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**A CORPUS-BASED SYNCHRONIC COMPARISON
AND DIACHRONIC INTERPRETATION OF
LEXICALIZED EMOTION METAPHORS
IN ENGLISH AND CHINESE**

WU Shixiong George

Lingnan University

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AND DIACHRONIC INTERPRETATION OF
LEXICALIZED EMOTION METAPHORS
IN ENGLISH AND CHINESE**

by

WU Shixiong George

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in English

Lingnan University

2007

ABSTRACT

A Corpus-based Synchronic Comparison and Diachronic

Interpretation of Lexicalized Emotion Metaphors

In English and Chinese

by

WU Shixiong George

This study is a corpus-based contrastive study of the cross-language diachronic changes and synchronic variations of lexicalized emotion metaphors (LEMS) in English and Chinese within the framework of cognitive linguistics. Since it is based on a series of basic assumptions of the Lakoffian Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), it is also expected to prove or improve them by making this cross-cultural comparative study of LEMS in English and Chinese. Therefore this study aims at not only the diachronic changes and synchronic variations of LEMS but also the cultural factors underlying them. By applying CMT in the analysis of the corresponding data of LEMS in English and Chinese, and the method of comparative etymology to explore the cultural influences on the variations over the metaphor themes of LEMS in the two languages, this study has achieved the following findings:

(1) Both embodied and non-embodied metaphors are possibly universal in different languages;

(2) The cross-language variations of emotion metaphors are often characterized by the cultural variations of the prototypical source concept at the basic category level in different cultures;

(3) The commonality and specificity of a metaphor theme in different languages are closely related to the levels of generality of the metaphor theme;

(4) Although to a great extent our thinking and ideology are determined by our bodies and the metaphors that they give rise to, or vice versa, the em-minded cultural notions are the important ingredient producing the cross-language variations over the themes of emotion metaphors. It can thus be inferred that metaphor themes are cultural

and ideological constructs to some extent;

(5) Both the embodied physiological experiences and the em-minded cultural notions play an important role in the conceptualization of emotions;

(6) The embodied conceptualization of emotion is sometimes subject to the em-minded cultural notions;

(7) There exist three different types of metonyms underlying the conceptualization of emotions in English and Chinese;

Based on these important findings, it proposes a three types of metonymy model which functions better in generalizing the different metonymies underlying the conceptualization of emotions in English and Chinese.

In addition, this study opens the way for applying the semiotics and cognitive metaphor theory to the studies of metaphors in the etymological structures of LEMS in English and Chinese which might be of great importance for the future development of CMT.

DECLARATION

I declare that this is an original work based primarily on my own research, and I warrant that all citations of previous research, published and unpublished, have been duly acknowledged.

WU Shixiong George

Date_____

DECLARATION

I declare that this is an original work based primarily on my own research, and I warrant that all citations of previous research, published or unpublished, have been duly acknowledged.

WU Shixiong George

Date_____

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL OF THESIS

**A CORPUS-BASED SYNCHRONIC COMPARISON AND DIACHRONIC
INTERPRETATION OF LEXICALIZED EMOTION METAPHORS
IN ENGLISH AND CHINESE**

by
WU Shixiong George

Doctor of Philosophy

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Typographical Conventions

The following typographical conventions are used throughout this dissertation:

All metaphor themes are capitalized;

Quoted texts (more than three lines) will be marked in separate passages marked with different sizes;

Italics are used for forms cited, or titles of works, for example, the word or character metaphors;

Single inverted commas are used to refer to meanings of lexical items;

Double inverted commas are used for quoted sentences from text;

Arrows are used to refer to the directions of transformation change;

Sounds and English translations for Chinese LEMS and the complements for all LEMS are placed in round brackets.

Lit=literal meaning

Met=metaphorical meaning

means rough equality

List of Abbreviations

CMT	Lakoffian Conceptual Metaphor Theory
ICM	Idealized Cognitive Models
LEM	Lexicalized emotion metaphor
LEMS	Lexicalized emotion metaphors
Lit	literal meaning
Met	metaphorical meaning
NSM	Natural Semantic Metalanguage
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> (Hardcopy or Online)

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.0 Metaphor and Metaphor Studies

Before conducting my corpus-based synchronic comparison and diachronic interpretation of lexicalized emotion metaphors (LEMS) in English and Chinese, I would like to introduce the basic concepts involved in this study, its contents, academic background, methodological basis, theoretical frame, and the goals that I hope to reach. And quite naturally the first concept I would confront would be *metaphor*. Metaphors have been studied and argued about for more than two thousand years since the ancient Greeks in the West and the Pre-Qin periods (2696-221 BC) in China. It seems impossible (and unnecessary too) to present a complete introduction of all the penetrating insights about metaphors in the academic history in the West, not to say those in that of China, because the metaphor theories in ancient China tended more to be the small-scale descriptions of metaphors in concrete contexts and how to reach rhetoric effects by using metaphors in different styles, but without a theoretical system. So, I will begin this chapter by briefly introducing the influential classic definition by Aristotle and three kinds of contemporary definition of metaphors, i.e. dictionary definition, cognitive definition, and linguistic definition, which could roughly reflect the folk understandings and expert understandings of metaphors.

1.1 Definition of Metaphors

Although the word *metaphor* first appeared in the *Evagoras* by Isocrates (Stanford, 1936:3), it is generally believed that the first systematic study of metaphors was made by Aristotle who regarded metaphors as “transference of a name to something it does not belong to” (Harris & Taylor, 1989: 20), i.e. one thing or object to be talked of as if it were another thing, for example, when we say *time is flowing*, it seems that we are talking about a river. In Aristotle’s *Poetics* (section 21), Aristotle gave his famous definition of metaphor.

Metaphor is the transference of a name from the object to which it has a natural application; this transference can take place from genus to species or species to genus or from species to species or by analogy. I mean by from genus to species, for example, “This ship of mine stands there.” For to lie at anchor is a species of standing. An example of the transference from species to genus, “Odysseus has truly accomplished a myriad of noble deeds.” For a myriad is the equivalent of “many”, for which the poet now substitutes this term. An example of the transference from species to species is “having drawn off life with a sword” and also “having cut with unyielding bronze.” For here to draw off is to cut and to cut is called to draw off, for both are subdivisions of “taking away.” (Golding & Hardison, 1968: 37).

Aristotle defined metaphor by listing its four forms that were exemplified in detail. The first three forms are simple metaphors that are related to each other by similarities, while the fourth one is the complex form of metaphor that involves the use of analogical grounding.

