

**A CROSS-CULTURAL INVESTIGATION OF MANDARIN CHINESE  
CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF ANGER, HAPPINESS AND ROMANTIC  
LOVE**

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***Every tool has its use and no tool is better than another.***

Zhuang Zi 369-286 BC

## **Declaration**

I, Ying-Hsueh Hu, declare that all the work for this thesis was carried out by me.

Ying-Hsueh Hu  
Edinburgh, 11 February 2002

## **Dedication**

I wish to dedicate this work to my son, Florian Unshang, in order to inspire and encourage him to believe that anything is possible if one perseveres.

## **Acknowledgements**

My sincere thanks to Ms Elizabeth Black and Mr Keith Mitchell for their momentous efforts in supervision. Furthermore, I would also like to express my love and gratitude to my family who have given me unconditional support. My thanks to Dr. John Brookes Ferebee, of the Department of Mathematics, Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main, Germany. Finally my appreciation goes to friends in Taiwan who have graciously helped in collecting data.

## ABSTRACT

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**Background:** A linguistic analysis of the emotional expressions of anger, happiness and romantic love in Standardised Chinese, as spoken in Taiwan was undertaken. It was hypothesised that: I. Comparable conceptual metaphors and cognitive models to those identified by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) and Kövecses (1986, 1989, 1990), also exist in Chinese; II. Multiple prototypical cognitive models for the conceptualisation of each emotion are demonstrable; III. Conceptual metaphors and their cognitive models have universal features which are related to physiological bases of emotional expression. Moreover, culturally specific features are the product of an interaction between human biology and social factors; IV. Moderating social factors influence the complexity of the emotion's structure; V. Social and cultural dynamics, from a diachronic point of view, are shared by various societies at different points in time; VI. Demographic variables such as gender, age, educational level, will not have any significant impact upon the use of metaphor and metonymy. Furthermore, place of residency and second language should not contaminate the data, given that the experimental subjects moved to their respective countries in adulthood; VII. There will be evidence to support a weak form of the Whorfian Hypothesis, where existing concepts guide or motivate the emergence of new concepts. **Method:** Subjects from Chinese speaking communities in Taiwan and the United States of America were interviewed using a survey method; each was required to report in writing their recent or most memorable angry and happy experiences, and a personal definition of romantic love in Chinese. Each narration was coded according to metonymy, metaphor and related concepts, as described by Lakoff and Johnson (*ibid*), Lakoff and Kövecses (*ibid*) and Kövecses (*ibid*). Frequencies for each metonymy and metaphor were compared, and the length of each narration was measured using linguistic units (Johnson, 1970) for each emotion. **Results:** Major metonymies and metaphors categorised for each emotion were found to be similar to those used in English. These similarities were largely orientational and to a lesser extent ontological in nature; while the majority of differences were found amongst the structural metaphors. Major metaphors for anger and happiness had an orientational and ontological reference, while romantic love was structural. The cognitive models which underlie each emotion included more than one prototype: They either described various aspects or stages of the emotion in question, or diachronically speaking, old conceptualisations that were in the process of being superseded by newer ones. The impetus for the preferences for certain models was determined by the state of social development for each respective speech community. **Conclusion:** In order to explore the emotion concepts across cultures it is judicious to examine each of the conceptual metaphors and cognitive models that relate to the emotional language in question. Thus, not all concepts of emotion are structured similarly, and, by inference, emotions in turn are much more than mere biological processes. Their conceptualisation constitutes specific cultural and social knowledge, from a Whorfian perspective. Therefore, similarities found in cross-cultural data are determined by a shared biology and synchronous exposure to evolving cultural and social environments.

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# INTRODUCTION

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## 0.0 Background and Purpose of the Study

This research's theoretical basis was inspired by the relationship between language and thought, as hypothesised by two anthropological linguists: Edward Sapir (1884-1939) and Benjamin Lee Whorf (1897-1941). They both argued that language not only labels natural objects or phenomena, but is fundamental to the mental processes by which various speech communities conceive and understand the world. Their hypothesis, known as Cultural or Linguistic Relativism, consists of a strong, and a weak version; the strong version states that language determines the totality of our worldview, while the weak version emphasises a tentative motivational and guiding influence of language on the speakers' conceptualisation of the world in the categories their language provides (Lakoff, 1987; Wierzbicka, 1992a, b). Since the initial postulation of this hypothesis, there has been an impressive body of work devoted to this controversial debate amongst the disciplines of linguistics, anthropology, sociology and psychology. Most of this research has sought to either support or dismiss this theory and rarely have researchers from either camp found a middle ground. However, they all seem to have concluded that a strong version is basically beyond scientific proof at this time; however, the weak version is still actively investigated to this very day (e.g., Pinker, 1994; Wierzbicka, 1997). Studies investigating Sapir and Whorf's weak version include: colour terms (Berlin and Kay 1969; Heider and Olive, 1972; Rosch, 1973; Kay and McDonald, 1978; Hunt and Angoli, 19991, McLaury, 1987; McNeill, 1987), prototype theory (Rosch, 1973; Russell, 1991; Clore and Ortony, 1991), counterfactuals (Bloom, 1981; Au,

1983, 1982; Liu, 1985), classifiers (Carroll and Casagrande, 1958), personal pronouns (Muhlhausler and Harre, 1990). In parallel with this research, is the investigation of emotion concepts using language, specifically, emotion lexical items and expressions. This focus has been particularly favoured in recent years due to various intrinsic and special qualities of emotion, and the development of new methodological techniques to investigate it.

A major benefit of using 'emotion' for language and thought research is that it is 'abstract' (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) in nature, and therefore more susceptible to the influence of language. Unlike other concrete objects in the world, such as tables, chairs, plants and so forth, where there is a less ambiguous one-to-one mapping between the word and the object, emotion, conversely, involves physical arousal, social judgement and psychological experience (Averill, 1992). So what is being 'mapped' onto an emotion lexicon are concepts, not objects, organised in the form of a mental schema, or script (Lutz, 1988; Poole, 1991; Arbib et al., 1987; Arbib, 1989; Schank & Abelson, 1977; Fillmore, 1977; Lakoff, 1987; Wierzbicka, 1992, 1997; Holland and Quinn, 1987). It is therefore argued that an emotion lexicon, such as 'anger' in English, *song* (glossed as 'justifiable anger') in Ifaluk or *liget*, (glossed as 'anger') in Ilognot, spoken in Luzon in the Philippines, encodes is an amalgam of complex social, cultural and historical knowledge (Lutz, 1988; Rosaldo, 1990; Gyoeri, 1998). Therefore, when speakers of a given community acquire such information-loaded words, they are simultaneously being influenced by them to think in line with the encoded script without being overtly aware of the 'shaping' process.

In other words, speakers who grow up and live in any speech community, be it in English, Ifaluk, or Ilognot, experience emotion in the categories provided by their language. For example, the word *song*, according to Lutz (1982, 1985, 1987, 1988), who carried out a detailed study on Ifaluk, does not connote the same gravity of aggressive feelings as the word 'anger' in English. Furthermore, *song* is normally encouraged to be expressed openly in order to manage a tense situation by altering the behaviour of the offending person (Lutz, 1987: 301). Moreover, *song* is understood to be a useful emotion (especially for parents) to feel and express when a wrongdoing has occurred (*ibid*: 121).

In summary, what the emotion *song* embodies significantly differs from its nearest equivalent 'anger' in English. That is, 'anger' infers more aggression and also seeks retribution on the offending person; and above all, 'anger' is considered 'passive', an emotion caused by the transgression of someone else, while *song* can be active, freely chosen by the offended person, usually an elder and more respected member of the community (*ibid*: 122). Such a discrepancy can be in part explained by the origin of the word 'emotion' in English, which means 'passion' in Greek (Averill, 1984, 1992), so in English emotions are conceived as something that happens to us, and are therefore beyond our control; hence, have a somewhat negative entailment. However, in Ifaluk, an emotion word like *song* does not have such an implication. Therefore, it is reasonable to postulate that when Ifaluk speakers feel *song*, they do not experience the same 'anger'-like emotion as felt by English speakers. More specifically, it appears that there is no objective 'entity' in the conceptualisation of emotions: One cannot conclude, for example, an emotion such as 'anger', should find its equivalent in all languages. Certainly, this view has been



challenged stating that the differences found in the meaning of the words are superficial; fundamentally all human beings experience similar emotions and they are simply carved up differently conceptually and linguistically (Frijda *et al.* 1995:121). As illustrated above, investigations in emotion concepts and their connection with language tend to yield valuable yet controversial evidence to shed light on the cultural specificity or universality debate.

The methodology used in the above mentioned research is mainly ethnographical and discursive in nature, namely the researchers deploy a fieldwork approach, translating the emotion terms used by their subjects by relying heavily on the social contexts and interactions in which these words occur. Such researchers employ an interview method, together with an extensive analysis of the discourse derived from these interviews. As a result, these tools tend to elicit the cause and results of social action aspect of emotion (Palmer and Brown, 1998: 331).

Conversely, the research method used in linguistics tends to have a very different emphasis, such as dissecting linguistic expressions of emotion using a lexical approach to structure a theory of emotion. Notably, there are two relatively new instruments to dissect lexical items of emotion, the first was developed by Wierzbicka (1972) called “Natural Semantic Metalanguage” (NSM); this reduces each lexicon into components which are referred to as “universal semantic primitives”. A second device, “conceptual metaphor”, proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), analyses emotion lexical items or phrases in terms of their metaphors and metonymies. Both tools seek to uncover the underlying schemas or conceptual systems embedded in lexical items and phrases and have been employed extensively to replicate results in a variety of languages from both Indo-European

and non Indo-European language families. Their findings largely describe emotion as a combination of cognitive states, physical arousal and feeling states (Palmer and Brown, 1998: 331). In this framework, the language/emotion universal appears to be more frequently established than the research utilising an ethno/anthropological approach, and to date these two approaches have not yet been forthcoming in finding common ground to reconcile whether the language of emotion and consequently the conceptualisation of emotion are culturally specific or universal.

In light of this inconclusive, yet fruitful debate, the present work aims to uncover some evidence in an effort to narrowing the chasm between Universalism and Particularism (Besnier, 1995: 560) and above all, to contribute to some further clarity to a unified modern theory of emotion. In so doing, this thesis employs a lexical approach by analysing lexical expressions in terms of their conceptual metaphors in Standard Chinese, as spoken in Taiwan, and compares them with those discovered in English by Lakoff, (1987); and Kövecses (1987, 1988, 1990).

Furthermore, conceptual metaphors and metonymies are chosen over Natural Semantic Metalanguage because there is an established body of research conducted on emotion terms in English, to use as a comparison (Kövecses, 1987, 1989, 1990); in addition, although NSM aims to surpass superficial and referential ways of comparing emotion lexical items, its minimal definition is limited in revealing the richness of our conceptual systems (Kövecses, 1991, 1993, 1998). Nevertheless, some of the arguments espoused by NSM researchers will be used for the purposes of the present study. As such this dissertation will examine three emotion concepts in Standard Chinese: *Sheng-qi* ‘anger’, *gao xing*; *kuai le* ‘happiness’ and *ai qing* ‘romantic Love’. The emotions of anger and happiness, as previous research has

demonstrated (Kövecses, 1995; Yu, 1998), are conceived as more physiologically based, it is hypothesised that they should exhibit relatively more universal characteristics; while the third emotion, romantic love, is conceived as a relatively more abstract and socially construed emotion, as proposed in this work. Therefore, romantic love is hypothesised to be subject to more culturally specific conceptual influence. Moreover, these two postulations are not mutually exclusive, the findings of this research are examined within a multi-disciplinary context involving social, biology, and psychological theory, as well as evidence from anthropology, and sociology, are collectively considered.

## **0.2 Need and Corpus for the Study.**

Since the seminal work *Metaphor we live by* (1980) by Lakoff and Johnson provided a catalyst for a series of investigations into conceptual metaphor and metonymy of emotion expressions in English (Kövecses, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1991), the same research method has been applied to various languages, such as Polish (Mikołajczuk, 1998), Zulu (Taylor and Mbense, 1998), Tagalog, a language spoken in the Philippines (Palmer and Brown, 1998), and Standard Chinese (Shyu, 1989; Yu, 1996). It has also been applied to other concepts such as lust and sex in Chagga, a Bantu language of Tanzania (Emanatian, 1995). These investigations have drawn their conclusions mainly from data gathered from dictionaries, newspapers and other printed publications or from personal communications with small numbers of subjects from various speech communities. Despite the logical arguments and persuasive evidence produced by the researchers, there is some scope for an improvement in the research design by enlarging the sources of data.

The majority of the above research relies mainly on two sources of data—written literature such as dictionaries as well as newspapers and direct interviews with small numbers of subjects from the speech community in question. However, there can be some limitations with either of these methods. For example, expressions identified in dictionaries tend to be non-contextual, whereas newspapers and other printed publications reflect views of a selected few people. The latter source of data, although it is rich in contextual information, it is limited by the number of people participating and is thus too small to deduce any significant patterns of metaphor usage that is shared by any given speech community. Furthermore, both sources are limited by a lack of data regarding important moderating variables such as gender and age that may influence metaphor use.

Such methodological problems are highlighted, for example, in social and health policy research (Sechrist and Sidani, 1995; Hentschel, 2002), in that neither method alone can achieve the desired results of yielding a complete picture of the social realities under investigation. Therefore, it is believed that these two methods are not necessarily mutual exclusive. In fact, a practical integration has been called for (*ibid*). In this light, this research set out to capture both types of data by deploying a semi-structured questionnaire which could be distributed to a large numbers of people within a constrained timetable. In addition to this, this research also recognised the merit of analysing some published work such as contemporary books, journals and newspapers, which provide rich contextual information, that should compliment the data elicited from the survey.

In summary, the research that has been carried out so far has excelled in systematically analysing conventional linguistic expressions of certain concepts, but

it may not be adequate for demonstrating whether these expressions are actively used by a statically significant number of speakers in the community concerned. Prior research has been less than optimal in illustrating the process of how social and cultural factors can ‘interact’ with people’s physical experience and views of the world.

Therefore, instead of relying on written publications and small samples of subjects, this study conducted an semi-structured questionnaire approach on a large group of subjects who described their experience and concepts of *sheng qi* ‘anger’, *kuai le/gao xin* ‘happiness’ and *ai qing* ‘romantic love’ in Standard Chinese spoken in Taiwan. Each of the subjects had a similar levels of proficiency in Chinese and originated from the same speech community. These questionnaires were completed in the absence of the researcher so as to preserve neutral atmosphere, since the emphasis of this research is to observe natural and spontaneous use of metaphorical language while describing emotion. Although these questionnaires were answered in a written form, the subjects were encouraged to write in the same way as they speak without being preoccupied with the formalities of style.

### **0.3 Scope of the Research and Hypotheses**

In view of the purpose and need for the study presented thus far, this research seeks evidence to support and establish these following statements by examining daily linguistic expressions in Chinese:

I. Comparable conceptual metaphors and cognitive models to those identified by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) and Kövecses (1986, 1989, 1990), also exist in Chinese.

II. Multiple prototypical cognitive models for the conceptualisation of each emotion are demonstrable.

III. Conceptual metaphors and their cognitive models have universal features related to the physiological basis of emotional expression. Moreover, culturally specific features are the product of an interaction between human biology and social factors.

IV. Moderating social factors influence the complexity of the structure of emotion concept. That is, the concept of romantic love will have the tendency to be more complex in terms of its level and diversity of metaphorisation than either happiness or anger. Thus, we should expect to find higher number of metaphors used in describing love; and greater diversity of metaphors relating to social and cultural interpretations will be identified in the conceptualisation of love than happiness and anger. In contrast, the conceptualisation of happiness and anger will have physical tropism and thus a proportionally richer in use of metonymies and physiologically based metaphors.

V. Social and cultural dynamics, from a diachronic point of view, are shared by various societies at different points in time.

VI. Demographic variables such as gender, age, educational level, will not have any significant impact upon the use of metaphor and metonymy. Furthermore, place of residency and second language should not contaminate the data, given that the experimental subjects moved to their respective countries in adulthood.

VII. There will be evidence to support a weak form of Whorfian Hypothesis, where existing concepts guide or motivate the emergence of new concepts.

Moreover, a re-examination of the view that regards human biology as a constraint on our conceptualisation of emotion; and that all the particularities exhibited in different cultures are limited by this mechanism (Harris, 1995) will be carried out. It will be argued that socialisation, though constrained by human biology, actually plays an equally important role as biology in shaping our conception of emotion. This work will also address issues surrounding a probable overgeneralisation where studies found cross-linguistic similarities which are seemingly motivated by physiology, and then conclude that there must be some sort of unbiased universal principles which govern human conceptualisation (Kövecses, 1995a 1995b). It is in fact impossible to separate the effect of biology and socialisation on language and cognition. They interact with each other incessantly so our language should be an embodiment of such mechanism and such an embodiment in turn acts as a guide to our understanding of the world. Only from this viewpoint are we able to reconcile the opposing positions of cultural relativity and universality.

#### **0.4 Overview**

Since this study adopts a lexical approach in a multidisciplinary context, it is vital at the outset to describe in some detail: Emotion and conceptual metaphor. However, emotion is an extremely complex 'entity' and has been examined from various aspects, each claiming to be the most plausible representation of emotion. Such a debate is crucial to the understanding of the relationship between language

and emotion concepts. Thus Chapter 1 reviews emotion theories from three of the most salient standpoints, i.e. biological, psychological and social constructions.

The latter part of Chapter 1 then deals with the theoretical background of conceptual metaphor which gives rise to the framework of this study. It will highlight the intricate connection between language and conceptual metaphor and its role in human cognition. It will become clear during the course of the discussion why conceptual metaphors and metonymies are the best candidates for investigating the concept of emotion. Following on from this, the chapter discusses specific empirical findings utilising conceptual metaphors and metonymies to uncover underlying emotion concepts in various languages. Finally, the end of Chapter 1 focuses on Chinese data and existing research. In particular, it introduces the lexical structure of Chinese characters, which are metonymically if not metaphorically motivated, and encode rich sources of social and cultural knowledge. Therefore, the dissection of the structure of Chinese emotion lexical items is as fruitful as analysing other linguistic metaphorical expressions to uncover embedded conceptual systems.

Chapter 2 presents the research design, including some problems and limitations the survey of using questionnaires encountered. Methods of identifying metaphors and metonymies are illustrated and statistical analyses are then discussed. Chapters 3-5 are the results of the survey and are divided according to the three emotions in question. All three chapters are comparable in terms of their organisation and discussion: A brief summary of English data is presented followed by the analyses of Chinese data and closes with a cross-linguistic comparison. More specifically, in chapter 3, the findings of *sheng qi* 'anger' are presented and compared with that of English data. In chapter four and five the findings of *kuai le* or



*gao xing* 'happiness' and *ai qing* 'romantic love' are discussed and compared with English data, respectively.

Finally, chapter 6 discusses the overall findings and results of the cross-linguistic comparison. The issues relating to the structure of these three individual concepts are evaluated based upon the evidence elicited in chapters 3-5. They are evaluated to affirm the postulation that they are not structured the same way. The abstractness, which has to do with the degree of socialisation, of the emotion may play a role in the conceptualisation. This finding should lend support to the view that conceptual metaphors are not all physiologically based, thus universal. Following this discussion, cultural specific concepts and universal entities identified in the linguistic data are analysed in greater detail to provide a unified view of emotion concepts.

After examining socialisation and culture as factors influencing the collective expressions of emotion and conceptualisation, some plausible explanations to the relationship between multiple cognitive models and metonymy/metaphor are set out. This is followed by a discussion of other potential confounds, such as gender, age and marital status that may have affected the results. Finally, evidence elicited from the data in support of the Whorfian effect is presented; and concluding with recommendations and directions for future research on cross-linguistic and cultural conceptualisations of emotion.

# CHAPTER 1 – THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: EMOTION AND CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS

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## 1.0 Introduction

Any research into the language of emotions cannot begin without first defining one fundamental issue at the outset: What is an emotion? Is it a “strong feeling of any kind” and “feeling of the human spirit” as defined in both The Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of Current English and The Language Dictionary of Contemporary English, respectively? Then what is a feeling, one may ask. A possible solution is to define it by default; that is, by what it is not. Therefore, both dictionaries give the following examples which imply emotion is a kind of feeling in contrast to the mind and reason: “The speaker appealed to our emotions rather than to our mind”, and “This speech had an effect on our emotions rather than our reason.” The Chambers English Dictionary goes further with a more explicit definition by default as it enters emotion as “...a moving of the feelings, agitation of the mind, distinguished from *cognition* and *will*.” Apparently, these encyclopaedic definitions provide a conventional belief of emotions, which includes the following tenets: 1) Emotion is an experience or is something to be experienced; 2) these emotional experiences are very likely located somewhere within the human dimensions of body, mind and soul; 3) these experiences, as the opposite to reason, are therefore beyond control by will. However, there is a more plausible definition of emotion that is far more complex than all of the above combined.

As our knowledge of brain science has expanded greatly in recent years through sophisticated tools and methodology, our perspectives on mind, cognition,

emotion and language has also been broadened. We have learned each of these components do not work autonomously in our brain; on the contrary, they are in constant interaction with one another to form our identity right from the moment of birth. We have also learned that our brain does not evolve in isolation; it interacts incessantly with our physical and socio-cultural environment from generation to generation, and therefore within this new framework emotion is no longer a discrete internal phenomenon.

Yet how do these interactions work? One of the tools that may reveal these interactions, which is the major concern of this present study, are metaphors and metonymies that are so prevalent in our daily language. Metaphors and metonymies, formerly referred to as a poetic device, have become one of the most productive tools in the investigation of human brain. Hence, it is crucial to examine the postulations and evidence. We will first review some prominent theories of emotion, which range from developmental to social constructive perspectives so as to establish an unified picture of emotion: an interaction between human biology and cognition which in turn is affected by culture. Following this, a number of recent influential research efforts on conceptual metaphors as well as metonymies will be summarised.

These research results lend substantial support to the view that conceptual metaphors and metonymies structure our cognitive system. In other words, the human cognitive system, if not all, contains abstract thinking that is largely metaphorical (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, Johnson, 1987, Lakoff and Johnson, 1999). The evidence gathered for such an assertion is dominantly through the investigation of conventional, daily metaphoric language that has now become clear is hardly an optional flourish on literal language. It actually mirrors the cognitive processes that

underlie abstract concepts (Danesi and Perron, 1999: 164). More specifically, it is the manifestation of a systematic set of human conceptual structure (Culson, 2001: 162). Therefore, a review of work conducted on metaphoric linguistic expressions and its methodology in uncovering our cognitive system will be presented.

## **1.1 Emotion Theories**

### **1.1.1 Biological, Cognitive and Social Components of emotion**

Despite the fact that emotions are part of daily life and described in the literature of all cultures, there is still considerable confusion about their nature. Having examined a series of published papers and books on definitions of the word emotion, which has been proposed over the past 100 years, let us begin with what Webster's unabridged dictionary states about emotion. The word emotion comes from the Latin word which means to move or to stir up. In modern usage it has several meanings, such as excitement, or agitation, of feelings of pain or pleasure. It is also described as "a physiological departure from homeostasis that is subjectively experienced as strong feeling (as of love, hate, desire or fear) and manifests itself in neuromuscular, respiratory, cardiovascular, hormonal or other bodily changes preparatory to overt acts which may or may not be performed." These definitions are only a sample from a larger group of definitions and they all describe a large set of complex ideas. Kleinginna & Kleinginna (1981), who as psychologists identified 92 of them from various textbooks, dictionaries, and other sources, and proposed the following integrated definition:

Emotion is a complex source of interactions among subjective and objective factors, mediated by neural/hormonal system, which can (a) give rise to affective experience such as feelings of arousal, pleasure/displeasure; (b)

generate cognitive processes such as emotionally relevant perceptual effects, appraisals, labelling processes; (c) activate widespread physiological adjustments to the arousing conditions; and (d) lead to behaviour that is often, but not always, expressive, goal-directed, and adaptive.

This definition is useful because it includes many of the diverse ideas found in the literature about emotions, even though it needs some refinement and elaboration. Furthermore, this definition reflects what scientists and psychologists regard emotions: an interaction between biology and cognition and the only issue in dispute is whether biological functions come first then trigger cognition or reverse is true. In the above view, it appears that emotions are talked about in terms of neural and hormonal arousal and other physiological symptoms, while human cognition searches meaning and a label to describe such a phenomenon. Social contexts and rules of such cognitive process are not mentioned at all.

Social Constructionists, such as Harre, Averill and Gergen would argue, while not ignoring the one's individual will, stated that emotions are not purely personal internal or physical experiences; for example, they are parts of a bigger meaning system in society. Understanding such a debate is crucial if we need to pinpoint what role the language of emotion plays in the interlocking web of emotion woven by biology, cognition and social construction. Firstly, the biological component, as most representative view of equating bodily functions with emotions was presented by an American psychologist-philosopher William James (1842-1910). He espoused the position that bodily changes directly follow a perception of an exciting event and that the feeling of these bodily changes is the emotion. He stated that "Common sense says we lose our fortune, are sorry and weep;...(My) hypothesis...is that we feel sorry because we cry, angry because we strike, afraid

because we tremble...” (James, 1890 in Plutchik, 1994:27). A common sense way of thinking the sequence of events when an emotion occurs would be the perception of a situation gives rise to a feeling of emotion, which is then followed by various bodily changes both inner and outer (Plutchik, 1994: 33). However, recent research from a developmental point of view (Denham, 1998) propose that sometime the bodily changes which are governed directly by human autonomic nervous system arousal precede the perception of situation, in other word, the cognition, whereas in some cases, it is reversed.

Modern philosophical writers (e.g., Arnold, 1960, 1970; Kenny, 1963; Lazarus, 1966; Solomon, 1980; Wittgenstein, 1953) and cognitive psychologists have contributed to an important shift in this conceptualisation of emotions, resulting in a new assertion that emotion and reason no longer are each other’s opposites. Further still, emotions are considered as partly consisting of cognitions, because they involve judgements, or at least evaluations of an object, event, or person (cf. Calhoun & Solomon, 1984). The new cognitive paradigm has led to other controversies concerning the extent to which emotions should essentially be seen either as cognitions or affects as a combination of these states. Thus, according to some authors (Dienstbier, 1978; Mandler, 1975; Schachter & Singer, 1962) emotions are a combination of a cognitive state and an arousal state; for others (Oatley & Johnson-Laird, 1987; Solomon, 1980) emotions are primarily cognitively based states. However, emerging evidence from recent emotion research suggests that emotion is a combination of biologically determined physical arousal, cognitive appraisals and social regulations.

Emotion as cognition and a social phenomenon, was studied by Fischer (1991) via the emotion script underlying emotion. She sees emotion as a knowledge structure about emotional episodes (1991:23), and argues that these may serve several functions both in cognitive information processing and in social interaction. Her study on emotion script is to regard scripts as schemas that structure and regulate how expectations about emotions in a specific social contexts transform, inhibit or encourage the course of the emotion. appraisal as well as regulation processes; this appeared to be of central importance in conceptualising the social and cognitive nature of emotions. Her research recognises the potency of examining language script as a window to emotion, and thus has broad implications to any similar research in this framework. The following section will examine studies that analyse either scripts or schemas underlying emotion through language.

### 1.1.2 Emotion Language and Emotion

If we regard the concept of emotion as an interaction between a cognitive process and socio-cultural regulations, what role does language play in the scheme of things? Arguably, each language has its unique emotion vocabulary to express a wide repertoire of emotions perceivable in the speech community in question. However, does this very fact suggest that if we use different languages to express some presumably shared emotion phenomenon across cultures, such as anger, happiness, fear, love, and sadness, our emotion experience should be different as well? For example, it is *sheng qi* 生氣 ‘emitting qi’ which stands for anger in Chinese, whereas it is ‘angry’ in English, which means ‘painful, tight’ (Györi: 1998:111) originally. These two expressions at first glance do not appear to have any deeper

connection, and thus it can be reasonably postulated that when Chinese become angry they experience ‘vapour’ arising out of their body, while English people feel ‘tightness’ and ‘pain’. On closer inspection, such unrelated experiences do in fact have much more in common than one would have expected, however, there are clear and specific differences.

For example, if we consider the semantic meaning of *qi*, which is presumably an unique Chinese concept arising from ancient Chinese philosophy that observes the atmosphere, or vapour, *qi*, in the universal which is divided into *yin* and *yang qi*; this complementary *qi*, is believed not only an essence of the universe but human beings as well. Therefore, the expression ‘emitting *qi*’ symbolising someone who does not keep this *qi* inside him or her harmoniously by having excessive *qi*, thus regarded as an angry person. In English, the causal effect of ‘feeling tight and painful’ and ‘anger’ appears to be much more straightforward in matching a behaviour or physiological effect with an angry episode. However, if we look at the other generic expressions for anger in Chinese *fen nu* 憤怒 ‘pent-up *qi*’, we will find its connection with the English ‘angry’ much more palpable. Such a comparison raises an important issue in language and emotion research in that how can we compare emotion concepts cross-culturally by examining their emotion lexicon respectively without being misled by superficial differences or similarities?

In resolving this dilemma, there are in principle three types of methodology employed in such an investigation. Firstly, Wierzbicka (1972, 1980, 1985, 1998, 1996a 1996b) developed NSM (natural semantic metalanguage) for nearly three decades, for any cross-linguistic comparison. She asserts that we need an “alphabet of human thought”, a metalanguage that is presumably culture-independent to



conduct a valid linguistic comparison. Secondly, another tool, referred to as “conceptual metaphor” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) has proved to be equally productive in quality cross-linguistic comparison in which a deeper cognitive structure of language is scrutinised. Finally, there are ethnographers (Lutz, Rosaldo, Levy, Quinn, etc.) in social and cognitive anthropology deploying field-work in observing emotion lexicon in action. These researchers recorded not only the words that are used by the subjects of the speech community in question, but also the social contexts they are used.

All three methodologies, although via different routes, seek to uncover the deeper structure of the emotion lexical items encoded in so-called emotion ‘script’, ‘schema’ or ‘cultural model’ that underlie the language (see D’Andrade, 1997). Yet, there are some differences in emphasis. Wierzbicka’s approach tends to have a narrower scope since she analyses the semantic meaning of some specific key words in a speech community (e.g., 1989, 1996a, 1996b). The ‘scripts’ she derives from her analyses are “minimal” definitions (see Kövecses, 1993 ), which may not elicit the richness of the various inherent and related concepts that are an integral part of or related to the meaning of a particular word. The conceptual metaphor approach, on the other hand, deals with this issue more satisfactorily, because it examines the conceptual ‘system’ that constitutes ‘clusters of’ linguistic expressions, which are systematically organised to reflect our conceptual mechanism. In other words, what are compared in this framework are not merely the linguistic expressions for emotion but also conceptions. The ethnographic approach, unlike the previous two methods, does not rely on semantic/lexical, or cognitive tools solely. It is more concerned with the social process in negotiating and management of a particular emotion; so the

emphasis is placed upon the discourse of emotion language. In short, while the first two approaches focus on the ‘expression’ of the emotion to arrive at some postulations of physical, personal, psychological and social way of experiencing emotions, the latter approach emphasises the ‘management’ of emotion at an interpersonal and social level.

One must bear in mind, that from the earlier discussion on the nature of emotion, we concluded that emotion is multifaceted and consists of all the levels these aforementioned methods seek to uncover. Although this current research is in the framework of ‘conceptual metaphor’ in understanding the relationship between language and emotion, it also takes, to a greater extent, the ethnographic approach and to a lesser extent, the NSM approach, into consideration in yielding a dynamic picture of emotion concepts drawn by our daily linguistic expressions; both in communicating emotion in private and social settings. It is through such an interaction of human cognitive properties with socio-cultural environment via the mediation of language, our emotion life acquires its meaning. The ensuing sections will review some major tenets of conceptual metaphors and metonymies in our language/cognitive system, and their interaction with emotion.

## **1.2 Conceptual Metaphors and Metonymies**

The metaphors and metonymies this particular work examines are referred to as “conceptual metaphors and metonymies.” This terminology was formally launched by Lakoff and Johnson’s seismic work *Metaphors we live by* (1980), whereby they assert that metaphors and metonymies are not merely ornaments to language, they are the embodiment of our conceptual system. This view marked a

departure from traditional or classic view of metaphor in which metaphor has been regarded as purely literary phenomenon, and has thus put any metaphorical language research into the cognitive sphere ever since.

In this new sphere, it is believed that metaphor should not be seen as a linguistic device, but rather as a form of thought, which is pervasive, systematic, and fundamental. In light of this, metaphor is omnipresent in our language system, underneath lies a deeply embedded conceptual system. Such a relationship manifests itself in the linguistic expressions of our ideas about the world such as objects, properties or relations. These ideas are expressed by systematically mapping the knowledge of one domain (called the source domain) onto another domain (called the target domain). Usually, it is a domain of a more bodily, experiential based concept or knowledge that is projected onto a domain of less known or abstract concept. For example, we tend to use the domain of spatial orientation to understand the domain of emotion or the domain of journey to understand the domain of life. In the first instance, we have linguistic expressions such as 'I feel up', 'I am down', or 'my spirit is lifted' to express various moods, whereas in the second case, we have 'we are going nowhere', 'life is a long and winding road', or 'we are at the crossroads' to express life is understood as travelling to places.

An overwhelming body of research that followed the methodology established by Lakoff and Johnson, which is to examine the systematic use of metaphorical language, consequently has shown substantial support to their thesis that there is a positive correlation between language and human conceptual system. Such research not only establishes the potency of dissecting daily language in order to uncover the embedded metaphors, but also the evidence that the majority of

human concepts if not all are structured metaphorically. The following sections are to present the details of this contemporary theories of metaphor and metonymy and the research to sustain their major tenets.

### **1.2.1 From Classic to Contemporary Theories of Metaphor**

The traditional theory of metaphor has persisted for twenty-five hundred years in the philosophical and literary traditions. Lakoff and Johnson summarise the central tenets of the traditional theory as follows (1999:119):

1. Metaphor is a matter of words, not thought.
2. Metaphor occurs when a word is applied not to what is normally designates, but to something else.
3. Metaphorical language is not part of ordinary conventional language. Instead, it is novel and typically arises in poetry, rhetorical attempts at persuasion, and scientific discovery.
4. Metaphorical language is deviant. In metaphor, words are not used in their proper sense.
5. Conventional metaphorical expressions in ordinary everyday language are 'dead metaphors' that is, expressions that once were metaphorical, but have become frozen into literal expressions.
6. Metaphors express similarities. That is, there are pre-existing similarities between what words normally designate and what they designate when they used metaphorically.

Contrary to these tenets, Lakoff and Johnson who revolutionised our view on metaphor, have argued for treating metaphors as embodied and conceptual and everyday thought is largely if not all metaphorical (1980). They support their position by identifying some important metaphors, which they argue strongly, structure our thought or conceptualisation, therefore were given the term 'conceptual metaphor' to differentiate them from the traditional definition of metaphor.

To illustrate their point, they use LOVE IS A JOURNEY, a conceptual metaphor they identified from the following linguistic expressions commonly used in American English as an example:

- “Our relationship has hit a dead-end street”
- “Our relationship is spinning its wheels”
- “We’re going to different directions”
- “Our relationship is at a crossroads”

They assert that these sentences are not different metaphorical expressions. They are all instances of a single conceptual metaphor, namely LOVE IS A JOURNEY, which are categorised by the conceptual cross-domain mapping as follows (Johnson 1993: 417):

- a. The lovers correspond to travellers.
- b. The lover relationship corresponds to the vehicle.
- c. The lovers’ common goals correspond to their common destinations on the journey.
- d. Difficulties in the relationship correspond to impediments to travel.

Therefore, there is one conceptual metaphor here, and not dozens of unrelated linguistic expressions that are simply used metaphorically, and they simply refute the traditional view by stating:

1. Metaphor is centrally a matter of thought, not just words. Metaphorical language is reflection of metaphorical thought.
2. Metaphorical language is part of ordinary conventional language. “We are at a crossroads in our relationship” or “Our relationship isn’t going anyway” are ordinary every day expressions and LOVE IS A JOURNEY mapping is part of our ordinary everyday way of conceptualising love and reasoning about it.
3. Metaphorical language is normal, not deviant. Conceptualising love is a journey is one of our normal ways of conceptualising love. Therefore, “We are at a crossroads in our relationship” is a normal, not a deviant expression.

4. Conventional metaphorical expressions in ordinary language are not 'dead metaphors'. A case such as LOVE IS A JOURNEY mapping is so alive that it keeps producing more examples of new metaphorical expressions in song lyric, poems, self-help books, and marriage ceremonies. Since they are relatively fixed, unconscious, automatic, and so alive that they are used regularly without awareness or noticeable effort, they may appear to be "dead" or "frozen".
5. Metaphors do not express pre-existing similarities between two domains. They are a cross-domain mapping. For example, there is no pre-existing similarity between the concept of love and the concept of journey.

They further assert that metaphor "allows conventional mental imagery from sensorimotor domains to be used for domains of subjective experience." (1999:45). Such a statement concludes their central thesis that metaphor is a biological and cognitive reality that we can not deny and live without. In summary, their revolutionary view has facilitated a paradigm shift in the contemporary investigation of metaphor theory, as follows:

- 1). The death of dead metaphor. Since all language is embodied, dead metaphors need no longer be regarded as "dead". Lexical entries such as *table leg* or *bottleneck* now function as traces of the intrinsic metaphoricity of linguistic expression per se. (see also Traugott., 1985, and Dirven, 1994). Instead of focusing on an opposition between dead and "live" metaphors, metaphor theory now speaks of the lexicalisation and grammatisation process of language (Goatly, 1997).

- 2). Similes are metaphors. Instead of seeing similes as explicated metaphors (see Chiappe & Kennedy, 1999, 2000; Harris & Mosier, 1999, Bridgeman, 1996), both simile and metaphor can be considered members of same category. Traditional views such as that of the rhetorical tradition had insisted upon a dichotomy between similes and metaphors, associating the comparison of simile to literal paraphrase and evaluating the condensed form of metaphor as properly complex and sophisticatedly

multifunctional, contemporary metaphor studies have tended to diminish this contrast between metaphor and simile.

3). Erasure of the dichotomy between metaphor and metonymy and seek a new connection between these two cognitive mechanisms. Roman Jakobson's (1987 [1958]) fundamental work on the binary opposition of metaphor and metonymy, similarity and contiguity, or the paradigmatic and the syntagmatic axis respectively has been reinterpreted. Instead, contemporary cognitive approaches have integrated metaphor and metonymy within models of frame-related image transfer. Some researchers such as Goossens (1989, 1995) Niemeier (2000), Radden (2000) tend to use an interactive model in determining the nature of a cross- or single-domain mapping. They maintain that the distinction between metaphor and metonymy is in fact scalar, rather than absolute as found in most daily discourse people are engaged in.

4). From vehicle to source. A final shift is a replacement of I. A. Richard's (1936: 97-98) influential schema of vehicle, tenor (later, topic) and ground by the schema of source domain, target domain, and the mapping of source on target. Nonetheless, Richard's schema laid the ground work for Black (1962) to develop an "interaction" theory of domain mapping replacing early "comparison" theory dating back to Aristotle (1966). In the interaction framework, metaphor acquires its cognitive force which "creates" similarity rather than simply to "capture" pre-existing" similarity. A further departure from this view focuses on how the "mapping" of salient elements of source domain of the metaphor are mapped onto the target domain. In this manner, a number of prototypical features associated with the target domain are then projected on to the subject matter about which one wants

to talk about. In brief, this source-target model highlights both the mapping process and the creative exploration of a source schema for the purpose of characterising the target of the conceptual transfer.

In light of these shifts in emphasis, we will hence discuss further some of the implications to support a cognitive basis of metaphor and metaphorical language, which are relevant to the present research. With the first shift in the definition of ‘conventional’, and ‘dead’ metaphor, we shall examine the types of metaphors as Lakoff and Johnson define them (1980) and how Grady’s theory of “primitive” and “compound” metaphors complement their categorisation. Secondly, the interaction between metaphor and metonymy will be discussed initially from the bodily, experiential basis of abstract thinking and reasoning and how this mechanism connects metaphor and metonymy. In particular, the empirical studies of ‘stand’ by Gibbs *et al* (1994) and Johnson’s (1999) on ‘see’, which form his “conflation hypothesis” will be illustrated to demonstrate bodily and experiential basis of metonymy and metaphor. Thirdly, the shift in domain and mapping have the following implications which are the constraints of mapping by image schemata, and various levels of mapping in single and cross-domain transfer that give rise to the term coined by Goossens as “metaphtonymy” (1990, 1995). Then, from domain we will move on to blending and mental space (Turner & Fauconnier, 1996; Grady, Taub & Morgan, 1998) in providing complementary account of more complex mapping.



### **1.2.2 Lakoff and Johnson's Theory of Metaphors and Metaphor systems**

The major tenets of Lakoff and Johnson's early work (1980) are firstly the three categories of conceptual metaphors; they are mainly categorised into three classes: as orientational metaphors, ontological metaphors and structural metaphors. Secondly, the experiential basis of metaphors that human concepts are grounded on bodily experience. Thirdly, the image schemata that governs the 'mappability' of concepts, and fourthly, the Ideal Cognitive Model that is underlying conceptual metaphors and metonymies. We will look at these tenets and other theories that complement theirs in turn. First, we shall examine the types of metaphors that are found in our conceptual system.

For Lakoff and Johnson, linguistic expressions such as "she is cold" and "she is a block of ice" are all accounted for as part of a system of conceptual metaphors. They are, however, in traditional view of metaphor, rendered as "dead" (as in "cold") and "conventional" (as in "block of ice") metaphors (Traugott, 1985) and are processed the same way as any literal language. However, Lakoff and Johnson argue that although these types of metaphors are not in speakers' conscious awareness while using or comprehending them<sup>1</sup> that does not make them less metaphorical and less cognitively real than novel metaphors or other figurative language. In fact, by examining these frozen or conventionalised metaphorical expressions, they found distinct patterns of three major types of metaphors that reflect the cognitive structure of human conception systems. They are orientational, ontological and structural metaphors.

According to Lakoff and Johnson, orientational metaphors are those which are based upon spatial perception and direct physical experiences which structure

less concrete and delineated concepts, for example, in terms of the conceptualisation emotions in English, we have UP IS GOOD, DOWN IS BAD, and RATIONAL IS UP, EMOTION IS DOWN. The linguistic evidence to demonstrate these concepts includes: "Things are looking *up*," "Things are at an all time *low*," "He does *high-quality* work," and "He couldn't *rise above* his emotions".

Ontological metaphors are those that are used to describe experiences in terms of objects and substances. TIME IS AN EVENT, SPACE IS AN OBJECT, and BODY IS A CONTAINER are the major metaphors in this category. The first two metaphors have not only been encoded into lexicon but also into syntactic rules (O'Dowd, 1992). The metaphor: BODY IS A CONTAINER, is crucial for understanding emotional expressions. A central metaphor in expressing emotion in English, for example, is with this idea of *qi*, we get the metonymic concept *QI STANDS FOR EMOTION*, and thus, we get the following metaphor *EMOTION IS QI IN A CONTAINER*. Linguistic expressions to account for this metaphor in Chinese include '*Wo shen qi le*,' (My *qi* has risen, meaning I am angry now) '*Ta yi qi i yang yang*,' (Her *qi* is in high spirit, meaning she is happy) and '*Shiao shiao qi ba*' (Please subdue your *qi*, meaning please not to be angry anymore). In other words, we can see that emotion in Chinese conceptual systems can rise up, go down, and come out, which is, at the first look, very similar to the conceptual metaphor *EMOTION IS FLUID IN A CONTAINER* in English. The *EMOTION IS FLUID IN A CONTAINER* (Kövecses, 1990), and from this concept, we get expressions such as: 'She was filled with emotion,' 'Emotion welled up inside her,' 'There is a lot of passion in her', etc.. This central metaphor, when combined with metaphors (e.g.

MORE IS UP), gives rise to expressions such as: 'I feel empty', and 'I feel emotionally drained'.

Structural metaphors are comparatively more complex than other metaphors; they allow the use of one highly structured and clearly delineated concept to structure another. Furthermore, they, like orientational and ontological metaphors, are grounded in systematic correlations within our experience. A case in point is the metaphor RATIONAL ARGUMENT IS WAR in English, in which we use the more directly physical experience of war to structure the less physically experience of rational argument. TIME IS A RESOURCE (e.g. 'Time is money') is another example, in which we conceptualised time, a less physical experience, in terms of a precious commodity.

Alternatively, Grady et al (1996) and Grady (1997, 1998) postulates 'primitives' and 'compounds' to analyse the different types of conceptual metaphors. According to Grady et al, a primitive is "a metaphorical mapping for which there is an independent and direct experiential basis and independent linguistic evidence", while a compound is "a self-consistent metaphorical complex composed of more than one primitive" (Grady, 1996:181). Lakoff and Johnson (1999) summarise neatly how Grady's theory can complement the theory of metaphor they pioneered in 1980: "All complex metaphors are 'molecular,' made up of 'atomic' metaphorical parts called primary metaphors. Each primary metaphor has a minimal structure and arises naturally, automatically, and unconsciously through everyday experience by means of conflation, during which cross-domain associations are formed. Complex metaphors are formed by conceptual blending" (*ibid*: 46). Some of the instances of primary metaphors listed by Lakoff and Johnson include Affection Is Warmth,

Happy Is Big, Intimacy Is Closeness, More Is Up, Difficulties Are Burden,  
Organisation Is Physical Structure, Purposes Are Destination, etc (*ibid*: 50, 51).

The strength of Grady's analysis is the merit that through those primitives, the physical, experiential basis of each metaphor is made transparent. It can compensate some of poverty and inconsistency of mapping explained by current theory of source and target domains. More important, his framework provides the possibility of observing how complex metaphors or the structural ones in Lakoff and Johnson's term are composed by several primitives in the fashion of building blocks. These building blocks can have several combinations to give rise to similar complex metaphors but with different emphasis. For example, THEORIES ARE BUILDING is a compound, which consists of LOGICAL STRUCTURE IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE and PERSISTING IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE, but it can retain the PHYSICAL STRUCTURE primitive to combine with another primitive INTERRELATED IS INTERWOVEN in arriving at THEORIES ARE FABRICS compound metaphor. This kind of mechanism transpires, on an individual level, how individual speaker can achieve coherence in a discourse utilising various metaphors, (Koch and Deetz, 1984) while, on a socio-cultural level, how a culture can achieve social coherence by freely combining various primitives or other compounds. Arguably, as Grady suggests that primitives are rooted in direct experiential basis, which can be constrained by human biology, thus tend to be universal; yet, the combinations of these basic building blocks may be guided and influenced by socio-cultural needs. In this vein, Grady's framework should enable easier and clearer cross-cultural or linguistic comparison.

### 1.2.3 Body-in-the-Mind: Experiential Basis of Metonymy and Metaphor

Grady's work arose out of Johnson's (1987) groundbreaking work in *Body in the mind* (1987) in which he claims that our knowledge about this world is grounded in and structured by various patterns of perceptual interactions, bodily actions, and manipulations of objects (also see Lakoff, 1987, 1990; Talmy, 1988). For example, central to our understanding of the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER in American English, which gives rise to expressions such as "blew your stack", "hit the ceiling", "make my blood boil", is the embodied experiences of bodies of containment. People have strong kinaesthetic experiences of bodily containment ranging from situations in which bodies are in and out of containers (e.g., bathtubs, beds, rooms, houses, etc.) to constitute experiences of bodies in a containers in which substance enters and exists. An important part of bodily containment is the experience of our bodies being filled with liquids including stomach fluids, blood and sweat. Under stress, people experience the feeling of their bodily fluids becoming heated. These various recurring bodily experiences give rise to the development of experiential gestalts, called *image schemas*, for CONTAINMENT (Johnson, *ibid*).

These image schemas emerge throughout sensorimotor activity as we manipulate objects, orient ourselves spatially and temporally, and direct our perceptual focus for various purposes (Johnson, 1991). Studies in cognitive linguistics suggest that over two dozen different image schemas and several image schema transformations appear regularly in people's everyday thinking, reasoning, and imagination (Johnson, 1987, Lakoff, 1987). Among these are schematic structures of, apart from CONTAINER, BALANCE, SOURCE-PATH-GOAL,

PATH, CYCLE, ATTRACTION, CENTRE-PERIPHERY, and LINK. These image schemas cover a wide range of experiential structures that are pervasive in our experience, have internal structure, and can be metaphorically elaborated to provide for our understanding of more abstract domains.

Such image schemas (or schemata)<sup>2</sup> arise from a more general schema theory in cognitive sciences that can be traced back through Jean Piaget and Frederick Barlett to Immanuel Kant (Strauss & Quinn, 1997:49)<sup>3</sup>. The crux of the schema theory in this discipline is that in large measure information processing is mediated by learned or innate mental structures that organise related pieces of our knowledge. More specifically, as a cognitive psychologist, George Mandler (1984), describes, a schema is a “bounded, distinct, and unitary representation”. He states that activation of parts of schema suggests the activation of the whole, different from other structures and other schemas. Schemas, he maintains, are built up in the course of interaction with the environment. He states:

The schema that is developed as a result of prior experiences with a particular kind of event is not a carbon copy of that event; schemas are abstract representations of environmental regularities. We comprehend events in terms of the schemas they activate.

Schemas are also processing mechanism; they are active in selecting evidence, in parsing the data provided by our environment, and in providing appropriate general or specific hypotheses. Most, if not all, of the activation processes occur automatically and without awareness on the part of the perceiver-comprehender. (1984:55-56)

In other words, schemas organise our experience or at times reconstruct our memories of past events, determine the meanings we impart to ongoing experience. Such reconstructions are in a highly schematic way—it leaves unspecified a number of ‘slots’ which can be filled in by context or additional information from the

speaker. (Strauss & Quinn, *ibid*; D'Andrade, 1995:123). There can be many different types of schemas from parts to wholes, simple to complex, concrete to abstract. Simpler schemas can be "embedded" within more complex schemas. For example, there can be a flannel-shirt schema as part of a lumber jack schema, or there can be several sub-schemas within the writing schema that contains the schema for writing implement, a writing surface, a language, and an entity that is trying to communicate. In turn, these sub-schemas can be composed by sub-sub schemas, such as schemas for pens, paper, English, authors, etc. A large majority of schemas are cultural schemas which are shared by people who have had some experiences like ours, but not with everybody (Strauss & Quinn, 1997:49). Another name for cultural schemas, especially of the more complex sort is known as "cultural models" (Holland and Quinn, 1987; D'Andrade, 1995). However, according to D'Andrade (*ibid*), many models are not schemas themselves, although they are composed of schemas. Models are not schemas when the collection of elements is too large and complex to hold in short-term memory. The possible representation of models will be discussed in the ensuing section.

Image schemas, in light of the general schema theory, are one of the schemas which organise our experience and knowledge. As for the representation of image schemas, it can be generally defined as a dynamic analogue representations of spatial relations and movement in space (Gibbs & Colston, 1995:349). Even though image schemas are derived from perceptual and motor processes, they are not themselves sensorimotor processes. They are, as Johnson (1987:30) claims, "primary means by which we construct or constitute order and are not mere passive receptacles into which experience is poured." Gibbs and his colleague (*ibid*) state that image

schemas are not the same as the notion of schemata traditionally used in cognitive sciences as we briefly discussed above, which are abstract conceptual and prepositional event structures<sup>4</sup>. By contrast, they summarise that image schemas are imaginative and non-propositional in nature, and operate as organising structures of experience at the level of bodily perception and movement. Image schemas exist across all perceptual modalities; therefore, as such, they are at once visual, auditory, kinaesthetic, and tactile. This internal structure is in turn projected onto new domain via metaphor.

In the area of linguistic understanding (including cross-linguistic comparison) and everyday thought, there have been studies on how the internal structure of image schemas are used to create grammatical form (Langacker 1987, 1991), to represent the underlying meaning that relates to seemingly disparate senses of prepositions (Brugman and Lakoff, 1988; Vandeloise 1993,), to facilitate the nominalizations of verbs and adjectives in English and Greek (Nikifordou, 1999), to motivate verb-particle constructions, such as those focusing on *up* and *out* (Lindner, 1983) and *qi lai* 'up' or 'emerging' in Mandarin Chinese (Huang & Chang, 1996), to construct temporal and spatial terms (Yu Ning, 1996), as well as to explain the many kinds of cognitive relationships that can form the basis of the extension of a category such as Japanese *hon* (Lakoff, 1987) .

One further area of interest in image schemas or bodily experiences and language system is polysemy. Several linguists have argued in recent years that many polysemous words resist being defined by a general, abstract, core sense, known as "componential analysis" (Brugmen & Lakoff, 1988; Fillmore, 1982; Geeraerts 1993; Sweetser, 1986). Instead, these linguists have suggested that the meanings of



polysemous words can be characterised by metaphor, metonymy, and different kinds of image schemas (Lakoff, 1987; Johnson, 1987; Dirven, 1985; Sweetser, 1990).

Under this view, the lexical organisation of polysemous words is not a repository of random, idiosyncratic information, but is structured by general cognitive principles that are systematic and recurrent throughout the lexicon. Most important, perhaps, according to Gibbs & Colston (1995) is the claim that these principles arise from our phenomenological, embodied experience.

Empirically, Gibbs and his other colleagues (Gibbs, Beitel, Harrington & Sanders, 1994) conducted their own studies on the English verb 'stand' to demonstrate such a postulation. Their general aim was to illustrate that the different senses of the polysemous word 'stand' are motivated by various image schemas that arise from our bodily experience of standing. Their meanings understood by the native speakers are not arbitrary but are motivated by people's recurring bodily experiences in the real world. Gibbs *et al* thus designed three experiments involving subjects 1) doing physical exercises which involved the experience of various stances of standing, followed by verbal descriptions of 12 different image schemas which might have some relationship to these experiences; 2) grouping 35 different senses of *stand* into five groups; and 3) connecting their physical experiences they were made aware of in the first experiment in terms of relatedness with the senses of *stand* they sorted in the second experiment .

Gibbs and *et al* found in the first experiment that after having subjects rated the degree of relatedness of each image schema to their own bodily experience of standing, five image schemas emerged as the primaries to people's bodily experience of standing: BALANCE, VERTICALITY, CENTRE-PERIPHERY, RESISTANCE,

and LINKAGE. In the second experiment, Gibbs et al found out in the sorting task that subjects did not particularly separate physical senses from non-physical or figurative ones. Finally, in the last experiment, subjects needed to stand up to focus on various aspect of their bodily experiences of standing. While they were doing this, they were presented with verbal descriptions of the five image schemas which were identified in the first experiment. Afterward, the subjects were requested to rate the degree of relatedness between each sense of 32 senses of *stand* and the five schemas. The results of the last experiment support Gibbs et al's hypothesis, which demonstrate that non-physical or figurative senses of 'stand' are also based upon these five image schemas, which in turn, derive from recurring bodily experience and interaction with the environment.

Another empirical evidence supporting bodily experiences structuring our abstract understanding of polysemous words is *see* in English from a developmental point of view. Johnson (1999) refers to the motivation that enable children extending the senses of physical, visual *see* to abstract, mental senses of 'see' as the "Conflation Hypothesis" (CH). In his experiment, he found that most of the adult uses of *see* to the child are not central visual uses but do involve a visual dimension. As predicted by CH, the adult uses include numerous cases of overlap similar to the kind that allows correlation-based meaning shift. Most interestingly, this includes overlap uses of expressions, like 'I see what you mean', which are seldom used in a visual sense in adult-to-adult speech. Most of the child uses are central visual ones. Almost without exception, the child's uses describe situations that involve vision, but there are examples of use-types that typically receive non-visual interpretations in adult usage. If the child had two distinct senses associated with 'see', one visual and

one mental, we would expect to find unambiguously mental usage of 'see' – ones that could not be assigned a plausible visual interpretation – among the child's utterances., but we do not. This suggests that the child assimilates the overlap uses produced by the adult to some kind of visual meaning.

It is clear that visual perception is the most important thing that the child associates with the verb *see*. It is not clear, however, that the child learns a meaning for *see* in the early stages that is identical to adults' literal use of 'see'. The data above suggest that children assimilate various senses of *see*, including those that are typically non-visual for adults, to their understanding of visual experiences, including the mental dimensions of those experiences. More specifically, they may map *see* onto a schematic situational representation – a frame (Fillmore, 1982) or prototypical scene (Slobin, 1985) – that is richer than the adult visual sense, in that it exemplifies both vision and the states and changes of awareness associated with metaphorical uses of 'see'. What makes this likely is the very high frequency of uses in the input that can be assigned either a visual or a mental meaning.

For the child, then, 'I see what you mean' and 'I see a dog' may not be different use-types. If this is the case, then the learning of the mental adult sense(s) of *see* is a matter of differentiating use-types from one another, not of extending an established use-type to a new conceptual domain. If this view is correct, it may indicate that claims about the cognitive utility of the source domain are overstated with respect to *see* and may need to be re-evaluated for some other cases of metaphorical polysemy as well.

This finding, Johnson explains is that his CH is about lexical acquisition and not about metaphor *per se*. While it makes a different prediction about the

acquisition of 'see' than current metaphor theory (MT) does, it does not offer a complete explanation for the phenomena captured by the UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING metaphor. It is important to note that one of the striking features of MT is that it makes generalisations about classes of linguistic expressions rather than about individual lexical items and idiom. There are many expressions related to the UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING metaphor that could not plausibly be accounted for by CH, e.g. "We found your remarks illuminating". For this reason CH is not an alternative to MT in general. However, it does show that there are alternative explanations for some of the properties of lexical meanings that MT seeks to explain in terms of general principles of conceptual relatedness. These alternative explanations rely on the properties of the contexts in which lexical items are learned. Thus, Johnson cautions that MT must therefore pay more attention to the role that language learning plays in the historical development and maintenance of polysemy.

Johnson postulates, albeit speculatively, that CH may provide part of an explanation for how children learn conventional metaphors. Instead of assuming that mapping arises as a result of general correlations in experience we might hypothesise that many mappings are established in the language acquisition process by linguistic expressions that call the child's attention to certain correlations. This can be illustrated by the following excerpt from Johnson's data where an adult explains to a child how a tape recorder works (Johnson, 1999:165):

Adult: but if you take that  
tape off # then the top  
will fall apart # it won't  
be like a little roof anymore # see what I  
mean?

According to Johnson, this type of language sets a precedent for the child to use vision-related terms to talk about mental experience.

There are some metaphors that do not seem to be based on experiential correlations, and for these it seems likely that CH would even be relevant as an acquisitional story. However, recent developments in the theory of metaphor suggest that the significance of CH may be more general than one first assumes. In the theory of primitive or primary metaphor (Grady, Taub, and Morgan 1996, and Grady 1999), that was discussed earlier, all mappings are required to have a clear experiential basis. In this view, all metaphors (except image metaphors) are characterised by experiential correlations, which may be eligible, in principle, for an acquisitional account in terms of the Conflation Hypothesis.

To conclude, a major tenet of Johnson's findings is that a child's acquisition of polysemous words, such as *see* does not require an elaborate metaphorical extension of meanings that typically involve two domains (source and target). There is a transitional phase governed by CH for a child to learn additional senses other than the physical and visual sense of *see*. At this stage, a child may perceive the visual seeing and mental seeing using one domain. In other words, the visual and mental senses overlap for the child in this domain. This findings have an important implication which is, in fact, still, in accordance with other findings on bodily, experiential basis of human abstract reasoning and understanding that were discussed above: The role of metonymy in the development of human cognition and language. That is, metonymy, often a direct reflection of physical experiences to stand for abstract concepts, such as those of emotion, arguably might be the basis of most metaphorical concepts (Barcelona, 2000; Radden, 2000). These findings, in fact,

complement Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Johnson's (1987) body-in-the-mind grounding theory (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999), as they already claimed in their early studies of emotions that metaphorical concepts of anger, for example, arise from some sets of metonymic concepts. With Johnson's (1999) findings we can reasonably confirm that it is plausibly the case in our language and thought.

These studies such as Gibbs and Johnson's have shifted our attention, not only on the bodily and experiential basis of human conceptual and metaphorical system, but also the relationship between metonymy and metaphor. Due to this fact, there have been more and more research on the fundamental role of metonymy in conceptions, and it all seems to indicate that the distinction between metonymy and metaphor is not so clear-cut as one initially thought. They interact with each other throughout our language and thought, therefore it has not been easy to categorise those that occur in natural language discourse (Goossens, 1989). In the following section, we shall examine the bane of some of these confusions arise mostly in the issues of domains and mappability of metonymy and metaphor.

#### **1.2.4 Domain and Mappability**

The major distinction between metonymy and metaphor is the concept of domain, as illustrated by Lakoff and his collaborators proposal on the differences between metaphor and metonymy (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:36; Lakoff & Turner, 1989:103):

- Metaphors involve two conceptual domains; metonymies only one.
- In metaphor the structure and logic of the source domain is mapped onto the structure and logic of the target domain; this means that the primary function

of a metaphor is understanding, while metonymies are mainly used for reference.

- The relationship between the source and target of a metaphor is of the “is-a” kind; in metonymies there is a “stand for” relationship.

These definitions have been scrutinised and tested ever since they were first formulated. Most questions are usually raised concerning the accountability of domains and their level of mappings in natural language. Regarding the first definition, there has been a consensus amongst cognitive linguists that metaphorical mappings involve two separate domains, whereas metonymic mapping occurs within a single conceptual domain or entity which is structured by an ICM (Idealised Cognitive Model) (Lakoff, 1987; Kövecses & Radden, 1998). Despite this transparent definition, it does not make distinguishing metaphors from metonymies an easy task. For example, the metaphor of UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING as argued by Johnson (1999:161) based on his acquisitional theory of ‘see’ in supporting Goldberg’s (1990) claim that some properties of this metaphor may be metonymic in nature, thus, better described as an instance of Generic-is-Specific structure.

From such an argument we can assume that in natural language discourse, or language action (LA), pure cases of metonymy and, to a lesser extent, metaphor are rare. Goossens’ studies (1989) on their interaction can best illustrate such a complexity. He examined a corpus of figurative expressions for linguistic (inter)action from three donor domains: Body parts, sound, and violent action, which are based on *Longman’s Dictionary of Contemporary English* (LDCE). The dictionary contains 109 items involving body parts, 100 items for sound and violent act respectively. From the 109 items of body parts, he identified 42 items of purely metaphorical, which means, the rest of nearly 61% of items have at least a

metonymic ingredient. Amongst these 61% (total=67), only 8 items are pure instances of metonymy, and the other 59 items are mixed cases of metonymy and metaphor. Apart from 5 cases which can not be neatly categorised, all the other 52 cases are evenly distributed into two patterns of mixed cases: Metonymy in metaphor and metaphor from metonymy. The analyses on sound and violent action yielded also comparable results. These results led Goossens (1989:19) to conclude that although metonymy and metaphor are apparently distinct in principle, they are not always separable in practice. This finding resulted in the term “metaphonymy” (Goossens, 1990, 1995) to account for such complex mappings.

Alternatively, the complex mappings of various levels involving both metaphor and metonymy give rise to de Mendoza Ibáñez (1999, 2000) postulation concerning Lakoff and Johnson’s second and third definitions that were illustrated at the beginning of the section. He believes that metonymy is not merely used for reference and as a “stand for” relationship between source and target domains. For example, “I am all ears”, “She’s just a pretty face”, “Jim is the fastest gun”, illustrate a non-referential use of metonymy. Conversely, there can also be a referential use of metaphor as in ‘The pig is waiting for his check’, used by a waitress to refer to a particularly unpleasant customer who keep harassing her. In this case, “the pig” both refers to and stands for the customer (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, 2000:114). The reason for the false impression that metonymies always involve a stand for relationship derives from the common failure of making a difference between referential and predicative uses of both metaphoric and metonymic mappings. This failure occurred more frequently in determining metonymies as referential than predicative is due to the fact that metonymies are constructed on the basis of just one



conceptual domain, which make it difficult to map the structural relation between source and target onto the target since one of the domains is already part of the other.

The predicative use of metonymy is only possible when firstly, the quintessential characteristic of the source is mapped on to the target domain; for example: “John is a fine bass”, or “John is a brain”. And secondly, when the source is clearly a sub-domain of the target since only a sub-domain may provide a relevant feature—which thus becomes available to be brought into focus—of the domain to which it belongs, but not *vice versa*. Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (*ibid*) gives two examples demonstrate what he means:

- a. John is the ham sandwich.
- b. John is a ham sandwich.

He argues that in the restaurant context, the expression “ham sandwich” may only be used referentially as in **a**, but not predicatively as in **b**. The reason for this is that it is difficult to discover a quintessential characteristic of a ham sandwich, which will map onto John. The example in **b**, on the other hand, is a rather infelicitous metaphor since it is not immediately transparent in what sense the notion of ham sandwich is connected to John. In the case of referential use, the hearer is not required to find a relevant features of the source that will map onto the target, but rather to identify an entity which is a sub-domain, an activity which is made possible by the appropriate framing of the utterance (For example, a ham sandwich is more easily to stand for a customer in a restaurant, than, let say, in a doctor’s surgery).

Therefore, Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez suggests that, in light of those examples illustrated above concerning referential and predicative use, metonymies are cases of one-correspondence mappings within a domain; in other words, either a whole

domain maps onto one of its sub-domains (part-for-whole) or the other way around (whole-for-part). In short, he goes further than Lakoff and Johnson's definitions proposing that metonymy should be best characterised as a one-correspondence mapping combines with its domain-internal nature. With this definition in mind, we should consider a continuum from metaphor to metonymy in terms of various levels of domain mappings. In this continuum, we have many-correspondence metaphors at one juncture, and clear cases of referential metonymy for the other, with one-correspondence metaphors and predicative uses of metonymy in the middle.

Such an improved definition of metonymy is helpful in clarifying aspects of the interaction between the metaphoric and metonymic LA, as discussed earlier (Goossen, 1989, 1995). For example, the distinction between referential use and predicative use of metonymy and its consequences in mappings provides explanations for two basic possibilities of interaction: a metonymic mapping provides the source for a metaphor and another in which the output of a metaphoric mapping becomes the source of a metonymy. There is a third possibility which is in fact a variation of the latter, where a metonymy determines in what sense a specific correspondence within a metaphoric mapping has to be interpreted (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, 2000:121). Apparently, the function of first two possibilities are connected with the referential use, whereas that of the third is with the predicative use of metonymy. Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (*ibid*) gives three linguistic examples and their respective simplified mapping to illustrate these three types of interaction, and for the purpose of clarity, they are reproduced as follows:

Figure 1: Source-in-target metonymy within the metaphoric source

c. He got up on his hind legs to defend his views.

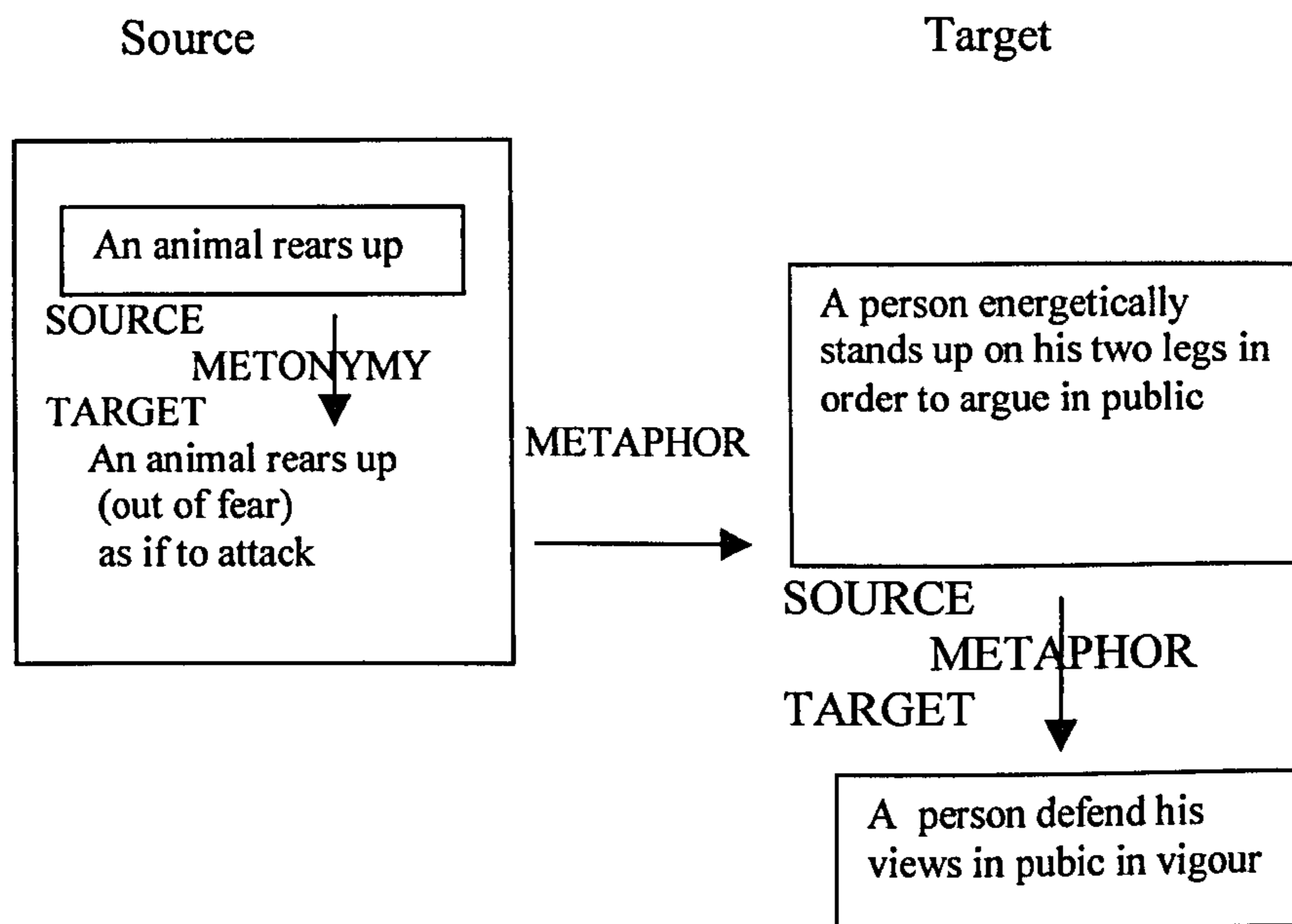


Figure 2: Source-in-target metonymy within the metaphoric target.

d. He kept his eyes peeled for pickpockets.

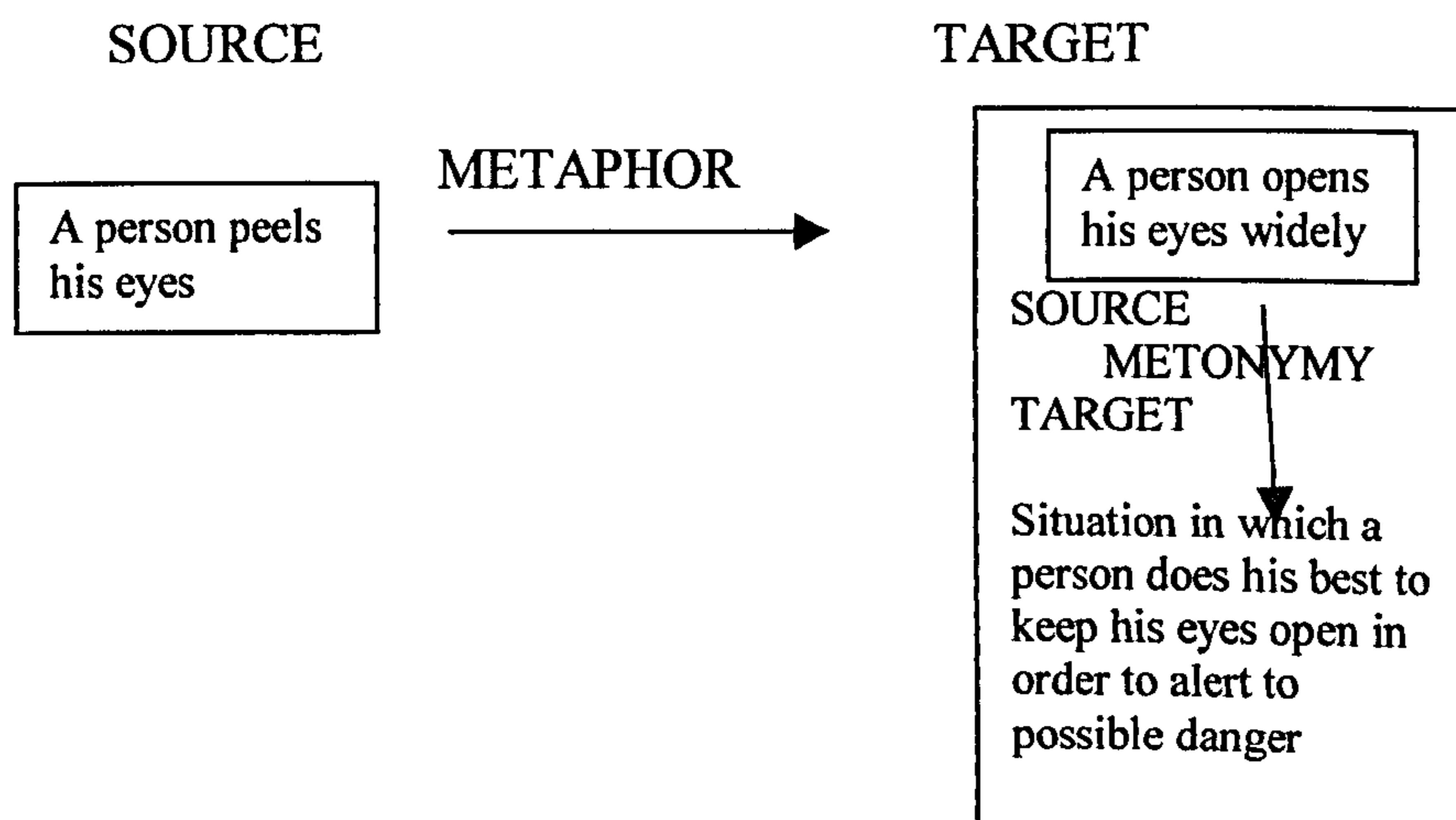
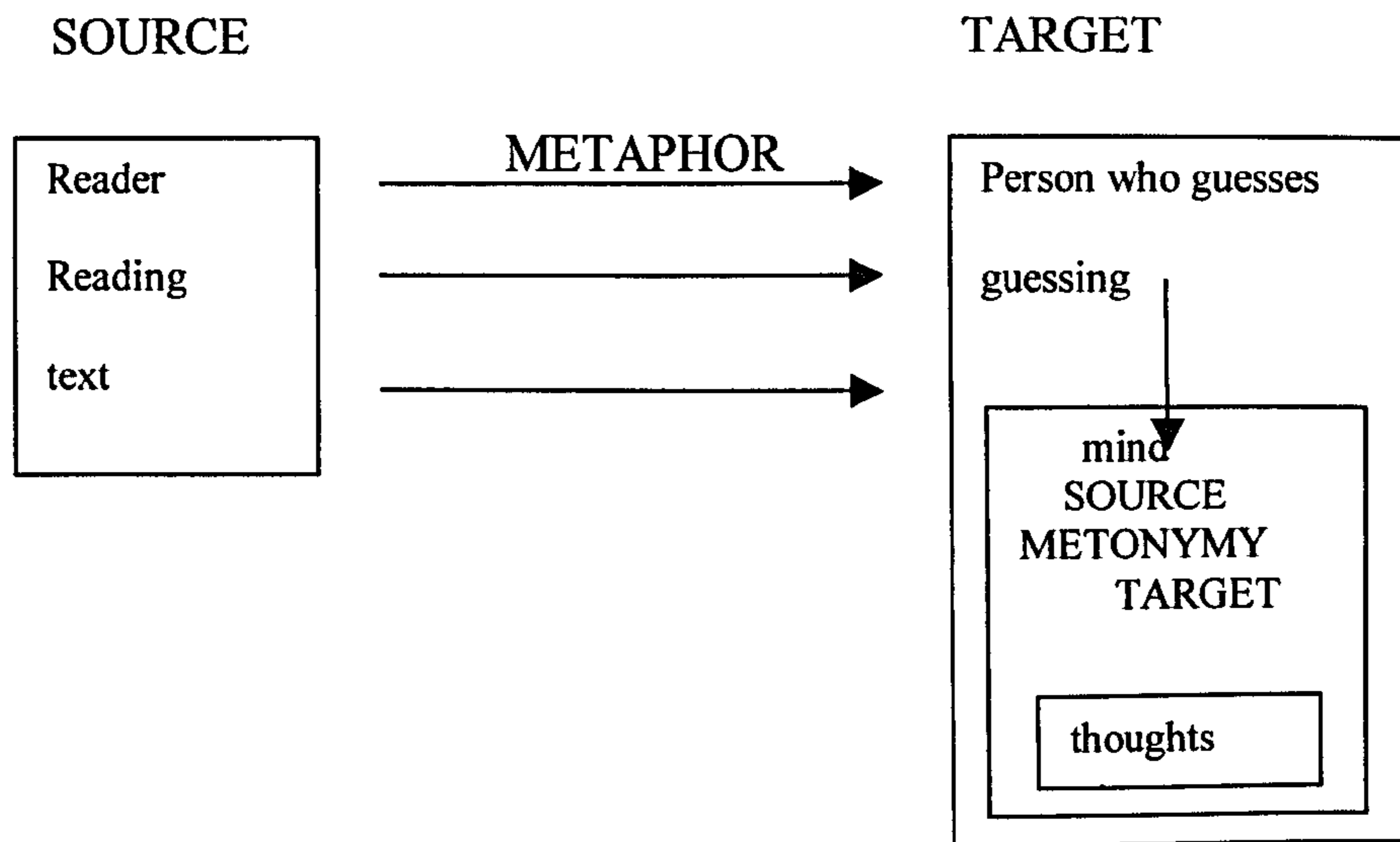


Figure 3: Target-in-source metonymy within the metaphoric target

e. She could read my mind.



The above Figures 1 and 2 demonstrate the source-in-target metonymies serve the additional purpose of signalling to the hearer where to find the central inference from the metaphoric mapping. Thus, both in **c** and **d** the metonymic source draws our attention specially to a specific key action within the whole scene (the person standing up and the person opens up his eyes, respectively). Target-in-source metonymies, on the other hand, only allow us to understand the nature of one of the metaphoric correspondences (as “mind” is meant in the example **e**), independently of the central inference. In conclusion, such mappings that involve both metaphors and metonymies are to demonstrate the complexity of natural language (inter)action. It is

rare that speakers merely produce pure metonymic or metaphoric utterances in daily discourse; therefore, it is crucial to bear this in mind while identifying metaphors and metonymies in naturally collected data.

Nonetheless, despite the complexity, Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Goossens's analyses are still within the framework of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) that emphasises two-domain mappings to give rise to any metonymic and metaphoric understanding. As the recognition increases that natural language discourse is far more complex than two-domain mapping can adequately explain, there has been an additional development in Cognitive Linguistics in recent years, known as "blending theory" (BT) to account for LA that requires interaction of various conceptual levels for appropriate meanings to emerge (e.g., Turner & Fauconnier, 1995; Fauconnier & Turner, 1996, and Grady, Oakley & Coulson, 1998). In this light, BT is to complement conceptual metaphor theory despite some differences between these two theories. We shall examine these differences very briefly.

First of all, let us summarise the important features of CMT we have discussed and mentioned so far: They are "source domain", "target domain", "mapping", "image schemas" and "idealised cognitive models" (which will be elaborated in the next section). Both "image schemas" and "ICM" address the selection and constraints on domains (in metaphors) and conceptual entities (in metonymies) mappings, which are in turn, governed by the Invariance Hypothesis (IH) developed by Lakoff (1990), and was revised and renamed as Invariance Principle (IP) (Lakoff, 1993). To put it briefly, IP is about "Metaphorical mappings preserve the cognitive topology (that is, the image-schema structure) of the source

domain, in a way consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain” (*ibid*: 215). This constrain highlights the generally unidirectional principle of from source to target domain mapping. With these features in mind, we shall compare the major differences between CMT and BT.

Both CMT and BT treat metaphor as a conceptual rather than a linguistic phenomenon; both involve systematic projection of language, imagery and inferential structure between conceptual domains; both propose constraints on this projection, and so forth; however, Fauconnier and Turner (1994) argue that the two-domain model of CMT is actually part of larger and more general model of conceptual projection, which are named many-space model of BT. Apart from two-domain vs. many-(mental)space, Grady et al (1998: 101) summarise some more important differences between these two theories: “CMT has defined metaphor as a strictly directional phenomenon, while BT has not; and CMT analyses are typically concerned with entrenched conceptual relationships (and the ways in which they may be elaborated), whereas BT research often focuses on novel conceptualisations which may be short-lived.”

More specifically, let us look at them in turn by comparing the representation of knowledge in the domain in CMT and that of mental space in BT first. Grady et al (1999) argue that the schematic knowledge in the domains are usually stored in the long-term memory—which tell us how elements in the source and target domains line up with each other. D’Andrade (1995) also makes similar point that the schema structures that underlie human conceptualisation system, although may be stored in short term memory, but with complex schemas and embedded schemas, we need models to hold the information which is presumably stored in long-term memory due

to its volume and complexity. On the contrary, a mental space is consisted of “a partial and temporary representational structure” (Grady et al, 1999: 102). Mental spaces are not the same as domains but rely on them for meaning construction since they represent particular scenarios are structured by given domains. In short, a mental space is a short-term construct informed by the more general and more stable knowledge structures in conjunction with a particular domain.

With this principle, a typical interaction of spaces would involve minimum four spaces: Two input spaces (which, in a metaphorical case, are associated with the source and target of CMT); a “generic” space, representing conceptual structure that is shared by both inputs; and finally a “blend” space, where material from the inputs combines and interacts. This way of blending which gives rise to comprehension is, another major difference between CMT and BT, multidirectional and can very well explain more complex interactions such as those of gestures and verbal expressions (Liddell, 1998), or of extended stretches of narrative discourse and rhetoric (Oakley, 1998). Even the linguistic examples, such as in c: “He got up on his hind leg to defend his view”, that were given by Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (2000) explicating source-in-target and target-in-source type of mappings can be very well explained using many-spaces blending model, according to the researcher himself.

This kind of linguistic expression is what concerns this current research since in natural language discourse (LA), people do not simply utter regular, conventional metaphorical expressions, they may also employ novel and unique examples. In this case, a BT model can better account for the metaphorical/metonymic concept interactions. Although BT is more adequate than CMT in explaining certain linguistic and conceptual phenomena, they both rely on a similar cognitive

mechanism: the accessing and representation of knowledge in schematic way, though one arguably stored in long-term memory while the other short term. Subsequently, in the next section, we shall turn to this representation, known as cognitive model, and its function in our individual and cultural experiences.

