of the specific body parts and internal organs to describe anger in Vietnamese and Chinese are influenced by TCM and Vietnamese cultural models of the body and internal organs. The culture-specific concepts of the body part and internal organs indicate that such culture-specific container metaphors of anger in the two languages are grounded in cultural embodied experiences (i.e., cultural embodiment) of anger in the two languages.

The similarities in metaphorical and metonymic conceptualizations of anger and sadness between the three languages are largely due to the shared/universal bodily experiences which provide experiential grounding for the emotion concepts. That is, universal embodied experiences make it possible for the conceptualizations of the two emotions to be similarly motivated across languages. The differences in metaphorical and metonymic conceptualizations of anger and sadness between the three languages can be

accounted in terms of cultural bodily experiences which provide cultural grounding for the emotion concepts. In other words, cultural embodiment of anger and sadness motivate culture-specific metaphors of the two emotions across languages.

7.2.3 Question 3: Cognitive models and conceptual frames for anger and sadness in Vietnamese, English, and Chinese

The question to be addressed in this section is, Are there any differences in the way anger and sadness are conceptualized in Vietnamese, Chinese, and English in terms of cognitive cultural models of the two emotions?

The cognitive-cultural models of emotions or “conceptual frames” of emotions (Kövecses 2015:157) “produced by the metaphors, metonymies, and inherent concepts suggest a broad, rich, and detailed view of emotion in which the antecedents, cognitions, subjective feelings, physiological and behavioral responses, control mechanisms, and so forth associated with emotion all find their natural place within the same model” (Kövecses 1990:5). This definition of the cognitive models shows its basic conceptualization for all types of emotions. It includes knowledge which is associated with the emotion including embodied experiences, cultural experiences, scientific knowledge, and especially it evokes or activates additional concepts in the conceptual system such as socio-cultural values. All of the knowledge is organized by conceptual metaphors and metonymies in the given conceptual system (for more see Kövecses 2014:23).

The cognitive model of anger which was characterized by Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) and further developed by Kövecses (1990, 2000) has been employed in a large number research on emotion concepts (including anger, sadness and fear) in cognitive

linguistics (Barcelona 1986, King 1989, Kövecses 1990, Matsuki 1995, Ansah 2013).

These studies all show that the cognitive models of these emotions are composed of five steps, and they all share a basic structure which is expressed as follows: cause of emotion → existence of emotion → attempt at control → loss of control → expression (Kövecses 2000:161). Kövecses (2015) calls this basic structure “the most schematic folk theory of emotions at a generic level” (p.159). This schema represents how we understand emotions: “There are certain causes that lead to emotions, and the emotions we have make us (i.e., the self) produce certain responses. Commonly, there are certain social constraints on which responses are socially acceptable. Societies may impose different sets of control mechanism on emotions” (p.159).

The Vietnamese cognitive models of the anger and sadness show similarities with those in Chinese and English. The cognitive models of the two emotions share the same the basic structure and consist of five stages as in Chinese and English. However, Stage 3 of the two cognitive models of anger and sadness in Vietnamese are more detailed and specific than those in English and Chinese, as shown in the table below. In Vietnamese, the self puts an imaginative force on a specific container(s) of anger and sadness such as: the belly, intestines, and liver.

Stage 3	Chinese	English	Vietnamese
Anger	Attempt to control anger: S exerts a counterforce in an attempt to control anger (King 1989:198).	Attempt to control anger: S exerts a counterforce in an attempt to control anger (Lakoff and Kövecses	Attempt to control anger: S puts a force on the belly, intestines, and liver (my data).

		1987:214)	
Sadness	S receives support of friends and relatives (King 1989:197)	Attempt to control depression (Barcelona 1986:27).	Attempt to control sadness: S puts a force on the belly (my data).

Table 15: Stage 3 of the cognitive models of anger and sadness in Vietnamese, Chinese and English

As mentioned in Chapters 4 and 5, controlling negative emotions is socially compulsory in Vietnamese. There are a range of idioms and proverbs in Vietnamese that recommend a control over conflict and negative emotions. Examples of these proverbs are: *Lựa lời mà nói cho vừa lòng nhau* ‘Words need to be carefully spoken to please someone’s heart’, *Một sự nhịn chín sự lành* ‘A bad compromise is better than a good lawsuit’, *chín bỏ làm mười* ‘Every fault needs pardon’, and *dĩ hòa vi quý* ‘Making peace is treasure’.