I mean by transference by analogy the situation that occurs whenever a second element is related to a first as a fourth is to a third. For the poet will then use the fourth in place of the second or the second in place of the fourth, and sometimes poets add the reference to which the transferred term applies. I mean, for example, that a cup is related to Dionysus as a shield is to Ares. The poet will, therefore, speak of the cup as the shield of Dionysus and the shield as the cup of Ares. The same situation occurs in regard to the relation of old age to life and evening to a day. A poet will say that evening is the old age of day, or however Empedocles expressed it, and that old age is the evening of life or the sunset of life. In some situations, there is no regular name in use to cover the analogous relation, but nevertheless the related elements will be spoken of by analogy.” (ibid.)

An instance provided by Aristotle for this case is the metaphor “sowing the god-created light”.

For example, to scatter seed is to sow, but the scattering of the sun's rays has no name. But the act of sowing in regard to grain bears an analogous relation to the sun's dispersing of its rays, and so we have the phrase "sowing the god-created fire". (Golding & Hardison, 1968: 38)

This most frequently quoted definition represents Aristotle's word-focused approach to the rhetoric of lexical metaphors in the theoretical frames of the traditional poetics and rhetoric which were set up by Aristotle and which have developed till now. Although it has been controversial throughout history, and has been criticized for its inability to explain the "natural" and "non-conventional mechanism" for the uses and understandings of metaphors (Harris & Taylor, 1989: 31-34), and for its ignorance of metaphors operating "at all the strategic levels of language— words, sentences, discourse, texts, styles." (Ricoeur, 1977: 17), Aristotle's metaphor theory has great importance even for contemporary metaphor studies. For example, Aristotle's application of ancient category theory in metaphor studies might have inspired G. Lakoff, John Taylor, and other contemporary cognitive linguists, to carry on their studies on the basis of modern cognitive theories (e.g. prototype theory). Besides, the concept of analogy and the theory of metaphor based on analogy proposed by Aristotle also play an important role in our metaphorical studies.

1.1.1 Dictionary Definitions

Metaphor is now a very common term, collected in most large-sized or medium-sized English dictionaries. The following definitions from two well-known dictionaries represent people's conventional understanding of metaphor before the Lakoffian theory of conceptual metaphor. The first is simply the modern version of the Aristotelian definition, showing its long-lasting influence. But the second one further mentions the relationship between metaphors and human thought, showing the primary influences of the Lakoffian theory on the editors of dictionaries. And because these two dictionaries are both updated frequently on the internet, they can

be taken as the evidence to prove the pluralistic understandings of metaphor in our times. Moreover, even expert definitions are plural.

Merriam Webster Online Dictionary: “a figure of speech in which a word or phrase literally denoting one kind of object or idea is used in place of another to suggest a likeness or analogy between them (as in drowning in money)”;

Encyclopedia Britannica Online: “The metaphor makes a qualitative leap from a reasonable, perhaps prosaic comparison, to an identification or fusion of two objects, to make one new entity partaking of the characteristics of both. Many critics regard the making of metaphors as a system of thought antedating or bypassing logic. Metaphor is the fundamental language of poetry, although it is common on all levels and in all kinds of language. Many words were originally vivid images, although they exist now as dead metaphors whose original aptness has been lost—for example, ‘daisy’ (day's eye). Other words, such as ‘nightfall’, are dormant images. In addition to single words, everyday language abounds in phrases and expressions that once were metaphors. ‘Time flies’ is an ancient metaphorical expression.”

1.1.2 Expert Definitions

An expert definition represents the expert's understandings of his research objects, which, on the one hand, may be affected by many factors such as his positions, research methods, and research goals, etc. and on the other hand seem to provide a platform for the researcher to construct his theoretical frames. Therefore, the experts in different academic spheres with different goals, such as rhetoricians, politicians, culture researchers, psychologists, philosophers, general linguists, and cognitive linguists, might have their own definitions of metaphors. But this does not necessarily mean that, for example, a psychologist's definition is totally different from a linguist's one, and that they are mutually irrelevant. This is not true. The fact is that almost all the definitions on metaphors, which might be quite different from each other in a detailed comparison, share in fact a common core, i.e. the basic

attributes that metaphors show as a linguistic phenomenon. Besides, the contemporary research on metaphors made by the cognitive linguistics seems to have been very influential in defining metaphor in different spheres, which might be an interesting fact but is somewhat irrelevant to our present research. More relevant to our purposes is the definition of metaphor in the Lakoffian cognitive linguistics which would on the one hand shape our theoretical frame and on the other hand be attested with the results from our synchronic and diachronic comparative studies of LEMS in English and Chinese.

1.1.3 Lakoffian Cognitive Definition of Metaphor

What makes the cognitive theory of metaphor different from traditional metaphor theories is the important view shown in the following two versions of definition that Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003) provided in their book *Metaphors We Live By*:

Definition 1: “The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another.” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 5)

Definition 2: “Metaphors are the mapping relations between two independent conceptual domains: the source domain and the target domain.” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 117)

Both definitions are fundamentally conceptual in essence. They have elevated the metaphors beyond the level of language to the level of human thinking. The first one is a functional definition of conceptual metaphor, revealing the basic function of conceptual metaphor in human thinking. The second one is a structural definition, revealing the form of conceptual metaphor.

The above definitions, which are semantically consistent, are in fact a part of the most important claims of the Lakoffian School in cognitive linguistics. One of Lakoff’s contributions to the contemporary researches of metaphors is his theory of conceptual metaphor. In their book *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson

systematically clarified their ideas of conceptual metaphor. They pointed out that “metaphors are conceptual in nature” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980:159). For Lakoffians, metaphors are not only the linguistic forms of conceptual metaphor, but the tools to understand human perceptions and conceptualizations as well. The Lakoffian understanding of metaphor is broader than the traditional ones, although it is narrower in many ways making metaphorical functions purely ideational (rather than interpersonal) and concerning itself mainly with ABSTRACT IS CONCRETE metaphor. It not only relates metaphors to human cognition, highlighting their roles in human activities, but also makes “conceptual metaphor” a more complex concept of richer meanings. They seem to regard the conceptual metaphor as human understanding of one thing in terms of others. Based on my readings of the Lakoffian School, I think that the Lakoffian concept of “conceptual metaphor” just refers to the forms of metaphor in human minds which correspond to the metaphors in the language systems. The theory of conceptual metaphor is very important, because it has shown that metaphors are rooted in our mind and have great impact on every aspect of human lives.

However, Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003) seemed to have neglected the role of linguistic metaphors in their metaphorical studies, which can be found in their top-down linguistic analysis in *Metaphors We Live By* and in the above concept-orientated definition. The latter evidently overlooks the linguistic foundations of metaphors and the discourse contexts in which the metaphors survive and to which they should be adapted.

Despite the important roles that conceptual metaphor plays in our thinking and daily verbal communication, we have no assurance that we can be aware of the conceptual metaphor pattern hidden in the depth of our mind, because in most cases we think and speak metaphorically in a subconscious or even unconscious way. Since language as found in dictionaries and corpora is the basis of our metaphorical thinking and the outer expressions of our inner metaphorical thinking, it can be taken as an important source of evidence for our conceptual metaphor.