### 1.2.5 From Schema to Cognitive Models

In the previous section we looked at the image schemas which function as a constraint for what properties of a target domain are selected to be mapped. These are CONTAINER, PATH, PART-WHOLE, FORCE, SCALES, etc. We also discussed that this kind of schema is part of larger schema system. D'Andrade (1987, 1995) refers to this schema system as model and he gives the following definition:

**Model**—a schema or interrelated set of cognitive schemas used to represent something, to reason with or to calculate from by mentally manipulating the parts of the model to solve problems. A single schema may serve as a model—the commercial transaction schema, for example, or a number of interrelated schemas may be used to construct the model...Typically, cultural models are not formulated as explicit declarative knowledge (as in *theory*), but are implicit knowledge, based on schemas embedded in words but not formulated as explicit propositions (1995:180).

In this light, what Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and other cognitive linguists (e.g. Fillmore, 1982, Langacker, 1986) refer to as the Idealised Cognitive Model (ICM) is a particular type of this system. According to these authors, each ICM is a complex structured whole, a *gestalt*. The information organised in this model is arranged according to prototypes so its availability to speakers of a community is in an economical and efficient way. The theory of prototype as a cognitive way of organising and categorising information was based on Rosch's (1978) research on



colour terms. Her findings established that prototype is a typical example of a type of object capable of being held in working memory, often with many properties “chunked” together to form a rich, specific image. For example, a *robin* is prototypical bird, a ‘penguin’ is not.

Fillmore (1982) demonstrates how this work in his example of the English word ‘Tuesday’. It can be defined only relatively to an idealised model that includes the means of characterising the end of one day and the beginning of next, and a large seven day calendric cycle—the week. In the idealised model, the week is a whole with seven parts organised in a linear sequence each is called a day, and the third is Tuesday. Similarly, the concept weekend requires a notion of a work week of five days followed by a break of two days, superimposed on the seven-day calendar. In this regard, it may be human cognition that dictates the use of prototype-like category to organise information, the content of information itself is largely culturally constructed. For example, the concept of a week is a man-made concept rather than given by nature, therefore the understanding of it requires cultural and social knowledge. Hence, ICM is a cultural model, too.

It is this nature of ICM that realises the cultural function of metonymy and metaphor. For example, the mapping between TIME and MONEY, requires some cultural understanding of the value of money and the concept of time. Without these understanding, the metaphor of typical western concept TIME IS MONEY can not be established. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) further postulate that these metonymies and metaphors also constitute the cultural models that help us reason, create, and categorise our daily experience of emotion. If we can identify the kind of metonymies and metaphors that structure our models, we should be able to arrive at

their underlying schemas. From a cross-cultural and linguistic point of view, this is of crucial importance in terms of comparison. Not only the metonymic and metaphorical concepts uncovered by conventional linguistic expressions, but also the cognitive models which converge on them will help us in determining any universal similarities or cultural-specific differences.

### **1.3 Conceptual Metaphors/metonymies of Emotion: Empirical Studies and their Implications**

Following the review of some relevant theories concerning metaphors and metonymies, we shall turn to several empirical studies on emotions to which those aforementioned theories were applied. These studies were conducted in order to reveal how various emotions were structured in the human conceptual system across cultures. They are mainly divided in two approaches in the methodology with one being rooted in ethnographical tradition, whereas the other linguistic. In the former case, the researchers favour to elicit longer narratives directly from their subjects and at times subjects were provided the opportunity to clarify and elaborate on their self-report. In the latter case, linguists tend to gather their data from written corpus, such as dictionaries, newspaper, novels, etc. Such a difference in approach led to some disagreement in the relationship between metaphors (and metonymies) and cultural models. The most notable debate is between Quinn (1991,1996) and Kövecses (1998, 2000).

Quinn states that metaphors mainly reflect the cultural models people in a same culture share. She arrived at this claim based on her studies on American model(s) of marriages (1987). She conducted extensive interviews with her subjects

who were all in a marital relationship and from their description she identified the concepts, some metaphorical and some not, which help her subjects in reasoning about marriages in American (middle class) society. In analysing their narratives, she came to the conclusion that the metaphors her subjects used were selected in order to be compatible with their pre-existing sets of beliefs or models what a marriage should be. In other words, in her view, these cultural models are not necessarily constituted by these metaphors, as Lakoff, Johnson, and Kövecses postulated. For example, Quinn (*op. cit.*) argues that when someone expresses LOVE IS A JOURNEY it reflects that in his/her model of love there is a cultural understanding of the relationship as having sharedness, fulfilment, and goal-orientated behaviour; therefore the metaphor of JOURNEY is a way of justifying his/her pre-existing models.

Conversely, Kövecses asserts that these models are constituted by the very metonymies and metaphors that are used to express them. For example, the concept of love is constituted by these metaphors: LOVE IS UNITY OF TWO PARTS, LOVE IS A JOURNEY, LOVE IS A FORCE, etc, which in turn give rise to our folk models. This divide reveals that Quinn interpreted her data in a broader social context, whereas Kövecses more on a conceptual basis. However, if our understanding of schemas and cognitive models as discussed in the previous two sections is correct, it should be reasonable to believe that the knowledge representation of schemas or models are not rigidly structured and are constantly modified and updated by other factors. In other words, metaphors may simply reflect more established models, which in turn can be used to structure other newer or more transient models. In this process, metaphors may well constitute these models.

Furthermore, we need to consider that not every emotion concept is structured with the same complexity, nor embodies the same degree of interaction with other social and cultural factors, therefore metaphors and metonymies may play different roles in various concepts.

Despite the difference in the interpretation, that is, the way metonymy and metaphor interact with cultural models, these two approaches do yield similar evidence concerning universal and cultural-specific concepts of emotion. They all seem to indicate that the grounded and biological basis of metonymy and metaphor, such as UP, DOWN, CONTAINER, PATH, SCALE, etc. give rise to the universality of emotion concepts. There are concepts indicating where emotions are seated (Matsuki, 1995) and those comparing natural phenomenon with emotion can vary from culture to culture (Taylor & Mbense, 1998). These findings are in general in line with modern theory of emotion in which emotion is considered a product of biology, cognition and social factors (e.g. Lazarus, 1982, Lazarus & Lazarus, 1994, Fischer, 1991). However, if we consider the data from a diachronic point of view (Geeraerts & Grondelaers, 1995, Györi 1996), some of the differences in cultural specific concepts are only reflections of societies experiencing similar changes but at a different point in time. For example, *QI* is maybe a cultural specific concept for Chinese, but if we consider the humoral theory that had been popular in Europe (Geeraerts & Grondelaers, *ibid*), the difference is immediately put in perspective. Basically, the concepts of *qi* and fluids serve as a medical model of anger in particular and emotion in general--the former gave rise the folk model in Chinese medicine, while the latter humoral theory and the similarities between these two

models are striking. Such evidence urges us to reconsider any cross-linguistic data in interpreting universality and cultural particularity.

#### **1.4 Chinese Writing System, Concept Formation and Categorisation**

In addition to examining phrases, utterances or longer texts, an important source of uncovering metonymic and metaphoric concepts encoded in a language is the lexicon itself. Each language family utilises different ways of encoding concepts in the lexical items, for example, Proto-Indo-European languages (PIE) employ morphemes which are mainly consisted of roots, prefixes, and suffixes, and the extension of meaning can be achieved through compounding, derivation, borrowing, the creation of neologisms, acronyms, etc. An equally efficient if not more productive way of extending lexical items, Dirven (1985:96) points out is through the processes of metaphor. He uses the term 'metaphor' in its broad sense to include all the processes of transferences, which in turn are divided into three types: metonymy, metaphor (in its narrow sense) and synaesthesia. Similarly, the same principles can be applied to Chinese characters and their rules of extension.

Although Chinese has an entirely different writing system, i.e. instead of lexemes, Chinese has pictographs, or ideograms (DeFrances, 1984), it also extends its lexicon obeying similar rules as those of PIE. Therefore, it is crucial to analyse the structure of some key Chinese characters for emotions in order to uncover the embedded metaphorical or metonymic concepts. Therefore, we will first examine some research in the field of concept formation and lexicalisation, then a brief introduction of Chinese writing system. This introduction should make it apparent how the characters and their formation incorporate biological, social and cultural

concepts mostly through metaphoric (in its broad sense) transference. In the end, we will realise that analysing the characters is a valid tool of investigating concepts or metaphoric concepts.

#### 1.4.1 Lexicalisation and Concept Formation

In Györi's (1996, 1998) work on concept transformation of naming lexical items in the course of their semantic changes in several major European languages, he makes a very convincing case that the lexicalisation process of a given language should be considered the "tantamount to category formation at the level of a whole culture." (1998:99) He believes that cultural category formation inevitably involves linguistic coding, as there is no other way for conceptual category to spread in a culture, in other words, to become explicitly part of cognitive structures of the individual members of that culture. One of the examples he gives as illustration of his argument is the English word "glass", meaning "a vessel made of glass for drinking", which derived from the old English (OE) *glæs*, meaning material 'glass'. This OE word in turn derived from the Common-Germanic (CGER) stem *\*glaza-* found in *glazam*, meaning 'amber.' Györi (1996:187) maintains that the basis for the change in meaning should be clear as 'glass' (material) is similar to 'amber' in that it is translucent, shining and can be used as jewellery. So, if we go further back into history, we find the Proto-Indo-European (PIE) root *ghel-*, meaning 'shine, glitter'. Arguably, Györi (*ibid*) suggests, Germanic people conceptualised amber as something that shines. This diachronic language change which is made of these successive acts of category coding reveals a series of conceptualisations: 'amber' was conceptualised as something shining, 'glass' (the material) was conceptualised

as something similar to ‘amber’, and ‘glass’ (the vessel) was conceptualised as something made of ‘glass’ (the material)

These studies of diachronic semantic changes strongly suggest that a word structure not only encodes semantic but also conceptual information. This information reveals both synchronic and diachronic influence on the use and meaning of the word. The primary motivation for these changes, as argued by Györi, is functional because it is based on a speech community’s adaptation to its environment, which is not merely biological but, more importantly, a socio-cultural one. In other words, if we examine a lexical item in English, we should be able to arrive at some intelligent postulations concerning the former conceptualisations and their various interactions with the historical and social environment which gave rise to its current understanding. This approach echoes what Wierzbicka (1991, 1994, 1996) proposes as ‘cultural script’ encoded in a language’s lexicon and grammar. She also espouses the view that by examining some key words a culture attaches great significance to, we are able to gain valuable insight to the core concepts a speech community shares. For example, her investigation on the Japanese key words such as *amae*, *enryo*, *wa*, *on*, *giri* and *seishin*, employing the NSM (natural semantic Metalanguage) developed by herself, enables her to examine the concepts encoded in these key words to yield an intricate picture of Japanese culture and society. Although Wierzbicka’s approach is synchronic in essence, whereas Györi’s diachronic in nature, they both demonstrate a valid tool of detecting concepts by dissecting lexical items.

### 1.4.2 Chinese Writing System and Encoded Concepts

Although Chinese has an entirely different writing system from PIE, the way concepts are encoded in words are in fact comparable to that of PIE as Györi asserts. First let us observe the covet differences. Chinese have characters instead of words, and it is originated from pictographs. As an English word is made up of one or more letters written in a line, a Chinese character consists of one or more components put together in various ways in a typically square-shape format. As in most PIE, it is not an arbitrary process how certain components are combined to form new words or new meanings. In general, there are six categories (Wilder, 1963, DeFrances, *ibid*) which are based on a printed posthumous work of a Chinese scholar Xu Shen (86 BC), the 說文解字 *Shou Wen Jie Zi* ‘Explaining Simple Characters and Compounds’ published in cir. 120 AD. It contains 10516 characters arranged under 534 to 544 primitive symbols which are the origin of the 214 radicals used today to form the characters. The function of radicals will be discussed in the following section. For now, we shall look at various structures of Chinese characters.

The *Shou Wen* divides all characters into *wen* ‘simple characters’ and *zi* ‘compounds’. Based upon form or composition, these two classes are each divided into two other categories, so we have *xiang xing* ‘pictograph or imitative symbol’ and *zhi shi* ‘simple indicative symbol’ in the ‘simple’ category, *hui yi* ‘logical combination’ and *xing sheng* ‘semantic-phonetic compound or form-and-sound combination’ in the ‘compound’ category. The last two classes are *jia jie* ‘false borrowing’ and *zhuan zhu* ‘semantic transfer or turning of interpretation’. For the purpose of brevity, there will be one of two examples, which are mainly cited in



Ma's (1997) work on Chinese writing system, given for each category to illustrate how concepts are encoded then extended through various metaphorical transferences.

1). *Xiang xing* 'pictograph or imitative symbol': There are 364 characters of this type in the *Shou Wen*. They are formed according to the so-called 'photographic principle', which are iconic representations of the objects denoted—almost small drawings of the object referred to by the word they represent. Their meanings are conveyed by their forms, which can be graphically mapped onto the visible appearances of the objects denoted. For example, the pictograph 目 *mu* 'eye' is an iconic representation of an eye put vertically. In the pictograph 爪 *zhao* 'paw, hand', the three vertical strokes represent the three fingers of a paw or hand.

2). *Zhi shi* 'simple indicative symbol': There are 125 of these characters in *Shou Wen*. They are formed according to the 'simple indicative principle', which can be considered graphic representations of the concepts, ideas and affairs that they denote. They differ from those characters in category 1 in that the latter usually denote visible objects while those in category 2 represent more abstract concepts, ideas and affairs. For example, Chinese numerals 一 *yi* 'one'; 二 *er* 'two'; 三 *san* 'three'; 上 *shang* 'up and 下 *xia* 'down'. Further, the abstract meaning 'morning' is conveyed by the character 旦 *dan*, in which a pictograph 日 *ri* 'sun' is written above a line that graphically represents the horizon—it is 'morning' when the sun is right above the horizon. In this light, these six characters do not really encode visible objects but concepts that are represented graphically.

3). *Hui yi* ‘logical combination’: There are 1167 characters of this nature in *Shou Wen*. They are all compound or multi-component graphs whose meaning is derived by combining the meaning of their components. An example is 明 *ming* ‘bright’, which is composed of two pictographs: 日 *ri* ‘sun’ and 月 *yue* ‘moon’. Their respective meanings are also combined to give rise to the new meaning for the combined word, which is ‘bright’. This character 明 *ming* ‘bright’ is generally not considered a pictograph, but it is composed of two stylised pictographs and the reason for putting the ‘sun’ and the ‘moon’ side by side to denote ‘bright’ might be considered graphic. This principle may be compared to combining two or more morphemes in English to make a new word that uniquely denotes something.

4). *Xing sheng* ‘semantic phonetic compound or form-and-sound combination’: Each character in this category is formed by combining two graphs or components (which themselves may contain more than one component), one reflecting a significant component of meaning and the other reflecting the pronunciation. There are 7697 characters of this type in *Shou Wen*, presumably, the biggest category. There are two main subcategories of characters in this category:

a). A so-called phonetic loan character (see category 5) is enlarged by adding a semantic component to give some idea of the category of concepts to which a meaning belongs. For example, the word 然 *ran* ‘to burn’ has acquired the meaning of ‘thus, so’. In order to distinguish the two meanings, the original character was reserved for the new meaning ‘thus, so’, and a new character 燃 ‘to burn’ was created by adding the semantic compound 火 *huo* ‘fire’ to reinforce the original meaning of ‘to burn’. In the compound character 燃 *ran*, the component 然 points out

the pronunciation of the character, and the component 火 helps classify the character semantically. 火 itself is a stylised pictograph and the four dots in the lower portion of the characters 然 and 燃 represent the burning fire underneath the objects

b). The enlarged character results from adding a semantic component to a phonetic component. This is similar to those characters in subcategory a, but the phonetic component in this category was never a phonetic loan character or semantic extension in the first place. Rather, this phonetic component was specifically used for its sound to combine with the semantic component. For example, 糖 *tang* ‘sugar’ was formed by combining with the semantic component 米 *mi* ‘cereal food’ on the left and the purely phonetic component 唐 *tang* on the right. In many cases the same component, though it may be primarily one or the other, has both a semantic and a phonetic function, as is true of the phonetic component 黃 *huang* ‘yellow’ in the character 磺 *huang* ‘sulphur’, where it is joined with the semantic component 石 *shi* ‘stone’. In this case, the phonetic component 黃 not only points out the pronunciation of the character 磺, but also gives a clue to the colour of the object denoted by this compound.

5). *Jia jie* ‘false borrowing’: According to DeFrances (1984:80), the formation of the characters in this category is based on a so-called ‘phonetic loan principle’. Put it simply, the principle of the loan is comparable to the rebus device of representing a word by the picture of an object whose name resembles the word in sound, as in the case of a children’s game in English in which the picture of a human eye is used to stand for the pronoun ‘I’. An example is Chinese is the use of the *Shang* (cir. 2000

BC) character 來 *lai* (a pictograph denoting a kind of wheat '*triticum aestivum*' which was anciently called 'lǎg') to represent the homophonous word lǎg 'to come', a concept which is difficult to be represented by a picture or a diagram. The character 來 *lai* now denotes 'to come' only, while its original 'signified', this particular kind of wheat, and if it still exists, presumably has another character as its 'signifier'.

The principle of the loan is by no means always phonetic. A character in this category can be used in a semantic sense which is not its own originally, either by error substituting it for another existing character or by convention to designate an object which has a name in the spoken language but which has no written name, e.g. to take the character for some obsolete utensil arbitrarily to stand for some new idea for which a symbol is wanted (Wilder, 1963: viii). For example, 哥 *ge* 'to sing' was taken by convention as the character to denote 'elder brothers' ('*ge*'). The pronunciation of the phonetic component may or may not be the reason for the borrowing.

6). *Zhuan zhu* 'semantic transfer or turning of interpretation': Characters in this category carry a meaning more extended, or derived, generalised, metaphorical, analogous, adapted, figurative, or even inverted and opposite to the original meaning of this character. For example, the original function of the pictograph 卜 *bu* seems to show a horizontal and perpendicular line from the lines appearing in a heated tortoise shell, that is, what the diviner consults; then by extension this pictograph now denotes 'the diviner' or 'one who consults the lines'. Apparently, this is a metonymic principle at work, where THE ACT STANDS FOR THE ACTOR. Another example: 网 *wang* is a pictograph denoting a fishing net. By metaphorical extension, this word

(and its character) now is also used to refer to any ‘network, cobweb, or reticular design’ and as a verb to mean ‘to catch with a net’, ‘to catch’ (in general)’, ‘to envelope, to wrap, to gather’. These meanings are obtained by ‘turning off interpretation’ or semantic extension of the spoken word, and the same character is accordingly used to represent several senses of the same word.

In summary, in the first category the connection between, as in the Sausseurian fashion, the signified, the object in the real world, and the signifier, the character is still clear, corresponding to an approximate one-to-one word to object matching. However there are merely 364 of those against a total of 10, 516 Chinese characters, suggesting that the majority of concepts encoded in language require more abstract elaboration. Therefore, the rest of five categories (including the two subcategories in category 4) are the manifestation of human abstract concept formation at work, which are motivated partially by biological and partially socio-cultural adaptive behaviour (Györi, 1996). For example, the category 2, the six characters that were given as examples above, follow what Johnson (1987) would refer to as a basic level of ‘image schemata’ that is based on spatial orientation to derive their meanings. These meanings are all in principle grounded in bodily experience that is constrained by human biology. In category 3, the characters can be formed by any of the characters in category 1 and 2 and their meanings are the result of such a synthesis of their respective meaning. If we look at the example 明 *ming* ‘bright’, which is composed of 日 ‘sun’ and 月 ‘moon’, arguably, we see a metonymic transference of both components. It was the ‘light’ feature of both objects that was selected to stand for the meaning of the new compound word.

The mechanism of lexical extension via metaphorical transferences becomes more complex when we consider the characters in category 4 in which we have 97% of Chinese characters (Ma, 1997) derived in the way. Despite the name ‘semantic-phonetic compound’, Ma argues that even the choice of the phonetic component of the character is not arbitrary nor purely sound-based. The motivation is still to a great extent semantic. For example, some emotion lexical items such as 憤 *fen* ‘pent-up anger’ and 怒 *nu* ‘pent-up anger’ are representative of such a process. In both cases, the phonetic components 賁 in *fen* and 奴 in *nu* also contribute to the overall meaning. 賁 means ‘surging movement’, whereas 奴 refers to ‘slave’. On the other hand, the semantic component of both words is 心 *xin* ‘heart’, which came to stand for the concept of ‘emotion’ through metaphorical transference, gives both *fen* and *nu* the meaning of being angry. The *xin* ‘heart’ in *fen* on the left side of the compound character, which consists of three strokes, is a stylised version of the 心 *xin* ‘heart’ in *nu* at the bottom of the compound word. In the case of *fen* ‘surging movement’, combining with *xin* ‘heart’, we have ‘surging movement in a container’ to stand for the anger, which is a result of orientational and ontological mapping operating. Similarly, *nu* ‘slave’ combining with *xin* ‘heart’ we have the concept of ‘the slave of the heart’ to denote anger, which is a manifestation of a structural metaphorical mapping at work.

The metaphorical transferences in category 6 is self-explanatory as mentioned in the passage (6), and the characters in category 5 are rare and difficult to discuss since reasons for borrowing are either through historical coincidence or unknown. All in all, what these categories exhibit is a systematic way of extending lexical items that reflects human conceptualisation system, which is to a large extent metaphorical

as Dirven's (1985) study on lexical extension of some English and Dutch words such as 'cup', 'heart' and 'sweet' also demonstrates. This mechanism is presumably universal, yet due to individual physical/geographical and socio-cultural environment each speech community encounters, there are cultural specific elements that determine certain conceptions.

### **1.4.3 The Radical System and Categorisation**

Chinese, according to Ma (1997), is not a phonetically-based language that determines meanings as DeFrances (1984) maintains; instead, Ma asserts that it relies heavily on visual cues to arrive at the appropriate understanding. For example, the radical system Chinese employ as a categorisation system in grouping words demands speakers to pay attention to the form immediately rather than the sound in recognising their plausible meaning. The visual cue for meaning derives from these radicals that are some form of characters themselves. As was mentioned in the forgoing discussion that the 214 radicals in use today are primarily pictographs or the respective stylised versions found in category 1 and 2. In this way, radical system not only functions as category index but also an integral part of the overall meaning of the compound characters.

Apparently, this is an efficient way of extending lexicon by incorporating new concepts with existing concepts (Györi, 1996) as 97% of characters arose from combining a radical with one or two other characters (the basis of category 4—semantic-phonetic compounds). These types of characters only accounted for 34% in Shang Dynasty, so the expansion to the size of current number is a support to the efficiency of this particular strategy. Due to the limited scope of the thesis, we will

only briefly examine the *xin* ‘heart’ radical and the words or concepts that are categorised under it.

The examples of *fen* ‘angry’ and *nu* ‘anger, angry’, as mentioned above, illustrate that *xin* ‘heart’ stands for emotion, therefore, in Chinese the majority of words that stand for emotion are categorised under *xin* ‘heart’. For example, *ai* 愛 ‘love’, *hen* 恨 ‘hate’, *chou* 愁 ‘sadness’ *can* 慚 ‘ashamed’, *men* 悶 ‘depressed’, *man* 懣 ‘pent-up’ etc. Amongst them, *chou* 愁, *men* 悶 and *hen* 恨, the phonetic characters that contribute to overall semantic meaning of the compounds are more apparent, so we will look at them in more detail. *Chou* 愁, when taken apart, consists of two characters: 秋 *qiu*, and 心 *xin*, with the former denoting ‘autumn, the season’, the latter ‘heart’. It is reasonable to believe that the emotion of sadness and worry is symbolised as the feeling one gets as seasons, in particular, that of autumn, change. Although the sound of the compound changed from *qiu* to *chou*, they are basically similar. The slight difference in pronunciation could have been a dialectic variation or historical transformation for which the cause is obscure. The second compound, *men* 悶 consists of *men*, 門 ‘the door’ and *xin*, 心, the ‘heart’, therefore, the meaning of the compound must have derived from the image of one’s heart (or the person, since *xin* is a metonymy for the person) being locked inside a door. This image then is understood metaphorically as feeling ‘depressed.’ As for *hen* 恨, it is composed of 艮 *gen*, ‘tough, leathery’ and a stylised *xin*, therefore the compound word denotes a ‘tough feeling’ which may have given rise to the feeling of hate. The change of sound from *gen* to *hen* was presumably motivated by the same principle as *qiu* to *chou* in 愁, ‘sadness, worry.’



Apart from emotion words, many words that involve mental functions are also categorised in the domain of *xin* ‘heart.’ For example, there are *si* 思 ‘to think, to contemplate, to remember’, *xiang* 想 ‘to think over, to remember, to miss’, *yi* 意 ‘a thought, an idea, the intention. We will not elaborate on the individual character of the compounds, since it is very time-consuming in unfolding all the complex processes that were involved, such as those of social and historical factors (Györi, 1998) to give rise to their current meanings. The important point is that *xin* as other radicals in Chinese, categorise objects, events, state and physical/psychological experience into manageable information for easy access to either past conceptions or for construction of new concepts. The principle for the system of categorisation, as our forgoing analyses suggest that to a large extent is either metonymic or metaphorical. To be more exact, the meaning of the majority of radicals in compound words derived from part-for-whole metonymic principle (also see King, 1989 for his postulation). For example, the radical *xin*, which came to stand for the person, and his/her emotion, then in turn interact with the other characters which can either be phonetically or semantically motivated to give rise to a new meaning. The latter process can be either metonymic or metaphorical depending on the complexity of the concepts as we saw from those words that denote emotions and mental activity mentioned above.

The same principle applies to other radicals, too. Let us take 艹 which stands for grass, whereas 手 stands for hand. In the first case, 艹 came to categorise things that have to do with plants and flowers, so in this word *rui* 蕊 denoting ‘flower bud, or the petals of flowers’, we find the radical which is a stylised form of 艹 on top, metonymically stands for ‘flower’, while the three *xin* 心 metaphorically

comparable to the inside of the flower where the petals are. The interaction of these two representations gives rise to its meaning that is known today. In the second case, most words categorised under hand 手 radical denote most actions that involve hands, such as to hit, wipe, hold, to scratch and so forth. The instances in this category tend to emphasise the aspect of physical interaction with certain objects or other entities. For example, *da* 打 'to hit' is composed of a stylised 手 on the right hand side and the character *din* 丁, meaning 'nail', so the concept encoded in this character derived from someone hitting a nail onto something. Another interesting example is the word *sao* 搔, 'to scratch' is composed of the stylised hand radical and *zao*,蚤 'fleas'. The derived meaning is self-evident and does not require any further explanation as for its origin.

From the above examples, we can assume that the Chinese radical categorisation system operates on (idealised) cognitive/culture models to separate or incorporate concepts into the existing language and culture system. These models can be either imagery such as image schemas or propositional such as 'scripts' which gives rise to the categorisation of concepts. All these principles are in fact not very different from those of PIE language family Györi (1996) examines. Despite differences in writing, both Chinese and PIE languages encode and categorise concepts that are relevant to each individual physical and socio-cultural environment in their respective writing system.

#### **1.4.4 Implications for Linguistic Relativity**

Although Chinese and PIE share the principle of categorising concepts in writing is similar, there are several areas where the Whorfian effect, known as

linguistic relativity, can be observed. To put it briefly, linguistic relativity addresses the guiding aspect of language on the formation of concepts speakers a speech community share. For example, with the visual emphasis of Chinese ideograms, it was found by Ma (1997) that meaning recognition in Chinese relies significantly more on visual type image schemas this writing system inherently encoded than in English. Fujii (1995) also established the connection between the use of classifiers in Chinese and Japanese, which rely on visual cues such as size, shape and colour and the use of verbs for 'break.' She observes that a language like German which also have various verbs for 'break', but its emphasis is not on shape or size of the objects, but the way of breaking in determining use of verbs. Her research as well as Ma's suggests that the visual element of Chinese has impact on Chinese understanding of the things around them.

Furthermore, Györi's (1996, 1998a, b) findings on the concept formation indicates that previous concepts which are already encoded in languages provide further blueprint for new concepts to arise, therefore, in this process, language can assert certain influence on concept formation. Our brief analysis of Chinese writing system demonstrates how this can be achieved by the combination of various characters to form new words and in its radical system as a categorisation tool.

### **1.5 Summary**

In this chapter, we have examined the phenomena of emotion from various theoretical standpoints, in particular, those of cognitive and social theorists It was then established that emotion is an experience as well as concept equally shaped by our biology, cognition and social regulations. In this framework, metonymic and

metaphoric language is a window to our conceptualisation of emotion. The reason for this recognition derived from Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) work on metaphor and metonymy in which they argued that our metonymic/metaphoric language was not arbitrary but demonstrated a systematic correlation with our cognitive system. The major tenets that support this view such as domains, mapping, cognitive models were discussed in turn. Additional theories were also included to account for the inadequacy of Lakoff and Johnson's theory of metaphor. After that some empirical studies on emotional language and emotion concepts were highlighted since they appear not to agree with certain findings such as the relationship between metaphors and cognitive models. Finally, Chinese writing system was summarise to provide a cross-linguistic example of how categorisation of and linguistic encoding of concept work in entirely different system from that of PIE. It was concluded that Chinese characters are also a rich source of metonymic and metaphorical concepts. Furthermore, any examination of the character formation will yield support to Whorfian effect and social construction of meaning.

#### Notes:

1. The most recent research that question Lakoff and Johnson's claim on the cognitive status or cross-domain mappings of these "conventional" metaphors was conducted by Keysar, Shen, Glucksberg and Horton (2000). Their view is that expressions such as "She is depressed" should be considered literal rather than metaphorical since understanding it is no more than accessing the lexical entry of "depressed" along with ordinary syntactic and pragmatic operation (ibid: 577).
2. Both "schemata" and "schemas" are the plural forms of the foreign word "schema" used in cognitive sciences. D'Andrade (1995:124) explains "schemata" sounds more erudite and impressive than "schemas", but the conventional process in English is that as foreign terms

become and ordinary part of the language they come to use ordinary English pluralisation.

Therefore, “schemas” has become a standard part of the language of the cognitive science.

3. For detailed reviews of schema concept, also see D’Andrade, 1995, Quinn and Holland, 1987, Rumelhart, 1980, M. Minsky, 1975.
4. D’Andrade (1995: 151) states that propositions in schema theory too can be organised into even larger units such as stories, poetry, syllogisms, arguments, and theories. Complex relations can also be represented by drawings, maps, scale models, etc., which combine graphic symbols rather than verbal symbols into multischematic configurations. Furthermore, Strauss and Quinn, 1997 detail the “connectionist” models developed in artificial intelligence and postulate that there are good reason to believe schemas are processed in these ways in human brain. These models are not of rigid structures and repetitive as the old serial symbolic processing model suggests. Instead, they are flexibly adaptive to new and ambiguous situations, because, connectionist artificial intelligence modellers use a neural metaphor to picture knowledge, since knowledge may not thought of as sets of prepositional sentences but as implicit in the network of links among many simple processing units that work like neurons. Such evidence is to suggest that even in cognitive science, there are some more dynamic models than Gibbs & Colsten (1995) assume explaining the representation and processing schemas generally.

### 2. 0 Introduction

This present research differs from the metaphor studies that were reviewed in Chapter 1 on two fundamental aspects: 1). This research is primarily concerned with examining narratives rather than isolated collocations, idioms or phrases that appear in dictionaries; 2). This research focuses on narratives, which occur in natural and spontaneous circumstances, rather than static contexts such as fiction and other published documents. Such a departure from previous research requires a specific methodological approach which is described below.

Specifically, the analysis of narratives to identify metaphors must occur in a natural context, so as to differentiate similar conceptual metaphors across cultures. The pilot study by the author (Hu, 1993) on *sheng qi* ‘anger’ highlighted the productiveness of analysing longer narratives taken from contemporary Chinese fiction and prose. These analyses, in turn, led to a more reliable and dynamic constructions of cognitive model(s) that underlie human conceptualisation systems. More importantly, the narratives we are interested in here should establish the fact that the conceptual metaphors uncovered in previous research, (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, Lakoff and Kövecses, 1987, Kövecses, 1988, 1990, Yu, 1998) taken from dictionaries, newspapers or personal correspondence, are indispensably employed by ordinary people to construct their understanding of daily emotional experiences. Due to the aforementioned considerations, a questionnaire method, as an alternative to previous research, was chosen to test the hypotheses.

Hence, this chapter will begin with a brief summary of the preliminary findings determined from written data such as Chinese fiction and short stories, while investigating the differences between the American and Chinese conceptualisation of 'anger' (Hu, 1993). These findings have led to the conclusion that 'live' narratives lead to a more comprehensive understanding of the role that metaphors play in our conceptualisation system. Thus, a self-report questionnaire was designed to gather the desired source of data. A background examination of self-report questionnaire methods in emotion research will be given, together with an explanation of how this was used in the present research. Furthermore, a detailed description of the sequential phases of the distribution of the questionnaires and some of the issues encountered in this process will follow. Finally, a detailed description of how the analyses of the data, such as identifying metaphors, metonymies and linguistic units will be presented.

## **2.1 Methodology**

### **2.1.1 Data types: Contextual vs. Non-contextual**

In this research, the data gathered from the subjects can be regarded as being 'contextual', while the data determined from isolated linguistic forms, as Lakoff and Kövecses (e.g. 1987, 1990) have presented, is defined as 'non-contextual'. The merit of examining contextual data emerged when the present author (Hu, 1993) was conducting a cross-linguistic comparison between Chinese and American metaphorical conceptualisation of the 'anger' emotion. This data set was derived from dictionaries, books of idioms and personal knowledge as a native speaker of Chinese. The analytical method was in accord with the lexical approach as proposed

by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and was employed extensively by Kövecses. Based on this approach, the findings suggested that both Chinese and American linguistic and cultural models of 'anger' share the same basic metaphor, BODY IS A CONTAINER; however there appears to be one dissimilarity: THE BODY IS AN OPEN CONTAINER in the Chinese concept, while it is a CLOSED CONTAINER in the American English concept (Hu, 1993:116). This difference may have originated from the unique concept of *qi* in ancient Chinese philosophy (e.g. *I-Ching, The Book of Changes*, see an early translation by Richard Wilhelm, 1922), which in turn influenced traditional Chinese medicine. Despite this uniqueness, it was concluded that the underlying principle metaphors, that give rise to a vast array of diverse linguistic expressions in both languages, are in fact similar. They are mainly ANGER IS STEAM [*QI*] IN THE CONTAINER, and ANGER IS FIRE. These findings have been replicated in a later study by Yu (1995).

The second stage in this study involved the construction of cognitive model(s) based derived from the linguistic data. Lakoff and Kövecses proposed (1987) that cognitive models are organised according to prototypes. Specifically, for anger, they found a 'prototypical scenario' for the conceptualisation of anger in American English. This scenario is divided into five temporal stages: The offending event, anger, attempt to control, loss of control, and finally the act of retribution. The constraints of this anger scenario include Victim (which is the Self), Agent of retribution (the self again), Target of anger (the wrongdoer), Immediate cause of anger (offending event) and Angry behaviour (retribution). In constructing a typical Chinese cognitive model of anger, it was found that these five stages do not completely apply to Chinese, despite some shared major conceptual metaphors. Such



a result was determined from examining Chinese linguistic data on anger in longer narratives (Pa chin, 1940, Chen, 1992, Huan Lo, 1992). These narratives, which give rise to the prototypical scenario in Chinese demonstrate that a prototypical anger scenario is closely connected with social status, place of the offence, and possibly even gender of both the victim as well as the offender. In other words, had we only analysed linguistic expressions in isolation, without contextual information, we may not have discovered that any cross-linguistic or cross-cultural similarities or differences in emotional experiences, which are more complex than physiological arousal. Another case in point was Matuki's (1995) investigation of 'anger' in Japanese, in which she identifies some specific Japanese conceptualisations of anger through interviewing her informants. This data provided her with a cultural context to determine fine differences between the Japanese concept of anger and that of American English speakers.

With regard to these advantages of examining linguistic expressions in narratives, it was then proposed that an alternative method to Lakoff and Kövecses' (1987) study on anger should be developed. Although Kövecses later acknowledged (1988, 1990, 2000) that there is possibly more than one cognitive model which emotional concepts converge on, of which some are ideal and some are typical, but they can all be prototypes depending on a person's frame of mind, his methodology still does not address fully the finer comparison of social and cultural control elements in emotion conceptualisation cross-linguistically.

Apart from considering between both narratives and isolated linguistic expressions, it was also important to ensure that the source data reflected the 'daily' conceptualisation of emotion, which is actively shared by a speech community. For

example, when we read about someone describing “we have come long way”, converging on LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, is it an isolated incident conjured up by the writer to make a special point which is compatible with the theme of his or her writing? Alternatively, is it a metaphor that is also deep-rooted in the cognitive system of people when they talk about love? Thus, the only way of establishing the definitive conceptualisation was to interview the subjects directly. Specifically, there have been several studies on metaphors where the researchers gathered spontaneous data through direct interview (e.g. Koch and Deetz, 1981, Owen, 1985a, 1985b, 1990, Baxter, 1992, Quinn, 1987) and their conversations were audiotaped then analysed subsequently. However, due to practical and methodological considerations, it was decided a self-report questionnaire would be more suitable. There are several valid reasons as to why a self-report questionnaire is preferred to other alternatives for eliciting contextual data, which are set out in the next section.

### **2.1.2 Questionnaire Methods**

Primarily, both field observation and interview are influenced by the outcome of any interaction with the researchers. In other words, researchers may innocently or purposefully prompt their subjects to elicit the metaphor use, thus, making differentiating ‘natural’ use of metaphors or metonymies from ‘contrite’ or ‘forced’ metaphors more difficult. Moreover, these ‘prompts’ will not come from the researchers alone. It is possible that in a group interaction, which is often the source of data for field researchers, the informants in fact can affect one another in terms of metaphor/metonymy use in order to create a “group cohesiveness”(Owen, 1985a). In this case, it will be equally difficult to separate the metaphors, which are the integral

part of human conceptualisation from those produced as ‘plays of words’, nor as stereotype responses due to social peer pressure.

Secondly, questionnaire method can provide anonymity for the subjects who participate in such a research., which for Chinese subjects is of particular significance. Most Chinese have no difficulties in showing emotions in public (Potter, 1988); however, when verbalising their inner feelings to others without having to excessively somaticise the experience can be particularly problematic (Wu, 1984). Hence, an anonymous questionnaire, which can offer a privacy that is free of any embarrassment caused by the presence of others, should accomplish the desired results more successfully than other methods.

Thirdly, self-report questionnaire methods are already well established in the field of everyday emotional experience research, and adopts the same view of social construction theory of emotion as this present author does; for example, Averill’s (1980) research on anger, Hupka (1981, 1991) on jealousy, Magnusson and Stattin (1982) on stress situations. Questionnaires were used in such studies to gather information about situations and events that constitute or elicit a specific emotion under investigation. However, these questionnaire methods were later expanded to facilitate investigations of more emotions at one time and in-depth examinations of some other variables that are also of valuable interest in understanding emotions. A case in point is a series of collaborative studies on cross-cultural comparisons of various emotions (joy, sadness, fear and anger) among eight countries initially (namely, the U.K., France, Belgium, Spain, Switzerland, Germany, Israel and Italy. The researchers later enlarged their sample to 28 countries, including Japan and U.S.); the results of which were summarised by Scherer, Wallbott and Summerfield

(1986). The variables included in this large-scale cross-national research questionnaire, as explained by Wallbott and Scherer (1989), are the emotion-arousing situation, characteristics of the experiencing person, characteristics of the subjective experience of emotion (such as intensity or duration), characteristics of verbal, expressive, and physiological reactions, as well as control and regulation attempts of subjects (*op. cit.*, p.65-66).

In order to accommodate the scale of their research, they did not choose to use a pre-coded questionnaire. This was due to two factors: firstly, their relevant knowledge necessary to construct answer alternatives was not available at that time, and secondly, a specially developed open-ended questionnaire would allow subjects to describe their emotional experiences in greater detail, which in turn, would provide a richer source of data. Certainly, this method is not without its limitations. One of them is the most pressing problem for any emotion research using self-report which is memory distortion (Scherer, Wallbott and Summerfield, 1986). A significant body of studies on memory (e.g. Barlett, 1932, Loftus, Greene, and Doyle, 1989) claims that during the recording phase, a certain amount of construction and deconstruction has already occurred. Such a phenomenon is often either derived from the inherent nature of human memory, or as a self-defence mechanism, which can lead to a rationalisation and an interpretation of antecedent events that have been integrated into the social reality of the individual. In other words, the subjects are more likely to describe those items that are compatible with their own frame of reference. Consequently, they might conform to the so-called social desirability effects, and produce stereotypical responses (Scherer *et al.* 1986:21). However, there are ways to minimise the aforementioned effect by limiting

subject's responses to more recent events and providing situational cues to avoid selective memory problems (Scherer *et al*, 1986). In summary, Wallbott and Scherer (1989) argue that a well-designed self-report questionnaire can not only prevent memory lapses, but also help direct attention to individual difference factors, as well as enhancing the response rates by providing anonymity (*op. cit.*, p.64). Therefore, this particular questionnaire method and design was deemed to be most suitable to meet the requirements of the present research: That is, no 'forced', or 'stereotypical' responses, but 'natural' and 'genuine' descriptions of emotions; anonymity for Chinese subjects; and the opportunity to investigate more than one emotion simultaneously. Above all, this design can elicit crucial elements of daily emotional experience, which has the potential to further the research on modern theories of conceptual metaphors of emotion, i.e. an interaction of human biology and socio-cultural environment. However, there were some simplifications, which had to be made in order to suit the paradigms of this current investigation. The details are discussed in the following section.

### **2.1.3 Setting the Paradigms: The Questionnaire Design**

The focus of the present research is primarily the language or the verbal construction of emotional experiences; secondly, the cognitive models embedded in the linguistic data. Therefore, despite some methodological similarities with Scherer *et al*'s research, the present study departs from investigating 'emotions' proper, and concentrates on identifying how language is used to describe emotional experience. Therefore, such an emphasis, transforms, for example, confounds of memory into a rich source of data. As it has been argued in this work that emotions are not mere

inner, psychological states, nor physiological concomitants, they are interpretations or judgements of emotional events. Hence, whatever the subjects report is their 'subjective' evaluation of the world, which in turn reflects upon the constructive process of human cognition, and it is exactly in this process that metaphors play an important role (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, 1999, Johnson, 1987, Gibbs, 1994). In other words, the self-report, with or without memory distortion is equally valid and valuable research tool.

This does not mean memory confounds were not considered in the present research. Since we are concerned with natural and spontaneous language, it would be reasonable to ask the subjects to recall any recent emotional events of situations, which are still vivid in their mind. Additionally, any excessive operation of selective memory may lead to the exclusion of specific aspects of the situations, which may have eventually adverse effect on the second concern of this study: Constructing meaningful cultural contexts, or, cognitive models based on the linguistic data. Hence, at the outset, the format of this questionnaire was designed to adhere to the following principles, which are in line with Scherer *et al's* (1986) to achieve maximum linguistic results:

- 1). Providing anonymity to avoid self-defence strategies.
- 2). Employing open-ended format to avoid stereotypical response.
- 3). Providing situational cues to open-ended questions to avoid selective memory operations.
- 4). Asking subjects to recall an event or events which are that are not too far in the past to reduce the confounding effect of memory deficit.

Furthermore, the second concern of this study, which is the cognitive models that are understood to govern our emotional life (Quinn, 1987, 1991, Gibbs, 1999, Kövecses,

1999, 2000) required careful paradigms setting. As discussed in the previous section, Scherer *et al* questionnaire for their cross-national studies on emotions included the following paradigms: 1) Characteristics of emotion-arousing situation, 2). Characteristics of experiencing person, 3). Characteristics of the subjective experience of emotion (e.g. intensity and duration), 4) Characteristics of verbal, expressive, and physiological reactions and 5). Control and regulation attempts of the subjects. (Walbott and Scherer, 1989: 66). These paradigms approximately correspond to the scope of the present research: The interaction between physiological motivations and socio-cultural experiences that give rise to our conceptualisation of emotion, which are in turn embedded in our language through metaphors. Therefore, the above paradigms which address not only the socio-cultural factors (point 1, and 5), but also the physiological elements (point 3, and 4), and individual differences (point 2), formed the basis to the paradigms of the questionnaire used in this research.

More specifically, this study supplements various aspects of the Lakoff and Kövecses framework (Lakoff and Kövecses, 1987, and Kövecses, 1988, 1990) on cognitive models. For example, their analysis (1987) is based on a “prototypical scenario” for ‘anger’ in American English, however it omits the following factors: Range of offences that cause anger, and the corresponding range of appropriate responses, individual variation, and the exact psychological status of the respondents. Therefore, the paradigms necessary in the current study are:

1. Identification of the range of SITUATIONS (offences) that activate the emotion in question
2. The range of RESPONSES (reaction).
3. Personal (INDIVIDUAL) specification.
4. Social regulation and CONTROL.

Consequently, the questionnaire (see Appendix 1) is simplified into two parts to incorporate the above paradigms:

1. PERSONAL information
2. Description of recent EMOTIONAL experiences:
  - a) SITUATIONAL cues to remind subjects to include PLACE, OFFENDING PEOPLE, DURATION, and CONTROL of the emotional incident
  - b) Ranges of REACTIONS: psychological, verbal, non-verbal and vocal

The first part of the questionnaire is so designed to gather data on individual differences such as gender, age, marital status, and educational level, which may have a confounding effect on subjects' daily experience of emotion, and thus, the use of metaphorical language. The second part is the narrative of the subjects' recent and memorable emotional experiences. There are two types of cues given to the subjects in order to prevent excessive memory selection difficulties in narrating their stories. The final draft of the questionnaire includes a blank piece of paper titled with the name of one emotion at a time (i.e. *sheng qi* for 'anger', *kuai le* for 'happiness', and *ai qing* for 'romantic love'). In total, they were given three sheets of blank paper for the narratives, and they could use both sides of each sheet, should it be necessary. In order to facilitate an elaborate analysis of the data, they were encouraged to write between 300 to 500 words (or characters in Chinese case), however, they were also encouraged to write any length they saw fit. More importantly, they were reminded to record their experiences as if they were speaking, to capture the essence of daily colloquialism. The data collection was undertaken in three stages, and was then



analysed. The next two sections will give further details of how these various processes were carried out.

## **2.2 Data Collection**

Once the design of the questionnaire was completed in 1993, it was first decided to do a small scale of pilot study on subjects in Taiwan in 1994 to determine the merit of such method. Then the second stage between 1996 to 1997 involved Taiwanese subjects who had spent a number of years in the US at the time of the survey to explore the possibility of second language influencing the use of metaphorical expressions in the first language. Finally, after confirming the narratives elicited so far provided a rich source of metaphorical expressions, in the summer of 1997, a large-scale survey was embarked upon, the details of each phase will be discussed separately.

### **2.2.1 First Phase: Pilot Study**

In this phase of the survey, there were 13 subjects (Males = 5, Females = 8). The average age of the subjects was 28.12 years old, and each either had received a high school diploma and attending a university or had completed a university degree. Age and educational level were controlled in order to ensure that all subjects had reached a similar level of literacy, and emotional maturity. The subjects were drawn from dancers in a contemporary dance forum based in Taipei, and language students learning English at National Taiwan University Language Centre in Taipei. They received the questionnaire through a designated interviewer who was given specific

instructions on how to administer the questionnaire; each student was asked to complete the questionnaire at home.

Once the questionnaires returned to the researcher, there were briefly coded according to the metaphors and metonymies already identified by means of earlier data for *sheng qi* 'anger' in the researcher's previous work (Hu, 1993), and as for *kuai le* 'happiness' and *ai qing* 'romantic love', Kövecses' (1988, 1990) and Shyu's (1989) analyses were used. Each of these analyses was then taken into account to formulate methodological considerations of the larger surveys. The results of the study are presented in the subsequent chapters, and a more elaborate explanation of the coding process is given in the following section.

Due to a time constraint, it was not possible to expand the scale of survey at that time. It also became clear that the format of the questionnaire required some adjustments. First, in the first draft of the questionnaire, there were no separate blank sheets attached for the subjects to write longer essays; secondly, the instructions for *sheng qi* 'anger' and *kuai le* 'happiness' were not distinctly separated. Consequently, all subjects except one wrote less than 300 words and, more than half described only one experience instead of both, which had led to some missing data, particularly for 'happiness' and 'love'. Hence, in the second phase of the data collection some separate sheets were attached to prevent unnecessary missing data.

### **2.2.2 Second Phase: Language Contamination?**

The second phase took place between 1996 and 1997 during researcher's several visits to the United States. The data came from 19 subjects (Males = 6, Females = 13) who all held a minimum Bachelors degree from a Taiwanese university, and

subsequently came to the U.S. Their age ranged between 25-40, with the exception of one subject who was 61 at the time of the survey. They all had diverse backgrounds professionally and their length of stay in the US varied from a few years to over 30 years. However, it was clearly determined that their first language was indeed Chinese as well as their parents'; and for those who were married at the time, their spouses were of Chinese origin, too. The importance of controlling language was to detect more accurately if any second language (in this case, English) influenced the perception of their emotional experience.

Initially, there were 20 questionnaires returned, but one filled with excessive English (80%), which was discarded. Despite this incident, the use of English words in the rest of narratives gathered (N = 48) were no more than those words found later in the narratives of our main corpus (N = 211) collected in Taiwan in 1997-1998. Interestingly, in the overseas data occasionally English words such as 'director' 'technician' 'drive through' 'presentations', which are mostly specific nouns, appeared in the texts. However, in the main corpus, most of the English words Taiwanese subjects used are adjectives or nouns that were used to describe emotions such as 'feeling blue', 'high', 'gay', 'love', 'lucky 7', and 'smile'. The reason for this interesting phenomenon is rather difficult to fathom. Is this because the Taiwanese subjects have become more americanised or have the overseas Chinese subjects managed to maintain their Chinese identity more successfully? Our analyses of metaphor/metonymy rates and frequencies of various metaphor/metonymy usages, show no significant differences between the overseas Chinese and Chinese on Taiwan. This can confirm that those subjects who have resided in the U. S. for several years or even longer do not show any sign of language 'contamination.

Nonetheless, this result does not resolve the puzzle. At most, one can only speculate possible explanations, which will be discussed further in Chapter 6, the final overall discussion of the thesis.

As mentioned earlier that the questionnaires sent out at this phase were attached with some extra blank sheets to enhance the possibility of eliciting longer narratives. As a result, half of the narratives collected (total = 48) were over 300 words, and the number of missing narratives (7 out of 57) was dramatically reduced compared with the pilot study. All the missing data, except one, is for *kuai le* 'happiness', which shows the confusion over both emotions *sheng qi* 'anger' and *kuai le* 'happiness' were still due to errors in the instructions on the questionnaire. Consequently, an additional instruction for *kuai le* 'happiness' was written to minimise any misunderstanding. Furthermore, three blank sheets were attached. Each blank sheet has one emotion under investigation titled distinctively to provide the subjects a clear signpost to help clarify any confusion may arise by interpreting the instructions. With all the improvement ready, a larger scale of survey was underway.

### **2.2.3 The Third Phase—The Main Corpus**

The final questionnaires were initially sent out in the summer of 1997, but did not return to the researcher until the spring of 1998. A hundred questionnaires were distributed, 76 were returned, of which three were blank. Due to the improved design of questionnaire, it was easier for the researcher to determine the possible individual causes for any missing data or short narratives (eight narratives are missing from the total of 219. Among the returned 211 essays, 57 had less than 300 words). For example, there were four subjects who failed to describe happiness in any form, and

three subjects just left the 'happiness' page blank (but wrote at least one or two essays for other emotions). Apart from the three blank questionnaires, all subjects wrote down something about *ai qing* 'love', and one subject left *sheng qi* 'anger' blank. Overall, the length of narratives and the missing data appeared in a less erratic way. In other words, it was expected that people wrote longer for 'anger', then 'happiness', then finally 'love', which is compatible to Fainsilber and Ortony (1987) findings that emotion as action (in this case, *sheng qi* and *kuai le*) inspired more description than emotion as state (i. e. *ai qing*). However, the reasons why there were more missing data for positive emotions than negative emotions was not immediately apparent. One indication could be the age of these subjects, since three out of the four subjects who claimed having not experienced happiness or memorable happiness, and together with all three subjects who chose to leave 'happiness' blank were 18 to 25 of age at the time of the survey. Some plausible interpretations will be given in the discussion of cognitive models when the contexts of *kuai le* 'happiness' are examined.

The subjects came mainly from two groups: 22 teachers from a high school in a southern Taiwanese town, 47 college students from a university in Taipei (and 4 graduate students from another university in Taipei). Their age ranged between 19 and 45, with a mean age of 27.25; 20 males and 53 female subjects. Each subject was recruited on a voluntary basis, and this may explain why it has been extremely difficult to attain high return rates since the beginning of this study in 1994, despite assuring anonymity. Another reason to explain the reluctance is the writing part, in the early stages of data collection, was because many subjects expressed uneasiness to write in Chinese, so it was made clear and underscored in the last phase that any

participating subjects did not need to write as conventional writing expected, but should just record their story as colloquial as possible. In total, there were 105 subjects (M=31, F=74) producing 285 essays, from which metaphors and metonymies were identified and analysed. Next, we will turn to the processes of identification and analyses.

### 2.3 Analyses

After all the data had been collected in 1998, the analyses were undertaken. First, the subjects' personal information was coded according to age, gender, marital status, years of education, language spoken, place of residence, etc. Then, the essays were read through several times to highlight linguistic expressions, which contain instantiations of metaphors/metonymies already identified in the pilot and other literature. They were then categorised and coded as data files using SPSS. Particular effort was given when novel, or implicit expressions were encountered. On such occasions, it was necessary to consider whether they were used literally or indeed metaphorically by the subjects. Once it was decided that the expression under question was metaphorical, then came the complex task of uncovering the underlying metaphorical mappings since the information of source domain was not present in the text in most cases. In summary, the above process of coding and categorising metaphor/metonymy was to discover whether there were any metaphors/metonymies more dominant than others in the mind of ordinary people when they speak about *sheng qi* 'anger', *kuai le* 'happiness' and *ai qing* 'love'. These findings were crucial in helping constructing cognitive models.

After coding and categorising metaphor/metonymy, all the lengths of the essays were calculated according to “linguistic units” as first proposed by Johnson (1970), then utilised by Fainsilber and Ortony (1987) for counting the length of narratives they elicited from their subjects in determining the use of metaphorical expressions. After the number of units for each essay was recorded, the number of metaphor/metonymy use, including repeated use, of each essay was counted. The ratio of metaphor/metonymy use per linguistic unit is important in comparing the “vividness” and “abstractness” (Fainsilber and Ortony, 1987, Ortony 1975) of the emotional experiences. The findings were used to purport the claim that the more abstract an emotion, thus more easily constructed socially and culturally, more metaphor use is elicited to describe it.

Finally, the last part of the analyses dealt with some individual differences such as gender, age, and place of residence and years of education in rates and type of metaphor use. Some correlations of certain types of metaphor/metonymy were also analysed in order to unveil any consistency in people’s choice of metaphors and metonymies. The following units will discuss these procedures in more detail.

### **2.3.1 Coding Process: Identifying Metaphors, Metonymies and Linguistic Units**

This is perhaps the most difficult part of the whole research since there has not been any objective way of identifying metaphors or metonymies available (Cameron and Graham, 1999). One of the major reasons for this is that there are several types of metaphors and metonymies appearing in different forms. In principle, the definitions of metaphor and metonymy this work employs are based on Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) and Lakoff’s (1987) proposal that metaphors involve

the mapping of two domains, a source domain and a target domain, while metonymies only conceptual domain, which in turn is structured by an ICM (Idealised Cognitive Model). However, their theory at times was not sufficient to explain certain mappings emerge from our data. As a result, it was necessary to consider other theories of metaphors and metonymy, mainly Grady's primary and complex metaphor theory (1996), Johnson's Conflation Hypothesis (1999) and Fauconnier and Turner's conceptual blending theory (1995, 1999) in order to give a coherent account of the data. First, let us look at the problematic issues surrounding metaphors and the possibilities of resolving them.

### 2.3.1.1 Coding Metaphors

The first consideration was to identify metaphorical expressions in the discourse, and then to account for the mapping. This is because natural discourse only contains "implicit" rather than "explicit" metaphors (Steen, 1999:61), i.e. more often than not, the source domain is not present. For example, in the data collected for *ai qing* 'love', the following expression appears several times in the main corpus:

1. *Xian dai shu she ai qing*  
Modern fast food love  
(Modern fast-food style love)

The identification here is straightforward, because both source and target domains are clearly stated: LOVE IS FOOD. However, with the next expression, it is no longer so clear:

2. *Zhong cheng she ai qing yao su zhi yi...*  
(Loyalty in one of the essential ingredient/element of love...)



The difficulty of (2) is that there are three different meanings of *yao su* in Chinese: ingredient, element, or factors (Far East Chinese-English Dictionary, 1997), and from the context of where this phrase appears, where source domain is not clearly stated, one could only draw inferences from other sources. On first inspection, it appears that this linguistic expression was the instantiation of LOVE IS FOOD metaphor due to the fact that there is a systematic mapping of FOOD domain to LOVE domain in Chinese as (1) illustrated in the data, and elsewhere in the literature. A case in point is a common conventional Chinese expression:

3. *Ai qing de zhi wei*  
Love GEN taste  
(Taste of love)

There are more examples found in the data and elsewhere, where LOVE is described as SNACK, MAIN MEAL, COOKING, SWEET, and NUTRIENT, therefore, the most reasonable reading of *yao su* seemed to be ‘ingredient’ as one of entailments of the FOOD schema.

However, the expression in (2) may not be the instantiation of LOVE IS FOOD, as there is another related metaphor to LOVE IS FOOD, which is LOVE IS AN ORGANISM, may provide a better categorisation. The ambiguity lies with the lexical item *su*, which means ‘pure white silk’ ‘colour of white, ‘plain and simple’ ‘always’ ‘the origin constitution of things’, ‘basic elements’ in Chinese (Far East Chinese-English Dictionary, 1997). Very likely, these are all polysemy arriving from a more basic meaning, which is ‘pure white silk’ through metaphorical or metonymical extension (e.g., Taylor, 1989, Sweetser, 1990). Polysemy and

metaphorical/metonymical extension is beyond the scope of this thesis, but what is clear is that when *su* is used as an adjective, according to Chinese dictionaries, it always means, 'simple', 'plain', 'mono-colour' or 'always', whereas as a noun, it means 'the origin constitution of things'. For example, *yao su*, a compound word, came to mean 'ingredient', or 'element', and in another compound word, *yuan su*, it came to be understood as 'elements' in chemistry. Arguably, the expression in (2) indicates 'loyalty' is one of the basic elements that constitute LOVE, as a chemical element constituting a living entity. Of course, it is also possible that expression (2) is an entailment of both metaphors, FOOD and ORGANISM, because they may share some metaphor "primitives" (Grady, 1996, 1997, 1998, Lakoff and Johnson, 1999). For example: PART-WHOLE, and it is therefore not unusual for speakers to mix them in what referred to as "external systematicity" (Koch and Deetz, 1981:10) to enhance certain perspectives of the matter they are experiencing.

In summary, the above examples highlight the methodological issues this research had to address in coding metaphors. They were firstly, how to identify linguistic expressions as metaphorical due to implicitness of natural discourse; and how to categorise the identified metaphorical expressions by virtue of some ambiguous mappings of two domains found in implicit metaphorical expressions. The second more thorny issue is that various types of metaphors, such as primary and complex, as proposed by Grady (1996, 1999), require different ways of accounting for their mappings. Sometimes, the mapping only becomes clear when analysis that is more detailed is applied to the metaphorical expressions by breaking them down to levels that are more basic in order to uncover what Grady refers to as "primitives" (1997). In this case, Grady's theory can complement Lakoff and Johnson's model to

provide a better picture of our conceptual activities. Therefore, when the linguistic expressions are explicitly and conventionally metaphorical, the results in Chapter 3, 4 and 5 do not reveal specific mappings. On the other hand, implicit and ambiguous expressions are further analysed with the aid of other metaphor theories in order to reveal the mapping domains.

### **2.3.1.2 Coding Metonymy**

Similarly, the task of coding metonymies encountered nearly the same obstacles as metaphors. Basically, Lakoff and Johnson's (1980), Lakoff and Kövecses' (1987) and various Kövecses' (1987, 1988, 1990) research on metonymy serves as the blueprint for the categories used in this research. Nonetheless, in natural, genuine discourse, it is more complex in uncovering conceptual metonymies. For example, it was easier to identify metonymies used by subjects for 'anger', and 'happiness', due to the following reasons: First of all, there was a sizable body of established literature on these two emotions on metonymies, while relatively little research on 'romantic love' at the time the coding of the data for this research was conducted. Secondly, although Kövecses already provided some categories for 'love' in 1988 and 1990, many of the linguistics expressions he cited which led to his eventual findings only partially applied to Chinese data. For example, SEXUAL DESIRE STANDS FOR LOVE is totally missing in the data gathered for this research. Thirdly, judging from the narratives provided, it appears that most subjects described 'anger' and 'happiness' more as action, while 'love' as state. Consequently, there are more physical reactions described to stand for their emotional experiences in 'anger' and 'happiness', such as AGGRESSIVE

VERBAL/VISUAL BEHAVIOUR for ANGER, or SMILING/LAUGHING for HAPPINESS. As for 'love', subjects tended to use far less physical terms to describe their experience and definition of love. One may find in some popular Taiwanese romantic novels, particularly written by Qiong Yao, who is Taiwan's equivalent to Barbara Cartland in the West, and was extremely popular in 70's and 80's. She included expressions such as "lips slightly open", "he crushed her into his arms", "the face glows, the eyes shine" in her writings. However, the subjects in this research spoke of love with more abstract terms such as 'responsibility' 'loyalty' 'honesty' and 'care'.

The fourth obstacle in identifying and categorising metonymies of 'love' is the form metonymies appear. If we bear in mind that the majority of the structure of Chinese characters and compound words are metonymical motivated (King, 1989:207), the lexical items themselves are the source of metonymies. Let us take 'caring' in Chinese as a case in point. The expressions mentioned by the subjects involving 'caring' are the following expressions:

4. a. *ti tie*  
physical glue  
(caring)
- b. *tie xin*  
glue heart  
(intimate, caring, understanding)
- c. *guan xin*  
concern heart  
(caring)

The first two examples **a** and **b** illustrate the underlying metonymy, PHYSICAL CLOSENESS, instantiated by the word *tie*, which means 'glue', though

a is slightly more explicit and literal than b. The expression b is constituted by the interaction of two metonymies: HEART STANDS FOR THE PERSON, and PHYSICAL CLOSENESS STANDS FOR LOVE. In turn, HEART STANDS FOR THE PERSON can be further categorised to a more basic and general conceptual metonymy, PART STANDS FOR WHOLE. As discussed in Chapter 1 this PART-WHOLE conceptualisation is a crucial schema underlying the Chinese language system from syntax, semantics to pragmatics (King, 1989, Yau, 1984, T'sai, 1989). The usage of *xin* 'heart' is a representative of this conceptualisation, particularly in the Chinese emotional language. It not only stands for the PERSON (or SELF), EMOTION, THOUGHT/MIND, but also LOVE. Therefore, the *xin* in the example c can be understood as either THOUGHT or LOVE, depending on the context where *quan xin* is used. Hence, in Chinese to *quan xin* someone in the context of close and intimate relationships means that a lover thinks for his or her partner, and this thinking for him/her comes to symbolise a way of showing the emotion of love. Clearly, the example in c, on a discourse level is probably metaphorical, involving the mapping of two domains: THOUGHT and LOVE. Yet, the lexical item *xin* is a metonymy of HEART STANDS FOR THE PERSON/LOVE, so the best way to account for expressions as such is Goossens' (1990) terminology, metaphonymy, where, in this case, is a metaphor deriving from a metonymy.

Similarly, though both examples in a and b instantiate a physical experiential basis of PHYSICAL CLOSENESS metonymy, when they are used in a discourse level, they in fact give rise to a primary metaphor INTIMACY IS CLOSENESS (Grady, 1996). Consequently, all these three linguistic expressions can be regarded as both metaphorical and metonymical. This analysis underscores the fact that the

division between metaphors and metonymies can be fuzzy sometimes. This fuzziness leads to the last thorny issue encountered in categorising metonymies in this study.

The last reason for the difficulty is related to the previous one but address more directly the fuzziness between metaphor and metonymy caused by the issue of conceptual domains (Johnson, 1999). Although conceptually, people process metaphor and metonymy differently, and as Lakoff and Johnson point out that these are two separate kinds of cognitive tool (1980:36) with one involving two domains, the other one domain, in natural discourse the division is less clear. Once again, let us take ‘caring’ for example. It is quite common for women in Taiwan to express the following about their requirement of a partner:

5. *Ta bi xu hen teng wo*  
He must very pain me  
(He must care/dot on me)

The key word here is the verb *teng*, which means ‘hurt’, or ‘painful’ originally. However, through metaphorical extension, this word is also used to mean to ‘dote upon’, or to ‘spoil’ someone. It is not difficult to see the transition of meaning in *teng* from a more physical-sensory realm to a psychological one. As discussed earlier in Chapter 1, Gibbs and his associates’ (Gibbs *et al*, 1994) analyses and experiments on the English word ‘stand’ exemplifies such a transition, where the physical meaning of ‘stand’ as in “Please stand at attention” gives rise to the more non-physical and figurative sense of the word as in “He wouldn’t stand for such treatment”. This kind of polysemous sense extension, as argued by several other researchers as well (Kittay, 1987, Brugman and Lakoff, 1988, Brugman, 1981,

Sweetser, 1990), derives from metaphorical mappings of two domains which are “motivated by people’s recurring bodily experience” (Gibbs, 1997:366).

However, this view is seriously questioned by Johnson (1999) in his examination of children’s acquisition of the English word ‘see’. He proposes a Conflation Hypothesis (CH), which was elaborated in Chapter 1, where he argues that children do not necessarily learn the extended senses of ‘see’ through a metaphorical cross-domain mapping. Instead, he believes, due to children’s limited range of experiences, and a less complex conceptual system than adults, it is an effect of ‘conflation’ that guides them in terms of acquiring uses and interpretations of polysemous forms (1999:159-160). This process, Johnson claims, does not involve two domains but one domain; i. e. the visual and mental experience of ‘see’ are “both aspects of the relevant situations, and the relations between them could be inferential or metonymic at this stage in a child’s life” (*op. cit.*: 160). Hence, he even questions whether the UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING metaphor that is said to govern the mapping of mental uses of ‘see’ from source domain of a purely visual experience is indeed a *bone fide* metaphor. In fact, he suggests that some properties of the UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING metaphor may be metonymic in nature, since the literal sense of ‘see’ involves a mental dimension already.

The details of Johnson’s arguments will not be further discussed here, however, his research raises a problematic issue that concerns the coding of metaphors and metonymies in this present work, which is illustrated by the Chinese example given in (5). As pointed out earlier, the extended sense of *teng*, superficially, may derive from metaphorical extension. Yet, on closer inspection, if Johnson’s CH holds, the case may not be so straightforwardly metaphorical. More

specifically, the word *teng* is in fact more suitably used in a caregiver (mother or father) and child interaction in Chinese. In this scenario we can see that when a child hurts himself/herself, the mother or father would come and comfort the child by showing physical affection of feeling the pain for the child. At a later stage, the child came to associate this kind of physical connection with a parent saying *hou teng* 'it must hurt' to parental love and affection to him/her. According to Johnson's CH, such an association should occur in one domain without involving two domains such as PHYSICAL AFFECTION and PARENTAL LOVE. On the other hand, in adult use of this expression, interestingly, in a romantic love (*ai qing*) relationship, this expression is exclusively used by women to indicate the sort of connection they wish to establish with their partner, reflecting the original meaning arising from child and parent interaction is transferred to a context of romantic interaction.

Is this transference metaphorical or metonymical? Apparently, some women's model of romantic love is based on the physical connection between parents and child, particularly of parents' physical sympathy with the child's pain as an embodiment of parental love itself and this process can be metonymic, or alternatively, through conflation. In turn, this process gives rise to a non-stereotypical metaphorical mapping between PARENTAL LOVE and ROMANTIC LOVE as exemplified in the example in (5). This kind of fuzziness only demonstrates the interwoven link between metaphors and metonymies in our conceptual system. The above examples merely illustrate a fraction of the various theoretical considerations needed to draw on in identifying metaphorical and metonymical expressions found in the data and in categorising them to the appropriate conceptual metaphors or metonymies these expressions exemplify.



Consequently, similar to metaphors, elaborate analysis of metonymic mapping is provided in the results presented in the following chapters when the linguistic expressions are not transparent or self-explanatory.

### **2.3.1.3 Measuring Linguistic Units**

Although all subjects were asked to write a certain number of words, the length of their narratives are not measured by word counts. Instead, a device called “linguistic units” was used as a way of measuring the ratio of metaphor use/metonymy use in any given narrative. Since metaphorical/metonymical expressions do not appear as a single word, there is no significance in measuring the rates of metaphor/metonymy use by words. Unlike words or grammatical units, linguistic units are ACCEPTABLE PAUSES, which possess psychological significance in verbal passages (Johnson, 1970). These pauses, from a reader's point of view, serve the function of catching a breath, giving emphasis to the story, or enhancing meaning. Such pausal locations are proposed by Johnson (*op. cit.*), as one of the functional boundaries used in encoding and decoding the narrative. Therefore, he believes that such a division is less biased and more psychologically ‘real’ than grammatical units in analysing a text or narrative.

The same device was later employed by Fainsilber and Ortony (1987) in their investigation on metaphorical uses of language in expression of emotions. In order to prove their hypothesis that the more abstract and intense (vivid) an emotional experience is, the more the use of metaphors is elicited for each subject to describe that experience; Moreover, Fainsilber and Ortony used “linguistic units” to measure

the length of their subjects' narratives as a control to measure the rates of metaphor use.

The actual manual computation of the linguistic units was actually carried out by an independent rater (who is also a native speaker of Chinese from Taiwan). This rater was instructed about the principle of identifying linguistic units as described above. After the completion of counting, the results were checked by the researcher to ensure that no significant disparities occurred. Finally, the results were recorded using SPSS data sheets for later analysis. However, in order to clarify how the results were derived originally, the following translation of three narratives samples from subjects, each representing one emotion under investigation, namely anger, happiness and romantic love is provided. This demonstrates how linguistic units were identified and subsequently how metaphors and metonymies were counted in relation to them.

In the first narrative, which is an angry experience described by subject no. 46, a twenty-seven years old female, postgraduate student in Geography at a Taipei University. Although most subjects wrote with punctuations, they don't always coincide with the psychological break conceived by the reader(s). Thus, firstly, the translation of the narrative with the writer's punctuations is presented, followed by the linguistic units divided by the rater. The translation tries to stay as honest as possible to its Chinese structure, so it may not be entirely grammatically correct in English:

One classmate in (my) research study team for the sake of fighting over scholarship, generated rumour to defame other classmates, it makes people feel extremely *fen nu* 'emitting hot gas/*qi*', of course, I myself is amongst one of the victims that have been viciously attacked, If there is indeed some truth to what it was said, it is fine with me, even though it is

clearly not the truth, it was described with sounds and pictures (vividly) as if it indeed happened, in my heart I feel rough.

Finally, everyone decided to have a meeting, honestly to discuss this matter, the generator of the rumour was unusually silent, she wanted to act as if she was the poor little girl to win our sympathy, mm, it is an old trick....

I know now her true face finally—from now on everything should be taken with a little precaution, it is best to maintain a distance with this kind of person.

(Who) like to whisper in other people's ears are really disgusting.

There are 15 linguistic units with two metaphors identified but no metonymies. These linguist units are divided in the following fashion:

1. one classmate in (my) research study team for the sake of fighting over scholarship, generated rumour to defame other classmates
2. it makes people feel extremely *fen nu* 'emitting hot gas/qi'
3. of course, I myself is amongst one of the victims that have been viciously attacked
4. if there is indeed some truth to what it was said, it is fine with me
5. even though it is clearly not the truth, it was described with sounds and pictures (vividly) as if it indeed happened
6. in my heart I feel rough
7. Finally, everyone decided to have a meeting
8. honestly to discuss this matter
9. the generator of the rumour was unusually silent
10. she wanted to act as if she was the poor little girl to win our sympathy
11. mm, it is an old trick....
12. I know now her true face finally
13. from now on everything should be taken a little precaution
14. it is best to maintain a distance with this kind of person

15. (Who) like to whisper in other people's ears are really disgusting

In the above narrative, there are two metaphors identified in the second linguistic unit with *fen nu* standing for ANGER IS HOT GAS metaphor and the sixth unit 'my heart feels rough' for ANGER IS FLUID. The Chinese word for 'rough' in this case is *bu ping* which can be used to describe water, therefore it is appropriate to assume that it converges on the metaphor of FLUID.

The second narrative is about a happiness event the same subject experienced.

Finally I have handed in all reports, school work has finally ended for the time being, mm! (I'm) so *kao xing* 'high and rapturous', (I) can go shopping, buy things (I) really like.

My mood feels light, (I) still have other ample time to spend with (my) boyfriend, mm! Being able to do what (I) want, (with) no pressure whatsoever, it is really good!

*Kuai le*'s 'Happiness' feeling is having a feeling of lightness, mentally and physically it is totally light and loose and full of *yu yue* 'pleasurable feeling', (it's) very comfortable, it is indeed a kind of lucky/fulfilling and happy feeling.

There are 10 linguistic units with two metonymies and five metaphors identified. The linguistic units are as follows:

1. Finally I have handed in all reports
2. school work has finally ended for the time being
3. mm! (I'm) so *kao xing* 'high and rapturous'
4. (I) can go shopping, buy things (I) really like
5. My mood feels light
6. (I) still have other ample time to spend with (my) boyfriend

7. mm! Being able to do what (I) want, (with) no pressure whatsoever, it is really good!
8. *Kuai le*'s 'Happiness' feeling is having a feeling of lightness
9. mentally and physically it is totally light and loose and full of *yu yue* 'pleasurable feeling'(it's) very comfortable
10. it is indeed a kind of lucky/fulfilling and happy feeling.

The metonymies that have been identified are in unit 9, which are PHYSICAL LIGHTNESS STANDS FOR HAPPINESS and PHYSICAL COMFORT STANDS FOR HAPPINESS. Similarly, the five metaphors found are HAPPINESS IS UP AND RAPTUROUS in unit 3, HAPPINESS IS LIGHTNESS in unit 5, HAPPINESS IS FREEDOM in unit 7, HAPPINESS IS PLEASURABLE SENSATION in unit 9 and finally HAPPINESS IS A SENSE OF FULFILMENT in unit 10. Repeated metonymy or metaphor is counted as one unit, for example, the metaphor of HAPPINESS IS LIGHTNESS appears three times in the text, it is still counted as one metaphor.

The narration for love the same subject provided consists of 12 linguistic units containing nine metaphors and no metonymy. The following is the translation:

*Ai qing* 'love' is a kind of when two people feel rapturous toward each other, (their) heart and soul can communicate with each other, (their) heart has a place to belong, although no need to spend day and night, minute and hour together, the feeling of being in love remains strong.

*Ai qing* 'love' makes (you) see other people and things with beautiful attitude, two individuals (who) are strangers originally are able to be attached to each other, trust each other, treasure each other and care for each other, (therefore) love has to be a feeling a rapturous from both sides (or reciprocal), both sides with (their) free will cultivate the seed of love, supported by stable belief and view, (love) can grow into a big tree.

(Hence) love is kind of fulfilled and safe feeling, a kind of fulfilling feeling is (it is) a narrow stream running long and constantly most of the time, occasionally come some sudden moving and torrent sensations.

The linguistic units divided in this narratives are as follows:

1. *Ai qing* 'love' is a kind of when two people feel rapturous toward each other
2. (their) heart and soul can communicate with each other
3. (their) heart has a place to belong
4. although no need to spend day and night, minute and hour together
5. the feeling of being in love remains strong
6. *Ai qing* 'love' makes (you) see other people and things with beautiful attitude
7. two individuals (who) are strangers originally are able to be attached to each other, trust each other, treasure each other and care for each other
8. (therefore) love has to be a feeling a rapturous from both sides (or reciprocal), both sides with (their) free will cultivate the seed of love
9. supported by stable belief and view, (love) can grow into a big tree
10. (Hence) love is kind of fulfilled and safe feeling
11. a kind of fulfilling feeling is (it is) a narrow stream running long and constantly most of the time
12. occasionally come some sudden moving and torrent sensations

The metaphors about love are abundant in such a relatively short essay. They are, for example, LOVE IS RAPTUROUS in the first unit, LOVE IS IN THE HEART in both the second and third unit, whereas in the third unit LOVE IS AN OBJECT

metaphor is also embedded. In unit 5, we find LOVE IS HEAT as the feeling of love gets intensified. Furthermore, there are LOVE IS LIVING ORGANISM in unit 8, LOVE IS BUILDING in unit 9 and LOVE IS GROWING ELEMENT in unit 10. Finally, LOVE IS FLUID SUBSTANCE is found both in unit 11 and 12, and LOVE IS NATURE FORCE is also presented in unit 12. Consequently, there are in total nine metaphors identified in this text.

This narration demonstrates that it is usual to find more than two metaphors embedded in one linguistic unit. It is equally possible to find one metaphor embedded in several linguistic units such as that of LOVE IS WORK, which will be further elaborated in Chapter 5 where the data for the conceptualisation of love are carefully examined. Furthermore, all the above three narratives illustrate the merit of measuring the length in terms of idea unit rather than word and it is meaningful to compare the counts of metonymy/metaphor use in describing these three emotions under investigation in the context of its relationship to the length of the narrative. For example, from the above translations, we see that although this subject explained her experience in longer text for anger, there are only two metaphors found in comparison with her shorter descriptions of happiness and love where five and nine metaphors are used respectively. Therefore, it can be safely assumed at this point that this subject proportionally employed more metaphors for love, than happiness and anger, with a significant difference between love and anger in particular. Such information is vital in testing the hypothesis IV, which states that love is perhaps the most “metaphorised” concept (Kövecses, 2000) amongst these three emotions.

### **2.3.2 Transcription of Data**

It was not possible to translate and transcribe all the narratives. Instead, only the metaphors, metonymies and related concepts identified are transcribed using U. N. Mandarin Phonetic Symbol Index, a standardised system in transcribing Chinese used in People's Republic of China. At some occasions, Chinese characters are given, when the structure of characters can enhance the metaphorical mapping of the concepts concerned. The Chinese characters given are traditional complex form that are in common use in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore. This form is also used in all classical literature and hence preserves important etymological information, which can provide insights into understanding concepts formation in Chinese.

The translation of Chinese into English at lexical or phrasal level is mostly literal in order to maintain the originality. With longer texts which contain the entailments of a particular metaphor or metonymy, or when the texts support a cultural context, a more fluent, rather than word-by-word translation is provided.

### **2.3.3 Statistical Analyses**

Various statistical models were used to computer the differences in frequencies of metaphors and metonymies, which are detailed with each respective analysis. The programmes were derived with reference to the standard text: Applied Statistics. A Handbook of Techniques, Lothar Sachs, Second edition, 1984, Springer-Verlag, New York. Specifically the analysis of frequencies for both metaphors and metonymies were carried out using combinations of the following statistics: Comparison of two empirical means, paired samples, and the chi-square fit test. Confidence intervals for each frequency and mean were charted using Microsoft Excel 2000.



## 2.4 Summary

The preliminary findings determined from written data such as Chinese fiction and short stories, while investigating the differences between the American and Chinese conceptualisation of 'anger' (Hu, 1993) were reviewed. This research stressed the importance of eliciting an extensive array of data in the search for the role of metaphors in our conceptualisation system. Thus, a self-report questionnaire was identified as the most suitable method to gather the desired source of data. This questionnaire was optimised by incorporating the methodology devised by Scherer *et al* (1986) study. Specifically, the questionnaire afforded anonymity, used open-ended question formats, and provided situational cues for recent emotional events, so as to mitigate against memory confounds.

A general outline of the progression from the pilot study, issues arising from the study was addressed such as language contamination (and statistical checks to test for such and assumption) and a description of the main corpus was discussed. The coding process for identifying metaphors, metonymies and their quantification as a function of linguistic units was described. The transcription was limited to metaphors and metonymies and sometimes their entailments using the U. N. Mandarin Phonetic Symbol Index. Subsequently, they were intentionally given a literal English translation to preserve its original sense, followed by a freer, but more fluent translation.

### 3.0 Introduction

From the investigation of conceptualisation of anger in various languages, as summarised in the previous chapter, we learned that there is one conceptualisation of anger which is likely to be shared universally, namely: BODY IS A CONTAINER. This basic but central metaphor is also referred to as “image schemata” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1987) and found in Chinese conceptualisations of anger in particular (King, 1989, Shyu, 1989 and Yu, 1995, 1998). Such a cognitive structure is a reflection of the human biological interaction with the environment, and since we all share similar physiology, it does not come as a surprise that most image schemata identified by Lakoff and Johnson (*ibid*) are universal. On the other hand, this universality does not exclude the existence of variations caused by individual social and cultural factors. In other words, the concept of BODY IS A CONTAINER may be universal, yet, what is filled in this container and what it does to the container is subjected to socio-cultural interpretation. The concept of *qi* is a case in point. All the previous research on Chinese, including the preliminary one conducted by the present author in 1993 as a foundation for this research, reveals that what is filled in the CONTAINER is *QI* rather than FLUID as it is in English. Yu (*ibid*) goes further asserting that this particularly close connection between *qi* and anger is influenced by Chinese medicine, which in turn was shaped by concept of Chinese philosophy of *yin* and *yang* (Yu, 1998: 71-72).

Undeniably, the connection between *qi* and Chinese medicine is immediately noticeable by several scholars who have investigated ‘anger’ in Chinese (e.g. King, 1989; Yu, 1995, 1998). Their data taken from dictionaries, books of idioms and sayings demonstrate clearly a pattern and strong tendency of somaticising emotions throughout Chinese history. This pattern is not random as pointed out by Yu (1998:70) but reflects a model of Chinese medicine at work. At first sight, this model seems to fit in with the linguistic data presented by Yu precisely. Yet on closer examination, there are two issues require some further thought: Firstly, how do we account for linguistic expressions for anger that cannot be explained by this model? Secondly, does Chinese medicine still structures those emotions, such as romantic love, in which the concept of *qi* is not central? If not, what are those models? Kövecses (1990) points out that it is very possible that there are several cognitive models underling one emotion concept and they can all be prototypical. Further, King (1989:192-193) also remarks that there should be more than one model other than Chinese medicine to explain the emotion of anger. By this remark, he touches upon an important issue, which is often overlooked in the investigation of Chinese conceptual metaphors of emotion, that there have been other folk beliefs, such as those influenced by Daoism, Confucius and Buddhism to explain the existence and expression of emotion.