When anger occurs, either in the body or in the internal organs (the liver, intestines, gallbladder), Vietnamese speakers refer to putting a force on the belly in order to control the emotion, for example: *Kìm lòng, ghìm lòng* ‘to hold back the belly’, *nép lòng, dằn lòng* ‘to press a force on the belly’, *nhủ lòng, dăn lòng* ‘talk to the belly, and *bấm bụng* ‘press the belly’.

Similar to anger, sadness is also a negative emotion. Negative emotions can cause low self-esteem, which would affect the self in social situations. Vietnamese social norms particularly discourage people from expressing their sadness because sadness is not a good thing to display. This is illustrated by the idiom, *tốt đẹp phô ra, xấu xa đậy lại* (idiom) ‘Showing good things, hiding bad things’. For that reason, when sadness occurs, an attempt to control the emotion from being displayed is necessary by putting an

imaginary force on the belly, as in: *cầm lòng* ‘hold belly, *kìm lòng / ghìm lòng / nén lòng / bằm bụng* ‘press belly’), and *giấu trong lòng* ‘hide in the belly’.

The differences in the cognitive models of the Vietnamese anger and sadness in comparison with those in Chinese and American English are evidence to attest to the role of culture in understanding the emotions. The work of Kövecses (2004, 2005, 2010, 2015), Maalej (1999, 2004, 2008), Yu (1998, 2002, 2008), King (1989), Matsuki (1995) and others have emphasized the cultural grounding of emotions, that is, that emotion concepts are structured not only by universal human experiences but also by socio-cultural experiences. If we ignore the cultural aspects of the emotions, we will not be able to fully understand the emotional phenomena of human beings. Focusing solely on the biological responses of human body cannot account for the complexities of emotion concepts. As Gaby (2008:40) puts it, “Although biological events may in some cases inspire the conceptualization of emotion (and other non-corporeal experiences), this conceptualization is in no way predetermined by the biological events, which may be differently interpreted and described according to the cultural models resulting from the major preoccupations of the people and communities concerned”.

7.2.4. Question 4: How do metaphors transfer between cultures

In this section, I summarize the findings in response to the question, How do metaphors transfer between cultures, and in particular, how have metaphors of emotions been borrowed by Vietnamese from Chinese and Western cultures?

Part of the conceptual structures of the Vietnamese anger and sadness emotions were borrowed from Chinese and Western cultures through contact with the two cultures. The metaphors that were transferred from the two cultures were changed, however, under

the influence of Vietnamese cultural model. For example, the Chinese cultural model views anger as a hot gas in the body, therefore, the metaphor ANGER IS A HOT GAS IN A CONTAINER (Yu 1995:63) is extensively manifested in the language. Yu shows that this metaphor is rooted in the Chinese medicine theory and ancient Chinese philosophy.

The Chinese metaphor ANGER IS HOT GAS IN A CONTAINER was transferred to Vietnamese along with Chinese medicine theory. However, the Chinese gas concept was not used frequently in colloquial Vietnamese. It was used primarily in medical contexts due to its source in Chinese medical language. The reason for this may have to do with the fact that Vietnamese traditional physicians were focused on medical practice, and did not attempt to popularize medical theory (Hue Chan Thai 2003). A number of books on Vietnamese Traditional Medicine, such as, *Tuệ Tĩnh toàn tập* (Nguyễn 1761/2004) and *Hải Thượng Y tông tâm lĩnh* (Hải Thượng Lãn Ông Lê Hữu Trác 1770/2012) mostly provided medical remedies rather than talking about the cause of illness.

This may explain why there are so few extensions of Chinese gas concept in Vietnamese discourse. My data shows that in Vietnamese, there are only four expressions including gas to describe anger, such as *hỏa khí* ‘fire gas’, *nộ khí* ‘angry gas’, *nộ khí xung thiên* ‘angry gas goes up the sky’ and *tức khí* ‘pressurized gas. (Yu 1995, 1998 and King 1989). In Chinese, ‘gas’ refers to the energy that flows in the body and is mapped onto anger. When the gas is hot as in *hỏa khí* ‘fire gas’, it creates an internal pressure in the container and the pressure on the container can be very strong. The expression *tức khí* ‘pressurized gas’ is a combination of two words: *tức* and *khí*. The word *tức* is a Vietnamese word refers to a pent-up state of a container in which the contained is so

tightly compressed that almost makes the container break out (Từ điển Tiếng Việt 2000:1078, my translation). The word *khí* is the same Chinese word in the other expressions above which means ‘gas’.