1.1.4 Linguistic Definition of Metaphor

Andrew Goatly (1997) defined metaphors in a more pragmatic way, stressing that metaphors are discourse phenomena and context-based, and furthermore “exclude figures of speech like metonymy”. Following are his linguistic definitions:

- (1) Metaphors refer to cases where “an unconventional act of reference or colligation is understood on the basis of some similarity, matching or analogy involving the conventional referent or colligates of the unit and the actual unconventional referent or colligates.” (Goatly, 1997:16)
- (2) A metaphor occurs when a unit of discourse is used to refer to an object, concept, process, quality, relationship or world to which it does not conventionally refer or colligates with a unit(s) with which it does not conventionally colligate; and when this unconventional act of reference or colligation is understood on the basis of similarity or analogy involving at least two of the following: the unit’s conventional referent; the unit’s actual unconventional referent; the actual referent(s) of the unit’s actual colligate(s); the conventional referent of the unit’s conventional colligate(s). (Goatly, 1997: 108)

Goatly’s definitions may be regarded as the improved version of the Lakoffian one, because it can overcome the Lakoffian shortcoming in overlooking the linguistic foundations of metaphors and the discourse contexts in which the metaphors survive and should be adapted to.

As a conclusion of this section on metaphor definition, I would point out that there are two kinds of metaphors involved in contemporary cognitive linguistic studies, one is the metaphors in the plural noun form which refers to the different forms of metaphorical expressions at all the levels of language systems: words, sentences, discourse, texts; the other is the conceptual metaphor in uncountable noun form which was first noted by Richards (1936) and systematically studied by Lakoff

and Johnson (1980, 1987a, 1987b, 1989, 1990, and 1999), and Johnson (1987). Linguistic metaphors and conceptual metaphor are closely related to each other. On the one hand the conceptual metaphor in our mind would find its realization in language. In this sense linguistic metaphors are the product of conceptual metaphor and the outer expressive forms of the latter in language; the latter is the deep structure of the former in our mind. Linguistic metaphors come from the conceptual metaphor, which in reverse comes from our embodied or culture-based conceptualization of our world, ourselves, and our relations to the world.

1.2 Theoretical Background of Metaphor Studies

1.2.1 Metaphor Studies in the West

The history of metaphorical studies in the West can be divided into three phases:

- (a) the first phase, which lasted for more than 2000 years from Aristotle to Richards, is characterized by rhetorical approaches to metaphors;
- (b) the second phase, which lasted from the 1930s to the 1970s in the last century, is characterized by semantic approaches to metaphors, including the application of logical, philosophical, and linguistic methods;
- (c) the third phase, which started in the 1970s in the last century, began to see the cognition-orientated cross-disciplinary studies of metaphors, approaching metaphors from the perspectives of cognitive psychology, cognitive linguistics, philosophy, pragmatics, semiotics, aesthetics, and phenomenology, etc.

(Su Dingfang, 2000: 2)

In the first phase, Aristotle's rhetoric view of metaphors had been prevailing for a long time, during which sporadic challenges never managed to override it. The Aristotelian school believed that metaphors are the devices of the figure of speech based on lexical substitution and comparison. This essential idea was later inherited and developed by Cicero, Horace, Longinus, and Quintilian into a systematic classic rhetoric which might be regarded as the basis of modern poetics

and rhetoric.

The second phase was marked with I. A. Richards' most important contribution to contemporary metaphorical studies, his first proposal of the interactional views of metaphors depends on metaphorical language. (Richards, 1936: 90-92)

In the simplest formulation, when we use a metaphor we have two thoughts of different things active together and supported by a single word, or phrase whose meaning is resultant of their interaction. (Richards, 1936: 93)

Richards saw metaphor as the product of the interaction between the “tenor” and “vehicle” on certain grounding. “The co-presence of the vehicle and tenor results in a meaning (to be clearly distinguished from the tenor) which is not attainable without their interaction”. (Richards, 1936: 100) This insight into the nature of metaphors, which went beyond the Aristotelian rhetoric metaphor system, revealed the cognitive aspects of metaphor and laid the foundation for later cognitive exploration of metaphors and conceptual metaphor theories.

The third phase of the metaphorical studies in the West which began in the 1970s saw the upsurge of metaphorical studies in nearly all the branches of the humanities, a time of “metaphormania” as it was called by M. Johnson. Metaphors became the focus of interest for philosophers, linguists, psychologists, and semioticians. The most attractive metaphors researchers might be U. Eco, Paul Ricoeur, J. Searle, and George Lakoff, etc. Among them George Lakoff's cognitive theory of metaphor, which has penetrated almost all aspects of contemporary metaphor studies, might be the most important one that marked the cognitive turn of contemporary metaphorical theories. In fact, Lakoff's cognitive theory of metaphor is so important that at present it has become the basis for most metaphorical studies. The present study is not an exception either. Despite the fact that it doubts some of the methodologies of the Lakoffian School in metaphorical studies and challenges some of the Lakoffian universal cognitive metaphorical

patterns or hypotheses by adopting a new research method, this study is still based on George Lakoff's cognitive theory, studying LEMS within the framework of cognitive linguistics and taking many of the following concepts, terms and assumptions that are proposed, defined, and formulated by the Lakoffian scholars.

1.2.2 Cognitive Approach to Metaphors

This approach was developed in the criticism of Aristotle's objective view of metaphor. In the above definition of metaphor, Aristotle claimed that the action of the sun in scattering its rays bears to the sun the same relation as sowing to the seed. This doesn't mean that Aristotle didn't see the subjective relation between the action of the sun in scattering its rays and that of the people sowing the seed. Instead his metaphor *sowing the god-created light* was based on the common features that these two actions shared. What the cognitive approach stressed is that the metaphor is not grounded in the common features but human physiological experiences which give rise to the cognitive association between meanings. It holds that the concepts which are related to each other by metaphors are often not objectively "similar" at all, but are associated because of how people are constituted and how they interact with the world. (Grady, 1997: 5)

The work that established the cognitive approach to metaphors was made by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980) in their co-authored *Metaphors We Live By*. Since then, a series of important achievements (Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff and Johnson, 1999; Johnson, 1987; Grady, 1997; Goatly, 1997; Sweetser, 1990; Kövecses, 2000, 2002) have emerged to develop the cognitive metaphorical studies to a new level.

1.2.2.1 Basic Claims

The basic claims of this approach can be summarized as:

- (1) The ubiquity of metaphor.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) pointed out:

Metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature. (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980:3)

Thus our conceptual metaphors (namely metaphorical concepts) play a very important role in our daily thinking, speaking, and action. The metaphors in language, which were the focus of traditional metaphorical studies, are now regarded by Lakoffians as the superficial structures of the conceptual metaphor in our mind. For example, the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR is reflected in English by a variety of expressions:

Your claims are indefensible.