In light of these considerations, it is crucial to look at some key linguistic expressions for anger such as *qi*氣, *fen*憤, *nu*怒 and *xin*心, from a diachronic point of view to understand what concepts were initially encoded in the characters and how their semantic field either expanded or narrowed to adapt to new conceptualisation (Györi, 1995, 1998a,b). This process will yield additional evidence, together with the

metonymies and metaphors that are about to be presented, to support that there are conceptualisations other than Chinese medicine affected the way anger, and other emotions were and may still be conceived in modern time. We will also realise by adopting a diachronic point of view on our linguistic data, there can be several conceptualisations, within the constraint of human biology of course, for the same phenomenon, existing simultaneously. One may become more prevalent than others at a specific point in time, and it can be replaced by another as time and circumstances change. As for which conceptualisation becomes dominant is most probably determined by social factors. For example, the cognitive model shaped by Chinese medicine to explain the theory of emotion in general and anger in particular was a product of its time motivated by some complex social regulations. In other words, the model of Chinese medicine may not primarily meant only to explain the 'physical mechanism' of getting angry, but rather as a social regulation tool. The exact mechanism of these social regulations is beyond the scope of this research, yet, based on the data collected here, it will be attempted to give a tentative answer as for why Chinese medicine was favoured over other models then, but much less so today, because there are other ways of regulating emotions in place in modern time. The analysis of our data, which indicates that modern Taiwanese rarely express anger as a medical issue is therefore crucial in providing a more realistic view of emotion.

In order to achieve this, this chapter will first present the results of the data collected in 1994 as a pilot project on 13 subjects, who described their most recent angry experience in written form. Their narration was encoded according to the metonymy and metaphor they employed. These findings were compared to those found in the literature by the present author (Hu, 1993) in order to determine any

differences between each source of data. Furthermore, the second part of data, which were collected between 1996 and 1997 from Taiwanese Chinese (N=20) who resided in the U.S. at the time of survey, were analysed. Their results will be compared to the rest of the data to confirm the presumption that there should not be any language contamination. These subjects have all completed their university degree in Taiwan and moved to the U.S. in their adulthood, so despite years of residing in the U.S., their emotional world remains Chinese.

Finally, the main corpus of the data will be discussed and they are organized according to the metonymies, major and minor metaphors of 'anger' in Chinese. In particular, based on the results yielded by the data, firstly, the use of the two generic terms of anger, *sheng qi* and *fen nu* will be further explored. At the first look, *sheng qi*, meaning 'emitting (hot) gas', appears to be more physical and experiential based than *fen nu*, whose metonymic or metaphorical reading is more obscure than the former. This very fact led Yu (1998) to claim that neither *fen* nor *nu* is in common usage, because they are considered literal. However, this claim needs to be refined. Such an exploration will also aid in the re-examination of the role Chinese medicine and body parts play in the conceptualisation of emotion in general and anger in particular in modern time. From there, the issue of when and how a metaphor turns into a 'dead' metaphor, thus regarded as literal will be reconsidered. Secondly, we shall look at the most important body part in Chinese culture—*xin* 'heart' and its extended metaphorical senses. Specifically, the concept of *xin* versus mind as a CONTAINER will be examined and clarified. This clarification of the concept of *xin* in Chinese, and how it diverges from that of in English, enables us to construct accurate folk models of emotion in both cultures for comparison.

Hence, in the end, based on the overall findings, one or several cognitive models of anger should emerge from the data for us to determine any correlations between metaphors and conceptualisation. However, at the outset, the English findings of 'anger' described by Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) and Kövecses (1990) will be summarised for later cross-linguistic and cultural comparison.

### 3.1. English data

Lakoff and Kövecses (*ibid*) look into some conventional expressions used to talk about anger in American English in dictionaries such as Roget's University Thesaurus, they find these following expressions, which appear to be diverse at first glance, but in fact, they reflect a coherent conceptual organisation:

He was *foaming at the mouth*.  
You're beginning to *get to me*.  
You *make my blood boil*.  
He's *wrestling* with his anger.  
Watch out! He's *on a short fuse*.  
He's just *letting off steam*.  
Don't get a *hernia*!  
Try to keep a *grip on yourself*.  
Don't *fly off the handle*.  
When I told him, he *blew up*.  
He *channelled* his anger *into* something constructive.  
He was *red with anger*.  
He was *blue in the face*.  
He *appeased* his anger.  
He was *doing a slow burn*.  
He *suppressed* his anger.  
She kept *bugging* me.  
When I told him, he *had a cow*.

According to Kövecses (1990:12), these expressions are not random. There is a systematic relationship among these constructions, which are metaphorical and

metonymical in nature. His and Lakoff's analyses are presented in 3.1.1. and 3.1.2. in terms of metonymies and metaphors respectively.

### 3.1.1 Metonymies of Anger in English

In English, there is a folk theory of the physiological effects of anger as identified by Lakoff and Kövecses:

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

From the folk theory, a general metonymic principle arises: THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION. Under this principle, there is a system of metonymies for anger reflected in the following linguistic expressions:

BODY HEAT  
Don't get *hot under the collar*.  
Billy's a *hothead*.  
They were having a *heated* argument.

INTERNAL PRESSURE  
Don't get a *hernia*  
When I found out, I almost *burst a blood vessel*.  
He almost had a *haemorrhage*.

REDNESS IN FACE AND NECK AREA  
She was *scarlet with rage*.  
He got *red with anger*.  
He was *flushed with anger*.

### AGITATION

She was *shaking with anger*.  
I was *hopping mad*.  
He was *quivering with rage*.  
He's *all worked up*.  
She's *all wrought up*.  
You look *upset*.

### INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION

She was *blind with rage*.  
I was beginning to *see red*.  
I was so mad I *couldn't see straight*.

Kövecses (1990: 21) goes on to connect the effect of AGITATION and INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION with the folk theory of insanity. According to this view, people who are insane are unduly agitated—they go wild, start raving, foam at the mouth, etc; in other words, people who are angry and those who are insane exhibit similar agitated behaviour. Therefore, Kövecses identifies some more equally important metonymies based on these overlapping theories:

### INSANE BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR ANGER

When my mother finds out, she'll have a fit.  
When the umpire threw him out of the game, Billy started foaming at the mouth.  
He's fit to be tied.  
He's about to throw a tantrum.

### VIOLENT FRUSTRATED BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR ANGER

He's tearing his hair out!  
If one more thing goes wrong, I'll start banging my head against the wall.  
The loud music next door has got him climbing the walls!  
She's been slamming doors all morning.



Apart from insane and frustrated behaviour, aggressive behaviour also corresponds to angry behaviour in American English. Therefore, aggressive behaviour comes to stand for anger:

**AGGRESSIVE VERBAL BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR ANGER**

She gave him a tongue-lashing.  
I really chewed him out good!

**AGGRESSIVE VISUAL BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR ANGER**

She was looking daggers at me.  
He gave me a dirty look.  
If looks could kill...  
He was glowering at me.

These linguistic data show a generalisation: Emotional effects are understood largely as physical effects. These effects, in turn, produce negative energy, which is dangerous to others and self, thus needs, control. These entailments shall lead to corresponding metaphors that conceptualise angry experience in terms of physical forces as well as moral evaluation.

### **3.1.2. Metaphors and related concepts**

The general metonymic principle of anger **THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION**, which includes **BODY HEAT, INTERNAL PRESSURE, REDNESS IN THE FACE AND NECK AREA, AGITATION and INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION**, as Lakoff and Kövecses assert, gives rise to the most general metaphor **ANGER IS HEAT**. There are two versions of this metaphor, one where heat is applied to fluids, and the other where it is applied to solids (Kövecses, 1990: 13). The fluid version is much more elaborated for there is this general metaphor **THE BODY IS A**

CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS in our overall conceptual system. When it is combined with ANGER IS HEAT, we have the central metaphor of ‘anger’ in English

**ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER:**

You make my blood boil.  
Simmer down!  
I had reached boiling point.  
Let him stew.

It is also known that when there is no heat the liquid is cool and calm, which corresponds to lack of anger in the central metaphor. ‘Keep cool’ and ‘stay calm’ are the linguistic expressions that reflect such a conceptualisation. This central metaphor has a rich system of metaphorical entailments that are carried over from the source domain HEAT OF THE FLUID IN A CONTAINER to the target domain HEAT. Our knowledge about the source domain is mapped onto the target domain so we have these following entailments:

**WHEN THE INTENSITY OF ANGER INCREASE, THE FLUID RISES**

He pent-up anger welled up inside him.  
She could feel her gorge rising.  
We got a rise out of him.  
My anger kept building up inside me.  
Pretty soon, I was in a towering rage.

**INTENSE ANGER PRODUCES STEAM**

She got all steamed up.  
Billy’s just blowing off steam.  
I was fuming.

**INTENSE ANGER PRODUCES PRESSURE ON THE CONTAINER**

He was bursting with anger.  
I could barely contain my rage.  
I could barely keep it in anymore.

When keeping the pressure back the concept is encoded as:

I suppressed my anger.  
He turned his anger inward.  
He managed to keep his anger bottled up inside him.  
He was blue in the face.

When the pressure on the container gets too high, the container explodes, so we have:

WHEN ANGER BECOMES TOO INTENSE, THE PERSON EXPLODES  
When I told him, he just exploded.  
She blew up at me.  
We won't tolerate any more of your out bursts.

WHEN A PERSON EXPLODES, PARTS OF HIM GO UP IN THE AIR  
I blew my stack.  
I blew my top.  
She flipped her lid.  
I went through the roof.

WHEN A PERSON EXPLODES, WHAT WAS INSIDE HIM COMES OUT  
His anger finally came out.  
Smoke was pouring out of his ears.

Kövecses further schematises the correspondences of ANGER IS HEAT OF CHI IN A CONTAINER between its source domain and target domain from two aspects: ontological and epistemic. First, the ontological ones are as follows:

Source: HEAT OF FLUID IN CONTAINER

Target: ANGER

Ontological Correspondence:

- The container is the body.
- The heat of fluid is the anger.
- The heat scale is the anger scale, with end points zero and limit.
- Container heat is body heat.
- Pressure in container is internal pressure in the body.
- Agitation of fluid and container is physical agitation.

- The limit of the container's capacity to withstand pressure by heat is the limit on the anger scale.
- Explosion is loss of control.
- Danger of explosion is danger or loss of control.
- Coolness of the fluid is lack of anger.
- Calmness of the fluid is lack of agitation.

Now, the epistemic correspondences:

Source: The effect of intense fluid heat is container heat, internal pressure, and agitation.

Target: The effect of intense anger is body heat, internal pressure, and agitation.

Source: When the fluid is heated past a certain limit, pressure increases to the point at which the container explodes.

Target: When anger increases past a certain limit, pressure increases to the point at which the person loses control.

Source: An explosion is damaging to the container and dangerous to bystanders.

Target: A loss of control is damaging to an angry person and dangerous to other people.

Source: An explosion may be prevented by the application of sufficient force and energy to keep the fluid in.

Target: A loss of control may be prevented by the application of sufficient force and energy to keep the anger in.

Source: It is sometimes possible to control the release of anger for either destructive or constructive purposes; this has the effect of lowering the level of heat and pressure.

Target: It is sometimes possible to control the release of anger for either destructive or constructive purposes; this has the effect of lowering the level of anger and internal pressure.

Next, we shall look at the case when the general ANGER IS HEAT metaphor is applied to solids:

#### ANGER IS FIRE

Those are inflammatory remarks.

She was doing a slow burn.

What you said inflamed him.

He was breathing fire.

Your insincere apology just added fuel to the fire.

After the argument, Dave was smouldering for days.

That kindled my fire.

Boy, am I burned up.

He was consumed by his anger.

According to Kövecses (1990:19), this metaphor draws our attention to the cause of anger ('kindle', 'inflammation'), the intensity and duration ('smouldering', 'slow burn', 'burned up'), the danger to others ('breathing fire'), and the damage to the angry person ('consumed'). Its ontological correspondences between source and target domain are as follows:

Source: FIRE

Target: ANGER

- The fire is anger.
- The thing burning is the angry person.
- The cause of the fire is the cause of anger.
- The intensity of the fire is the intensity of the anger.
- The physical damage to the thing burning is mental damage to the angry person.
- The capacity of the thing burning to serve its normal function is the capacity of the angry person to function normally.
- An object at the point of being consumed by fire corresponds to a person whose anger is at the limit.
- The danger of the fire to things nearby is danger of the anger to other people.

The epistemic correspondences are thus:

Source: Things can burn at low intensity for a long time and then burst into flame.

Target: People can be angry at a low intensity for a long time and then suddenly become extremely angry.

Source: Fires are dangerous to things nearby.

Target: Angry people are dangerous to other people.

Source: Things consumed by fire cannot serve their normal function.

Target: At the limit of the anger scale, people cannot function normally.

So far we have looked at the physiological based metaphors of anger, there are other principal metaphors which express the other aspect of the folk theory, which has more to do with people evaluative attitude towards anger:

### ANGER IS INSANITY

I just touched him, and he went crazy.

You're driving me nuts.

When the umpire called him out on strikes, he went bananas.

One more complaint and I'll go berserk.

He got so angry, he went out of his mind.

When he gets angry, he goes bonkers.

She went into an insane rage.

If anything else goes wrong, I'll go hysterical.

The INSANITY metaphor emphasises the view in English folk theory that anger is understood as a negative emotion. An angry person is dangerous to himself and others, hence, views his anger as something needed to be contained. The following metaphors illustrate this point:

### ANGER IS AN OPPONENT (IN A STRUGGLE)

I'm struggling with my anger.

He was battling his anger.

She fought back her anger.

You need to subdue your anger.

I've been wrestling with my anger all day'

He lost control over his anger.

He surrenders to his anger.

I was overcome by anger.

Her anger has been appeased.

According to Kövecses, the OPPONENT metaphor highlights the issue of control and the danger of loss of control to the angry person himself. There is another metaphor focuses on the danger to others which overlaps with a widespread metaphor in Western culture (1990:23), which is PASSIONS ARE BEASTS INSIDE A PERSON. This metaphor embodies the view that there is a part of each person that is a wild animal and civilised people are supposed to keep that part private; in other words, keep the animal inside them. Therefore, we see:

### ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL

He has a ferocious temper.  
He has a fierce temper.  
It's dangerous to arouse his anger.  
That awakened my fire.  
He unleashed his anger.  
He lost his grip on his anger.  
His anger is insatiable.

#### ANGRY BEHAVIOUR IS AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOUR

He was bristling with anger.  
That got my hackles up.  
He began to bare his teeth.  
That ruffled her feather.  
Don't snap at me.  
I was growling with rage.  
He started snarling.  
Don't bite my head off.

Kövecses points out that among the linguistic evidence illustrated so far, there are two expressions that are not well accounted for by the OPPONENT and DANGEROUS ANIMAL metaphors:

Harry's anger is insatiable.  
Harry's anger cannot be appeased.

He observes that these expressions indicate that the animal has an appetite, and this appetite seems to correspond to the 'demands' in the OPPONENT metaphor so the above expressions entail each other. In order to understand further why 'anger' in American English has demands and an appetite for, we need to look at expressions that indicate causes of anger:

#### THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS A PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE

Stop bugging me!  
Don't be a pain in the ass.  
Get off my back!

You don't have to ride me so hard.  
You're getting under my skin.  
He's a pain in the neck.  
Don't be a pest.

It is of interest to note that these expressions consist of conventionalised forms of annoyance, such as insects, minor pains, burdens placed on domestic animals, etc.

Furthermore, we are able to see that these forms of annoyance involve an offender and a victim. The offender is at fault and the victim, who is innocent, is the one who gets angry. There is another metaphor of the causes of anger which shows the victim gets angry by considering one's territory is being intruded upon by an offender:

#### CAUSING ANGER IS TRESPASSING

You're beginning to get to me.  
Get out of here.  
Get out of my sight.  
Leave me alone!  
This is where I draw the line.  
Don't step on my toes.

The above metaphors that show the causes of anger demonstrate the fact that an offence constitutes some sort of injustice as reflected in the expression: Don't get mad, get even. Getting even is a form of balancing the scales of justice so some form of retribution can alleviate or prevent anger. In this light, we are able to make sense of anger's 'demand' and what 'appetite' it has for, namely, revenge. Consequently, warnings and threats are equated with angry behaviour as highlighted in these expressions:



If I get mad, watch out!  
Don't get me angry, or you'll be sorry.

However, in view of the INSANITY related metaphors presented thus far and the retributive aspect of 'anger', there is a responsibility involved in the folk model of anger, which in turn is conceptualised as burdens. Kövecses maintains that it is not uncommon in English to equate responsibilities with burdens, so we can understand this following metaphor:

#### ANGER IS A BURDEN

Unburdening himself of his anger gave him a sense of relief.  
After I let out my anger, I felt a sense of release.  
After I lost my temper, I felt lighter.  
He carries his anger around with him.  
He has a chip on his shoulders.  
You'll feel better if you get it off your chest.

According to Kövecses, there are, in fact, two types of responsibilities involved here. The first is a responsibility to control one's anger since extreme anger can place a considerable burden on one's inner resources; the second is a responsibility to seek vengeance. At first glance, these two models are in conflict with each other. If you take out your anger on someone, you are not meeting your responsibility to control your anger, and if you do not take out your anger on someone, you are not meeting your responsibility to provide retribution. Further analyses of the folk models of 'anger' later on in this chapter will show that it is not unusual to have conflicting models in the same conceptualisation system.

Finally, Kövecses presents some metaphors he believes are minor and are relatively dependent on the rest of the anger system:

#### EXISTENCE IS PRESENCE

His anger went away.  
His anger eventually came back.  
My anger lingered on for days.  
She couldn't get rid of her anger.  
After a while, her anger just vanished.  
My anger slowly began to dissipate.  
When he saw her smile, his anger disappeared.

The basis of this above metaphor is our understanding of existence in terms of physical presence in the general human conceptualisation system. For example, in the case of emotions, existence is often conceived of as location in a bounded space. When the emotion is the bounded space, it exists when the person is in that space, so we find this metaphor:

#### EMOTIONS ARE BOUNDED SPACES

She flew into a rage.  
She was in an angry mood.  
He was in a state of anger.  
I am not easily roused to anger.

From all these aforementioned metonymies and metaphors as well as their entailments of 'anger' in English analysed by Lakoff and especially by Kövecses, some folk models are extracted. However, they will not be discussed here until the Chinese data have been presented. Only after a cross-linguistic comparison, we are able to look at the English data more critically and some weaknesses of these analyses will be further explored.

### **3.2 Chinese Data—Pilot study**

Before the interview of 13 native speakers of standard Chinese resided in Taiwan at the time of the interview, an initial linguistic analysis of anger in Chinese was carried out by the present author (1993). This analysis is based on conventional expressions or idioms found in dictionaries, newspaper and modern literature. These findings will be presented first, and then the analysis of the narration provided by the subjects will be discussed. Finally, these two types of data will be contrasted in order to determine whether the respective findings support each other.

### 3.2.1 Metonymies and Metaphors of Anger in Standard Chinese

#### 3.2.1.1 Conceptual metonymies

The following expressions are found in daily Chinese for describing the state of being angry:

1. *Ta zai fa pi qi* (he is emitting the spleen *qi*).
2. *Bie dong gan huo* (please do not elicit your liver fire).
3. *Ta kuai yao qi zha le* (he is soon to blow up his *qi*).
4. *Ta kuai yao qi feng le* (he is soon to go crazy).
5. *Ta nu qi chong chong de zou guo lai* (he is walking towards me with angry *qi* shooting up rapidly).
6. *Dang wo kan dao ta shi, ta zheng zai da fa lei ting* (when I saw him, he was emitting thunder).
7. *Dang ta ting dao zhe shi ta bo ran bian se* (when he heard this, he suddenly changed colour).
8. *Ta heng mei nu mu de kan zhe wo* (he is looking at me with straight eyebrow and angry eyes).
9. *Ta nu qi xiong de chao zhe wo ma* (he is shouting at me with turbulent anger).

There are some other idioms and proverbs indicating anger:

10. *Qi chong niu dou* (*qi* is so great that it shoots up to the star niu tou)
11. *Qi yong ru shan* (*qi* sways up as high as the mountain).
12. *Nu fa chong guan* (angry hair stands up to shoot up the hat).

13. *Nu huo chong shao* (angry fire is burning inside).
14. *Ci ciao sheng yan* (seven holes are giving out smoke).
15. *Nao xiu cheng nu* (a feeling of shame moves to anger).
16. *Tong xin ji shou* (hurt the heart and sickening the head).
17. *Yao ya qie chi* (biting teeth and grinding teeth).
18. *Mian hong er chi* (face turns red and ears turn red).
19. *Mo quan ca zhang* (rubbing fists and palms).

The expressions above, according to the Lakoff and Kövecses' framework, should reveal a folk theory of physiological effects of anger. From the examples that have been displayed so far, we can be certain that this common cultural model (in terms of physiological effects) both in English and in Chinese is similar. These physiological effects of anger in Chinese also include BODY HEAT, INTERNAL PRESSURE, AGITATION, and INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION. For the metonymy BODY HEAT, although we do not have expression such as 'hot-headed' or 'heated argument', we have instead the following expressions, which describe people who get irritated and angry easily:

20. *Ta pi qi da de hen* (His spleen *qi* is very great).
21. *Ta ge xing* (or *pi qi*) *hen bao lie* (His character temperament is explosive and hot).

The HEAT metonymy, in the second utterance is obvious, since *lieh* means the heat that comes from the sun. According to one of the Chinese folk beliefs, someone who is bad-tempered or angry is described as having fire inside. On the other hand, the concept of chi entails HEAT mainly through the concept of FIRE in Chinese. Both concepts are closely connected with the system of the way *qi* flows in our body, and has been explained throughout centuries, from an elaborate medical

point of view (Unschuld, 1985), which was already discussed in the previous chapter and will be further analysed in a later section.

Since increased body heat or internal pressure can cause a redness in the face and neck area, therefore, in Chinese we also find similar expressions for REDNESS IN FACE AND NECK AREA:

- 22. *Mian hong er chi* (red face and ears).
- 23. *Lian hong bo zi cu* (red face and thick neck).

Other two metonymies AGITATION, and INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION suggested by Lakoff and Kövecses also find similar counterparts in Chinese:

#### AGITATION

- 24. *Mo quan ca zhang* (rubbing fists and palms)
- 25. *Fa tz zhi lie* (hair stands up and eyes crack open).
- 26. *Mu tzu chin lieh* (eyes are bursting open).
- 27. *Qie chi fu xin* (grinding teeth and corrupted heart).
- 28. *Wo quan tou chua* (fingers come through the tight holding fist).

The above idioms are those to describe the agitation a person suffers from the state of anger: hair stands up, eyes crack open, teeth are grinding and so forth.

Another way of showing agitation, which has not been mentioned specifically in the Lakoff and Kövecses' data, but quite common amongst the Chinese, and mainly through shouting is:

- 29. *Da fa lei ting* (emitting thunder).
- 30. *Bao tiao ru lei* (jumping violently as thunder).

Although in English, there is 'I'm hopping mad', these two expressions above are accompanied by a person cursing in a very loud, thundering voice. Shouting, in many occasions, including in public, in China, has been accepted as a normal way of showing anger (Potter, 1988), while in the West, it is often frowned upon. A detailed comparison will be pursued in the cognitive and cultural models of anger in a later section.

As for INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION metonymy in Chinese it is often combined with INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE JUDGEMENT. We find:

31. *Wo qi de liang yan fa hei* (I was so angry that my eyes turned black)
32. *Wo qi de tou hun yan hua* (I was so angry that my head became dizzy and my eyes turned blurred)
33. *Xiao bu jen, luan da mo* (when one can not hold one's temper just for a small matter, he will make big mistake).
34. *Nu cong xin shang qi, e xiang dan bian sheng* (when anger rises up from the heart, evil can rise up from the side of the gall).

The first two examples address the visual perception straightforwardly, while 33 and 34 refer to the consequence of disturbed visual perception. Its consequence is the perception of reality is interrupted since anger inhibits the capacity for clear thought. It is of interest to note that the *xin* mentioned in 34 in fact does not refer to a physical heart, but a metonymic interpretation of the essence of a person. This essence includes a moral, intellectual, spiritual and an emotional self. It can judge, think, see, sense and feel. A detailed account of this development is discussed in a later section. However, in Chinese there is the notion that whenever anger fills the heart it makes a person act out of character, as the saying in 34 implies. Therefore,

INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE JUDGEMENT metonymy is an extension of INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION, which derives from the moral dimension of *xin*. In this way, anger can be a moral issue, rather than a straightforward physiological effect of anger.

For the moment, we can conclude from the above discussion that there is indeed a general metonymic principle underlying all these expressions, which is THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION, as in English. Yet, whether we can arrive at such a general metaphor ANGER IS HEAT, from this principle as in English, we need to take a further examination.

### 3.2.1.2 Conceptual Metaphors: Hot *Qi* or Hot Fluid?

What is at issue is more or less the concept of *qi* in Chinese, namely, the metonymy CHI STANDS FOR ANGER can be found throughout numerous daily expressions as illustrated above, but does chi produce heat? If it does, how does it work? Does it work the same way as the model provided by Lakoff and Kövecses, that ANGER IS THE HEAT OF FLUID IN A CONTAINER? In the previous discussion, We learned that *qi* can shoot up as water under pressure does (*nu qi chong chong*), we learned that *qi* emerges turbulently as strong waves (*nu qi xiong xiong*), and we learned that when some one is *sheng qi* 'angry', he or she can explode (*ta qi chia le*). Does it indicate, then, that *qi* is fluid-like that can be heated up to a boiling point and explode? The Lakoff and Kövecses' model suggests that the heat of anger is a correspondence between fluids boiling in a tight-lid container. However, the following analysis will demonstrate that *qi* is not really conceptualised as 'fluid in a container'.

The assumption that ANGER IS THE HEAT OF FLUID IN A CONTAINER in American English is not only based on the knowledge of human body, and its blood circulation, but also the common knowledge about the consequences boiling water in a covered container. Hence, in English, one find “You make my blood boil”, “I almost burst a blood vessel”, or “I blew my top”. On the other hand, *qi*, which also flows in our body, is not conceptualised as blood by the Chinese; therefore, the internal pressure that causes *qi* to shoot up or explode is not really through the connotation of hot fluid reaching a boiling point. As a dominant Chinese folk belief of *yin* and *yang qi* in the universe (Morris, 1994) developed into an elaborate medical science of acupuncture later, *qi* came to be understood in this model that it flows between the blood and nervous system. It flows through a special channel that is called *jing mai* (the channel for blood is called *xie mai*). Along this channel, that are many *feng xue* (wind-holes), through which *chi* can flow in and out of the body (Unschuld, 1985:71). Yet, what is this *qi* that flows in and out our body?

The etymology of *qi* 氣, which is a compound word known as ‘semantic-phonetic’ type, is of particular interesting. As a general rule, the formation of the character, which is divided into two parts: 气 (pronouncing as *qi*, meaning ‘vapour of the clouds’) and 米 (pronouncing as *mi*, meaning ‘rice’) should provide an intelligent clue to any native speaker or someone who is familiar with Chinese writing system a good sense of its origin<sup>1</sup>. According to the principle of ‘semantic-phonetic’, presumably, 气 should stand for the sound, while 米 stands for the meaning. However, in this case, it can be misleading, since the 氣 (*qi*), as it is known today is



no longer associated with rice. How did this process occur? First, let us examine the formation of this compound more carefully.

—a derived from the principle of *xiang xing* or ‘pictograph or imitative symbol’ to stand for ‘vapour of clouds’, while 米 from *zhi shi* or ‘simple indicative symbol’ to symbolise ‘rice’. In the beginning, there were apparently two words, 气 and 氣 existing at the same time, meaning different things with the former limited to ‘clouds’ and the latter to ‘rice’. This evidence can be found in *Shou Wen Ji Zi* (around 86 BC) in which 气 was categorised under the radical of 气 (‘vapour’), while 氣 under the radical of 米 (‘rice’). The latter at the time in fact refers specifically to the rice offered to guests or as present to the host<sup>1</sup>. At a later stage, this word replaced the former to stand for ‘vapour of clouds’, and for clarity purpose, a radical of 食 (‘food’) was added to it to stand for its originally meaning as ‘the rice for present’. Today this word is written as 餼 and is pronounced as *xi*. In view of this evidence, it is fair to point out that when some literature (e.g. *Huai Nan Zi*, cir. 179-122 BC ) suggests the etymology of *qi* 氣 as ‘deriving from noting the vapour rising out of rice (or food)’, it is presumably a misunderstanding. More importantly, this linguistic evidence presented above is essential in determining how the *qi* 氣 as it is understood in Chinese medicine derived its sense as “the entity that flows in the body to regulate the normal functions of all organs” (Shyu, 1989).

As for how the sense of ‘vapour of the clouds’ was extended to that of ‘the entity flows in the human body’, we need to examine some other related senses of *qi* 氣 as it is entered in the dictionary to reconstruct a plausible cognitive linkage. The followings are a summary of the meanings of *qi* 氣 from at least two sources (*Han*

Dictionary). The examples in brackets were originally cited in older literature:

1. Vapour or atmosphere that constitutes the clouds (*yun qi*)
2. collected noun for all vapour/atmosphere found in nature, from morning dew (*shui qi*) to air (*guang qi*)
3. all weather phenomena (cloudy, sunny, windy, raining, etc.)
4. a measurement of time, hours or a cycle of the moon (*qi* is *hou* [hours], there are 24 *qi*; or alternatively 5 days is a *hou*, 3 *hou* is a *qi*, 6 *qi* is a *shi* [season], and 4 *shi* is a year)
5. the breath; to breathe (*bi qi shi bu xi zhe* ‘holding one’s breath is like not to breathe’)
6. the smell, odour (*zhuo qi* ‘a bad odour’)
7. to get angry
8. (in Chinese philosophy) the basic material that form the universe (in *I-Ching, the Book of Change*, it is referred to as *yuan qi* and is divided into *yin* and *yang*; In Confucian’s thinking, it is known as *tian di he qi*, *wan wu zi sheng*, when heaven and earth are in harmony, everything grows by itself)
9. (in Chinese medicine) the healthy material or entity that flows in the body to regulate and maintain the normal function of all organs; is opposite of blood. (for example, *qi* is *yang* energy, thus has forces; blood is *yin* energy and it is the basis of all material)
10. (in Chinese literary critics) the quality and style of a writing or author (*ti qi gao miao*, ‘the style/quality of the book is excellent’)
11. mental state; spirit (*chui tou shang qi*, ‘discouraged, depressed’)
12. determination (*nan er you zhi qi*, ‘a boy must have determination’)
13. trends, zeitgeist (*feng qi* [wind and *qi*], ‘what is popular; spirit of the time’)
14. scenery being spectacular (*Wu shan wu qi xiao sen*, ‘the scenery of *Wu* Gorge in *Yang Zi* River is impressive)
15. airs, manners (*guan qi*, ‘bureaucratic airs’)

After having examined these related senses carefully, one postulation can emerge from the evidence. That is, the basic senses of *qi* 氣 are those which can be found in 1 to 6; and are based on a more physical and experiential interaction with the nature and one’s body, whereas, the senses from 7 to 15 are more abstractly constructed, which can be regarded as an extension of the basic ones. This extension is in line with what Johnson (1987) proposes as the “grounding” theory of human conceptualisation, and Sweetser (1990) work on the polysemy of words for senses in

English. Hence, in this framework, it has become clear that the conceptualisation of *qi* as mentioned in Chinese philosophy of *yin* and *yang* and Chinese medicine is already an abstractly constructed artefact.

This understanding raises another important issue in interpreting the conceptualisation of anger in Chinese, which is, is all the *qi* used in expressing anger related to the abstract *qi* understood in Chinese medicine or can it be reduced to a more direct mapping to simply a natural phenomenon or bodily reaction? If we consider, for example, since the basic sense of *qi* is vapour or atmosphere found in clouds, presumably it was extended to mean all types of vapour found in nature, including the human breath, which is vapour like in cold weather that goes in and out of our mouth/nostrils. There are indications that the *qi* in some linguistic expressions is simply breath. For example:

1. *Chen zhu qi*  
(to hold one's *qi* [deep or down])
2. *qi man xiong tang*  
(*qi* fills the chest)

The word *chen* can mean 'deep' and 'down', therefore one can explain 1 as to warn someone to keep cool by breathing deeply or keep the breathing down. In this case, the 'depth' is understood as 'down' with the ontology of human physiology in mind. Our physiology tells us that when we want to relax we breathe deeply so as to push the breath down to the lower part of body. The example in 2 is a confirmation of such a understanding, although it shows the opposite effect when we do not hold the breath down. When the breath is high up in the body, which is normally the chest/lungs area, we feel a sense of agitation. In short, not every angry sensation is

mapped onto a complex system of Chinese medicine to conceptualise anger. Some of the linguistic evidence demonstrates that perhaps there is a more basic level of and probably a metonymic mapping which only utilising simple human anatomy.

Another mapping of *qi* is based on our understanding of nature, by comparing it as LIQUID. At this stage of our investigation, it is already transparent that *QI* is not LIQUID in Chinese conceptualisation. Despite that, knowing *qi* is not a liquid-like substance such as the blood that flows in our body, the way it rushes to the surface or ebbs down is metaphorically conceptualised as a liquid. For example, the verbs used to describe how *qi* rises up and down, when one is angry, are those verbs used to describe big waves rushing towards the shore (*xiong*, and *yong*) as in the following:

3. *Nu qi xiong yong*  
(anger *qi*, like big waves rushing ashore)

Another verb is *chong* describing water gushing out from a small opening because of great pressure as in:

4. *Nu qi chong chong*  
(Anger *qi* gushes out)

The fourth verb that is associated with *qi* is *yong*, which is to describe a ‘welling up’ movement. For this, we find:

5. *Qi yong ru shan*  
(*qi* wells up like mountain)

Finally, the verb *xiao*, which means to extinguish fire with water:

6. *Ta qi xiao le*  
(his anger *qi* has been extinguished)

Apparently, this conceptualisation is based on a common sense folk theory that *qi* 'vapour' is closely related to the form and consistency of liquid, and since movement of *chi* is less visible and concrete than that of fluid, thus, metaphorically, the movement of *chi* is conceptualised in terms of fluid.

The above analysis illustrates is that there must be several interpretations of *qi* in the linguistic expressions for anger. Some are more basic, such as using natural phenomena to stand for anger, while some are more metaphoricalised using medical theory. Thus they overlap rather conflict with each other, and from time to time contribute to a systematic conceptualisation of anger. With this in mind, let us return to the heat element of *qi* in Chinese and how it is different from that in English. Since Chinese medicine has indeed left its presence more obvious than other models, we should first consider our linguistic evidence in this framework as King (1989) and Yu (1998) did in their work.

According to Chinese medicine theory *qi* can be heated but this heat has more to do with the imbalance of *qi* in the body, which in turn induces fire, rather than with boiling fluid. Lakoff and Kövecses, for example, have proposed that ANGER IS FIRE, which is the other version of ANGER IS HEAT, is less significant to American English. In the case of Chinese, as it is argued by King (*ibid*) and Yu (*ibid*), this feature actually complements the concept of *qi* in the case of anger. Thus, it shall be suggested that the physiological effects of anger in Chinese give rise to two central metaphors: ANGER IS THE HEAT OF QI IN A CONTAINER and

ANGER IS FIRE. Both metaphors determine that ANGER PRODUCES HEAT.

With reference to Chinese medicine, anger is caused by too much fire (*hou*) in the liver as well as spleen. Therefore, we say:

7. *Ta huo qi tai da le* (His fire *qi* is too much).
8. *Ta da dong gan huo* (His is moving his liver fire).

The concept of fire in this context is one of the five elements, *jin* 'metal', *mu* 'wood', *shui* 'water', *huo* 'fire' and *tu* 'earth'. That theory is well documented in the *Huang-Di Nei-Jing Su-Wen*, or *The Yellow Emperor's Esoteric Cannon*, a first complete guide to the practice of Chinese medicine, compiled between the second Century B.C. and the eighth Century A.D. by various authors (translated and examined by Veith, 1972). According to this theory of five elements, which was incorporated into traditional Chinese medicine, the balance of these five elements determines the balance and harmony of *chi*. Hence, when there is too much fire, especially in spleen and liver areas, it can give rise to angry outbursts. Yet, this conceptualisation of fire is not merely the physical representation of fire. Fire also exists in food, plants and seasons, so when, for example, too much meat is consumed, the body has a tendency to get hot, and it is particularly uncomfortable in the summer time; under these circumstances the person is regarded having too much fire. Furthermore, certain organs are closely connected with emotions, so when any of these five elements is trapped within one of these disproportionately the person will be influenced by this imbalance. For example, fire is for anger, wood is for grief, etc., and liver for anger or anxiety, while gall is for courage. This kind of somatisation is by no means unique to Chinese. The humoral theory that was once popular in Europe is a case in point. The parallel between these two theories is in fact

of considerable importance to the overall understanding of human conceptual system, therefore will be addressed in fuller detail at a later stage.

Now let us turn to some metaphorical entailments of ANGER IS THE HEAT OF *QI* IN A CONTAINER:

WHEN THE INTENSITY OF ANGER INCREASES, THE *QI* RISES

9. *Ta fa pi qi le* (He spleen chi has come up, namely, he has lost his temper).
10. *Ta sheng qi le* (His *qi* is arising).

INTENSE ANGER IS CAUSED BY IMBALANCE OF *QI* IN THE BODY

11. *Ta pi qi bu hao* (His spleen *qi* is not well [he has a bad temper])

IMBALANCE OF *QI* PRODUCES FIRE

12. *Ta huo qi tai da* (His fire *qi* is too much).
13. *Ta da dong gan huo* (He has moved his liver fire).

INTENSE ANGER PRODUCES STEAM

14. *Ta qi de qi qiao sheng yan* (he is so angry that his seven holes give out smoke)

INTENSE ANGER PRODUCES PRESSURE ON THE CONTAINER

15. *Wo shi zai tun bu xia zhe kou qi* (I can't really swallow down this anger)

WHEN ANGER BECOMES TOO INTENSE, THE PERSON EXPLODES

16. *Wo kuai yao qi zha le* (I am about to explode)

WHEN A PERSON EXPLODES, HIS *QI* GOES UP IN THE AIR

17. *Ta qi chong niu dou* (His *qi* shoots up to the star *tou nju*)
18. *Ta nu qi chong tian* (His *qi* shoots up to the sky)

It is now well established that the central metaphor, FLUID IN A CONTAINER in English does not totally match with Chinese concept of anger that is based on the medical theory. We see that even though *qi* in a container can produce a similar effect as hot fluid, the physiological effects of anger in Chinese has already a combination of some of the basic universally shared knowledge together with an elaborate knowledge of chi in the body which is embedded in a cultural context. With this understanding in mind, we can now turn to the related issues this central metaphor ANGER IS HEAT OF *QI* IN A CONTAINER addresses and what kind of ontology of anger it reveals.

Although this central metaphor in Chinese also focuses on the fact that anger can be intense, and metaphorically causes great internal pressure, and loss of control, and that this loss can be dangerous, the heat scale measuring intensity which corresponds with the anger scale in Chinese is not based on the same conceptualisation as in English. Both conceptualisations treat anger as a mass, and take the grammar of mass nouns, as opposed to count nouns, so a heat scale indicates the amount of anger. Yet, the Lakoff and Kövecses' data they refer to a heat scale to measure boiling water, while the heat scale in the Chinese data is to measure the rising and falling of chi. It should be more appropriate to refer to this scale also as chi scale in the case of Chinese. Furthermore, the scale in the Chinese model of anger is not from zero upward, rather it is perhaps scaled as a minimum value and beyond. The Chinese conceptualisation of *chi* indicates that *qi* is always there in our body; it flows in and out our body circulating with the chi in the environment. Therefore, for example, the expression of *sheng qi* 'qi is rising' can be understood as either being alive and energetic, or being angry, depending on the context. Having *qi* is normal,



and it is our essence; it causes anger only when there is imbalance in the constitution of its five elements. When there is too much fire, our *qi* tends to get heated, thus, causes anger.

When the imbalance of *qi* reaches its limit, of course, we will get angry. This is a phenomenon, which is not very far from the Lakoff, and Kövecses' proposal in English that when hot fluid in a closed container reaches a boiling point, an explosion occurs. The explosion is caused, in fact, by the steam, which is a kind of vapour, too. Therefore, many linguistic expressions in both languages we have discussed so far are to an extent similar, apart from the Chinese conceptualisation of *chi*, which flows along with blood, but it is not blood. Hence, when *qi* gives steam out, there is no such stage of having hot fluid boiling first. Furthermore, the concept of container, though shared by both cultures that BODY IS A CONTAINER, the container that is filled with *qi* in Chinese, is presumably more abstractly conceptualised than the container that contains fluid in English. As discussed previously that there are several holes (*feng-xue*) in our body where the *qi* can flow in and out, therefore the concept of container should not be like the one in English, which presumably has no outlets. Subsequently, when the internal pressure rises in the container in the Chinese conceptualisation, there is no 'top' to be blown, nor 'lid' to be flipped, although the rising *qi* makes hair stand (*nu fa chong guang*) because of the pressure. With these differences in mind, we can examine the correspondences between the domains of HEAT OF *QI* IN A CONTAINER, and ANGER more in detail.

We can schematise the correspondences of ANGER IS HEAT OF *QI* IN CONTAINER between its source domain and target domain from two aspects: ontological and epistemic. First, let's look at the ontological items:

Source: HEAT OF *QI* IN CONTAINER

Target: ANGER

Ontological correspondences:

The container is the body.

The heat of *qi* is the anger

The heat (*chi*) scale is the anger scale, with a minimum of 1 + n.

Container heat is body heat.

Pressure in container is internal pressure in the body.

Agitation of *qi* and container is physical agitation.

The limit of the container's capacity to withstand pressure caused by heat of *qi* is the limit of the anger scale.

Explosion is loss of control.

Danger of explosion is danger of loss of control.

Coolness in the *qi* is lack of anger.

Calmness of the *qi* is lack of agitation.

In Chinese, when *qi* is not heated, we also have expressions to indicate that coolness and calmness of *qi* correspond to lack of anger.

19. *qing leng jin xia lai* (please cool and quiet down).

20. *Xiao xiao qi ba* (extinguish your *qi*)

However, as mentioned earlier, the concept of *QI* in terms of anger is closely connected with the other central metaphor ANGER IS FIRE in the Chinese conceptualisation, therefore, cooling down is a process more to do with the fire in *qi* disappears or is subdued, rather than the coolness and calmness of fluid in the English conceptualisation.

Now let us turn to the epistemic correspondences between the *QI* domain and the ANGER domain.

### Epistemic correspondences:

Source: The effect of intense heat of *qi* is container heat, internal pressure, and agitation.

Target: The effect of intense anger is body heat, internal pressure, and agitation.

Source: When the *qi* is heated past a certain limit, pressure increases to the point at which the container explodes.

Target: When anger increases past a certain limit, pressure increases to the point at which the person lose control.

Source: An explosion is damaging to the container and dangerous to bystanders.

Target: A loss of control is damaging to an angry person and dangerous to other people.

Source: An explosion may be prevented by the application of sufficient force and energy to keep the chi down.

Target: A loss of control may be prevented by the application of sufficient force and energy to keep the anger in.

Source: It is sometimes possible to control the release of heated chi for either destructive or constructive purposes; this has the effect of lowering the level of heat and pressure.

Target: It is sometimes possible to control the release of anger for either destructive or constructive purpose; this has the effect of lowering the level of anger and internal pressure.

As we compare the epistemic correspondences between Chinese and English conceptualisation, the differences are not so drastic, apart from the concept of *QI*. In fact, such a result was already predicted by Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) and seems to be supported by other studies as reviewed in Chapter 1. They refer to the physiological basis of angry experiences as “the embodiment of anger”, and claim that since metaphors and metonymies are not arbitrarily conceptualised; and it is hard to find languages in the world that do not conceptualise anger as 'heat or pressure'. The Tahitians, for example, conceptualise a person as a bottle exploding when he/she is angry (Levy, 1973). Therefore, presumably, most cultures tend to perceive our body as a container, and an emotion, such as anger, is experienced as a force inside

this container. However, do these sort of findings imply that 'anger' is an universal emotion category? Although Lakoff and Kövecses point out that the metaphors and metonymies of anger correlate with the physiology of anger reported by the Ekman, Levenson and Frisen's experiments on some so-called basic emotions in various languages (1983), Lakoff and Kövecses' emphasis is more on the 'grounding' of our emotional experiences, which in turn structures our metaphors and metonymies. Their analysis in principle is used to support the view that metaphors and metonymies are conceptual and thus systematic, rather than ornamental and random. It is yet far too early to conclude anger as an universal emotion merely from the physiology of anger that is taken to be very similar cross-culturally,

Let us take the conceptualisation of *QI* as an example. Although *QI* can be regarded as some kind of force in our body, which produces pressure comparable to that of FLUID, we have learned that the concept of *QI* is in fact more abstract than that of FLUID. Furthermore, it is also apparent that the way *QI* works in the body is already more abstractly constructed than that of FLUID, and is, arguably, subjected to cultural interpretation. This 'cultural interpretation' is referred to as Traditional Chinese medicine, which is the underlying model of understanding *and* managing emotion in terms of health and illnesses (both mental and physical). In this model, the physiology of anger is more than increases pulse rate and changes in temperature (Ekman *et al.* 1983): it is also about having too much 'fire' in the liver, or having too much 'metal' which counteracts 'wood' in the body and thus causes the imbalance of *QI* (Wu, 1984). In addition, due to this conceptualisation of *QI*, the shape and the structure of the container in the BODY IS A CONTAINER metaphor is not the same as the American hydraulic model reveals.

Two schemas adapted from the drawings illustrated by Kövecses (1990:156) should be able to sum up the different conceptualisation of container, in which emotions, including anger is contained, between the American and Chinese model based on the medical theory:

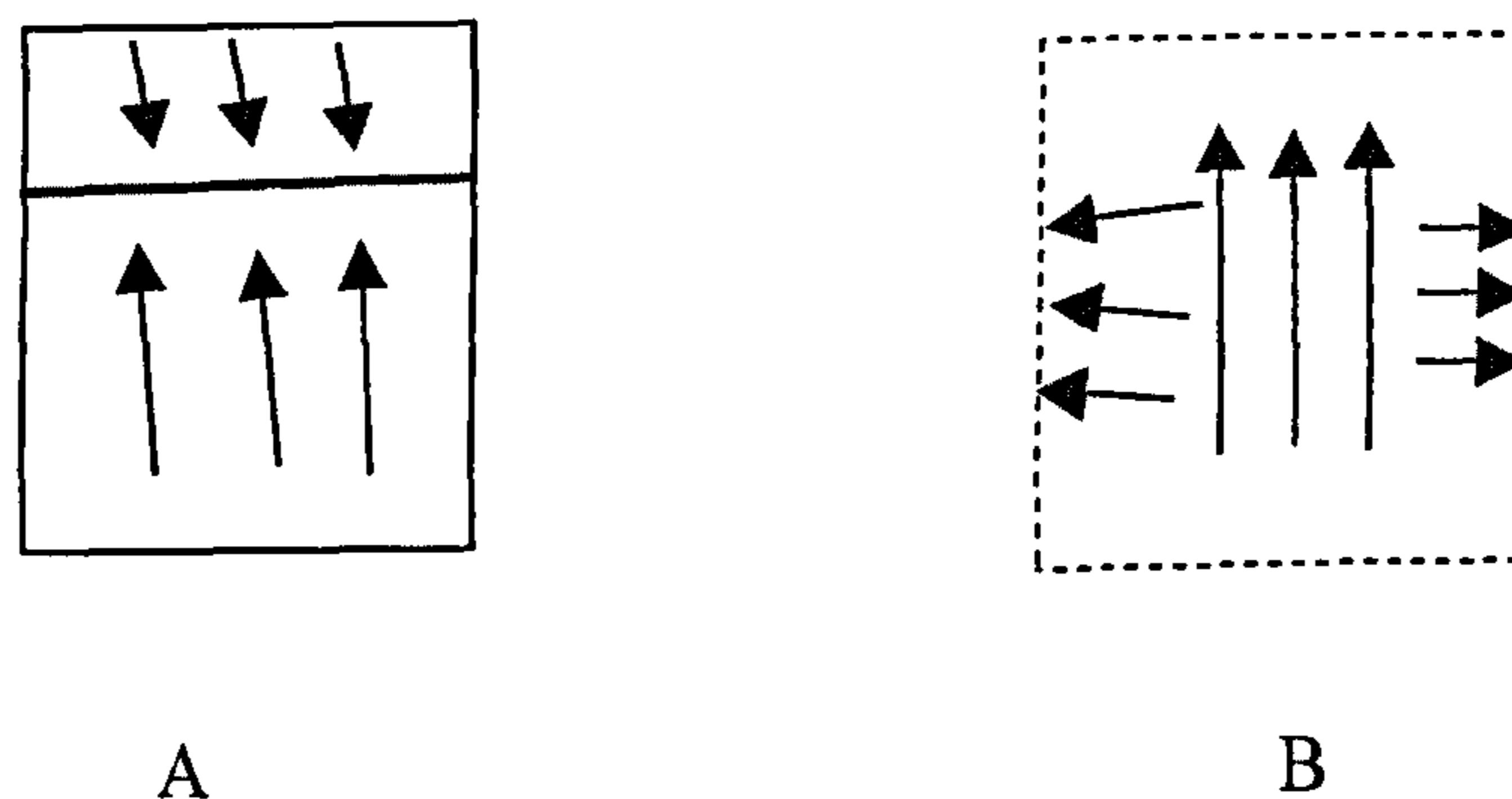


Figure 4: The Hydraulic Model of Anger in English (A) and Chinese (B).

Model A is the representation of the Lakoff and Kövecses' analyses of BODY IS CONTAINER, and ANGER IS FLUID IN CONTAINER, two general metaphors that are dominant not only in the conceptualisation of anger, but also that of emotions in the Anglo-American folk belief. Model B is proposed here to represent the Chinese version of forces in the body according to our analyses of linguistic data is influenced by Chinese medicine theory.

Both schemas are hydraulic in principle, which imply a Jamesian view of emotion (Solomon, 1984) that says emotions are an internal phenomenon. Arguably, not every culture holds this hydraulic model. The Lutz's (1988) data on 'justifiable anger' among the Ifaluk, for example, do not emphasise BODY AS A CONTAINER-like conceptualisation of anger is a case in point. For Ifaluk, anger functions as a kind of social regulation; therefore, the personal experience of an emotion such as anger is not necessarily in the same way as Lakoff and Kövecses

have suggested. The Lakoff and Kövecses' analyses show how the American (middle-class, to be more precise) understanding of anger is influenced by the Jamesian theory of emotion (Solomon, *op. cit.*). Hence, the schemas presented here are again by no means universal.

Furthermore, model A indicates a division between mind and body (Kövecses, 1990), that shows the effort of controlling anger comes from the mind, and mind and body often work against each other. This division cannot be found in the *QI* related metaphors and metonymies we have examined so far. What we see instead that in the Chinese schema, our body is not a closed container, thus, what flows inside can not be FLUID but *QI*. Consequently, the internal pressure this model suggests derives from the situation when the *qi* inside the container exceeds the amount of *qi* that flows in and out, which resulting in an imbalance of *qi*. Originally, both model A and C illustrated by Kövecses (1990:156) include two compartments -- one being the mind, while the other being the body (see below):

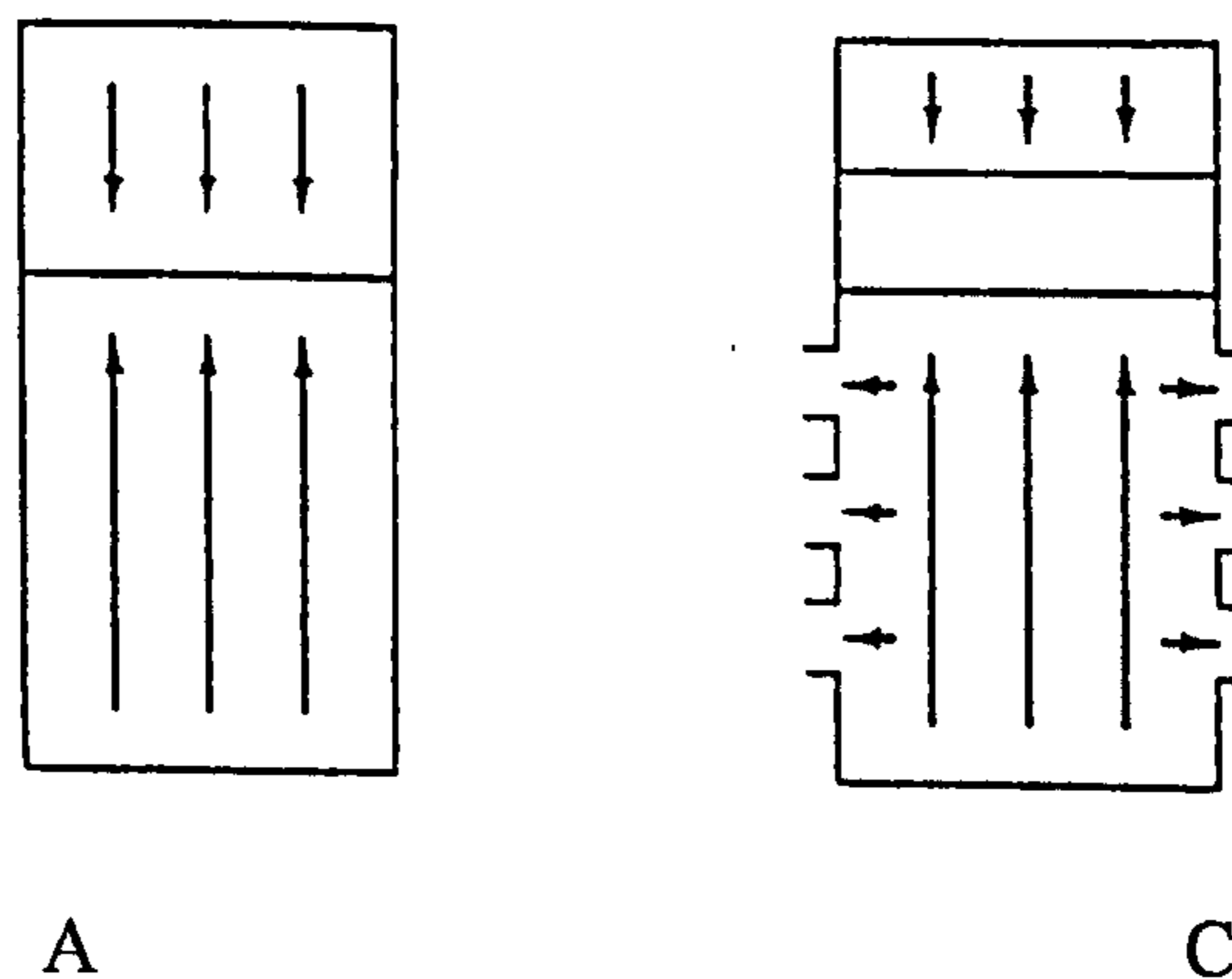


Figure 5: The Hydraulic Model of Anger in English and the Freudian Model.

Although model C is supposed to represent Freud's understanding of body and the mind, both models reveal significantly that mind, also conceptualised as CONTAINER in the West (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980), is separated from the body. At present, it is not yet clear whether Chinese conceptualisation of emotions makes such a division; therefore, this work only chose to present these models in terms of BODY. A clearer picture will presumably emerge after we have discussed a major concept in the conceptualisation of emotions in Chinese, i.e. *XIN* 'heart' in a later section to examine whether the Chinese conceptualisations divide mind and body.

In conclusion, despite the many similarities we have found between the folk theory of physiological effects of anger in English and Chinese conceptualisation expressed in their respective languages, some fine differences have also been illustrated. The similarities have at most demonstrated we share the same physiology, but naming and organizing a group of physiological responses as 'anger', 'sadness' or 'joy' are far more complex and should vary cross-culturally. First, naming these internal forces as *QI* already shows a division in the American understanding of pressure from the Chinese understanding, although *QI* and FLUID all come under the general category of 'forces'. Furthermore, this division indicates different interpretation of emotional experiences as well in these two cultures. As this work will argue throughout that emotions are not merely physiological sensations, but are also beliefs and "interpretations" of these sensations (Solomon, 1985) that fit in the social structure of a speech community at a specific point in time. Therefore, we found that in China, we have tended to 'medicalise' or 'somatise' our emotions so far, which is a way of interpreting 'inner forces'. This phenomenon could be found in Europe in the Middle ages (Geeraerts and Gronelaers, 1995), when

the humoral theory was well elaborated (*ibid*:159), and it spread into public knowledge around 16<sup>th</sup> century after the invention of printing. In those days, feeling angry also had a medical consequence. This view was, some 3 centuries later, replaced by more rational and empirical based knowledge of the human body.

Thus in contemporary American culture, ‘forces’ that are interpreted as anger have, according to Lakoff (1987), a legal implication. He illustrates his point by providing a revealing example about the connection between anger and rape, pointing out how this prevailing view can affect American legal system (*ibid*: 409-415). Many experts believe that rape is a violent act against women and has very little to do with lust and sex. Yet, in examining the daily language in rationalising rape, Lakoff concludes that lust’ and ‘anger’ operate on similar source domains, such as HEAT, FIRE, WILD ANIMAL, and INSANITY. He suggests that, despite experts’ knowledge, which is based on stringent research, sex and violence are still linked in the American mind via these metaphors. In other words, for the average American although rape is violence inflicted upon a victim, this violence is connected with lust and sex. Lakoff’s unusual observation raises the issue that anger in the American society seems to have legal consequences, a view that has already been espoused by Averill in his elaborate studies of anger and aggression (1982). In China, at least until recent time, anger has been an emotion that could lead to violence, but the fear of it rarely has any legal overtones. It has remained a medical concern. Arguably, the unique conceptualisation of *QI* in Chinese folk beliefs has provided a perfect platform for such a rationalisation. On the other hand, data on qi that have been presented so far, though demonstrate a close link between Chinese medicine and anger, some of them, do not require elaborate Chinese medical theory



to understand a more direct mapping between anger and human physiology. This should suggest that Chinese conceptualisation of emotion is not solely governed by one model. The discussion of the social motivation of utilising a complex medical knowledge to explain and manage emotion is examined at a later stage and it is still an open question whether such a model still holds true in modern Taiwanese society.

At the next stage of our linguistic analysis, we shall turn to the other major metaphor of anger, which is ANGER IS FIRE. In addition, in this conceptualisation, Chinese language will be seen to have encoded very similar metaphors as well as metonymies to the American English. The FIRE metaphor in Chinese provides the heat of the anger, and since *QI* itself does not produce heat, so FIRE and *QI* complement each other in giving a complete picture on how someone becomes angry in the folk theory.

### 3.2.1.3 *Huo Qi* -- Fiery *Qi*: A Further Look at ANGER IS FIRE

Let's first re-examine those expressions in Chinese that all indicating anger:

1. *Bie re huo le wo!* (Don't induce my fire!).
2. *Ta huo da le, she me hua dou ma de chu lai* (When his fire is up, he is able to say anything offensive).
3. *Ta nou huo le jiu ba fa ping reng kuo lai* (When her fire was provoked, she threw the vase at me).
4. *Ta jue de nu huo zhi wang shang mao* (She can feel her anger fire rushing all the way upwards).
5. *Ta huo mao san chi* (His fire rushed up to three feet).
6. *Nu huo bu zhu de jei ta de xin li ran shao* (Angry fire is continuously burning inside her heart).
7. *Nu huo zhong shao* (Anger fire burning inside).
8. *Ta de yan jing zai pen huo* (His eyes are blowing out fire).
9. *Ta ji li ren ju ta de nu huo* (She is trying very hard to swallow her angry fire).
10. *Ta ba zhe gu nu huo wang xia ya* (He is pressing his angry fire down).

From the above examples, we can see that either *huo* 'fire' is used alone as a noun in example 1, or as verb in example 2, or in combination with other words, such as, *nu* 'angry' in examples: 4, 6, 7, 9, 10 and *nau* 'annoyed' or 'troubled' in example 3, to describe what it is like to be angered/angry. Thus, the following metonymy is suggested: FIRE STANDS FOR ANGER and its entailments: AN ANGRY PERSON BLOWS OUT FIRE, A PERSON ON FIRE DOES DANGEROUS THINGS, and FIRE CAN BE CONTROLLED BY PRESSING IT DOWN.

The metaphor, ANGER IS FIRE, in Chinese also highlights the qualities of anger as in American English (Lakoff and Kövecses, 1987:203): the causes of anger (*re* – 'induce, inflame'), the intensity and duration, the danger to others (*mao* – 'blow out, shoot up'), and the danger to the angry person. Although in Chinese, there are no explicit expressions as in English, such as 'smouldering', 'burning slowly', and 'burning brightly' to indicate the intensity and duration of an angry fire, there are other metaphorical expressions to describe its nature. Consider the following passage:

When my father could not get the money he wanted, he was upset and angry (*nau nu*). He let out a growl that was as loud as a long thunder. At this time, my mother could no longer hold back the volcanic lava, which she had suppressed for so long, so she finally erupted (Hsuan Lo, 1990:18).

This is a passage taken out from a short story written by Hsuan Lo, a young Chinese writer, describing his childhood memories of his bad-tempered father who gambled the family's money away. In this description, we learned that one's anger can be like the rocks in the volcano, burning slowly for a long time, until the last moment of eruption. In other words, volcano is a metaphor for anger, and from this metaphor a whole range of schemas can be developed: from smouldering to intense

heat, which has a threshold, then a final eruption -- a process that can take some time. Subsequently, this eruption of anger brings destruction and damage to others and the angry person.

Hence, the ontological correspondences between FIRE and ANGER domains in Chinese and can be schematised as follows:

Source: FIRE

Target: ANGER

The fire is anger.

The thing burning is the angry person.

The cause of the fire is the cause of the anger.

The intensity of the fire is the intensity of the anger.

The physical damage to the thing burning is mental (and physical) damage to the angry person.

The capacity of the thing burning to serve its normal function is the capacity of the angry person to function normally.

An object at the point of being consumed by fire corresponds to a person whose anger is at the limit.

The danger of the fire to things nearby is the danger of the anger to other people.

The correspondences in knowledge are:

Source: Things can burn at low intensity for a long time and then burst into flames.

Target: People can be angry at a low intensity for a long time and then suddenly become extremely angry.

Source: Fires are dangerous to things nearby.

Target: Angry people are dangerous to other people.

Source: Things consumed by fire cannot serve their normal function.

Target: At the time of the anger scale, people cannot function normally.

It seems there is no apparent distinction between the Chinese conceptualisation of ANGER IS FIRE from that of American English. Both cultures recognise that anger has a fiery quality, and such a recognition gave rise to a systematic conceptualisation of correspondences between FIRE and ANGER domains. Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) argue that ANGER IS THE HEAT

OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, which is more, elaborated in the American conceptualisation; and this position is subsequently defended by the Kövecses' (1990) examination of emotional concepts mainly in Anglo-American cultures. Kövecses concluded that FLUID IN A CONTAINER is a more general metaphor (than ANGER IS FIRE) because emotions as a whole are conceptualised as such. However, after our preceding analyses of the concept of anger in Standard Chinese, we can suggest that FLUID IN A CONTAINER, which may well be the central metaphor in anger and other emotion concepts in American English, is only partially shared with the Chinese. On the contrary, our findings support that both cultures perhaps share more similarity in the conceptualisation of ANGER IS FIRE.

However, this does not imply that we cannot find a general metaphor, such as FLUID IN A CONTAINER in the overall conceptualisation of emotions in the Chinese culture. If the Chinese also share the conceptualisation of BODY IS A CONTAINER as in American English, we can assume that they also explain emotions in a similar way as something that 'moves' inside the body. Our analysis in the previous section has just confirmed this postulate. Furthermore, in this analysis, we found the general metaphor of 'anger' in the Chinese cognitive system to a great extent is structured as *QI* IN A CONTAINER. However, the question is, does this central metaphor also structure other types of emotion in Chinese? Arguably, with the vast related senses of *QI* one can find in the dictionary (see section 3.2.1.2), *QI* is undoubtedly a key concept in Chinese culture. It not only stands for the essence of the universe (*Yi Jing*, which appeared in its first book form around 551-497 B.C, see Wilhelm & Baynes 1950/1989) but the essence of a person in Chinese folk belief, which is best manifested in traditional Chinese medicine. Its

connection with emotion is well illustrated in the way emotion is medicalised, so to diagnose the flow of someone's *qi* is to diagnose his/her health, hence, for example, good *qi* stands for happiness as well as good health, while weak *qi* stands for sadness or depression, excessive *qi* or bad *qi* for anger.

Yet, it is important to note that *qi* does not have the equal presence in all important emotions regarded by Chinese. For example, when King (1989) examined five emotions in Chinese, the metonymies and metaphors he identified in his data, 'anger' is most often described by the movement of *qi*, 'happiness' comes second, but 'worry' 'sadness' and 'fear' do not seem to rely on *qi* for their central conceptualisation. The data elicited for this research also indicate that *qi*, though is dominant in both 'anger' and 'happiness', nearly absent in 'romantic love'. In fact, FLUID rather than *QI* seems to be the entity people associate love with. We can only assume at this stage from the preliminary evidence that not all emotions are structured the same way in Chinese, so there are presumably other cognitive models for emotion at work apart from the one represented by Chinese medicine. Therefore, we need to limit the *QI* IN THE CONTAINER to 'anger' for the time being and will return to the issue of identifying a central metaphor that underlies emotion in Chinese after all three emotions under investigation have been discussed.

What can be postulated at this point as for why 'anger' is particularly centrally structured by *QI*, thus closely associated with the concept of health and diseases. Undoubtedly, its strong physiological elements are palpable by most people experiencing anger, so the use of physical effects to stand for the emotion is not unusual. However, we should bear in mind that 'anger' is, in essence, regarded as an aggressive and negative emotion in both American and Chinese societies as

discussed earlier. The metaphors these two cultures share illustrated above demonstrate this shared conceptualisation, at least on an explanatory level (Averill, 1990)<sup>2</sup>. On an evaluative level, American and Chinese choose different interpretation. Interpreting this negative effect in medical and somatic way in China should be regarded as a 'coping' strategy, when we consider that there can be negative social consequences in demonstrating this anger either in family or public. Consequently, medicalise it has proven to be an effective way of 'managing' it in the social structure as it was in the past and until recent time in China. It is therefore reasonable to hypothesise that this is one of the motivations, apart from biological one of course, which explains why 'anger' is mostly structured by *QI*, and talked about as a physical matter rather than a psychological phenomenon. Similarly, the phenomenon Lakoff (1990) points out that 'anger' in American society tends to have an legal consequence is also a 'coping' strategy that reflects its social structure. In other words, there must be a broader a and more general set of social rules than the folk belief of Chinese Medicine that 'regulate' experiencing and expressing emotion in Chinese societies. Therefore, the experiencing and expressing of emotion should change as the social rules change. This postulation will become clearer after we have discussed the data on 'anger' elicited for this research.

### **3.2.2 Initial Survey**

In this initial survey, there were 13 subjects. Their narrations have been categorised as follows:

### 3.2.2.1. Metonymies:

#### RED NECK

1. *Lian hong* (red face)

#### AGITATION

2. *Nan guo* (feeling upset)
3. *Ku* (cry)
4. *Shuang shou jin wo* (both hands tight-fisted)
5. *Sheng yin zhan dou* (the voice trembled)
6. *Yao ya qie chi* (grinding one's teeth)
7. *Kuang ku* (howling)
8. *Jin zhang* (tense)
9. *Qing xu ang zhang* (feeling aroused)
10. *Shen jing jin beng* (the nerve is over stretched—at the nerve's end.)
11. *Yan er* (disgusted)
12. *Fan gan* (disgusted)

#### VIOLENT FRUSTRATED BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR ANGER

13. *Xiang zou ren* (have the urge to hit someone)
14. *Zhi ti yu yan* (getting physical).

#### AGGRESSIVE VERBAL BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR ANGER

15. *Da sheng ma ren* (Shout abuse)
16. *Hua ji* (the speech speeds up)
17. *Yan ci ji lie* (harsh words)

#### AGGRESSIVE VISUAL BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR ANGER

18. *Hen hen deng ta* (stare at him vehemently)

#### ANGER HINDERS NORMAL FUNCTION

19. *Mian wo biao qing* (no facial expression)
20. *Biao qing jiang ying* (stiff facial expression)
21. *Nan yi xing rong* (hard to describe—beyond words)
22. *Shuo hua da jie* (tongue got knotted)

Sometimes saying very few words or being in complete silence is a way of showing anger; therefore, it was not surprising finding several subjects described their angry feelings in this way:

#### SILENCE

23. *Hua hen shau. She me dou mei shuo* (hardly any words; say nothing)
24. *Wu yan* (Speechless)

The sample is too small to detect any significant tendency. Nonetheless, feeling agitated appears to be the most noticeable physical reaction to anger among the subjects. In particular, *ku* 'crying', *kuang ku* 'cry crazily; howling' may be unusual reaction in other cultures in connection with anger, it seems in Taiwan, crying can stand for anger, too. Next, let us turn to the some metaphors used by the same group.

### 3.2.2.2 Metaphors

The following is the categorisation of the metaphors used by the 13 subjects:

#### ANGER IS HOT CHI IN THE CONTAINER

1. *Sheng qi* (emitting *qi*—anger)
2. *Qi fen* (spring, rushing *qi*—anger)

#### ANGER IS FIRE

3. *Fan zao* (irritated)
4. *Men re* (simmering hot)
5. *Qi fen huo bau* (atmosphere is explosive)
6. *Huo shan bao fa* (volcano erupted)
7. *Qi wen sheng gao* (temperature rose)
8. *Qiang lie de bao fa* (exploded violently)
9. *Huo cai* (matches)
10. *Ran shao de huo yan* (burning flame)
11. *Hou shan hong di bao fa* (volcano exploded with a bang)
12. *Zhi re* (the flame is red hot).

#### ANGER IS AN OPPONENT

13. *Shi kong* (lost control)

#### ANGER IS A BURDEN

14. *Fa xie qing xu* (let out the emotion)
15. *Shi ran* (released)
16. *Tui zuo* (slump on the chair after having consumed by anger)

#### ANGER IS DOWN

17. *Chen zhong de qi fen* (heavy atmosphere)



## OTHERS

18. *Yi fen tian ying* (righteous anger filled up the chest)

19. *Nu shan xin tou* (anger rose up to the head [top] of the heart)

20. *Yan er* (disgust)

21. *Fan gan* (disgust)

Examples from 18 to 21 are more problematic to categorised. 18 and 19 reflect a more general metaphor which is BODY IS A CONTAINER at work. In 18 the container is the chest, whereas in 19 the container is the heart. Yet, it is not immediately clear what the nature of the entity is that is filled in either container. Both the *fen* 憤 in 18 and *nu* 怒 in 19 mean ‘anger’, but do not refer to *qi* nor fire directly. According to dictionary, *fen* 憤 may derive its meaning and sound from *fen* 賁, which makes it a semantic-phonetic compound. As Ma (1997) argues that the choice of the sound element of a character is not an arbitrary act, 賁 *fen* not only stands for the sound but also provides a semantic clue to the new compound character *fen* 憤. Firstly, 賁 *fen* alone, as cited in 禮記 *Li Ji* (cir. 200 B.C.) is to describe sudden rushing or surging up movement with power. It can be used to describe water (賁水 *fen sui*) or ‘something that is sprouting up’ (賁起 *fen qi*), such as earth. As for the character on the right side of 賁, is 心, which was stylised as 卜 - to function as a radical denoting that this compound word 憤 is categorised as an emotion word. This combination resulted in a new meaning to 憤 to stand for ‘something that is pent up, filled up, or trapped without outlets’. It is also worth noting that a polysemy of *fen* 賁, pronouncing *ben*, means ‘diaphragm’. For this, the dictionary provides with an example stating that “when air (氣 *qi*) moves upwards to the above of *ben* 賁, one becomes angry for no reason.” Eventually, both meanings may give rise to the dictionary entry of 憤 as “anger *qi* rises up and becomes pent up in the chest wanting to explode but can not” In turn, 憤 often forms compound

words with 怒 *nu* or 氣 *qi* (but rarely with 火 ‘fire’) to depict anger. When it is used together with 氣 *qi* the metaphor is straightforward, but it becomes problematic when it is used together with 怒 *nu*.

As for 怒 *nu*, the explanations are rather similar to those of 憤 *fen*. The dictionary says it is “anger (*qi*) emitting from the heart”, “to energise” or “rushing and strong”. However, when *fen* combines with *nu*, it is not immediately apparent whether *qi* is part of the conceptualisation or not, although some modern Chinese dictionaries explain *fen nu* as “resentment; emitting *qi* (*sheng qi*); smouldering anger; and heart is not smooth nor calm”. Unlike *fen*, *nu* can be combined with either *qi* or *huo* ‘fire’ to mean ‘angry *qi*’ or ‘angry fire’. However, the character itself does not suggest the existence of *qi* nor fire; in fact, the character is consisted of two parts: 奴 *nu* ‘slave’ and 心 *xin* ‘heart’. It embodies an evaluative concept of anger, namely, ANGER IS THE SLAVE OF THE HEART. This concept can already be detected in a passage appeared as early as in a philosophical book named 淮南子 *Huai Nan Zi* (cir. 150 B.C.), which states that “It is human nature to be angry (*nu*) when offended. When one is angry 怒 *nu*, it leads to blood filling up, and when blood is filling up, *qi* is rushing (in the body, presumably). When *qi* is rushing, one explodes in anger 發怒 *fa nu*. When that happens, there will be regret.” This passage not only demonstrates that anger has a negative impact on human body, but also human character. Furthermore, it confirms that it was *qi* not other entities which are associated with anger both in the past and present China. Arguably, *nu* may correspond to the thought, while *qi* the physiology of anger. On the other hand, bearing in mind the descriptions of *fen* and *nu* listed in the aforementioned dictionary, it is fair to propose a cognitive linkage with anger between the two has developed over time; thus, those

related senses all depict an image of ‘sprouting’, ‘surging’ or ‘rushing’ movement or forces observed in nature, and when this force is ‘trapped’ in someone’s chest, it stands for anger. As Sweetser (1990) work illustrates that meaning changes of words from a historical point of view tend to progress from a physical, experiential sphere into a mental one. For example, some earlier works than *Huai Nan Zi*, such as *Li Ji* (cir 200 B. C.) and *莊子 Zhuan Zi* (cir. 369-286 B. C), for example, used both words in describing either nature or animal rather than emotion.

This kind of linguistic evidence and the metonymies and metaphors we have looked at so far lead us to conclude that *fen* and *nu* refer to a state of something, in this case, most probably, *qi*, pent up in the body (mostly the chest area), thus causes agitation. This agitation is in turn understood as having too much *qi* in the body. In short, when *fen* and *nu* used to depict anger, the concept of *qi* is always implied. In light of this fact, examples in 18 and 19 should be considered as an alternative manifestation of ANGER IS (HOT) *QI* IN A CONTAINER. As for 20 and 21, the feeling of disgust should be regarded as a related concept of anger in Chinese rather than a metaphor *per se*. We will return to this point later when more data emerge.

### **3.2.3 Data of Overseas Chinese.**

In this phase of data collection, there were 20 native speakers of Standard Chinese who resided in the United States at time of the survey. The results are as follows:

#### **3.2.3.1 Metonymies:**

INTERNAL PRESSURE

1. *Xin tiao jia kuai* (heart beats raced fast)
2. *Tou zhang* (head swelled)

#### RED IN THE NECK AREA

3. *Lian hong* (face turned red).

#### AGITATION

4. *Zui jiau zhan dong* (corner of the mouth trembled)
5. *Yan pi tiao dong* (eyelid jumped)
6. *Ji dong* (agitated)
7. *Shou lue dou* (hand slightly trembled)
8. *Shang xin* (upset, heart is wounded)
9. *Ku* (cried)
10. *Jin Zhang* (feeling tense)
11. *Shen ti bu shu fu* (the body did not feel well)
12. *Zao chegn xin li nan quo* (made my heart feel upset)
13. *Guan shen zhan dou* (the whole body shook)
14. *Wei suo jin* (stomach tightened up)

#### AGGRESSIVE VERBAL BEHAVIOUR

15. *Sheng diao gao ang* (raised the voice)
16. *Sheng yin cu* (thickened the voice, sounded rough)
17. *Yu qi bu hao* (sounded hostile)
18. *Yu qi bu yue* (sounded unpleasant)

#### AGGRESSIVE VISUAL BEHAVIOUR

19. *Lian la xia lai* (pulled the face)

#### SILENCE

20. *Wu yan* (no words)
21. *Chen mo* (silence)

#### ANGER HINDERS NORMAL FUNCTION

22. *Hao wu kong zhi* (absolutely out of control)
23. *Bu ke kong zhi* (beyond control)
24. *Wu li gan* (sense of powerlessness)
25. *Wu neng wei li* (beyond one's power)
26. *Jiang ying* (acting stiff)
27. *Fei yu yan ke biao da* (beyond words)

It appears that there are no marked differences to the pilot and static data in terms of metonymy so far. Overall, AGITATION still remains the most preferred physiology to stand for ANGER. Consequently, examples that describe ANGER HINDERS NORMAL FUNCTION are numerous. It also seems that when one's

normal function is hindered, he/she will lose control which will in turn leads to either shouting verbal abuse or becoming completely speechless, thus, silent. So far, the analysis indicates that AGGRESSIVE VERBAL BEHAVIOUR is favoured over SILENCE. When the data from the main corpus are added, this pattern will become clear.

### 3.2.3.2 Metaphors

#### ANGER IS HOT CHI IN A CONTAINER

1. *Sheng qi* (emitting anger)
2. *Ji dong* (torrent of anger)
3. *Ji qing* (torrent of emotion)
4. *Xin Sheng men qi* (simmering with anger in the heart)
5. *Qi fen* (*chi* sprung out, rage)
6. *Qi ji bai huai* (rotten angry)
7. *Shi zi ji geng sheng qi* (made oneself emit more *chi*—anger)
8. *Fa nu* (got angry)

#### ANGER IS AN ENTITY

9. *Yi qi zhi xia* (in anger)
10. *Shou shan si de qi* (took the boss's anger)
11. *Sheng zhe zhong qi* (having this kind of anger)
12. *Zou chu fen nu* (walk out from anger)
13. *Nei xin de qi* (anger in the heart)

#### ANGER IS FIRE

14. *Fan* (irritating)
15. *Huo qi da* (big fire *qi*)

Sometimes the evidence of FIRE can be expressed also through lack of it:

#### LACK OF ANGER IS LACK OF FIRE

16. *Ping xi xin zhong wu ming huo* (extinguished the nameless fire in the heart)
17. *Tui huo* (fire receded)
18. *Ping xi xia lai* (fire has been extinguished)

#### SPLEEN CHI

19. *Pi qi bu hao* (not very good spleen *qi*—bad tempered)

ANGER IS DOWN

20. *Bu yue* (not happy)

21. *Bu gao xing* (not feeling up)

ANGER IS AN OPPONENT

22. *Bu ke kong zhi* (could not be controlled)

ANGER IS BURDEN

23. *Shi huai* (let out of the chest)

COLD ANGER

24. *Leng ran xiang ying* (responded coldly)

On first inspection, the pilot and overseas data did not appear to differ much. The pilot shows a slightly more examples of ANGER IS FIRE than HOT *QI*, whereas the overseas demonstrate an equal preference. Interestingly, both data combined, there is only one example involves SPLEEN *QI*. As discussed earlier the traditional Chinese medicine has influenced Chinese way of experiencing, interpreting and managing anger, ANGER IS *QI* IN THE SPLEEN is a manifestation of such a belief. Thus if such a model still exists in modern Chinese conceptualisations of anger, then we should expect to encounter more expressions of this nature. However, the data so far have not yielded such a tendency. This observation will be confirmed when the main corpus is presented.

### 3.3 Main Corpus

The data of the 76 subjects were analysed as the previous data. They are presented in a similar fashion, namely, according to the metonymy and metaphor categories. The Chinese transcript of the data appears in the appendix. First, we will examine the use of metonymy. As discussed earlier with reference to AGITATION

as being the apparent dominant physiological effect of anger, AGGRESSIVE VERBAL BEHAVIOUR is still considered the norm in comparison to silence in demonstrating anger overtly. Therefore it should be obvious from the overall data if this trend continues to hold true. The following table is a summary of the percentage of each metonymy use identified for all subjects from the pilot, overseas and main combined research (n=105).

Table 1: Percentage Use of Anger (*Sheng Qi*) Metonymies

Metonymy	Percentile
Agitation	34.9
Aggressive Verbal Behaviour	21.7
Aggressive Visual Behaviour	12.38
Violent Frustrated Behaviour	8.5
Anger Hinders Norman Function	9
Internal Pressure	4.7
Red Neck	1.9
Interference with Perception	0.9

In Table 1 above, we can determine that AGITATION is indeed the most used metonymy, followed by AGGRESSIVE VERBAL BEHAVIOUR. Some metonymies are not listed here due to their low frequency.. Let us now turn to their detailed analysis. This discussion is divided into two parts with the first part representing the metonymies that give rise to ANGER IS QI IN THE CONTAINER, the second part are metonymies underlying ANGER IS INSANITY (the first four rows in the table), and DANGEROUS ANIMAL (the last four rows of the same table).