The fact that the Chinese gas concept was not spread in Vietnamese leads to a misunderstanding of the concept. In Vietnamese, *khí* is the equivalent of gas (Từ điển Việt-Anh, 1995:528) and is defined as: “vapor, air-fluid like substance, scattered in the sky and on earth that human eyes cannot see” (Đại nam quốc âm tự vị 1895-1896:486, my translation). This definition shows that in Vietnamese, *khí* is understood as a natural gaseous substance whereas in Chinese, gas is understood as energy that flows in the body. *Khí* replaces the Chinese *gas* in the Chinese metaphor to construct a new metaphor: ANGER IS HOT KHÍ IN A CONTAINER. In other words, this metaphor uses the characteristics of *khí* ‘gas, vapor’ to conceptualize anger in Vietnamese: anger is *khí*, a natural gaseous substance. when heated as in *hỏa khí* (lit. fire gas), it can expand and produce pressure in the container as in *tức khí* (lit. pressurized gas). When the pressure is strong, the gas gets out of the container through an outlet unless it will result in an explosion as in *nộ khí* (lit. angry gas), *nộ khí xung thiên* (lit. angry gas goes up the sky).

As such, due to the restriction of the gas concept to medical contexts, the meaning of the Chinese gas concept was transformed in the process of transmission into Vietnamese. This transformation is required for the interpretation of the metaphor ANGER IS A HOT GAS IN A CONTAINER because the Vietnamese culture does not share the gas concept with the Chinese. This is to say that the Chinese metaphor ANGER IS HOT GAS IN A CONTAINER is not transferred to Vietnamese.

The example of the gas metaphors in Chinese and Vietnamese indicates that metaphor transference across languages is conceptual transference. If the transference is partial, i.e., either the source or target domain of the metaphor is not able to be transferred to the target language, it will lead to a conceptual and cognitive change which can create and spread new metaphors in the target language.

The Western heart concept is an example of partial conceptual transference in Vietnamese. In Western cultures, the heart is metaphorically perceived as a container of different emotions. This perception of the heart is similar to the perception of the Vietnamese belly: the belly is a container of different emotions. Therefore, to avoid a cognitive conflict which would be caused by the fact that both the heart and the belly are metaphorically viewed as containers of emotions, the transference of the Western heart concept is filtered by the Vietnamese cultural model. Only certain aspects of the Western heart, those which can provide different ways of describing emotions physiologically that cannot be described with the belly, will be accepted in the culture. In particular, in Western cultures, the heart is seen as a container of different emotions including sadness, love, desire, prize, and courage (cf. Niemeier 2012). The Vietnamese belly is viewed as a container of the same emotions (my data). However, different from the Vietnamese belly, the Western heart can express some physiological aspects of emotion that are specific to the heart rather than the belly. For example, sadness causes the physiological effect of increased heart rate, an experience which forms the basis for expressions like *I felt heavy-hearted after the news* (example in Barcelona 1986:19). Sadness does not cause any actual physiological effects on the belly, so tokens from my corpus like *Lòng mẹ trĩu*

nặng khi con li dị chồng ‘My belly is heavy because my daughter divorced her husband’ are more rooted in cultural frames than in physiological experience.

The presence of the Western heart with its physiological effects associated with sadness has brought new ways of describing sadness in Vietnamese. For example, the heart term is used in sadness related expressions, such as: *Trái tim mẹ đau nhói khi con bỏ nhà đi theo bạn nghiện* ‘My heart was hurting when my son left home for the addicts’.

My data show that two physiological effects of the heart associated with sadness such as the physiological pain and the heartbeat are being used in Vietnamese discourse. Other physiological effects of the heart such as breathlessness or chest discomfort, pressure, or tightness, which are expressions of “reduced heart functions” (Barcelona 1986:19) have not transferred to the culture. These expressions refer to medical symptoms of the heart which are less salient for Vietnamese speakers than the cultural understanding of belly as a container of emotions.