He attacked every weak point in my argument.

His criticisms were right on target.

I've never won an argument with him¹.

You disagree? Okay, shoot!

If you use that strategy, he'll wipe you out.

He shot down all of my arguments.

Arguments and wars are different kinds of things— verbal discourse and armed conflict— and the actions performed are different kinds of actions. But ARGUMENT is partially structured, understood, performed, and talked about in terms of WAR. The concept is metaphorically structured, the activity is metaphorically structured, and consequently, the language is metaphorically structured. (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980:4-5)

Such is the Lakoffian explanation of the internal mechanism of metaphoricity of language and thought. More noteworthy is the fact that this phenomenon is not

¹ As usually in *Metaphor We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson are quite careless with their examples. For example, both “His criticisms were right on target” and “I’ve never won an argument with him” are not necessarily about war.

unique to English but quite common in other major human languages, such as Chinese, Russian, French, Japanese, etc. The systematical governing of conventional metaphorical expressions by conceptual metaphors seems to be a universal phenomenon, as claimed by the Lakoffian School, and it seems to be supported by gradually increasing evidence from the metaphorical studies in more and more languages other than English.

The Lakoffian discoveries of metaphorical ubiquity in the human conceptual system is important in that it has not only extended the metaphorical studies to a new sphere and elevated it to a new level, namely that of human cognition and thinking, but posed a severe challenge to the arbitrariness principle of the General Linguistics in the tradition of Ferdinand de Saussure. This ubiquity in the language which indicates the possibility of preexisting motivated relationships between language and human experiences or thoughts, will highlight the significance of metaphorical studies in exploration of universalities both in language and thought, and further call for the application of comparative methods both diachronically and synchronically.

(2) The systematicity of metaphor

The metaphorical expressions in our language are tied to metaphorical concepts in a systematic way, thus they would be used in a systematic way since the metaphorical concepts are structured systematically. This can be shown in the following two aspects:

- (a) Under each conceptual metaphor there exists a system of metaphorical expressions to show the different aspects of the concept, for example, in the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor that from the vocabulary of war, e.g. attack a position, indefensible, strategy, new line of attack, win, gain, and ground, etc. “form a systematic way of talking about the battling aspects of arguing”.

(Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 7)

- (b) Metaphorical entailments can characterize a coherent system of metaphorical concepts and a corresponding coherent system of metaphorical expressions for those concepts. (ibid, 9)

Consider the metaphors involved with the concept TIME. Under each conceptual metaphor, we have different metaphorical expressions:

TIME IS MONEY

You need to budget your time.

That flat tire cost me an hour.

How do you spend your time these days?

TIME IS A LIMITED RESOURCE

You are running out of time.

You don't use your time

TIME IS A COMMODITY

I don't have the time to give you.

Thank you for your time.

Put aside some time for ping pong.

The above three metaphorical concepts form a single system,

Since in our society money is a limited resource and limited resources are valuable commodities. These sub-categorization relationships characterize entailment relationships between the metaphors. TIME IS MONEY entails TIME IS A LIMITED RESOURCE, which entails TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY. (ibid, 9)

Thus the concept TIME can be understood as different sources. And vice versa, the same source can be used to speak of different targets, for example, we have such metaphorical themes as LIFE IS A JOURNEY, LOVE IS A JOURNEY, and

CAREER IS A JOURNEY which form the following “metaphor inheritance hierarchy”.

Level 1: The Event Structure Metaphor

Level 2: LIFE IS A JOURNEY

Level 3: LOVE IS A JOURNEY; CAREER IS A JOURNEY

Here the two metaphors at level 3 inherit the structure of the higher mapping at level 2. The more general metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY contains the two metaphors at level 3 as its more specific manifestation (Yu, 1998: 17). Therefore, systematicity of metaphor is shown in two aspects. Transversely observed, it is the interactions of concepts to form a system, but when observed vertically it is the governing relationship that every metaphorical theme would govern a subsystem of metaphors. For instance, the metaphor theme INTERPERSONAL RESPONSIVENESS IS TEMPERATURE governs the following lexical realizations: *warm welcome; chilly reception; icy demeanor; cold shoulder*.

(3) The conceptual nature of metaphor

In the Lakoffian metaphorical theory, metaphor is not just a matter of language; on the contrary it is conceptual. In more concrete terms, metaphor refers to the metaphorical concept or conceptual metaphor represented in language expressions.

Human thought processes are largely metaphorical. This is what we mean when we say that the human conceptual system is metaphorically structured and defined. Metaphors as linguistic expressions are possible precisely because there are metaphors in a person's conceptual system. (ibid, 6)

So the concept *argument* is structured by the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR in which the concept *argument* is construed through our concept of war, while another concept *time* is structured respectively by the metaphors TIME IS MONEY, TIME IS A LIMITED RESOURCE, and TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY. In

a word, metaphor is conceptual in essence; metaphorical expressions are possible because there is conceptual metaphor in our mind.

1.2.3 Basic Contents of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory

1.2.3.1 The Structure of Conceptual Metaphor

For the Lakoffian metaphor theory, metaphor is the cross-domain mapping from the source domain (equal to the “vehicle” in Richards’ theory) to the target domain (equal to the “tenor” in Richards’ theory). Its basic form is quite simple, which can be attributed to “X IS Y”, with X representing the object to be constructed, Y representing the thing we use to speak of the X. But the deep structure hidden in it is not so simple because it involves quite a lot of linguistic and cultural factors. So far as its structures are concerned, there are at least three noteworthy features:

(a) The cross-domain mapping is semantically a unidirectional projection. Lakoffians used to suggest that X is always more abstract than Y, which is true to many cases but not all, and which may result in overgeneralization. In fact, this is a common fault to all those theories which are aimed at finding universal patterns. In the studies of emotion metaphors, it is often easy to find the exceptional cases to the universal patterns that linguists have called for. In my opinion, remedies for this shortcoming rely on the application of the comparative studies of as many languages as possible. Here obviously lies the significance of comparative studies of emotion metaphors.

The following are some examples that show this problem.

By carefully investigating a large number of English metaphorical expressions of the concepts *anger* and *lust*, Lakoff (1987) found out that people always use more concrete things (like *hunger*, *animals*, *heat*, *games*...) as sources to understand or speak of the more abstract things (like *anger* and *lust*), the targets. This is true in most cases and to many languages. For example, when we check the item *justice* in Metalude, we will find that there are 21 cases in which justice is the target, e.g.