### 3.3.1 Metonymies Which Give Rise to ANGER IS *QI* IN THE CONTAINER and ANGER IS HEAT

#### BODY HEAT

1. *Mao han* (sweating)

#### INTERNAL PRESSURE

2. *Xiong kou men men* (Chest felt smothered)
3. *Xin li men* (Heart felt smothered)
4. *Xiong kou ji hu yao bao lie* (The chest nearly exploded)
5. *Xuan shen ji rou jin ben* (The muscles of the whole body tightened)
6. *Xiong kou chong man le qi* (The chest was filled with *qi*)

There are some other physical sensations, which are caused by increased internal pressure such as increased heart rate and pain on the heart:

7. *Xin tiao jia kuai* (Heart raced quicker)
8. *Xin tang bu ting tiao dong* (Heart could not stop beating fast)
9. *Xin tou yi jiu* (The head of the heart was pinched)
10. *Xin tong de gan jue* (the feeling of heartache)

#### AGITATION

11. *Ku* (cried)
12. *Chou xu* ( gasping, convulsing, blubbering)
13. *Xuan shen zhan dou* (The whole body shook)
14. *Chuan shen fa dou* (The whole body trembled)
15. *Shou dong dou* (hand shook)
16. *Shuo bu zhi de zhan dou* (Hands trembled uncontrollably)
17. *Ya yang yang* (Teeth itched)
18. *Yao ya qie chi* (Grinding teeth)
19. *Yao zhe ya gen* (biting the roots of teeth)

There are, of course, the results of becoming agitated, particularly after crying, where all the strength is spent. In Chinese, it is expressed with the concepts of *song* 'loose' and *ruan* 'soft' which are in contrast to *jin ben* 'tight' and *ang zhang* 'stretched' (section 3.2.2.1) when agitated:



20. *Xuan shen song ruan* (The whole body became soft and strength less)
21. *Ku le jiau ruan* (had cried so hard that the legs became soft and strength less)
22. *Fu fu de* (feeling light, drifting)

#### INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION

23. *Nao zi kong bai* (The brain went blank, could not think straight)

### 3.3.2 Metonymies Which Structure INSANITY and DANGEROUS ANIMAL.

The following metonymies give rise to the concept of INSANITY, which in turn is closely connected with ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL:

#### VIOLENT FRUSTRATED BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR ANGER

1. *Da zi ji* (Hit oneself)
2. *Shou zhi zhe* (finger pointed at someone)
3. *Da li pai zhuo zi* (Slammed hard on the table)
4. *Xiang shuai ta yi ba zhang* (had the urge to slap her on the face)
5. *Shou nong zu wu* (waving arms and legs)
6. *Chui qiang* (hit the wall)

#### AGGRESSIVE VERBAL BEHAVIOUR

7. *Da sheng zhi ma* (shouting)
8. *Hou jiao* (howling)
9. *Zhou ma* (cursing)
10. *Kou qi yu lai yu qiang ying* (the way of talking became harder and harder)
11. *Kou qi jia zhong* (the way of talking became hard)
12. *Sheng yin bian da* (voice became loud)
13. *Sheng diao yu lai yu gao* (the tone of voice became louder and louder)
14. *Sheng diao ji ang* (tone of voice became agitated)
15. *Sheng yin gao ang* (voice raised sharp)
16. *Sheng ying bian diao* (voice changed)
17. *Ma* (scolding)
18. *Zhi ze* (blaming)
19. *Xun jie* (disciplining)
20. *Zheng zhi* (quarrelling)
21. *Da chao yi jia* (big verbal fight)

## AGGRESSIVE VISUAL BEHAVIOUR

22. *Deng* (stared)
23. *Mei mao zhou zai yi qi* (eyebrows were drawn together)
24. *Biao qing ling ren hai pa* (facial expressions were scary)
25. *Tie qing de lian* (face looked iron blue; face looked stern)
26. *Biao qing jiang ying* (facial expressions were stiff)
27. *Biao qing hen nan kan* (facial expressions were ugly; unfriendly)
28. *Lian se yu lai yu nan kan* (the colour of the face became more and more ugly; unfriendly)
29. *Tai du er lie* (Attitude was ugly)

## SILENCE

30. *Gan nu bu gan yan* (dared to be angry but not dared to speak out about the anger)
31. *Chen mo bu yu* (quiet, not saying anything)
32. *Yi yan bu fa* (not a word said)
33. *Bu xiang shuo ren he hua* (not wanting to say anything)

## ANGER HINDER NORMAL FUNCTION

34. *Jie ba* (stammered)
35. *Bu zhi suo cuo* (not knowing what to do)
36. *Ci bu da yi* (could not find the right word)  
There were other behaviours and physiological reactions that indicate anger, such as averting eye contact:
37. *Bu yuan shi shi ta ren* (not wanting to look straight at the other person).  
Or to look very serious:
38. *Biao qing yan su* (facial expressions were serious)

### 3.4 Major Metaphors

The findings show HOT *QI* and FIRE metaphors are equally vivid if not equally frequent. These results may derive from the observation that *sheng qi*, as mentioned earlier is a generic term for expressing anger, so it is used, as it is argued in this work, rather more literally than metaphorically in daily communication. The following Table 2 shows the frequency of those metaphors that have been identified from a total of 105 subjects, and shows the percentage use for each anger metaphor. These data will be elaborated further in the following sections.

Table 2: Percentage Use of Anger (*Sheng Qi*) Metaphors

Metaphor	Percentage
Hot Gas ( <i>Qi</i> )	80.2
Fire/Explosion	24.5
Opponent	20.8
Fluid	18.9
Down	16.0
Burden	13.2
Cause of Anger is Physical Annoyance	7.5
Anger is Cold	5.7
Anger is Spleen ( <i>Qi</i> )	4.7
Anger is Insanity	2.8
Angry Behaviour is Aggressive Animal Behaviour	0.9

### 3.4.1 ANGER IS HEAT.

As in English, ANGER IS HEAT is the basic metaphor for anger in Chinese and there are two versions—*qi* and solid. When *qi* is applied to ANGER IS HEAT, we get ANGER IS HOT CHI IN A CONTAINER, while with solid; we get ANGER IS FIRE, and a related metaphor ANGER IS AN EXPLOSION. Additionally, there is also the concept of ANGER IS THE FLUID IN A CONTAINER expressed by some subjects, although not as dominant as the other two. These metaphors are presented in the following sections.

#### 3.4.1.1 ANGER IS HOT CHI IN A CONTAINER

Apart from the generic term *sheng qi* expressed throughout most of the narration, there are other conventional expressions involving *qi*. It is sometimes used

as verbs as in “*Wo qi de...*” (I am so mad that...) as well as noun, such as “*Xiong kou chong man le qi*” (the chest is filled with anger). More examples are as follows:

1. *Sheng qi ling ren* (The *qi*/anger was so full that it threatened others)
2. *Qi fen* (feeling indignant)
3. *Qi chong chong* (*qi*/anger gushing out)
4. *Qi fu fu* (*qi*/anger breathing out)
5. *Qi gei* (feeling *qi*/indignant)
6. *Qi huai le* (*qi*/angry to distraction)
7. *Qi ji bai huai* (so *qi*/angry to distraction)

There are other expressions also show that *qi*/anger is gathered and trapped in the area of chest, throat and above all, in the heart:

8. *Xin zhong sheng qi* (the heart emitted anger)
9. *Hou long yi kou qi tun shi chu* (swallowed the anger in the throat)
10. *Qi men zai xin lie* (*qi*/anger was smothered in the heart)
11. *Men le hao jou* (*qi*/anger was smothered for quite a while)
12. *Xiong kou chong man le qi* (the chest was filled with *qi*/anger)
13. *Xin chong you gu giang da de qi yao gu chu lai* (there was a strong surge of *qi*/anger in the heart that was about to pop out)

When a person no longer feels angry, then it is described with *qi* being ‘extinguished’ as in *qi xiao le*, or there is no more *chi* in the body as in *mei you li qi*. *Li qi* also means strength or force in this combination, implying that getting angry is a process of having too much *qi* in the body. Therefore, when the anger disappears, the *qi* is drained, thus we are left with the feeling of having no strength. Next, let us turn to the other version of ANGER IS HEAT, which involves FIRE and EXPLOSION.

#### **3.4.1.2 ANGER IS FIRE and EXPLOSION**

Although the frequent use of FIRE and EXPLOSION is less than that of *CHI* by the subjects, the vividness of FIRE metaphor is equally interesting as that of *CHI*. When anger is conceptualised as FIRE, which then eventually leads to EXPLOSION, there is a natural progression from the beginning to the end result:

The beginning of the anger:

1. *You ran er sheng* (anger arose from oil)
2. *Dao huo xian* (the thread/ignition to fire/anger)

The first expression apparently derives from the experience of oil lamp or cooking where oil can burst into fire, while the second expression is self-explanatory.

The development of anger:

3. *Fan zao* (annoying, smouldering type of anger)
4. *Bu nai fan* (could not keep the anger/fire in)
5. *Yu ran yu lie* (the fire/anger was burning brighter and brighter)

Words like *fan* and *zao*, though are not the exact equivalent of anger in Chinese, they both have fire as radical. When *fan* functions as adjective as in *Wo hen fan*, it means being annoyed, or slightly agitated or being worried. When it is used as a verb as in *Ta hou fan ren* (he annoys people), then it means to annoy or to upset someone. Similarly, *zao* also means annoying or feeling impatient. Either it is annoying *fan* or impatient *zao*, both emotions are categorised under the concept of FIRE, which shows that they are connected with the physical discomfort connected with excessive heat.

The peak of the anger:

6. *Huo mao san zhang* (Fire/anger reached three feet high)
7. *Huo da* (Fire/anger became big)

8. *Huo qi* (fire *qi*/anger)
9. *Nu huo chong shao* (Fire/anger was burning inside)
10. *Zhan huo man tian* (war fire/anger spread the whole sky)
11. *Ran shao de huo huo shan* (burning active volcano)

The explosion:

12. *Xiong kou ji hu yao bao lie* (the chest nearly exploded)
13. *Bao fa* (exploded)
14. *Bao nu* (explosive anger)
15. *Qi zha le* (so angry/*qi* that I exploded)

The deflation of anger

16. *Xiao tui* (anger/fire retreated)
17. *Xiao le* (anger/fire extinguished)

The word *xiao* ‘extinguish’ with water as radical indicates that it is used in connection with fire, although it is also applied to other substances other than fire, such as clouds, fog, *qi*, voice, and even human beings. In the latter cases, *xiao* simply means ‘disappear’ or ‘retreat’ – apparently, a result of a metaphorical transfer at work. Next, we will look at another fairly common metaphor in Chinese, which is *QI IN THE SPLEEN*.

### 3.4.2 ANGER IS *QI* IN THE SPLEEN

Despite the claim that the theory of Chinese medicine is very much involved in expressing emotions in Chinese (Yu, 1996; King, 1989), only very few subjects (N=3) of this present survey mentioned spleen *pi*, an important organ, which according to Chinese medicine, stores anger. When used, those expressions are mostly standardised phrases, which at times appear to be *cliché*:

1. *Luan fa pi qi* (become angry/*pi qi* for no good reason; throw a tantrum)
2. *Fa pi qi* (become angry/*pi qi*)

### 3. *Pi qi bu hao* (temper/*pi qi* no good)

As for the possible reason of such scarce use of these expressions involve *pi qi* 'spleen anger' could lie, firstly, in the fact that *pi qi* is used more to describe a static state. For example, *Ta pi qi bu hao* 'He is bad-tempered' means in general this person's disposition is short-fused. Secondly, as for *fa pi qi* 'become angry', which is used as another generic term, sometimes is used as an alternative to *sheng qi* 'to emit anger' with one slight distinction. *Fa pi qi* sometimes has the undertone of 'throwing a tantrum', so for example, as in *luan fa pi qi*, *luan* means random, without any particular reason. On the other hand, *luan* is rarely used together with *sheng qi* such as *luan shen qi*. Hence, *sheng qi* is more of a neutral term used much more often than *fa pi qi*. Another reason that may explain this data is due to the modernisation of the society in China in general. It is very plausible that the folk model(s) that guides the understanding of anger does not heavily hinge upon Chinese medicine any longer. What we have, at most, when these expressions are used, they are more as the relic of the previous cognitive categories (Györi, 1996, 1998b) than reflecting contemporary concepts. We will deal with this issue at the end of the chapter when the role of Chinese medicine and body parts are seriously re-examined. Now let us turn to other expressions, which do not involve *QI* or FIRE.

#### 3.4.3 ANGER IS INSANITY and Related Concepts

In this section, summaries are presented of those expressions that express anger as insanity and thus are referred to as an opponent who needs to be controlled and subdued.

### 3.4.3.1 ANGER IS INSANITY

1. *Fa biao* (Became mad)
2. *Zhua Kuang* (Became crazy)

Interestingly, both expressions are fairly modern and are popular among younger population (Age=19 to 24) in Taiwan. They both describe extremely agitated state, which can be unfamiliar to the older generation. As in previous two groups: pilot and overseas Chinese, there are no metaphors involving DANGEROUS ANIMAL ever been used by the responding subjects in the main corpus, either. On the other hand, it seems that ANGER AS AN OPPONENT is a more popular and perhaps more available metaphors amongst all subjects. In the following section, we will look at this concept and another related one: ANGER HIDERS NORMAL FUNCTION in more detail.

### 3.4.3.2 ANGER HINDERS NORMAL FUNCTIONS

Since anger can drive one insane, one is no longer one's own master to control one's action, so some subjects described their state of anger as:

1. *Shi qu kong zhi* (Lost control)
2. *Bu ke shou shi* (Lost control to the point that the anger could not be tidied up again)
3. *Bu zhi cuo* (not knowing what to do)
4. *Qi huai le* (so angry as to cause damage)

Namely, *shou shi* as in 4 means 'to tidy things up'. For example, '*shou shi fang jian* is 'tidy up the room' or *ba tong xi shou shi yi xia* is 'put things together in



an orderly fashion' or *shou shi xin li* is 'pack up the luggage'. Apparently, when applied to anger as in 4, it refers to whatever damages caused by losing control cannot be put together easily. Under normal circumstances, people tend to think of the consequences of their action; however, anger hinders this particular rationale. Due to this danger, anger is therefore considered harmful by the responding subjects, thus has to be suppressed. This concept gives rise to ANGER IS AN OPPONENT metaphor that we shall turn to next.

### 3.4.3.3 ANGER IS AN OPPONENT

In Chinese an 'urge' or an 'impulse' is glossed as *chong dong*, which literally means 'a movement (*dong*) springs up with a force (*chong*) in the body. When anger hinders one's reason and replaced by impulse which is *chong dong* in this case, it has to be suppressed. Let us look at those expressions used by the subjects to state their experiencing anger as an opponent and the process of wrestling with it:

1. *Shi shi yu wo zuo dui* (Everything was against me)
2. *Yi qu chong dong* (an urge/impulse)
3. *Qiang ya chong dong*. (Tried hard to suppress the urge/impulse)
4. *Ya yi* (Suppress it [the impulse])
5. *Ren zhe le* (Held [the impulse] back)
6. *Bu rang zi ji* (Not letting oneself to be subjected to the impulse)
7. Of course, sometimes the effort is not successful:
8. *An na bu zhu* (Could not press [the impulse] down anymore)
9. *Ren bu zhu* (Could not hold [the impulse] back anymore)

The metaphors presented so far deal with, on one hand, the physiological aspect of anger, and the evaluative aspect, on the other hand. The physiological aspect involves mainly HEAT, whereas the evaluative aspect addresses mainly

INSANITY and OPPONENT. Next, we will look at some other metaphors or concepts, which impinge on a mixture of both aspects.

### 3.5 Other Metaphors

In this section, concepts such as BURDEN and causes of anger will be discussed. Furthermore, there are two concepts DOWN and FLUID, which have not been addressed before, but are made explicit by the subjects through some interesting expressions used in association with their angry state. The findings are presented in the following sections.

#### 3.5.1. ANGER IS A BURDEN

Since anger is regarded as possessing adversarial effect on one's health and irreversible damages (to other's feelings, or property, for example) in Chinese folk theory, it is, hence, considered positive to 'get rid of it', 'let it all out' or find some ways to work it out of the system. The expressions used by subjects first show that there is a pressure inside (more likely the chest area) which restricted a sense of freedom and relief:

1. *Yu men* (felt smothered by a sense of unhappiness)
2. *Bu neng shi huai* (could not let [anger or annoyance] out of the chest)
3. *Bu shuang* (not feeling free)

Due to this discomfort, it is advisable to let it out:

4. *Fa xie diao* (let it out [like water])
5. *Xuan xie* (let it out [like water])
6. *Tu ku shui* (spit out the bitter water)
7. *Qing su* (to bend or tilt toward someone to tell him/her everything)

Oddly enough, when anger has to be let out, the image of FLUID is utilised. For instance, both *xuan xie* or *xie* in 4 and 5 refer to the volume and speed of water let out of a dam, while *ku shuei* in 6 makes it even more overt that the pressure is conceptualised as some sort of bitter water and can be spit out. Even in 7, *qing* which is glossed as 'to tilt or to bend' where one can postulate that what is being transfer from one person to the other could well be FLUID. A case in point is this idiom: *qing pen da yu* 'pouring rain'. It illustrates that the rain *yu*, which resemble the water, being poured out by tilting (*qing*) a bucket (*pen*). Further evidence that anger is also conceptualised as FLUID in Chinese will be provided in a later section. Now we shall concentrate on another related concept to ANGER IS A BURDEN, which is ANGER IS DOWN.

### 3.5.2 ANGER IS DOWN

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), there are those basic metaphors in terms of conceptualising emotions such as UP IS GOOD and DOWN IS BAD. We are aware that UP often stands for HAPPINESS or sense of WELL-BEING, and DOWN is tied up with SADNESS or DISAPPOINTMENT; but the association with anger appears to be, superficially at least, in conflict with the concepts of anger we have discussed so far.

Furthermore, it should not be such an odd choice since both American and Chinese culture conceptualise ANGER IS A BURDEN. It is only logical to feel the weight of the burden as heavy and dragging one down. In this case, it is not surprising that more than a minority of subjects (see table 2) expressed their angry

experience in connection with feeling HEAVY or DOWN, either as a prelude to anger or anger itself or in the aftermath. Expressions as HEAVINESS are as follows:

1. *Chen zhong* (heavy)
2. *Tuo zhe pi bei de jiao bu* (dragging the tired footsteps)
3. *Pi lei* (tired)

Expressions directly involving DOWN:

4. *Xin qing di luo* (the mood was low/down)
5. *Hao de xin qing diao dao gu di* (good mood dropped down to the bottom of a valley)

There are two others which express sadness and lack of spirit, both implying feeling HEAVY and DOWN:

6. *Mei you jing shen* (no spirit)
7. *Ai shang* (sadness)

This category shows clearly that a so-called 'angry' experience is never clear-cut and may differ from person to person. Later, we shall explore whether gender plays a role in this experience using existing data. It is believed that men express anger more aggressively while women tend to express it more passively. For the time being, let us first examine the metaphors which indicate the causes of anger.

### **3.5.3 THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE**

In the category, there are only two most common used expressions by the subjects:

1. *Bie fan wo* (don't annoy me)
2. *Bu shu fu* (feeling uncomfortable)

The word *fan* in 1, is the same as *fan zao* in 6 of 3.4.3.2, which means to irritate. Apparently, in Chinese the feeling of irritation or annoyance is connected with overheating. A postulation already discussed which based on the etymology of both characters that have 'fire' as radical. To illustrate this point, another expression with *fan* as found in 7 of 3.4.3.2, *bu nai fan*, can be also understood as being impatient, in other words, not being calm. Being calm in both English and Chinese symbolises coolness without any trace of heat. Therefore, in *bie fan wo* as indicated here can also be interpreted as 'do not cause me any physical discomfort such as too much heat in the body'.

The second expression as in 2 is more straightforward. *Bu shu fu* is used extensively to describe physical and bodily discomfort when the causes are not clear. It could be a headache, muscle ache, toothache or even a state of a little bit under the weather. Additionally, it can describe from weather to furniture and to social situations. As in angry situation, when someone is offended by another person, *bu shu fu* is used to describe the initial reaction when the causes are not yet fully established. Now it is time to analyse those expressions which indicate that in Chinese folk theory the concept of EMOTION IS FLUID also exists however different from that of EMOTION IS FLUID IN A CONTAINER as in English.

#### **3. 5. 4 ANGER IS FLUID**

In earlier sections, it was demonstrated that in American English ANGER IS FLUID IN A CONTAINER. is one of the major metaphors people conceptualise anger with while in Chinese this version is replaced by the concept of ANGER IS *QI*

IN A CONTAINER. Moreover, it was illustrated that *QI* behaves differently from FLUID so they are not exactly the same substance with merely some cultural variation. However, there is evidence to show that one of the basic metaphors for describing emotions, EMOTION IS FLUID IN A CONTAINER, as suggested by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) also exists in Chinese.

As discussed in 3.5.1 that anger is conceived as a burden; therefore, there is a sense of relief when the burden, which at times is conceptualised as the water held by the dam's floodgate, is let out. Although the word *xie* as the phrase 4 in 3.5.1, which means 'let out', also applies to *qi*, such as in *xie qi le* (feeling discouraged, an image derived from the air being let out from a balloon), it is arguably an extended usage from the concept of water being let out since this word is categorised under the 'water' radical in the dictionary entry. Nonetheless, there are other expressions to support this conceptualisation. Now let us have a closer look at them:

1. *Xin chong ji qi yi gu nu qi* (anger splashes up in the heart)
2. *Nei xin ji dang bu yi* ([the anger] inside the heart was splashing from side to side)
3. *Ji dong* ([the anger/emotion] moved forcefully as rapid current)

The word *ji* in above three phrases is used to describe mainly the rapid movement of water such as river and sea. Apparently, when one feels emotional, it is expressed with the image of waves of a rough sea splashing or rapids of a river rushing. Consequently, when the anger is too disturbing one needs to ensure that these waves or rapids of emotion are calmed or even diluted. Hence, there are expressions as follows:

4. *Fu ping qin xu* (smoothed out the uneven emotion)
5. *Dan wang* (diluted by water, to forget)

First expression utilises the wavy image of disturbed emotion, namely, anger, while the second one highlights a more obvious liquid nature of emotion.

Additionally, the concept of anger resembling boiling liquid as in English also exists:

#### 6. *Fei teng* (boiling)

However, there is no such a consistency in Chinese as in English where a system of ANGER IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER can be mapped out. As illustrated in unit 3.2, the concept of FLUID in English behaves similarly to *QI* in Chinese, the FLUID in Chinese derives more from natural phenomenon such as raging ocean or rushing water. Even in 7, it is not exactly water this expression is referring to since this expression is often collocated with 'hot blood' (*re xue*). In this case, though 'blood' is considered a fluid-like substance, it does not behave the same as the FLUID in the American model of anger. For example, blood is warm to begin with, so this hydraulic model illustrated earlier does not exactly apply to blood. Nonetheless, there is evidence that emotion in general is conceptualised as FLUID in Chinese as it is indicated here.

### 3.5.5 Others

As in English, there is cold anger experienced by some subjects. Examples are as follows:

1. *Leng zhan* (cold war)
2. *Xin zai xia xue* (It was snowing inside the heart)

There are other two emotions which are considerably connected with anger as expressed by the subjects: Surprise *jing er* and disgust *yan er*. One may argue that very likely there is a continuum of angry experience which for some people (as described by the subjects) begins with being unpleasantly surprised then it turns into disgust and finally anger (or, as in some cases, the other way round—anger proceeds disgust). The verification of such a continuum (i.e. surprise disgust, anger) unfortunately is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, this result is useful when we determine the cognitive model(s) of anger in Chinese at a later stage. As it was discussed earlier that socially not every culture interprets anger similarly, that means, some cultures may not associate anger with disgust, or, in other words, disgust may not always be the predecessor of anger. The study conducted on Ifaluk's *song* (anger) is a case in point. It was found that *song* was more related to fear of the elderly or of more established members of the community, and hence is taken positively by the Ifaluk to regulate social rules. English and Chinese data we have examined so far, on the other hand, all indicate the emotion of 'anger' is taken negatively as an aggression. Arguably, this explains the reason why both the English and Chinese conceptualisation of anger includes 'disgust'. We will compare further details of these two conceptualisations in the form of cognitive models; yet, before that, we need to first finalise the distinction between *sheng qi* and *fen nu*, so that we will gain some insight into the role Chinese medicine used to and still plays in the conceptualisation of emotion in the folk model.



### 3. 6 *Sheng Qi* vs. *Fen Nu*

Yu (1995,1998) concludes in his research on the concept of anger in Chinese by stating that both English and Chinese models of anger hinge upon ANGER IS HEAT as the central metaphor. However, at a more specific level, the English model is constituted by FIRE and FLUID metaphors, whereas it is FIRE and GAS (HOT *Qi*) that underlie the Chinese model (1998:59). So far, his claim is supported by the present data. In the findings presented above in this chapter, it is clear that HOT GAS (*Qi*) IN THE CONTAINER, and FIRE/EXPLOSIONS are the top two most used metaphors by the subjects participated in this research. Yu suggests that a plausible interpretation for this phenomenon is due to the more physical, experiential basis of these metaphors.

This experiential basis has made them very accessible to speakers and the evidence of that is through the lexicalisation of these words (氣 *qi* for GAS and 火 *huo* for FIRE). These words are highly derivational so that they form numerous compound words to express anger and the majority of them are considered conventional. A case in point is 生氣 *shen qi* ‘emitting anger’, which in fact has become a generic expression of anger in daily communication by native speakers of Mandarin Chinese. On the other hand, there is another generic expression of anger in Chinese, which is 憤怒 *fen nu*. The metaphorical derivation of this compound lexicon is more obscure than that of *sheng qi*, which could be one of the reasons which led Yu to conclude that *fen* and *nu* are literal, thus, are less common lexical words in comparison with *qi* and ‘fire’. (1998:60). Unfortunately, when he proposed such a postulation, there was no exact statistical information to sustain his view, other than his native speaker’s ‘hunch’. In light of this fact, this present data offer an

appropriate opportunity to re-examine his claims. First, we will see what the statistics say about the frequency of those words, which may not entirely support Yu's claim. Based on that finding, we shall propose an alternative interpretation to his observation.

### 3.6.1 Is *sheng qi* More Than *fen nu*?

Firstly, the use of the two generic terms *sheng qi* and *fen nu* were compared. In the overall data (pilot, overseas and main corpus combined), we found that there is a significant greater use ( $p < 0.001$ ) of *sheng qi* (51%) than *fen nu* (23.6%) as the generic term of anger. Secondly, all the expressions that involve *qi* (including *sheng qi*), 'fire' *fen* or *nu* were categorised and compared, it is found that the use of *qi* (67.0 %) is also significant higher ( $p < 0.001$ ) than any other categories (fire is 8.5, while *fen* or *nu* makes up 40.6%). However, at a closer look, if we compare *sheng qi* with expressions that contain either *fen* or *nu*, the difference is not significant ( $p = 0.13$ ). It is only when we combined all expressions with *qi* including the *qi* in the generic expression, *sheng qi*, the number became higher, thus, consequently significantly more. In Table 3, the percentage use of *Fen* and *Nu*, *Qi* and Fire in metonymy and metaphors for all 105 subjects is summarised below:

Table 3: Percentage Use of *Fen* and *Nu*, *Qi* and Fire in Metonymy and Metaphors

Lexical Items	Percentage
<i>Sheng Qi</i>	51.9
<i>Qi</i>	67.0
<i>Fen or Nu</i>	40.6
<i>Fen Nu</i>	23.6
<i>Fire</i>	8.5

It is important to note here that *sheng qi* is in fact extremely conventional to the point of appearing as a 'dead' metaphor. In other words, when a Chinese speaker says *Wo zai sheng qi*, there is no difference to an English Speaker uttering 'I am angry'. Since the word 'angry' is no longer considered metaphorical in English, the metaphorical status of *sheng qi* in Chinese is in fact very questionable. Therefore, if we do not count the *qi* in *sheng qi* in the data, the number will be different. Furthermore, even though the use of *qi* outnumbers the use of *fen* or *nu*, the figure (see Table 3) for the latter does not imply that the use of them is not common in the daily language. Finally, the expressions that contain the lexical word *huo* 'fire' only account for 8.5%, which is significantly lower than all other categories.

In conclusion, our data lend only a partial support to Yu's claim that the lexical word *qi* is more common than *fen* or *nu*, and there is no support at all for *huo* to be more prevalent than *fen* and *nu*. There are several possibilities which can explain such a discrepancy in observation. One can be the different use of language existing between People's Republic of China and Taiwan, the second being the source of data, and the third being a misunderstanding of the nature of *fen* and *nu*. We shall discuss these possibilities in turn.

### **3.6.2. The Nature of *qi* and Chinese Medicine**

Although some of the writing of Chinese characters is different between China and Taiwan, the official spoken language on both sides is the same. The expressions Yu quotes are also used by Taiwanese people, therefore, it is difficult to make any quality comparison without a bigger scale investigation. An in-depth and large scale investigation is only possible by establishing a computerised data bank.

With this kind data bank for Chinese used on both sides of the Taiwan Strait, it would be easier to learn, for example, any shift of preferences in usage as well as meanings after more than 50 years of separation. Nonetheless, the anger metonymies and metaphors Yu presents are all in line with those identified in this present work, it is fair to assume that the difference in terms of expressing anger should not diverge greatly.

The next question can be concerning the source of data collection. Yu mainly relies on expressions found in dictionaries while this present data derive from questionnaires in which 105 subjects talked about their experiences not for publication. If there were any difference in use, it could be due to the difference in the size and type of the readership. Since dictionaries are for a wider readership, the writers may tend to choose more 'common' words whereas the respondents for this research wrote with the present author in mind, thus may have chosen less common words. Yet again, this is merely a circumstantial postulation and we need to bear in mind that how 'common' a linguistic expression is can not be purely defined by percentage of appearance (Wierzbicka, 1989), in particular, when the data source is different.

The third possibility to explain the discrepancy may lie in the definition of Yu's claim that *fen* or *nu* is more literal than *qi*, thus less common. The earlier analysis in which the semantic meaning of *fen* and *nu* was examined yielded the conclusion that both words are also an embodiment of a metonymical/metaphorical concept, unless Yu meant that *fen* and *nu* are literal because they have become a 'dead' metaphor, while *qi* is still used as a 'live' metaphor (or 'conventional', see Traugott, 1985a). The evidence to support his view that *qi* is a 'real' metaphor can be

found in his argument that the model of Chinese medicine, which in turn was influenced by Chinese philosophy of *yin/yang* and five elements (Yu, 1998:80) has played a central role in the way how Chinese experience and express anger in the last two thousand years. At a closer inspection, this argument is problematic. Firstly is the linkage between Chinese medicine and *qi* and secondly, Chinese medicine has never been the only folk model that affected the conceptualisation of emotion. If we return to the semantic field of *qi* and its etymology that were presented earlier, it was clear that the concept of *qi* had existed before Chinese medicine was fully developed in China. Arguably, the evidence yielded in the dictionary should support that Chinese Medicine elaborated the concept of *qi* as clouds, air, or vapour in nature, and breath in human into something rather abstract in the medical and philosophical arena. In other words, not all the linguistic expressions involving *qi* are the result of Chinese Medicine. On the contrary, one can assume that Chinese medicine has served as one of the metaphorical ways, amongst other models, of understanding anger. To support this, let us re-examine the humoral theory in Europe in the Middle Ages (Geeraerts & Grondelaers, 1995) that was discussed briefly in previous sections in more detail.

Geeraerts and Grodelaers remind us the importance of examining conceptual metaphor from a diachronic point of view. Their argument is that some of the so-called conventional linguistic expressions linguists such as Lakoff (1987), and Kövecses (1986, 1989) Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) examined expressions which contained vestiges of an ancient doctrine known as humoral theory, such as “You make my blood boil” “That kindled my fire” or “He was breathing fire”. Since humoral doctrine is about bodily fluids and anger involves the heating up of specific

fluids (either yellow bile, or blood), they argue that those expressions mentioned above are only a few that demonstrate the evidence that they are motivated by the theory. Based on this, they suggest that the central metaphors ANGER IS HEAT, and ANGER IS THE HEAT OF THE FLUID IN A CONTAINER are also a “legacy” of the humoral theory (ibid: 168). Their hypothesis in fact can find support in Chinese emotion vocabulary and its connection with traditional Chinese medicine. To illustrate this point, these two theories are summarised in the following two tables, with one representing European humoral theory (Geeraerts & Grondelaers, 1995:158), the other Chinese medical theory (Yu, 1998:74). The parallel between them will become immediately evident:

Table 4 : A system of Humoral Correspondences:

<b>Humors</b>	<b>Phlegm</b>	<b>Black bile</b>	<b>Yellow bile</b>	<b>Blood</b>
<b>Characteristic</b>	cold and moist	cold and dry	warm and dry	warm and moist
<b>Element</b>	water	earth	fire	air
<b>Temperament</b>	phlegmatic	melancholic	choleric	sanguine
<b>Organ</b>	brain/bladder	spleen	liver/stomach	heart
<b>Colour</b>	white	black	yellow	red
<b>Taste</b>	salty	sour	bitter	sweet
<b>Season</b>	winter	autumn	summer	Spring
<b>Wind</b>	North	West	South	East
<b>Planet</b>	moon	Saturn	Mars	Jupiter
<b>Animal</b>	turtle	sparrow	lion	Goat

Table 5 :Five Categories Under the Five Elements in Chinese Medicine:

Elements	Wood	Fire	Earth	Metal	Water
<b>Locations</b>	East	South	Centre	West	North
<b>Seasons</b>	Spring	summer	late summer	autumn	winter
<b>Climates</b>	Windy	Hot	wet	dry	cold
<b>Organs Zang (organ)</b>	Liver	Heart	spleen	lung	kidney
<b>Organs Fu (belly area)</b>	Gall	small intestine	stomach	large intestine	bladder
<b>Sense</b>	eyes	Tongue	lips	nose	ears
<b>Emotions</b>	anger	Happiness	anxiety	grief	fright

On closer examination of Tables 4 and 5 it is clear that there is a considerable body of emotion vocabulary found in English and Chinese which shows a close connection with our knowledge of these theories. The major difference between these two models is that the connection in Chinese is more palpable in the language than that in English in today's environment. Presumably, Chinese speakers are more aware of this model underlying their use of language and conceptualisation of emotion than their counterparts in English, because Chinese medicine is still being practiced as a complementary method to mainstream western medicine in many parts of China as well as Taiwan. In Europe the humoral doctrine was replaced by mainstream medicine in the 18<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century, rather than co-existing with it. Geeraerts and Grodelaers (*ibid*) stated that with the rising knowledge in medicine derived from empirical research in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, we can see how humoral theory lost its influence on further conceptualisation.

However, we need to bear in mind that as many social constructionists (e.g. Averill, 1992, Brunner, 1990, Gergen, 1994, Shewder and Levine, 1984, Nussbaum, 1990, Harre, 1986, etc.) in emotion research espouse repeatedly that expression of emotion is strongly embedded in social context. There should be a social reason as why this doctrine was replaced by a more scientific 'hydraulic' model that underlies daily English today, which is the advance of medical knowledge in the West coincided with other movements in sciences and humanities in the same period of time. This kind of environment presumably allowed more degrees of "individualism" (Solomon, 1980, 1981) to develop, which encouraged emotions to be experienced and expressed as a neutral physical phenomenon without any particularly elaborate association with social and cultural artefacts. Nonetheless, this current model of anger in English which is closer to human biology is not new either. Kövecses (1996) contends that this model has always been there, in fact, he argues that it is more likely to be the basis of other more elaborate theories such as the humoral doctrine. This view appears to have a sound basis when we look at the Chinese data that have been presented here. We see that the conceptualisation of *QI* in anger does not always rely on a knowledge of Chinese medicine or philosophy of *yin* and *yang* to substantiate its role in human physiology. Similarly, the same argument applies to other conceptualisations and entailments which underlie numerous linguistic expressions, as discussed above. They in turn are conceptualised more directly from a model that is also found underlying other languages, which is based on universal human biological traits structured in terms of image schemata (Johnson, 1987). The reason that Chinese medicine model has not been replaced completely as it was in the case of English, as it is postulated here, is its social history.



In China, its social history does not progress in the same pace as that in the West. The modernisation of science and industries arrived later in China, so the society remained relatively close-knit until recent time. In this environment, to express emotion in a medical way not only reflects its scientific development but also as a social necessity. When this environment begins to change so are certain conceptualisations (Györi, 1996, 1998b), therefore there are indications that the conceptualisation of anger in Chinese is also experiencing a shift similar to the one in Europe with humoral theory some hundred years ago. In this study's data, it should be noted that subjects mentioned 'spleen' only twice, is a case in point. The following table is a summary how often inner organs are used by the subject amongst the metonymic and metaphorical expressions: (The total of metonymies and metaphors are 205 and 149 respectively)

Table 6: Percentage Use of Inner Organs in Metonymic and Metaphorical

Expressions	
Inner Organs	Frequency
Heart 心	24
Chest area (胸腔)	8
Spleen 膽	2
Belly (腹)	2

The numbers in Table 6 apparently are very small in comparison with the total counts of metonymies and metaphors that were identified in the data. Even the most frequent usage of heart, *xin*, does not necessarily correspond with the Chinese medicine doctrine as shown in Table 5. In fact, there is only one expression which was linked with fire:

1. *Xin zhong wu ming huo*  
( There was this unnameable fire in my heart)

Arguably, if we look at this expression in the context of other expressions involving heart, where heart is used more as the metonymic concept of a person (Shyu, 1989, King, 1989) we don't necessary require Chinese medicine to arrive at an image of anger. Furthermore, the concept of heart, *xin*, is understood more as a seat of emotion shared by other languages (e.g. Dirven, 1985, Nørager, 1996, Occhi, 1999) exists outside the theory of Chinese medicine. The followings are some more expressions that indicate *xin* is used metonymically as the person, whereas *qi* stands for anger:

2. *(Wo) Xin li you qi*  
(I, in the heart there is *qi* [anger])
3. *(Wo) Xin zhong you fen nu*  
( I, in the heart there is anger)
4. *(Wo) Xin li men qi*  
( I,in the heart there is smouldering *qi* [anger])

The prepositions *li*, and *zong* in 2 to 4 mean 'in', or 'inside' to illustrate that *xin* in this case is also conceptualised as a container. In other words, the relationship between *xin* and person is that of a metonymy, which in turn is metaphorically mapped onto a domain of container. Such a process can arrive at the following, which is a suggested simplified mapping of metonymy in metaphor model first proposed by Goossens (1985, 1990) and revised by de Mendoza Ibáñez's (1999, 2000):

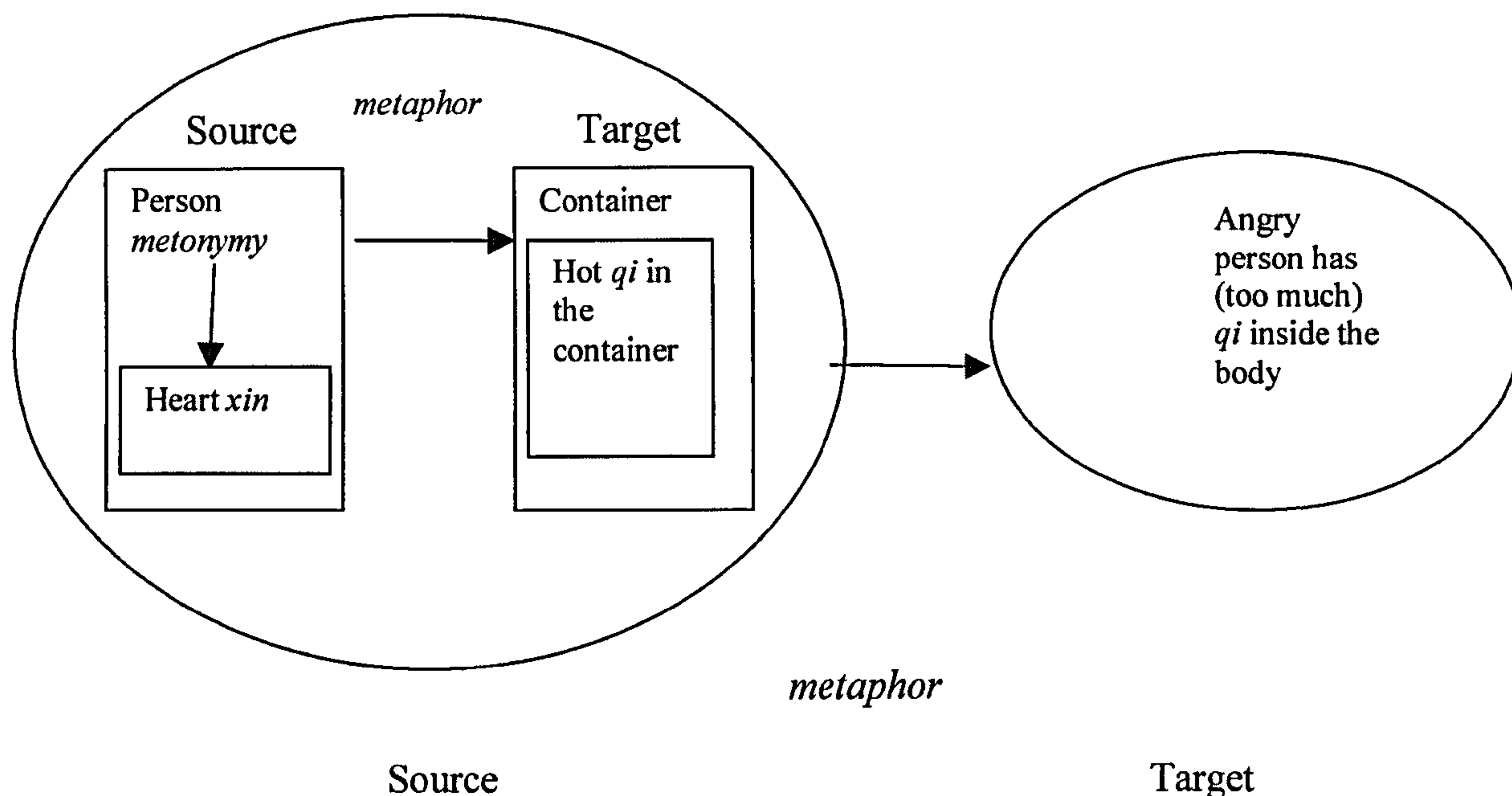


Figure 6: Mapping of *Qi* in the Heart: a Revised Case of Source-in-the-target Metonymy with the Metaphoric Source.

Figure 6 focuses on the fact that *xin* symbolises the whole person, so when the heart is angry, the person is angry. This tendency of conceptualising *xin* as the person in an emotional context is consistent in other emotions, in particular, that of romantic love. Historically, this is not a unique concept for Chinese either, though the strong emphasis it still has in modern conceptualisation of emotion may be special. The details of this development will be discussed in the ensuing section. For the moment, we can now return to conclude from the evidence just presented that modern Taiwanese do not really rely on the theory of Chinese medicine to think of anger. The use of physical symptoms to stand for anger is still in line with other linguistic and anthropological data (e.g. Matsuki, 1995, Mikołajczuk, 1998, Taylor & Mbense, 1998, Csordas, 1994), although the higher rate of metonymy than metaphor

in our data may suggest that Chinese tend to somatise anger than their English counterpart, as Yu (1998) and King (1989) also observe in their studies. However, this relatively higher use of metonymy should not suggest that it is solely due to the influence of Chinese medicine. It is fairer to postulate instead that, similar to English, there has always been another more basic and neutral model corresponding with human physiology underlying Chinese. When historical and social circumstances change, as it happened in Europe, and is happening now in Taiwan, this basic model emerges until presumably another more elaborate model to dominate it. In this light, the concept encoded by the lexical items of *fen* and *nu* is no more literal than that of *qi*—they are probably motivated by different cognitive models which exist in parallel and often overlap.

### **3.6.3 Alternative Motivation for Chinese Medicine and Anger**

Yu's (*ibid*) observation that the prevalent use of *qi* and inner organs as well as body parts are motivated by theories of Chinese medicine and philosophy of *yin* and *yang* only make sense within that model, yet that only explains half of linguistic data available in Chinese. His data led him to propose the following figures to illustrate the mechanism of language and cognitive models (Yu, 1998:80):

Figure 7: One-Directional Relationship

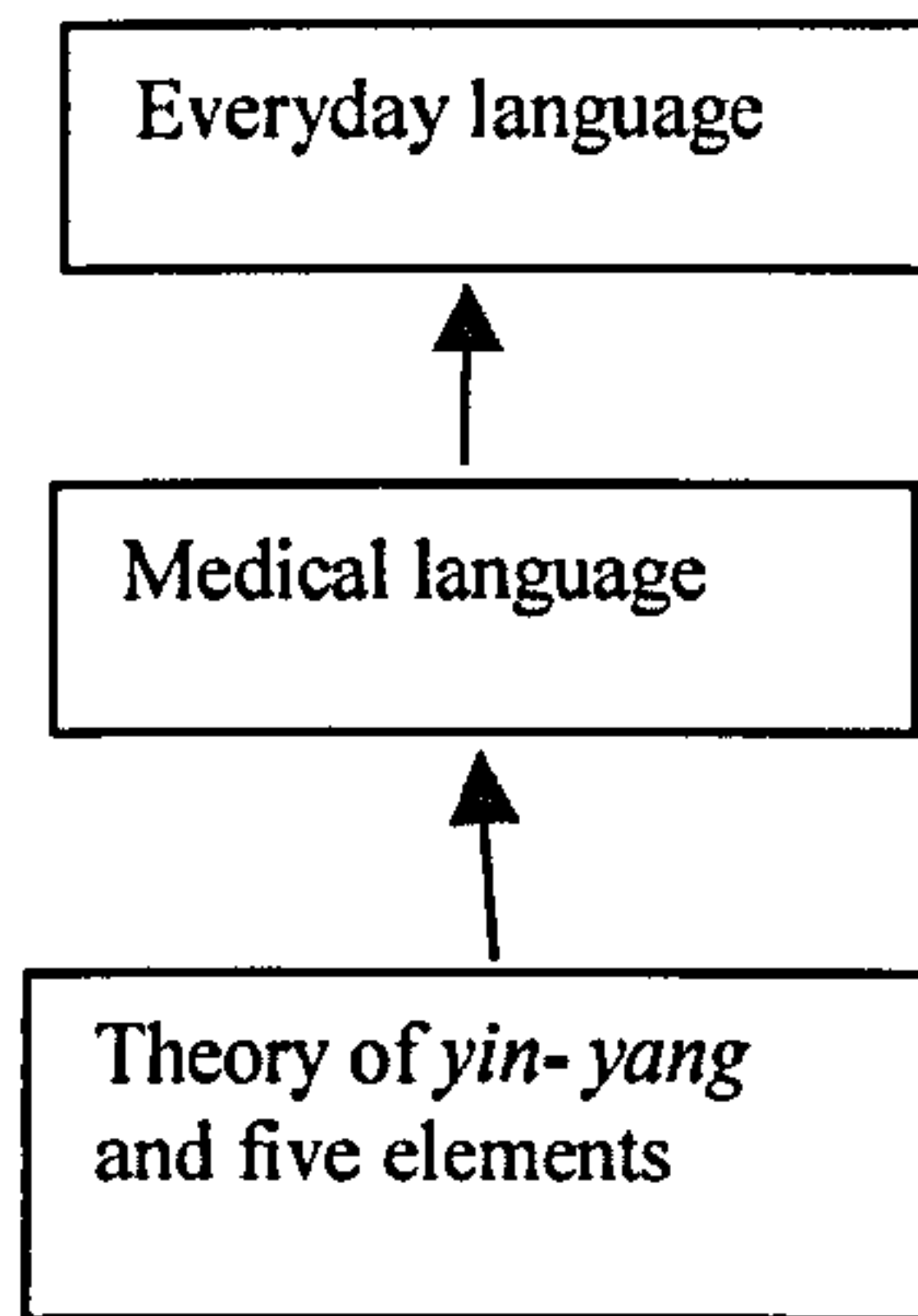
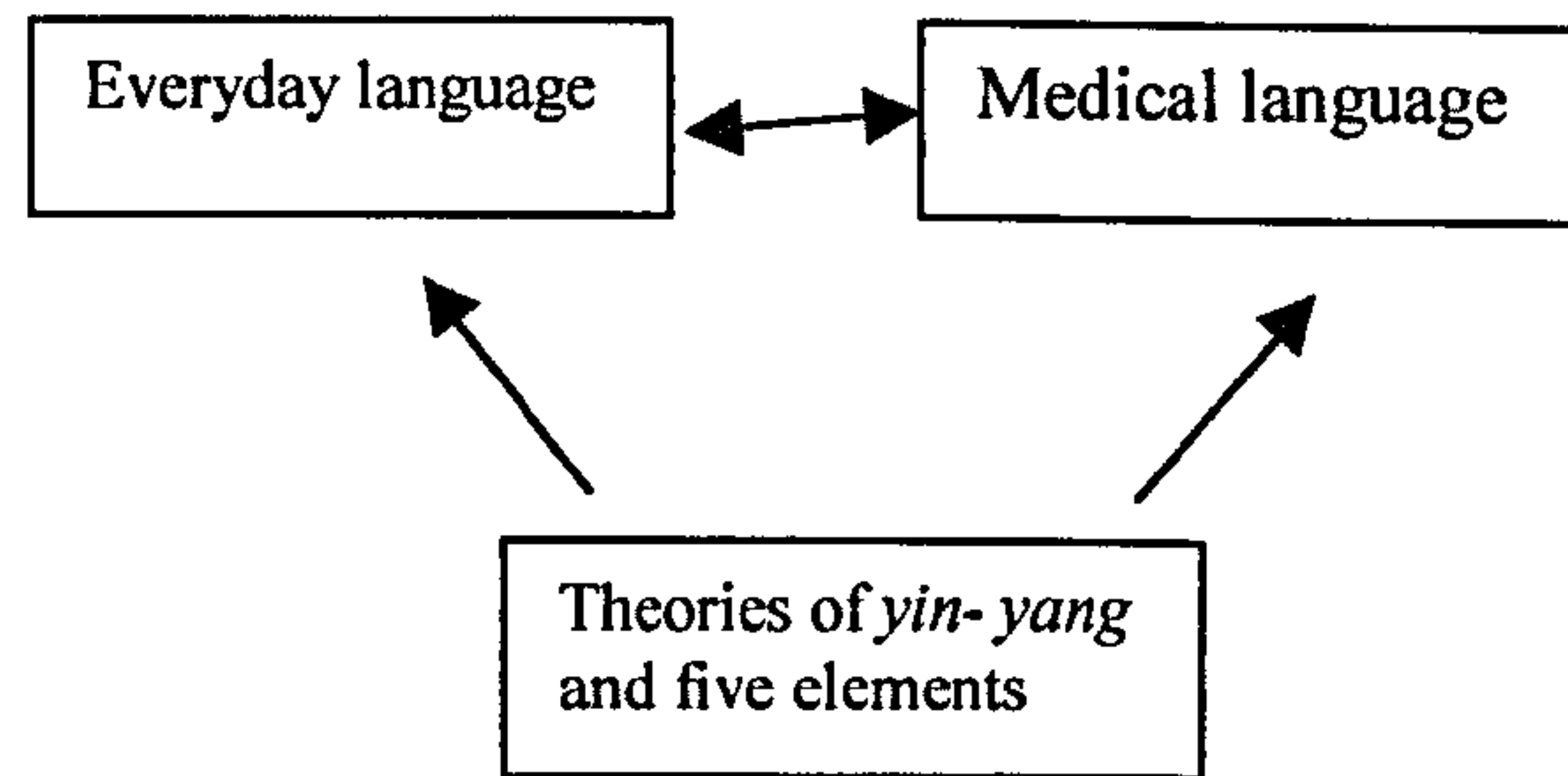
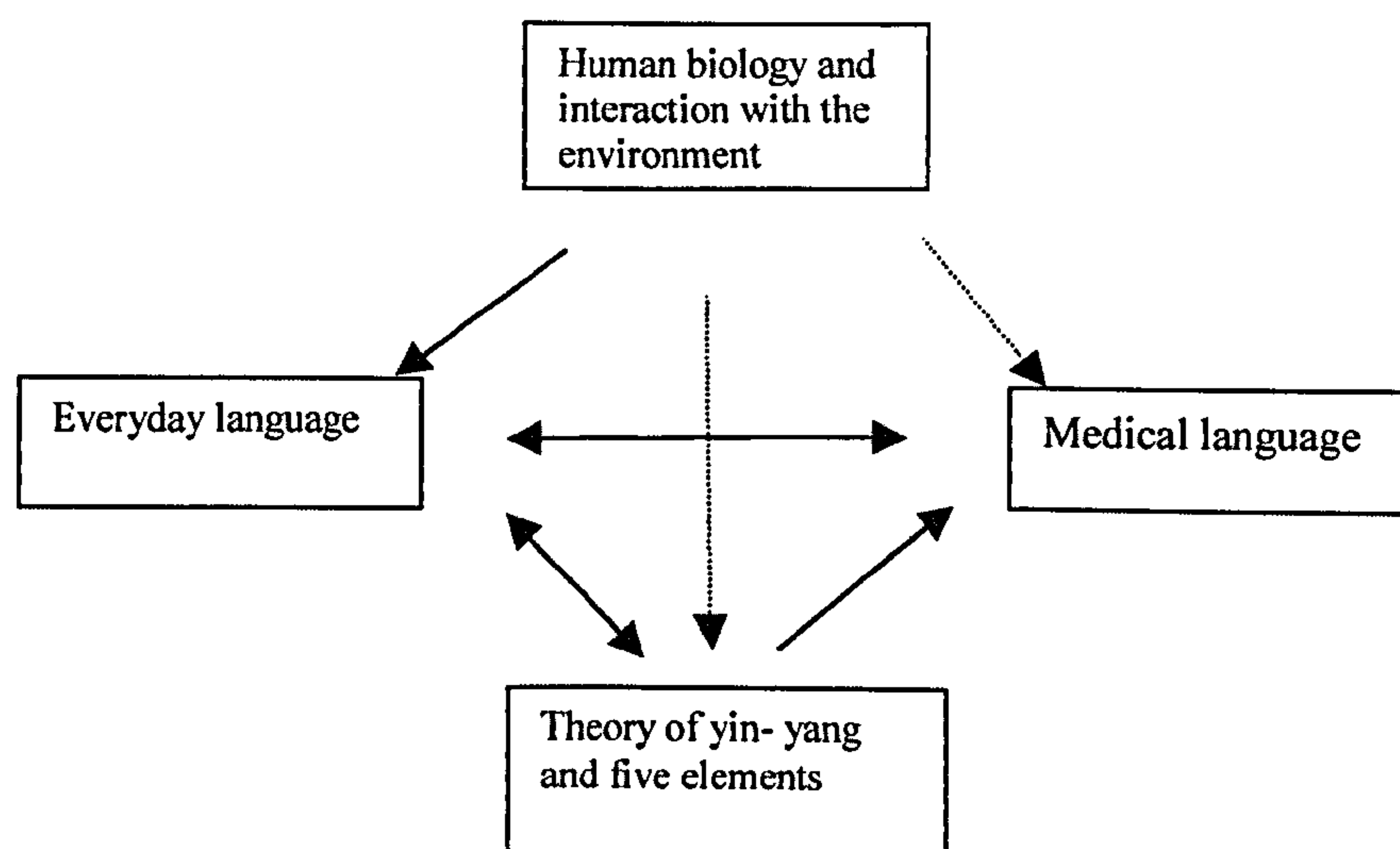


Figure 8: Two-directional Relationship



Yu states that he is not certain which figure is more representative; however, our data both from a diachronic and synchronic point of view suggest that neither of them is completely accurate. Alternatively, a revised figure presented below may reflect a more realistic picture:

Figure 9: The Revised Version of a Dynamic Relationship Between *Yin* and *Yang*



This revised Figure 9 demonstrates a more plausible, dynamic relationships amongst human biology, conceptualisation, cognitive models and language. The dotted arrows indicate that both theories are already metaphorical in nature, which may also be motivated by human physiology, subjected to biological constraints. These models in turn all have impact on our language. As for which model dominates the others should be regulated by social dynamics and historical factors, and some of this evidence is supported by the parallel development of humoral doctrine and Chinese medicine.

Unfortunately, the details of these dynamics and factors are beyond the scope of this thesis; nonetheless, we can draw upon other data elicited in anthropology and social theories (Rosaldo, 1980, Lutz, 1987, and Levy, 1984) that emotion is not merely about physical experience but also expression and management of it. In the case of the latter two elements, as some gender research (Fisher, 2000) maintains, they are in a bigger system of power and status. Therefore, emphasising Chinese medicine over other folk theories in the conceptualisation of anger is a part of a bigger mechanism. Lindholm's (1988) anthropological research on a remote Pakistan community and aristocratic France in the 17<sup>th</sup> century suggests a very vital clue which has often been overlooked in emotion studies, which is how the 'risk factors' in showing emotion openly in a society affect the verbal and non-verbal expression of emotion. Similarly, Wikan's (1987, 1989) studies on Balinese "personhood" confirm that Balinese have a very vivid personal sense of themselves and her findings were to challenge an early observation made by Geertz (1973) who concludes that Balinese 'depersonalise conception of personhood' (*ibid*: 391). This discrepancy in results reflects what Lindholm (*ibid*) also observes in his data that,

according to Wikan, Balinese mask their personal feelings behind a surface of aestheticism, grace, and gaiety in order not to offend and not to display vulnerability. Hence, this kind of observation raises the possibility that a highly medicalised theory can presumably neutralise the risks involved in showing anger in family as well as in public in a close-knitted society as it has been in China.

In summary, linking all the available linguistic data with one single highly well-structured cognitive model such as Chinese medicine in explaining concepts encoded in some key lexical items for anger is inadequate and counterproductive. To avoid this self-fulfilling hypothesis, as our discussion in this section demonstrates, both diachronic and synchronic data are necessary in arriving at a realistic understanding of concept formation. With this view in mind, we now turn to the other key concept in understanding emotion in Chinese, *xin*, the heart.

### **3.7 *Xin* vs. Body as A CONTAINER**

As the previous section indicated, *xin*, the heart, emerges as the most used body organ in expressing anger (see Table 6). Furthermore, it is a prevalent metonymic device in Chinese in expressing the person, emotion and other areas of mental and spiritual activities. Its semantic field is broader than that of 'heart' in English, therefore it is important not to confuse these two. This clarification is important if we need to understand whether *XIN IS THE CONTAINER* in Chinese is the exact equivalent of *BODY IS A CONTAINER* in English. As we learned earlier from the hydraulic model (see Figures 4, and 5 ) proposed by Kövecses that in English the *BODY* is divided into two parts: the body and the mind, whereas this kind of division may not be possible in Chinese since *xin* includes the mind, while

mind may not include all the aspects of *xin*. The following analysis is to resolve this confusion and lends support to the fact that *XIN* may not have the same build nor the shape of *BODY* in English. To achieve this, we will not only re-examine relevant data that have been presented above and complementary data from dictionaries.

### **3.7.1 *Xin*, Heart, and Mind**

At first, let us compare the ‘heart’ in English and the ‘heart’, *xin*, in Chinese. Dirven (1985: 108) presents this following semantic field of ‘heart’ in his study of polysemy:



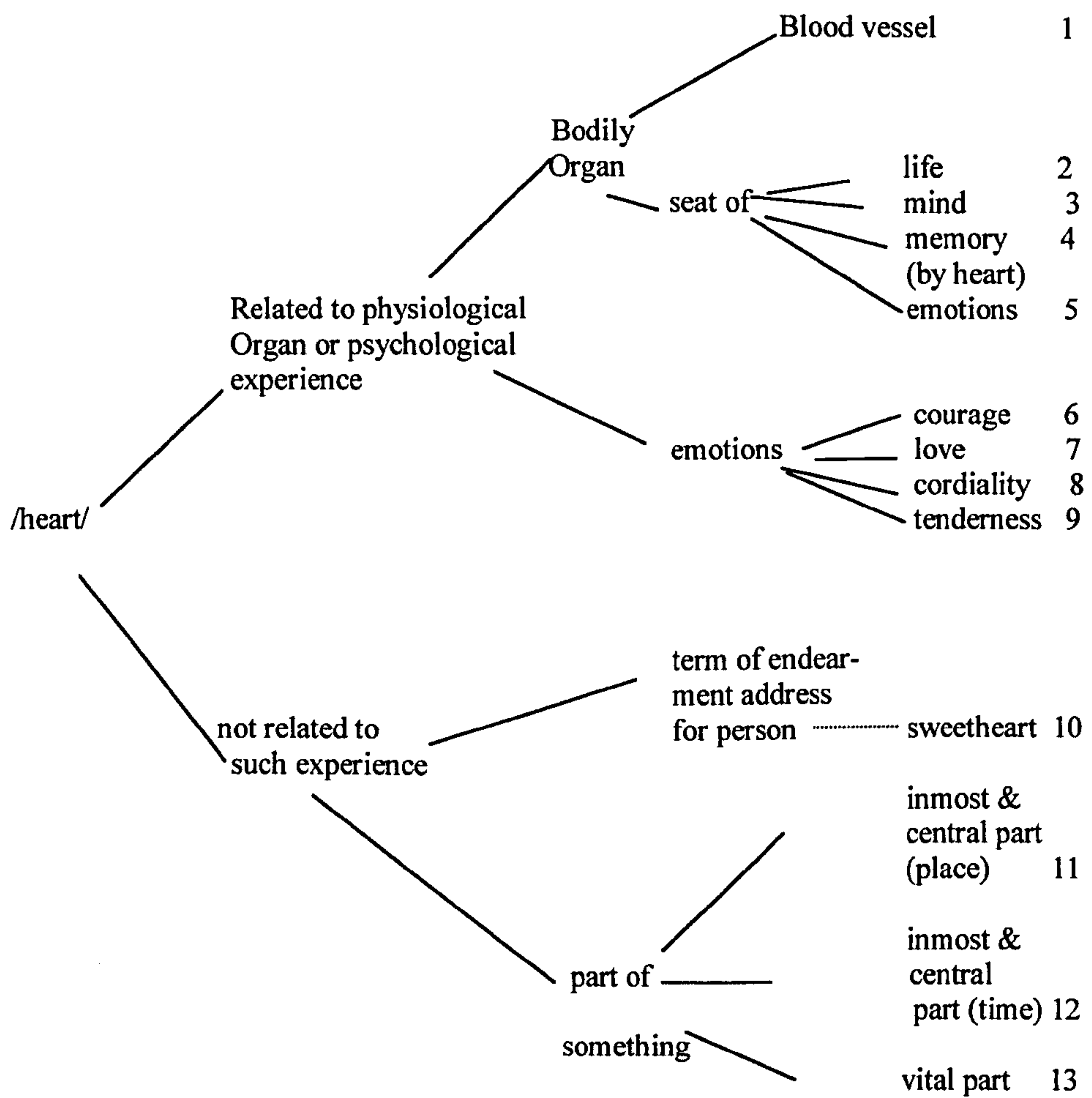


Figure 10: The Polysemy of Heart in English

In Figure 10 it transpires the semantic scope of ‘heart’ in English, in which we learn that to some degree, mind is also seated in the ‘heart’. Superficially, it appears to contradict some of the definitions found in dictionaries which state that mind controls emotions. Arguably, ‘heart’ and ‘mind’ in English were very similar until the Cartesian view became popular; further, Wierzbicka (1989, 1992a) points out that the modern understanding of mind has a new dimension. A closer examination of these points will be elaborated later, so, for the moment it is sufficient to state that ‘mind’ overlaps with ‘heart’ in English in some cases. With this schema in mind, we will turn to *xin* in Chinese.

Firstly, the following are some of the English translations found in the dictionary (Far East Chinese-English Dictionary). It is necessary to understand that the ‘mind’ stated below is not identical to that used in English. In Chinese-Chinese dictionaries (for example, *San Ming Da Ci Dian* and *Han Yu Da Ji Dian*), it is stated that in old China *xin* was referred to as the organ to think, which is similar to the current translation of brain 腦, so it is a very clear in Chinese that mental and cognitive activities are part of the *xin*’s repertoire. We will concentrate on this issue later, as for now it will be included in the schema for comparison:

/Xin/:

- the heart
- the mind
- conscience; moral nature
- intention; idea; ambition
- The core; the middle, centre or inside

From the above we can construct something similar to what Dirven (ibid) outlines of *xin* in Figure. The semantic field of ‘heart’ and *xin* in this schema appear to be very similar. Yet, there are some key differences.

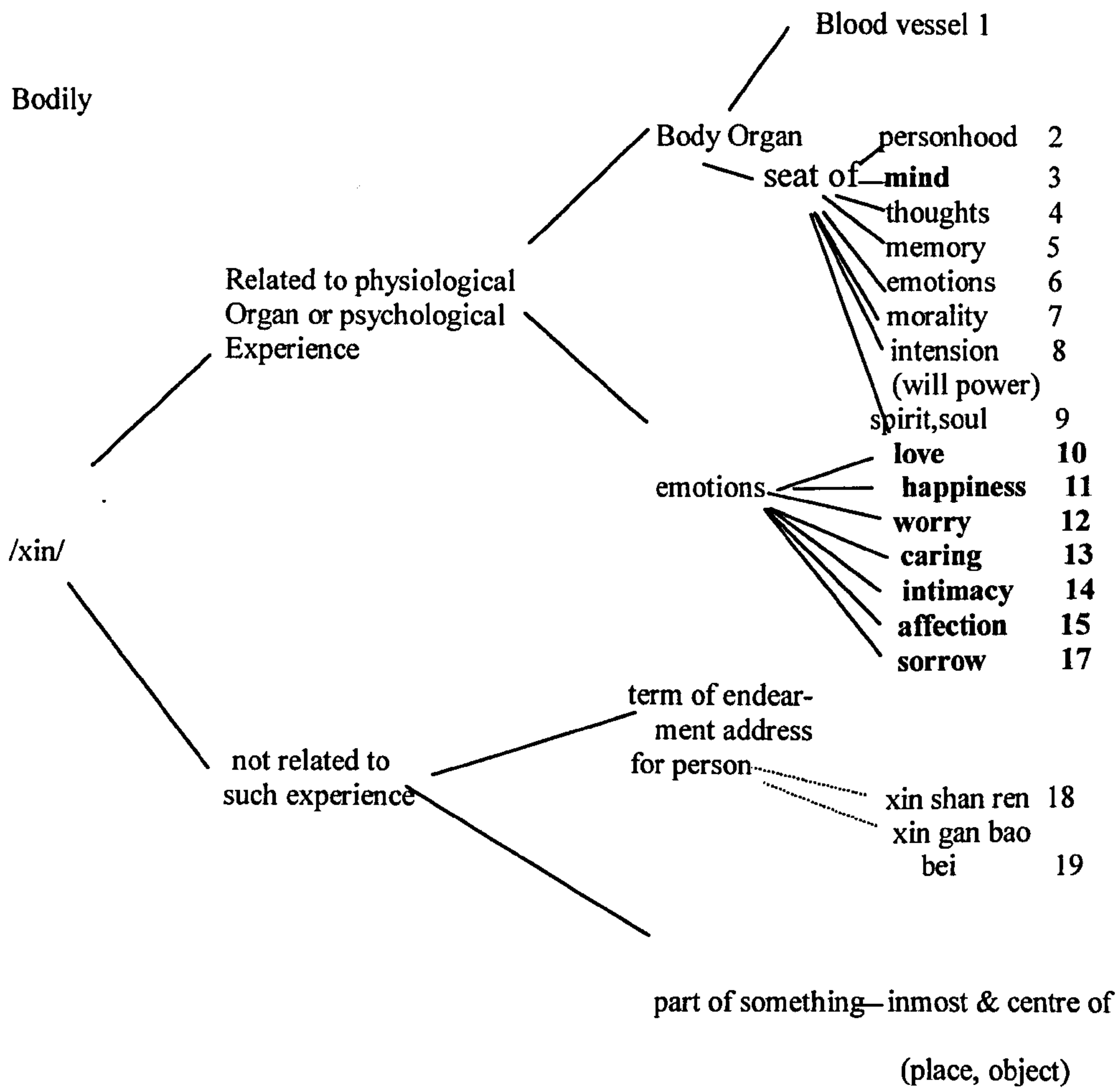


Figure 11: The Polysemy of the *Xin* Element in Chinese.

These differences are mainly in the seat of heart. They in turn affect the way emotions of heart and *xin* are structured respectively. In English, 'heart' can be used alone as a metonymy to stand for 'courage', 'love', 'cordiality' and 'tenderness' directly, where as in Chinese, compound words are preferred and in some cases necessary to stand for each of the emotions from 10-19. First, let us examine these compound words, which require the background knowledge presented from 2-9 in order to arrive at logical interpretation. For example:

- a. *shan xin*  
(the heart is hurt)  
sad
- b. *tie xin*  
(the heart is close)  
intimate
- c. *kuan xi*  
(the heart is connected, involved)  
caring
- d. *hui xi*  
(the heart knows)  
understanding
- e. *hui xi*  
(the heart is grey)  
discouraged
- f. *xin ji*  
(the heart is hurry)  
worried, anxious
- g. *An xin*  
(the heart is safe)  
feeling relaxed
- h. *ren xin*  
(the heart can bear)  
have the courage
- i. *lian xi*  
(the heart is good)  
conscience
- j. *jen xi*  
(the heart is real/true)  
honest
- k. *xin xin*  
(the heart has belief)  
confident

The above examples from a-g indicate that the basis of these various meanings have to do with *xin* being the seat of emotion. I and j are based on the seat of morality, whereas k on the seat of thought. In this case, these expressions do not really behave differently from those meanings from 6-9 listed in the English schema as they also require a background knowledge to interpret expressions such as ‘to take heart’ or ‘to have the heart to do something’ for ‘courage’; ‘to break someone’s heart’ or ‘to lose one’s heart to somebody’ for ‘love’; ‘a hearty welcome’ ‘with all one’s heart’ for ‘cordiality; and ‘have a heart’ for ‘tenderness’. Therefore, what we can conclude so far is that when ‘heart’ stands for emotion, it is very similar to *xin* in Chinese. Now let us concentrate on the seat of heart. The major differences should be in intention, and thought, whereas some similarities are embedded in personhood, morality and spirit/soul. Firstly, we shall examine the similarities, then the go on to differences.

Both languages treat *xin*/heart as the metonymy for the person. Some examples in Chinese were discussed in the previous section where the Figure 6 illustrated the mapping of person and container. In English, the linguistic examples of heart as the metonymy for person and metaphor for containers are equally rich. For example, in Niemeier (2000) studies on linguistic examples taken from Roget’s Thesaurus to demonstrate how the concepts of ‘heart’ is constructed with English folk models, she found the following expressions as evidence of conceptualising ‘heart’ as a metonymy as a person:

- A. set one’s heart on fire one someone.
- B. heart-swelling
- C. great heart
- D. have a large heart
- E. tender heart

She also lists some expressions supporting the conceptualisation of heart as a container:

- F. to open one's heart
- G. to close one's heart
- H. this filled my heart
- I. from the bottom of my heart

However, despite these similarities, some conceptualisations of personhood are not exactly identical in these two languages. As we will see shortly is that as the mental aspect of 'heart' is less immediate in English (Wierzbicka, 1989) i.e. the personhood that is symbolised by 'heart' does not include the cognitive aspect, while *xin* in Chinese can stand for a 'thinking person'

At the outset, it is important to note that there are various levels of cognition, therefore it would be misleading to claim that 'heart' does not stand for any cognitive activities. For example, 'to learn something by heart' standing for memory is a case in point. However, it appears that in modern English usage, a majority of mental activities are considered to be part of 'mind' rather than 'heart' (D'Andrade, 1987, 1995). First, let us concentrate on what *xin* in Chinese can mean cognitively speaking, so we will begin by examining the seat of intention and thought. The following examples indicate *xin* as the seat of intention:

16. *xin yi*  
(the heart's intention)  
the intention

In this example, *yi* can mean either 'intention', 'will power' or 'thought' and the ideogram 意 is categorised under *xin* 心 radical which suggests that these types of concept are considered seated in the *xin*. The evidence for *xin* as seat of thought can

be illustrated in the compound word as *yi* combines with *nian* 念, ('to think' or 'to miss someone'), which means 'thought'. *Nian*, not surprisingly, also has *xin* as the radical.

Apart from the ideograms, evidence can be found in phrases or sentences as the one below:

m. *Ni xin li zai xiang she me?*  
(You in your heart think what)  
What are you thinking of; what is on your mind?

This example demonstrates that *xin* is both a 'feeling' and a rational thinking entity, which is attributed to 'mind' but not to 'heart' in English. For example, if *n* is translated directly in English, it would be 'what is your heart thinking about?'. This would be very unnatural to an English-speaking person. Secondly, the appropriate English translation, 'What is on your mind', highlights the fact that 'mind' and 'heart' are not the same thing in terms of mental activities in English. More evidence is illustrated below:

n. *san xin lian yi*  
(three hears and two intensions)  
Cannot decide; in two minds; can't not make up one's mind.  
o. *jue xi*  
(the heart is absolute)  
being determined, made up one's mind

Similarly, if *xin* in both expressions were replaced by 'heart', they would sound very strange in English. The next expression, *si* 思, categorised under *xin* 心 radical, also indicates that the cognitive/mental aspect of *xin* is closer to that of 'mind', than 'heart' in English. *Si* means 'to contemplate' or 'to think over', and

appears in several compound expressions such as *si kao* 思考 and *si xiang* 思想, which mean ‘think something over deeply’ and ‘school of thought’ or ‘theory’ respectively.

These examples so far seem to suggest that either the concept of ‘mind’ as it is understood in English does not exist or the concept of it needs to be interpreted with that of *xin*. What is obvious at this stage is that as we consider the evidence that there are two separate lexical items for ‘heart’ and ‘mind’, whereas there is no separate ideogram for ‘mind’ in Chinese, we can assume that these two cultures place different emphasis on the division between ‘mind’ and ‘heart’. Some more evidence can be found in the translation of ‘psychology’ and ‘mental illness.’ When the science of psychology was introduced to China in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the term *xin li xue* 心理學 was created to accommodate a foreign concept with existing concepts. *xin li* glossed as ‘the theory of the heart’ while *xue* means ‘knowledge’ or ‘theory’. As for ‘mental illness’ there is *jing sheng bin* 精神病 to stand for the newly recognised disorder. *Jing sheng* means the spirit, or essence of a person, while *bin* is a generic term of ‘illness’ and ‘disorder’. If we look at *jing sheng* individually, the most important core meaning of *jing* is ‘the best and purest rice’, which explains the fact that *jing* has ‘rice’, *mi* 米 as radical, and it is extended to mean ‘perfect’ and ‘pure’. Most importantly, it came to stand for a pure *qi* 氣 (*Han Yu Da Zi Dian*, Chinese Dictionary). Pure *qi*, *zheng qi* 真氣, or *jing qi* 精氣, according to ancient Chinese, is a spirit *qi*, or *lin qi*, 靈氣 that fills the universe. This concept, in turn, leads to the interpretation of ‘good spirit’ *sheng* 神 (gods) and ‘bad spirit’ *gui* 鬼 (ghosts), as documented by some old scriptures (e.g. *Zhen Xuan*) that good *jing qi* turns into *sheng* ‘gods’, whereas bad *jing qi* to *gui* ‘ghosts’. Such



etymological evidence suggests that ‘mental illness’ is not a disease of ‘mind’ but a disorder of spirit, which is in turn conceptualised as *qi*.

This conceptualisation has its ramification in the way mental problems have been treated in Chinese societies (Wu, 1984): An imbalance of *qi*, which can be caused by possessions of bad spirits or some sort. However, as this practice has been slowly replaced by therapy that is similar to the West, the terminology of ‘psychology’ and ‘mental illness’ in Chinese still embody an older belief. On the other hand, Wierzbicka (1989, 1992a) points out in her study of soul and mind in English and Russian that originally the mental state as Freud was referring, which was the German word *Seele* was closer to the domain of ‘soul’ than that of ‘heart’ in English. Therefore, the Chinese translation in fact correspond to the German conceptualisation of mental illness, which is either referred to as *Seele-* or *Geisterkrankheit*. (Both *Seele* and *Geist* mean ‘spirit’ or ‘soul’, while *Geist* also means ‘ghost’). Despite this connection, *jing sheng* 精神 has slowly become the equivalent to the English word ‘mind’ in Chinese as some dictionaries translated (e.g. Lanbridge English-Chinese Dictionary). Yet, as our above analysis shows, they do not have the exact semantic scope. The concept of spirit and soul stays in the *xin*, while it does not in ‘mind’.

However, the concept of heart in English still retains its spiritual and soulful side. Nørager’s (1996) recent work on the concept of ‘heart’ in representing soul and spirituality in religious discourse in Danish and in Western theological texts claims that these features are still palpable. Similarly, *xin*, in Chinese has its spiritual and moral dimension, too. The spiritual dimension, which was touched upon earlier in the discussion of *jing sheng bin*, ‘mental illness’, which strictly speaking, should be

understood as ‘the illness of the spirit’ is one of the examples that illustrate *xin* to include spiritual aspect. This spiritual aspect was further expanded by Zen Buddhism in China . Zen Buddhism is a school of Buddhism that is explicitly against the understanding of *xin*, when it stands for the truth and purity, through intellect (Suzuki, 1970). Due to the spiritual dimension, comparable to heart in English, *xin* is the seat of morality, too. Apart from the examples i and j given above, consider the following expression:

*p. xin xu*  
(the heart is weak/empty)  
feeling guilty; a guilty conscience

This example, together with other instances given above enable us to examine the emotional, intellectual/cognitive, spiritual and moral dimension of *xin* in Chinese. This linguistic evidence reveals that the concept of *xin* is comparable to that of heart in English, except the component of ‘mind’. Such a distinction is important as we do cross-linguistic translation. It is less problematic when English concepts such as ‘psychology’ and ‘mental illness’ are translated into Chinese, because it is relatively clearer to Chinese that *xin* can be mind. However, when Chinese concepts involving *xin* are translated into English, they are all mapped onto the field of ‘mind’ in English, which is much narrower than that of *xin*, then some important inferences may be lost in the process of translation. For example, Wu (1984) in his discussion of mind and body dualism also exist in Chinese, he translated the following examples as to illustrate his point:

- q. Shen an bu ru xin an*—A peaceful mind is more important than a healthy body.  
*r. Xiu shen yang xing*—Correct the mind and training the temperament.

First of all, in q, there is no other evidence to suggest that *xin*, the heart, has to be translated into ‘mind’. On the contrary, from the analysis provided above, it would be more appropriate to understand *xin* in this context as ‘spirit’ or ‘soul.’

Nonetheless, Wu’s translation in q is not very far from *xin*’s original meaning, since it is only in its modern use, mind does not refer to ‘soulfulness’ (Wierzbicka, 1989). In other contexts, mind can still refer to the spiritual side of heart. The second translation is more problematic. In example r, where *shen*’s literal meaning is body, *xing*, the temperament, Wu translated the former into mind. As the previous analysis indicates that *XIN STANDS FOR THE BODY* is a prevalent metonymy in Chinese, therefore to understand *shen* as *xin* is more appropriate. A furthermore evidence to support that *shen*, the body, should be understood as *xin* is the overall understanding of *xiu shen yang xing* which is in fact the ‘strengthening of one’s moral self and moral character.’ In this light, ‘heart’ or ‘self’ is a better candidate than ‘mind’ in mapping out the moral inferences of the expression. The significance of this distinction is to clarify misunderstanding between *xin* and mind, and above all, in this case, the validity of Wu’s claim on the dichotomy of mind and body in Chinese. Our analysis so far shows that there can be a dichotomy between *xin* and body, but *xin* is not the mind in this dichotomy. The point will become transparent, as we examine mind in the BODY vs. MIND as a CONTAINER in English, in the pursuing section.

### **3.7.2 *Xin* vs. Body and Mind as the CONTAINER**

The dichotomy of BODY vs. MIND in English is well explained in the folk model, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) as well as Kövecses (1990) propose that the human mind is conceptualised as A CONTAINER FOR IDEAS, while body is

conceptualised as A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS. First, let's look at the metaphor MIND IS A CONTAINER, which is assumed by the IDEAS ARE FOOD metaphor, as discussed by Lakoff and Johnson (*op. cit.*). There are linguistic expressions that give rise to such an assumption: "I just can't swallow that claim." "That's food for thought," and "We don't need to spoon-feed our students" (*ibid*: 46-47). Furthermore, Reddy (1979) describes in his often quoted work, 'The Conduit Metaphor', which has the following parts: IDEAS (MEANING) ARE OBJECTS, LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS ARE CONTAINERS, and COMMUNICATION IS SENDING. Hence, given that IDEAS ARE FOOD, and COMMUNICATION IS SENDING and given the CONDUIT metaphor, communication between people will be seen as sending meaning from one container to another, namely, from one person's mind to another person's mind.

The MIND IS A CONTAINER metaphor together with the BODY IS A CONTAINER metaphor, which has been discussed at length previously, are, as argued by Kövecses (1990) major ways in which we view ourselves; in other words, they illustrate the main concept of the 'personhood' in the West (*ibid*: 152-155). However, there are no unified ideas about how these two metaphors relate to each other in terms of personhood in the Western folk understanding of self. One of the more dominating views is as Talmy (1985) suggests that mind represents a "cognitive self", whereas the body the 'emotional self', and they are in conflict with each other. Usually, our cognitive self is understood to have priority over the emotional self, as some of definitions of emotion found in dictionaries suggest (see Chapter 1.0 in Chapter 1). The reason why there are no unified views about what a person consists of, i.e. emotions or reason, as Wierzbicka (1989, 1992a) asserts that

the 'pure' rationality of mind actually evolved into the understanding of the mind in English only fairly recently; before that, the meaning of 'mind' overlapped greatly with that of the 'soul', which represents a more psychological and spiritual part of a person. Today, Wierzbicka notes, the Anglo-Saxon 'mind' has lost its 'soulness', with emphasis solely on the rational and the conscious (thinking and knowing) (1989:49), and above all, it has become morally neutral. In the way, this emerging model of mind interacts with the old model of mind, hence, gives rise to dubious understanding of mind.

Emotions, on the other hand, although they were once linked with the word 'mind' in older English, are now usually connected with 'heart'. In modern English, one can say 'a kind heart', but not 'a kind mind', or one can say 'my heart is content', but not 'my mind is content'; yet, one can have 'a brilliant mind' but not 'a brilliant heart'. Furthermore, there is a saying in English: 'what the eye doesn't see, the heart doesn't grieve', which wouldn't make sense to an English speaker if the word 'heart' were to be replaced by 'mind', because only the heart can grieve, not the human mind. A common expression to describe a person's distorted thinking, is 'out of one's mind', but not 'out of one's heart'. From these expressions, we can assume that there is indeed a gulf between the folk construction of 'heart' and 'mind', perhaps with the mind seated above the heart, given the metaphors of UP IS GOOD, BAD IS DOWN and RATIONAL IS UP, EMOTIONAL IS DOWN (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 16-17).

These aforementioned metaphors are not 'groundless', of course; like many other metaphors, they have their embodiment in the real world. Consider this expression that when one 'follows his/her heart' instead of 'his/her head', this person

is regarded as not thinking rationally, namely, not in his/her's right mind. As for why mind and head are considered in a similar fashion we need to look at the modern day metaphor of mind in psychology and cognitive science, which is MIND IS A MACHINE (Weiner, 1990). This metaphor expresses the opinion that if we understand how our 'brain' works, therefore we know how the mind works. Arguably, in the English folk belief of a person, the mind is seated in the head, while the heart presumably is seated in the body, therefore, this physical structure of a human being with the head above the body helps give rise to this evaluative metaphor RATIONAL IS UP, EMOTIONAL IS DOWN.

Now we can return to the view mentioned earlier as discussed by Talmy (*op. cit.*) that our 'cognitive self' is often in conflict with the 'emotional self'. Due to the scope of this work, it is not possible to detail how this view became dominant in modern times, which, according to Talmy, was greatly influenced by Freud's theories of self (e.g., '*superego*' and '*id*' form a agonist *versus*. antagonist relationship), mind, and emotion. Psychoanalytical theories apart, the English language we have looked at so far already has revealed a 'folk theory' of what the average person considers is 'self', which consists of a mind and a body (also see Wierzbicka's semantic analysis of self, 1989, 1992a). The metaphors MIND IS A CONTAINER, and BODY IS A CONTAINER, that are embedded in contemporary English, according to Kövecses (1990: 154), exhibit such a folk belief that MIND is over our BODY, because our mind contains rational ideas, while our body contains emotions. Talmy (*op. cit.*) also notes that Freudian concepts of *id* and *superego* and their conflicting nature may have in part arisen because these concepts were already built into the our language. Hence, Kövecses claims that the schema A in Figure 4 and 5,

pages 144 and 145, respectively) is a model, he believes, that represents the relationship of MIND and BODY which the average person recognises, and the other schema C in Figure 5 represents Freudian concepts, which, he points out, was based on the schema A.