It is important to note that the Western heart concept was restructured to integrate in the Vietnamese conceptual system. The heart concept was assigned metaphorical characteristics that are associated with the Vietnamese belly. For example, the belly’s quality and size, endurance abilities, and its role as a place to store or hide things, are now also seen as characteristics of the heart. For example:

Attributes	Heart expressions	Belly expressions	Meaning
<i>tan nát</i> ‘smashed’	<i>trái tim tan nát</i> heart smashed ‘a smashed heart’	<i>cõi lòng tan nát</i> belly smashed ‘a smashed belly’	Sadness
<i>chôn</i> ‘bury’	<i>chôn nỗi buồn trong tim</i> bury sadness in heart	<i>chôn nỗi buồn trong lòng</i> bury sadness in	To hide sadness in the heart/belly

	to bury sadness in the heart	belly to bury sadness in the belly	
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Table 16: Understanding the heart expressions is the same with that of the belly expressions

Table 16 indicates that the understanding of the heart expression is the same as that of the belly expressions. ‘A smashed heart’ is the same with ‘a smashed belly’, and ‘to bury sadness in the heart’ is the same with ‘to bury sadness in the belly’.

Obviously, under the influence of the Vietnamese cultural model, the heart concept is partially transferred and transformed to fit in the Vietnamese conceptual system. In particular, the heart was transferred as a container for emotion, but changed from its Western meaning to align with the Vietnamese cultural model of the belly. Therefore in Vietnamese, the metaphor THE HEART IS A CONTAINER OF SADNESS (Barcelona 1986:17) must be interpreted based on the Vietnamese cultural model of the belly.

In summary, the cases of the Chinese gas concept and the Western heart concept have provided examples of how metaphors of emotions can vary across cultures as seen through the use of cultural model and in particular, how metaphors of anger and sadness have been transferred from Chinese and Western cultures. The cases of the Chinese gas concept and the Western heart concept indicate that there is a cognitive change of the two concepts due to the cross-cultural variation. The cognitive change of the two concepts in Vietnamese has contributed to the creation and development of metaphorical expressions of emotions employing the gas and heart terms in Vietnamese.

The analysis of the transferred metaphors from Chinese and Western cultures suggests that if two cultures share a conceptualization of an abstract concept, the more

likely it is that metaphors structuring the concept will be transferred. In other words, similar culture-based or physiology-based metaphors can be fully transferred from one cognitive and linguistic system to another under the filtration of the cultural model of the target culture.

7.3. Implications of the study

This section presents possible implications of the results of this study for the theory of embodied cognition and Vietnamese studies of emotions.

7.3.1. Implication for theory of embodied cognition

The theory of embodied cognition holds the view that the human brain and conceptual organizations are shaped by the way the human body interact with the physical and social environment we live in. That is, the nature of our conceptual systems and the way they are structured are grounded in our embodied experiences (Lakoff 1987, Johnson 1987, Evans 2007). In particular, our conceptual systems are formed by our bodily experiences in the physical world. We gather and process different forms of information in everyday experiences in order to make meaningful and thoughtful interpretations of such experiences. This is how we produce our system of abstract concepts.

This understanding of embodiment motivated by bodily experiences seems too limited to give rise to the human systems of abstract concepts. In particular, how we can account for abstract concepts which arise from non-bodily experiences. For example, the way the Ifaluk people understand and talk about the concept of anger is not structured and organized in terms of bodily experiences but of social practices (Lutz 1988). That is, for the Ifaluk, the concept of anger is not motivated by bodily experiences but a “social-

cultural product” (Kövecses 2004:14). As Kimmel (2002: 242) puts it, “This folk model does not only highlight other concepts than the physiology related CONTAINER image, but actually downplays it. The Ifaluk concept of song strongly emphasizes that anger does not have the person or the body as its ontological locus. Instead, it is something happening in the public field, with moral and social implications. This makes it most evident that the choice of metaphors even for domains so strongly motivated by physiology’s anger is just as much shaped by the cultural context and ideology it is embedded into”.

Kövecses proposes that the concept of anger, or other abstract concepts in general, “is both motivated by the human body and produced by a particular social and cultural environment” (2014:14, 1995). More specific, Maalej (2004, 2007, 2008) points out the important role of social and cultural environment on the human body including actual bodily and cultural bodily experiences which gives rise to the conceptualizations of abstract concepts. Kirmayer (1993: 186), too, insists that, “The recognition that metaphoric constructions are grounded in archetypal patterns allows us to preserve a measure of universality in our theories. But body-felt feelings, however simple their origin, are shaped by cultural and social factors from their inception.”

These new perspectives are represented in the “Embodied Cultural Prototype” view proposed by Kövecses (1995, 2004) which demonstrates that emotion conceptualizations across cultures are motivated by both universal bodily experiences and more specific socio-cultural constructs. That is, the general conceptualization of emotion is grounded in universal embodiment, while the specific conceptualization of emotion in a given language is grounded in cultural embodiment which is motivated by culturally

salient concepts of the language. For this reason, the more specific conceptualization of emotion shows to what extent the general conceptualization can be elaborated to the universal conceptualization of the emotion.