ROOT ANALOGY	JUSTICE/LAW IS STRAIGHT(LINE)
LEXICAL ITEM	<i>bend the rules/law</i>
LITERAL MEANING	(cause to curve___)
PART OF SPEECH	Idi (v. +nphr.)
METAPHORICAL MEANING	break the rules in a minor way
EXAMPLE	I'll bend the rules just this once and let you in

Table 1: *Justice* and Its Metaphorical Structure

But in English, when we say *a justified text*, we are in fact speaking of a concrete action “arrange (lines of type) so that the margins are even” (*OED*) in terms of a more abstract source, a legal or moral concept involving the judgment of the right and wrong. So an exceptional case (or *a black swan*) stands up to the above Lakoffian pattern. Such black swans also obtain for Chinese. For example,

ROOT ANALOGY	Mistaken idea/wrong method is a psychological illness
LEXICAL ITEM	误区 (wu qu)
LITERAL MEANING	Psychological term, refers to a kind of psychological behavior of self denial.
PART OF SPEECH	N
METAPHORICAL MEANING	Mistaken ideas about something, wrong methods in doing sth.
EXAMPLE	百姓看病误区多。Ordinary peoples have a lot of mistaken ideas about how to see a doctor. (<i>Guang Ming Daily</i> , June 12, 2000)

Table 2: 误区 (wu qu) and Its Metaphorical Structure²

It seems that in many cases we can have different metaphorical expressions by saying “X IS Y” and “Y IS X”, for example, we can metaphorically say “Encyclopedias are quarries” to mean that collecting human knowledge for an encyclopedias is a labored exploration of the immeasurable knowledge just like digging out sand and stone from a large quarry; we can also metaphorically say

² Although it is not very clear that the source is more abstract than the target, it is certain that the source is more strange to the ordinary Chinese than the target.

“Quarries are encyclopedias” to mean that the quarries contain fossils which give a great variety of knowledge about the ancient civilizations. So the structure reversion has completely changed the meaning of the cross-domain mapping.

The mapping is in most cases a cross-domain as claimed by Lakoffians (Lakoff and Johnson, 1984: 84), and two nouns from the same domain can not form a metaphorical saying, e.g. “An argument is a conversation” is a literal saying which wouldn’t cause any metaphorical understanding. But sometime we would meet different cases. For example, “the child is father of the man” can be treated as a metaphor, though it would be difficult to say that “child” and “father” belong to different semantic fields. Looking at the metaphorical structure of “the child is father of the man” which is based on the analogy:

Child : man :: father : child

Grounds: characteristics shared.

As a father passes on characteristics to their children, so children pass on their characteristics to the adults they become. Hence it still has only one domain. So in this sense the Lakoffian definition of metaphor is inferior to that of Aristotle which is based on the analogy/similarity, because what makes something metaphorical is its interpretation involving analogy/similarity, not the fact that its source and target belong to different domains.

(b) Partial structuring (use of certain selected parts). (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 84). When we say “X is Y”, we are in fact projecting only some but not all properties of Y onto X. Which of the properties of Y would be projected onto the relevant properties of X would be experientially or culturally determined. For example, the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor may contain the following ontological correspondence or metaphorical mappings:

LIFE IS A JOURNEY

JOURNEY (Source)	LIFE (Target)
Traveler	Person
Point of departure	Birth
Initial condition	Personal endowments
Baggage	Personal problems
Obstacles	External difficulties
Distance	Duration
Distance covered	Accomplishments
Destination	Life purpose
Termination	Death

This metaphor activates the following English expressions:

He got a head start in life.
He's without direction in his life.
I am where I want to be in life.
I am at a crossroads in my life.
He'll go places in life.
He's never let anyone get in his way.
He's gone through a lot in life.
(Yu, 1998: 17-18)

In the above linguistic expressions, when the concept Y is used to construe the concept X, it in fact projects Y's structure into X's. Lakoff and Turner (1989: 63-64) have a detailed description of the metaphorical projection of some of the conceptual structures from the source domain to the target domain. These structures include slots in the source domain schema, relations in the source domain, properties in the source domain, and knowledge in the source domain.³

³ But as is pointed out by Brugman, Lakoff is often unclear whether features and structures in the target domain are preserved in the same way as features from the source domain are preserved in the transfer; and many abstract

(c) Conceptual mappings observe the Invariance Hypothesis proposed by Lakoff (1990). This principle states:

Given that all metaphorical mappings are partial, the portion of the source domain structure that is mapped preserves cognitive typology (though, of course, not all the cognitive typology of the source domain need be mapped) (Lakoff, 1990:39)

This in fact suggests an incomplete correspondence between the source and the target domain structures, as we can see in the above correspondence contained in the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. The cognitive typology here is the so-called image-schematic structure in our mind, which is regarded as a kind of preconceptual structure that gives rise to metaphorical concepts (Lakoff, 1987: 269-280).

There are many structural correlations in our experience. Not all of them motivate metaphors, but many do. When there is such a motivation, the metaphor seems natural. The reason it seems natural is that the pairing of the source and target domain is motivated by our experience, as are the details of the mapping. (Lakoff, 1987: 278)

Thus metaphorical mappings are motivated by the structural correlations that are based on our embodied experience. In this way,

preconceptual structural correlations in experience motivate metaphors that map that logic onto abstract domains. Thus, what has been called abstract reason has a bodily basis in our everyday physical functioning. (ibid)

There seem to have a lot of lexical instantiations for the argument of Lakoff (1987), e.g. the experience of blushing in anger and excitement has motivated the

target domains are “structured entirely by one or more metaphorical mappings” (Brugman 1990: 258-59; Goatly, 2007). And Goatly (2007) further finds that the different themes constitute the rather vague or ambiguous notion of education differently. “Even when we looked at emotion, we noted that the particularly modern English concept seemed to be constituted by the metaphors of bad weather, movement, current in a liquid, to produce or reinforce the culturally-specific idea that emotions are beyond human control, disruptive and brief”(Goatly, 2007).

metonymies of ANGER AS BLUSHING and EXCITEMENT AS BLUSHING. Nevertheless, in the metaphor ENTHUSIASM IS FIRE, one of the most easy discernible characters of *fire*, i.e. “intensity” is mapped onto the target domain and gives rise to the metaphorical expressions: *my tutor fired me with enthusiasm for English*, and 火一样的激情 (‘fire-like zeal’ → ‘strong enthusiasm’), 火热的心 (‘fire-hot heart’ → ‘fervent heart’ → ‘enthusiasm’). Both in the English and Chinese metaphorical expressions, it is easy to notice the existence of semantic feature [+intense] which, according to the Invariance Hypothesis, is mapped from the source of *fire*. This mapping seems not to be completely based on the embodied experience, but to be culturally affected to some extent.

An interesting question which arises here is that since English and Chinese both take *fire* as source and *zeal* as target and they seem to have the same metaphorical concept ZEAL/ENTHUSIASM IS FIRE, and there seems to be no remarkable distinctions between the English and Chinese physiological responses to the entity *fire*, why does there exist the great difference in the metaphorical expressions of the concept ZEAL/ENTHUSIASM IS FIRE in English and Chinese, both lexically and idiomatically? Why would the same entity *fire*, which may motivate the roughly same embodied physiological response in Chinese and English speakers, more easily stimulate the thinking of *zeal* in Chinese but *anger* in English?