To conclude, the above analysis transpires the modern understanding of mind in English, which is by no means the same as *xin*, nor *jing sheng* (the spirit, as in *jing sheng bin*, the mental illness). Therefore, the MIND AS A CONTAINER is not comparable to *XIN AS A CONTAINER*, either. In Chinese, the BODY AS A CONTAINER at times overlaps with *XIN AS A CONTAINER*. If there is any dichotomy between *XIN* and BODY, it is usually between spiritual or the moral side of *XIN* and BODY. Consequently, there is no such division of *XIN* sitting above the BODY as we see in the schemas presented in Figures 4 and 5.

### 3.8 Cognitive Models

The often cited five stages of anger in temporal sequence which were identified by Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) for English folk model of anger are as follows:

1. Offending event
  - Wrongdoer offends self.
  - Wrongdoer is at fault.
  - The offending event displeases self
  - 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.
2. Anger
  - Self experiences physiological effects (heat, pressure, agitation).
  - Anger exerts force on the self to attempt an act of retribution.
3. Attempt to control anger
  - Self exerts a counterforce in an attempt to control anger.

#### 4. Loss of control

The intensity of anger goes above the limit.

Anger takes control of self.

S. exhibits angry behaviour (loss of judgement, aggressive action).

There is damage to self.

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

#### 5. Retribution

Self performs retributive act against wrongdoer (this is usually angry behaviour).

The intensity of retribution balance the intensity of offence.

Anger ceases to exist.

Based on this model, King (1989) found something similar according to his studies on Chinese conventional expressions of anger elicited from dictionaries. He suggests two prototypical models which vary from that of English mainly in stage 4 and 5.

The followings are King's conclusion:

#### Prototypical model 1:

##### 1. Offending Event

Wrongdoer offends self.

The offending event displease self.

The offence causes an imbalance in the body.

##### 2. Anger

Anger exists.

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

##### 3. Attempt to control anger

Self exerts a counterforce in an attempt to control anger.

##### 4. Release of anger

Self releases anger by exhibiting angry behaviour.

##### 5. Restoration of equilibrium

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

The imbalance disappears and equilibrium is restored.

The second model in turn differs from the first model in stage 4 and 5:

#### Prototypical model 2:



#### 4. Diversion

The force of anger is diverted to various parts of the body.  
Self exhibits somatic effects (headaches, stomach aches, etc.)

#### 5. Compensating event

The compensating event please the self (this is usually sympathetic behaviour directed at self).

The intensity of compensation balances the intensity of the offence.

The somatic effects of anger disappear.

Anger ceases to exist.

It is of interest to note that King's models, as illustrated above, are similar to Yu's (1998), and are mainly derived from the model of Chinese medicine. As the discussion in the section 3.6 on the role of Chinese medicine in constructing models revealed that these models have always co-existed with other models. Therefore, it may have been dominant in the past in the emotional daily life in China, but in relation to modern Chinese speaking communities, whether this model still holds its prominence is in fact questionable. Our data indicate that the two models, which King proposed do not appear to be the at the centre of the prototypical angry scenarios in Taiwan. Instead, they seem to take second place and function more as an idealised angry model in Chinese.

On the other hand, the prototypical model of anger our subjects described resembles more to the one Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) suggested. That means, Taiwanese subjects also lose control and thus exhibit angry behaviour, mostly in the form of agitation, aggressive verbal and visual behaviour. Consequently, they seek retribution, just like their American counterparts, against their wrongdoer usually through aggressive verbal or visual behaviour. However, such a comparison is in fact too simplistic. On deeper examination of the data, or any data of this sort, it should become obvious that the very act of losing control and seeking retribution

relies on other parameters; and in the case of anger, there are three primary axis: The power status, and distance between the Self and Wrongdoer; intensity of the anger, and the location (public vs. private) of anger event.

The various dynamic interactions amongst these elements determine how anger is expressed. In other words, if the Wrongdoers are close family members, even the intensity of anger is strong, the Self may not chose to retaliate, but will, as King's models suggest, seek to find other ways to release tension or find diversion (but not necessary through somatic measure). Examples as such can be found in several subjects such as subject no. 9,11, and 13. However, if the Wrongdoers are friends or colleagues, while the intensity of anger is medium, the Self may chose to retaliate, at least, in mild verbal form. (as described by some subjects such as subject no. 8, 19). In short, the mechanism of the dynamics is very complex, which requires in-depth cultural-specific knowledge. For example, although Chinese place a distinct emphasis on the value of 'face', this does not automatically entail that if an outburst of anger occurs in public, the Self will suppress this emotional expression in order to avoid embarrassment, and thus not to lose face. On the contrary, if the Wrongdoer is a stranger (such as a taxi driver who tried to cut you off is described by subject no. 103), even though the episode occurs in public, the Self can explode aggressively and seek retribution immediately. Presumably, such dynamics also exist in English model, yet has not been carefully investigated in the framework of Lakoff and Kövecses' (1987) anger scenarios. Matsuki (1995), however, did remark on the Japanese prototypical model of anger, although fundamentally similar to that of English, the stage 3 is more elaborate, due to the power and social structure of Japanese society.

In conclusion, the prototypical model of anger Lakoff and Kövecses provide is not able to demonstrate the dynamism of emotion experiences and expressions in most societies. Alternatively, the Chinese prototypical model(s) of anger should be as follows in Figure 12:

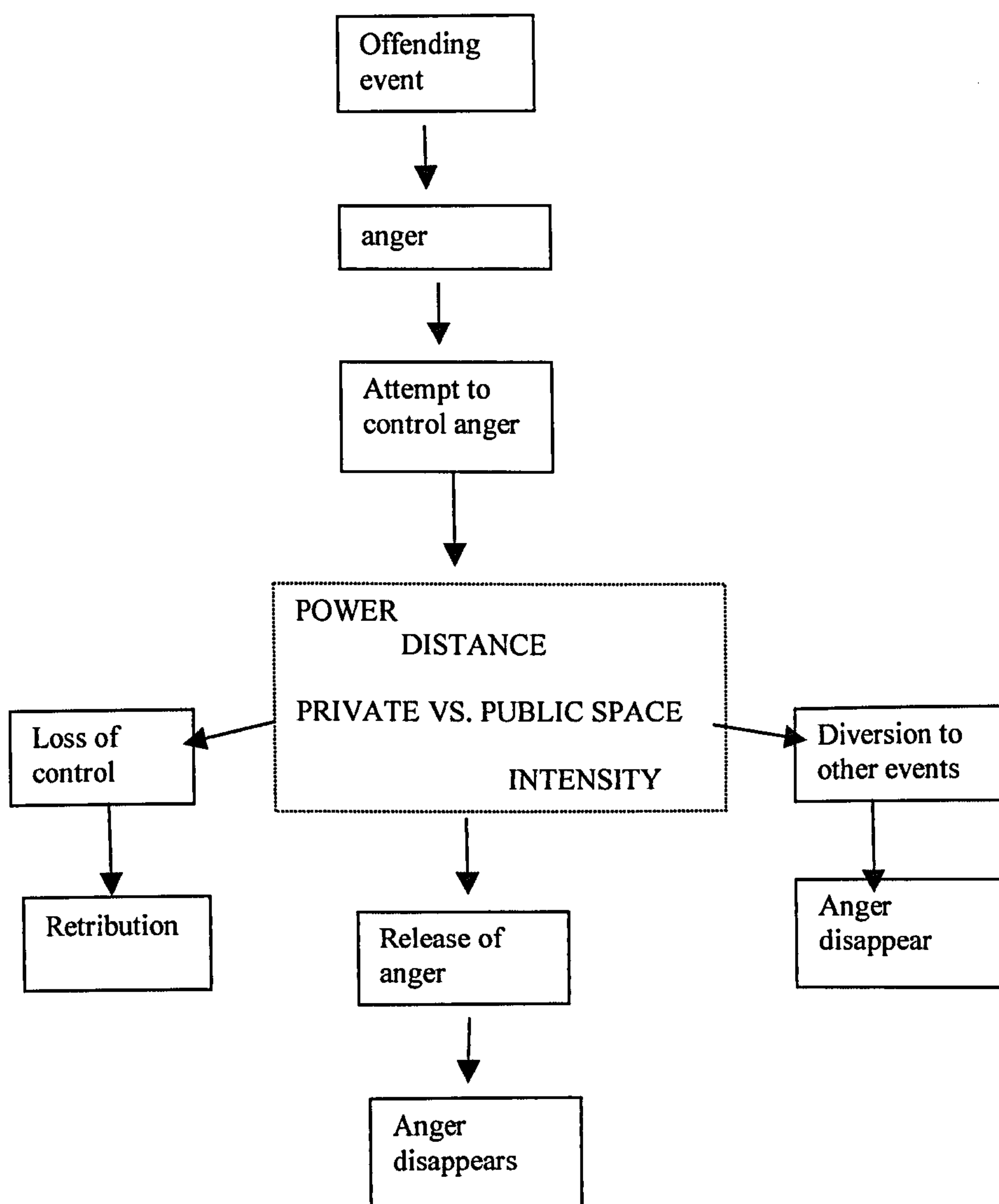


Figure 12: Prototypical models of anger in Chinese

This figure illustrates that the dynamic nature of cultural models of emotion that are constituted by those metonymies and metaphors provided by the subjects participating in the survey. As for the models converged on Chinese medicine, they may still function, but on an idealised level.

### 3.9 Summary

It was found that the fundamental metonymies and metaphors in all the data are similar to those in English. Both cultures share central metaphors such as BODY IS A PRESSURISED CONTAINER, ANGER IS FIRE, ANGER HINDERS NORMAL FUNCTIONING, etc., although there is a diversion as for the contents of the container; in English, it is FLUID, whereas it is *QI* in Chinese. The difference in substance affects some metonymies that structure these metaphors respectively. For example, in English, the HEAT entailment of CONTAINER is crucial, while in Chinese, our data show that the metonymy of HEAT is a rarity. A plausible explanation for this may be due to the concept of *QI*, which implies heat already. Instead of HEAT, our subjects tended to use physical agitation, which can include *ku*, crying, to stand for anger, followed by verbal and visual aggressive behaviour. No subjects referred to any somatic symptoms of anger that are often associated with Chinese medicine. This led to the postulation that the model of Chinese medicine is no longer in the active schema of Taiwanese in constructing angry experience. Instead, the models that underlie Chinese conceptualisation of anger have shifted to more biological neutral models which are similar to those in English. This process can be found in many cultures across time, for example, the influence of humoral theory on PIE language family.

In order to support this postulation, a semantic analysis of *qi* was carried out and the frequencies of body parts used by the subjects was calculated. It was found that the medical understanding of *qi* is only one of many possible meanings of *qi*, which may have all arisen from its original meaning of 'vapour' in nature and 'breath' in human. This analysis suggests that the concept of *qi* did not and does not merely converge on the *qi* so well elaborated in Chinese medicine as Yu (1998) proposed. Instead, it is more plausible to postulate that the *qi* in Chinese medicine converges on a more basic and physiologically motivated understanding of *qi* and how it works in the body in conjunction with anger. Therefore, the folk model of Chinese medicine should have always been one of many models that underlie Chinese daily conceptualisation of anger. It may have had its prominence in the past, but our analysis on the use of body parts in the current data suggest that most Taiwanese have departed from this model. The models that govern them in daily life, instead, resemble more to the American one Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) proposed, although with added social elements such as, power and distance between the Self and Wrongdoer, location of the offence, and intensity of anger as regulating factors.

Finally, the concept of *xin*, heart, was examined in order to determine how the concept of THE BODY IS A CONTAINER differs cross-culturally. It was found that in Chinese *XIN* stands for the PERSON, and the PERSONHOOD is not necessarily divided into MIND and BODY dichotomy as it is in English. The reason for this lies in the definition of *xin*, which does not separate the concept of mind as it is understood in English. In Chinese the concept of mind in its mental and cognitive scope is part of *xin*, therefore, the metaphor *XIN IS A CONTAINER* is the same as THE BODY IS A CONTAINER, whereas in English, there are two separate

containers: THE BODY and THE MIND. However, when there are examples where XIN and BODY are separated in Chinese, the *XIN* does not stand for mind, but rather SPIRIT or SOUL. In other words, the dichotomy of Chinese is between the body and the soul/spirit, rather than body and mind. Such understanding is crucial in terms of translatability of concepts. For example, the expression *jing sheng* that is used to stand for the 'mental' as in 'mental disorder' in English can not be fully comprehended without the understanding of *xin*, heart, its polysemy in the semantic field and its connection with *qi*.

#### Notes

1. This meaning of *qi* is still captured in a conventional polite response to 'Thank you', which is '*Bu ke qi*'. *Bu ke qi*'s word by word translation would be 'Don't be guest rice' (glossed as 'Don't mention it', or 'You are welcome' in English), which apparently is a relic of the old tradition when the host offered rice to guests or guests brought rice to the host.
2. Averill distinguishes between these two types of metaphors, one being descriptive and the other evaluative.

### 4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the concept of ‘happiness’ both in English and Standardised Chinese will be examined and compared. The English data is mainly a summary of Kövecses’ two articles where he presents his findings on English metaphorical expressions of happiness and joy (1990, 1991). His findings are by far the most complete and thus serve as a reliable source of cross-cultural comparison. The Chinese data will be analysed in a similar sequence as in the previous chapter.

At the outset, it is essential to point out that as in English, there are various expressions of happiness in Chinese. In English, there are mainly ‘happiness’ and ‘joy’, and according to Kövecses’ analyses on both emotion terms, despite his attempt to make some distinction between those two, he admits that “the uses of these two words can not be rigidly separated” (1991, p. 40). Nonetheless, his findings on both support the existence of some differences. For example, he argues that happiness has at least three prototypes. One of them is ‘happiness as emotion’ and is often expressed with the word ‘joy’ while ‘happiness as value’ can be corresponded with the word ‘happiness’ (with ‘glad’ representing the third prototype). In conclusion, he contends that the ‘joy’ prototype represents a more intense form of happiness, and it is more of an immediate response to a cause, hence not a long-term state (*op cit*, p.41). At best, ‘joy’ prototype addresses a salient aspect of the larger category of happiness. These findings will be looked at more critically in unit 4.1, and its results are crucial to our cross linguistic and cultural comparison.

As for Chinese, there are two most common terms for happiness: *Kuai le* and *gao xing*, which are frequently used in daily spoken communication in Standardised Chinese. The direct literal translation of *kuai le* is in fact ‘fast music’ while that of *gao xing* is ‘high and erect/sprouting’. Apparently, the latter echoes Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) initial postulation that some basic metaphors, such as UP IS GOOD, DOWN IS BAD, are orientational which are rooted in direct physical human experience and tend to be universal.

*Kuai le*, on the other hand, draws upon a different metaphor and yet is similar in concept. It is fair to argue that FAST IS GOOD is the basic metaphor which gives rise to the concept that FAST MUSIC STANDS FOR VITALITY. It reflects the cultural background where music played in fast tempo is a sign of energetic and agitated state, and in turn, such a state is associated with good mood. Although research on music and emotion is scarce, and the question of universalism in music has not often been addressed academically, it is common to find that in music of a number of cultures utilises similar principle. In this regards, it is not unusual for Chinese to use *kuai le* to represent a sense of happiness or joy.

There are other expressions such as *huan xin* and *xi yue* to mean happiness. *Huan* stands for being jubilant and celebrating while *xin* stands for joy, glad or delight. *Si* refers to an event that is worth celebrating, such as a wedding, a birth of a child (in feudal China it was more likely the case of a boy), or passing state exam (a system in feudal China for anyone who wanted to be a Mandarin). *Yue* means joyful and delighted. However, these words and their related compounds have all undergone historical changes so their usages by our subjects tend to be, at times, interchangeable. This chapter is set out to examine these expressions more in details



in terms of their metonymies, metaphors and cognitive models to understand their interrelationship.

#### **4.1 English Data**

Kövecses gave some detailed accounts of his analyses on joy and happiness in English in two separate articles (1990, 1991). In his first article which titled “Joy: An exercise in the description of emotion concepts”, he uses joy and happiness interchangeably. In the second article, “Happiness: A definition effort”, he differentiates joy from happiness by virtue of emotion versus value. According to him, the expression joy is primarily reserved for cases when happiness is experienced as emotion, while happiness is for some long-term states, which emphasise the evaluative side of the concept happiness. Finally, he mentions the other expression glad is a less intense version of joy and all of them are the different aspects of the superordinate concept of happiness.

Hence, his analyses will be presented in this order as well. First, metonymies and metaphors of happiness as emotion will be discussed, then those of happiness as value will be illustrated. Eventually, the prototypes of happiness, which constitute the differences of these various expressions will be examined, so we are able to have an overall picture of the conceptualisation of happiness in English.

##### **4.1.1 Metonymies**

When happiness is experienced as emotion, as Kövecses suggests, it is regarded as a immediate response to some events, and the behaviour responses are as follows:

JUMPING (up and down)  
He jumped for joy.  
She was leaping with joy.

SMILING/LAUGHING  
After the exam, he came out smiling.  
She grinned from ear to ear.  
He was all teeth.  
He was so happy that he laughed out loud.

Kövecses asserts that the above metonymies, which illustrate the vitality that often accompanied the sensation of joy, provide the basis of the most common metaphors in English for happiness, which are HAPPINESS/JOY IS UP, HAPPINESS/JOY IS LIGHT. Similarly, the following metonymies characterise the energised state of joy:

DANCING  
We were dancing with joy.  
They kicked up their heels.  
She had a ball.

SINGING  
He was singing with joy.  
I am so happy I could sing.

At this point, Kövecses remarks that the above two metonymies indicate a “close connection between joy and festive occasions” (1990: 154), thus suggesting that the expression of intense joy is first and foremost a social, rather than an individual, experience. Unfortunately, he did not support his observation with further evidence in either of his articles perhaps due the narrow scope of his source of data. However, we will return to this point when we discuss the cognitive models of

happiness in later units. Next, let us turn to the metonymies that stand for intense physiological arousal as a result of joyous experience:

#### FLUSHING

She flushed with joy.  
He blushed with joy.

#### INCREASED HEART BEAT

My heart leapt with joy.  
His heart was throbbing with joy.  
Her heart fluttered with joy.  
His heart raced with happiness.

Consequently, apart from flushing or blushing face, one feels warm all over when the heart beats faster than usual. It is not surprising that WARMTH is also associated with happiness and joy:

#### WARMTH

That warmed my spirits.  
What she said made me feel warm all over.  
His smile warmed the cockles of her heart.

There is another physical response to joy, which appears not to be a prototypical association with the emotion happiness, yet can be regarded as fairly common when the emotion is intense:

#### CRYING

The good news brought tears into her eyes.  
He was crying tears of joy.

For the metonymies, which stand for happiness as value, Kövecses's examples are not as rich as those for emotion. This could be due to the nature of

happiness when it is experienced as an emotion. According to him, joy, which is used commonly for this category is often some fairly intense and instant responses to a, possibly, social event. These responses, either physically or psychologically are temporary in nature. Happiness experienced as value, on the other hand, is more of a result of some positively valued long-term states (1991: 39), for example, freedom, health, and requited love, so they do not incite too many immediate responses. Hence, metonymies, which are mostly physical reactions that stand for an emotion in question are not so easily identified. Nonetheless, there are some metonymies indicating happiness as value which have been mentioned but not made explicitly by Kövecses:

**BRIGHT EYES STAND FOR HAPPINESS**

His eyes were shining.

Her eyes were sparkling like diamonds.

**PHYSICAL WELL-BEING OR COMFORT STANDS FOR HAPPINESS**

I feel good about it.

It made me feel great.

Even the physical sensation of upward or off the ground experience can stand for happiness as a value, Kövecses points out. It seems in most cultures an upward movement nearly always denotes something that is positive, and that may have to do with the concept of HEAVEN. Heaven, one may argue, is a cultural artefact and thus represents a value. There are expressions such as:

**GOING TO HEAVEN STANDS FOR HAPPINESS**

I've died and gone to heaven.

I was in seventh heaven.

These responses, according to Kövecses, are cultural motivated, in contrast to the JUMPING metonymy which is more bodily orientated and is usually associated with joy. There are some further expressions such as the following where UPWARD MOVEMENT STANDS FOR HAPPINESS:

They were in high spirits.  
He is very upbeat about everything.

The last but not least, the sensation of feeling WARMTH, as mentioned earlier, is not only a direct result of raised heart beats. It reflects both the emotion and value aspects of happiness. There is a cultural belief in English as well as in a number of cultures around the world that WARMTH represents life/vitality and thus something positive, whereas COLDNESS stands for DEATH and is considered negative. In other word, the interpretation of regarding WARMTH as good has a cultural basis, too.

All these above metonymies have been discussed so far give rise to metaphors, which also address these different aspects of happiness. Most of them are shared by Chinese, though not all of the ones that stand for value. A case in point is the concept of HEAVEN, due to the different cultural and religious background. Therefore, the metaphors they give rise to will also demonstrate some cultural differences to some degree. They will be presented and discussed in turn in the following section.

#### 4.1.2 Metaphors

Metaphors that reflect happiness as emotion (joy) and value which resulted from those metonymies discussed in the previous section are discussed and compared in parallel as follows:

HAPPINESS IS LIGHT  
Nothing to worried about, brighten up  
She was shining with joy.  
Every cloud has a silver lining.  
He radiates joy.  
When she heard the news, she lit up.

Another metaphor THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR THE EMOTION, which is in fact related to the LIGHT metaphor, is based on the metonymy BRIGHT EYES STAND FOR HAPPINESS, as discussed earlier. It was noted then that the visual behaviour as indicated in BRIGHT EYES may be interpreted as a sign of a positive valued long-term state. Certainly, it could also be understood as an immediate response to a situation as in the following expressions:

His eyes glinted when he saw the money.  
Amusement gleamed in his eyes.

Interestingly, this aspect of LIGHT when understood as value has its parallel in Chinese where LIGHT is often replaced by *QI*. A long-term happiness state is often expressed in good *QI* colours on the face (*'Qi Se hen hao'*). In turn, good *QI* colours are understood in Chinese society as 'radiation' and 'bright', too. Furthermore, the distinction between joy as emotion and happiness as value is also made in Chinese, though against slightly different cultural backdrops. The details

will be pursued in a later section. Now let us turn to the other dominant metaphor of happiness:

**HAPPINESS IS BEING OFF THE GROUND**

I was flying high.  
Not even her nagging can bring him down.  
She was on cloud nine.  
I am six feet off the ground.  
We were in the clouds.  
After the exam, I was walking on air for days.  
I was floating.  
They were riding high.  
We were on top of the world.

At times, the image of birds, typically eagles for this effect, is employed:

My heart was soaring like an eagle.  
...the bird of happiness.

A further expression, “happy as a lark”, then, in addition to the OFF THE GROUND concept, addresses the metonymies such as SINGING and JUMPING as well. The other side of the coin of the HAPPINESS IS OFF THE GROUND/UP is BEING HAPPY IS BEING IN HEAVEN:

That was heaven on earth.  
It was paradise on earth.

Kövecses argues that this aforementioned metaphor, similar to its metonymy, which was discussed earlier, carries an aspect that renders happiness to be experienced as value. The concept of “heaven”, as he points out, is a cultural and religious belief; however, that does not exclude the aspect where the same metaphor

expresses happiness as emotion. Based on this dichotomy, he therefore observes that “happiness” is used for value, and “joy” more for emotion, although he concedes that these two words are not to be rigidly separated. Nonetheless, he fails to address the ambiguity of separating emotion from value. He proposes instead that there is a long-term and a short-term state of happiness with the former corresponding to “happiness as value”, whereas the latter to “happiness as emotion.” Nonetheless, we will continue to present his findings in this way and a more detailed analysis of this problematic definition will follow later when all the data have been presented.

In the same category of HAPPINESS IS LIGHT and UP, there is the metaphor that also speaks for a state of vitality, energy and agitation:

#### HAPPINESS IS VITALITY

He was alive with joy.

I am feeling spry.

I felt vivacious.

He’s in a lively mood today.

She’s animated with joy.

He was the life of the party.

That put some life into them.

It gave them a shot in the arm.

He tried to put some zip/zing/pep into their lives.

VITALITY metaphor, Kövecses asserts, treats happiness mainly as emotion (1991: 37). The next category of metaphors of happiness which is the CONTAINER metaphor focuses on happiness as emotion as well:

#### HAPPINESS/JOY IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER

We are full of joy.

The sight filled them with joy.

I brimmed over with joy when I saw her.

There were some bubbly people at the party.

She could not contain her joy any longer.



He bubbled over with joy when he got his Christmas presents.  
Joy welled up inside him.  
He was overflowed with joy.

Unlike the CONTAINER metaphor of an emotion such as anger, in the case of happiness, this fluid is not required to be hot. A second difference is that the CONTAINER needs not to be closed (e.g.: he was overflowing with joy). Thirdly, although both emotions depict an image of fluid in a container exerting a tremendous pressure on the sides of the container (e.g.: he was bursting with joy), the difference lies in the metaphorical consequences as to what happens to the container. In anger, it is a matter of “explosion”, while in happiness, it is “bursting”, so in this case, explosion is harmful not only to oneself (the container) but also the people or things around the container, and bursting may just cause some temporary dysfunction to the container.

The above features of the CONTAINER metaphor have a further implication to some other related metaphors. For example, the image of “bursting” or not being able to “contain one’s joy/happiness” implies that this emotion is not controllable and there are attempts involved at hiding some of the behavioural responses associated with happiness. Hence, this implication leads to the following metaphors:

**HAPPINESS/JOY IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL**  
She gave way to her feeling of happiness.  
His feelings of happiness broke loose.  
He couldn’t hold back tears or joy.

This metaphor also highlights the aspect of giving up the attempt to control the emotion and the need to communicate one’s feelings to others (Kövecses, 1990: 159). We also see in the last example where crying is an indication of a behaviour

and physiological response due to a lack of control. Generally, when that happens, we will try to fight against such an urge, since crying is not a prototypical reaction to happiness except in intense cases. Therefore, overly intense reactions seem to have the status of an opponent who needs to be controlled. This concept leads us to the metaphor HAPPINESS/JOY IS AN OPPONENT:

#### HAPPINESS/JOY IS AN OPPONENT

She was overcome by joy.  
Happiness took complete control over him.  
He was knocked out.  
She was seized by happiness.

This idea of losing control proliferates into other metaphors such as

HAPPINESS/JOY IS INSANITY and HAPPINESS/JOY IS A NATURAL FORCE:

#### HAPPINESS/JOY IS INSANITY

She was mad with joy.  
I was beside myself with joy.  
They were crazy with happiness.  
She's ready to jump out of her skin.

#### HAPPINESS/JOY IS A NATURAL FORCE

She was overwhelmed by joy.  
It was done in a transport of delight.  
We were carried away with happiness.  
He was swept off his feet.  
She felt a rush of happiness.  
I was bowled over.  
I felt a surge of happiness.  
Feelings of happiness hit her in waves.  
Her feelings of joy subsided after she heard the bad news.

These two metaphors of INSANITY and NATURAL FORCE not only accentuate the intensity of the emotion but also the fact that we are not in control of the event we are involved in as well as the emotion that comes with it. On the other

hand, the intense aspect of the emotion is not always regarded as an opponent, insanity, or natural force which at times overpowering us. There are some positive and pleasurable aspects, derived from such an intensity as embodied in metaphors as **JOY IS RAPTURE/HIGH, A HAPPY PERSON IS AN ANIMAL, and HAPPINESS IS A PLEASURABLE PHYSICAL SENSATION:**

**HAPPINESS/JOY IS RAPTURE/HIGH**

It was a delirious feeling.  
I was drunk with joy.  
The experience was intoxicating.  
I'm on a natural high.  
I'm high on life.

When pleasure is talked about as an individual experience, we often project this sensation of in harmony with the world onto animals that have some symbolism in a given social and cultural context. In English, as Kövecses presented, they are as follows:

**A HAPPY PERSON IS AN ANIMAL (THAT LIVES WELL)**

She was chirping like a cricket.  
He is as happy as a clam.  
I was purring with delight.  
He was as happy as a pig in hay.  
He is happy as a horse in mud  
She was crowing with excitement.  
He was as happy as a rooster in a hen house.  
He was wallowing in a sea of happiness.

As these examples illustrated that a happy person gets what he or she needs from the outside world (e.g.: a pig gets its slop, as rooster has access to hens and so forth), this metaphor implies that a happy person feels comfortable, satisfied and harmonious with the world around him/her. These feelings are often equated with

some pleasurable physical sensation, so the following metaphor is very much an extension of the previous metaphor, according to Kövecses:

**HAPPINESS/JOY IS A PLEASURABLE PHYSICAL SENSATION**

I was purring with delight.

She was crowing with excitement.

He was wallowing in a sea of happiness.

I was tickled pink.

Lastly, Kövecses contends that the most important source for the positive aspect of happiness is the concept that it is treated as something highly desirable.

This is highlighted in the metaphor **HAPPINESS IS A (DESIRED) HIDDEN OBJECT**:

**HAPPINESS IS A (DESIRED) HIDDEN OBJECT**

I have found happiness.

The pursuit of happiness is our inalienable right.

He is striving for happiness.

She achieved happiness.

I am searching for happiness.

The quest for happiness will never end.

Apparently, this metaphor emphasises greatly the value side of happiness, which is in contrast to some earlier ones from **CONTAINER**, **OPPONENT** to **RAPTURE/HIGH**. As Kövecses reiterates that **LIGHT**, **UP** and **OBJECT** metaphors carry the aspect of happiness as value, the others capture the aspect of happiness as emotion. This distinction is helpful on a lexical level, such as defining ‘joy’ and ‘happiness’. Furthermore, according to Kövecses’ distinction, intense (or not so intense, as in the case of ‘glad’) physical responses belong more to sphere of a short-term state, thus refers to happiness as emotion. Long-term states with no immediate

physical or behaviour responses are reserved very much for when happiness is experienced as value.

Perhaps if we turn to the prototypes of happiness, which are derived from his analyses, we should be able to get a clearer picture of his definitions about long-term versus short-term states and emotion versus value.

#### **4.1.3 Prototypes of Happiness**

Kövecses proposes that happiness, comparable to most emotional concepts, has not just one but several cognitive prototypes which give rise to sets of metaphors and metonymies in our linguistic as well as the cognitive system. Based on his linguistic evidence, he has arrived at these following prototypes of happiness:

##### **HAPPINESS**

Happiness is a state that lasts a long time.

It is associated with a positive value.

It is a desired state.

It gives you a feeling of harmony with the world.

It is something that you can “spread” to others.

It exists separately from you and is outside you.

It is not readily available: It either requires an effort to achieve it or comes to you from external sources.

It takes a long time to achieve it.

It is just as difficult to maintain it as it is to attain it.

Kövecses refers what has just presented as a set of properties and they point to the conceptualisation of happiness as, in his words, value. However, it is fairly important to bear in mind that this prototype only represents one aspect of happiness, while the other aspect is represented by joy where Kövecses contends that it is

conceived as an emotion. His analysis of joy based on related metaphors, metonymies and some other concepts comes to the following picture:

**Cause of joy:**

You want to achieve something.

You achieve it.

There is an immediate emotional response to this.

**Existence of joy:**

You are satisfied.

You display a variety of expressive and behavioural responses including brightness of the eyes, smiling, laughing, jumping up and down, and often, crying.

You feel energised.

You also experience physiological responses, including warmth, agitation, and excitement.

The context for the state you are in is often a social one involving celebrations.

You have a positive outlook on the world.

You feel a need to communicate your feelings to others.

The feeling may "spread" to others.

You experience your state as a pleasurable one.

You feel that you are in harmony with the world.

You cannot help what you feel; you are passive in relation to your feelings.

The intensity of your experiences is high.

Beyond a certain limit, an increase in intensity implies a danger for you to become dysfunctional, that is, to lose control. It is not entirely acceptable to communicate and/or give free expression of what you feel (i.e., to become dysfunctional).

**Attempt at control:**

Because it is not entirely acceptable to communicate and/or give free expression of what you feel, you try to keep the emotion under control: You attempt not to engage in the behavioural responses and/or not to display the expressive reactions and/or not to communicate what you feel.

**Loss of control:**

You nevertheless lose control.

**Action:**

You engage in the behavioural responses and/or display expressive reactions and/or communicate what you feel. You may, in addition, exhibit wild, uncontrollable behaviour (often in the form of dancing , singing, and energetic behaviour with a lot of movement).

In contrast to happiness as a value where the prototype is understood as a set of properties, which are not bound by event nor time, Kövecses argues here that this prototype, as illustrated above, is an elaborate scenario that displays joy as an event unfolding through time. Due to the immediacy, a trigger situation, and the intensity of joy, he concludes that this prototype is the other rather salient aspect of happiness. In other words, the first prototype discussed earlier represents an ideal model (“happiness as value”), while the second prototype above is a salient model, and together they constitute the superordinate concept of happiness.

There is a third prototype of happiness, which is less intense and less salient form of joy. This form is often embodied in the linguistic expression of ‘glad’ (sometimes ‘happy’ as well), and is referred to as the typical model by Kövecses due to its common occurrence in everyday life:

**Cause of joy:**

You want to achieve something.

You achieve it.

There is an immediate emotional response to this.

**Existence of joy:**

You are satisfied.

You may exhibit some milder responses like brightness of the eyes and smiling.

You may experience some milder physiological responses like warmth and increased heart rate.

You have a positive outlook on the world.

You feel that you are in harmony with the world.  
You experience the state as a pleasurable one.  
You cannot help what you feel.  
The context for the feeling is typically not a social one.

This third prototype of happiness is different from the joy prototype, as can be seen above, in that there is a decreased intensity and a milder immediate response to an event so the control aspects are significantly reduced in this scenario. Yet, in comparison with the ideal model, it still consists of the element of immediate response to a situation. These differences all contribute to a complete picture of a superordinate concept of happiness in English. From these prototypes, it is made transparent how happiness is conceived, experienced and expressed in English-speaking communities. They also made the task easier of determining whether emotion concepts as a whole are experienced as a value associated with socio-cultural background, or sets of physical and psychological reactions, which exist independently from it. According to Kövecses' analyses, it appears to be that both possibilities co-exist. We will answer this question where Chinese data of happiness are discussed.

#### **4.2 Chinese data: The pilot study**

There were sixteen questionnaires sent out on happiness but only 6 were completed. The number of samples was too small to indicate any relevance to the main corpus. Nonetheless, it offers a glimpse to some common metonymies and metaphors in Chinese.



### 4.2.1 Metonymies

There are only two metonymies identified in the data:

LAUGHING

*Shi shi ha ha* (laughing)

CRYING

*Tung ku liou ti* (cried hard and running nose)

### 4.2.2 Metaphor

From these very limited data, there is one metaphor, which is the same as Kövecses' analyses in English:

HAPPINESS IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL

*Kung jyh bu ju qingn shyu* (could not control the emotion).

Some metaphors are similar:

HAPPINESS IS FAST MUSIC (VITALITY)

*Kuai le* (fast music, happy).

HAPPINESS IS FREEDOM

*Wu jyu wu shu* (no constraint).

HAPPINESS IS SWEET

*Ku jin gan lai* (bitterness or hardship ends, then comes sweetness)

HAPPINESS IS A SENSE OF FULLNESS

*Man tzu* (full, satisfied, fulfilled).

Interestingly, HAPPINESS IS SWEET reflects the general conceptualisation of feeling. It seems that good and positive feelings are considered sweet, whereas bad and negative feelings sour or bitter. For example, in the expression illustrated above, 'bitterness' and 'hardship' in fact share the same lexeme *ku* in Chinese. All in all, the

state of *gan jue* 'feeling' is sometimes expressed in *zi wei* 'taste', as in *zhe ge zi wei bu hao shou* 'feeling uncomfortable, or awkward', *ta kan le zhen bu shi zi wei* 'he is feeling uncomfortable or jealous', or *zi wei ru he?* 'what was –the feeling or experience—like?'. These examples all indicate a close link between taste and feeling, which is by no means cultural-specific. Such link also exists in English and other languages in various degrees and aspects. For example, in an analysis of sexual desire in Chagga, a Bantu language of Tanzania (Emanatian, 1995), the author points out that a more prevalent, daily experience of tasting food is mapped onto a relatively less frequent experience of sex.

The last metaphor, FULLNESS, indicates another source of happiness apart from feeling free, which is a sense of satisfaction. In Chinese, satisfaction is expressed through the sensation of "fullness" as in contrast to "emptiness". The lexical items for satisfaction are *man zu*, with the former meaning 'full' and the latter 'enough', so in other words, when one has everything one desires, s/he is *man zu* 'full' and does not miss anything.

Furthermore, it should be noted that FAST MUSIC is the literal meaning of *kuai le*, a generic term for happiness in Chinese; however, it is used in daily life without speakers realising its etymology. As it was mentioned earlier that presumably for fast music to stand for joy or happiness is not uniquely Chinese. It is arguably that to some extent, FAST is similar to UP or VITALITY and their related metaphors in English. They are all orientational and experiential.

As for FREEDOM metaphor that is identified in Chinese data should correlate partially to what Kövecses refers to as HAPPINESS IS OFF THE GROUND. The subjects in this research did not use too many images of birds to

stand for freedom. They used other images to express sense of freedom; therefore OFF THE GROUND metaphor as Kövecses presents is not completely applicable to Chinese. A similar observation was also made in an earlier research (Yu, 1995). Nonetheless, we need to explore further data to draw plausible conclusion to support any of these aforementioned postulations.

### 4.3 Overseas Chinese

There are 20 subjects who were residing in the US at the time of the survey and were requested to fill out the questionnaire. 7 questionnaires were returned blank, while one was deemed as being invalid due to excessive use of English. The following analysis is based on the data extracted from the rest of the subjects, which adds up to 12. First, let us look at the metonymies those subjects mentioned.

#### 4.3.1 Metonymies

Unlike other subjects, this group did not use LAUGHING to stand for happiness/joy. Instead they have:

##### WARMTH

1. *Wen nuan* (warm)

##### CRYING

2. *Liu lei* (Flowing tears)
3. *Yan lei liu chu lai* (Tears flowing out)

##### PHYSICAL COMFORT OR WELL BEING

4. *Shu chang* (comfortable, smooth and free; no blockage)  
*Fang song* (let body loose)

The last two expressions *shu chang* and *fang song* depict a sense of physically relaxed state, implying the *qi* in the body is free to flow, therefore is often expressed as happiness in contrast to anger, where *qi* is experienced as blocked in the body. They also constitute HAPPINESS IS LIGHTNESS metaphor, which has not been mentioned by Kövecses in his analysis of American English. At a closer look, LIGHTNESS metaphor is highly associated with the concept of FREEDOM in English. Kövecses points out that “freedom is one possible source of happiness” (1991: 31), which in turn expressed in the OFF THE GROUND metaphor. As mentioned earlier that OFF THE GROUND metaphor may not converge on the same image such as an eagle soaring high to symbolise freedom in Chinese, there are other images to indicate similar conceptualisation of freedom and one of them is a sense of LIGHTNESS and the other being a sense of CALMNESS. They will be further analysed in the following sections.

#### 4.3.2. Metaphor

In the overseas Chinese data, the metaphors being identified are mainly in three groups:

##### 1) UP and VITALITY metaphors:

HAPPINESS IS FAST MUSIC

1. *Kuai le* (fast music, happy)

HAPPINESS IS WARMTH

2. *Wen nuan* (feeling warm)

HAPPINESS IS BEING OFF THE GROUND

3. *Tian shang de ying jy jy xiang shang fei* (like an eagle in the sky flying straight up)

## 2) LIGHTNESS and FREEDOM metaphors

### HAPPINESS IS LIGHTNESS

4. *Qing shuang* (clear, light)
5. *Qing song* (light, loose)
6. *Fang song* (let loose)

### HAPPINESS IS FREEDOM

7. *Wan guan fang diao* (letting go entirely)

### HAPPINESS IS FREE OF BLOCKAGE

8. *Shun chang* (comfortable, smooth, free and through)
9. *Shun li* (smooth, free of problems)

### HAPPINESS IS BEING CALM

10. *Ping an* (peaceful and settled)
11. *Ping jing* (peaceful and calm)
12. *Qing jing* (clear and calm)
13. *An jing* (settled and calm)

## 3) NATURAL FORCE and INSANITY metaphor:

### HAPPINESS IS NATURAL FORCE

14. *Gan dong* (moved by the emotion)

### HAPPINESS IS INSANITY

15. *Moming de kuai le* (unnameable, unfathomable happiness)

### HAPPINESS IS HIGH/RAPTUROUS

16. *Gao xing* (high, sprouting, exciting)

## 4) Others

### HAPPINESS IS A SENSE OF FULLNESS

17. *Man zu* (full and enough, satisfied)

HAPPINESS IS FOOD THAT TASTES GOOD

18. *Pin chang ru ci de gan jue* (to taste such a feeling)

Apparently, the FOOD metaphor is an extension of HAPPINESS IS SWEET one as discussed in 4.2.2, the pilot study. It appears that this metaphor together with all the other metonymies and metaphors presented so far, there are no remarkable differences between Chinese and English way of conceptualising happiness/joy. Certain ways of verbalising happiness may differ, yet it is too early to say whether there are some conceptual metaphors, which are specifically Chinese. For example, HAPPINESS IS LIGHTNESS metaphor may not be an explicit English conceptualisation of happiness, but it may be expressed in English through the metaphors of UP or BEING OFF THE GROUND. It is fair to say that when someone feels UP, there is always an implication of BUOYANCY present. It is in contrast to HEAVINESS, which is associated with SADNESS. From this perspective, LIGHTNESS is probably a variation of these metaphors in English.

There is one exception, which is the metaphor that has been expressed moderately frequently by both groups of Chinese subjects: HAPPINESS IS BEING CALM. There may not be an exact equivalent in English, but it comes quite close to the sense of 'harmony' that is expressed by some English-speakers to describe a more long-term state of happiness. Kövecses asserts in his presentation of the cognitive model of happiness/joy as value (1991: 42) that feeling in harmony with the world also constitutes the existence of happiness. However, the only difference could be that being in harmony with the world in English does not always imply

being calm and quiet as in Chinese. This aspect will be further explored after we have examined our main corpus.

#### 4.4 The Main Corpus: Metonymies in Chinese

It is interesting to note that in this part of questionnaire, unlike two other emotions, some respondents (N=3) commented on not knowing such an experience therefore could not fill out the report. Even among the overseas Chinese subjects, there are a couple of people who claim that their Buddhist faith stops them from experiencing happiness, though it did not prevent them from experiencing anger and love. A plausible explanation to this phenomenon can only be attempted when the cognitive models of happiness are being examined.

For the moment, the metonymies identified from the data are divided into four groups and shall be examined in the following sections. The following table contains the percentage of metonymy use for all subjects (n=105):

Table 7: Percentage Use of the Happiness Metonymy (*Kuai le*)

Metonymy	Percentile
Laughing (out loud)	18.9
Crying	6.6
Laughing/smiling	6.6
Screaming and shouting	4.7
Jumping	3.8
Singing	0.9
Flushing faced	0.9
Increased heart rate	0.9
Warmth	0.9
Eyes and eyebrow	0.9

#### 4.4.1 Jumping/Dancing/Singing

##### JUMPING/DANCING

1. *Que Yue* (jumping like a sparrow)
2. *Beng beng tiao tiao* (jumping and dancing around)
3. *Tiao le qi lai* (Sprung up)
4. *You jiao you tiao* (Screamed and jumped up)

##### SINGING

5. *Chang ge* (singing)

It is worth noting that in the JUMPING metonymy, sparrow is used to stand for a happy bird. As for when and why sparrows began to symbolise happiness in Chinese is unknown. It may be universal of regarding birds as a symbol of freedom, hence a source of happiness; however, highlighting sparrows as the image of joy may be specific to Chinese or related cultures. There are other examples that illustrate the special role sparrows play in happiness: *Ma que bae xi* ‘sparrows bring the good news’ and *xi que* ‘happy sparrows’. It could be due to the fact that sparrows always appear in groups and the noise they make together sound like chatting away happily. Arguably, this is a projection from a society where socialising and talking loudly are considered as a sign of enjoying oneself.

#### 4.4.2 Laughing/Smiling/Crying

In Chinese, laughing is *xaio*, while smiling is *wei xaio*, which can also stand for a light laugh.

##### LAUGHING/SMILING

1. *Da xiao* (Laughed out loud)



2. *Huan xiao* (Laughed happily)
3. *Xiao lian* (Laughing/smiling face)
4. *Xiao ha ha* (Laughing ha ha)
5. *Da sheng xiao* (Laughed out loud)
6. *Xiang xiao hai yi yang da sheng xiao* (Laughed out loud like a child)
7. *Hao zhe* (Horsing around)
8. *Huan hu* (Cried out loud in joy)
9. *Xin li wei xiao* (Smiled inside one's heart)
10. *Shuo xiao hua* (Telling funny jokes)

Crying is as natural as laughing to some subjects in expressing happiness.

They both exhibit the forces of happiness, which are at times beyond our control:

#### CRYING

11. *Liu yan lei* (Shed tears)
12. *Yao ku chu lai* (On the brink of crying)
13. *Hong le yan kuang* (red eyes)

Other than laughing and crying, which show happiness vocally, a young subject (19 years old) vocalised her happiness differently:

#### SCREAM

14. *Jian jiao* (screamed)

#### 4.4.3 Increased Heart Rates

In this category, there are some cardiovascular reactions described to indicate changes of physiology due to some excitement. An increased heart rate is only one of the symptoms of such a physical change. It is recently known that laughing, for example, can stimulate blood flow as much as jogging does; however, ordinary people express their sensation without realising the scientific basis of it.

#### INCREASED HEART RATE

1. *Xu mai ben jiang* (Blood vessels expanded forcefully)
2. *Tou pi fa yang* (Scalp itched)
3. *Xin tiao jia kuai* (Heart rate increased)
4. *Hu xi ji cu* (Breathing hastened)

#### 4.4.4 Eyes and Eyebrows

Despite Yu's (1998: 69) claim that eyebrows are regarded as one of the most obvious indicators of internal feelings for Chinese, such an expression involving eyebrows, or even eyes has only been mentioned once by all 105 subjects:

##### REACTIONS IN EYES AND EYEBROWS

1. *Mei fei wu se* (Eyebrows raised, face colour danced or animated face)

Not only there is this scarce use of EYES AND EYEBROWS image, the metaphor, which derived from this metonymy, HAPPINESS IS LIGHT/BRIGHTNESS, is not evident in the data. It may as well contribute to the fact that the data is consisted of self-reports so it was not common to observe one's own facial changes as easily as other physical changes

#### 4.5 Metaphors

These following metaphors are presented in order of frequency used by the subjects (see table 8) rather than in terms of variation of expressions and their vividness. These metaphors such as UP, and HIGH AND RAPTUROUS tend to be conventionalised, hence, lexicalised in fixed "descriptive terms" (Kövecses, 2000: 2), such as *gao xing*, *kuai le* 'happy', *xing fen* 'excited', and *huan xi*, *huan xin* 'joy'. These terms are so conventional that they in fact have become almost literal unless

one begins to contemplate on the etymology of each individual lexicon. What follows next is a summary of the use of these expressions set out as a frequency table for all subjects (n=105), see Table 8 below:

Table 8: Percentage Use of the Happiness Metaphor.

Metaphors	Percentile
Happiness is rapturous	52.8
Happiness is freedom	21.7
Happiness is lightness	15.1
Happiness is a sense of fulfilment	15.1
Happiness is pleasurable sensation	10.4
Happiness is warmth	8.5
Happiness is calmness	7.5
Happiness is insanity	6.6
Happiness is fluid in the container	5.7
Happiness is vitality	4.7
Happiness is vitality	4.7
Happiness is off the ground	2.8
Happiness is a captive animal	2.8
Happiness is an opponent	1.9
Happiness is light	0.9
Happiness is a valuable object	0.9

#### 4.5.1 HIGH AND RAPTUROUS

There are several lexical items in Chinese, which describe happiness as mentioned by the respondents: *Gao* ‘high’, *xing* ‘sprouting’, *xi* ‘joyful; glad, delighted’, *huan* ‘delighted, glad’, *yu* ‘joyful’, *yue* ‘pleased, gratified’, and *xin* ‘glad, joyful’. In turn, they can each combine with one another to form various expressions denoting an upright, sprouting and joyful state:

## HAPPINESS IS HIGH AND RAPTUROUS

1. *Gao xing* (high and excited)
2. *Xing fen* (sprouting, excited)
3. *Ci ji* (exciting)
4. *Huan xi* (joyful)
5. *Jing xi* (surprised, joy)
6. *Yu yue* (joyful)
7. *Xi yue* (glad, joyful)
8. *Huan xin* (jubilant, joyful)
9. *Huan yu* (joyful)

### 4.5.2 FREEDOM

HAPPINESS IS FREEDOM metaphor is the second most frequently used by all the subjects combined. It illustrates one major source of happiness for modern Chinese. It seems to let go of all pressure, forget worries, time and places, or do what one's heart desires without considering limitation are the ultimate happiness for some people. The following are the examples of such conceptualisation:

#### 1) Pressure free:

1. *Mei you ya li* (no pressure)
2. *Bu yong li hui sheng huo de ya li* (ignoring all the pressure in life)
3. *Xiao chu ya li* (eliminating pressure)
4. *Jie fang* (set oneself free)
5. *Jie tuo* (set oneself free)
6. *Fa xie* (letting out pressure)
7. *Tuo li* (separated or freed oneself from [pressure])
8. *Bu shou qin rao* (not to be disturbed or pressured to do something)
9. *Hen shuang* (feeling free)

#### 2) Free to follow one's desire

10. *Sui xin suo yu* (followed one's heart and desire)
11. *Jin qing* (did what the emotion wanted)
12. *Chang tan* (not holding back what one wanted to say, no blockage in speaking)
13. *Chang yang tzai* (lay free in...)

- 14. *Zuo zi ji xiang zuo de shi* (did everything one's heart wanted)
- 15. *Zi zai* (free to be oneself)
- 16. *Kai xin* (to one's heart content)

### 3) Forgetting worries, oneself, time and place

- 17. *Wang le zi ji zai na li* (forgot where one was)
- 18. *Shi jian xiao shi* (time disappeared)
- 19. *Wang le pang ren cun zai* (forgot the existence of other people)
- 20. *Le bu si shu* (forgot one's home)
- 21. *Bu man xiao shi wu ying wu zong* (dissatisfaction disappeared without a trace)
- 22. *Hua wei wu you* (worries disappeared into zero)
- 23. *Wu you wu lyu* (now sorrow, no worries)

### 4) Without limit and restriction

- 24. *Wu ya wu ji* (no boundary, no limit)
- 25. *Bu shou xian* (not being restricted)
- 26. *Zi you* (feel free)

#### 4.5.3 FULLNESS

Similar to the sense of freedom, sense of fullness or satisfaction is another source of happiness mentioned by the subjects. Sense of satisfaction is often combined with feeling lucky or blessed in the sense that one is given everything that is considered of value by oneself or the society. For example, for younger subjects, it would be having good parents, studying a major one enjoys, or good grades in exam. As for older, married subjects, things of value tend to be when their children are doing well in life or school, career is successful, or enjoying a harmonious family life.

#### HAPPINESS IS FULLNESS

1. *Man zu* (full or satisfied)
2. *Man zu gan* (sense of fullness or satisfaction)
3. *Ren sheng chong shi* (life is full or fulfilled)
4. *Chong shi* (full, or filled with useful endeavours)

#### HAPPINESS IS BEING LUCKY/BLESSED

5. *Xing fu* (lucky and blessed)
6. *Xing yun* (lucky)
7. *Shun li* (things go smoothly as one plans)

#### 4.5.4 CONTAINER

As in English, the sensation of happiness is also conceptualised as fluids in a container in Chinese:

#### HAPPINESS IS FLUID IN A CONTAINER

1. *Zai wo xin chong bao chi zhe* (happy feeling contained in my heart)
2. *Qing yi yu yan biao* ([happy] emotion was spilling over to one's words and behaviour)
3. *Qing xu fei teng dao ji dian* ([happy emotion] was boiling to its limit)
4. *Chen zui zai mei li de shi jie* (drunkenly soaked in this beautiful world)

Not only there is evidence from the above examples to support the postulation that the concept of CONTAINER is a general metaphor for EMOTIONS in both English and Chinese, it is probably universal, as proven in ANGER metaphors in a wide variety of languages (Kövecses, 1998). In the case of happiness, there is no exception (Shyu, 1989; Yu, 1998). However, in Yu's research (1998: 47), the author observes that it is debatable whether the correlation between CONTAINER and BODY can apply to Chinese. In fact, he believes that the correlation between CONTAINER and HEART or a larger body part such as bosom or thoracic cavity in Chinese is the norm. The analyses of *Xin* vs. MIND earlier

already demonstrates the special role the concept of *xin* 'heart' plays in Chinese emotional world.

#### 4.5.5 LIGHTNESS

Unlike FREEDOM and FULLNESS, which indicate sources or causes for happiness/joy, LIGHTNESS and the following metaphors are to describe the sensation resulting from feeling happiness/joy:

##### HAPPINESS IS LIGHTNESS

1. *Jiao bu qing ying* (footsteps became light)
2. *Wu shi yi shen qing* (the whole body felt light because there was nothing to worry about)
3. *Qing song de xin qing* (feelings or mood was light and relaxed)
4. *Fang song* (relaxed, loosened up)
5. *Fang qing song* (relaxed, lighten up)
6. *You xian* (easy-going, carefree)

#### 4.5.6 OFF THE GROUND

Despite Yu's claim that OFF THE GROUND metaphor is not applicable to Chinese (1998:64), there are examples described by some subjects of this research to indicate the opposite:

##### OFF THE GROUND

1. *Fei yang* (flying high)
2. *Fei yue de xin qing* (my mood was flying)
3. *Fei zhe hui jia* (flew home)
4. *Que yue* (jump or hoping like a sparrow)

Yu (*ibid*) also argues in his research that perhaps due to some established social and cultural values, whereby virtues of modesty and steadiness are accepted,

Chinese have a tendency to mistrust any emotion that causes us to lose our senses (*ibid*: 65). Therefore, being entirely off the ground when feeling happy is undesirable; it is, on the contrary, considered complacent. To support his argument, Yu gave some convincing examples, which are mainly conventional idioms or collocations, to illustrate his point. However, from those lexical examples extracted from the current data, we cannot find such a derogatory connotation.

This discrepancy is understandable when we take various cultural, and cognitive models into account. As in anger, we found that there are, in fact, several models underlying the conceptualisation of anger in Chinese, indicating influences from different sources, such as those of Daoism, Buddhism and Confucianism. Similarly, in the experience of happiness, there are various models at play as well. What Nu points out is probably only one aspect of one particular folk model. A more detailed analysis will be discussed in the cognitive models sections.

#### **4.5.7 PLEASURABLE PHYSICAL SENSATION**

Unlike those English examples given by Kövecses (1991:36, 37), where PLEASURABLE PHYSICAL SENSATION is closely connected with the other metaphor, A HAPPY PERSON IS AN ANIMAL THAT LIVES WELL, Chinese conceptualisation of pleasurable sensation is expressed mostly through the lexical expressions, *shu fu*, *shu shi*, or various combinations with other words involving these lexical items, to denote a kind of physically comfortable and relaxed state. Animals are not necessarily implied or even included in the conceptualisation:

#### **HAPPINESS IS A PLEASURABLE PHYSICAL SENSATION**

##### **1. *Shu fu* (comfortable)**



2. *Gan jue shu fu* (feeling comfortable)
3. *Shu tan* (comfortable and smooth)
4. *Shu chang* (comfortable and light)
5. *Shu shi* (comfortable)
6. *Tian shi* (comfortable)
7. *Xiang shou* (enjoyable, pleasurable)

#### 4.5.8 CALMNESS

In contrast to OFF THE GROUND metaphor, feeling peaceful, quiet and in harmony with the people and the world around us as a result or even the cause of experiencing happiness is a more desirable, or even a “higher” state, for some people. Moreover, according to Kövecses’ analyses (1991), OFF THE GROUND indicates a more immediate response to a happy event, then HAPPINESS IS BEING CALM/PEACEFUL in Chinese should illustrate a much longer state of mind:

##### HAPPINESS IS BEING CALM /PEACEFUL

1. *Ning jing* (quiet)
2. *Jing jing* (quiet)
3. *Ping jing* (peaceful and quiet)
4. *He ping* (peaceful)
5. *He xie* (harmonious)
6. *He qi* (harmonious)
7. *Mei you zheng zhi* (no fight)
8. *Ping an* (peaceful and safe)

#### 4.5.9 WARMTH

In contrast to the FIRE and HEAT metaphor that underlies anger, the sense of heat or warmth experienced in happiness is neither harmful to one’s health, nor to others. It brings comfort and pleasure. There are a number of lexical items to indicate heat such as *re* ‘hot, heated’, *wen* ‘warm’, *nuan* ‘warm’, *wo* ‘warm’, etc. They are used either as a verb or adjective to describe how one’s heart or emotion is warmed up by happiness or the happiness itself is described as heat or warmth:

#### HAPPINESS IS WARMTH

1. *Wen nuan ren xin* (warmed the heart)
2. *Wo xin* (my heart was warmed up)
3. *Wen xin* (warm and cosy)
4. *Re nau* (bustling, lively)
5. *Fe teng* (boiling hot)
6. *Re qing bu jian* (heated emotion was not lessened)

#### 4.5.10 Intensity of happiness: FORCES

As in English, intensity of happiness is also experienced as a kind of force in Chinese, which constitutes HAPPINESS IS A (NATURAL) FORCE metaphor. When it is conceptualised as such, it implies that this force is mostly beyond our understanding and control, which possibly will make the affected person act crazily. This gives rise to HAPPINESS IS INSANITY metaphor. Consequently, once the feeling is out of control, it breaks loose and it is “spread” to other people, who are involved in the same social situation, so we have HAPPINESS IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL metaphor. Furthermore, based upon the data, it seems the act of giving up in an attempt to control emotion and the need to communicate one’s intense and sometimes wild feelings to others are more prevalent. The more control-focused metaphor, HAPPINESS IS AN OPPONENT, is often implied rather than specified. For example, the inability to stop crying caused by overwhelming happiness shows that this reaction may be considered inappropriate or embarrassing for a happiness situation. In the end, nonetheless, crying takes over.

#### HAPPINESS IS A NATURE FORCE

1. *Gan dong* (moved and touched)
2. *Gan ren* (touched)
3. *Ji dong* (moved by current)

#### HAPPINESS IS INSANITY

4. *Xin xi ruo kuang* (so happy as if going mad)
5. *Fen kuang* (crazy)
6. *Zuo jin feng kuang shi* (did all the crazy things [out of happiness])

#### HAPPINESS IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL

7. *Nei xin bu jin* (could not control the emotion in my heart)
8. *Bu zi zhu* (no longer one's master)
9. *Shou dou zhe* (hand shook uncontrollably)
10. *Bu ting shuo hua* (could not stop talking)
11. *Dong zho kua zhang* (movement and gesture became exaggerated)
12. *Sheng diao jiao gao* (toned of voice was raised higher than usual)

#### 4.5.11 FRESHNESS AND VITALITY

Some subjects expressed the feeling that experiencing happiness is very rejuvenating and full of energy. They feel new, young and see the world in a new light:

#### HAPPINESS IS FRESHNESS

1. *Huan ran yi xin* (all new in a sudden change)
2. *Qing xin* (clear and new [fresh])
3. *Yi fan xi li* (baptised)
4. *Nian qing* (young)
5. *Mei li* (beautiful)
6. *Shi jie mei* (the world was beautiful)

#### HAPPINESS IS VITALITY

7. *Le ci bu pi* (so happy that one did not get tired)
8. *Bu xin hui yi lan* (the heart did not feel grey [down] and the mind was not lazy)
9. *Kuai le* (fast music)

#### 4.5.12 Others: OBJECT AND FOOD

Conceptualising happiness as an ENTITY, thus, an OBJECT, is by no means a minor metaphor in Chinese. Nonetheless, there is only one example from the data to indicate the existence of such a concept. It also shows that happiness is not only an

OBJECT, but also a valuable one, so we have HAPPINESS IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY metaphor:

#### HAPPINESS IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY

1. *Ba wo mei yi tian hao de xin qing* (treasured this good feeling [happiness] that occurs in daily life)

Finally, there are two more instances in the main corpus to echo the two related metaphors--HAPPINESS IS SWEET and HAPPINESS IS FOOD THAT TASTES GOOD—identified earlier in pilot and overseas data:

#### HAPPINESS IS FOOD THAT TASTES GOOD

2. *Dan yuan zhe zhong zi wei bu hui xiao shi* (wished this kind of taste would not disappear)

#### HAPPINESS IS SWEET

3. *Xin li jue de hen tian mi* (my heart felt very sweet)

### 4.6 Cognitive Models for Happiness as Emotion

Following this analysis, it has become apparent that happiness in Chinese is conceptualised similarly to English. Based on Kövecses' findings, we can draw parallel between English and Chinese; i.e., some metaphors emphasise happiness as emotion aspect, whereas some metaphors accentuate happiness as value aspect, and some metaphors address both.

Happiness as emotion aspect is best captured by metaphors such as HIGH AND RAPTUROUS, OFF THE GROUND, WARMTH, NATURAL FORCE,

INSANITY, CAPTIVE ANIMAL, PLEASURABLE PHYSICAL SENSATION and FOOD THAT TASTES GOOD. Happiness as value aspect, on the other hand is best expressed by metaphors such as FULLNESS, SENSE OF CALMNESS and VALUABLE COMMODITY. However, they are not absolutely exclusive of each other. Metaphors such as FREEDOM, LIGHTNESS, CONTAINER, VITALITY, and FRESHNESS contain both elements.

Accordingly, we should be able to draw out the cognitive models underlying these metaphors. Only by examining these models in details will it then become clearer if the similarities shared by both English and Chinese are superficial or indeed cognitively significant. First, we shall look at the cognitive model or models that constitute those metaphors or even metonymies, which deal with happiness as emotion.

It is important to note that Kövecses proposes at least three prototypes of happiness in English: an ideal one which expresses happiness as a value, a salient one which deals with happiness as an emotion and is linguistically expressed by the word 'joy', and finally, a typical model which also addresses happiness as an emotion but with less intensity; the word that is most associated with this model is 'glad' or 'happy'. In principle, Chinese prototypes of happiness can be categorised along similar lines: there are also a salient, a typical and an ideal model. However, the details are not exactly the same, which could be resulted from differences in culture. The differences in prototypes will be highlighted in bold letters in the following analyses.

#### 4.6.1 Prototypes: Salient Model

Based on the metaphors and metonymies and events provided by the subjects, we can arrive at the following picture that depicts a typical scenario of happiness in Chinese:

##### Cause of joy:

You want to achieve something.

You achieve it.

There is an immediate emotional response to this:

##### Existence of joy:

You are pleased and satisfied.

You display a variety of expressive and behavioural responses including smiling, laughing, singing, jumping up and down, and sometimes crying and **screaming**.

You also experience physiological responses, including warmth, free flowing of *qi*, agitation and excitement.

The context for the state you are in could be social one, involving other people.

You have a positive and **fresh attitude** and outlook on the world.

You feel a need to communicate your feelings to others through facial expression, **gesture, change of voice or words, or telling jokes**.

You experience your state as a pleasurable, comfortable one.

You feel **nothing stands in your way and extremely lucky**.

The world is in harmony with you.

You cannot help how you feel; you are passive in relation to your feelings.

The intensity of your experience is high.

Beyond a certain limit, an increase in intensity implies a tendency to become dysfunctional, that is, to lose control.

It may not be acceptable to communicate and/or give free expression of what you feel when you become out of control.

##### Attempt at control:

Because it is not entirely acceptable to communicate and/or give free expression of what you feel, you try to keep the emotion under control: You attempt not engage in the behavioural responses and/or not to display the expressive reactions and/or not to communicate what you feel.

##### Loss of control:

You nevertheless lose control

Action:

You engage in the behavioural responses and/or display expressive reactions and/or communicate what you feel. You may in addition, exhibit wild, uncontrolled behaviour (often in the form of dancing, singing, crying, and energetic behaviour with a lot of movement)

The above model describes a more immediate reaction to a situation, typically inspired by an achievement or fulfilment of an expectation. It is an event evolving through time. It involves intensity and is a temporary state of mind. The words associated with this emotion are many: *Gao xing, kuai le, xing fen, ci ji, yu yue*, etc. In other words, apart from *kuai le* nearly all the expressions underlying HIGH AND RAPTUROUS metaphor are applicable. However, this model does not address all the metaphors, metonymies and related concepts we have uncovered so far. In fact, there is another model, which focuses on sense of freedom, hence, does not involve control, and the cause of joy could be simply having a good time with friends, and family.

#### 4.6.2 Typical Model

Cause of joy:

You want to achieve something, like **spending time with friends and family.**

You achieve it.

There is an immediate emotional response to this.

Existence of joy:

You are satisfied.

You may exhibit some milder responses like smiling and joking.

You may experience some physiological responses such as the body becomes **relaxed, light**, and sometimes warm.

**This sensation resembles food that tastes sweet.**

You have a positive and fresh outlook on the world.

**You feel pressure-free, and forget about time, place and sometimes yourself.**  
**You feel peaceful, quiet and are in harmony with the world.**  
You experience the state as a pleasurable one.  
**This state usually does not last very long.**  
**You wish this moment could last longer.**  
You cannot help what you feel.  
The context for the feeling can be **both social and non-social one.**

This kind of happiness described in this model is equally common as the first model. The lexical expressions for this kind of emotion can be *kuai le*, *gao xing*, *yu kuai*, and *yu yue*. It appears that all these terms can also describe the first kind of happiness. In particular, those two most common terms for happiness in Chinese *gao xing* and *kuai le* seems to be interchangeable for happiness as emotion. Words such as *xing fen* “excited”, *huan xin* ‘joyous’, and *ci ji* ‘excited’ are rarely associated with this type of happiness indicating there is also a lack of intensity in this model.

In summary, the salient model does not appear to differ too much from that of English, whereas the typical model demonstrates an emphasis on sense of freedom and relaxation, which is a feature not so salient in English, at least, according to Kövecses’ analyses. Furthermore, these two models suggest that the lexical items, which stand for happiness, particularly *gao xing* and *kuai le* in Chinese, may also indicate a similar distinction between ‘happiness’, ‘joy’ and ‘glad’ in English. *Gao xing* apparently is closer to ‘joy’ and ‘glad’, while *kuai le* is the generic term that can denote both ‘happiness’ and ‘joy’ .

#### **4.7 Cognitive model for happiness as a value**

Since our questionnaire was mainly designed to describe happiness as an experience, i.e. as how it happened. It was expected that few subjects would discuss



happiness in an ideal way. Nevertheless, from the limited data we are able to uncover a model that treats happiness as a value.

#### **4.7.1 Typical model**

In this model, there is no particular event, which is to elicit this sense of happiness. The linguistic expression that corresponds with this feeling is *kuai le*, while other expressions, such as *gao xing* and *huan si* do not really apply. In this case, several subjects speak of happiness as simply being free, without following rules, schedule, and no role to play but themselves. Therefore, we can derive the following picture:

**Happiness is doing what you want.**

**You do not desire anything else.**

**It brings you freedom and it allows you to be yourself.**

**It is pleasurable in a peaceful and quiet way.**

**It gives you a feeling of harmony with the world.**

**It gives you strength and revitalises you.**

#### **4.7.2 Ideal model**

Our data also show that in addition to the ideal model, apart from typical model, there are some properties which are most likely influenced by Chinese Buddhism and Taoism. The corresponding word to this model is also *kuai le*:

**Happiness is a state that lasts a long time.**

**It consists of many ordinary, small daily experiences.**

**It is pleasurable in a non-exaggerated way. No extreme highs and lows.**

**It gives you a feeling of harmony, peace and calmness.**

**It does not exist separately from you and it is in you, especially in your heart.**

**It requires an effort to understand this.**

**It is readily available once you have understood it.**

**It is not readily available if you think otherwise.**

Conversely, this model reveals that happiness is everywhere and it has an intrinsic rather than an extrinsic value. On the other hand, it also indicates that, despite its “ordinariness”, it is often misunderstood and ignored. People have been “looking for” it in wrong places. The fact that several subjects in all data (N=6) claimed that they had no experience of it or did not even know what it was reinforces this conceptualisation. It indicates that there is a tendency of mistrust in a prototypical type of happiness as described in 4.6.1. Yet, the ideal “true” happiness is not easy to acquire even though it is easily available.

Yu (1998) contributes this mistrust to the introverted character of Chinese people, as briefly discussed in a previous section, 4.5.6. However, our analyses finally suggest that it is an over-generalisation to postulate such a conclusion. So far, we have arrived at several cognitive models that underlie our daily language of happiness. What Yu (*op.cit.*) addresses is only an ideal model that expresses happiness as a value, so his postulation only describes one aspect of happiness. Furthermore, his assertion that this need for balance (i.e. no extremes) is derived from the influence of Chinese medicine is incomplete. Although countless linguistic

expressions in Chinese illustrate a clear connection between health and emotion in general, and health and happiness in particular, our models for happiness show that there are other concepts at play, such as Taoism and Buddhism as well as other folk knowledge.

#### 4.8 Summary

In *Zhong Guo Ren de Kuai Le Quang* 'What is true happiness to Chinese' (Huang et. al., 1991), the authors summarise the results of a survey of the same topic conducted in 1984 by a Taiwanese counselling agency (similar to the Samaritans in the UK) that there appears to be three levels of happiness for Chinese who reside in Taiwan. First one is a 'sense of achievement'; the second is a 'sense of caring and to be cared for'; and the third is 'to be free to be oneself'. Based on these findings, these authors attempt to conclude that 'true' happiness is and should be for a modern Taiwanese a model that is actually based mainly upon Buddhist, Taoist, and last but not least, Confucius teachings. Interestingly, the present linguistic data appear to support their conclusions.

As for the comparison between Chinese and English conceptualisation of happiness, we can see that when it comes to basic physiological responses, the differences are not relevant. The more basic and grounded a metaphor or metonymy is, the more similarity there is, such as UP, WARMTH, NATURAL FORCES, VITALITY, HIGH AND RAPTUROUS and CONTAINER. All these concepts describe happiness as emotion. However, when happiness is experienced as a value, we can see some greater disparities. Metaphors such as LIGHTNESS, CALMNESS, and FREEDOM, are much more salient and emphasised in Chinese. This may be

explained in terms of cultural differences. Most importantly, by using Kövecses' framework on happiness in Chinese, we realise that when Chinese speak about happiness, there are also various prototypes underlying this superordinate concept.

### 5.0 Introduction

According to the anthropologist, Robert Solomon (1981), the concept of romantic love, as we understand and experience it today, is a recent product. He argues that romantic love in its modern form only emerged as people began to acquire a sense of ‘individuality’, which was around the Renaissance time in the West (1981: 58). This individuality, he points out, elicits a sense of self-identity, which in turn, enables us, men and women alike, the ability to choose our partner. He goes further to define romantic love as an “emotion of choice” (*ibid*: 212). This observation could not be more appropriately applied to the case of Chinese society, where courtship was nearly non-existent and marriages were arranged before the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. This does not imply that people did not fall in love or did not have the concept of it before our modern time. It means that the concept of ‘romantic love’ was always bound up with other types of concepts, such as convenience, sex drive, fertility, power and social status, companionship, or even basic survival. Only through the evolution of time and social changes, did we began to render ‘romantic love’, or *ai qing* in Chinese, as a separate category.

Our language data will demonstrate these various aspects. Hence, as suggested at the beginning of this research that among the three emotion concepts: anger, happiness and love, love should be the one concept most prone to cultural and social influences. Consequently, we should encounter more structural and complex metaphors of the concept of love than our previous analyses of anger and happiness. A case in point is one of the central metaphors of love in English, LOVE IS A

JOURNEY (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, Kövecses, 1988, 1991, Baxter, 1992), which is a combination of at least two complex metaphors: LIFE IS A JOURNEY and AN INTIMATE RELATIONSHIP IS A CLOSE ENCLOSURE metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999:64).

In turn, these two complex metaphors are structured by more basic, so-called primary metaphors such as PURPOSES ARE JOURNEY and ACTIONS ARE MOTIONS, which are to constitute A (PURPOSEFUL) LIFE IS A JOURNEY, whereas RELATIONSHIP IS AN ENCLOSURE, and INTIMATE RELATIONSHIP IS A CLOSE ENCLOSURE to form INTIMATE RELATIONSHIP IS A CLOSE ENCLOSURE metaphor. The latter complex metaphor is referred to as LOVE IS A UNITY OF TWO PARTS by Kövecses (1988, 1991), which will be also used in the present analyses. Either way, it takes some cultural and social knowledge to interpret the degree of intimacy in each given society or the same society but in different time. Furthermore, though most cultures would agree upon the fact that an intimate relationship such as love is formed by two parts, they may not divide the 'share' of the two parts in the same way.

It would be of value to determine whether we can uncover such a constitution in Chinese conceptualisation of romantic love. If so, how should we account for this similarity, and what role do human physiology and culture play in contributing to this similarity, or possibly, differences? The focus of this chapter will be resolving these issues by examining its metonymies, metaphors, related concepts and above all, cognitive models. The chapter will proceed first with English data summarised by Kövecses in his work about love published in 1988, 1991, and 2000 respectively.

Following on from this, we will analyse the Chinese data using the same process as the previous two chapters.

It is important to point out at the outset some linguistic expressions of romantic love in Chinese. '*Ai qing*' is the generic term for romantic love, which is consisted of two separate ideograms: *Ai* means 'love', while *qing* stands for 'feeling'. These two words can be combined with other ideograms to stand for different types of *ai* 'love' and *qing* 'feeling'. For example, there are *mu ai* for 'mother's love', *you ai* or *you qing* for 'friendship', *chin qing* for 'family love', *shou zu zhi ai* or *shou zu zhi qing* for 'love between siblings' and *bo ai* stands for 'indiscriminate love' or 'love of humanity'. At times, *ai* and *qing* appear to be interchangeable when functioned as a state. However, there is a saying in Chinese, which states "*Mei you ai, ye you qing*", meaning 'when love is gone, there is always feeling between two people', indicating when it comes to romantic love, these two words are not exactly synonyms. What is clear is that *ai qing* is definitely used to described the love between a couple, either married or unmarried. However, it is not clear whether this love *ai qing*, is the same as the 'romantic love' understood by English speakers.

One indication of doubt lies in the fact that Chinese distinguish two types of love: *ai qing* and *ji qing*. They are either to describe two progressive stages of a love relationship, or simply as two opposite kind of love. Usually, when two people are first attracted to each other, there is *ji qing*, which means 'feeling/love of torrent'. At this stage, lovers experience mostly physical symptoms such as heat, pain of longing, physical closeness, sexual behaviour, etc. However, as a great deal of literature and our data reveal that Chinese would expect this stage to be over soon and instead will be replaced by a more stable and calmer *ai qing*. Our data will show that *ai qing* is

conceptualised as a little creek, though running slowly, it is smooth, quiet, soothing and runs longer.

As for the second distinction: two opposite kind of love, can be detected by some of the subjects' statement explaining that *ji qing* is not love at all, or they would deliberately not to choose love with only *ji qing*. They would go straight into *ai qing*, avoiding what they believe as "unreliable" feelings. Interestingly, the expression, 'romantic love' is very often translated simply by its sound, so we have *lou man di ke*, which is the Chinese pronunciation of 'romantic'. It shows that most Chinese think romantic love is an imported concept--a view echoes Solomon's (1981) observation. At best, it is similar to *ji qing*, a short, passing thing. *Ai qing*, on the other hand, is about commitment, marriage, trust, responsibility, and loyalty. Our analyses of both English and Chinese data will shed light on this dilemma.

### 5.1 English data

Kövecses concludes that the concept of love in English is perhaps the most highly "metaphorised" emotion concept (2000:27). He believes that its very nature is more than an emotion, and thus encompasses a relationship as well. However, he did not elaborate fully how this can be explained by his linguistic data. We can only confirm or disagree with his postulation after having examined his findings and the results of this research more carefully. However, his observation does point out the complexity and abstractness of this concept, which as this research proposes, is more susceptible to the construction of other cultural and social concepts, such as, in this case, the institutionalisation of marriage. We shall find out what the linguistic data on English tells us about this.



### 5.1.1 Metonymies

Kövecses identifies these following metonymies, which underlie some major metaphors of romantic love used by Americans to talk about love. He looked at commonly used colloquial linguistic expressions and found that there are some physiological reactions, such as HEAT, INCREASED HEART RATE and related symptoms stand for love, and particularly, its intensity:

#### INCREASE IN BODY HEAT STANDS FOR LOVE

I felt hot all over when I saw her.

You really have the hots for her, don't you?

"I love you", she whispered in the heat of passion.

#### INCREASE IN HEART RATE STANDS FOR LOVE

He's a heartthrob.

His heart was throbbing with love.

Her heart began to pound when she saw him.

#### BLUSHING STANDS FOR LOVE

She blushed when she saw him.

There was a glow of love in her face.

These above metonymies illustrate the bodily reactions, which mainly caused by HEAT, that serve as an experiential basis for love, and consequently some other reactions are mitigated:

#### DIZZINESS STANDS FOR LOVE

She's in a daze over him.

I feel dizzy every time I saw her.

#### PHYSICAL WEAKNESS STANDS FOR LOVE

She makes me weak in the knee.

#### SWEATY PALMS STANDS FOR LOVE

His palms became sweaty when she looked at her.

#### INABILITY TO BREATHE STANDS FOR LOVE

You take my breath away

Presumably, when a person is in love, thus experiencing all these above physical reactions, it is understandably that she or he is no longer capable of functioning normally. We cannot see, nor think and we are constantly preoccupied by the other person:

**INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION STANDS FOR LOVE**

He was blinded by love.  
He saw nothing but her.

**INABILITY TO THINK STANDS FOR LOVE**

He can't think straight when around her.

**PREOCCUPATION WITH ANOTHER STANDS FOR LOVE**

He spent hours mooning over her.

In summary, HEAT, and INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION and their related metonymies not only highlight the intensity aspect of love, but also the aspect of out of control and passivity. In the latter case, it has to do with the conceptualisation of love as a NATURAL FORCE. However, this aspect is not entirely negative, it, in fact, involves an element of pleasantness. In short, we can be 'taken over' or 'blinded' by the force of love, but it is normally experienced as a positive sensation and it is demonstrated on our face (or the eyes, to be more precise) and in other behavioural cues:

**LOVING VISUAL BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR LOVE**

He can't take his eyes off her.  
She's starry-eyed.

**JOYFUL (VISUAL) BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR LOVE**

Her eyes light up when she sees him.  
He smiled at her and the world stood still.

The intensity aspect is realised in LOVE IS FIRE metaphor, while passivity, out of control, and pleasantness are embedded in LOVE IS A NATURAL FORCE and its related metaphors. Details are in the next section. Now we turn to another central metonymy of romantic love: the longing and desire to be together physically and sharing an intimacy with the loved one, so we have:

#### PHYSICAL CLOSENESS STANDS FOR LOVE

They are always together.  
You are so far away. I wish you were here.  
I want to be with you all my life.

#### INTIMATE SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR LOVE

She showered him with kisses.  
He caressed her gently.

#### SEX STANDS FOR LOVE

They made love.

These metonymies indicate that being in love is not only in the head; it is also a physiological reality. They embody our experiential knowledge of love that our body experiences similar reactions as in anger, such as heat, passivity, out of control, but unlike in anger, there is a pleasant, positive sensation associated with it. What makes the concept of romantic love special is of course the PHYSICAL CLOSENESS and INTIMACY metonymies. These last two metonymies, in turn, give rise to the most central metaphor of love: LOVE IS A UNITY, which we will turn to in the next section.

## 5.1.2 Metaphors and Related Concepts

### Central metaphor: UNITY

Kövecses believes that the more than two thousand years old metaphor - LOVE IS A UNITY OF TWO COMPLEMENTARY PART - is central to the understanding of love in American English (1991:62). Here are some examples to demonstrate such a belief:

LOVE IS A UNITY OF TWO PARTS

We're as one.

You belong to me and I belong to you.

They are breaking up.

We're inseparable.

We fused together.

She's my better half.

They match each other perfectly.

Theirs is a perfect fit.

What underlies this metaphor is a more basic conceptual metaphor, which is NON-PHYSICAL UNITY IS PHYSICAL UNITY (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Kövecses argues that there is one general understanding among people, which tells us that non-physical – social, legal, emotional, spiritual, psychological, et cetera – unions derives from physical or biological unions (2000:119). He gave some examples to illustrate this point: “to join forces,” “the merging of two bodies,” “the unification of Europe,” “to be at one with the world,” “a union of minds,” “a deep spiritual union with God,” of course, we can add another one that has become a very popular expression in business nowadays – “the merging of two companies”. Similarly, the concept of love is no exception. LOVE IS A UNITY derives from a basic physical experience, which may be grounded in our biological drive. This is realised in metonymies such as PHYSICAL CLOSENESS, INTIMATE SEXUAL

BEHAVIOUR and SEX. However, as time evolves LOVE IS UNITY has gained another dimension, which is its relationship aspect. In a relationship, then psychological closeness is equally, if not more important than physical closeness, which is demonstrated in the following metaphors:

LOVE IS CLOSENESS

They are very close

LOVE IS A BOND

There is a close tie between them.

As we can see from the examples, the ‘closeness’ and *tie* between two lovers do not only refer to physical ones. On the other hand, when love has diminished between two people, we find examples such as “The distance has grown between them,” or “We have drifted apart lately.” In all cases, both physical closeness and distance stand for psychological or spiritual ones, which give rise to the concept of INTIMACY. INTIMACY is different from INTIMATE SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR or SEX, which is more bound up with a literal understanding of physical closeness. Conversely, INTIMACY, Kövecses points out, is the “metaphorical counterpart of PHYSICAL CLOSENESS” (1991: 75). In fact, as it is argued here, this counterpart emerges out of the evolution of love, which is from a basic physical, biological needs to a more psychological, thus more stable and long lasting relationship.

Kövecses did not express this explicitly, but as he did find concept such as FRIENDSHIP is also closely associated with PHYSICAL CLOSENESS (1991: 76), which, in turn, is the core of LOVE IS A UNITY OF TWO PARTS metaphor, he is aware that there is another dimension to the concept of love. Although he later elaborates the connection between relationship – friendship, marriage – with love

(Kövecses, 2000), he rather concentrates on how the concept of love forms the basis of both relationships. In fact, the reverse is also true, i.e. concepts of relationship, in particular that of marriage, also form an integral part of our understanding of love.

As we can see so far from UNITY metaphor and its metonymies and related concepts, we realise that, at least modern conceptualisation of ROMANTIC LOVE, embodies both models: emotion, and relationship. In other words, when a person talks about love, we cannot assume that he or she is only describing love as an emotion *per se*. In a society, where free love is more prevalent, such as the U.S., the distinction between these two aspects of love is less, while in a society, or culture, such as Taiwan, where free love is relatively novel in Chinese history, as our data will show, and this distinction is more blurred.