This study has revealed the similarities and differences of conceptualizations of anger and sadness in Vietnamese, Chinese, and American English to support the “Embodied Cultural Prototype” view (Kövecses 2004) on the conceptualizations of emotions across languages. The view can account the similarities and culture-specificities of the two emotion concepts based on universal embodied and cultural embodied experiences. For example, universal embodied experiences of anger structure universal metonymies: THE BODY HEAT STANDS FOR ANGER, PHYSICAL AGITATION STANDS FOR ANGER, and REDNESS IN FACE AND NECK AREA STANDS FOR ANGER; and universal metaphors such as THE BODY IS A CONTAINER OF ANGER, ANGER IS FIRE, etc. At the same time, the cultural variations of the same metaphors and metonymies can be determined at the specific-level realization of the underlying metaphors and metonymies. The cultural variations are expressed by how different the source domain is conceptualized across languages, either physiologically or culturally elaborate, or preferable. Such differences will bring different conceptualizations of the same emotion, or especially highlight different aspects of the same emotion. For example, the Vietnamese metaphors of anger: THE BELLY IS A CONTAINER OF ANGER/SADNESS, THE INTESTINES AND LIVER ARE CONTAINERS OF ANGER/SADNESS are examples of specific-level elaboration or realization of the universal metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER OF ANGER.

These Vietnamese container metaphors of anger are exemplifications of how cultural embodiment motivates such culture-specific metaphors in the language. The Vietnamese belly, intestines and liver involved in describing anger do not show any actual physiological change when the emotion occurs. This case of container metaphors of anger in Vietnamese support Maalej's argument that the anger emotion establishes a conventional cultural correlation between the body part and the conceptualization of anger and this kind of embodiment is "mediated and motivated by cultural imagination" (Maalej 2004, 2008:423).

Consider the following examples to see how embodied experiences cause variations in the Vietnamese conceptualizations of anger. In English and Chinese, anger is conceptualized in terms of redness in face and area, for example, in English: "*She was scarlet with rage*" (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987:197) and in Chinese: "*They argued until their faces turned red and their necks became thicker*" (Yu 1995:67). In Vietnamese, the changes in skin color are more elaborate. Different colors or different degrees of the same color are used to describe the color changes on the face as a result of anger such as: *đỏ ửng* 'flush red as flame', *đỏ gay* 'crimson', *đỏ bừng* 'blush hotly', *đỏ tía* 'wine-colored', *đỏ rực* 'red glow', *đỏ lừng* 'flaming red', *đỏ lừ* 'dark red'; *tím* 'purple', *tím ngắt* 'dark purple', *xanh* 'green', *trắng* 'white', *trắng bệch* 'off-white', *tái* 'pale', and *tái mét* 'ashen'. These metonymic expressions are specific-level realizations of the generic-level metonymies REDNESS IN FACE AND NECK AREA STANDS FOR ANGER and THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF ANGER STAND FOR ANGER (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987:197). These color changes on the face showing a strong contrast with the normal color of the face indicate a sudden change of people's emotional state. Such color

changes on the face can be seen as indicators of the occurrence of anger and a reflection of a cultural preference in anger expressions.

My data shows that Vietnamese people tend to use colors to describe emotions. The color changes are not only used to describe the face but also internal organs which receive imaginative physiological effects as a result of anger, such as: *bầm gan tím ruột* ‘bruise (yellow and purple) liver purple intestines’, *sôi gan tím mật* ‘boil liver purple gall-bladder’. Sadness is also described with a number of color changes on the face such as: *mặt ám đạm* ‘dark face’, *mặt tái ngắt* ‘pale face’, *mặt u buồn* ‘dark sad face’, *khuôn mặt tăm tối* ‘dark face’, *mặt xám xịt* ‘grey face’, *mặt sạm* ‘yellow and dark face’, etc. These examples show that the physiological effects of the two emotions based on the color changes on the face seem to be cultural preferences. In English and Chinese, the number of words referring to the color changes on the face or in other body parts describing anger and sadness is not as many as in Vietnamese (cf. Lakoff and Kövecses 1987, Barcelona 1986, King 1989, Yu 1995, 1998). Then, the color changes on the face associated with anger become a physiological embodied experience, a part of the embodied cognition system. They are employed in metonymic expressions of anger and suggest the metonymy in Vietnamese: COLOR CHANGES IN FACE AND NECK AREA STAND FOR ANGER which would be more general than the metonymy REDNESS IN FACE AND NECK AREA STAND FOR ANGER in English.