Answers to these questions involve considerations beyond the embodied physiology which in my understanding is only one determinant of metaphorical concepts or metaphorical expressions. Another determining factor that is still quite neglected in metaphorical studies is the em-minded culture that is accumulated and deposited in a nation’s worlds of knowledge, beliefs, habits, tradition, and even linguistic system, which for the past several thousand years has greatly shaped the nation’s developments in thought and speech (including its metaphorical thinking and metaphorical expressions in its language)⁴. Metaphorical concepts and

⁴ This is the concept of em-minded culture (em-minded cultural notion) that I propose as the opposite to the Lakoffian notion of embodiment. And it is characterized by the following three features: a) being a

expressions in language are both the products of these historical developments. Although they might be the instant product of a quick mind at a specific time and place in his embodied physiological response to an outer stimulus, they may still not survive if they are unable to be adapted to the culture and linguistic system in which they are expected to live. Indeed most metaphors are motivated or based on physiological experiences, but no one is culture-free and nor can one easily shake off his native language in creating a new metaphor. So I may say that metaphors, whether conceptually or linguistically, are the products of culture, which includes the embodied physiological experiences (as Lakoffians asserted), the em-minded culture, and the interactions of these two factors. With this distinction we can better explain relations between culture and metaphors: the metaphorical universals mostly arise from the same embodied physiological experience under the motivation of a similar em-minded culture while the different em-minded culture involved may result in the different understanding of the same embodied physiological experience and lead to the different meanings of the same metaphorical theme in the same mapping.

1.2.3.2. Lakoffian Classification of Conceptual Metaphor

Most recent metaphorical studies have been carried out on the conventional metaphor, which refers to those metaphorical concepts that have become ordinary in our thinking, and their linguistic expressions which have become a part of our everyday language. Conventional metaphor is classified into three kinds: structural metaphor, orientational metaphor, and ontological metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

Structural metaphor refers to the metaphor themes (e.g. TIME IS MONEY) in which “the source domain provides a relatively rich knowledge structure for the target concept” (Kövecses, 2002: 33), namely one concept is structured metaphorically in terms of another (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 14).

Oriental metaphor “does not structure one concept in terms of another but

conventionalized doctrine deeply rooted in a culture; b) being a part of cultural inheritance in the nation’s spirit; c) being learnt unconsciously or in a way of non-embodiment.

instead organizes a whole system of concepts with respect to one another.” (ibid.) They are called “orientational metaphor” because most of them use spatial orientation, as their source to describe a target that does not have the image-schema of spatial orientation in people’s mind, thereby endowing a non-spatial concept with spatial orientation. But the endowment is not arbitrary, because the orientational metaphor has “a basis in our physical and cultural experience” (ibid.). In fact, the concept of spatial orientation is the most basic concept for human beings. It derives from people’s basic body experience and interaction with the world, just as Lakoff and Johnson put it, “these spatial orientations arise from the fact that we have bodies of the sort we have and that they function as they do in our physical environment”(ibid.). For this reason, “most of our fundamental concepts are organized in terms of one or more spatialization metaphors”(Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 17). And our emotion is also closely related with the concept of spatial orientation, e.g.

Conceptual metaphor: HAPPY IS UP;
 SAD IS DOWN

Metaphorical expressions: I’m feeling up.

That boosted my spirits. My spirits rose.

You’re in high spirits.

Thinking about her always gives me a lift.

I’m feeling down.

I’m depressed.

He’s really low these days.

I fell into a depression.

My spirits sank.

Physical basis: Drooping posture typically goes along with sadness and depression,
 erect posture with a positive emotional state.

(Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 15).

Just as the basic experience of human spatial orientations gives rise to

orientational metaphors, the experiences of our living in the physical world also provide the basis for an extraordinarily wide variety of ontological metaphors which construe people's concept of events, activities, emotions, ideas, etc. as concrete, tangible entities and substances, especially our own bodies. The ontological metaphors can be further classified into the entity metaphor, container metaphor, and personification.

Entity metaphor refers to those which use visible tangible objects as their sources, for example,

Conceptual metaphor: EMOTION IS ENTITY

Metaphorical expressions: He passed on his enthusiasm to his daughter.

The job completely destroyed his passion.

She's full of the milk of human kindness.

The container metaphor conceives of everything (emotions, relationship, events, activities, states, visual fields, land areas, etc.) as a container with a bounding surface and an in-out orientation, i.e. a schema consisting of a boundary distinguishing an interior from an exterior. It derives from our bodily experiences of visualizing ourselves, the physical world, and our relations with the world as containers or things in containers. It is structured with three elements: Interior, Boundary, and Exterior, with the logic "everything is either inside a container or out of it" (Lakoff, 1987:272). This logical structure is metaphorically projected not only to the physical things with visible boundaries (e.g. room, forest), but to those without noticeable boundary (e.g. air) and even to the intangible abstract concepts (e.g. emotion). Take emotion for example, we have the metaphor STRONG EMOTION IS HOT FLUID IN CONTAINER⁵, which is exemplified in the following linguistic expressions:

a. Many people are *boiling over* with rage at the support the US gives to Israel.

Literal meaning: 'bubble so much with heat that it flows over the top of the container'.

Metaphorical meaning: 'have such strong uncontrollable feelings that you have to express

⁵ A general source might be the divided space but container is more specific.

them’

- b. Her anger with Ralph had *simmered* down to annoyance.

Literal meaning: ‘reduce the heat of the water to just below boiling point’;

Metaphorical meaning: ‘become less intense (of feelings, excitement)’;

- c. Singing opera is a way for me to *let off steam*.

Literal meaning: ‘allow the steam of water in a container to escape’;

Metaphorical meaning: ‘get rid of strong feelings by behaving noisily’.

Personification is the most obvious ontological metaphor which construes a thing or an idea as if it is a human being or possesses some human attributes. “But personification is not a single unified general process. Each personification differs in terms of the aspects of the people that are picked out.” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 33) For example, when we say “happiness does not reside in status or money”, the emotion concept *happiness* is personified to present a vivid picture of the speaker’s understanding of the relationship between happiness and status or money.

1.2.3.3 Metonymy

Traditionally metonymy is regarded as a kind of rhetorical device, “where one word can be used for another if the meanings of the word are contiguously related.” (Kövecses, 2002:160) Modern cognitive theories of metaphor regard metonymy as a kind of conceptual process, where one entity is used to refer to another which is contiguous to it, e.g. in the sentence “We need a couple of strong bodies for our team.” The phrase “strong bodies” stands for the concept “strong people” because people are in their bodies, so the two concepts are in fact in a relation of part-whole, which in traditional rhetoric is called “synecdoche”. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 36) included “synecdoche” as the special case of metonymy, i.e. THE WHOLE AS THE PART metonymy. More obviously than metaphor, metonymies are not random or arbitrary occurrences, to be treated as isolated instances. Instead, metonymic concepts are also systemic, grounded in our physical experiences (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 37-40). The primary function of metonymy is to use one thing to

stand for another, i.e. to realize a referential function⁶. So metonymy is a kind of referential relationship based on contiguity while metaphor is based on similarity.