A further evidence to support the above postulation will be found in some more related concepts associated with UNITY metaphors or the concept of love as a whole. According to Kövecses, apart from INTIMACY, FRIENDSHIP, there are LONGING, AFFECTION, ENTHUSIASM, and INTEREST, which are most closely related to LOVE (1991: 78). These concepts can be either associated with LOVE as emotion or relationship, but our Chinese data presented in the following section will show a tendency to have concepts more related to LOVE as a relationship. LOVE as a relationship is further highlighted in the following metaphor, LOVE IS A JOURNEY.

#### LOVE as a relationship: LOVE IS A JOURNEY

This metaphor is not only prevalent in English concept of love but also of marriage (Baxter, 1992, Qinn, 1991). It demonstrates that when people speak about

love as journey, they, in fact, mean the relationship rather than the emotion. The following linguistic expressions as summarised first by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) give us such an indication:

LOVE IS JOURNEY  
Look how far we've come.  
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.  
This relationship is a dead-end street.  
We're just spinning our wheels.  
Our marriage is on the rocks.  
We've gone off track.

These expressions tell us that over here love is conceived as a process or progress of a relationship, difficulties encountered in the process, and the goal at the end of the process. For example, "Where are we?" and "Look, how far we have come" indicate that love is a relationship in progress; "It's long, bumpy road", "We are just spinning our wheel" and "Our marriage is on the rocks" illustrate the difficulties involved; and "I don't think this relationship is going anyway" and "This relationship is a dead-end street" express that there is usually a goal or a purpose of such a process. For unmarried couples it would be a union of some sort, which is usually formalised in the form of marriage, while for married couples it would be a kind of fulfilment found in each other (Qinn, 1991).

The LOVE IS JOURNEY metaphor clearly demonstrates how a semantic mapping of two domains takes place. Since most of us have a physical or cultural experience of journey, we know that in the schema of journey, there are travellers,

vehicles, roads, problems, and destinations. Therefore, the mapping between journey and love is as follows, which was first proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), then reiterated in their later work (1999):

Love is a Journey  
The Lovers are Travellers  
Their Common Life Goals Are Destinations  
The Love Relationship Is a Vehicle  
Difficulties Are Impediments To Motion

This underlying mapping, in turn, gives rise to a rich repertoire for the expressions of love as a journey, as seen in the above small sample.. More importantly, this mapping indicates to us that the concept of love is tangled up with our concept of relationship, be it friendship or marriage. This aspect brings out the fact that LOVE may not be such a ‘pure emotion’ as many people would like to believe in. In other words, we are dealing with a concept, which is more than being an emotion, although it has been traditionally categorised as one of the six universal emotion concepts (Russell, 1995). So far, we have seen from the analyses of both central metaphors of love, LOVE IS A UNITY OF TWO COMPLEMENTARY PART and LOVE IS A JOURNEY that LOVE not only embodies our experience of emotion but also our understanding of relationship. Next, we shall examine some more metaphors, which may capture either either aspects or one of the aspects.

### Love as Object

To regard love as an object is not specific to this concept. Our previous analyses of anger and happiness show that both of them are conceptualised as such as well. The differences are that in anger, the object is dangerous, in happiness, the



object is valuable, and in love, it is not only valuable, it is used as a 'chip' to exchange for something similar back. Before we go into the exchange aspect, let us look at love as a valuable object, which is well illustrated in the following metaphor, LOVE IS A HIDDEN OBJECT:

LOVE IS A HIDDEN OBJECT  
He sought for love in the wrong places.  
His search for love wasn't successful.  
She's continually looking for true love.

Due to love's rarity, which is not easy to find, makes it a valuable commodity. The following expressions will demonstrate how the exchange activity is engaged:

LOVE IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY (IN AN ECONOMIC EXCHANGE)  
I gave her all my love.  
I didn't get much in return.  
I've lost all my love for her.  
He received a lot of love from her.  
She rewarded his love by taking care of him.  
What am I getting out of this relationship anyway?  
I am putting more into this than you are.  
She's invested a lot of love in that relationship.  
The relationship isn't worth anything anymore.

This metaphor highlights the fact that love is also conceptualised as a venture, where you need to 'give', and hopefully to 'receive' something in return' as a reward. However, there is no guarantee that this investment will pay off: you may 'lose' everything, and when you 'put more into' it than the other person, it may not 'worth' anything. Arguably, this metaphor emphasises on the relationship aspect of love. This love relationship in this case is not a journey but a business venture.

Unlike the JOURNEY concept, what this metaphor addresses is more the risk aspect of the process, thus the uncertainty. From the linguistic expressions presented here, we can detect that the love here has gone beyond being an emotion. In fact, it is a 'calculated', though not always successfully, exchange. Such a conceptualisation can only emerge out of a time when the union of two people had become formalised by such an institutionalisation of marriage or of similar sort. It is argued here that this particular metaphor supports the evidence that why LOVE is more socially constructed than some other emotion concepts. This postulation will find further support in our Chinese data, where the EXCHANGE metaphor is even more elaborate.

Apart from ECONOMIC EXCHANGE, love is also conceptualised as a structured object, be it a machine, a tool, or a house (Kövecses, 1988). The followings are some examples:

**LOVE IS A STRUCTURED OBJECT**

This was a working relationship.

Something went wrong.

You should work on that relationship.

The relationship is destroyed.

Our relationship does not seem to be working out.

They are busy patching up their relationship.

Eventually they made it work.

They created a lasting relationship.

A relationship was formed early between them.

We function as a unit.

You should put more energy into maintaining that relationship.

This metaphor brings out the aspect that love is work. When love is talked about as a building, then you need to work hard to 'form' a good foundation for the building so it can last long. It takes a lot of "maintenance" effort to keep the good shape so it is

not 'destroyed' easily. When there are leakages or cracks in the building, we need to "patch it up". Furthermore, when love is talked about as a machine, then it is important that the machine is always in 'working' condition. It should 'function' well. Above all, there should be 'energy' supply to keep the machine working. All the above entailments, as Kövecses (1988: 80-81) argues, demonstrate a different kind of attitude to love compared to our traditional view of love. Our traditional view is that we are passive in relation to love; however, love as structured object expresses an opposite aspect: love is an entity that we create consciously. The notion of conscious creation, planning, maintenance, repair, the supply of energy and functionality all indicate an active cooperation of lovers involved. This aspect, Kövecses asserts is nearly entirely missing in our traditional view of love (*ibid.* 82).

Kövecses is correct in pointing out the active and passive dichotomy of love; nonetheless, this distinction may also arise from, as it has been argued so far, the nature of love, which is both an emotion and a relationship. As previous analyses show that whenever love is experienced and talked about as a relationship, there is usually an active aspect inferred. Therefore, another interesting question emerges here: Is the conceptualisation of love as a relationship also a relatively 'modern', or 'non-traditional' in Kövecses' words (*ibid.*: 81), concept? The tentative answer at this stage is no. For example, the JOURNEY and ECONOMIC EXCHANGE metaphors, in which the relationship aspect is emphasised, show us that lovers can be active participants in the activity they are engaged in, yet they are not entirely modern concepts. However, what can be 'new' and 'modern', as LOVE IS A STRUCTURED OBJECT illustrates, which may differ from the aforementioned

metaphors, is the optimism on the extent lovers can 'influence' the outcome of their effort.

Hence, taken all the linguistic evidence together and our understanding of the social development of love in history, as aptly portrayed in Solomon's book on love and passion (1980), we need to reformulate what Kövecses suggests. That is, it is perhaps not, how active a role lovers can play in their relationship, but how constructively they believe they are able to influence the outcome of their love account for the modernity. More precisely, Solomon rightly observes in his book that the modern concept of romantic love springs out from the freedom of choice, and due to this freedom one's sense of power over one's fate increases accordingly. Therefore, it is this attitude that has contributed to the new dimension of our modern interpretation of love as a relationship. With this definition in mind, now let us return to a more 'traditional metaphor' – LOVE IS A LIVING ORGANISM - which expresses lovers can be either active or passive in relation to their love, but the outcome remains uncontrollable, thus, unpredictable.

#### LOVE IS A LIVING ORGANISM (PERSON, ANIMAL, PLANT)

My love for her will never die.

Our love began to fade away.

Her love keeps growing.

You should nurture your love.

He cultivated his love.

Their love was just flowering when he died.

Her gentleness awakened love in him.

This is a sick relationship.

We're getting back on our feet.

Feelings of love were born.

They have a strong, healthy marriage.

We see that the above expressions do in fact suggest both active and passive aspects of love/lover. That is, although we can ‘cultivate’ and ‘nurture’ love, our perception of our own biology tells us that, unlike buildings or machines, it is sometimes out of our control to influence a living organism which can either ‘grow’, ‘flower’; or ‘fade’ or even ‘die’, independently. This out-of-control element indicates that lovers are still ‘at the mercy’ of love, thus stay passive in this case. Therefore, the active aspect of the metaphor highlights the understanding of it as a relationship, whereas the passive aspect underlines the experience of it as an emotion. In other words, LOVE IS A LIVING ORGANISM embodies both emotion and relationship aspects of love.

Now let us turn to the following metaphors that express love primarily as emotion. They also treat LOVE as OBJECT, but we can clearly see the difference.

The first one is dealing with love as a NUTRIENT:

LOVE IS A NUTRIENT

I am starved for love.

I need love.

He’s love-starved.

I can’t live without love.

He thrives on love.

He hungered for love.

She’s sustained by love.

All you need is love.

This metaphor focuses on the need of love, which can well be biological motivated. However, there is a psychological or spiritual understanding, which is metaphorical, for these expressions. They refer to love as a kind of food to human body, of fertiliser to plant, of air to all organisms. Such a mapping brings forth a high

degree of dependency aspect to this metaphor, so we know that lovers are basically passive in this case and cannot exist independently outside love.

So far all the above LOVE as OBJECT metaphors have dealt with LOVE more as an hard object, but sometimes we deal with it as a fluid like entity:

LOVE IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER

She was overflowed with love.

She was filled with love.

Warm feeling welled up inside him.

He poured out his affections on her.

She was full of love for her

This metaphor derives from a more generic metaphor of emotion, EMOTION IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER. Therefore, it not only expresses the aspect of love as an entity, but also its intensity. Our analysis of anger already demonstrated the epistemic mapping of our understanding on how fluid would behave in a closed container, which is the body, when heated. Sometimes, this container can be the heart, which gives rise to the following metaphor:

LOVE IS IN THE HEART

She filled my heart with love.

I love you with all my heart.

Either the body or heart as the container, we know FLUID metaphor is closely connected with the HEAT metaphor of love, which we will examine soon. Before that, we need to look at the expressions that support the conceptualisation of lovers as objects.

## The Object of Love

These following metaphors deal with the object of love, which is the lover, or the person we are interested in, who may potentially become our lover. They are equally important cognitively to the overall understanding and experience of love. In addition to love-as-object metaphors, they draw out some other attitudes towards love. First, we look at the metaphor that is highly coherent to the idea that love is need as exemplified in LOVE IS A NUTRIENT:

### THE OBJECT OF LOVE IS APPETISING FOOD

Hi, sweetie-pie.

She's my sweet and sugar.

Hi, sugar!

Honey, you look great today!

She's the cream in my coffee

However, at a closer look, we can see there is a great distinction between the need in LOVE IS A NUTRIENT and the one in this metaphor. In the former metaphor, the nutrient is conceptualised as something more of a psychological and spiritual food, whereas in the latter case, the appetising food is, literally, sweets. Kövecses points out that the 'sweets' image implies a close connection to liking and sexual desire (1991:68). He suggests that we eat appetising food not because we need it but because we enjoy it and it is pleasant to taste. An additional reason why something is considered appetising is its quality of look. It is usually pleasant to the sight. In many cultures, both men and women, though mostly beautiful women are regarded as food that looks attractive to the eyes in a sexual context (Emantian,

1995). The connection between something beautiful and the object of love is exemplified below:

THE OBJECT OF LOVE IS BEAUTIFUL

Let's go, beautiful.

Hi, cutie!

Well, gorgeous?

Shall we go, angel-faced?

In short, both metaphors embody our biological model of sexual attraction between opposite sex. As we can see clearly from the linguistic evidence presented above that the love in THE OBJECT OF LOVE IS APPETISING FOOD and BEAUTIFUL is different from the love in LOVE IS A NUTRIENT. The LOVE in the former case can well be replaced by SEX, while in the latter case it is not possible. Although there is arguably an inseparable connection between SEX and LOVE, not every culture embraces the same explicit importance of sex in the conceptualisation of romantic love. Kövecses, by including these metaphors in the scope of love in English, indicates his belief that it is an integral part of the whole schema. On the other hand, for example, in Chinese, sexual attraction will be placed in the sphere of *ji qing*, rather than *ai qing*. To reconcile the differences, what we can conclude at this point at most is that the English concept of romantic love seems to include both concepts of *ji qing* and *ai qing*, while *ai qing* may mostly refers to the steadier, long-lasting, commitment packed love relationship. This view invites confirmation when all the data has been analysed.

The following metaphor moves away from LIKING and SEXUAL DESIRE. It is closely related to several emotional concepts such as ADMIRATION, RESPECT, DEVOTION, SACRIFICE and ENTHUSIASM:



#### THE OBJECT OF LOVE IS A DEITY

Don't put her on a pedestal.

He worships her.

I adore you.

She devoted herself to him entirely

He fell on his knees before her.

She idolises him.

She loves the air he breathes.

He is forever singing her praises.

She has sacrificed her whole life for the love of her husband.

Some other metaphors bring to light some other concepts associated with love: AFFECTION, KINDNESS, CARE/CARING, and ATTACHMENT. They are as follows:

#### THE LOVERS ARE DOVES

They sat there billing and cooing until after midnight.

It was all lovey-dovey.

Look at those two lovebirds on the bench over there!

Here come the love doves again.

Their love nest has been discovered.

#### THE OBJECT OF LOVE IS A VALUABLE OBJECT

You are my treasure.

Hello, my precious!

We have to leave now, my dear.

#### THE OBJECT OF LOVE IS A SMALL CHILD

Well, baby, what are we gonna do?

In summary, all the above metaphors that treat lover as object address various attitudes towards romantic love in English. These attitudes are mainly emotional concepts, which are, according to Kövecses, inherently related to all these metaphors. However, they don't all constitute the concept of ROMANTIC LOVE in the same degree. For example, the core of it is structured by AFFECTION, ENTHUSIASM,

INTEREST, INTIMACY and LONGING. This grading is crucial in understanding the various cultural models of romantic love, which will be concluded later. Before that, we need to turn to the FORCE aspect of love, in which the aspect of traditional view of love as emotion is more elaborately underlined.

### Intensity of Love

In our discussion of metonymies, we see that several physiological reactions – BODY HEAT, BLUSHING, INCREASE HEART RATE – are the manifestation of the existence of HEAT, which gives rise to the FIRE metaphor in the conceptualisation of love. The LOVE IS FIRE metaphor in essence underscores the intensity and effect of love, which are exemplified in the following expressions:

LOVE IS FIRE  
My heart is on fire.  
I am burning with love.  
The old-time fire is gone.  
She set my heart on fire.  
There were sparks.  
She was his latest flame.  
That kindled love in his heart.  
I don't want to get burned again.  
He was consumed by love.  
I just melted when she looked at me.  
She carries a torch for him.

Kövecses points out that there is a milder version of the concept of HEAT, which is WARMTH, is related to the emotional concept AFFECTION:

AFFECTION IS WARMTH  
There was a warm glow inside.  
It was warm affection.  
She feels all over when her husband comes home from work.

However, as our previous discussion shows that AFFECTION is an integral part of LOVE, so when love has ceased to exist between lovers, it is conceptualised as cold, the opposite of WARMTH. Here are some examples:

Their relationship has cooled recently.  
Why are so cold to me?

For some people, or some cultures, AFFECTION, in fact, stands for love. They may never experience the HEAT of love, but the WARMTH of affection is sufficient and considered even more superior. Our Chinese data should lend tentative support to this view.

Let us return to the more dominant LOVE IS FIRE metaphor of love in English. As it was pointed out earlier, this metaphor is shared by the concept of anger, but the mapping, shown below, will show that the “fire” in LOVE behaves considerably differently:

Source: FIRE

Target: LOVE

- the fire corresponds love.
- the things burning is the person in love
- the cause of fire is the cause of love
- being burned by the fire is the frustration caused by love
- the burning of the fire is the existence of love
- the intensity of the fire is the intensity of fire
- the ability of the thing burning to function normally is the ability of the person in love to function normally.

It is clear that, unlike anger, the fire in love can be desirable if it burns properly, and too much fire will not cause the person to explode as the fire in anger does. Nonetheless, similar to anger, if it does not burn normally, it will cause the

person in love not to function normally. As in anger, there are these two principles underlie this model of love:

1. AS LOVE INCREASES, ITS PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS INCREASE.
2. THERE IS A LIMIT BEYOND WHICH THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF LOVE IMPAIRS NORMAL FUNCTIONING.

This aspect is realised by the metonymy, INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION, which in turn gives rise to the following metaphors that underline passivity, beyond our control, and pleasantness aspects of love.

#### Passivity, Out of Control and Pleasantness

As we see above that LOVE IS FIRE metaphor not only deals with the intensity of love but also the effect of love on us. We learned that due to the intensity of fire, it might affect some of our normal functions. This entailment underlines the passivity of the affected person how love can take us over, and it manifests as LOVE IS A NATURAL FORCE metaphor:

LOVE IS A NATURAL FORCE (FLOOD, WIND, STORM, etc.)  
She swept me off my feet.  
Waves of passion came over him.  
She was carried away by love.  
It was a whirlwind romance.  
She let herself go.  
We were riding the passion.  
It was a surging love.  
We were engulfed by love.

It is clearly demonstrated by these examples that the people in this love scenario are basically passive waiting for something more powerful happens to them.

The same passivity is expressed through the saying that “My true love will come along one day”, where love is conceptualised as MOVING OBJECT.

Further evidence of passivity is manifested in LOVE IS A PHYSICAL FORCE, which is similar to NATURAL FORCE. It expresses a person in love is like a physical object that obeys a larger physical force:

LOVE IS A PHYSICAL FORCE  
I was magnetically drawn to her.  
I could feel the electricity between us.  
There were sparks.  
I was magnetically drawn to him.  
They gravitated to each other immediately.  
His whole life revolves around her.  
The atmosphere around them is always charged.  
They lost their momentum.

Both FORCE as well as the MOVING OBJECT metaphors bring the passivity aspect of love to the fore, while the following metaphor, LOVE IS MAGIC, deals with love as something that controls us, thus highlights the out of control aspect:

LOVE IS MAGIC  
He was enchanted.  
She cast her spell over him.  
The magic is gone.  
I was spellbound.  
She had me hypnotised.  
She charms me.  
She is bewitching.

Alternatively, this aspect of being controlled by something more powerful than us can be realised in another metaphor, in which love is considered a SOCIAL SUPERIOR:

LOVE IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR  
She is completely ruled by love.

At the same time, the out of control aspect also implies a degree of intensity, so when a lack of control reaches its highest intensity our folk knowledge tells us that it can INTERFERE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION, so the following metaphor emerges:

LOVE IS INSANITY  
I am crazy about you.  
She drives me out of my mind.  
He constantly raves about her.  
He's gone mad over her.  
I'm just wild about him.  
I'm insane about her.  
She's nuts about him.

As a result, INSANITY can have adverse effect on the person in love, so we find the following metaphor to conceptualise LOVE IS DISEASE:

LOVE IS A DISEASE/AN ILLNESS  
I am heartsick.

Consequently, this INSANITY effects in our attempt to control it, so the next metaphor addresses such an attempt:

LOVE IS AN OPPONENT  
She tried to fight the feeling of love.  
He tried to suppress his feeling of love.  
She was seized by love

On the other hand, sometimes the effort fails, so this uncontrollable feeling is let out. It is considered negative when this happen as we see in LOVE IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL metaphor:

LOVE IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL  
She let go of her feelings  
He unleashed his love.  
Her feelings of love broke loose.

If we only consider the passivity and out of control aspect of romantic love, and we may tend to come to conclusion that being in love must be unpleasant. Therefore, there is a third aspect to the whole system of FORCE and its related metaphors, which is pleasantness. It is manifested in LOVE IS RAPTURE/HIGH metaphor:

LOVE IS RAPTURE/A HIGH  
I have been high on love for weeks.  
They were besotted with love.  
He is intoxicated by love.  
I am giddy with love.  
I have been high on love for weeks.  
She is drunk with love.

## Others

Kövecses also found some other metaphors, which are not yet so clear, whether they fit into the core model of romantic love in English. If they were typical, how typical were they (1991:105)? Here are the examples:

LOVE IS WAR  
She conquered him.

LOVE IS SPORT/A GAME  
He made a play for her.

Since there are not sufficient test to decide how dominant these two metaphors are, we are not in the position to speculate further. However, one can postulate based on the data we have examined that a good love relationship basically is conceptualised as something cooperative, stable and fulfilling, and lovers are honest and nurturing to each other. Therefore, concepts like WAR, and SPORT/GAME definitely do not fit in our ideal model of love. As for how typical they are in reality can be served at most as “devious” model of love. We will return to this point when we discussed the two models of love: Ideal and typical, proposed by Kövecses.

### **5.1.3 Cognitive Models**

Based on the linguistic data Kövecses examined, he proposes that there are at least two types of cognitive models underlie those metaphors and metonymies we have discussed so far. First of all, let us look at the ideal model he proposes, which he arranges in terms of events, states and properties in a temporal order:



## Ideal Model

1. True love comes along.

The other attracts me irresistibly.

The attraction reaches the limit point on the intensity scale at once.

2. The intensity of the attraction goes beyond the limit point.

3. I am in a state of lack of control.

Love 's intensity is maximal.

I feel that my love gives me extra energy.

I view myself and the other as forming a unity.

I experience the relationship as a state of perfect harmony.

I see love as something that guarantees the stability of the relationship.

I believe that love is a need.

that this love is my true love.

that the object of love is irreplaceable.

that love lasts forever.

Love is mutual.

I experience certain physiological effects: Increase in body heat, increase in heart rate, blushing, and interference with accurate perception.

I exhibit certain behavioural reactions: Physical closeness, intimate sexual behaviour, sex, loving visual behaviour.

I define my attitude to the object of love through a number of emotions and emotional attitudes: Liking, sexual desire, respect, devotion, self-sacrifice, enthusiasm, admiration, kindness, affection, care, attachment, intimacy, pride longing, friendship, and interest.

I am happy.

### Typical model

Again, based on his linguistic data, Kövecses arrives at the following model, where he thinks the temporal structure is more clear-cut:

1. I search for true love.  
I find true love.  
The other attracts me irresistibly.  
The attraction soon reaches the limit on the intensity scale.
2. I try to keep control of my emotions (the attraction): That is, I make an effort to prevent love's intensity from going beyond the limit.
3. The effort is unsuccessful, I lose control over love: Love's intensity goes beyond the limit.
4. It is identical to the Stage 3 in the ideal model, so it will not repeated here.
5. Love is fulfilled in marriage.  
Love's intensity decreases, it goes below the limit: Love turns into affection.

The two models share many features, but there are two major differences.

The points of divergence are attempt to control and love's culmination in marriage. In addition, in the typical model, our passivity of waiting for love is replaced by our search for love. In the typical model, the belief that love will last forever is substituted by the idea that wild romantic love turns into peaceful affection in a natural way. Finally, Kövecses adds that there is an alternative model to the traditional models, as discussed above, emerging in our modern time. In this model, the dimension of lovers as active agent is added. However, it is suggested in this research that it is not merely the active roles lovers' play, but the belief that they are able to influence the outcome of love is "modern" and "new". Apart from this alternative model, Kövecses mentions the possibility of another model, which may

be structured by the concepts of WAR and SPORT/GAME. Apparently, our folk knowledge tells us that at times we speak about love as conquering, winning, losing, making the right steps, choosing the smart strategy, etc., but they are not the proper “typical” model, therefore Kövecses refers it as the non-prototypical model (1988).

In summary, the English data demonstrates an important distinction between conceptualising love as an emotion and love as a relationship. In the former case, we see that most of the metaphors and metonymies that underlie the concept of EMOTION underlie LOVE as emotion as well. For example, they are FLUID, HEART/BODY AS CONTAINER, HEAT, FORCE, INSANITY, OPPONENT, CAPTIVE ANIMAL, HIGH/RAPTUROUS, etc. Similarly, metaphors and metonymies that underlie RELATIONSHIP underlie LOVE as relationship. They are UNITY, JOURNEY, VALUABLE COMMODITY, ECONOMIC EXCHANGE, STRUCTURED OBJECT, etc. Some are for both emotion and relationship such as LIVING ORGANISM and HIDDEN OBJECT (Kövecses, 2000:110). Therefore, Kövecses is quite right that LOVE in English is conceptualised both as an emotion as well as a relationship, and the richness of metaphorical system underlying this concept may be contributed by this very fact.

However, this correlation does not establish immediately a causal effect for the reason why ROMANTIC LOVE is perhaps the most “metaphorised” emotion concept. From an experiment conducted by Fainsilber and Ortony (1987), we learnt that abstractness and intensity of an emotion play an important role in the metaphorical degree of our language. In other words, one of the reasons for LOVE to be highly metaphorised may be due to its abstractness. The reason for the abstractness is, unlike ANGER and HAPPINESS, the fact that it is less

physiologically based, but more culturally and socially constructed. In turn, this constructed part is best manifested in its relationship aspect. All the above analyses are crucial when we come to Chinese data, because we are expected to find support to this view but also see some marked differences.

## **5.2 Pilot Study**

There were 13 questionnaires sent out, and nine came back with data. The subjects were asked to describe what, in their experience, love is. Since the age of the subjects range from approximately 19 to 50, it was not possible to assume everyone participated had experienced romantic love. Hence, the questionnaire specified that it would suffice if they were able to give their definition of love instead of the experience. Additionally, due to the more 'private' nature of this emotion category to Chinese, it was also taken into account that not everyone was willing to speak about the experience of being in love. They were perhaps more comfortable speaking about a neutral topic, such as the concept and definition of love, which may or may not be based on their personal experience. It may well be due to such a design of the questionnaire, so we are not able to identify many examples of metonymies. However, it will be supplemented by other data from sources such as books and idioms to determine whether the lack of metonymies is connected to the nature of the emotion or the design of this present survey.

### **5.2.1 Metonymies**

Within the limited data, we have found these following metonymies:

#### PHYSICAL CLOSENESS STANDS FOR LOVE

1. *Zai yi qi* (to be together)
2. *Xi shou* (holding hands)
3. *Sheng huo zai yi kuai* (live together)
4. *Tian tian xiang nian* (missing each other every day)

#### JOYFUL SENSATION STAND FOR LOVE

5. *Yue kuai* (feeling joyful and delighted)
6. *Hao gan* (fond feelings)

#### INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION

7. *Mang cong* (follow blindly)

It is important to mention here that JOYFUL SENSATION is a crucial ingredient of happiness, and we know that one important source of happiness is love. Therefore, it is not surprising to find people equate joyful feeling with love. *Hao gan*, similarly, is also a positive feeling, which can be roughly glossed as ‘feeling affectionate’. As our data from an earlier survey will show, this ‘affection’ is the foundation of a kind of *ai qing*, not *ji qing* in Chinese society. Now let us look at the metaphors this group utilised to express love.

#### 5.2.2 Metaphors and Related Concepts

As in English, there is one major metaphor that dominates respondents’ sense of true love, which is LOVE IS UNITY OF TWO PARTS. It is also usual to refer to one’s partner in Chinese as “my other half”. The linguistic expression for partner, in fact, is consisted of two lexical items, *ban* and *lu*: *Ban* not only means ‘partner’, but also means ‘half’, and *lu* means ‘companion’. The ancient symbol of *Tai Ji*, with two opposite elements, *yin* (the female, soft and dark force) and *yang* (the male, strong and bright force) complementing each other is an embodiment of such a concept.

Therefore, there is this deep-rooted belief that romantic love should involve only two parties, and it is exclusive of a third party ( as in *bu ke you wai yu* ‘no out of marriage affairs’). More importantly, this love is ‘mutual’ *bi ci* and reciprocal. The following linguistic expressions demonstrate these beliefs:

#### LOVE IS A UNITY OF TWO (COMPLEMENTARY) PARTS

8. *Ling yi ban* (my other half)
9. *Xin yi tiao* (our hearts are joint as one)
10. *Xiang yao zai yi qi* (want to spend life together)
11. *Ban lyu* (my other half; partner)
12. *Bu ke you wai yu* (no affairs)
13. *Bi ci* (have each other)
14. *Liang ge mo sheng ge de bi ci ren tong* (two strangers [entities] accept and recognise each other)
15. *Yi tong mian dui, fen xiang sheng huo* (together [two people] face and share live)

#### Next to LOVE IS A UNITY OF TWO PARTS, LOVE IS A JOURNEY

metaphor is also fairly prevalent in the data:

#### LOVE IS A JOURNEY

16. *Tui xiang wan mei zhi lu* (pushing toward a road of perfection)
17. *Guang ming qian tu* (the road lies ahead is bright)
18. *Xi shou mai jin* (holding hands to go forward)
19. *Xun tu jing* ([when difficulties arise] to find ways)
20. *Tong gan gong ku* (go through bitterness [ups] and sweetness [down] together)
21. *Man man ren sheng lu tu shang* (on the long journey of life [to find a partner])
22. *Pei ban zi ji du guo man man ren sheng sheng ming zhong mou yi duan shi guang* (accompany me to spend a part of my life on this long journey of life).
23. *Zhe yi duan gan qing* (this stage of love)

Apparently, the schema of LIFE IS A JOURNEY is mapped onto the processes and stages of love. In other words, lovers are like travellers and together (holding hands) they go through life’s ups and downs. When there are difficulties on

the way, they will “find another way” to resolve them. Since the journey of life is a long and winding road, so is the journey of love. It makes it even more necessary to have a partner to accompany you to go through this, if not entire, at least a part of, journey. It is interesting to note with the last statement that there is a whim of realism surfaced in the data indicating that, though it is still the norm to believe that love should last forever, there is a tendency among modern Chinese to consider other possibilities.

Since romantic love is conceptualised as a unity of TWO PARTS going through life together, encountering and overcoming ups and downs on the way, it is necessary to have certain elements to keep this unity together. These concepts are all inherently bound up with the concept of love and are expressed unanimously by subjects throughout the survey. Here are some examples:

Related Concepts:

*Hu xin* (TRUST each other)

*Xin ren* (TRUST the other)

*Hu liang* (UNDERSTAND each other)

*Ti liang* (UNDERSTAND the other)

*Liao jie* (UNDERSTAND the other)

*Rang dui fang liao jie zi ji* (BE OPEN, let the other person knows you)

*Gou tong* (COMMUNICATION)

*Zhen cheng* (BE HONEST, BE TRUE)

*Fu chi* (SUPPORT each other)

*Bao rong* (TOLERATE each other)

*Rong e* (TOLERATE the badness from the other person)

*Bu zi wo* (NOT SELFISH)

*Wu hui* (NO REGRET)

*Chang jiu* (LAST LONG)

We can see that the basis of love is to be able to trust, understand each other. In order to achieve that, it is essential for both parties to be open, communicative and

honest. Above all, when partner disagrees, you should unselfishly tolerate and support him or her despite differences. Finally, love is different from any passing infatuations so it should last long without regret once both parties have committed to each other. These concepts all illustrate the seriousness of love, which means that it takes efforts to “maintain” it as a valuable object. Furthermore, since there should be no regret, there is also a “risk” element involved, similar to a business venture. In turn, these aspects are realised in the following metaphors respectively:

#### LOVE IS AN ENTITY/OBJECT

- 24. *You le ta* (once you have had it)
- 25. *Chen jing yong you* (to possess [have] it once)
- 26. *Xiang xin le ta* (to believe in it)
- 27. *Yi duan gan qing* (a stage of love)

LOVE as an object is realised firstly by designating a pronoun to the concept of love, *ta* ‘it’ as in (24), and secondly, it is entified by the possibility of possessing and believing in it. A further example as in (27) is using a classifier *duan* ‘a section/a stage’ to modify love. This linguistic evidence shows us that there exists an ontological nature in Chinese conceptualisation of love as well. Moreover, it is not only conceptualised and spoken about as an object, but also a valuable one, hence there is LOVE IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY metaphor to express such a conceptualisation:

#### LOVE IS A (VALUABLE) COMMODITY

- 28. *De lai bu yi* (it is very difficult to acquire)
- 29. *Xun zhao* (to look for it)
- 30. *Ai xi* (to treasure it)



As love is a valuable commodity, it is natural that we need to look after and care for it. This gives rise to LOVE IS A BUILDING metaphor. This particular metaphor, in fact, underlies any kind of relationships -- a view espoused by Kövecses (1995c, 2000), as he was analysing "friendship" in American English. Based on his data, he concludes that FRIENDSHIP IS A STRUCTURED OBJECT is one of the dominant metaphors the concept of "friendship" converges on. First, he presents the ontological mapping between friendship and building as follows (2000:100):

- the people building the house are the friends forming the friendship
- the house or building (or the object) is the friendship
- the building of the house is the forming of the friendship/the bringing into existence of the friendship
- the strength (weakness) of the building is the stability (instability) of the friendship

The epistemic mapping is as follows: (S=source domain; T=target domain)

S: Certain things can destroy the building.  
T: Certain things can cause the friendship to end.

S: Building a house is difficult.  
T: Forming a friendship is difficult.

S: It is easy to break an object.  
T: It is easy to ruin a relationship

S: It takes a long time to build a house.  
T: It takes a long time to form a friendship.

S: It is hard work to build a house.  
T: It is hard work to form a relationship.

S: Buildings can be strong or weak. A strong house is better.  
T: Friendships can be stable or unstable. A stable friendship is better.

Love and marriage also take on similar mapping:

- the people building the house are the lovers forming the love relationship (possibly marriage)
- the house or building (or the object) is the love relationship

- the building of the house is the forming of the love relationship/the bringing into existence of the love relationship
- the strength (weakness) of the building is the stability (instability) of the friendship

Furthermore, our knowledge about love (or marriage) is based on the following mapping:

S: Certain things can destroy the building.  
T: Certain things can cause the love relationship to end.

S: Building a house is difficult.  
T: Forming a love relationship is difficult.  
S: It is easy break an object.  
T: It is easy to ruin a love relationship.

S: It takes a long time to build a house.  
T: It takes a long time to form a friendship.

S: It is hard work to build a house  
T: It is hard work to form a love relationship.

S: Building can be strong or weak. A strong house is better.  
T: Love relationship can be stable or unstable. A stable love relationship is better.

In our pilot data, there is some linguistic evidence to support that love is equally conceptualised by Chinese in a similar fashion:

#### LOVE IS A BUILDING

31. *Wei hu* (to maintain [the relationship] in good condition)
32. *Wei chi* (to keep or maintain [the relationship] in good condition)
33. *Ai jian li zai* ... (love should build upon...)

These expressions indicate that there is a actual 'foundation' *jian li* for love. In the case of Chinese, it refers mostly to the related concepts as discussed earlier, such as TRUST, UNDERSTANDING, TRUTHFULNESS, etc. Then, once the

building and or relationship is built, it is essential to keep or maintain the building/relationship in good condition. The aspect of keeping or maintaining a good relationship is a precarious process is further captured in LOVE IS (RUNNING) A BUSINESS. It resonates LOVE IS AN ECONOMIC EXCHANGE in English as identified by Kövecses, however, our overall data shows that it is, in fact, more elaborate in Chinese. More precisely, AN ECONOMIC EXCHANGE metaphor only captures a part of the BUSINESS schema, in which elements such as contract, investment, returns, profit, products, invoices, and risks are all involved. There is an abundant evidence to support this view as more data is being analysed. First, let us look at the pilot one:

LOVE IS (RUNNING) A BUSINESS

34. *Ai xu yao jing ying* (love needs to be run [like a good business])

35. *Fu chu* (to invest)

36. *Bu qiu ren he hui bao* (not expecting any returns)

37. *Li yi de shu song* (profit input)

*Jing ying* in (34) literally means ‘to run a business’ in Chinese and it is used as a polysemy in the sphere of love, indicating that people understand, at least, a serious love relationship is identical to running a business. Then we have ‘investment’ *fu chu*, ‘returns’ *hui bao*, and ‘profit’ *li yi* entailments to constitute the whole schema of business. Further elements will be added as we look at the main corpus, and some other written texts, which will be discussed in the next section.

Apart from A VALUABLE COMMODITY, BUILDING, BUSINESS, there is a fourth object love is conceptualised as: A NUTRIENT, which at times overlaps with another metaphor, LOVE IS LIVING ORGANISM (PERSON, ANIMAL, PLANT, etc.) For example, in the pilot data, we find:

## LOVE IS A NUTRIENT

38. *Ai she rang liang ren xue xi cheng chang* (Love is letting two people learning to grow up)

This expression reveals that love functions as a stimulant to help lovers (like plants) to grow and expand. It is worth noting that in this case, it is not love that is conceptualised as a plant, but lovers are, then our knowledge of plants tell us that this stimulant has to be a kind of fertiliser. Finally, it is logical to infer that a fertiliser to a plant can be viewed similarly as a sort of nutrient to people, which helps us to grow. The fact that this linguistic expression is converged on two conceptual metaphors, which means it provokes the mapping of two separate sets of source domains and target domains, and they merge at some point to form the new understanding is an indication of the complexity of this concept on the whole. In this particular case, the complexity arises with the shift of the “agent”, i.e. in LOVE IS A LIVING ORGANISM, metaphor lovers are the active agents, who play the active role to ensure the growth of their love. In the second metaphor, LOVE IS A NUTRIENT, lovers become the plant, hence, a passive benefactor, waiting to be nourished by love.

As we see in the English data, we find that there is evidence in Chinese to suggest that metaphors such as JOURNEY, BUILDING, BUSINESS and PLANT all imply that there must be a folk knowledge operating among the speakers of Chinese, to bring light to the conceptualisation of love as choices and decisions. This may explain how and why Chinese distinguish between *ji qing* and *ai qing* and there is a relative lack of rich metonymies, as compared to our English data. Apparently, when Chinese speak about *ai qing*, they tend to deal with it as a relationship. Our further

data and analyses should yield evidence to support this view. Now let us look at LOVE AS FORCES metaphors, which are also found in Chinese. Our pilot data shows two types:

LOVE IS A NATURAL FORCE

39. *Xin dong* (my heart is moved, or I am moved)

LOVE IS INSANITY

40. *Zhui qiu li xing de ai qing* (to look for rational love)

We learned that *xin* 'heart' is the most dominant metonymy in Chinese conceptualisation of emotion in general and love in particular in our earlier analysis of *XIN* vs. *MIND*. *Xin* not only stands for love, but also the person. In *xin dong*, it is understood that *xin* stands for the person who is 'moved' *dong* by love. As for the second example, though there is no direct description such as 'crazy' or 'mad' about love, the expression *li xing* 'rational' implies that love can be irrational, which is more associated with 'infatuation' *ji qing*, as discussed briefly at the beginning of the chapter. It is known that for Chinese true love is rational. Love that drives one crazy, or mad is not to be trusted. This aspect will be further supported by data identified in two published written work and the main corpus of this study.

In summary, our pilot study tells us that Chinese and English share the central metaphors of love: *JOURNEY* and *LOVE IS A UNITY OF TWO PARTS*. Other metaphors such as *A VALUABLE COMMODITY*, *BUILDING*, *PLANT*, *NATURAL FORCE*, and *INSANITY* can also be found in our linguistic data, however, how elaborate these metaphors in our conceptual system are is yet to be explored with further data. Finally, it is proposed that *LOVE IS AN ECONOMIC EXCHANGE* in English merely addresses one aspect of Chinese conceptualisation

of similar concept. Instead, LOVE IS (RUNNING) A BUSINESS appears to be more appropriate. Next, we will analyse two written works on love in Chinese, where a rich and systematic metaphorical system of BUSINESS is given.

### 5.2.3 An Earlier Survey

We will look at mainly two written works on love and marriage published by a psychological service/publisher, Chang Lao She in 1997 (8<sup>th</sup> edition since 1987) and 1996 (11<sup>th</sup> edition since 1990) respectively. They are analyses and comments on the results of a survey done by the same agency in the middle of 80's. These texts will be firstly examined in terms of the distinction between *ji qing* and *ai qing* to demonstrate that *ai qing* is not exactly the same as 'romantic love' in English. Secondly, as argued earlier that Chinese tend to conceptualise *ai qing* in terms of relationship, we will look at three metaphors that structure this concept. There are LOVE IS RUNNING A BUSINESS, LOVE IS WAR, and alternatively LOVE IS SPORT/GAME. These metaphors dominate and set the tone of both books and are used primarily by the various authors who summarised and commented on the findings .

It may not be entirely accurate to refer to these texts as survey even though some of the sources come from the interviews the agency conducted with their subjects. However, the majority of the texts had been rearranged and paraphrased by the authors, so the effect of spontaneity was diminished through such a process. Furthermore, the authors' use of a fairly elaborate and systematic language injected with the above three metaphors demonstrates the intention to provide the readers with a coherent picture of the authors' personal position on love and relationships in

Taiwan—put succinctly, is about winning and losing. This point will become transparent once we have done the analyses. The analyses will begin from the distinction between *ji qing* and *ai qing*, which are mainly set apart by the concept of *xu huo* ‘commitment’. Since *xu huo* plays a central role in Taiwanese-style *ai qing*, the security side of romantic love is the prerequisite of falling in love for most Taiwanese. Consequently, they ensure their love is failure-proof by attempting to run it efficiently as a business, so we will next look at LOVE IS RUNNING A BUSINESS metaphor, in which the concept of *yan hou dan* ‘quality check list’ is dominant. Finally, LOVE IS RUNNING A BUSINESS metaphor at the same time also brings forth the precarious nature of love that not all investment gets good returns—some win and some lose, so we will look at LOVE IS WAR/GAME metaphor which addresses this particular aspect of love.

### 5.2.3.1 ‘*Ji Qing*’激情 vs. ‘*Ai Qing*’愛情

First of all, the authors, Gu *et al.*, of one book, *Zhong guo ren de ai qing guan*, 中國人的愛情觀 (Chinese Definition of Love) (1997), wrote in their introduction that based on their findings, most respondents would place the importance of *xu nuo* ‘commitment’ before *qin mi* ‘intimacy’ and *ji qing* ‘passion’ in *chang jiu ji ai* ‘a long-term love relationship’ of minimum 5 years. This result was yielded by the authors using, in fact, an triangular model of love first proposed by an American psychologist, Robert Sternberg (1986) to analyse respondent’s descriptions of their relationships. According to Sternberg, a long-lasting and thriving love relationship must consist of these three components—commitment, intimacy, and passion—in fairly equal proportions. He believes that all three elements are vital for

attaining and maintaining a “consummate or complete” love in romantic relationships (1986:124). In contrast to this Western model, Gu *et al* note in their book that most of the Taiwanese respondents expressed the belief that commitment alone can sustain their love relationship, but not intimacy and passion. As a result, the authors conclude the importance of these three elements in a Taiwanese relationship with an analogy involving food: (41) “ ‘romantic-styled passion’ *luo man di ke de ji qing* is a ‘snack’ *dian xin*, rather than the ‘main meal’ *zheng can*” (P. 19) to highlight the peripheral position of ‘passion’ *ji qing* in a love relationship. As for the forefront position of commitment, they wrote: (42) “*ji qing* ‘passion/infatuation’ and *xu nuo* ‘commitment’ are like *ai qing* ‘love’ and *mian bao* ‘bread’, The joy brought by *ji qing* ‘momentary passion’ can never replace the security and reliability brought by commitment” (p. 124). Apart from food, Gu *et al* use flowers and fire to accentuate the temporality and unreliability of passion: (43) “*ji qing* ‘passion’ is like the broad-leaved epiphyllum; It is a flash in the pan. It moves you but it is unstable. Only *xu nuo* ‘commitment’ can maintain a secure *ai* ‘love’ ” (p. 129). They went further stating (44) *ji qing* is only some *huo hua* ‘sparks’ in a long- term relationship (p.182).

At a closer look, we find that in the first two examples (41) and (42), these authors employ similes and metaphors of food. However, the entailments of food here are not the same as THE OBJECT OF LOVE IS APPETISING FOOD metaphor in English, where food refers to sexual desire and liking. From the first instance, we can arrive at the following mapping:

SOURCE      -----      TARGET



Main meal	-----	commitment
Snack	-----	romantic <i>ji qing</i>

Therefore, we learn that it is the concept of MEAL, rather than FOOD in general is being mapped. What we understand about MEAL is that there are three meals a day to sustain our daily activities. They are necessary in providing us with energy and health, while on the other hand, snacks or deserts (*dian xin* can mean both in Chinese) are usually sweet and tasty but are not only not necessary but also unhealthy when consumed in big quantity. Hence, it is understood that 'commitment' makes us strong so we can function healthily, whereas 'passion', though tasty, does not fulfil our need to function normally.

The example in (42) concerns the simile, WHAT IS PASSION (*JI QING*) TO COMMITMENT IS LIKE LOVE (*AI QING*) TO BREAD, which appears to be related to the above metaphor FOOD instantiated by the expression in (41), and should be interpreted within a similar context. However, the unusual structure of example (42) demands some careful considerations. First of all, should this analogy be treated as a simile or a metaphor? In recent years, similes have been regarded as the weaker version, or the "poor sister" (Bridgman, 1996:65) of metaphors in various disciplines. For example, in psycholinguistic studies, there is evidence to suggest that in terms of memory recognition and recall, metaphors are remembered better than similes (Harris and Mosier, 1999:257). As for their use, metaphors are considered to be a more forceful comparison and cognitively more efficient than similes (Glucksberg and Keysar, 1990:16). Similarly, Roberts and Kreuz (1994:162) concluded from their experiments on the discourse goals of eight forms of figurative

language that though metaphors and similes share most goals, such as “to compare similarities,” “to provoke thought,” and “to clarify”, there were important differences such as “to be humorous” and “to de-emphasise” were only attached to similes but never metaphors. However, some studies claim that similes can be as forceful as metaphors in literary reading process (Bridgman, 1996), and others show (Chiappe and Kennedy, 2000)) that there are no marked differences between them in terms of comprehension when they are used on their own. One plausible explanation for the conflicting evidence is, as pointed out by Bridgman (1996:67) that there are several types of metaphors and similes--there are simple metaphors and there are complex similes. In other words, a simple metaphor can be as “poor” as a simple simile, whereas a complex simile can also yield forceful comparison as a complex metaphor.

In light of this fact, many researchers (e.g. Gentner, 1983, Shen, 1999) treat the comparison between properties of domains in metaphors and similes indiscriminately. That is, they are both relational comparison, but at times attributive depending on the types of metaphors and similes. Hence, a closer inspection reveals that (42) PASSION TO COMMITMENT IS LIKE LOVE TO BREAD is produced and may be comprehend as a metaphor. Therefore, what is being compared in this example is primarily the relationship between passion and commitment and that between love and bread. Yet, this comparison is rather peculiar if we consider Gu *et al* analogy of FOOD exemplified in (41), which shows that *ji qing* is a snack, while commitment is the main meal/course. One would assume in this case, for example, PASSION TO COMMITMENT IS LIKE DESERT TO THE MAIN COURSE would seem to provide a more consistent mapping of LOVE and FOOD. Furthermore, we also learned earlier from Gu *et al* (1996) that for most Chinese *ji*

*qing* is not the same as *ai qing*, and *ai qing* is nearly identical to *xu nuo* 'commitment', we would expect, however, a complete comprehension of this simile in the discourse Gu *et al* provided requires a frame shifting of some sort (Culson, 2000), because the two domains involved are not longer LOVE and FOOD, but LOVE and LIFE--with *ji qing* and *xu nou* in the LOVE domain, and *ai qing* and *mian bao* in the LIFE domain.

The above metaphors and similes reveal a fairly practical and pragmatic side of Chinese culture: In order to live well, one needs food first, after that, we think about love. When one speaks about love, first comes the commitment, passion comes last. This attitude, as mentioned earlier, is related to the fact that arranged marriages had been the norm in China until the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and are still accepted by some people today in our modern society. In order to make arranged marriages work, it was crucial to emphasise the commitment part of the relationship, since a marriage arrangement was most likely to be handled as a business transaction in a broader social context involving all the family members or even a clan. Therefore, if the marriage had failed, there would have been a devastating consequence. However, to have a functional marriage, *ai qing* apparently was not a necessary ingredient comparing with commitment. In other words, as argued at the beginning of the chapter, the concept of romantic love, or *ai qing* in a relationship is a fairly novel product of modern time.

The other two examples involved passion or infatuation, *ji qing*, give rise to these simile and metaphor: *JI QING IS LIKE AN EPIPHYLLUM* and *JI QING IS A SPARK*. They both highlight the beautiful, attractive, but temporary nature of *ji qing*. Yet, their entailments are different on three aspects. First of all, broad-leave

epiphyllum is a kind of flower often seen in Asia. It blossoms less frequently than most flowers and when it occurs, it lasts only a couple of hours. Nonetheless, it is well known for its unusual beauty and sweet fragrance. Therefore, *JI QING IS LIKE AN EPIPHYLLUM* not only narrows our attention on the beauty, temporality of '*ji qing*', it also reminds us of the uncontrollability of nature. Since epiphyllum is a plant, it has no influence over its own cycle; it is all decided by the FORCE of nature. Second, the sweet fragrance of the flower reveals that *ji qing* is also SWEET. Third, *JI QING IS SPARK* captures the beauty, brightness and temporality of *ji qing*, as well. It further brings forth the HEAT entailment of this metaphor.

We are able to conclude from these similes and metaphors that *JI QING* is beautiful, attractive, sweet, hot, but temporary. It is nice to have but is not necessary for a love relationship to function. What makes a relationship function is commitment, but commitment is not always love, or *ai qing*, either. In this case, *ai qing* appears to include *ji qing*, but at times similar in the context of commitment. In short, it seems the modern definition of *ai qing* in Taiwan is still rather "fluid". When relationship is not involved, *ai qing* is superior to *ji qing*, but when a serious relationship is involved, *ai qing* is not as important as commitment. This shifting dynamic will become clearer once we have examined the other important metaphor *LOVE IS RUNNING A BUSINESS*, which provides a context for understanding *ai qing*, *ji qing* and commitment.

#### **5.2.3.2 Is LOVE a BUSINESS? Taiwanese-styled Love**

From the previous section, we see the importance of commitment over intimacy and passion in a love relationship for a big majority of Chinese in Taiwan.

At times, commitment and love are interchangeable for them. The explanation for this, as we see in the distinction between *ji qing* and *ai qing* by most Chinese in Taiwan, that commitment 'guarantees' the stability and possibly the long-lasting success of a relationship. Further evidence to support this view can be found in another related research by Gu *et al* (1997) on Chinese concept of love and marriage. Based on their findings, the authors conclude that there are three distinct features of Taiwan Chinese style of *tian lian ai* 'falling in love': First, it is the primary goal of finding the right mate and getting married (Chapter 1, p. 10). Second, women "lose" more than men once they get married (Chapter 1, p.12). Third, once two people are in love, the possibility of separation or "splitting up" is unthinkable (Chapter 1, p. 14) and getting married is the only proper ending to a relationship. All these above factors influence the way people approach love, which are demonstrated in the risk-adverse behaviours people are engaged in while selecting a potential spouse (Chapter 1, p. 7).

These risk-adverse behaviours are described by Gu *et al* using a complex metaphor LOVE IS RUNNING A BUSINESS capturing the whole process of Chinese style courtship in Taiwan. The entailments of this metaphor reflect the components and process of running a business in real life. They are 1) The investment, 2) the goods, 3) the quality check, 4) the risks, 5) bargaining and 5) the returns. However, this order does not always correspond to the typical sequential stages of a love relationship in Taiwanese society. According to the authors, the foundation of love for Chinese is a "quality check list", or *yan huo dan* in Chinese, which is a list used in inspecting goods in the production line (Chapter 1, p. 3). This list, the authors state, is used by most Chinese to look out for the "right person".

They only decide to “fall in love” and eventually marry, (*ibid.*) when they find someone that fits the checklist. In other words, any investment for most people may only occur after a thorough check of their potential partners, who are in essence the goods in the metaphorical mapping. Unlike a Western model, be it ideal or typical as discussed in section 5.1.3, which highlights the uncontrollability of who you chose to fall in love with, Chinese typical model, based on the survey done by Gu *et al* (1996, 1997), is different.

In turn, these authors propose that typical stages of falling in love for Chinese follow different route. Their proposal will be illustrated as follows and the analysis of this proposal, as will be seen shortly, shows the free play of words by the authors carrying at least three metaphors loosely intertwined with one another: LOVE IS RUNNING A BUSINESS; LOVE IS HUNTING; and LOVE IS BUILDING. These metaphors are illustrated in the following narrative where the authors present the typical way of falling in love for Chinese (Chapter 1, p. 17):

(First), men and women who reach the ripe age of marriage begin to form the outline of their “quality check list” in their mind, and at this time, the desire of falling in love swells their heart. (Second), they set themselves ready, like a hunter on alert with eyes and ears open at night, waiting for the prey to appear. (Third), when the prey appears, the hunter scans it quickly to identify whether this prey meets any of the basic criteria on his or her “check list”. If the prey matches approximately the “blue print” (of an ideal partner the hunter has in mind), the process of courtship can begin.

In the above, narrative we find the “quality check list” is entailed in the BUSINESS metaphor, “hunter” and “prey” in HUNTING, while “blue print” in BUILDING. These metaphors may appear diverse but in fact all converge on another complex metaphor: LOVERS ARE OBJECTS, which in turn derives from a more primary metaphor: PRECIOUS GOODS ARE DESIRABLE OBJECTS. Therefore,

the process of a person seeking a potential ideal lover/mate is comparable to someone looking for a precious object. For example, the potential ideal lover is the “goods” (OBJECT), the “prey” (OBJECT), and the “building” (OBJECT) inferred in each of the above metaphors. The person who is looking for an ideal lover, on the other hand, is the “buyer”, “hunter” and “builder” respectively. Furthermore, this person who is looking for a lover has an “ideal”, which can be in the form of a “checklist” or “blue print” in order to identify the precious and desirable lover/mate. It is important to note at this point that in the above narrative, as shown in the last sentence: “if the prey matches the blue print of the hunter...”, these authors in fact use “blue print” to refer to the preferences hunters have over their preys. By doing so, they “merge” the properties of two metaphors, namely, HUNTING and BUILDING in one linguistic expression. Arguably, this combination highlights the fact that hunters, like builders (or architect), first map out what they have in mind and search the “object” according to that plan.

All in all, the mapping of these three metaphors are related via PRECIOUS GOODS ARE DESIRABLE OBJECTS schema, and share a generic mental space or frame ( Fillmore, 1982, Turner and Fauconnier, 1995; Grady, Oakley, and Coulson, 1999; Coulson, 2001), that includes elements of Agent, Ideal, Activity of Searching/ Matching and Object. Out of this mental space, many combinations are possible. Therefore, we see how these authors freely project covertly diverse but inherently similar concepts onto the same target domain, LOVE. The purpose of such a combination is apparently emphasizing the ‘unique’ aspect of courtship, as these authors see it, in Taiwanese society.

According to them, this type of planning, searching and matching constitutes the initial stage of a love relationship, which differs from the Western style of courtship. Furthermore, they argue, only after such a careful selection, the following stage emerges, which is summoning up the “courage” to fall in love (Chapter 1, p.3). This sequence demonstrates that, as these authors state, based on the self-report of their subjects, Chinese in Taiwan are more deliberate and conscious in deciding with whom and when to “fall in love” than their Western counterparts (Chapter 1, p. 6). That is, in the West, the act of falling in love is conceptualised as being inherently random, according to Lykken & Tellegen (1993). Our earlier analysis of American English metaphorical expressions also shows that feeling of “falling in love” is conceptualised as a natural force that “sweeps us away”, “carries us away”, and “engulfs us” in the “sea of love” (Kövecses, 1990). These expressions indicate that love is something that takes people by surprise in, at least, American society, rather than a decision of careful planning as maintained by Gu *et al.* about Chinese in Taiwan. In fact, as discussed earlier, the feeling those American English expressions imply would be considered *ji qing* ‘passion/infatuation’, rather than *ai qing* ‘love’ proper by most Taiwanese.

Gu *et al* (1990) point out another difference that sets Taiwanese style of falling in love apart from the West is the involvement of close family and relatives. For example, even after entering the stage of “falling in love”, lovers need to be cautious and progress slowly before further quality check so as to have more time to assess possible risks. This further quality check can be accomplished by involving family and friends who act as the *pin guan yuan* or the ‘quality inspectors’, (Chapter 1, p. 13, 14). If they also approve according to their “quality check list”, which



functions as an additional check of filtering out risk factors, then the stage of a more serious *tou zi, fu chu* ‘investment’ and *tao jia huan jia* ‘bargaining’ process can begin (Chapter 1, p. 17). What lovers negotiate at this stage is no longer a question of staying together or not, but rather practical issues such as whose family should the couple live with once married, or should one of them changes job to minimise financial worries. At the same time, both parties will enter each other’s family to gain complete recognition and acceptance. Once this is achieved, meaning both parties have satisfied the quality demands of each side, the process of quality check can be “officially” closed (Chapter 1, p. 18). With the approval of the family, maximum returns of such an investment is guaranteed, it is time for sealing the business deal with the marriage vow.

Throughout the description of the above process in the summary of their survey, Gu *et al* use a series of business expressions to weave a web of LOVE IS RUNNING A BUSINESS metaphor. Some of them have been mentioned above such as:

‘quality checklist’—*yan huo dan*  
‘quality inspector’—*pin guan yuan*  
‘investment’—*tou zi, fu chu*  
‘bargaining’—*tao jia huan jia*

We can examine some more linguistic expressions these authors use to support their BUSINESS schema of Taiwanese-style courtship. These expressions can be divided in three major entailments of a business activity: Goods, Investment, and Bargaining, and are illustrated below:

### Goods

Standards of goods:

1. *Fu he biao zhun* –match the quality standard. Careful quality control:

2. *Jin shen yan huo*- carefully testing the goods.
  3. *Jing tiao xi xuan*- carefully pick and choose
  4. *Yan ge di zhi xing pin zhi guan zhi*—carefully carrying out **quality check**.
  5. *Jian yan*—testing, inspecting
  6. *Shen he*--testing
- Quality checklist:
7. *Yan huo dan*—quality check list
  8. *Xun zhe yan huo dan de xi mu*—follow the **items** on the check list
  9. *Zai jian yan biao shang de gou gou duo yu cha cha de shi hou*—when the ticks on the ‘yes’ than the ‘no’ on the **quality control list**

## Investment

Payment:

10. *Tou zhi*—investment
12. *Fu chu*—paying, investing
13. *He li de dai jia* –reasonable **price**
14. *Fu chu de dai jia*—the price you pay

Loss:

15. *Nu xing hun hou de sun shi you mu gong du*—the **loss** women sustain after marriage is well known.
16. *Cong jin tian qi ni yi bian zhi*—from today on (wedding day) your (the bride’s) value will **depreciate**.
17. *Nyu xing jin ru hun yin guan xi hou sang shi de bi nan xing duo*—when women enter a marriage relationship, they **lose** more than men.

Returns:

18. *Zhi yao an ‘ai qing yan huo dan’ de xi mu zhu bu jin zhan, bao zheng ke yi huo de an quan you ping wen de hun yin* (as long as you follow the items on the ‘quality check list’, you are guaranteed to **gain** a secure and stable marriage)
19. *Fu chu shi zhi de*—paying/giving is **worthwhile**

## Bargaining

20. *Tao jia huan jia de nei rong duo ban ji zhong zai wei lai wo men liang ge jia neng bu*
21. *Neng geng you fa zhan*—the content of **bargaining** concentrates more on whether the ‘the home’ both share in the future will develop prosperity
22. *Ta bi xu gai bian yi dian, shou lian yi dian, dan zhe shi yi ge he li de jiao huan*—he (the husband) must change and moderate his behaviour (after marriage), however, this is a **reasonable exchange**.
23. *Nyu hai shen bian ruo you zhui qiu zhe, tiao jian you bi xian zai de nan you hao*—when there are some other admirers whose **terms** (or **conditions**) are better than the girl’s current boyfriend...
24. *Zai jiao wang shi, shi shou zhong de chou ma ji qing xing, xu yao er shan jia yun yong, yi bian zai ai qing guan xi li, ying de jiao gao de quan li*—while (a women is) dating (a man), it is necessary to watch out for the **bargain**

**chips she has** and uses them intelligently according to circumstances in order to **win her** higher and better power

Apparently, these aforementioned linguistic expressions Gu *et al* (1996) employ to construct the intricate ritual of courtship in Taiwan is to reinforce the conclusion of their survey regarding the three distinct features as described at the beginning of this unit. In other words, once two people consciously decide to begin the process of dating, the consequence of getting married is inevitable, and once married, separation is unacceptable. Finally, women “lose” more than men in this process. Due to these factors, it is essential to eliminate all possible risks that can endanger the unity or jeopardise women’s position in that unity. Gu *et al* (1996) reiterate this point by maintaining that most Taiwanese would “deliberately choose a time-consuming way of knowing each other, then actively *jing ying* ‘run’ a secure, reliable *ai qing* ‘love/relationship’. Based on that, they will build a marriage in order to minimise the failure rate of falling out of love or marriage itself” (Chapter 1, p. 6, 7). A reliable way of minimising risks is, of course, utilising a *yan huo dan* ‘quality check list’; otherwise, as Gu *et al* (1996) point out that “since we are living in a *ai qing yan huo dan* ‘love quality check list’ society, there will be a great price to pay if we choose to get married purely out of *ai* ‘love’, as it is the case in the West. (Therefore,) following the route of *yan huo dan* ‘quality check list’ is the most secure and risk-free way” (Chapter 1, p. 19, 20).

However, what is this “quality check list” these authors claim to be uniquely Taiwanese? In order to fully comprehend the conceptualisation of LOVE IS RUNNING A BUSINESS presented by Gu *et al* (1996), we need to closely examine what this “quality check list” consists of. However, without understanding the

contents of the “list”, it is impossible to make sense of this metaphor, thus the “uniqueness” of it. Gu *et al* (1996) have compiled at least six important items on the “quality check list”, partly based on the results of the survey and partly their experience as practicing psychologists and social workers in Taiwan (Chapter 1, p.21-25). The six items are as follows:

- A. Compatibility of two parties’ family—referring to the socio-economical position of both families, particularly, that of the father’s. For example, it is acceptable for daughters to marry someone who is from a higher socio-economical status but not the reverse. Contrary to this, sons can marry someone from a lower socio-economical class, while the reverse may invite unnecessary gossip. Failure to observe these ‘rules’ will cause everyone involved, particularly parents to lose ‘face’.
- B. Acceptance by the family members—referring to the harmony in a family. Harmony is a valuable Chinese tradition so when the future spouse is well accepted by other members of the family, harmony can be guaranteed.
- C. Potential for future prosperity—referring to money and career. For men, it is a matter of whether their future wife will help them look after home while they develop their career. Whereas for women, it is more important that their future husband is industrious, ambitious and can ‘make money’.
- D. Care for home—referring mainly to women’s concern whether their husband will give them the money they earn. Interestingly, the ‘care’ a man has toward his family is not measured by sharing housework or being intimate with his wife, but rather the reliability whether he will hand over the money he earns.
- E. Better genetic pool—referring to better and stronger offspring.
- F. Compatibility of two individuals—referring to mutual goals, plans, habits, ideals, and dreams.

In summary, the first two points address the essentiality of family approval and blessing, particularly that of the parents', in choosing partners. The third and fourth emphasise the importance of financial security in a relationship. The fifth is a basic biological consideration always associated with Chinese-style love relationship. Only the last point on the list is concerned with more intrinsic and emotional motives of the two immediate people involved in a relationship. Some people may have a different check list, such as having the last point as the primary consideration, or no such a list at all. The consequence of that, however, as Gu *et al* point out repeatedly is a "deep regret". This list also explains and justifies the rationale, as discussed earlier, why Chinese in Taiwan do not trust *ji qing* 'passion', and place *qin mi* 'intimacy' far less important than *xu nou* 'commitment' in a relationship.

After having examined these items in detail, one may argue that such a "quality check list" is not new nor unique to Taiwanese society. According to some love theories proposed by mainstream Western psychologists such as Freud and Jung, it is known that even in the West, lover/mate choosing is not an arbitrary affair. A common and most acceptable theory is that people tend to project their early experience and past or present interactions with their parents onto their lover/mate, so the parents in fact become the initial 'blue print' of the mate they want or do not with (Pines, 1999, Firestone, 1999). However, this "blue-printing" appears to be on a psychological and emotional level, which is different from the role parents play in a typical Taiwanese relationship, as discussed above.

If we look at some other societies whose social fabric in term of marriage is relatively closer to that of Taiwan's, such as India, Pakistan or some Arabian countries where majority of marriages are still arranged by family, we may discover that people there perhaps also possess a similar list to that of Taiwanese. Arguably, their list should contain the compatibility of both families, financial gain and prosperity for both sides, security for the woman in the man's family, number and intelligence of the children, etc. However, these models may lack the compatibility of the two individuals involved in the relationship, which is the last point on the Taiwanese list.

To conclude, the Taiwanese-style courtship appears to be a mixture of the Western model and those of more traditional societies. On one hand, similar to the more traditional societies, material considerations are still important to Taiwanese, thus the metaphor of LOVE IS RUNNING A BUSINESS is prevalent. On the other hand, through modernisation and industrialisation occurred in Taiwan in the last 50 years, Taiwanese, similar to their Western counterparts, have begun to separate individual emotion from family expectation and social pressure in choosing the people they are in love with. Despite that, as our earlier analysis which shows the distinction between *ji qing* and *ai qing*, and the prominence of LOVE IS RUNNING BUSINESS metaphor in Taiwan, it is clear that Chinese in Taiwan tend not to separate the concept of 'falling in love' and that of 'mate choosing'. This explains the deliberate and cautious attitude by deploring a *yan huo dan* 'quality check list' when selecting the people they fall in love with, whereas this kind of attitude is only applied to the Westerners when choosing a long-term mate (Pines, 1999: xiii).

Finally, it is not surprising when BUSINESS metaphor plays such an important role in the courtship amongst Taiwanese, the metaphors, such as LOVE IS WAR, or LOVE IS A GAME, are also verbalised fairly frequently in parallel. It is not coincidental that these three metaphors are intricately interwoven since they share some basic entailments, in particular, “risk”, “winning” and “losing”. Gu *et al.* (1996, 1997) explicitly assert that when love fails, men usually emerge as the winner whereas women the losers (1996: 13). This assertion is further elaborated in the authors’ attempt of profiling the so-called “winners” in one particular chapter (1997, 259), where metaphors of WAR is evident. This evidence will be further examined in the following section so as to establish a consistent picture of Taiwanese-style love elicited by the metaphors Gu *et al* (1996) so freely deploy.

#### 5.2.3.3. Men Win, Women Lose

On the back cover of Gu *et al* 1996 book, as a summary of their findings on love and marriage in Taiwan, they emphasise at the outset by stating that “ in the long-term ‘warfare’ *zhan zheng* of sexes between men and women, ..... In the end, there are no real ‘winners’ *ying jia*”. Over here, Gu *et al* (1996) not only word *zhan zheng* ‘war’ explicitly, they also induce the entailments of WAR, which are *you shi* ‘victory’, *shang fong* ‘advantage’ and *ying jia* ‘winner’. Gu *et al* (1996) go further to evoke other entailments of WAR metaphor in their subsequent book (1997), such as *zhan chang* ‘battle field’, *di ren* ‘enemies’, *di yi* ‘hostility’, *ce lue* ‘strategy’ and *cuo bai* ‘set back’. These entailments are exemplified first in the introduction of their book in the following statements:

*(Yi xing) shi mei zhan chang de di ren*  
(The opposite sex is the enemy without a real battlefield.)  
*Liang xing zi jian de di yi yu pian jian*  
(There are hostility and prejudice between two sexes.)  
*Ai qing ying jia de ce lue*  
(The strategy of the winner in love)

Secondly, in portraying a profile of “winner in love relationship” (p.259), Gu *et al* (1996) explicate an analyse of the *xing ge* ‘character’ and *ce lue* ‘strategy’ of *ai qing ying jia* ‘love’s winner’. They conclude that those winners have also experienced *cuo bai* ‘setback’ or ‘failure’ as well as *fen li* ‘separation’ in love, yet they seem to have a strategy of “how to chose a mature love relationship, predict a doomed love affair and forgo immature lover” (1997:259). Furthermore, this strategy extends to how to *chong zheng* ‘restore’ confidence in the face of *cuo bai* ‘set back’ or ‘failure’. Therefore, additional to the entailments mentioned earlier, Gu *et al* (1996) utilise entailments, such as *cuo bai* ‘setback’ or ‘failure’ and *chong zheng* ‘restore’, which implies restoring damages presumably caused by the war between two sexes to complete a picture of LOVE IS WAR.

Via the entailments of “winning” and “losing”, the LOVE IS A GAME metaphor is only a natural extension of the metaphor LOVE IS WAR. Gu *et al* assert that “in order not to *shu diao* ‘lose’ this *du zhu* ‘gamble’, Chinese men and women are engaging in ‘security check’ *yan hou dan* activity” (Gu *et al* 1996: 138). They not only compare LOVE as A GAME, but more specifically, A GAMBLE. Apparently, this comparison addresses some aspects of LOVE IS RUNNING A BUSINESS metaphor, in particular, the entailment of “investment”. As discussed extensively in the previous section on LOVE IS RUNNING A BUSINESS, most investments involve risk. Hence, the reason the “risk” factor in a love relationship is mapped onto

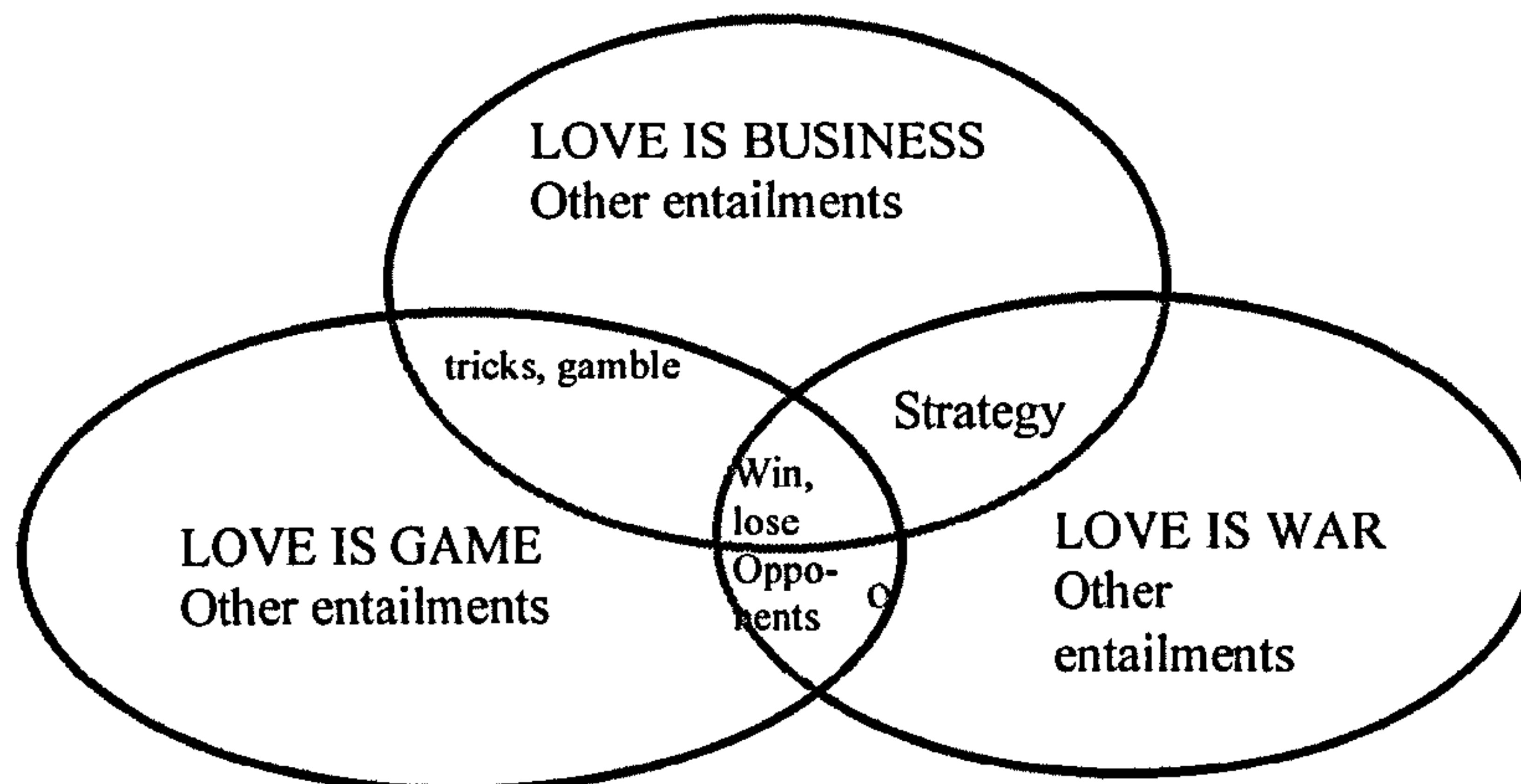


the domain of GAMBLE more than any other types of game is not arbitrary. To elaborate such a comparison of LOVE IS A GAMBLE, Gu *et al* observe that, for example, women in Taiwanese society “look carefully at the *chou ma* ‘chips’ they have in their hand and use them wisely in appropriate moments in order to *ying de* ‘win’ more power of control” (1996:9).

Other entailments of LOVE IS A GAME exemplified by Gu *et al* in describing women’s behaviour in courtship include *xiao ji liang* ‘some little tricks’ of *shi yi ruo ji ruo li* ‘playing hard to get’ and *yu qin gu zong* ‘capturing by pretending to set the game free’ (1996:8). The latter, in fact, converges on both LOVE IS WAR and LOVE IS A GAME metaphors, since this phrase in Chinese can describe not only a hunting but also a war strategy. This phenomenon of shifting between two metaphors to describe the same thing is referred to by Koch and Deetz (1981) as “external systematicity”(p. 9) in their research on the metaphors used to speak about organisations. For example, they find that ORGANISATION IS MACHINE and ORGANISATION IS ORGANISM share certain entailments, which in turn provide a coherence between the metaphors in play, which enrich speakers’ power of communication. The mapping of such connection (*ibid*: 10) is illustrated as follows:



Figure 14: The External Systematicity of LOVE IS A BUSINESS, LOVE IS A GAME and LOVE IS WAR.



The overlapping areas of the schema indicate some of the shared entailments discussed above. In this case, it is fairly transparent how the coherence is achieved even though three various metaphors are invoked when speakers talk about love. In other words, speakers can freely shift “source domain” depending on their point of view without losing the overall coherence of the metaphors. This device of creating systematicity through shared entailments, though may be beyond the reach of most speakers consciousness when they express something, is demonstrated frequently by Gu *et al* (1996) in their books. For example, when they want to emphasise the winning and losing aspect of LOVE as a BUSINESS undertaking, immediately they choose a more combative and confrontational language, which refers to scenarios of WAR and GAME/GAMBLE. As we can see in the schema, the one entailment that connects all three metaphors together is the aspect of “winning or losing” in a love relationship in Taiwan. Yet, the question is, how dominant and prevalent is such a thinking? Kövecses (1989, 1990) notes in his investigation of love in English that

LOVE IS GAME, and LOVE IS WAR appear to be marginal rather than prototypical of American way of conceptualising love. Our analyses of Gu *et al* (1996) data so far can not confirm if this may also be the case in Taiwan. If we re-examine the concepts and metaphors once again utilised by Gu *et al* from the idea of *ji qing* to WAR, we will realise that whatever is typical for Taiwanese conceptualisation of love really depends on the stages of love relationship one considers.

#### 5.2.3.4 Conclusion

The three important features Gu *et al* (1996, 1997) highlight in their survey of love in Taiwan are firstly, the differences between *ji qing* and *ai qing*, secondly, a successful love relationship is approached the same way as running a successful business, and finally, there are winners and losers in a love relationship. Arguably, the distinction between *ji qing* and *ai qing* is important at the beginning stage of a possible love relationship, while LOVE IS RUNNING A BUSINESS is dominant when the potential mate has been found. LOVE IS WAR and GAMBLE emerge to the foreground when love fails, which is the final stage of love. These stages are woven into a coherent picture by their shared entailments.

Unfortunately, the common thread that apparently runs through this coherent picture is a model of 'competitiveness'. This model, arguably, derives from Gu *et al*'s surveys as they remark in the introduction of both books (1996, 1997) that women and men in Taiwan tend to have a confrontational attitude towards one another, which may have arisen out of ignorance. This ignorance, they believe, may be contributed by the conservative social structure Chinese societies have experienced so far. In such a structure, men and women have been raised separately

so there have been little opportunity for them to know one another other than as “potential mates” before they reach marriageable age. When they finally reach the age to be in the “game”, as the historical societies have preferred men, the majority of women and some men are encouraged to focus on the competitive rather than the cooperative aspects of romantic love.

These findings are mainly derived from the data which Gu *et al* (1996/7) gathered in the eighties, therefore, it would be of great interest to discover whether their observations can be supported. So far, the pilot data imply that a “cooperative” model is emphasised through the presence of metaphors such as JOURNEY and LOVE IS A UNITY OF TWO PARTS. It is important to note that the prototypical model of LOVE IS RUNNING A BUSINESS, as the above analysis on an earlier data demonstrates, does not automatically suggest competitiveness. In fact, it focuses more on “risk adverse” behaviour to ensure successful business/relationship. Its “competitiveness” implication becomes highlighted when SPORT and GAME metaphors are added to form a coherent picture. Therefore, it would be of importance to observe whether the BUSINESS metaphor in our data tend to associate with more “competitive” or “cooperative” type of metaphors. This observation would be crucial in arriving at accurate cognitive models of love in Chinese.

### **5.3 Overseas Chinese**

There were 20 questionnaires sent out, and one rendered invalid due to excessive English and one returned blank. The data is identified according to metonymies, metaphors and related concepts.

### 5.3.1 Metonymies

There are three physiological based metonymies utilised by this group:

#### PHYSICAL CLOSENESS STANDS FOR LOVE

1. *Ju li suo duan* (distance becomes shorter)
2. *Qin mi* (close, intimate)

#### PHYSIOLOGICAL CHANGES STANDS FOR LOVE

3. *Sheng li shang chan sheng ge zhong hua xue ji wu li bian hua* (there are all kinds of chemical and physiological changes to the physical body)

Though this is a vague description of what exactly the “chemical and physiological” changes are, there is an acute awareness that love has an effect on the body. The following metonymy may explain more specifically the physiological impact of love:

#### INTERFERENCE WITH NORMAL FUNCTION STANDS FOR LOVE

4. *Yi dai jian kuan* (clothes and belt become bigger; lose weight)
5. *Qia chang gua du* (intestines are dragged and belly is hung midway)
6. *Dui fang de kuai le yu fou ying xiang zi ji de qing xu* (the other person is happy or not affects one’s mood)

4 and 5 tell us more precisely of the physical changes such as losing weight and twisting guts, whereas expression in 6 indicates how one’s mood is controlled by the other and consequently is more susceptible to moodiness and irritability.

In summary, the overseas data also points to the existence of a physical, experiential basis of love shared by Chinese living in another culture. Next we will look at their use of metaphors and inherent related concepts.

### 5.3.2 Metaphors and Related Concepts

In this group, there is equally a high percentage use of LOVE IS A UNITY OF TWO COMPLEMENTARY PARTS metaphor, followed by LOVE HINDERS NORMAL FUNCTIONING and INSANITY. The other metaphors are supported by less linguistic expressions (< 5) which are ENTITY/OBJECTS, COMMODITY, FLUID, HEAT, HEART, JOURNEY, WORK, BUILDING, GROWING ELEMENT, LIVING ORGANISM, ELECTRICITY, MAGNET, BOUND BY YUAN, SWEET, and CONTAINED IN THE EYE. They will be discussed in five categories: 1) Love as a state, 2) love as a process, 3) love as entity and container, 4) love as force, and 5) related concept.

#### Love as state

The following is the linguistic evidence to manifest love as a state that includes UNIT, and BOUNDED BY *YUAN*:

#### LOVE IS A UNITY OF TWO COMPLEMENTARY PARTS

1. *Rong he zai liang sheng ming ti nei* (merged of two individuals' lives)
2. *Zai yi qi sheng huo* (to live together)
3. *Gong tong sheng huo* (to share lives together)
4. *Fen xiang sheng ming de yi yuan* (the desire to share lives together)
5. *Ban lyu* (my other half, my companion)
6. *Si xiang rong ru dui fang* (our thoughts are merged)
7. *Yi qi xi shou* (to hold hand together to go through life)
8. *Bi ci yong you* (to own each other)
9. *Hu xiang shu yu* (belong to each other)
10. *Shan meng hai shi* (vow that lasts as long as mountains and seas [for staying together])

The use of such language by the subjects demonstrates these entailments:

First of all, a sense of 'belonging to each other' *hu xiang shu yu*, 'own each other' *bi*

*ci yong you* is developed, then there comes the ‘desire’ *yi yuan* of ‘sharing lives’ *feng xiang sheng ming* and ‘living together’ *gong tong sheng huo*. Apart from the physical closeness, the presence of psychological closeness is crucial as well (*si xiang rong ru dui fang* ‘each other’s thoughts are merged together’), so when both elements are there in the relationship, finally, it is cemented with an ‘eternal vow’ *shan meng hai shi* to seal the unity. This unity, in turn, is bounded by *YUAN*, which is something resembling to a ‘thread’ that is pulled by *yue sha lao ren* (a kind of Moon fairy, according to Chinese folk-belief). This concept indicates a “fatalistic” view of love, as it is implied in the following examples:

11. *Sui yuan jin fen* (follow the thread [fate] and do your best)
12. *Hao yuan wei xi (ai)* (good thread [fate] to maintain love)

However, this concept may not be as dominant as it was once in Chinese societies. Instead, more and more people believe that love requires effort and work. This aspect is well captured by those metaphors describing love as a process.

### Love as a process

For this unity to last forever, most subjects are aware that there is great deal of work and time needed to ensure that they can reach their desired goal. Therefore we will first look at WORK, JOURNEY, and BUILDING through which subjects expressed the importance of “working out” a common way and goal. Then we will turn to GROWING ELEMENT and LIVING ORGANISM.