Another example of the Vietnamese conceptualization of anger and sadness can point to cultural embodiment in motivating metaphors of the emotions. For example, in the following expressions: *tức nổ ruột* ‘anger explodes intestines’, *buồn thắt ruột thắt gan* ‘sadness ties the intestines and the liver’ and *nén lòng giấu nỗi buồn* ‘to press the belly to

hide sadness', there is no explosion in the intestines because of anger, sadness cannot tie the intestines and the liver, and also there is no actual force that can be put on the belly to control sadness. These expressions show that anger and sadness in Vietnamese are conceptualized in terms of the intestines, the liver and the belly. As such, anger and sadness form a cultural correlation between a body part and conceptualizations of the two emotions (Maalej 2004). This indicates that cultural embodiment of the two emotions motivates the metaphors: ANGER IS A FORCE IN THE LIVER, INTESTINES AND GALL-BLADDER, SADNESS IS A FORCE IN THE LIVER AND INTESTINES, TO CONTROL SADNESS IS TO PUT A FORCE ON THE BELLY. Obviously, the culture-specificity of the two emotion metaphors is given by the cultural embodiment of such emotions.

The universal embodiment of the two emotions of anger and sadness and the cultural preferences of selecting the belly, internal organs as well as the color changes on the face associated with the two emotions are encoded in the Vietnamese system of embodied cognition which describes the nature of the two emotion concepts and the way they are structured and organized in Vietnamese.

7.3.2. Implication for studies on Vietnamese emotions.

This study contributes to research on Vietnamese studies of emotions in a sense that this study can be a template for the study of other emotion concepts in Vietnamese. This study also contributes to the literature on the emotion studies across cultures and languages, and to the debate of universality versus cultural specificity of emotion conceptualizations.

7.4. Limitations

This study explored the Vietnamese conceptual structures of the anger and sadness emotions. Therefore, there are some areas that this study is not able to uncover. Firstly, as Lakoff and Kövecses (1987:220) indicated that their research has not answered questions of “the range offenses that cause anger” and “the corresponding range of appropriate response”, and I have found the same issues in this study. The offenses that cause anger and sadness in Vietnamese can be divided into direct and indirect causes. The direct causes of the anger and sadness emotions cause the self anger or sadness immediately. The indirect causes may take some time for the self to experience the emotions. My data shows that relying on the self’s responses alone cannot determine whether the self has been affected by the direct or indirect causes of anger/sadness. It is because the self’s responses to the indirect causes are very similar to the direct causes. Therefore, the questions regarding the range of causes of anger and sadness, and the corresponding range of appropriate response are left unanswered in this study.

Secondly, the data of this present study is rather modest therefore some conceptual importance of the emotions may not have been captured. The data consists of (1) words and expressions including anger and sadness emotions that were collected from seven Vietnamese dictionaries. The number of anger expressions is 297 and of sadness expressions is 238. (2) Linguistic contexts in which the emotions occur were collected in the Internet, and in particular, 10 contexts for each expression of the emotion. However, a larger data corpus would reveal whether the conceptual importance of the emotions would vary, i.e., the conceptualizations of the two emotions in poetic and non-poetic discourses, between men and women, and between different aged groups etc. which would help us understand variations in the conceptualizations of the emotions.

Thirdly, the data of this study is based on discourse data and linguistic theory and it would be strengthened by evidence from other perspectives such as anthropology, psychology, and sociology, to expand and elaborate its conclusions.

7.5. Recommendations for future research

Emotions are complex. Investigation into the conceptualizations of emotions needs to have a large compiled corpus including linguistic data and non-linguistic data, such as: art, artifact, customs, etc. in order to bring more aspects of emotions.

Most importantly, a large corpus is necessary in order to capture all the possible metaphors of the emotions by obtaining a large number of metaphorical expressions involved the target domain of emotion, and then identifying the conceptual metaphors underlie such related metaphorical expressions (Stefanowitsch 2006). Significantly, a large corpus can help researchers identify whether there are certain metaphors that are specific to certain emotion concepts. According to Stefanowitsch (2006), this can be done based on the frequency of all the obtained metaphors of the emotion. Therefore, research on emotion concepts, using both qualitative and quantitative data, would benefit from a large corpus in characterizing emotion concepts.

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