Now let's consider the linguistic structures to see how contiguity and similarity behave in human discourses, which according to Saussure, are based on two kinds of relationship: the syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationship. The former refers to the linear combinations of words to form sentences. The latter refers the similarity-based selection of word from speakers' mental thesauri. Supposing we want to express the concept "the boy is sleeping", we would first choose suitable words from our mental synonymous sets {kid, baby, tot, child,...} and {nod, nap, dose, sleep,...}. It is a paradigmatic selection of members from the two sets, which is evidently based on the similarities and differences of the members. Then after we make the decision on suitable selections, we have to combine the words we have chosen into a sentence. In this combination, the decision we face is about the order of the words in the sentence, which is in fact a process of determining the contiguous relation of the words. This opposition model of the syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationship was later elaborated again by Roman Jakobson (1956) as the product of two basic modes of human thinking: the metaphorical and metonymic thinking.

He associates the metaphoric with the principle of selection and substitution, which both operate on the basis of similarity; the metonymic is associated with the principle of combination and contexture, which operate on the basis of contiguity. (Dirven, et al. 2002:4)

He further proved that metaphor and metonymy are the most basic thinking models that underlie the human language, with convincing evidence from his studies of aphasia, child language acquisition, and literature. Take his aphasia studies for example. Jakobson found that all kinds of aphasia lie between the two polar types: similarity and contiguity. The first polar type of aphasia is characterized by the patient's serious maladjustment in arranging the word order in the suitable

⁶ But metaphor is often used referentially, for example, to refer to a new object, e.g. computer *mouse*. Again this shows how narrow the Lakoffian concept of metaphor is.

combinations to form a discourse. This is a typical kind of “contiguity disorder”. These kind of patients, though having lost the ability of combining the lexical and grammatical units into semantic units, resort in their speech to a large application of metaphors in their language use. The second polar type is quite opposite to the first in that the patients of this type have lost their ability in selecting linguistic units while keeping their ability in syntagmatic combination, so the “contiguity disorder” happens to these patients who have lost the capacity to use metaphors but have still kept the capacity to use metonymy. (Dirven, et al. 2002: 40-42) That shows that in the first case the relation of contiguity is suppressed or has been damaged. And in the second case, the relation of similarity is suppressed, proving that the patients’ metaphorical thinking system has been damaged. By this study Jakobson explored the interaction and opposition between metaphor and metonymy. Similarity in corresponding to selection implies the possibilities of substituting one word with another by cognitive association, resulting in metaphor. Metaphor is thus a kind of replacement based on similarity. The contiguity in corresponding to combination implies the possible syntagmatic deletion, resulting in the metonymies in thinking and language.

The development of a discourse may take place along two different semantic lines: one topic may lead to another either through their similarity or through their contiguity. The metaphorical way would be the most appropriate term for the first case and the metonymic way for the second, since they find their most condensed expression in metaphor and metonymy respectively. (Dirven, et al. 2002: 42)

Therefore the human thought system, based primarily on the mechanisms of metonymy and metaphor, underlies our language system, and is of primary importance to the development of human language.

Ullmann (1962: 91-92) rightly took metonymy and metaphor for the two major motivations for lexical coinages. Metonymy plays a very important role in language development, in the same way as metaphor. So far as the lexical coinages and

semantic extensions are concerned, the role of metonymy is decisive, not any less than metaphor. This role can be attributed to the metonymy-producing relationships in a variety of ICMS. Following Kövecses and Radden (1998) we can identify some kinds of metonymic relationships (Tables 3 and 4).

Now looking at the above long list of metonymic relationships and supposing that under each of these relationships there exist many metonymic expressions, we can have an image of the metonymic power in language development and will agree to the assertion of Kövecses and Radden that metonymy is manifested in the word formation processes, because the relationships involved in the formation are mostly in syntagmatic combination rooted in metonymic contiguity. In fact, a large number of metonymic word-formations may be found in the compounds, e.g.

<i>shotgun wedding</i>	‘Wedding <u>in which the pregnant bride’s father forces the bridegroom to marry by threatening him with a</u> shotgun’;
<i>washing machine</i>	‘machine <u>for washing</u> clothes’;
<i>orange-juice</i>	‘juice <u>produced from</u> oranges’;
<i>baby-milk</i>	‘milk <u>produced for</u> babies’. ⁷

which can be considered in the light of the explanation by Roman Jakobson.

Since the items on the syntagmatic axis are in grammatical relations with each other, we could generalise these relationships to semantic relationships between grammatical categories, such as LOCATION CIRCUMSTANCE (ADVERBIAL) FOR PROCESS (VERB): ‘I’ve been watching Wimbledon all afternoon’. Another way of saying this is that since metonyms depend upon contiguity in experience, because the literal referent and the metonymic referent are part of the same ICM, one would expect this contiguity to be reflected in textual contiguity such as collocation, and colligation. (Goatly, 2007: 222).

⁷ Metonymy involves deletion on the syntagmatic axis. The above four compounds show various degrees of deletion, among them the first one involves an enormous amount of deletion while in the other three less is deleted.

WHOLE ICM AND ITS PARTS	
WHOLE THING FOR PART OF A THING	
MORE SPECIFICALLY	PART OF A THING FOR A WHOLE THING
CONSTITUTION ICM	
OBJECT FOR MATERIAL CONSTITUTING THE OBJECT	
MATERIAL CONSTITUTING THE OBJECT FOR THE OBJECT	
COMPLEX EVENT ICM	CATEGORY AND MEMBER ICM
SUCCESSIVE SUBEVENTS FOR COMPLEX EVENT	CATEGORY FOR MEMBER OF A CATEGORY
CO-PRESENT SUB-EVENTS FOR COMPLEX EVENTS	*MEMBER OF A CATEGORY FOR THE CATEGORY

Table 3: Metonymic Categories: Part to Whole ICMs (after Kövecses and Radden 1998).