### LOVE IS WORK/JOURNEY



In Baxter's (1992) research on relationships among American college students, she found that the most dominant metaphor utilised by her subjects is RELATIONSHIP DEVELOPMENT AS WORK, illustrated by three interrelated entailments inferred frequently by the subjects. They are effortfulness, outcome or product and assembly of parts (*ibid*: 260-261). It seems the majority of her subjects conceptualise that firstly, the presence of struggle and effort was a natural and expected part of relationship development. Secondly, the activity of relational work thrives on the achievement of a desired outcome, which is a smoothly functioning relationship. Progress toward the outcome or product serves as the standard for gauging the success of the relationship development. Thirdly, the 'parts' in relationships, which needed to be assembled, include the parties involved and their needs, goals, habits and schedules, etc.

It appears that there is some linguistic evidence to support such a conceptualisation among Chinese speakers as well. Although there are no explicit words in Chinese as in English such as 'to work on' the relationship, 'to work out' the differences, or 'to work toward' a common goal, there are other expressions to infer the presence of the aforementioned three entailments in their conceptualisation of a functioning unity. These are some examples mentioned by the overseas Chinese respondents:

#### EFFORT

13. *Rong ren xian zai di ta* (to tolerate the other person as he is)
14. *Bu duan di gai bian zi ji* (constantly changing oneself)
15. *Rang bu* (to give in)
16. *Gei bi ci kong jian* (to give each other space)

'To tolerate' *rong ren*, 'change oneself' *gai bien zi ji*, 'give in' *rang bu* and 'give breathing space to each other' *gei pic ci kong jian* are all strategies and efforts of resolving differences between parties involved. The outcome, and goal of such effort is to ensure the unity. The third entailment, assembly of parts, are manifested in the following expressions:

ASSEMBLY OF PARTS:

17. *Liang ren pi ci pei he* (two people try to accommodate each other)

18. *Wei dui fan zhao xiang* (to put oneself in the other person's shoe)

19. *Hu xiang fu zhu* (supporting each other)

20. *Zhi chi* (support each other)

First two expressions implicitly state the necessity of considering and accommodating each other's personality, habits, lifestyle, etc., while the last two expressions illustrate the awareness of each other's goals and priorities and importance of supporting them. However, it is still a foregone conclusion at this stage to believe that there is such a metaphor, RELATIONSHIP IS WORK, as so explicitly stated by Baxter's subjects, in Chinese. This may contribute to the difference in the research method. Baxter and her associates explored relationship between couples who had been in a relationship for minimum 1 month prior to their participation in the research (the mean was 20.2 months among 106 subjects). The subjects were also asked to look at their romantic relationship in terms of chronic development divided by stages and gave description for each stage. Such a method provided the possibility for the subjects to speak about their "problems" encountered in the process of forming a meaningful relationship more specifically and the importance of the effort to integrating each other's goal, habit, life style, etc. to maintain a successful unity.

In the present research, subjects were only asked a neutral question: What do you think 'love' *ai qing* is, without specifying any particular stage of a love relationship. Nonetheless, there is some evidence suggesting that Chinese subjects are aware of the WORK aspect of the relationship. For example, as one subject in the overseas Chinese group expresses it:

Love needs honesty. You should be honest and willing to communicate with your partner about anything.... Love is to last a long time. Even you see things (the outlooks) or behave differently, you are still able to tolerate and accept each other's differences. (Due to the differences) there will be arguments, but the result of such arguments will only increase the understanding and intimacy of you two.

Though there is no specific problem identified in this description as in Baxter's research, all three entailments of RELATIONSHIP IS WORK are present:

Effort:

You should be honest and willing to communicate about anything

Goal:

Love is to last a long time.

Increase of understanding and intimacy.

Assembly of parts:

(Tolerate and accept each other's) Outlooks and behaviour

Another subject in the same group expresses a variation in a smaller scale:

(Two people) will make attempt to recognise various problems while being together, therefore will try to find ways of solutions and not give up easily before solutions are found. During the process of resolving problems, there is this readiness to give in or step back in order to resolve conflicts in the worst scenario. You'll have the feeling of having (possessing) each other, and a sense of mutual belonging. S/he is your most understanding and intimate friend.

In this narrative, we are able to identify at least two entailments of the WORK metaphor:

Effort:

Will make attempt to recognise various problems

Will find ways of solution

Not to give up easily

To give in or step back

Goal:

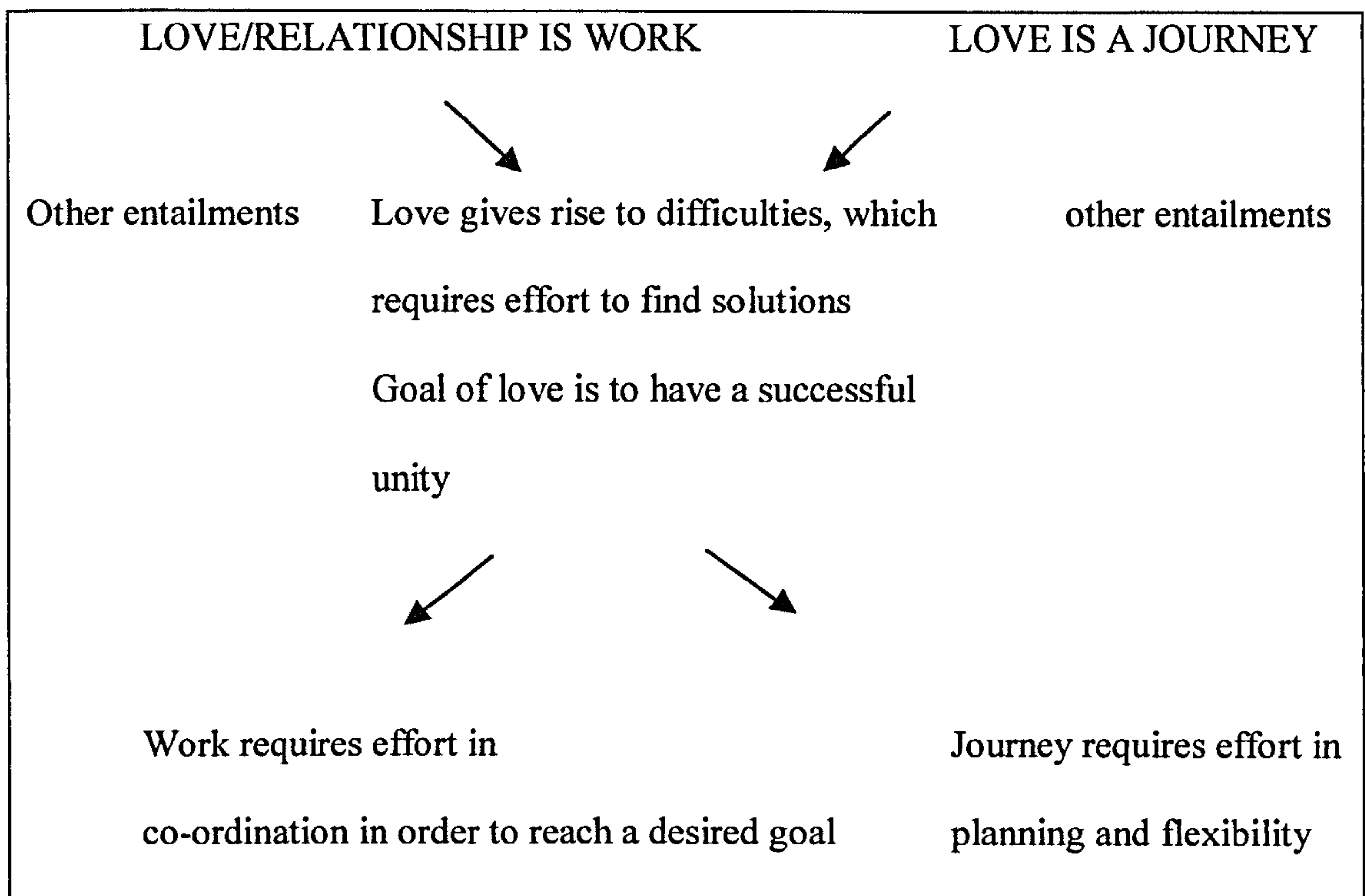
A sense of belonging

A most understanding and intimate friend

As for the third entailment, assembly of parts, is not specified in this narrative. The subject does not say what the “parts”, such as differences in goals, outlooks, or habits are that need to be “assembled” through effort of giving in or stepping back. However, it is well understood that most problems in relationships arise out of incompatibility of the aforementioned elements so that in order to find solutions for problems, one has to consider ways of accommodating each other’s differences. The other reason for not explicating the problem is that this particular narrator was basically theorising how relationships should work (as she was single at the time of the filling out the questionnaire). Furthermore, what we see in her narrative is a mixture of two metaphors: Apart from LOVE/RELATIONSHIP IS WORK, as mentioned above, there is LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, manifested in “find ways of solutions” and “to step back”. It is fairly common to have mixed metaphors in one phrase or a sentence. The motivation for this is what referred to as “external systematicity” proposed by Deetz (1981), and used by Gu *et al* (1996, 1997) extensively in their usage of LOVE IS BUSINESS, WAR and GAME/GAMBLE on comments of love in the previous section.

In the case of LOVE/RELATIONSHIP IS WORK and LOVE IS A JOURNEY, we can find similar mechanism at work as well. First of all, there is this shared understanding that both people at work or on a journey encounter difficulties, and hence, require effort of finding solutions. A further shared understanding is that both work and a journey are goal-orientated. At work, it could be a functioning machine, or a reached business target, while on a journey, it is reaching the destination safely. The difference is, however, at work it is through compromising or co-ordinating different needs and attitudes of various workers to resolve conflict in order to reach their goal together. On a journey it is finding other ways when original route is blocked, or even retreating, either to renegotiate a new route or wait till the route is free again so that the passengers will reach the final destination together. Therefore, the shared entailments of the WORK and JOURNEY metaphors are that love/relationship gives rise to difficulties which require effort to find solutions, and the goal of love/relationship is to have a successful unity. Such an analysis can generate the following mapping:

Figure 15. The External Systematicity of LOVE IS WORK AND LOVE IS A JOURNEY



Once again, such a mapping has made the point that it was not coincidental how and why these two metaphors are mixed so as to allow subjects to express salient concepts and experiences in an economic and effective way. There are some more examples depicting JOURNEY:

21. (*lian ren*) *Du quo zhe yi sheng* ([two people] spend the whole life together)
22. *Zhui qiu de ai qing* (run after love)
23. *Yi lu xing lai* (came all the way)
24. *Zai ren sheng lu tu shang xiang xie er xing* (one the life's road walk along side helping each other)

The references to journey, road, run, and walk are all very apparent in 22, 23 and 24, except 21. However, the word, *du* 渡 in 21 is a verb to describe a boat ferrying across a river, thus inferring that life is spending time on a journey on water, presumably a Buddhist's influence.

Unlike the example we saw previously in the WORK narrative, where the difficulty of JOURNEY was emphasised, a feature that merge these two metaphors; however, these four expressions from 21 to 24 stress more on the fact of travelling together, which is an entailment not necessary included in the WORK schema. In fact, as it will be seen very soon in our main corpus that WORK tends to co-occur with the BUILDING metaphor, due to the shared entailments of “goal” and “parts/objects”. Since there is only one instance of BUILDING metaphor being identified in the overseas data, it is not possible to see their correlation at this point. This instance is an example of utilising the verb, *jian li*, which means ‘to build’:

#### LOVE IS A BUILDING

25. (*Ai qing de*) *jian li* ([love] is built on...)

The love as a process is embedded in the shared feature of being goal

oriented pertained in all three WORK, JOURNEY, and BUILDING metaphors. The following two metaphors GROWING ELEMENT and LIVING ORGANISM, the process of growing or changing is more evident:

#### LOVERS AS GROWING ELEMENT

26. *Cheng zhang* (to grow)

#### LOVE AS LIVING ORGANISM

27. *Sheng chu gan qing* (give birth to love)

28. *Pei yang* (to cultivate [love])

## Entity and Container

In this category, we will first present the metaphor which structures love as an ENTITY through referring love as 'it' *ta*. This entity appears in the form of precious object as in COMMODITY, fluid and heat substance as in FLUID and HEAT. Then we will turn to CONTAINER metaphors, which are EYE and HEART (*XIN*).

### LOVE IS AN ENTITY

29. *Ta you bu tong de xing mao* (it has many different faces)

30. *Ta ke yi kuo zhan* (it can expand)

31. *Bu xiang xin ai qing cun zai* (do not believe love exist)

32. *Wei ta sheng sheng shi shi qian chang qua du* (for it a life time's worry)

The following is an expression that captures love as an object to be given to each other. In this case love is symbolised by *xin*, 'heart':

### LOVE IS AN OBJECT

33. *Xin xiang shou xu* (heart [love] to be given and taken by each other)

This apparently very romantic expression is in fact based on the concept of exchanging precious goods, which usually takes place in an economic transaction.

The following expression is less romantic but address COMMODITY aspect of love:

### LOVE IS A COMMODITY

34. *(Ai qing) she chi ang gui de* ([love] is luxurious goods and expensive)

ENTITY metaphor also gives rise to two related concept: LIQUID and HEAT:

### LOVE IS LIQUID

35. *(Ai qing) qing qing ru shui* (love is as clear as water)



36. *Lang man duo yu de* (romantic but redundant)

In order to understand 33, we need to mention briefly what was discussed in the earlier survey in which it was clear that Chinese distinguish *ji qing* from *ai qing*. With *ji qing* and *lang man* both referring to raging water and waves, they are regarded as representing similar concept. Therefore, similar to *ji qing*, *lang man* has a negative connotation, too. A detailed account will be given in the main corpus when there are more data to interpret the conflicting evidence presented in 32 and 33.

LOVE IS HEAT

37. *Rong he* (melted together)

38. *Sheng hua* (vaporised)

39. *Wen nuan* (warm)

40. *Hong hong lie lie* (loud and hot [heat and spectacle of a fire work])

The example in 35 does not refer to disappearance of love, but rather love reaching a higher level. *Sheng hua* is a term in physics to describe the natural phenomenon that when heat reaches 100 degrees, steam emerges.

The CONTAINER metaphors are EYE and *XIN* 'heart' as the container to hold love:

LOVE IS IN THE HEART

41. *Ke gu ming xin* ([love is] carving into your bone and leaving mark on the heart)

42. *Ai qing wei xin xin xiang shou* (love is heart to heart to give and take)

43. *Xin li hu xu* (the heart says yes to each other)

44. *An xin* (heart feels safe)

45. *Fang xin* (heart feels relaxed)

46. *Tie xin* (hearts are stick together)

## LOVE IS CONTAINED IN THE EYE

47. *Yi ge yan shen* ([love is shown in] one look )

### Love as a force

There are physical force and nature force. The physical force is demonstrated in the following:

48. *Xin dong de gan jue* (heart is moving sensation)

49. *Li liang da, ai qing gu wu er xiang shang* (it is powerful, love moves/pushes [you] dancing upward)

This force can be shown in the form of ELECTRICITY and MAGNET:

#### ELECTRICITY

50. *Gan qing gao du jiao liu* (love in high current flows to one another)

#### MAGNET

51. *Liang xing xiang xi* (two sexes attract each other)

52. *Bi ci xi yin* (attracting each other)

As for the nature force, we have:

53. *(ai de) tian beng di lie* (so in love that sky stumbled and earth cracked open)

Yet, mostly we see examples capturing the consequences of this force which is beyond us such as HINDERS NORMAL FUNCTIONING, and INSANITY:

#### HINDERS NORMAL FUNCTIONING:

54. *Chong man ke chong jing, huan xiang* (full of hallucination and illusion)

55. *Dui ai qing you chong jing* (to love one has illusion)

56. *Dui fang de kuai ke yu fou ying xiang zi ji de qing xu* (the other person's emotions affect one's own)

57. *Mi ren* (bewitching)

58. *Wu fa yong ke xue po xi* (not possible to use science to analyse it)

59. *Yi dao qing chu hua kai* (difficult use a knife to cut things in half [to be clear about it])

60. *Ren he ren zuo bu liao ai qing de zhu* (no one can be love's master)

54 to 57 exemplify that love affects vision and emotion, whereas 58 to 60 refer to the fact that love is not rational, logical, thus is beyond our control.

## INSANITY

61. *Tou nao bu qing* (head is not clear)

62. *Ai de si qu huo lai* (love [someone] with life and death)

### Related concepts

Some of the related concepts appeared in the WORK metaphor the narratives quoted earlier, as this metaphor emphasises on the fact how two people can adapt to each other's goal. Therefore, both sides need to manipulate one's life style, habits, characteristic to fit in with each other, so we have words such as 63. *Rong ren*, 'tolerant', 64. *Wei dui fang zhao xiang* 'think for the other', 65. *Bi ci jie na* 'accepting each other', 66. *Rang bu* 'give in', 67. *zhi chi*, 'support' and 68. *Pei he* 'to coordinate'. In short, these expressions can be generalised in three related concepts: TOLERANCE and CARING/CONSIDERATION, and SUPPORT. Apart from these, there are other related concepts considered important by the subjects:

## LOYALTY/HONESTY

69. *Zhong chen* (loyal)

70. *Zhen shi* (true)

71. *Cheng yi* (honest)

## RESPONSIBILITY

72. *Ze ren* (responsibility)

73. *Yi wu* (obligation)

74. *Jiang dao yi* (Keep one's word)

75. *En yi* (feel obliged)

## RESPECT

76. *Zun zhong* (respect)

## GRATITUDE

77. *Gan ji* (be grateful)

In summary, the metonymies and metaphors as well as related concepts are in principle similar to those derived from the pilot data. As there were more subjects,

the examples supporting each category expanded as well. Therefore, it is of great interest to determine when the main corpus is added, what picture of romantic love in Chinese will emerge.

#### **5.4 The Main Corpus: Metonymies of Romantic love**

There are relatively much less metonymies used by the subjects to talk about love than anger and happiness, although the number of times using *xin* 'heart' to stand for love, or a person is much higher than in the other two emotions. However, as Figure 11 on page 198 shows, the majority of linguistic expressions containing *xin* are categorised under the major metaphor LOVE IS IN THE HEART. Hence, in the main data, the expressions that are considered metonymies are mainly divided in two types: Physical or non verbal behaviour, and Verbal/vocal behaviour.

##### **5.4.1 Physical Behaviour**

The physiological based behaviour can be grouped into firstly, PHYSICAL CLOSENESS as in *ti tie*, 'bodies stick together' and *ni*, 'sticky'. The first expression in fact refers to someone being considerate by physically looking after the other person well, whereas the second expression, which means 'fatty or greasy', is often used to describe two people physically being inseparable because they spend too much time together. Secondly, THE BODY STAND FOR LOVE as in *tou shen*, which means to throw one's body into something to symbolise dedication. Thirdly, CHANGES ON FACIAL EXPRESSION STANDS FOR LOVE, such as simile and light or glow on the face. The metonymy of SIMILE gives rise to RAPTUROUS metaphor while light/glow to HEAT metaphor of love.

#### PHYSICAL CLOSENESS STANDS FOR LOVE

1. *Tie tie dui fang*  
(body close to the other—take good care of the other person)
2. *Xi huan ni zai yi kuai*

#### THE BODY STANDS FOR LOVE

3. *Tou shen zi ji de gan qing*  
(giving one's whole body into the feeling [love])
4. *Ti liang (dui fang)*  
(using the body to think [for the other]—put oneself in the other person's shoes)
5. *She shen chu di de wei ta ren zhuo xiang*  
(put one's body in other person's place and think for him/her—being considerate)
6. *Guan huai*  
(to involve the chest—being concerned)
7. *Zhi ti yu yan de biao da*  
(body language to express)
8. *Yi ge xi dong zuo, jiu shi dui zi ji de teng ai*  
(a small movement [gesture] is showing love to [me])

#### PHYSICAL CHANGES STAND FOR LOVE

9. *Shi xing wei you sou gai bian*  
([love] makes behaviour change)
10. *Zou lu qing kuai you feng*  
(walking light with wind—being energetic)

#### SMILING/LIGHT ON THE FACE STANDS FOR LOVE

11. *Zui jiao dai zhe wei xiao*  
(corner of the mouth shows the smile)
12. *Huan fa chu geng mei de guang cai*  
(spreading out more beautiful [than usual] glow)

#### 5.4.2 Verbal/vocal Behaviour

It is known that when people are in love, not only their physical behaviour changes towards each other, but also the way they sound and talk. However, in our main data, there is only one example to illustrate how verbal and vocal behaviour is modified:

13. *Qing sheng xi yu*  
(light voice and soft words)

In summary, there are relatively small number of metonymy being used in describing romantic love, comparing with anger and happiness, though not significantly.

### 5. 5. Major Metaphors

The most used metaphors by the subjects are LOVE IS AN UNITY OF TWO PARTS, LOVE IS IN THE HEART and LOVE IS RUNNING A BUSINESS. In Table 9 below, a summary of the frequencies for these metaphors as determined from responses for all subjects (n=105) is presented:

Table 9: Percentage Use of the Love Metaphor.

Metaphor	Percentile
Love is an unity of two (complementary) parts	51.0
Love is in the heart (xin)	34.7
Love is running a business	29.6
Love is a commodity	25.5
Love is an object	24.5
Love is a substance	23.5
Love hinders normal functioning	22.4
Love is an entity	21.4
Love is heat	19.4
Love is a building	19.4
Love is a journey	18.4
Love is rapturous	16.3
Love is sweet	14.3
Love is work	13.3
Love is living organism	12.2
Love is nature force	12.2
Love is insanity	10.2
Love is magnet	9.2
Love is nutrient	9.2
Love is food	9.2
Love is a process	8.2
Love is sport	8.2

Love is contained in the eye	7.1
Love is a container	5.1
Love is growing element	5.1
Love is electricity	3.1
Love is deity	2.0
Love is sexual desire	1.0

### 5.5.1. LOVE IS A UNITY

As discussed earlier in analysing the pilot data, we found that the most apparent linguistic manifestation of LOVE IS AN UNITY OF TWO PARTS is indicated by the expression *ling yi ban* ‘the other half’, referring to one’s partner. It exemplifies the fact that a love unity is consisted of two halves. Further evidence is shown in the character *ban*, 半, meaning ‘half’ which also serves as the roots character for *ban*, 伴, meaning ‘the partner’ or ‘to accompany’. As there are more linguistic examples in the main corpus to support the conceptualisation of love as two partners striving for a unity, they are hence categorised in three groups: Togetherness/sharing, space between and exclusivity/compatibility for the purpose of discussion.

#### 5.5.1.1 Togetherness and Sharing

First, we will look at the linguistic expressions used by the subjects to exemplify the togetherness and sharing aspect of UNITY:

1. *Liang ren xiang ban*  
(two people accompany each other)
2. *Yi sheng fu chi he zun zhong de ban lyu*  
(a life long supporting and respectful partner)
3. *Qi wang neng zhaoxi xiang chu xin ling de gi he*

- (hope to be together day and night and heart and soul are united)
4. *Bi ci ai mu jin er xiang yi qi sheng huo gong tong wan cheng li xiang*  
(loving each other therefore want to spent life together to achieve dreams)
5. *Yuan yi chang chang sheng huo zai yi gi*  
(want to be together as often as possible)
6. *Yu zu ju xiang ai de ren gon chu yi sheng*  
(spend life together with one's loved one)
7. *Jia ji sui ji*  
(Once married to a rooster, you should follow him wherever he goes)

The above examples show that people believe that once they are in love, the desire of being together should pursue. Further, this togetherness is bonded by support, respect as well as the compatibility of heart and soul between the two people concerned as indicated in 2, 3, and 4. In this respect, it seems that the modern Taiwanese model of love should comprise both physical and psychological closeness. The importance of psychological closeness is very much emphasised in the form of sharing dreams and life's up's and down's as illustrated in the following expressions:

8. *Yi gi fen xiang sheng ming kuai le he shang bei*  
(together share life's happiness and sadness)
9. *ling yi ban hu xiang fen dan*  
(the other half share life's responsibilities)
10. *Ke yi fen xiang sheng huo zhong de kuai le*  
(be able to share the happiness in life)
11. *Hu xiang fen xiang guan nian, bi ci man zu yu wang*  
(to share ideas with each other and fulfil each other's wishes/desires)
12. *Tong gan gong ku*  
(sharing sweetness and bitterness)

However, human experience indicates that it may be natural wanting to be "immersed" with the loved one when in love as the following expression indicates:

13. *Xi huan ni zai yi kuai er*



(roughly glossed as ‘like to be melted together like fat or grease’)

There is a counter belief that being too close is dangerous. This folk belief gives rise to the wisdom of maintaining a healthy distance between the lovers can enhance the chance of a long lasting unity. Therefore, we will turn to the linguistic expressions that embody this belief shared by the subjects.

### 5.5.1.2 Space Between

This belief of maintaining a distance or space, *kong jian*, is connected with the distinction Taiwanese tend to make between *ji qing* ‘infatuation’ and *ai qing* ‘real love’ discussed earlier in this chapter. When there is only *ji qing*, we learned, the desire of being physically involved is much stronger, while at the stage of *ai qing*, the reality of how two people get along is more important. This reality is expressed by some people as in the following saying:

14. *Xiang ai rong yi, xiang chu nan* (it is easy to be in love, but difficult to get along).

Hence, some people express the model of real love is where the lovers recognise that a distance or space between them two is necessary, if the union is to survive. The followings are the linguistic examples of such a conceptualisation:

15. *Liang ge du li ge ti*

(two independent individuals)

16. *Liang ge ren zi jian you bu fen de jiao ji, fen xiang sheng ming zhong xi nu ai le* (There are some partial meeting points between two lovers where they can share life’s joy, anger, sorrow and happiness)

17. *Xiang ai de ren bu yao chang nian zai yi gi*

(two people in love should not often glue together)

18. *Gei bi ci yi xie kong jian ji zi you*  
 (give each other some space and freedom)
19. *Bao you yi xie chuan xi kong jian*  
 (Maintain some breathing space)
20. *Bu xu tian tian ru jiao ru qi di nian zai yi qi*  
 (no need to be glued together day and night)
21. *Sui ran xiang ai bu yi ding yao cheng tian nian zai yi qi*  
 (even though very much in love, it is not necessary to be glued together all day long)

Apparently, this concept of giving each other space as exemplified from 17-21 results from the folk wisdom which is similar to that in English: Absence makes the heart grow fonder. Hence, in Chinese, the physical distance is justified by one of the subjects by stating:

22. *Bu jin shen, you kong jian cai ke neng hui bi ci xiang nian*  
 (Not being near the body so there is space to enable lovers to miss each other)  
 Alternatively, the ideal way of being together as expressed repeatedly by several subjects is to be:
23. *You dian nian you bu nian*  
 (a bit sticky yet not too sticky)

There are two key words here in Chinese used by the subjects, *ni*膩 ‘too greasy’ and *nian*黏 ‘to stick or to glue’ to indicate physical closeness. Although *ni*, in fact, is used primarily to describe food for being too rich because it is fatty or greasy, in the context of the expression found in 13, it is understood more as a verb referring to ‘dipping or melting in fat/grease’. In light of this, *ni* is used similarly to *nian*, which denotes a sense of stickiness. They both have a negative connotation when describing a relationship.

On the other hand, the concept as embodied in 15 and 16 does not appear to be in accordance with the rest of the folk belief. We have learned so far that Taiwanese conceptualise love as an unity of two halves and this unity is total as far

as heart and soul are concerned. Further, maintaining this unity requires support, sharing, and yet leaving sufficient distance or space for love to remain fresh. Hence, the concept of two independent individuals in a union in 15 is a novelty and the concept of partial sharing as implied in 16 is an extension of such belief. This novelty may be a result of modernisation of the Taiwanese society where sense of self has been developed and encouraged. This topic will be integrated in the following chapter when the connection between socialisation and expression of emotion is examined. Now we will turn back to the last two aspect of the more traditional model of unity, exclusiveness and compatibility

### 5.5.1.3 Exclusiveness and Compatibility

In the discussion of the earlier survey, it became clear that Taiwanese do not like to contemplate on the idea of separation once a commitment is made or a unity is formed. Therefore, in the ideal model of love, exclusiveness is still more prevalent than, for example, the idea of two independent individuals who apparently can accept separation more adequately. The exclusiveness entailment identified in the data is embedded in the following expressions:

24. *Yao zhuan yi*

(only loyal to one person)

25. *Bu neng rong ren di san zhe chu xian*

(can not tolerate the presence of a third person in the unity)

26. *Yi bei zi dou bu hui li kai zi ji*

(will not leave me all my life)

Compatibility, on the other hand, is expressed through *gi he du*, 'the degree of compatibility' or *mo gi* 'the silent agreement/contract' between two people.

Interestingly, the word *gi* ‘contract’ standing for compatibility between two people apparently is converging on an experiential basis of the way two people negotiating an agreement by adapting one’s conditions in order to match each other’s expectations. Therefore, these expressions also capture the BUSINESS aspect of love, which we will discuss later. First, let us concentrate on the compatible aspect of love as indicated in the following expressions:

27. *Ai qing, xing qu, shi hao, ge xing de gi he du*

(love, interest, hobby, and personality’s compatibility)

28. *Zhui qiu de shi xin ling de chi he*

(looking for heart and soul compatibility [merging into one])

In conclusion, the central metaphor of romantic love LOVE IS AN UNITY OF TWO PARTS in Chinese includes three entailments: physical and psychological togetherness and sharing, a healthy distance in the unity and exclusiveness, in other words, no separation, of the unity. It appears that in essence the evidence so far in this regard does not diverge too far from that of in English. However, as we look at the second most prevalent metaphor used by the subject in talking about love in Taiwan, LOVE IS IN THE HEART, we will find some interesting differences.

### 5.5.2 LOVE IS IN THE HEART

The importance of *xin* in Chinese conceptualisation of self and emotion has been discussed in several occasions in the thesis. It is not surprising that love and *xin* have inseparable connections, given the fact that *xin* has a much broader semantic field than that of ‘heart’ in English. In fact, the evidence shows that the concept of *xin* is approximately the equivalence of the concepts of ‘heart’, ‘mind’ and

‘spirit/soul’ combined in English. In other words, other than the emotional dimension, as the English word ‘heart’ mainly connotes, *xin* contains further dimensions of intellectual, and cognitive. When these dimensions are combined, *xin* stands for the essence of a person, or the self in Chinese. In the language of love, we will see that there are at least two ways of conceptualising *xin*: One is based on the metonymy of *XIN STANDS FOR THE PERSON/SELF*, whereas the other is only addressing the emotional aspect of *xin* which is *XIN STANDS FOR THE EMOTION/LOVE* metonymy. Both metonymies constitute the major metaphor *LOVE IS IN THE HEART/XIN*. At times, we also find that *XIN STANDS FOR THOUGHT* or *XIN STANDS FOR SPIRIT* respectively as the other components of the same metaphor. We shall examine the linguistic evidence provided by the subjects for that in turn.

### The person

There are two examples that realise the conceptualisation of the person as *xin*:

1. *Wo xin zhong ke wang bei ai*  
(I, the heart, is longing to be loved)
2. *Xin you suo yi gui*  
(the heart [the self] has a place to belong to)

### The mental

These linguistic expressions indicate that word *xin* in the context refers to mental aspect of the conception:

3. *Zai ai qing li zui zhong yao de shi liang ren xiang yu dui fang zai yi qi de xin*

(in love the most important thing is the two people have the heart [the willpower] to be with each other)

4. *Ti tie dui fang de xin yi*

(be considerate of the loved one's heart [good intention])

5. *Yao you xi ai dui fan de xin*

(you need have the heart [desire/intention] to like the other person)

6. *Hui xin*

(understand each other's heart [thought/mind])

7. *Yong xin jing ying*

(use your heart [effort/thought] to run [the love])

8. *Rou you xin*

(if you have the heart [want])

### The emotional

In the following examples, we find that *xin* refers to the emotional aspect of the conception:

9. *Yi zhen cheng de xin dui dai dui fang*

(use a true heart [sincerity] to treat the other person)

10. *Zheng xin guan huai*

(true heart [sincerity] to care for someone)

11. *An xin*

(the heart is safe [feeling relaxed])

12. *Xin bian le*

(his/her heart [love] has changed)

13. *Ai shi da zong xin li zhong shi dui fang*

(love is treasure the other person from the inner of the heart)

14. *Ai yi ge ren yao guan xin guan yi*

(love someone requires your whole heart and mind)

### Cognitive

15. *Liu ren liu bu zhu xin*

(can keep the person but not his spirit)

16. *Ai shi yi zhong xin ling xiang tong*

(love is each other's spirit and soul are connected)

It is important to note that no every example is a clear-cut case. Some apparently can refer to several aspects simultaneously. For example, the *xin li* 'from

the inner of the heart' in 13 as well as the *xuan xin xuan yi* 'with whole heart and whole mind' in 14 when understood as a gestalt, in fact can refer to the complete person. Similarly, there are some cases where the difference between mental and emotional is fuzzy. For example, the *an xin* in 11, can be either understood as 'feeling relaxed' or 'mind is at rest'. and the *rou you xin* 'if you have the heart/if you sincerely want' can be interpreted either as a mental or emotional state. The reason for such fuzziness is due to the semantic scope of *xin* in Chinese as it was discussed extensively in Chapter 3. Nonetheless, this fuzziness exposes the richness of the Chinese conception of *xin* in constructing the model of romantic love. It illustrates that being in love is a fusion of mental, emotional and spiritual parts of both parties involved.

### 5.5.3 LOVE IS RUNNING A BUSINESS

In the discussion of our earlier survey, it was concluded that LOVE IS RUNNING A BUSINESS appears to be the core metaphors for the majority of Taiwanese when conceptualising romantic love. In the main corpus, this metaphor may not be the most talked about but still ranks third (29.6 %) after LOVE IS AN UNITY TWO PARTS ( 51%) and LOVE IS IN THE HEART (34.7 %) amongst all the metaphors identified the data. This indicates that LOVE IS RUNNING A BUSINESS has a special place in Taiwanese style of love. Although the explicit expression of *yan huo dan* 'quality check list' is absent in the "live" data, the subjects talk about love as business similarly to those in Gu *et al*'s survey (1996, 1997). The linguistic expressions gathered here can also be divided into three groups of entailments: General way of running the business, investment and returns, and the

goods. The entailment of goods is in turn grouped into conditions, production and quality. We shall look at them in this order.

### 5.5.3.1 RUNNING A BUSINESS

We learned earlier that the linguistic expression of ‘running a business’ in Chinese is *jin ying*. In consistent to earlier data, the main corpus provide some more evidence:

1. *Xue xi hao hao de qu jing ying*  
(learn how to run [love] carefully)
2. *Shuang fang xiao xin jing ying de*  
(both sides need to run [love] carefully)
3. *Jing ying mei yi duan ai qing shi dou jin li qu zuo*  
(when running every stage of love, one needs to do his/her best)
4. *Yong xin jing ying, yi gie dou neng ke fu de*  
(if you work hard to run [love], everything can be overcome)
5. *Jing ying hao liang xing zhi jian de ai qing bu jian dan*  
(to run the love between two sexes successfully is not easy)
6. *Ai qing bi xu liang ren gong tong jing ying*  
(love requires to people to run it together)

All the above expressions transpire the concept that LOVE is indeed a BUSINESS in Taiwan. However, LOVE is not the only business people in love run. The same conceptualisation can also apply to the LIFE and CIRCUMSTANCES that lovers share, hence, we have:

7. *Gong tong jing ying ren sheng*  
([love is] to run life together)
8. *Gong tong jing ying zui jian ku de huan jing*  
([love is] to run/manage the most difficult circumstance together)

These two examples reveal that the concept of running a business is not confined to the sphere of love, yet it has become a conventional and prevalent



expression in the way people speak about how love should be managed. In light of this fact, it has been argued that the following entailment of investment and returns, which in part resembles to the give and take concept in a business bargaining process, should be part of the BUSINESS schema, rather than the COMMODITY metaphor as in English suggested by Kövecses (1990, 1991). The major difference is that in Kövecses' analysis, COMMODITY metaphor entails the exchange of a precious commodity, therefore, it implies that the act of transaction or business is an entailment of the COMMODITY metaphor. Whereas in Chinese, all the linguistic expressions we have examined so far point to the existence of an elaborate linguistic and conceptual system to support the reverse. In fact, both LOVE IS A COMMODITY, or LOVER IS A COMMODITY should be the building blocks of the complex LOVE IS RUNNING A BUSINESS metaphor according to Grady's metaphor theory (1996). Some of the analysis can be found in the earlier survey, yet more evidence of this claim will emerge as we discuss further all the linguistic expressions in the entailments related to this metaphor.

### 5.5.3.2 Investment and Returns

The Chinese lexical items for investments and returns are *fu chu* and *hui bao* or alternatively, they can also be glossed as 'to pay' and 'to pay back', respectively.

They appear in the following expressions in various ways:

9. *Ni bu gan xin zi ji de fu chu er de bu dao hui bao*  
(You feel hard done by when your investment dose not generate returns)
10. *Wei dui fang fu chu, gai bian, nu li*  
([one needs to] invest, change oneself and work hard for the loved one)
11. *Wei dui fang fu chu, bing bu qiu de dao ren he hui bao*  
(when you invest [your love], you do not really expect to receive returns)

12. *Wu ji jiao de fu chu*

(you do not calculate how much you have invested)

13. *Yi zu cheng jia ting hou dui jia ting de chao gu fu chu jiu gen duo*

(Once a family union is formed, the investment in providing the family should be more)

14. *Zhen xin de fu chu, bu yao qiu tai duo hui bao*

(When you invest sincerely, there is no need to expect too much returns)

15. *Zhen xin fu chu guan huai yu ai*

(to invest caring and love [in the loved one])

16. *Bu shi dan fang mian de fu chu, dui fang ye bi xu cheng shou*

(It should not be one-sided giving; the other side should be able to take [the love])

17. *Wo de fu chu ying you xiang dang de hui bao*

(my investment should generate substantial returns)

18. *Bu hou hui fu chu*

(do not regret of investing/giving)

19. *Ai qing shi fei chang xin ku, zai wu fa de dao hui bao shi, hen tong ku*

(love is full of effort, it is very painful when there is no return [from one's investment])

20. *Duo kan dui fang wei jia ting de fu chu*

(One should look at how much he invests in/gives to the family)

It is not always transparent what is the thing that lovers invest in or pay out.

Presumably, it can be emotion as in 15, or care for the family as in 13, the rest can be time, money, energy, care, attention, tenderness, etc. These elements, apparently are openly negotiable between lovers, and may even differ from society to society. We will return to this point later in the related concepts of love. What can be safely inferred from the data is that the entity lovers invest or reap rewards from must be something valuable. Therefore, the conceptualisation of LOVE IS A COMMODITY also underlies this very entailment. Now we should turn to the third entailment of BUSINESS in the data: the goods.

### 5.5.3.3 The Goods: Conditions, Production and Quality

As Gu *et al* (1996, 1997) argue that it is common for Taiwanese to have a 'quality check list' *yan huo dan*) in hand when selecting a potential partner,

therefore, in this case, lovers are the goods that comes with a list of conditions waiting to be ticked off during the inspection. These conditions or *tiao jian* serve as a “blue print” or a preconceived model of the partner one is searching as exemplified in the following expressions:

21. *You tiao jian de xuan ze dui fang*

(to choose a partner with your conditions)

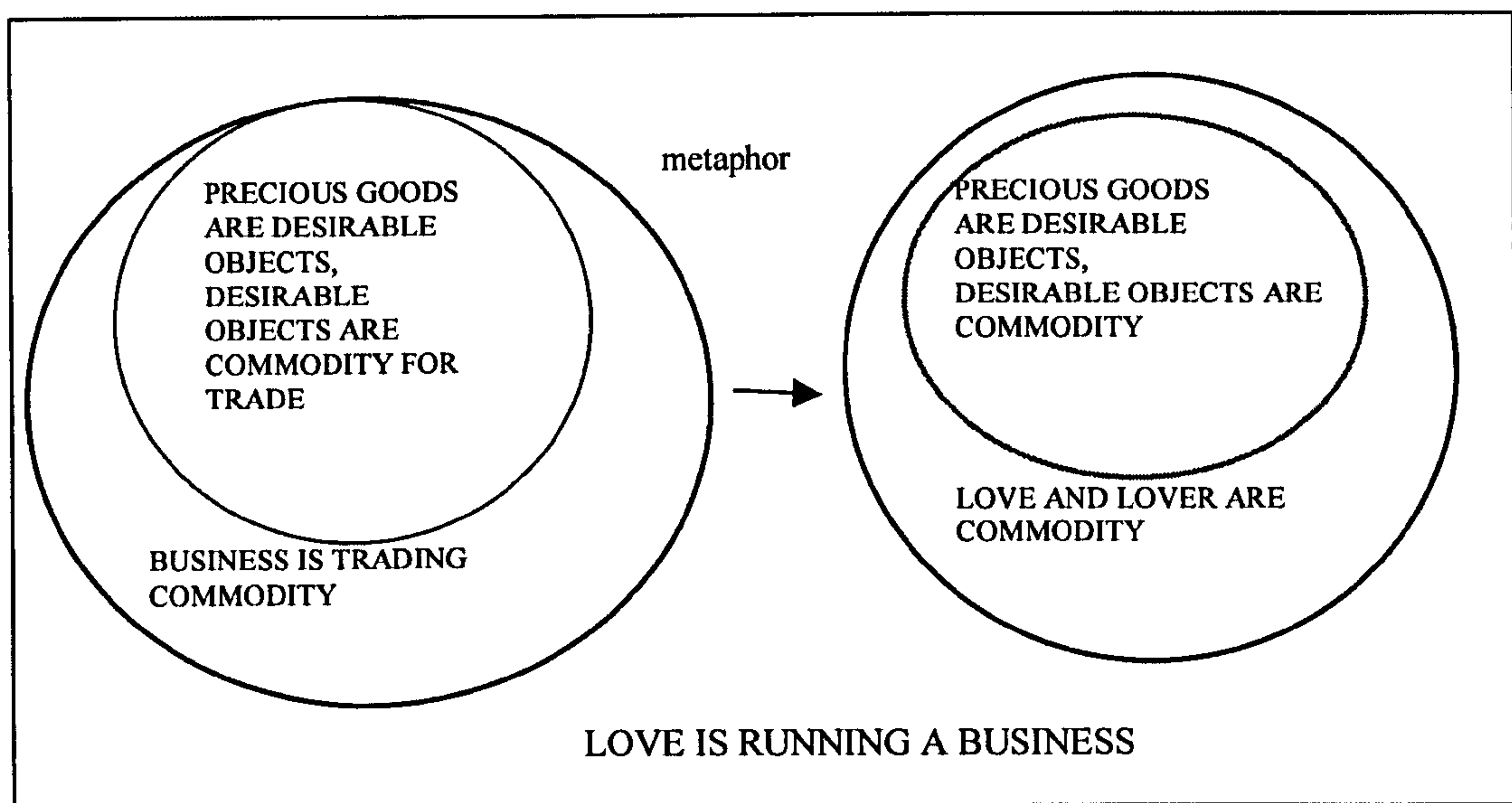
22. *Sou ai de ren bi xu jiu bei he hu ni de tiao jian*

(The one you love must have and match your conditions)

Arguably, these conditions can also be interpreted as terms of agreement included in a contract between two lovers, when used in slightly different context such as the bargaining aspect of the BUSINESS schema. There is even an explicit way of expressing a good relationship is when two lovers have a ‘silent contract’ *mo qi* as in 23. *Gong tong ren zhi yu mo qi* ‘[loves should have] a common, shared understanding and silent agreement’. Metaphorically, it is understood that two people know each other’s habits, wishes and temperament very well therefore there is some kind of implicit agreement, as in *mo qi*, to govern how they should “deal with” each other accordingly. Either way, *tiao jian* constitutes an interesting aspect of LOVE IS BUSINESS metaphor. It is worth noting here that in the entailment of goods, both love and lovers can be conceptualised as goods under which lies the metaphors of LOVE/LOVER IS OBJECT. These metaphors in turn give rise to LOVE/LOVER IS COMMODITY, and LOVE IS ECONOMIC EXCHANGE. It is proposed here that in Chinese all these above constitute the compound metaphor LOVE RUNNING A BUSINESS. The following figure illustrates the relationship amongst these various

primitive and complex metaphors. The schema in the figure is to highlight the aspect that a complex or compound metaphor is made of several primitive and other complex metaphors and transpire the argument that ECONOMIC EXCHANGE is part of the ‘pieces’ for the ‘patch work’(Grady, 1998:216), which is the schema BUSINESS:

Figure 16: The Building Blocks of LOVE IS RUNNING A BUSINESS in Chinese.



Next we will turn to the “pieces”, for example LOVE IS AN OBJECT, and COMMODITY individually. It is not surprising that the percentages of their use are very similar to LOVE IS AN ENTITY and A FLUID SUBSTANCE, as they all have some shared entailments arising from presumably the basic concept of LOVE IS AN ENTITY. Therefore, we will examine ENTITY first, then its variations.

#### 5.5.4 LOVE IS AN ENTITY

LOVE can be become a tangible entity either through grammaticalisation or lexicalisation in Chinese. For example, using a classifier, such as *yi duan* to make it countable:

1. *Mei yi duan gan qing*  
(every section of love)

Alternatively, it is also possible through using a nominative case, by referring it as a 'thing', *dong xi*, or designating a third-person pronoun, *ta*, which is used for animals or in-animated objects as well as substances and materials:

2. *(Ai qing shi) lang man you bu qie shi ji de dong xi*  
([love is] romantic but not realistic thing)
3. *Sheng ming zhong zui zhong yao de dong xi bu jian de shi ai qing.*  
(Life's most important thing is not necessary love)
4. *Ai qing zhe zhong dong xi cun zai meng xiang*  
(Love, this sort of thing exists only in dreams)
5. *(Ai qing bu shi) Hen rong yi de dong xi*  
([love is not] an easy thing)
6. *Jin tian ye xu yu ta wu yuan*  
(today perhaps not a destiny to know it)

Finally, there is another word, *zhi*, meaning the nature or substance of something to describe love so that love becomes tangible:

7. *Ai qing de ben zhi jiu shi ruo*  
(love's true nature is cowardice)
8. *Ai qing ru shui zhe zhong wu zhi*  
(love is like water this kind of substance)

This metaphor is of course very similar to and sometime indistinguishable from LOVE IS AN OBJECT. In this analysis, they are dealt with separately with the former emphasising on the way how love is spoken about as an entity, which may not be always be a concrete object, while the latter on how and what we do with this entity as an concrete object.

### 5.5.5 LOVE IS AN OBJECT

We can conceptualise love to be a concrete object by referring it as something to be manipulated. It can be ‘owned’ *yong you*, ‘possessed’, *du zhan*, ‘shared’ *fen xiang*, ‘held’, *wo zhu*, ‘needed’, *xu yao*, ‘deposited’, *ji tuo*, and it can ‘belong to’, *shu yu*, to someone or someplace. They are realised in the following expressions:

9. *Zhai yong you (ta) shi*  
(when you possess it)

10. *Neng gou yong you ai shi yi ge ren de xing yun*  
(be able to own/have love is everyone’s with)

11. *Ai qing shi du zhan de, dui fang de ren yu xin dou shu yu zi ji de, bu yun bie ren fen xiang*

(love is to be possessed alone; the other person’s body and heart belong to you, and it is not allowed to share them with anybody)

12. *You ren ba nan nyu you shi wei suo you wu*  
(some people regard boy/girl friends as their possession)

13. *Ren shi xu yao ai qing de*  
(all people need love)

14. *Ai qing you le ji tuo*  
(love has a place to be deposited)

The expression *ji tuo* in 14 is usually used for leaving something or someone under someone’s care for a short period of time. In the case of luggage or valuable goods, then it is similar to depositing something. It is an usual expression for love, but the concept underneath it is very conventional—love, as valuable goods, needs to

be in good care. The valuable aspect of love is best captured by the following metaphor, LOVE IS A COMMODITY.

### 5.5.6 LOVE IS A COMMODITY

There are some key words which indicate that love is precious and valuable:

*zhi de*, 'worth', *ke gui* 'precious', and *zhen xi*, *teng xi*, *jen ai*, *xi fu* 'to treasure'.

They were used in the following expressions by the subjects:

1. *Ai qing de yong jiu xing ying shi yin dei er yi dan zhi de ren ren nu li*  
(Love's permanence varies according to time and place, but it is worth everyone's effort)
2. *Guo yi duan shi jian kai shi si kao bi ci shi fou zhi de ji xu jiao wang*  
(after a while [one] begins to think about whether the other person is worth continuing [the courtship])
3. *Ai qing shi xiang fu de, bu shi wo yi ge ren ai de hen lei, dui fang bu zhi dao, hen bu zhi de*  
(love is mutual; it is not that I love the other person very much, but he does not know, then it is not worth it)
4. *Nan nu zhi jian de ai qing shi ren sheng zui ke qui de shi qing zhi yi*  
(between man and women's love is one of the most precious things in life)
5. *Yi bei zi zhi he yi ge ren hui fa sheng fou ze ai qing ye mei sha qui gu de*  
(in one's life time [love] occurs with only one person, otherwise it is not precious)
6. *Bi ci xiang ai, hu xiang zhen xi*  
(love each other, treasure each other)
7. *Dui yu zhe fen gan qing bi ci zhen xi*  
(each other treasure this love)
8. *Xiang hu teng xi*  
(treasure each other)
9. *Zhen xi bi ci suo yong yu de yi gie*  
(treasure each other's everything)
10. *Zhen xi yong you*  
(treasure what one owns)
11. *Nan nu bi ci zhen ai dui fang*  
(man and woman treasure each other)
12. *Hu xiang teng xi*  
(treasure each other)
13. *Xiang yu kun nan, hao hao zhen xi*  
(in difficulties treasure [each other])
14. *Hen dui fang, yin wei dui fang bu zhen xi ni*

([should not] hate him/her because he/she does not treasure you)

15. *Qu xi fu*

(should treasure one's luck)

One way of demonstrating that love is precious is through its rarity, which is explicated by 5. When something is rare, it takes time to look for it, or may not even find it:

16. *Hua yi bei zi shi jian qu xun qiu*

(spend a life time to look for [love])

17. *Ai qing shi she me? Zhao bu dao*

(what is love anyway? It is impossible to find it)

It is of interest to note here that the verb for 'it takes time' in Chinese which is *hua* as in 16, and it is also used for 'to spend money' *hua gian*. Therefore *hua* is a polysemy for 'to spend time', 'to spend money' and, as the following expression indicates, 'to spend/invest thought on', which reinforces the COMMODITY aspect of love:

18. *(Ai qing) hua hen duo xin si*

( [ai qing] it takes a lot of thought)

So far, LOVE as OBJECT or COMMODITY are spoken about as concrete, but neutral entity. The next metaphor we shall examine also treats LOVE as ENTITY, but more as FLUID SUBSTANCE. These different types of entity reflect various facets of LOVE. OBJECT and COMMODITY appear to focus on LOVE's utilitarian nature, whereas FLUID SUBSTANCE emphasizes on its romantic nature.



## 5. 5.7 LOVE IS A FLUID SUBSTANCE

Although FLUID is merely a peripheral conceptualisation in anger, and proportionally more in happiness in Chinese, it is fairly important to romantic love. Even in Chinese, this FLUID, is not exactly the same as the FLUID in English; instead, it often mirrors nature, such as raging sea, or quiet running creek. This dualistic conceptualisation, unlike its English counterpart, has a slight negative implication, because this FLUID, is regarded as part of nature, thus is rendered an unpredictability and uncontrollability. Further, fluid, especially water, is a yin energy (Morris, 1994) (see also Table 5), therefore is of feminine and soft nature, which is often associated with romantic atmosphere, but as it was discussed at the beginning of the chapter, being romantic is not always considered positive. The following discussion will transpire this tendency.

As mentioned earlier in our discussion of two types of Chinese love: *ji qing*, infatuation and *ai qing*, real love were distinguished. In this appraisal *ji qing* was compared with raging or rushing (*ji*) water, whereas *ai qing* was compared with a slow running, but a long stream of water (*xi shui zhang liu*). Some subjects choose stability, but there are some apparently desire both. They are explicated in the following expressions:

1. *Ai qing ying yao xiang xi shui zhang liu*  
(love should be like slow running long water)
2. *Xi shui zhang liu de ging yuan, fei yi shi de ji qing*  
(slow running long stream kind of feeling; not temporary raging feeling)
3. *Da bu fen shi xi shui zhang liu de xing fu gan yu ji qing*  
(Most time slow running long stream kind of happy feeling with [some] raging passion)

Apart from *ji qing*, there is a similar expression *lang man* 浪漫 is also used in contrast to slow running water. Both characters all have 水, which was stylised into three strokes as we saw on the left side of the characters, means that they are considered water in nature. 浪 used alone stands for ‘waves’, whereas 漫 refers to ‘prevalent’, so presumably when combined together they denote a state of ‘many waves’, thus ‘torrents’, which become an equivalent of ‘passion’. Interestingly, This term is interchangeable with *luo man di ke*, the Chinese translation of the English term ‘romantic’, therefore, it is also regarded as a temporary infatuation as the following expressions exemplify:

4. *Cong ji qing lang man dao li xing ping he*  
(from raging passion romantic to reason and peace)

5. *Lang man, xi shui zhang liu*  
(romantic/passionate and slow running long water [at the same time])

Some expressions compare LOVE as LIQUID much more directly by referring love as ‘water’, *shui*:

6. *(Ai) rou ru liu shui, liang zhe he yi*  
(love is as soft as running water; it is good to have both [love and passion])

7. *Ai qing xiang she, shi me yan se zhuang zai she me rong qi, jiu you bu tong de xiao guo*  
(love is like water: its colour changes according to the container it is in, with different effect)

There are also some unusual way of presenting LOVE as water. Two young subjects (Age=19-20) use the international chemical components of water H<sub>2</sub>O for the Chinese ideogram for ‘water’ and another subject (Age=20) wrote a poem describing love as attacking waves . They are as in the following:

8. *Ai qing ru H<sub>2</sub>O.*

(love is like water)

9. *Chao gu ni ye chu, yi po hai wei ping xi, yi po you qin xi*

(tides ebb and so you go with them, one wave has not calmed down, the other wave attacks [the shore] again)

Those above expressions from 1 to 9 show soft, slow, but long-running water is positive, whereas negative aspect of water is usually expressed as raging torrents or waves. Further warning of negative aspect is embodied in the possibility of losing the density of water. For example, since LOVE is like water, it can be diluted, *dan* 淡, as well as condensed, *nong* 濃 to refer to the strength of love. Most people believe it is a natural process to go from strong, *nong*, love, to weaker, *ping dan*, love. Further, excessive water can drown, *chen ni*, lovers and when it turns from water into alcohol, lovers not only get drown but also drunken, *chen zui*:

10. *Bi ci gan jue bian dan le*

(each other's feeling becomes diluted)

11. *Bi ci gin mi le hui chong dan ai qing*

(two people get too close will dilute the love)

12. *Zong xuan lan dao ping dan de guo cheng*

([love] goes from brightness to be diluted process)

13. *Sui zhe shi jian ai qing ke neng bian nong; ke neng bian dan, ke neng yi gie yun xiao wu san*

(as time goes by love can become diluted or more condensed; but it can also vapourise like clouds and fog)

14. *Bu yao chen ni yu liang ren de shi jie*

(not to be drown in the [love] world of only you two)

15. *Chen zui yu dui fang de fen fang yu tian mi*

(to be drunken by lover's fragrance and sweetness)

Similar to LIQUID conceptualisation, LOVE IS HEAT has a dualistic nature, too. There is a positive and negative side, and it seems, as LIQUID, negative features tend to outweigh positive ones. Such a tendency, together with LOVE IS RUNNING

A BUSINESS may reflect the conservative nature of the people in Taiwan. The following analysis should provide some insight.

### 5.5.8. LOVE IS HEAT

As in LIQUID, HEAT behaves in two ways: *Hong hong lie lie* and *wen xin*.

The former stands for excessive heat or the spectacle induced from huge firework (*yan huo*), whereas the latter warmth. Therefore, the perfect art of love is to maintain its right temperature, *re du*. There is a scale of this *re du* and it changes as time or physical distance change, and it seems there are two ways this scale can go:

descending or ascending, as one subject put forward: “*Sui zhe shi jian yu ju li zeng*

*jia huo jian shao ta de wen du*”, 隨著時間與距離增加或減少它的溫度, denoting that

“with time and physical distance, (love) increases or decreases its temperature.” That

means, love can begin with strong heat and cools down as two people stay together

after a long period of time. On the other hand, the heat can start from low

temperature to rise up to the point of either producing sparkles, *huo hua*, or vapour,

*sheng hua* (presumably when the heat reaches 100 degrees, vapour or steam occurs),

referring to reaching another higher level. The following expressions show the

descending aspect of heat:

1. *Bu ren tong hong hong lie lie de ai qing*  
(cannot accept firework-styled love)
2. *Bu xiang zhui qiu hong hong lie lie de ai qing*  
(do not want to go into firework-styled love)
3. *Ai qing xiang yan huo*  
(love is like firework)
4. *Sha na pin chu de huo hua ke neng wei chi bu dou jiu*  
(sudden induced sparkles may not last long)
5. *Ceng xuan lan dao ping dan de guo cheng*  
(from brightness to diluted process)

6. *Re lian zi hou jiu fen shou*

(after heated love affair comes separation)

7. *Zai re lian de shi hou zhen de ken wei dui fang zuo ren he shi*

(while in heated love, you are willing to do anything for the other)

The followings are examples of heat actually increasing as two people know each other after a period of time. It is important to note that the expression *sheng hua* is a Chinese term, which is used in physics to describe the phenomenon of vaporisation of air when it reaches 100 degrees. It is used positively in various contexts in Chinese representing a state of reaching a higher level, and usually has a connotation of transcending material level onto spiritual one, as it is indicated in the following expression:

8. *(Ai qing shi) pin zhi he lang man de sheng hua*

([love is] quality and passion experiencing vaporisation, thus, a higher level)

9. *Yi zhong gan jue ri jiu cheng wei qing gan er sheng hua cheng wei jing shen de zhi zhu*

(it is a kind of feeling after some time love gets vaporised[transcended]so it becomes a spiritual support).

Both descending and ascending models emphasise that LOVE is a changing process of moving from passion to love and maybe eventually to companionship. This process is well captured by FLUID as well as HEAT metaphors in Chinese. They similarly address the mistrust of passion by symbolising it as torrents or firework referring to its excessive strength and brightness. An ideal state is apparently the middle way, when the water runs slow and long, and the heat is warm; however, in HEAT, there are instances in which strong heat, *qiang lie*, is regarded positive, and this heat makes one glow, *guang cai*:

10. *Lian ai de gan jue yao qiang lie*  
 (when in love, the feeling has to be heated)
11. *(Ai shi) huan fa geng mei de guang cai*  
 (love makes [one] emitting beautiful glow)

### 5.5.9 LOVE HINDERS NORMAL FUNCTIONING

The examples produced by subjects can be divided mainly into five categories of how love hinders the following human functioning: 1) Vision, 2) cognition, 3) emotion, 4) behaviour, and 5) language:

#### Vision

When vision is ‘hindered’, *mang mu*, ‘blindness’, *xu huan*, or *jia xiang* ‘illusion’ can occur, so we have:

1. *Ai ke neng shi mang mu de*  
 (love can be blind)
2. *Ai bu ying shi mang mu de*  
 (love should not be blind)
3. *Wei dui fang de xing mei li chan sheng xu huan de ai qing jia xiang*  
 (the other person’s sex appeal creates a mirage which gives an illusion of love)
4. *Ai qing xu huan ji du qui yi*  
 (love is extremely illusionary and deceiving)

#### Cognition

In love, when things are beyond one’s thinking ability, one becomes *mo ming*, *mo ming qi miao*, or *qi guai*, ‘unfathomed’; alternatively, some reactions can be beyond one’s consciousness, then one is *bu zi jue*, ‘not being aware’. Finally, one’s judgement can be influenced, if he/she is *chen jui*, ‘drunken’ in love:

5. *Dang ni fa xian ni mo ming qi miao de xiang nian na yi ge ren*

(when you cannot fathom why you suddenly miss that person)

6. *Jiu shi zhe me qi guai, shi jie zhe me duo ren jiu hui you ren ke yi bi ci shi  
ying ye bu guan qi ta ge ren li nian, ge xing he bu he*

(it is unfathomable that amongst so many people in the world there is  
someone attracts you regardless the compatibility of belief or personality)

7. *Bu zi jue hui xiang ta*

(without being aware, you begin to miss her)

8. *Chen zui yu gi zhong de fen fang yu tian mi li*

(got drunken by its [love] fragrance and sweetness)

### Emotion

Love also does havoc on one's emotion as in *xing fen*, 'aroused', 'excited',

*de shi xin zhong*, 'uptight', and *wu yan zhang qi* 'confused':

9. *Mo ming de xing fen, de shi xin zhong*

(not knowing why you get excited and feels uptight)

10. *Gao de ren wu yan zhang qi de*

(it makes you confused and chaotic)

### Behaviour

When one's emotion is disturbed, the behaviour becomes unpredictable as in  
the following example:

11. *Jin tian tian tian mi mi, ming tian ku ku ti ti*

(today you feel sweet, tomorrow you cry)

### Language

Words, *yu yan*, can fail you when you are in love:

12. *Wu fa yong yu yan lai xing rong*

(Cannot describe in words)

### 5.5.10 Summary

We have just analysed some major metaphors of romantic love, *ai qing*, in the sense that are relatively more frequently used by the subjects. A pair correlation test was conducted in order to detect any coherence in the use of above metaphors by the subjects as we saw in the survey from which Gu *et al* (1996, 1997) conjured a consistent picture depicted by BUSINESS, GAME, AND SPORT. It was found that the statistically greatest correlation are these pairs of metaphors: LOVE IS AN OBJECT and LOVE IS A COMMODITY as well as LOVE IS AN OBJECT and LOVE HINDERS NORMAL FUNCTIONING (odd ratio: 2.8). They are followed by three pairs metaphors with the 3.1 odd ratio: LOVE IS AN ENTITY and LOVE IS IN THE HEART; LOVE IS HEAT and LOVE IS A FLUID SUBSTANCE; LOVE IS AN OBJECT and LOVE IS IN THE HEART. After this, there are LOVE IS HEAT and LOVE IS IN THE HEART (odd ratio: 3.5) as well as LOVE IS A COMMODITY and LOVE IS RUNNING A BUSINESS (odd ratio: 3.8). These correlations are mainly divided into three groups: 1) building blocks of a BUSINESS schema, 2) the relationship between CONTAINED and CONTAINER, and 3) changing process. The correlation of OBJECT and HINDERS NORMAL FUNCTIONING will be discussed separately. We shall look at these three groups first.

The first group consists of OBJECT, COMMODITY and RUNNING A BUSINESS. The explanation for it is self-evident as illustrated by the schema (Figure 16) that was proposed earlier. It made their connection fairly clear in the way as Grady (1998) postulated that these metaphors are the pieces of a patch work. Although Grady's comparison is accurate, there is an equally suitable analogy which



perhaps would also describe the relationship amongst the three metaphors illustrated in Figure 16 adequately, if not more vividly. It is proposed here as “Lego’s building blocks” in the sense that these blocks (either primitive or complex metaphors) are all independent pieces and can be assembled into various new forms (other compound metaphors). As for the second group, ENTITY/OBJECT, HEAT and HEART, it is also apparent that their correlations are consistent with the basic understanding of CONTAINED STANDS FOR CONTAINER which gives rise to the general metonymy *XIN STANDS FOR THE PERSON* and general metaphor *XIN IS A CONTAINER* underlying Chinese conceptualisation, which was discussed at length in Chapter 3. Therefore, as it would be HEAT contained in the BODY in English, it is HEAT in *XIN* in Chinese, and similarly, BODY would be the container to hold things in English, it is *XIN* which holds various entities in Chinese. Finally, HEAT and FLUID SUBSTANCE are connected by one common feature, as it was discussed in the previous unit (5.5.8) that both metaphors emphasise on a process of love moving from passionate infatuation to real love, or in the reverse direction. As for LOVE IS AN OBJECT and LOVE HINDERS NORMAL FUNCTIONING, they tend to co-occurred when the subjects hold the view that love is a thing, which is incomprehensible, unfathomable, and impractical.

Some of these major metaphors correlate with the less frequent metaphors so we shall turn firstly to those metaphors which are less frequently used statistically in the data, yet this is not implying that these metaphors are not relevant. Secondly, at the end of this section, we will present the peripheral metaphors of which use are statically not very significant, and most probably are not either in the core of LOVE conceptualisation.

## **5.6. Minor Metaphors**

In this section we will examine those metaphors which are not used as frequently as those presented in the previous section then those employed peripherally by the subjects. The former category includes BUILDING, JOURNEY, BOUNDED BY *YUAN*, RAPTUROUS, SWEET, FOOD, WORK, ORGANISM, NATURE FORCE, its related ones such as INSANITY and MAGNET. The latter contains metaphors such as FOOD, GAME, SPORT, PROCESS, MACHINE, EYE AS CONTAINER, CONTAINER, and DEITY. This categorisation does not always reflect frequency but at time some relatedness exemplified by shared entailments of these metaphors.

### **5.6.1 LOVE IS BUILDING, JOURNEY and WORK**

What these three metaphors have in common is that they all address the “relationship” side of romantic love. In contrast to Baxter’s (1992) and Quinn’s (1987) findings documenting that LOVE IS A JOURNEY and WORK seem to be more prevalent in the American model of love; however, both JOURNEY and WORK metaphors are not as frequently used as, for example, LOVE IS RUNNING A BUSINESS in our data. One can argue that RUNNING A BUSINESS in Chinese, in fact, in several respects resembles to WORK metaphor in English. However, our analysis should clarify that they are not interchangeable. First, we will look at the BUILDING metaphor.

## LOVE IS A BUILDING

As it was discussed in the pilot data, Kövecses (2001) identifies four corresponding components of RELATIONSHIP and BUILDING schema: Builder-lover, object/house-the relationship, process of building the house-process of building the relationship, and stability/strength for the house-stability/strength for the relationship. Here are some more key words in the main corpus to support the components of BUILDING schema in Chinese: *jian zhu*, *jian li*, and *jian zao*, ‘to build’, *wei chi*, ‘maintaining’, *ji shi*, *ji chu* and *ji yu*, ‘foundation’ or ‘to base on’ are all for the process aspect; whereas *wen gu*, ‘stable’, and *zhi chi*, *zhi zhu* ‘support’ or ‘pillar’ are for the strength and stability aspect. The conceptualisation of builders and objects will be clarified in the following linguistic instantiations below. It will also become apparent what elements should be the foundation of love, how to stabilise and strengthen it, and what is the process and goal for building and maintaining the relationship:

The foundation:

1. *Lian ai wei hun ying de ji chu*  
(Falling in love is marriage’s foundation)
2. *Liang ren de guan xi ying shi yi xin ren lai zuo ji chu*  
(two people’s relationship should use trust as foundation)
3. *Yi li xing wei ji chu*  
(reason should be the foundation)
4. *Mei you li xing zuo ji chu ai qing hen nan chang jiu*  
(without reason as foundation, love is difficult to last long)
5. *Mei you zun zhong wei ji chu de ai hui sang shi*  
(without respect as foundation, love will be lost)
6. *Ai qing shi ji yu liang xing ping den you qing shan de fa zhan chu zhong cheng ji xi yue de qing gan*  
(love is based on two sex’s equal friendship and from there develops a loyal and joyful feeling)

These above expressions exemplify the conventional wisdom that *ai qing*, ‘love’, *quan xi*, ‘relationship’ or *hun ying*, ‘marriage’, should be built on love, trust, reason, equality, friendship, and respect. However, there are exceptions as demonstrated in the next two instances:

7. *Gu dai wei da de ai qing shi jian zhu zai xi sheng de ji chu shang; xian dai de ai qing ying gai jian li zai hu xiang hu li de ji shi shang.*

(ancient great love was built on sacrifice as foundation; whereas modern love should be based on mutual benefits as foundation.)

8. *Ping dan shi ai qing de ji shi, zhe yang de ai qing cai neng chi jiu, wen gu*  
(diluted [light in taste] love is love’s foundation; in this way love can last long and stable)

Apparently, the example in 7 is not representative at all, yet it is not very different from the concept of having *li xing* ‘reason’ as foundation in 3 and 4, or this feeling of *ping dan*, ‘diluted/light taste’ love (see discussion of FLUID and HEAT in 5.5.8). They all represent a “utilitarian” and “functional” view of life and love, which, presumably based on cultural experience, when marriages were arranged. Therefore, the example in 1 may appear to be redundant because in the modern concept of “romantic love”, it is the central part of the conceptualisation. However, as the grandmother’s saying in Chinese states that “get married first, then think about falling in love, *lian ai*”, the expression in 1 implies that falling in love as a basis to a relationship is something not taken to be granted in some Chinese societies as one tend to think. In this context, the example in 8 becomes very understandable. Since ‘falling in love’, *lian ai*, refers to the beginning of romantic love when passion abound, our analysis of FLUID and HEAT highlight the sentiment that for some people this stage is either not necessary so should be avoided if possible.

Alternatively, if unavoidable, it should transform to a calmer (representing by slow running water) or not so intense (representing by diluted/bland water, *ping dan*) kind of love or feelings to safeguard longevity and stability. The aspect of stability is further reinforced by the BUILDING metaphors so we will turn to see what other elements contribute to its stability apart from the 'reason' already mentioned in 3, 4, and not so intense love in 8.

#### Stability

9. *Gan jue sheng hua cheng wei jing shen zhi zhu*  
 (feeling vaporised [reached a higher level] to become the spiritual support)  
 10. *Wen gu de xin nian ji xing nian kan fa zhi xia (ai)*  
 ([love] stable conviction and belief to support [love])

Once again, the above expressions support what we observed in most of the examples for foundation, and those illustrated in FLUID and HEAT sections that spiritual and rational bonds of a relationship lend the stability to the union. Once the union, the house, is stable, there is still work such as maintenance to do if the couple wish the union/house to last long. Therefore apart from building it, maintaining, *wei chi* is an integral and necessary entailment of the BUILDING metaphor in Chinese.

#### Process and goal of Building/maintaining

11. *Bu shou shi jian yu kong jian wei chi chang jiu de ai qing*  
 (no time or distance interferes maintaining lasting love)  
 12. *Ai qing dou xu yao cheng shi yu xin xin lai wei chi*  
 13. *cai ke yi chang jiu*  
 (love requires honesty and faith to maintain in order to last long)  
 14. *Shuang fang yong xin wei chi*  
 (both sides use heart [make effort] to maintain)  
 15. *Wo hai pa ai qing bu shi chang jiu, wei chi wen ding wu feng wu yu shi hao*  
 (I fear that love does not last long, [therefore] maintaining it to be stable, no wind, no rain is sufficient [for me])  
 16. *Nan wei chi kuai le de ai qing quan xi*

(difficult to maintain a happy love relationship)

17. *Ru guo wu fa wei chi zhong cheng*

(if not possible to maintain loyalty [there will be no relationship])

18. *Ai qing shi jian zao yi ge mei man xing fu de jia ting*

(love is to build a perfect happy family)

Only the last example, 17, describes the goal of building, which is a “family”, all other examples from 11 to 15 refer to a process that comes later, which is to *wei chi*, ‘maintaining’ a relationship or family. It seems they can be divided into three groups: The view of the “optimist” or “idealist”, the “realist”, and the “pessimist”. The first group of opinion is represented by 11, 17, the second view by 12, 13, and the last group 14, 15, and 16. Nonetheless, the central sentiment these examples all share is the difficulty of maintaining a long-lasting relationship, therefore it takes substantial work and effort to reach that goal. Due to this feature, BUILDING was used occasionally together with WORK metaphor, instead of JOURNEY. It appears that though goal/destination is an integral part of JOURNEY metaphor, our data in main corpus suggest that the journey, the process itself is more relevant to the subjects’ construes of LOVE as JOURNEY. Their expressions are divided into 5 aspects of JOURNEY: 1) A beginning and ending, 2) the path, 3) distance, 4) means of travelling, and 5) problems on the road:

## LOVE IS A JOURNEY

### A beginning and ending

19. *Lian ai jiao ge gui, jen qie de shi xiang zhi de kai shi, cai shi lin yi ge jie duan, jen zheng liang ren shi jie de kai duan.*

(be in love is precious, sincerely knowing each other is the beginning, and also the stage, where two people’s world really begin)

20. *Ru ai qing wu fa ji xu zou dao jin tou shi*

(if love cannot continue to walk to the end)

### The road

21. *Zai ai qing de lu shang*  
(on love's road)  
22. *Sheng ming zhong nan wang de yi duan*  
(life's unforgettable section [of road])

### Distance

23. *You yuan li lai xiang hui*  
(fate bring people to meet from thousand of miles)  
24. *Xi shou zou de chang jiu*  
(holding hand walk a long time)  
25. *Liang ren cai neng zou zhang yuan*  
(two people can walk a long way)  
26. *Liang ren xiang ban zou ban bei zi*  
(two people accompany each other walk half a life time)

### Travelling means

23, 24 and 25 already indicate that most preferred means of travelling is *zou*, 'to walk', so are the next two instances:

27. *Zhong shen de xue xi de ren zhi xu jiao bu yi zhi*  
(life time's learning to know to each other needs having the same steps [pace])  
28. *Bi ci you gan qing shi, yuan jin yi bu jiao wang*  
(when there is affection between, want to make a further step to continue)  
Boat is the other travelling means:  
29. *Fan dui jiao ta duo tiao chuan*  
([I am] against one foot in many boats)

### Problems on the road

The problem on the road is indicated by the third travelling means, train, so we have this expression to represent problem encountered on the road:

30. *Bu zhun you jing shen de chu gui*  
(not to allow spirit/mind to go off-tracked [having love affair])

Amongst all the examples only 26 deals with the aspect of ‘coordinating’ that is required as an effort to build or work on a relationship. The remaining examples concentrate on other various aspects of JOURNEY, as they were illustrated above. Now we will examine WORK metaphor that addresses mainly the coordination and adjustment aspect of relationship.

### LOVE IS WORK

This type of metaphor is what Dirven (1985:95) refers to as a discourse metaphor in the sense that it is only identifiable in a longer text in contrast to sound, word, and sentence/phrase metaphors. Apart from the two examples cited in the overseas data, there is some more evidence of WORK metaphor in the main corpus. The following are three passages with the first one involving some aspects of BUILDING metaphor, the second one of RUNNING THE BUSINESS, while the third of JOURNEY.

1. A happy love relation is always difficult to maintain, therefore one should often reflect whether one’s demands are being reasonable? Do we respect each other? Do we give each other reasonable space in between? Do we really care about each other’s happiness? If we often put ourselves in other people’s shoes, relationships will have a long lasting happiness rather than turning into a relationship of duty.

In this message, we can identify the entailments that match the schema of work:

Effort:



To maintain the relationship; to reflect on the relationship; to put oneself in other people's shoes.

Goal:

A love relationship with long lasting happiness

Assembling of Parts:

Each other's demands, opinions, happiness

2. I have a 'follow the *yuan*/fate' attitude towards love. When I have/own it, I will learn how to run/manage, and treasure it. However, not every time the person I am interested in stays long with me; perhaps because some habits in our simple life can not be coordinated. Therefore, I believe the most important thing that matters in love is the heart (the will) that you want to be together. If you have the heart (the will), then you will accommodate the frictions occurred in life. Through that, you will respect each other, learn from each other, treasure each other, so the love will last a long time.

The entailments that constitute the schema are as follows:

Effort:

Have the heart, you xin

Goal:

A love that will last a long time

Assembling of parts:

Habits, frictions, respect each other

3. Love requires careful, laborious running. There is no 'match made in heaven'. As long as both sides accommodate each other, give/invest in each other and change (oneself) as well as putting effort in (the relationship), both parties will be together to walk/travel a long way.

The followings are the entailments that support the WORK schema:

Effort:

Careful, laborious running the relationship; put effort in

Goal:

Travel together a long way

Assembly of parts:

Accommodating each other

Incidentally, the last two passages all contain some elements of LOVE IS RUNNING A BUSINESS, exemplified in two key expressions: 'to run' *jing ying*, and 'to give/invest' *fu chu*. As Baxter's (1992) data on romantic relationships indicate that there is a strong co-occurrence between WORK and ECONOMIC EXCHANGE used by her American subjects, it appears that some traces of this correlation can be detected in Chinese as well. However, ECONOMIC EXCHANGE as it was argued earlier, should be considered an aspect of a bigger schema BUSINESS in Chinese.

### 5.6.2 LOVE IS BOUNDED BY YUAN

This metaphor emphasises some contrasting features of love from the three metaphors discussed in the previous section. All BUILDING, WORK, and to a lesser extent, JOURNEY, accentuate the aspect that LOVE requires effort and work to maintain, whereas the concept of YUAN, as it was discussed in the overseas data, is fatalistic. However, it is important to realise that the difference in emphasis is connected with what stage of a love relationship one is thinking of. Apparently, the previous three metaphors address the relationship aspect of love, while YUAN places

more weight on the phenomenon of how two people meet and are attracted to each other. Certainly, there are people who believe that it is *YUAN*, the fate, that determines whether two people can stay together regardless how much work one invests in. The followings are examples to express these view:

1. *Xiang feng shi you yuan*  
(two meet is due to fate)
2. *You dian tian sheng zhu ding*  
([love] is destined)
3. *Liang ren xiang chu yu kuai, you yuan zai yi qi*  
(two people enjoy being together, it is fate/yuan that bring them together)
4. *Yuan fen dao le shui da gu cheng*  
(when fate/yuan arrives, water arrives and canals are ready [referring to everything falling into places])
5. *You yuan qian li lai xiang hui*  
(fate/yuan bring people to meet even they miles apart)
6. *Jin tian ye xu yu ta wu yuan, gao bu hao ming tian jiu peng mian*  
(maybe today there is no yuan [it is not the fate] to meet love, tomorrow I may meet it)

All these above linguistic expressions depict a belief that love is predestined.

We have no control over when and where we encounter the lover that is meant for us.

The sense of no control is further reinforced in the next two expressions:

7. *Ai qing yi qie kan yuan fen, qiang qiu bu de*  
(love is up to *yuan*/fate, you can not force it)
8. *Sui yuan*  
(follow *yuan*/fate)

Yet, it is by no means a common occurrence that we will meet the person that is destined for us. Therefore, when it happens, we need to treasure such a lucky occurrence:

9. *Bian de xi yuan xi fu*

([you will become to]to treasure this yuan and this fortune)

10. *Hen nan de yuan fen*

([it is] fate difficult to occur)

Although the concept of *yuan* is comparable to ‘fate’ or ‘destiny’ in English, most Chinese conceptualise it in the form of a ‘thread’ as it was mentioned in the overseas data. In this light, *YUAN* is an invisible thread that bind two people together. Therefore when two people are in love, their hearts are tied together, *xiang xi*, as it is shown in the following expression:

11. *Yi shuang jin jin xiang xi de xin*

(two hearts are tied closely together)

Furthermore, it is believe that in order to keep love strong, one need to keep the tie, *xi*, strong:

12. *Wei xi bi ci de qing gan*

(keep tie [strong] in each other’s love)

On first examination, rationalising that *YUAN* as being a factor why two people meet or should be together, is a cultural belief, and may or may not be shared by some people in America. However, on closer inspection, the conceptualisation of *YUAN* as thread, may appeal to something more in common in both cultures. In English there are expressions such as ‘family tie’ for the connection existing amongst blood relations, to ‘tie the knot’ for marriage, and ‘bonding’ for the strong connection between two people, related or not related. Arguably, the sense of invisible thread to

connect people also exists in English, for reason that can not be confirmed by this present research.

### 5.6.3 LOVE IS RAPTUROUS , SWEET and FOOD

#### Rapturous

The key words for feeling happy, as already discussed in length in Chapter 4, are *kuai le* ‘happy’, *yue*, or *xi yue*, ‘happy’ or ‘joyful’, and *xing fen* ‘excited, a positively agitated state’. They are found in the following expressions:

#### LOVE IS RAPTUROUS

1. *De dao de kuai le gan*  
(to gain as sense of happiness)
2. *Liang qing xiang yue*  
(both sides feel happy with each other)
3. *Mo ming xing fen*  
(feel excited for no reason)
4. *Xi yue de qing gan*  
(joyful feeling)
5. *Ai qing ying dang ling ren gan dao yu kuai de*  
(love should make one feel joyful)

#### Sweet

As it was demonstrated in Chapter 4 that happiness is often combined with ‘sweetness’, and so is love. In Chinese, one key word for sweetness as in taste is *tian*, which is often combined with *mi* (as in ‘honey’) and *mei* ‘beautiful’. There is another word for sweetness as in smell, *fen fan*. They are commonly used by Chinese to symbolise the euphoric feeling of love:

#### LOVE IS SWEET

6. *Tian mi de ai qing*

(sweet love)

7. *Wei zui wei tian de gan jue*

(the slightly drunken and slightly sweet feeling)

8. *Chen zui yu dui fang de fen fang tian mi*

(drunken by the other person's fragrance and sweetness)

9. *Ai ren shi zi ji suo le yu de tian mi fu dan*

(love someone is to take up gladly the sweet burden)

10. *Meng xiang ai qing lai de tian mei*

(love in dream is sweet)

11. *Ai qing bu jin shi tian mi ye shi qing gan de ze ren yu fu dan*

(love is not only sweet, also a responsibility and burden)

The above examples indicate that love is conceptualised as having a sweet taste or smell, which is associated with the next metaphor LOVE IS FOOD.

Although Quinn (1987, 1997) notes that her American subjects did not once mention food as part of the conceptualisation of relationship/marriage in her interview, Chinese subjects for this study think otherwise. Arguably, Quinn subjects were interviewed to speak about marriage in which the utilitarian and functional aspect of love may have been emphasised (Quinn, 1987), whereas some the subjects for this research may have referred to the initial stage of love, when everything is relatively new and fresh. It is also important to note that Kövecses (1990) presents some examples of LOVE IS FOOD in English in his findings; however, they seem to compare either sexual desire or the OBJECT OF LOVE as FOOD. The following examples used by Chinese mapped much more directly the domain of FOOD onto the domain of LOVE.

### Food

Apart from the sweet taste mentioned previously, LOVE can have a *zi wei*, or *wei* 'taste' of *suan* 'sour', *ku* 'bitter', and *la* 'hot'. LOVE is even considered as *tiao ji* 'spices' to be added to life. A modern way of comparing love with food is *su*

*shi* ‘fast food’ kind of love occurring, according to the subjects, in Taiwan. LOVE is also conceptualised as ‘drinks’ if we consider this expression, *ke*, meaning ‘thirsty’.

The following are the linguistic expressions where these words occur:

#### LOVE IS FOOD

12. *Xiang shou ai qing de suan tian ku la zi wei*  
(enjoy love’s sour, sweet, bitter and hot taste)

13. *Ai qing qu wei*  
(love’s fun taste)

14. *Ai qing shi fan mang sheng huo de tiao ji*  
(love is hectic life’s spices)

15. *Ai qing dai gei sheng huo shi yi zhong tiao ji*  
(love is a kind of life’s spices)

16. *Nian qing ren de su shi ai qing*  
(young people’s fast food love)

17. *Xian dai yue lai yue duo de su shi ai qing wen hua chu xian hou*  
(modern time more and more fast food style love culture appears)

18. *Wo xin zhong ke wang bei ai*  
(in my heart [I am] thirsty for love)

#### 5.6.4 LOVE IS LIVING ORGANISM, NUTRIENT and GROWING ELEMENT

Metaphors in these categories address the process of growth and change in a love relationship. The difference between these and those of FLUID and HEAT, which also deal with the same aspects of love is that the latter tends to emphasise on a polarised view and there is a scale to measure the density as well as strength of love. In the former case, the process is slow, progressive and unidirectional as we will see shortly.

##### Living organism

Love is treated as living organism through the concepts that it can *jie guo* ‘to bear fruit’, or have *guo shi* ‘fruit’. Similarly, love itself is a ‘organism’ through a

process of *chan shen* ‘to bear/to bring about’. Finally, it can be *pei yang* ‘cultivated’ as plants or small children:

#### LOVE IS LIVING ORGANISM

1. *Xiang shou cheng gong de guo shi*  
(enjoy the fruit brought by success)
2. *Guan xin guan yi cai hui you jie gou*  
(with whole heart and mind there will be fruits [result])
3. *Ran hou man man chan sheng qing gan*  
(then slowly love was brought about)
4. *Ai qing yao nai xin pei yang*  
(love needs patience to cultivate)

#### Nutrient and growing element

Some of the expressions we see below express at times that love or the lover is the NUTRIENT that makes the other lover or the love/life they share grow. At the same time, both lovers or the life they share are the GROWING ELEMENTS which grow and expand through the nutrient given by the love/lovers. In the first case, we have expressions indicating how love can be a nutrient by *zi run* ‘waters’ life, or makes life *cheng zhang* ‘grow’ and *feng fu* ‘flourish’, whereas in the second, *cheng zhang* ‘grow’ is used to show the growing nature of love, lovers and life.

#### LOVE IS NUTRIENT

5. *Deng ta lai zi run wo de sheng ming*  
(waiting for him to moisture/water my life)
6. *Jing li ai qing ke yi shi ren shen cheng zhang*  
(experiencing love can make life grow/expand)
7. *Dui fang zhai gan qing de sheng huo zhong neng bu duan cheng zhang rang sheng ming gen fong fu*  
(the loved one can grow from the love [two share] grow continuously so life is enriched)

#### GROWING ELEMENT

8. *Ge yi yi qi cheng zhang hu xiang cheng wei yi zhong zhi chi*



[lovers]can grow together and become each other's support)

9. *Xiang fu xue xi cheng zhang*

(learn from each other to grow)

### 5.6.5 LOVE IS FORCE, INSANITY, A MAGNET & ELECTRICITY

These metaphors mainly describe the forces and effects of love. LOVE is often comparable to the forces observed in nature and in our own body that we have little control over. There are no instances where LOVE is conceptualised as forces in nature in the main corpus unless the conceptions of FLUID and HEAT are regarded as such (Shyu, 1989). However, the examples cited supporting these two metaphors discussed earlier tend to utilize natural phenomena to capture the dualistic nature of what love can be, rather as a direct NATURE FORCE that can 'sweep away' or 'overwhelm' someone. Undeniably, there is always such an inference underlying both metaphors. The following examples compare love as FORCES more directly, and they all physical ones. They are talked about as 'power', *li liang* or a 'movement', *dong*, or *dong li* in the body, and there are various types of *dong*: *chong dong* for 'impulse' or 'urge', *ji dong* for 'small movement' such as 'vibration', *bian dong* for 'shifting movement'.

#### Force

##### FORCE

1. *Wo de gan qing bu ying zhi shi yi shi chong dong*

(my feeling should not be temporary urge)

2. *Ai qing jiu yi ding mang mu de chong dong*

(love is a blind urge)

3. *Er er jia za xie ji dong*

([love] occasionally interspersed with some vibration)

4. *Hui chan sheng yi zhong fen fa de li liang*

(to bring about a kind of surging power)

5. *Yi zhong hui bian dong de gan jue*

(a kind of shifting, moving feeling)

6. *Shi qu xi yin de dong li*  
(lost that attractive moving force)

### A Magnet and Electricity

Further evidence of treating LOVE AS FORCES are found in MAGNET and ELECTRICITY metaphors. For MAGNET, there is this one conventional expression *xi ying* meaning ‘to attract as two magnets’ used repeatedly, whereas *pin lyu* for ‘frequency’ and *jiao liu* for ‘current’ or ‘flow’ indicating the presence of ELECTRICITY in love:

#### A MAGNET

7. *Ai shi yi xing xiang xi de zi ran*  
(love is opposite sex mutual attraction; it is natural)  
8. *Nan hyu bi ci xi yin*  
(man and woman attract each other)  
9. *Zhao yi ge xiang hu xi yin de*  
(find someone there is a mutual attraction)  
10. *Rong mao xing wei ju zhi er hu xiang xi ying*  
(the look and mannerism attract each other)  
11. *Wai zai mian mao xiang hu xi yin*  
(outer appearance [look] attract each other)

#### ELECTRICITY

12. *Pin lyu dui shang*  
(the right frequency was tuned in)  
13. *Xin ling shang hu xiang jiao liu*  
(heart and soul current flows to each other)

### Insanity

The adverse effect of these forces is best represented by the feeling that love is ‘not rational’ *fei /bu li xing* or *li zhi*, therefore it must be crazy:

#### LOVE IS INSANITY

14. *Ai qing shi jue dui fei li xing de*

(love is absolutely not rational)

15. *Ai qing shi fei li zhi de*

(love is not rational)

16. *Qing yi de xian ru bu li xing*

(easily falls into irrationality)

### 5.6.6 Peripheral Metaphors

The metaphors that are categorised into this groups are LOVE IS CONTAINED IN THE EYES, LOVE IS A CONTAINER, LOVE IS A GAME, LOVE IS SPORT, A PROCESS and DEITY. They will be discussed in terms of contained/container, game/sport/process, and deity.

#### Contained/Container

As the saying goes that ‘eyes are the window to the soul’, they are also the indicator for love. As one of the metonymies for love discussed in previous sections, the love ‘shines through’, *huan fa*, the ‘eye’, so when one is in love the eyes show. In this case, Chinese do not just refer eye as *yan*, but as *yan shen*, ‘the eye’s spirit’, which in turn determine the look of the eyes:

#### LOVE IS CONTAINED IN THE EYES

1. *Yan shen hui huan fa guang cai*

(the look of the eye shows glow)

2. *Yan shen de chuan di*

(the look of the eye send messages [of love])

Furthermore, lovers' eyes, *qing ren yan li/chong*, are absolute:

3. *Qing ren yan li rong bu xia yi ke sha*

(lover's eye cannot contain one strand of sand [can not tolerate imperfection])

4. *Qing ren yan zhong chu xi shi*

(in the lover's eye the loved one is the Xi Shi [the most beautiful woman])

Finally, the attractiveness of the other person is decided by the eyes, which is referred to as *shun yan* meaning literally as 'smooth the eyes' or 'the eyes feel smooth' in English:

5. *Dui fang shun yan*

(the look of the other person pleases the eye)

6. *Wai mao shun yan du you mi qie de quan xi*

([the factor that] exterior look [the face] pleases the eye is closely connected with liking someone or not])

When love is conceptualised as a container, then this LOVE has a 'interior', *li*, and one can stay 'inside', *zhong*, of it. Lovers usually 'fall into' it, *xian ru*, when in love, but want to 'spring out of', *yao chu/tiao tuo*, when out of love.

## LOVE IS A CONTAINER

7. *Zai ai qing li*

(in love)

8. *Zhi you zai ai qing zhong cai neng kan jian zi ji*

(only in love [one] can see oneself clearly)

9. *Zhai ai qing zhong bu yao sang shi zi ji*

(when in love do not lose yourself [in it])

10. *Hui rang zhe me duo ren shen shen xian ru wu fa zi ba*

([love] can make so many people fall into it, and they can not pull themselves out)

11. *Ren he nian ling dou hui xian ru ai qing*

([people] of all ages can fall into love)

12. *Dang ni xian ru lian qing zhong*

(when you fell into the middle of love)

13. *Ai qing yi dan xiao shi zhi hou, you tai duo ren tiao tuo bu liao*  
(once love disappeared, too many people can not spring/jump out of it)  
14. *Yao bu chu zhe ge mi wang*  
(can not spring/jump out of this confusing net)

It is of interest to note that the last example suggests something quite different from what some people may conceptualise a container to be—a three dimensional hard object. It is instead conceptualised as a net with all threads tangled together. Presumably, it is associated with the metaphor LOVE IS BOUNDED BY *YUAN* in which lovers are connected by a red thread. Similarly, when lovers break up, they need to cut off the *qing si*, the ‘lover’s thread’, between them.

#### Game/Sport/Process

All subjects except one who compare LOVE with GAME think of this model in a positive way. On the other hand, LOVE as SPORT does not have any negative connotation. The key words in Chinese for GAME are *you xi*, ‘game’, *wan* ‘to play’, and *qu wei* ‘fun’. As for SPORT, we can see LOVE is compared with a race, *zhu qiu*, a kind of competition, *jing zheng* and a baseball game, *bang qiu*. Interestingly, the baseball analogy is not used by the subject to highlight the competitive nature of love by which one needs to fight for, *zheng qu*, lovers, but to capture the LOVE AS A PROCESS aspect of love, which was explicated by the subject as *jian jin de guo cheng*, ‘a process of step by step’. We shall look at the linguistic evidence supporting these metaphors in turn:

#### LOVE IS A GAME

15. *Wo bu xi wang wo de gan qing zhi shi yi chang you xi.*

(I don't wish my love is just a game)

16. *Bu ying ba ai qing dang cheng yi zhong you xi lai wan*

(should not treat love as a kind of game to play)

17. *Bu cheng shi de ai qing you xi*

(not honest game of love)

18. *Bi ci bao liu yi fen xia xiang, zai yao yu bu yao zhi jian wan you xi cai  
hui shi ai qing qu wei geng gao*

(to keep some room for imagination is to play a game between yes and no,  
this will make love more fun)

#### LOVE IS SPORT

19. *Ru guo you ren gen wo jing zheng yi ge nu hai, ru gou ta neng gei ta  
geng hao de xing fu, wo hui tui chu, ru guo wo neng gei ta xing fu, wo hui  
zheng qu zhe zhong zhui qiu xing wei*

(if someone were to compete a girl [with me], if he could give here better  
happiness, I would withdraw [the competition], if I could give her better  
happiness, I will fight for the way to run after her)

20. *Zai ai qing de guo cheng zhong you ren xi huan yong da bang qiu lai  
biao shi (jian qin de guo cheng)*

(in the love process, some people compare it with the process of baseball [a  
process of going step by step])

The last example not only embodies SPORT but also PROCESS concepts.

Some more examples of LOVE AS A PROCESS can be identified in the linguistic

expressions of *fa zhan* 'to develop', and *guo cheng* 'a process'. Some of the

examples can be found already combining with FLUID, HEAT, JOURNEY, and

GROWING ELEMENT. The followings are those that have not been mentioned so

far:

#### LOVE IS A PROCESS

21. *Fa zhan chu shi he wo men de mo shi*

(to develop what suits us a model)

22. *Xiang shi, xiang zhi, xiang xi de yi ge guo cheng*

(from knowing each other, understanding each other to treasuring each other  
process)

## Deity and Machine

Some Chinese do regard LOVE as *shen sheng* 'sacred', *wei da* 'glorious' and even a *xin yang* 'religion', but these are really rare cases. Less rare are those linguistic examples implying MACHINE as a part of conceptualisation of LOVE in Chinese. However, they are mostly submerged with the BUILDING metaphor due to a shared primitive metaphor that functions as a general schema which is ABSTRACT STRUCTURE IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE (Grady, 1998). In this light, both BUILDING and MACHINE are constituted by one common 'building block' in Chinese, which is the concept of *wei qi*, 'to maintain'. In the BUILDING metaphor, we see how a building requires maintaining work to last long, whereas in the MACHINE schema, the same concept applies. Apart from this, there is another expression *mo ca*, referring to 'friction' can be identified in supporting MACHINE Metaphor:

### LOVE IS DEITY

23. *Nan hyu zhi jian de ai qing shi xiang dang shen sheng er wei da*  
(between a man and a woman love is fairly sacred and glorious)

24. *Zhong cheng, xin ren shi ai qing de xing yan*  
(loyalty are love's religion)

### LOVE IS A MACHINE

25. *Xiang chu jiu le nan mian you mo ca*  
(being together for long time it is unavoidable to have friction)

## 5.6.7 Others

There are some isolated instances in which subjects express love as SCHOOL SUBJECT, SYSTEM, AIR, ANTS, BLACK COLOUR or even a mathematical MODEL. They may appear to be arbitrary initially but in fact are all connected to

other more general concepts, which are not always necessarily associated with LOVE. Yet the numbers are too small to warrant any significant discussion.

## **5.7 Related Concepts**

Apart from metonymies and metaphors, related concepts are relevant in constructing meaningful folk models of ROMANTIC LOVE. Kövecses (1988, 1991) suggests that amongst the related concepts, their “relatedness” to concept of love is different. Some are considered “inherent” because they are inseparable from the concept formation of love, whereas some are just “related” because the distance is greater. In the first instance, he gives examples such as INTIMACY, AFFECTION, ENTHUSIASM, INTEREST, and LONGING. Other concepts such as DEVOTION, SACRIFICE, KINDNESS and SEXUAL DESIRE are further away in relatedness. In Chinese, the picture looks slightly different in both sets of concept.

### **5.7.1 INHERENT: AFFECTION AND PSYCHOLOGICAL/SPIRITUAL CLOSENESS**

Due to the central metaphor LOVE IS A UNITY OF TWO PARTS, physical closeness is a prerequisite of such a unity, according to Kövecses (*ibid*), which gives rise to INTIMACY and LONGING to be the important inherent concepts of LOVE. He points out that LONGING emphasises the physical proximity, while intimacy, which is also based on the same metonymic concept, is metaphorically understood as psychological closeness in today’s definition. However, our data suggest that physical LONGING is not as important as PSYCHOLOGICAL CLOSENESS and SHARING between two lovers. Although it is fairly natural for lovers wanting to be



together, our subjects invariably express that a relationship of *you dian nian you bu nian* 'a bit sticky yet not too sticky' is a state that they feel comfortable with and emphasizes the importance of providing breathing space, *chuan xi kong jian*, between the lovers. Such an attitude in turn enhances the necessity of psychological understanding and sharing to balance the dynamic of the togetherness.

INTIMACY, on the other hand, the psychological closeness as Chinese conceptualise it, is expressed through the concept of *xin* as in *tie xin* 'stick to my heart', *xin ling xiang tong* 'spirit and soul are connected', *xin yu xin de lian ju* 'heart to heart connection', or *hui xin* 'understanding each other's heart'. Interestingly, there is very little physical contact such as sexual behaviour or desire to be inferred in the INTIMACY concept in our data. It could be explained by the shy nature of the subjects or by the fact that it is indeed secondary in the Chinese model of love. The latter postulation can be supported by our discussion of the earlier survey which conclude that INTIMACY, together with PASSION is far less important than the COMMITMENT aspect of love. Our data in turn lend tentative support to the earlier survey in the latter respect, as we will see shortly that RESPONSIBILITY is a prominent related concept to love as expressed by the subjects of this research.

As for other "inherent" concepts in English listed by Kövecses (ibid) are AFFECTION, ENTHUSIASM and INTEREST. He maintains that concepts such as CONCERN and KINDNESS according to his "but" test (1990:38) don't really qualify as inherent but related at best. However, in Chinese, it appears that CONCERN, KINDNESS together with AFFECTION should be considered the inherent concept of love. First of all, the concept of KINDNESS is already incorporated into the word *ai* 'love'. According to most Chinese dictionaries, one

central definition for love is *hui*, which means 'benevolence', or 'kindness', and the concept of *lian ai* 'romantic love' is partially built on it, too. This concept in turn is extended to concept of CONCERN or CARING. It is considered as the most visible sign of love by most subjects. The terms used by them to express this concept are *quan hui*, *ti ti* and *quan xin*, which can be all glossed as 'to be concerned/ to care'. The first two expressions refer to the physical way of showing concern (*hui* means the 'chest', tie the 'body'), while the last expression the emotional/mental way (*xin* is the heart). Either way, these usages suggest that showing CONCERN as well as KINDNESS is an integral aspect of romantic love in Chinese. Arguably, these two concepts replace the ENTHUSIASM and INTEREST proposed by Kövecses, since showing concern is a way of demonstrating interest and enthusiasm in Chinese.

The last concept AFFECTION that is considered inherent is perhaps the most important one amongst those above. As it was shown in the analyses of the earlier survey, FLUID and HEAT metaphors, sense of WARMTH is favoured over HEAT or anything in excess, therefore AFFECTION to some Chinese is more crucial in maintaining a healthy relationship. Due to this, the concept of INTIMACY that was discussed above does not have the same dimension as it is understood in English. At best, it should be regarded as PSYCHOLOGICAL/SPIRITUAL CLOSENESS and SHARING. In summary, AFFECTION, PSYCHOLOGICAL/SPIRITUAL CLOSENESS, SHARING, CONCERN/CARE, KINDNESS and to a less degree LONGING are the inherent concepts to the romantic love in Chinese.

### 5.7.2 RELATED: TOLERANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY

Amongst all the related concepts that have been mentioned by the subjects in their rationalisation of LOVE IS A BUSINESS, BUILDING or WORK metaphors, TOLERANCE and RESPONSIBILITY stand out significantly. The key expressions for TOLERANCE are *rong ren* and *bao ren*. Furthermore, the expressions such as *ge zi you kong jian* 'give free space' *bu yao gan she* 'do not interfere' and *zheng yi zhi yan, bi yi zhi yan* 'open one eye, close the other' also denote a sense of tolerance of accepting the other person's wishes and faults. Equally important to TOLERANCE, is RESPONSIBILITY, which is expressed by the subjects as *fu ze* 'to be responsible', *ze ren* 'the responsibility' and *shi ming gan* 'the sense of mission/duty'.

Apart from these two related concepts there are two others: TRUST and LOYALTY which were also mentioned in many occasions as the building blocks or parts to be traded and assembled in the BUILDING, WORK and BUSINESS schemata. Arguably, TRUST and LOYALTY are similar to the concept of RESPONSIBILITY in the sense that they all components of a deeper concept of COMMITMENT. In light of this, this is an indication to support what Gu *et al* (1996, 1997) also observe in their survey.

To conclude, both set of concepts in fact suggest a very different cognitive models underlying Taiwanese concept of love. It seems that it constitutes an equal proposition of emotional as well rational concepts, which suggests that romantic love is not merely experienced as an physiological phenomenon. There are also as a set of values attached to it. This insight will lead us to a surprising picture of Chinese ideal and typical models of love as we are going to see in the ensuing section.

## 5.8 The Cognitive Models

After detailed analysis of the metonymies, metaphors and related concepts of romantic love in Chinese, we can arrive at some skeleton of the cognitive models that underlie them. We will mainly discuss two: An ideal and a typical one. Interesting, despite the fact that English and Chinese share most of concepts that have been discussed so far, the models that have emerged from our data are in fact to some extent the reverse of what Kövecses (*ibid*) proposes. In other words, the ideal model in English resembles more to the typical model in Chinese, while some parts of typical model in English resonates the ideal model in Chinese.

### 5.8.1 The Ideal Model

Unlike the ideal model in English, the ideal model of romantic love in Chinese as transpired by FLUID and HEAT metaphors particularly, does not necessarily include stages of falling in love passionately, nor those of losing control. For them, an ideal love is not hot nor too strong, so it should makes you feel calm and warm. Most importantly, it always ends in marriage as the metaphor of BUILDING exemplifies. The following is the proposed ideal model in Chinese:

1. True love comes along  
    The other attracts me  
    This attraction gives me warmth and makes me feel calm
2. The intensity of attraction remains stable
3. I am in a state of control  
    The compatibility of heart and soul is maximal  
    I feel love gives me a sweet sensation  
    I feel love gives me a sense of security  
    I view myself and the other as forming an spiritual and functional unity

I experience the relationship as a state of harmony and efficiency  
I see reason and trust as something that guarantees the stability of the relationship  
I believe that love is based on reason  
That this love is precious  
That the object of love is irreplaceable  
That love lasts forever  
Love is mutual  
I experience certain physiological effects: some increase in body heat, face is glowing, eyes are shining which make my look beautiful.  
I exhibit certain behaviour reactions: Physical closeness, loving, and caring verbal and visual behaviours.  
I define my attitude to the object of love through a number of emotions and emotional/mental attitudes: Affection, concern, tenderness, responsibility, mutual beneficial, tolerance, respect, kindness, psychological closeness, reason, liking, friendship, happiness

1. Love is fulfilled in marriage  
Love's intensity remains stable: Not too hot nor cold; not too strong nor too weak. It is affection.

We can see from above, the most important difference in the ideal models of both cultures is that the Chinese model plays down the importance of attaining a high intensity of love, thus there is no stage of losing control. Secondly, an ideal union is an union of spirit and soul not flesh. Thirdly, it is based on reason so mental attitudes are equally if not more important than emotional ones, so it can be run as efficient as a business venture. Lastly, an ideal love always ends in marriage which is symbolised as a small creek that runs slow but long.

### **5.8.2 The Typical Models**

As it was stated earlier that Chinese typical model resembles more to the ideal model in English, we shall elaborate that statement in the following schema:

1. Love is fulfilled in marriage

- Love's intensity remains stable: Not too hot nor cold; not too strong nor too weak. It is affection.
2. You search for true love  
 You found true love  
 The other attracts me irresistibly  
 The attraction soon reaches the limit on the intensity scale
  3. The intensity of the attraction goes beyond the limit point, and I try to control to prevent love's intensity from going beyond the limit
  4. The effort is unsuccessful, I lose control over love  
 Love's intensity is maximal  
 This intensity can make me do everything, including silly ones  
 I feel that love gives me extra energy  
 I view myself forming an unity  
 I experience the relationship as a state of perfect harmony  
 I see love as something that guarantees the stability of the relationship  
 I believe that love is a need  
 that this love is my true love  
 that the object of love is irreplaceable  
 that love lasts forever  
 Love is mutual  
 I experience certain physiological effects: Increase in body heat, increase heart rate, face glowing eye shining and interference with accurate perception.  
 I exhibit certain behavioural reactions: Physical closeness, loving physical and visual behaviour.  
 I define my attitudes to the object of love through a number of emotions and emotional attitudes: Liking, respect, devotion, self-sacrificing, caring, concern, tolerance, admiration, kindness, affection, attachment, intimacy, longing, friendship, and happiness
  5. Love is fulfilled in marriage  
 Love's intensity decreases, it goes below the limit: Love turns into affection.

This model supported by our analyses from various sources that when one is in love all the scenarios listed above are what people expect to occur. However, due to cultural and social factors, these are features which are not always particularly regarded highly. Consequently, the ideal model symbolises what the collective culture desires: a perfect, efficient and harmonious relationship, where the predominance of stability is often in the expense of passion. Instead of passion, affection is regarded as the crucial ingredient that holds relationship long-lasting.

## 5.9 Summary

We found the physiology of love is similar between Chinese and English apart from sexual desire. Both languages also express that LOVE IS A UNITY OF TWO COMPLEMENTARY PARTS is a basic, central concept in respective culture. However, the differences are mostly identified amongst the inherent and related concepts of this central metaphors such as INTIMACY, CONCERN, AFFECTION, RESPONSIBILITY and TOLERANCE. Similarly, the differences are also found amongst other central metaphors such as LOVE IS RUNNING A BUSINESS, FLUID, and HEAT. Interestingly, these metaphors all seem to share similar physiological and experiential basis of love with those in English, the folk models that emerge from them yet turned out to be different.

The reason apparently is embedded in the evaluative aspect of metaphors (Averill, 1990). That is, the value people attach to the metaphors that structure their emotion experience is different from society to society. This tendency is particularly palpable in the case of romantic love as our analysis has demonstrated. This analysis suggests that, though within a biological constraint, each culture is 'free' to select which aspects of source domains they warrant salient to project onto the source domain of love. In turn, this selection is also subjected to some social and cultural needs at the time, for example, the current social needs in Taiwan predispose the people to select those features that emphasise stability over passion and certainty over being romantic. Consequently, most of metaphors addressing the aspect of romantic love have a negative value attached to them, whereas those highlighting the relationship aspect have a positive value.

This result strongly suggest that the conceptualisation of romantic love is prone to social and cultural 'manipulation' comparing with happiness and anger. This 'manipulation' creates a fair amount of structural or compound metaphors such as BUSINESS, BUILDING, WORK, JOURNEY, SPORT and GAME, which are consisted of several primitive metaphors that can be assembled or disassembled at will. Finally, even those ontological metaphors such as FLUID and HEAT are filled with cultural and social connotations.

Finally, we can return to the issue that was raised at the beginning of the chapter concerning the concepts underlying people's construction of romantic love, which not only capture the features of love as an emotion but also of a relationship. It was proposed that the preferred metonymies and metaphors and their related concepts used by Chinese in Taiwan should reflect a view of regarding love more as a relationship than an emotion. After our investigation, there is enough evidence to support this postulation. The metonymies and metaphors we looked at do suggest that Taiwanese experience love as physical symptoms and psychological affects, but they tend to interpret them against a model of long-lasting relationship. If we remember what Quinn (1987) found in her research on the American model of marriage, she identifies the following conceptions underlying her subjects' reasoning of their model of marriage: lastingness, sharedness, mutual benefit, compatibility, difficulty, effort, success or failure, and risk. These are the similar elements to what Taiwanese concepts as they are illustrated in the ideal model of love, in which we see that ideal romantic love for Taiwanese is not about passion but a steady relationship.



### 6.0 Introduction

Following the analysis of metonymy, metaphors and cognitive/cultural models of three distinct emotions, *sheng qi*, anger; *kao xin*, happiness, and *ai qing*, romantic love, in Mandarin Chinese, it is apparent that there is considerable overlap with English. Nevertheless, these cognitive/culture models are by no means identical. For example, it was found that the conceptualisation of romantic love is influenced by contrasting cultural models to those in English, despite having similar constituent metonymies and metaphors. Conversely, the parallel differences between cultural models of happiness and anger in Chinese and those in English are not significant. Such findings give rise to some interesting postulations concerning the structure of these individual emotion concepts, the relationship between metonymy/metaphor and cultural models and some reconsideration of the criteria for universal and cultural-specific evidence. In addition, the analysis of several potential confounds such as age, education, other languages spoken and particularly gender in relation to the viability of generalising the results is set out. Finally, there is sufficient evidence to identify some Whorfian effect in our cross-linguistic data, which is discussed below.

### 6.1 Discussion of the Results

#### 6.1.1 Comparable Emotion Concepts and Multiple Cultural Models

In this section the findings supporting statement I, II, and III at the beginning of this work will be briefly discussed. They addressed the issues of comparable metaphors and metonymies, multiple cognitive models and role of biology and

social/cultural factors on the similarities and differences found in the data. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 already conclude with a summary of the findings derived from the Chinese data together with a comparison with existing English data for each emotion in question. The major finding was that metaphors/metonymies that occur in English and Chinese are indeed similar. Furthermore, the analyses also indicated the existence in Chinese, as well as in English, of multiple cognitive models underlying each of the emotion.. First, let us discuss the overall findings of metaphors and metonymies.

It was found that these similarities identified in them are related to a shared human biology, as reflected in metaphors such as THE BODY IS A CONTAINER, ANGER IS FIRE for anger, HAPPINESS IS HIGH AND RAPTUROUS, HAPPINESS IS FREEDOM, HAPPINESS IS WARMTH for happiness, and LOVE IS A UNITY OF TWO PARTS, LOVE HINDERS NORMAL FUNCTIONING for love. However, contrary to common belief, our biology or human physiology is not the only contributing factor to the similarities found in both cultures. Comparable social environments and cultural experiences also have a significant impact on the similarities of emotion concepts. LOVE IS A COMMODITY is a case in point. In fact, we found that most of the similarities uncovered in love metaphors/metonymies between English and Chinese are a reflection of such influences. Therefore, elements such as social environment and cultural experiences play an equally important role in shared as well as specific concepts found amongst cultures. For example, the cultural specific concept such as *QI* in anger is a product of social and cultural factors interacting with our biology.

Similarly, on closer inspection of the cultural models which derived from all three emotions, it was found that there are some fine cultural and social differences. For example, the cognitive models for anger in Chinese reflect a higher sensitivity to the relational aspect of the Wrongdoer and the Self in determining the occurrence of an act of retribution than that in the English cognitive models. The cognitive models for romantic love demonstrated even more social and cultural influence in the sense that the same model can be typical in one society, but ideal in another. Such a realisation is crucial in understanding the formation of emotion concepts and cognitive models. It is a constant interaction between human biology and social as well as cultural factors over a long period of time. The following sections will highlight the findings how this process of interaction is captured in the structure and complexity of each emotion, a reinterpretation of universal and cultural specific concepts and a plausible explanation for existence of multiple cognitive models. These findings support the hypotheses IV, and V presented at the beginning of this work.

### **6.1.2 Structure and Complexity of Emotion Concepts**

The three emotion concepts are not structured with the same complexity; this can be demonstrated by the use of metaphors and metonymies. Firstly, the rate of the use of metonymies, adjusted by the number of linguistic units, did not show any significant differences. However, our linguistic analyses showed a most diverse use of metonymies by the subjects for anger, followed by happiness, then love. This finding suggests that equating physical symptoms with emotions is more prevalent when expressing anger and happiness, but not so widespread in love. The reverse is

true for the rate of the use of metaphor as it can be seen in the statistical evidence that is summarised as followed:

1. Love metaphors were used at more than three times the rate of anger metaphors by both men and women. These results were very highly statistically significant in both sexes ( $p < 0.001$ , t-test for paired data).
2. Love metaphors were used at about twice the rate of happiness metaphors. These results were highly statistically significant for men ( $p < 0.01$ ) and very highly significant for women ( $p < 0.001$ , t-test for paired data).
3. Happiness metaphors rates were higher than anger metaphor rates. The difference was very highly significant for women ( $p < 0.001$ ) but not significant for men ( $p > 0.05$ , t-test for paired data.).

Furthermore, the diversity of metaphors used for each individual emotion reflected this tendency. For example, our linguistic analyses illustrated that the dominant metaphors in anger and happiness have a distinctive orientational and ontological nature: such as the CONTAINER, FIRE, and HOT *QI* for anger, UP, FAST, FREEDOM, LIGHTNESS and FULLNESS for happiness. All these metaphors demonstrate a palpable link with their physical and metonymic concepts.

Conversely, the physical basis of some major metaphors of love, except LOVE IS A UNITY OF TWO PARTS, such as IN THE HEART, RUNNING A BUSINESS, and COMMODITY are relatively more remote. This does not mean that these metaphors are not grounded experientially if we break down the structure to their generic level. Even then, their 'primitive' components (e.g. see Figure 16) are

not based upon physical symptoms. For example, the concept of EXCHANGE, and PRECIOUS OBJECT/COMMODITY are grounded in social interactions which in turn determine the value of these concepts. As for the PHYSICAL CLOSENESS that gives rise to UNITY OF TWO PARTS, it is not an absolute prerequisite in our data. Instead, it was PSYCHOLOGICAL CLOSENESS combining with other key inherent and relative concepts of love, such as RESPONSIBILITY, TOLERANCE, LOYALTY, etc. that constitute this very metaphor. Finally, the metaphors with a stronger physiological connector such as HINDERS NORMAL FUNCTION and HEAT are not conceptualised to be compared with love, but rather more as an adverse effect of infatuation. Such a tendency may be contributed by the transient nature of the physical basis of love, which is in contrast to anger and happiness where the physiological correspondences are much more stable. Thus physiological bases are much more reliable indicators of the 'emotion' itself. Furthermore, evidence to support such a distinction is the presence and importance of *QI* in each of these three emotions. While *QI* is the core of Chinese understanding of anger to a larger extent, and of happiness to a slightly lesser extent, it is was not detectable in love at all; Arguably, the physical connection to the concept of love is less important.

Such variation in structure amongst these three emotions suggests that the concept of romantic love in Chinese is heavily embedded in the social milieu. However, it does not imply that anger and happiness are not. In fact, the evidence reveals that the experience of love is not as 'pure' as for anger or happiness, by virtue of it being more subject to social influence. Therefore, in terms their expression and management, they are equally a part of a larger social and cultural system.. Furthermore, this evidence also does not suggest that anger and happiness

can be treated identically. Our discussion of Chinese medicine in terms of anger indicates that it has been necessary to ‘medicalise’ anger, but apparently not happiness. Happiness, being a positive emotion, has no adverse effect on the experienced person nor people around him/her, therefore its structure on a conceptual level has been more consistent than that of anger. This phenomenon, again, reflects an adaptation to some social needs.

### 6.1.3 Reconsidering Universal and Culture-specific Concepts

In the previous section, we concluded that there are differences in the conceptual structures of anger, happiness and love in Chinese. It was proposed that love appears to be more socially constructed in terms of experiencing, but generally speaking, all three emotions are managed and negotiated through socio-cultural factors. This is by no means to imply that all of the emotions in question are cultural-specific constructs and not universal. Moreover, the similarities identified in the metonymies and metaphors are not absolute indications that universal features should also apply to Chinese, either. Our analyses, in fact, urge a reconsideration of the definition of universality and cultural-particularity.

Instead, it is believed that any such comparisons should adopt a diachronic point of view in language changes and social structures. For example, the parallel between the system of Chinese medicine with *qi* and that of humoral theory with fluid demonstrates that socially both Chinese and European (as well as Northern American) cultures chose to manage anger similarly but at different point in time. Despite the fact the *QI* is a cultural-specific construct, with reference to the context of anger as an emotion, the Chinese model of anger does not differ from that of

Western model. Yet, as it is suggested here, the similarities are not merely biological factors but should also be attributed to the process of socialisation.

Similarly, the analysis of love indicates that despite the similarities detected in all major metaphors, it was found that love is experienced and managed differently from English. In this case, the distinction between universal and particular features are at most quite indistinct. Presumably, one can claim that since both concepts, *ai qing* in Chinese and “love” in English all share similar physiology, thus this feature should be rendered universal. However, as elaborated earlier, physiological symptoms in Chinese do not constitute the concept of love itself, and it is doubtful that it has always been so in English, either. Although the Kövecses’ (1988) analysis lends support to the physical basis of love, it is arguably only a recent development (Solomon, 1980, 1981). In other words, the concepts or models of love in English may have resembled those of Chinese in earlier times when the social structures were presumably more similar to that of China in the last few hundred years.

To conclude, it is proposed that any linguistic data on emotion concepts in providing universal and cultural-specific evidence should be considered in a diachronic framework in terms of language and other environmental changes. From this vantage point, there are no absolute categories, so adopting a continuum perspective on universality and cultural-particularity is in fact far more productive.

#### **6.1.4 Emergence of Multiple Cultural Models**

The points discussed in the previous section provide a reasonable explanation as for why there is more than one model underlying each emotion concept. From a diachronic point of view, new models replace old models all the time, but the process

should be considered a gradual one (Györi, 1996). Therefore, some new and old models co-exist for a time or some old models will never be replaced completely. The analysis on Chinese medicine and anger is a case in point. The models that underlie love are even more complex and multi-levelled as LOVE IS RUNNING A BUSINESS demonstrated. Gu's survey on love further support that there can be several models operating at the same time or at different stages of love in constructing experiences.

Furthermore, our conclusion that not all emotion concepts are structured with the same cognitive complexity, suggests that some metaphors reflect the cultural models shared in a given society, whereas metaphors constitute the models. For example, our idealised and typical models, which are fairly different from those in English despite similar metonymies and metaphors imply that when people conceptualise love, or at least its relational aspects, we may tend to select the metaphors that are compatible with pre-existing models which can be either metaphorically or propositionally structured.

#### **6.1.5. Potential Confounds**

In this section findings dealing with demographic variables will be discussed. It was stated in hypothesis VI that variables such as gender, age, education level should not have any significant impact upon the use of metaphor and metonymy. Furthermore, places of residency and second language should not contaminate the data, given that the experiment subjects moved to their respective countries in adulthood.



Consequently, after analysis, it was found that none of these confounds had any overriding significance on the use of metaphors and metonymies in terms of length and rate. However, there were some interesting findings in terms of gender. Firstly, in relation to the length of the narratives, as quantified in linguistic unit (Johnson, 1970), it was found that the anger narratives were longer on the average than the happiness narratives. The difference was 5 units for men and 7 units for women. Both these differences were statistically significant ( $p < 0.05$  and  $p < 0.001$  respectively: T-test for paired comparisons). The anger narratives were 8.5 units longer than the love narratives in both men and women ( $p < 0.001$  in both cases.). The happiness narratives were slightly longer than the love narratives; the difference was significant only for the men ( $p < 0.05$ ). The differences in length were about the same for men and for women, the sex difference not being significant for any of the three topics ( $p > 0.05$ , two-sample T-test). There was a 95% confidence intervals for the length differences (for instance, length of anger narrative minus length of happiness narrative) for men and for women. There was no significant difference in the lengths of the narratives written by men and by women ( $p \geq 0.05$ , two-sample T-test). This was true for each of the three topics. There was a 95% confidence intervals for the mean lengths of the narratives written on each topic by men and by women.

With reference to the rates of metonymy and metaphor, it was apparent that their narratives demonstrated the following trends (point 4, 5 and 6 were discussed briefly in section 6.1.2):

1. Metonymy rates for men and for women were not significantly different for any of the three topics.
2. Men used anger metonymies at a significantly higher rate than love metonymies ( $p < 0.01$ , t-test for paired data). Other differences in metonymy rates of different topic were not significant in men or women.
3. Metaphor rates for men and women were not significantly different for any of the three topics.
4. Love metaphors were used at more than three times the rate of anger metaphors by both men and women. These results were very highly statistically significant in both sexes ( $p < 0.001$ , t-test for paired data).
5. Love metaphors were used at about twice the rate of happiness metaphors. These results were highly statistically significant for men ( $p < 0.01$ ) and very highly significant for women ( $p < 0.001$ , t-test for paired data).
6. Happiness metaphors rates were higher than anger metaphor rates. The difference was very highly significant for women ( $p < 0.001$ ) but not significant for men ( $p > 0.05$ , t-test for paired data.).

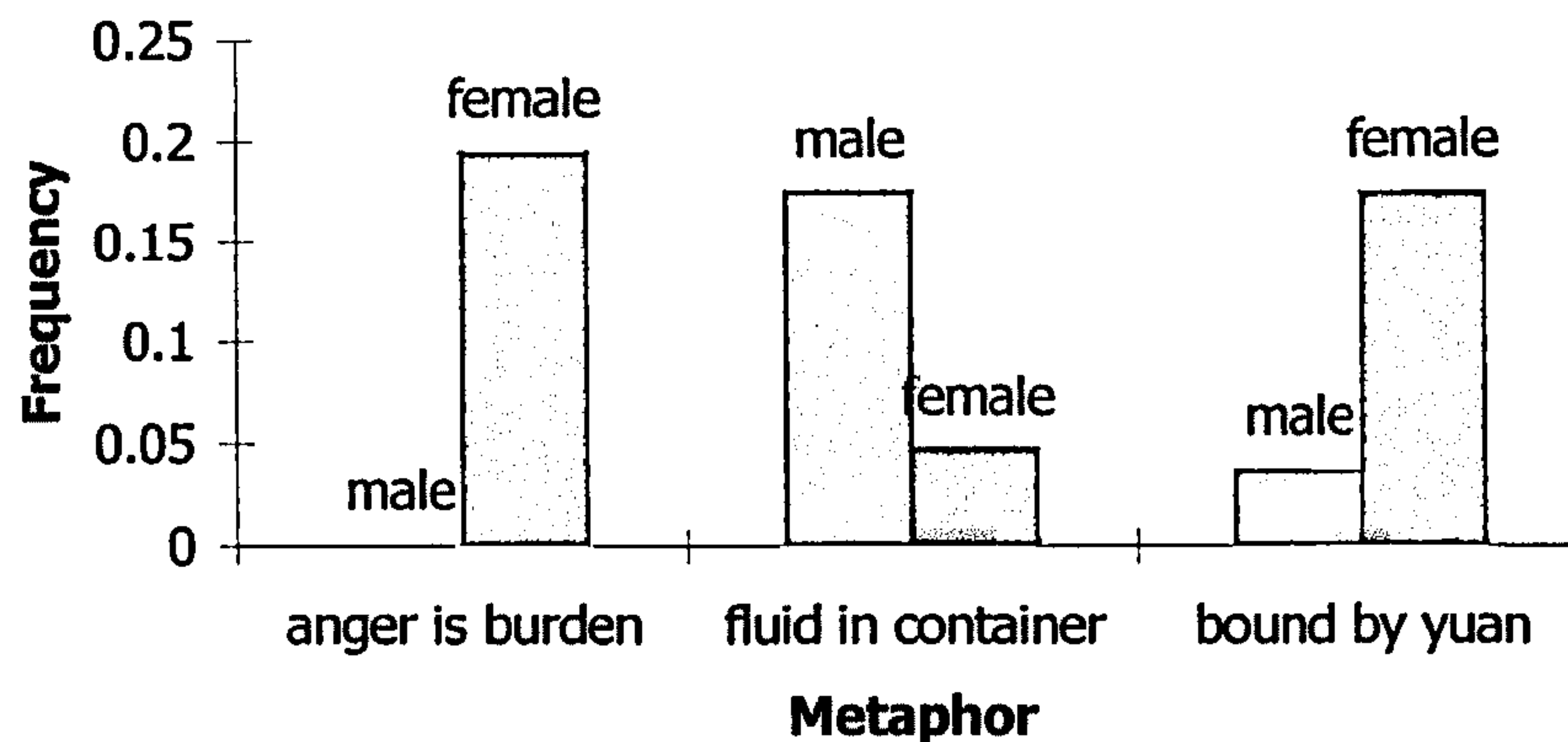
These analyses suggest that it is difficult to draw a conclusive observation that, for example women are more expressive than men. There is one shared stereotypical belief, at least in the Western cultures, that women are more emotional than men (Fischer and Manstead, 2000:71). This stereotype reinforces the binary opposition between emotion and reason, which in turn has been closely associated

with the opposition between masculinity and femininity (Lloyd, 1984; Shields, 1984). The stereotype also gives rise to an intuitively acceptable view that femininity and female roles are linked with the ability to experience, express, and communicate emotions to others, and empathise with other's feelings, whereas masculinity and male roles are defined as the ability to suppress and control one's emotions. There has been research which also observe such differences between sexes ( e.g. Ashmore, Del Boca, & Wholers, 1986; Broverman, Vogell, Broverman, Clarkson & Rosenkrantz, 1972; Fabes & Martin, 1991). However, there has been evidence emerging that (Fischer and Manstead, *ibid*) such a simple distinction is not possible.

It is found that gender difference in this regard is closely associated with social role: individual versus collective, and masculinity versus femininity (which are different from men versus. women). Therefore, even though our data show that women seem to be more expressive in love as men are more in anger, it would be too speculative to provide any firm explanations at this point in time since the contributing factors are far too complex. Similarly, the following Table 10 illustrates that in terms of individual use of metaphor, in particular, ANGER IS BURDEN, ANGER IS FLUID, and LOVE IS BOUNDED BY YUAN, there are some observable differences amongst gender.

Table 10: Percentage Use of Metaphors for Women and Men

**Metaphors used with different frequencies  
by men and women**



The graph shows that there were no male subjects ever using ANGER IS BURDEN, whereas male subjects were more comfortable in conceptualising anger as FLUID IN CONTAINER than their female counterparts. Furthermore, female subjects believed more in fatalism than male subjects as expressed in LOVE IS BOUNDED BY YUAN metaphor. Although other research (Yulia, *et al.* 2002) indicates that gender across Chinese American and European American cultures plays a role in the strength and expressiveness of emotion types., it is very difficult to arrive at any generalisation from both findings without engaging in lengthy speculation. Nevertheless, this result shown in Table 10. offers an interesting direction in any future research regarding gender difference in emotion experience.

Finally, some results on residency/nationality (USA and Taiwan/USA versus Taiwan) of importance to the interpretation of data. Since some Mandarin speakers completed the questionnaire in the United States where they had resided for a number of years. It was believed that this fact should not interfere with the quality of the linguistic data that were elicited, providing that these subjects moved to the U.S.

in adulthood. The linguistic analyses of their data in previous chapters demonstrated already that their use of metonymies and metaphors were similar to the rest of the subjects in terms of all conventional types. Although their data indicated a lack in the use of more creative and novel use of metonymies and metaphors than their Taiwan resided counterparts, the number of subjects in the U.S. was too small as to yield any significant insight to a plausible explanation. Finally, statistically there is also support for no significant differences between these two groups of subjects (Taiwan vs. U.S.) :

1. None of the metaphors or metonymies was significantly different in frequency in the two groups at the 5% level (Chi Square test);
2. The metaphor and metonymy rates were not significantly different in the two groups for any of the three topics. (The rates for happiness were lower in Taiwan than in the USA, but the difference was not significant at the 5% level.) (Two-sample t-test.).

#### **6.1.6 Metonymic/Metaphorical Extension of Meaning and Linguistic Relativity**

Finally, the analyses of *QI* and *XIN* in Chinese lend some support to a weak form of Whorfian effect, as set out in hypothesis VII. First of all, on a semantic level, we see that in Chinese culture the concept of *qi*, rather than 'fluid' is selected from various natural and physical phenomena to stand as a lexical item for the essence of person and or universe, which in turn motivates the formations of other related concepts, such as emotion, health, and personality. Therefore, it was the concept of fluids that was primarily chosen to be encoded in the West to stand for the essence of

life, which later gave rise to an elaborate account of emotion and mental states. In other words, if these two concepts were comparable, and were all cognitively real, there should have been some transfer of usage between two cultures. According to universalism, if most physiological concepts in anger are biological, then, hypothetically, the Chinese culture should have been able to conceptualise anger as fluid, and correspondingly those in the West conceptualising anger as *qi*. However, there was no evidence to support this observation. Therefore, the concept of *QI* as in anger is not more biological than that of FLUID in English. In other words, the Chinese culture lexicalised the concept of *QI*, which has become a cognitively real category that guides and motivates further concept formations, whereas in English it has become the concept of FLUID.

With regard to the concept of *XIN*, the heart, as elaborated in Chapter 3, demonstrated that when foreign concepts such as ‘psychology’ and ‘mental illness’ were translated into Chinese, instead of creating a new lexical item for ‘mind’ they had to be matched with some existing concepts. Consequently, *xin li xue*, ‘the school for the theory of the heart’, and *jing sheng bin*, ‘the illness of the spirit’ were selected to stand for these new concepts respectively. They were not motivated by arbitrary decisions, but guided by an existing category system. This category system is made up from concepts of *xin*, heart and *qi*, the essence of person and universe. As our extensive analysis of *xin*, ‘heart’, demonstrated that in Chinese there is no separation between mind and *xin*. In fact, *xin* is the seat of our moral, mental, emotional and spiritual self, and therefore psychology and mental illnesses can be understood in terms of all these connotations.

In this way, the concepts of *XIN* as a category in aiding semantic changes demonstrate what Göyri (1996, 1998a) sees as an operation that involves cognitive processes during which the new experience is seen in terms of familiar experience. The familiar experience employed in the meaning transfer exists, by virtue of the matter, in a linguistic form. Because of this, the way the new experience will be perceived, thought of and expressed will be influenced by whatever linguistic forms are available. Thus, the semantic knowledge of the speakers, together with the cognitive mechanisms that operate on this knowledge act as constraints on the cognitive process behind the modification of meaning.

## **6. 2 Conclusions and Recommendations**

This research hypothesised that 1. The conceptual metonymy and metaphors and cognitive models in Mandarin Chinese should be comparable to those in English; 2. There are multiple cognitive models underlying these concepts; 3. The universal features exhibit in the conceptualisation are biologically and at times socially motivated whereas the culture-specific ones are socially embedded; 4. Social factors help shape the complexity of the emotion concepts in question; 5. These social factors are shared by various societies at different point in time; 6. Variables such as gender, age, education level, place of residency and second language spoken. Our findings support each of these points, and additionally, lend support not only to a Whorfian effect which can be observed from the semantic and conceptual changes of certain key words and concepts via metonymic and metaphorical device, but also that emotion concepts are as much a social as a biological reality.

All these findings converge on an important implication regarding the intricate relationship between language, cognition and culture: Although the development of our language and cognition are constrained by human biology, they are constantly modified by cultural factors so as to adapt to our changing physical and social environment. This mechanism is of particular palpable in the use of emotion language and the formation of emotion concepts. First of all, emotion embodies both biological drive and cultural information and they are all encoded in our language. Then, as our language is used to encode such properties, it functions as a tool to facilitate further concept formations as required by our physical and social environment. In turn, as new concepts are emerging, new combination of words or expressions have to be used to encode each new phenomenon. Therefore, in this way, the interaction of these three elements, i.e. language, cognition and culture is a dynamic, ongoing process.

However, this research is somewhat limited by its survey design and methodology. Firstly, it was not predicted that the semi-structured questions for anger and happiness tended to elicit emotion as events and action type of experience, whereas the open-question for love encouraged a mainly emotion as state type of narrative. This may explain the paucity of metonymies of love in our data. Secondly, there should have been more subjects recruited in the U.S. in order to have a significant comparison by observing the differences in the use of conventional and novel metaphors, which can be caused by the change of residency which in turn may affect the volume and quality of the input of the native language. Thirdly, although this survey was designed to capture both qualitative and quantitative data, further analyses on the qualitative information which provides contextual information is



required. For example, the narratives of anger written by the subjects are imbedded with rich information which could have been used to arrive at a complex script of anger in Chinese that involves the relationship of people involved, location of the angry event (i.e. private *versus* public), and the seriousness the angry event..

Finally, what was particularly problematic, however, was a to find a unified and objective way of identifying metonymies and metaphors. This may have been due to the weakness of the central theoretical framework on which this research was based i.e. that proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Lakoff and Kövecses (1987). Undeniably, these difficulties were partly due to the fact that in natural language action, there are rarely clearly identifiable cases of pure metonymy and metaphors; furthermore, they were partly caused by the blurred definition of ‘dead’ metaphors. Lakoff and his colleagues did not consider separating dead metaphors from more conventional ones, thus it was extremely problematic to determine whether these generic expressions of anger such as *sheng qi*, and *fen nu*, both meaning ‘emitting *qi*’ should be considered as a conventional metaphor or treated as their English counterpart ‘angry’ whose metaphorical link was obscure. Therefore, despite the clarity of the Chinese writing system the metaphorical suggestions of both *sheng qi* and *fen nu* being obvious, the majority of Chinese use them the same way as the English would use ‘angry’. The same argument also applies to the two generic terms, *kuai le* and *gao xin* for happiness in Chinese. A possible solution to improving the working definition of metonymy and metaphor may be to employ two or more independent ratters. Thus one could achieve a higher consensus on the interpretation of the data as well as the reliability of the results; it is hoped that other researchers will use the fundamental findings of this work to develop it further.

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## APPENDIX 1.

### Research Questionnaire

#### Personal Information:

Gender: male \_\_\_\_\_; female \_\_\_\_\_

Age: \_\_\_\_\_

Marital Status: Married \_\_\_\_\_; Single \_\_\_\_\_; other \_\_\_\_\_

Number of Children: \_\_\_\_\_

Years of Education: \_\_\_\_\_

Past Residence: Village \_\_\_\_\_; Town \_\_\_\_\_; City \_\_\_\_\_

Country of Residence: \_\_\_\_\_

Current Residence: Village \_\_\_\_\_; Town \_\_\_\_\_; City \_\_\_\_\_

Country of Origin: \_\_\_\_\_

#### Use of Languages:

Native speaker of: Fukienese/Taiwanese \_\_\_\_\_; Hakkanese \_\_\_\_\_; Mandarin \_\_\_\_\_;

Other \_\_\_\_\_ (please specify)

#### Usual Profession:

If studying for a degree, please state your major: \_\_\_\_\_

If graduated, please state which major: \_\_\_\_\_

#### Profession of your Parents:

Father \_\_\_\_\_; Mother \_\_\_\_\_

## 2). Description:

A: Items

Please describe in as much detail as possible an experience of feeling angry (sheng chi), within the last three months, or earlier. (400-500 words).

Please describe in as much detail as possible a happy (kuai le) experience, within the last three months, or earlier (400-500 words).

Please describe your direct experience of love (ai qing) (e.g. which particular feelings and emotions were important).

If you have never been 'in love', then, please give a description of what you personally think are the defining features of love; this should not include the love between friends (yu ai), indiscriminate love [bo ai] \*\*\*\*should this be bu ai –no love\*\*\*\* nor the love of say a mother for her child (mu ai) (300 words).

## B. Instructions

While describing, please consider the following general points when describing your experiences: Use every day language; Try to describe your experience as if you are telling a story to someone who does not know all the people involved. If you cannot think of a recent experience, then please describe an earlier memorable one.

When your are recalling an incident when you experienced being angry (sheng chi/feng nu) or happy (kuai le/gao xin) please include the following:

Where it happened

Who was involved

How it happened

How long such feelings lasted (i.e., minutes, hours, or a days)

How the situation ended

Describing feelings:

What words could best describe your feelings at that time?

How strong were your feelings at that time (please circle the appropriate intensity on a Scale of 1 to 10. 1, where 1 is the weakest, and 10 is the strongest):

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10



Were there any verbal reactions at that time? (e.g. did you or the other people involved say anything to one another during the incident)

Any physical reactions (e.g. trembling, muscles feeling tense, an awareness of one's heart beating faster, blushing, etc.)?

Any nonverbal reactions (e.g. facial expressions, notable changes in your tone of voice or gestures, etc.). Please recall others nonverbal reactions, if possible.

## APPENDIX 2.

### 3.2.1.1

1. 他大發脾氣。
2. 別動肝火。
3. 他快要氣炸了。
4. 他快要氣瘋了。
5. 他怒氣沖沖地走過來。
6. 當我看到他時，他正在大發脾氣。
7. 當他聽到這時，他勃然變色。
8. 他橫眉怒目地看著我。
9. 他怒氣凶凶地朝著我罵。
10. 氣沖牛斗。
11. 氣湧如山。
12. 怒髮衝冠。
13. 怒火中燒。
14. 七竅生煙。
15. 惱羞成怒。
16. 痛心疾首。
17. 咬牙切齒。
18. 面紅耳赤。
19. 磨拳擦掌。
20. 他脾氣大得很。
21. 他個性很暴烈。
22. 面紅耳赤。
23. 臉紅脖子粗。
24. 磨拳擦掌。
25. 髮直皆裂。
26. 目
27. 切齒腐心。
28. 握拳
29. 大發雷霆。
30. 暴跳如雷。
31. 我氣得兩眼發黑。
32. 我氣得頭昏眼花。
33. 小不忍，亂大謀。
34. 怒從心上起，惡向膽邊生。

### 3.2.1.2

1. 沉住氣。
2. 氣滿胸膛。
3. 怒氣洶湧。
4. 怒氣沖沖。
5. 氣湧如山。
6. 他氣消了。
7. 他火氣太大了。
8. 他大動肝火。
9. 他發脾氣了。
10. 他生氣了。
11. 他脾氣不好。
12. 他火氣太大。

13. 他大動肝火。
14. 他氣得七竅生煙。
15. 我實在吞不下這口氣。
16. 我快要氣炸了。
17. 他氣衝牛斗。
18. 他怒氣衝天。
19. 請冷靜下來。
20. 消消氣吧。

### 3.2.1.3

1. 別惹火了我。
2. 他火大了，什麼話都罵得出了。
3. 她惱火了就把花瓶扔過來。
4. 她覺得怒火直往上冒。
5. 他火冒三尺。
6. 怒火不住地在她的心裡燃燒。
7. 怒火中燒。
8. 他的眼睛在噴火。
9. 她極力忍住她的怒火。
10. 他把這股怒火往下壓。

### 3.2.2.1

1. 臉紅。
2. 難過。
3. 哭。
4. 雙手緊握。
5. 聲音顫抖。
6. 咬牙切齒。
7. 狂哭。
8. 緊張。
9. 情緒昂張。
10. 精神緊繃。
11. 厭惡。
12. 反感。
13. 想揍人。
14. 肢體語言。
15. 大聲罵人。
16. 話急。
17. 言辭激烈。
18. 狠狠瞪他。
19. 面無表情。
20. 表情僵硬。
21. 難以形容。
22. 說話打結。
23. 話很少。什麼都沒說。
24. 無言。

### 3.2.2.2

1. 生氣。
2. 氣瘋。

3. 煩燥。
4. 悶熱。
5. 氣氛火爆
6. 火山爆發。
7. 氣溫升高。
8. 強烈地爆發—C
9. 火柴。
10. 燃燒的火焰。
11. 火山轟地爆發。
12. 炙熱。
13. 失控。
14. 發洩情緒。
15. 釋然。
16. 頹坐。
17. 沉重的氣氛。
18. 義憤填膺。
19. 怒上心頭。
20. 厭惡。
21. 反感。

### 3.2.3.1

1. 心跳加快。
2. 頭脹。
3. 臉紅。
4. 嘴角顫動。
5. 眼皮跳動。
6. 激動。
7. 手略抖。
8. 傷心。
9. 哭。
10. 緊張。
11. 身體不舒服。
12. 造成心裡難過。
13. 全身顫抖。
14. 胃緊縮。
15. 聲調高昂。
16. 聲音粗。
17. 語氣不好。
18. 語氣不悅。
19. 臉拉下來。
20. 無言。
21. 沉默。
22. 毫無控制。
23. 不可控制。
24. 無力感。
25. 無能為力。
26. 僵硬。
27. 非語言可表達。

### 3.2.3.2

1. 生氣。

2. 激動。
3. 激情。
4. 心生悶氣。
5. 氣憤。
6. 氣急敗壞。
7. 使自己更生氣。
8. 發怒。
9. 一氣之下。
10. 受上司的氣。
11. 生這種氣。
12. 走出憤怒。
13. 內心的氣。
14. 煩。
15. 火氣大。
16. 平息心中無名火。
17. 退火。
18. 平息下來。
19. 脾氣不好。
20. 不悅。
21. 不高興。
22. 不可控制。
23. 釋懷。
24. 冷然相應。

### 3.3.1

1. 冒汗。
2. 胸口悶悶。
3. 心裡悶。
4. 胸口幾乎要爆裂。
5. 全身肌肉緊繃。
6. 胸口充滿了氣。
7. 心跳加快。
8. 胸膛不停跳動。
9. 心頭一揪。
10. 心痛的感情C
11. 哭。
12. 抽噎
13. 全身顫抖。
14. 全身發抖。
15. 手動抖。
16. 手不止地顫抖。
17. 牙癢癢。
18. 咬牙切齒。
19. 咬著牙根。
20. 全身鬆軟。
21. 哭？腳軟。
22. 浮浮地。
23. 腦子空白。

### 3.3.2

1. 打自己。

2. 手指著。
3. 大力拍桌子。
4. 想摔她一巴掌。
5. 手弄足舞。
6. 捶牆壁。
7. 大聲指罵。
8. 吼
9. 咒罵。
10. 口氣愈來愈強硬。
11. 口氣加重。
12. 聲音變大。
13. 聲調愈來愈高。
14. 聲調激昂。
15. 聲調高昂。
16. 聲音變調。
17. 罵。
18. 指責。
19. 訓誡。
20. 爭執。
21. 大吵一架。
22. 瞪。
23. 眉毛皺在一起。
24. 表情令人害怕。
25. 鐵青著臉。
26. 表情僵硬。
27. 表情很難看。
28. 臉色愈來愈難看。
29. 態度惡劣。
30. 敢怒不敢言。
31. 沉默不語。
32. 一言不發。
33. 不想說任何話。
34. 結巴。
35. 不知一拘飽C
36. 辭不達意。
37. 不願直視他人。
38. 表情嚴肅。

#### 3.4.1.1

1. 盛氣凌人。
2. 氣憤。
3. 氣沖沖。
4. 氣呼呼。
5. 氣？
6. 氣壞了。
7. 氣急敗壞。
8. 心中生氣。
9. 喉嚨一口氣吞下去？
10. 氣悶在心裡。
11. 悶了好久。
12. 胸口充滿了氣。
13. 胸中有股強大的氣要？出來。

## 14. 氣悶在甚愷

### 3.4.1.2

1. 油然而生。
2. 導火線。
3. 煩燥—C
4. 不耐煩。
5. 愈燃愈烈。
6. 火冒三丈。
7. 火大。
8. 火氣。
9. 怒火中燒。
10. 戰火滿天。
11. 燃燒的活火山。
12. 胸口幾乎要爆裂。
13. 爆發。
14. 暴怒。
15. 氣炸了。
16. 消退。
17. 消了。

### 3.4.2

1. 亂發脾氣。
2. 發脾氣。
3. 脾氣不好。

### 3.4.3.1

1. 發飆。
2. 發狂。

### 3.4.3.2

1. 失去控制。
2. 不可收拾。
3. 不知所措。
4. 氣壞了。

### 3.4.3.3

1. 事事與我作對。
2. 一股衝動。
3. 強壓衝動。
4. 壓抑。
5. 忍著了。
6. 不讓自己。
7. 按捺不住。
8. 忍不住。

### 3.5.1

1. 鬱悶。
2. 不能釋懷。
3. 不爽。
4. 發洩掉。
5. 渲洩。
6. 吐苦水。
7. 傾訴。

### 3.5.2

1. 沉重。
2. 拖著疲憊的腳步。
3. 疲累。
4. 心情低落。
5. 好的心情掉到谷底。
6. 沒有精神。
7. 哀傷。

### 3.5.3

1. 別煩我。
2. 不舒服。

### 3.5.4

1. 心中激起一股怒氣。
2. 內心激盪不已。
3. 激動。
4. 撫平情緒。
5. 淡忘。
6. 沸騰。

### 3.5.5

1. 冷戰。
2. 心在下雪。

### 3.6.2

1. 心中無名火。
2. (我)心裡有氣。
3. (我)心中有憤怒。
4. (我)心裡悶氣。



## Chapter 4

### 4.3.1

1. 溫暖。
2. 流淚。
3. 眼淚流出來。
4. 舒暢。
5. 放鬆。

### 4.3.2

1. 快樂。
2. 溫暖。
3. 天上的鷹直直向上飛。
4. 清爽。
5. 輕鬆。
6. 放鬆。
7. 完全放掉。
8. 舒暢。
9. 順利。
10. 平安。
11. 平靜。
12. 清靜。
13. 安靜。
14. 感動。
15. 莫名的快樂。
16. 高興。
17. 滿足。
18. 品嚐如此的感覺。

### 4.4.1

1. 雀躍。
2. 蹦蹦跳跳。
3. 跳了起來。
4. 又叫又跳。
5. 唱歌

### 4.4.2

1. 大笑。
2. 歡笑。
3. 笑臉。
4. 一激一 C
5. 大聲笑。
6. 像小孩一樣大聲笑。
7. 鬧著。
8. 歡呼。
9. 心裡微笑。
10. 說笑話。

11. 流眼淚。
12. 要哭出來。
13. 紅了眼眶。
14. 尖叫。

#### 4.4.3

1. 血脈賁張。
2. 頭皮發癢。
3. 心跳加快。
4. 呼吸急促。

#### 4.4.4

1. 眉飛舞色。

#### 4.5.1

1. 高興。
2. 興奮。
3. 刺激。
4. 歡笑。
5. 驚喜。
6. 愉悅。
7. 喜悅。
8. 歡欣。
9. 歡愉。

#### 4.5.2

1. 沒有壓力。
2. 不用理會生活的壓力。
3. 消除壓力。
4. 解放。
5. 解脫。
6. 發洩。
7. 脫離。
8. 不受侵擾。
9. 很爽。
10. 隨心所欲。
11. 盡情。
12. 暢談。
13. 徜徉在。
14. 做自己想做的事。
15. 自在。
16. 開心。
17. 忘了自己在那裡。
18. 時間消失。
19. 忘了旁人存在。
20. 樂不思蜀。
21. 不滿消失無影無蹤。
22. 化爲烏有。
23. 無憂無慮。

24. 無涯際。
25. 不受限。
26. 自由。

#### 4.5.3

1. 滿足。
2. 滿足感。
3. 人生充實。
4. 充實。
5. 幸福。
6. 幸運。
7. 順利。

#### 4.5.4

1. 在我心中保持著。
2. 情溢於言表。
3. 情緒沸騰到極點。
4. 沉醉在美麗的世界。

#### 4.5.5

1. 腳步輕盈。
2. 無事一身輕。
3. 輕鬆的心情。
4. 放鬆。
5. 放輕鬆。
6. 悠閒。

#### 4.5.6

1. 飛揚。
2. 飛躍的心情。
3. 葭萱家。
4. 雀躍。

#### 4.5.7

1. 舒服
2. 感覺舒服。
3. 舒坦。
4. 舒暢。
5. 舒適。
6. 恬適。
7. 享受。

#### 4.5.8

1. 寧靜。
2. 靜靜。
3. 平靜。
4. 和平。

5. 和諧。
6. 和氣。
7. 沒有爭執。
8. 平安。

#### 4.5.9

1. 溫暖人心。
2. 窩心。
3. 溫馨。
4. 熱鬧。
5. 沸騰。
6. 熱情不減。

#### 4.5.10

1. 感動。
2. 感人。
3. 激動。
4. 欣喜若狂。
5. 瘋狂。
6. 做盡瘋狂事。
7. 內心不禁。
8. 不自主。
9. 手抖著。
10. 不停說話。
11. 動作誇張。
12. 聲調較高。

#### 4.5.11

1. 煥然一新。
2. 清新。
3. 一番洗禮。
4. 年輕。
5. 美麗。
6. 世界美。
7. 樂此不疲。
8. 不心灰意懶。
9. 快樂。

#### 4.5.12

1. 把握每一天好的心情。
2. 但願這種滋味不會消失。
3. 心裡覺的很甜蜜。

#### 5.2.1

1. 在一起。
2. 攜手。
3. 一朥，b一塊。
4. 天天想念。

5. 愉快
6. 好感。
7. 盲從。
8. 另一半。
9. 心一條。
10. 想要在一起。
11. 伴侶。
12. 不可有外遇。
13. 彼此。
14. 兩個陌生個體彼此認同。
15. 一同面對，分享生活。
16. 推向完美之路。
17. 光明前途。
18. 攜手邁進。
19. 循途徑。
20. 同甘共苦。
21. 漫漫人生路途上。
22. 陪伴自己度過漫漫人生生命中某一段時光。
23. 這一段感情。
24. 有了它。
25. 曾經擁有。
26. 相信了它。
27. 一段感情。
28. 得來不易。
29. 尋找。
30. 愛惜。
31. 維護。
32. 維持。
33. 愛建立在…
34. 愛需要經營。
35. 付出。
36. 不求任何回報。
37. 利益的輸送。
38. 愛是讓兩人學習成長。
39. 心動。
40. 追求理性的愛情。
41. 羅漫地克的激情。點心。正。激情。
42. 激情。許諾。愛情。麵包。激情。
43. 激情。許諾。
44. 激情。火花。

#### 5.2.3.2

1. 符合「標準」。
2. 謹慎「驗貨」。
3. 精挑細選。
4. 嚴格地執行「品質管制」。
5. 檢驗。
6. 審核。
7. 驗貨單。
8. 循著驗貨單的「細目」。
9. 在「檢驗表」上的勾勾多於叉叉的時候。
10. 投資。

11. 付出。
12. 合理的「代價」
13. 付出的「代價」。
14. 女性婚後的「損失」有目共睹。
15. 從今天起你已「貶值」。
16. 女性進入婚姻關係後「喪失」的比男性多。
17. 只要按“愛情驗貨單”的細目逐步進展，保證可以「獲得」安全又平穩的婚姻。
18. 付出是「值得」。
19. 「討價還價」的內容多半集中在未來我們兩個家能不能更有發展。
20. 他必須改變一點，收斂一點，但這是一個合理的「交換」。
21. 女孩身邊若有追求者，「條件」又比現在的男友好…
22. 在交往時，視手中的「籌碼」及情形需要，而善加運用，以便在愛情關係裡「贏得」較高的權力。

### 5.3.1

1. 距離縮短。
2. 親蜜。
3. 生理上產生各種化學及物理變化。
4. 衣帶漸寬。
5. 牽腸掛肚。
6. 對方的快樂與否影響「蓄」的情緒。

### 5.3.2

1. 融合在兩生命體內。
2. 在一起生活。
3. 共同生活。
4. 分享生命的意願。
5. 伴侶。
6. 思想融入對方。
7. 一起攜手。
8. 彼此擁有。
9. 互相屬於。
10. 山盟海誓。
11. 隨緣盡分。
12. 好緣維繫。
13. 容忍現在的他。
14. 不斷地改變自己。
15. 讓步。
16. 給彼此空間。
17. 兩人彼此配合。
18. 為對方著想。
19. 互相扶助。
20. 支持。
21. （兩人共度（渡）過這一生。
22. 追求的愛情。
23. 一路行來。
24. 在人生路途上相協而行。
25. （愛情的）建立。
26. 成長。

27. 生出感情。
28. 培養。
29. 它有不同形貌。
30. 它可以擴展。
31. 不相信愛情存在。
32. 爲它生生世世牽腸掛肚。
33. 心相授許。
34. (愛情)奢侈昂貴的。
35. (愛情)清清如水。
36. 浪漫多餘的。
37. 融和。
38. 昇華。
39. 溫暖。
40. 轟轟烈烈。
41. 刻骨銘心。
42. 愛情爲心心相授。
43. 心裡互許。
44. 安心。
45. 放心。
46. 貼心。
47. 一個眼神。
48. 心動的感覺。
49. 力量大，愛情鼓舞而向上。
50. 感情高度交流。
51. 兩性相吸。
52. 彼此吸引。
53. (愛得)天崩地裂。
54. 充滿了憧憬、幻想。
55. 對愛情有憧憬。
56. 對方的快樂與否影響自己的情緒。
57. 迷人。
58. 無法用科學剖析。
59. 一刀清楚劃開。
60. 任何人做不了愛情的主。
61. 頭腦不清。
62. 愛的死去活來。
63. 容忍。
64. 爲對方著想。
65. 彼此接納。
66. 讓步。
67. 支持。
68. 配合。
69. 忠貞。
70. 真實。
71. 正義。
72. 責任。
73. 義務。
74. 講道義。
75. 恩義。
76. 尊重。
77. 感激。

#### 5.4.1

1. 體貼對方。
2. 喜歡膩在一塊。
3. 投身自己的感情。
4. 體諒對方。
5. 設身處地的為他人著想。
6. 關懷。
7. 肢體語言的表達。
8. 一個細動作，就是對自己的疼愛。
9. 使行為有所改變。
10. 走路輕快有風。
11. 嘴角帶著微笑。
12. 煥發出更美的光彩。
13. 輕聲細語。

#### 5.5.1.1

1. 兩人相伴。
2. 一生扶持和尊重的伴侶。
3. 企望能朝夕相處心靈的契合。
4. 彼此愛慕進而想一起生活共同完成理想。
5. 願意常常生活在一起。
6. 與自己相愛的人共處一生。
7. 嫁雞隨雞。
8. 一起分享生命快樂和傷悲。
9. 另一半互相分擔。
10. 可以分享生活中的快樂。
11. 互相分享觀念，彼此滿足慾望。
12. 同甘共苦。

#### 5.5.1.2

13. 喜歡「膩」在一塊
14. 相愛容易，相處難。
15. 兩個獨立個體。
16. 兩個人之間有部分的交集，分享生命中喜怒哀樂。
17. 相愛的人不要常黏在一起。
18. 給彼此一些空間及自由。
19. 保有一些喘息空間。
20. 不須天天如膠如漆地黏在一起。
21. 雖然相愛不一定要成天黏在一起。
22. 不近身，有空間才可能會彼此想念。
23. 有點黏又不黏

#### 5.5.1.3

24. 要專一。
25. 不能容忍第三者出現。
26. 一輩子都不會離開自己。
27. 愛情、興趣、嗜好、個性的契合度。
28. 追求的是心靈的契合。



## 5.5.2

1. 我心中渴望被愛。
2. 心有所依歸。
3. 在愛情裡最重要的是兩人想與對方在一起的「心」。
4. 體貼對方的「心意」。
5. 要有喜愛對方的「心」。
6. 會「心」。
7. 用「心」經營。
8. 若有「心」。
9. 以真誠的「一睡v對待對方。
10. 真「心」關懷。
11. 安「心」。
12. 「心」變了。
13. 愛是打從「心裡」重視對方。
14. 愛一個人要「全心全意」。
15. 留人留不住「心」。
16. 愛是一種「心靈」相通。

### 5.5.3.1

1. 學習好好的去「經營」。
2. 雙方小心的「經營」。
3. 「經營」每一招R情時都盡力去做。
4. 用心「經營」，一切都能-J服的。
5. 「經營」好兩性之間的愛情不簡單。
6. 愛情必須兩人共同「經營」。
7. 共同「經營人生」。
8. 共同「經營」最艱苦的「環境」。

### 5.5.3.2

9. 你不甘心自己的「付出」而得不到「回報」。
10. 為對方「付出」、改變、努力。
11. 為對方「付出」並不求得到任何「回報」。
12. 無計較的「付出」。
13. 一組成家庭後對家庭的照顧「付出」就更多。
14. 真心的「付出」，不要求太多「回報」。
15. 真心「付出」關懷與愛。
16. 不是單方面的「付出」，對方也必須「承受」。
17. 我的「付出」應有相當的「回報」。
18. 不後悔「付出」。
19. 愛情是非常辛苦，在無法得到回報時，很痛苦。
20. 多看對方為家庭的「-I出」。

### 5.5.3.3

21. 有條件的選擇對方。
22. 所愛的人必須具備合乎你的條件。

## 5.5.4

1. 每「一段」感情。

2. (愛情是)浪漫又不切實際的「東西」。
3. 生命最重要的「東西」不見得是愛情。
4. 愛情這種「東西」存在夢想。
5. (愛情不是)很容易的「東西」。
6. 今天也許與「它」無緣。
7. 愛情的「本質」就是懦弱??。
8. 愛情如水這種「物質」。

#### 5.5.5

9. 在「擁有」(它)時。
10. 能夠「擁有」愛是一個人的幸運。
11. 愛情是「獨佔」的，對方的人與心都「屬於」自己的，不允別人「分享」。
12. 有人把男女友視為「所有物」。
13. 人是「需要」愛情的。
14. 愛情有了「寄托」。

#### 5.5.6

1. 愛情的一「瓣」性因時因地而異但「值得」人人努力。
2. 過一段時間開始思考是否「值得」繼續交往。
3. 愛情是相互的，不是我一個人愛得很累，對方不知道，很不「值得」。
4. 男女之間的愛情是人生最「可貴」的事情之一。
5. 一輩子只和一個人會發生否則愛情也沒啥「可貴」的。
6. 彼此相愛，互相「珍惜」。
7. 對於這份感情彼此「珍惜」。
8. 相互「疼惜」。
9. 「珍惜」彼此所擁有的一切。
10. 「珍惜」擁有。
11. 男女彼此「珍愛」對方。
12. 互相「疼惜」。
13. 相遇困難，好好「珍惜」。
14. 恨對方，因為對方不「珍惜」你。
15. 去「借福」。
16. 「花」一輩子時間去尋求。
17. 愛情是什麼？找不到。
18. (愛情)花很多心思。

#### 5.5.7

1. 愛情應要像「細水長流」。
2. 「細水長流」的情緣，非一時的「激」情。
3. 大部份時「細水長流」的幸福感與「激」情。
4. 從激情「浪漫」到理性平和。
5. 浪漫、細水長流。
6. (愛)柔如流「水」，兩者合一。
7. 愛情像「水」，什麼顏色裝在什麼容器，就有不同的效果。
8. 愛情如 $H_2O-C$
9. 潮去你也去，一波還未平息，一波又侵襲。
10. 彼此感覺變「淡」了。
11. 彼此親密了會沖「淡」愛情。
12. 從絢爛到「平淡」的過程。
13. 隨著時間愛情可能變「濃」，可能變「淡」，可能一切雲消霧散。

14. 不要「沉溺」於兩人的世界。
15. 「沉醉」於對方的芬芳與甜蜜。

### 5.5.8

1. 不認同「轟轟烈烈」的愛情。
2. 不追求「轟轟烈烈」的愛情。
3. 愛情像「煙火」。
4. 剎那拚出的「火花」可能維持不多久。
5. 從「絢爛」到平淡的過程。
6. 「熱戀」之後就分手。
7. 在「熱戀」的時候真的肯為對方做任何事。
8. (愛情是)品質和浪漫的「昇華」。
9. 一種覺日久成爲情感而「昇華」成爲精神的支柱。
10. 戀愛-熒P覺要強烈。
11. (愛時)渙發更美的「光彩」。

### 5.5.9

1. 愛可能是「盲目」的。
2. R不應是「盲目」的。
3. 爲對方的性魅力產生「虛幻」的愛情「假像(想)」。
4. 愛情極度虛幻「極度「詭異」。
5. 確A發現你「莫名其妙」的想念那一個人。
6. 就是這麼「奇怪」，世界這麼多人就會有人可以彼此適應也不管其他各(個)
- 人理念個性岫X不合
7. 「不自覺」會想她。
8. 「沉醉」於其中的芬芳與甜蜜裡。
9. 莫名的「興奮」，「得失心重」。
10. 搞得人「烏煙障(瘴)氣」的。
11. 今天甜甜蜜蜜，明天哭哭啼啼。
12. 無法用「語言」形容。

### 5.6.1

1. 戀愛爲婚姻的「基礎」。
2. 兩人的關係應是以信任來做「基礎」。
3. 以理性爲「基礎」。
4. 沒有理性做「基礎」愛情很難長久。
5. 沒有尊重爲「基礎」的愛會喪失。
6. 愛情是「基於」兩性平等友情上的發展出忠誠及喜悅的情感。
7. 古代偉大的愛情是「建築」在犧牲的「基礎」上；現代的愛情應該「建立」在相互-互利的基石上。
8. 平淡是愛情的「基石」，這樣的愛情才能持久、穩固。
9. 感覺昇華成爲精神的「支持」。
10. 「穩固」的信念及信念看法「支持」下。
11. 不受時間與空間「維持」長久的愛情。
12. 愛情都需要誠實與信心來「維持」才可以長久。
13. 雙方用心「維持」。
14. 我害怕愛情不是長久，「維持」穩定無風無雨是好。
15. 難「維-錯v快樂的愛情關係。
16. 如果無法「維持」忠誠。

17. 愛情是「建造」一個美滿幸福的家庭。
18. 戀愛較可貴，真切的是相知的開始，才是另一個階段，真正兩人世界的開端。
19. 如愛情無法繼續走到盡頭時。
20. 在愛情的路上。
21. 生命中難忘的一段。
22. 有緣千里來相會。
23. 攜手走得長久。
24. 兩人才能走長遠。
25. 兩人相伴走半輩子。
26. 終身的學習的認知需腳步一致。
27. 彼此有感情時，願盡一步交往。
28. 反對腳踏多條船。
29. 不準（准）有精神的出軌。

#### 5.6.2

1. 相逢是有緣。
2. 有點天生注定。
3. 兩人相處愉快，有「緣」在一起。
4. 「緣」份到了水到渠成。
5. 有「緣」千里來相會。
6. 今天也許與它無「緣」，搞不好明天就碰面。
7. 愛情一切看「緣份」，強求不得。
8. 隨「緣」。
9. 變得惜「緣」惜福。
10. 很難的「緣」份。
11. 一雙緊緊「相繫」的心。
12. 維「繫」彼此的情感。

#### 5.6.3

1. 得到的「快樂」感。
2. 兩情相「悅」。
3. 莫名「興奮」。
4. 「喜悅」的。
5. 愛情應當令人感到「愉快」的。
6. 「甜蜜」的愛情。
7. 微醉微「甜」的感覺。
8. 沉醉於對方的「芬芳甜蜜」。
9. 愛人是自己所樂於的「甜蜜」負擔。
10. 夢想愛情來的「甜蜜」。
11. 愛情不僅是「甜蜜」也是情感的責任與負擔。
12. 享受愛情的「酸甜苦辣滋味」。
13. 愛情趣「味」。
14. 愛情是繁忙生活滿調劑」。
15. 愛情帶給生活是一種「調劑」。
16. 年輕人的「速食」愛情。
17. 現代越來越多的「速食」愛情文化出現後。
18. 我心中「渴」望被愛。

#### 5.6.4

1. 享受成功的「果實」。

2. 全心全意才會有「結果」。
3. 然後慢慢「產生」情感。
4. 愛情要耐心「培養」。
5. 等它來「滋潤」我的生命。
6. 經歷愛情以使人生「成長」。
7. 對方在感情的生活中能不斷「成長」讓「紅」更「豐富」。
8. 可以一起「成長」互相成爲一種支持。
9. 相互學習「成長」。

#### 5.6.5

1. 我的感情不應只是一時「衝動」。
2. 愛情就一定盲目的「衝動」。
3. 偶爾夾雜些「激動」。
4. 會產生一種奮發的「力量」。
5. 一種會「變動」的覺。
6. 失去吸引的「動力」。
7. 愛是異性「相吸」的自然。
8. 男女「憐飽」吸引」。
9. 找一個相互「吸引」的。
10. 容貌行爲舉止而互相「吸引」。
11. 外在面貌相互「吸引」。
12. 「頻率」對上。
13. 心靈上互相「交流」。
14. 愛情是絕對「非理性」的。
15. 愛情是「非理智」的。
16. 輕易的陷入「不理性」。

#### 5.6.6

1. 「眼神」會煥發光彩。
2. 「眼神」的傳遞。
3. 「情人眼裡」容不下一顆沙。
4. 「情人眼中」出西施。
5. 對方「順眼」。
6. 外貌「順眼」度有密切的關係。
7. 在愛情「裡」。
8. 只有在愛情「中」才能看見自己。
9. 在愛情「中」不要喪失自己。
10. 會讓這麼多人深深「陷入」無法自拔。
11. 任何年齡都會「陷入」愛情。
12. 當你「陷入」戀情中。
13. 愛情一旦消逝之後，有太多人「跳脫」不了。
14. 「躍不出」這個迷網。
15. 我不希望我的感情只是一場「遊戲」。
16. 不應把愛情當一種「遊戲」來「玩」。
17. 不誠實的愛情「遊戲」。
18. 彼此保留一份遐想，在要與不要之間「玩遊戲」才會使愛情「趣味」更高。
19. 果有人跟我「競爭」一個女孩如果他能給她更好的幸福，我會退-X，如果我能給岫o幸福我會爭取這種「追求」行爲。
20. 在愛情的過程中有人喜歡用打「棒球」來表示（漸進的過程）。
21. 「發展」出適合我們的模式。

22. 相識、相知、相惜的一個「過程」。
23. 男女之間的愛情是相當「神聖」而「偉大」。
24. 忠誠、信任是愛情的信仰」。
25. 相處久了難免有「摩擦」