ACTION ICM	
INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION	RESULT FOR ACTION
AGENT FOR ACTION	ACTION FOR RESULT
ACTION FOR AGENT	MEANS FOR ACTION
OBJECT INVOLVED IN THE ACTION FOR THE ACTION	MANNER OF ACTION FOR ACTION
ACTION FOR OBJECT INVOLVED IN THE ACTION	*TIME PERIOD OF ACTION FOR ACTION
*LOCATION OF ACTION FOR ACTION	DESTINATION FOR MOTION
	TIME OF MOTION FOR ENTITY INVOLVED IN MOTION
PERCEPTION ICM	
PERCEPTION FOR THING PERCEIVED	THING PERCEIVED FOR THE PERCEPTION
CAUSATION ICM	
STATE/EVENT FOR THE ENTITY THAT CAUSED IT	
<i>MORE SPECIFICALLY</i>	
*EMOTION FOR CAUSE OF EMOTION	*PHYSIOLOGICAL/BEHAVIOURAL EFFECT FOR EMOTION
MENTAL STATE FOR OBJECT/PERSON CAUSING IT	SOUND CAUSED FOR THE EVENT THAT CAUSED IT
PRODUCTION ICM	
PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT	
<i>MORE SPECIFICALLY</i>	
AUTHOR FOR WORK	PLACE FOR PRODUCT MADE THERE
CONTROL ICM	
CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED	OBJECT FOR USER OF THE OBJECT
CONTROLLED FOR CONTROLLER	
POSSESSION ICM	
POSSESSOR FOR POSSESSED	POSSESSED FOR POSSESSOR
CONTAINMENT ICM	
CONTAINER FOR CONTAINED	

Table 4: Metonymic Categories: Parts of an ICM (after Kövecses and Radden 1998)

Metonymy is important for metaphor study in that “many conceptual metaphors derive from conceptual metonymies” (Kövecses, 2002:156). Kövecses observed (2002:161) that certain metonymic relationships form the basis of many metaphors while some other metonymic relationships (including causation, whole-part, and correlation) can lead to the development of conceptual metaphors. So far as the emotion metaphors are concerned, they more closely depend on the CAUSE AS EFFECT metonymy. Take the metaphor ANGER IS HEAT for example. Since in folk models and in reality, anger does result in the physiological effect “heat”, so there does exist a prompt metonymic relationship ANGER AS INCREASE IN BODY TEMPERATURE between emotion and physiological effects. Thus we can expect that the conceptualization of human emotion are to a great extent based on the physiological effects that people have and the metaphor ANGER IS HEAT is derived from the metonymic relationship ANGER AS INCREASE IN BODY TEMPERATURE (CAUSE AS EFFECT). For the same reason, “most metaphors for emotions are, to a very large extent, based on metonymies, which encapsulate the conventional beliefs (folk models) about the effects–physiological or behavioural–of emotions on people (people are believed to go red if they are angry, walk erect if they are proud etc.)” (Barcelona 2000a: 47).

1.2.3.4 Notion of Embodiment and the Realization of Metaphor

Figure 1: Realization of Metaphor

The realization of metaphor can be diagrammed in Figure 1.

In the Lakoffian views, metaphor, as a basic mechanism of human thinking, is embodied, based on human body and motivated by its physiological effects. Thus, everything which involves our mind is embodied: emotion, reason, conceptualisation and language. This is the Lakoffian notion of embodiment as is put by Lakoff (1987: 266-267) that “where objectivism defines meaning independently of the nature and experience of human beings, experiential realism characterizes meaning in terms of embodiment, that is, in terms of our collective biological capacities and our physical and social experiences as beings functioning in our environment”.

The Lakoffian embodied experientialism certainly prevails over the traditional objectivist view of metaphor in many aspects. But as the cognitive researches go deeper, we begin to ask: is the body the only all-purpose key that we can use to solve all the metaphorical problems? As is shown in this study, metaphor is something more complex than what Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003) have shown, despite the fact that Lakoff and Johnson have now acknowledged the important part culture plays in the generation of metaphors. It is not only embodied, but as we have pointed out earlier, culture-determined to a great extent. For example, Naomi Quinn (1991) argued that

Metaphors are ordinarily selected to fit a preexisting and culturally shared model...although they may well help the reason to follow out entailments of the preexisting cultural model and thereby arrive at complex inferences. (Quinn, 1991: 91)⁸

This is a culture-based hypothesis of human thinking: the major role of human thinking is played by the cultural models of the world rather than metaphor and metonymy, which are based on culture and determined by cultural models. In my opinion, metaphor is complex in that we can not purely say that it is culture-determined or body-determined. The metaphorical studies that have been

⁸ Quinn is in fact quite close to Lakoff when he talks about metaphorical mappings: the target has always a real structure and the source simply corresponds to this pre-existing structure.

made up to now have shown that both culture and bodily physiological effects have a strong influence on metaphor and metonymy, but so far few convincing studies seem to have shown that culture can override embodiment in the realization of metaphor, or vice versa. It is of significance to make clear this problem, but not easy. Cross-cultural comparative linguistic studies may contribute in this aspect. Therefore, in pursuing the present study without a clear answer in my mind, I would like to take a middle-course presumption that metaphor and metonymy are realized both physiologically and culturally and will try to prove or improve this hypothesis with my data-based comparative studies of LEMS in English and Chinese. And from this hypothesis, we can infer that the cognitive associations between the original (literal) meaning and its metaphorical extensions are based on a specific cultural model whether the motivations that inspired them are physiologically based or based on a specific cultural model.

1.2.3.5 Multivalency, Diversification, and Grady's Theory of Primary Metaphors

Metaphors which speak of one thing in terms of other things more common or more familiar to the audiences usually function to enhance the understanding of the receivers. And this compels speakers/writers to use different sources in their daily speech or writings to metaphorically explain a specific emotion and its effects (i.e. multi-sources for the same target) or to use a same specific thing to talk about different things or emotions (i.e. one source for multi-targets). The former is called “diversification”, while the latter “multivalency” (Goatly, 1997: 258-259). According to Goatly, “One cause of Multivalency is a lack of lexical resources necessitating the multiple use of the same lexical item to refer to different Topics” and “Diversification is the opposite of Multivalency, multiple Vehicles with an identical Topic”(ibid.).

By the way, Kövecses (2002) used the concepts of range and scope respectively to describe the variations over the sources and targets. He seemed to see the variations as the expanding and shrinking of a whole entity. He did not use the

concepts of multivalency and diversification which, for my understanding, seem to focus more on the variations of different individual entities. These two sets of concepts provide different ways of analyzing metaphors. The concepts of multivalency and diversification are more applicable to revealing the variations on the cross-corresponding relations of source-target between themes; while the concepts of range and scope are more applicable to revealing the minor variations over the near-same metaphor themes, especially for those cross-language corresponding metaphors.

Grady (1999) showed by analyzing the conceptual metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS that the multivalency and diversification of metaphors are related to a large extent to the levels of generality that the metaphors are in. He proposes to increase the explanatory power of metaphor theory by the concept of primary metaphor which arises from the primary scenes:

Primary scenes are minimal (temporally-delimited) episodes of subjective experience, characterized by tight correlations between physical circumstance and cognitive response. They are universal elements of human experience, defined by basic cognitive mechanisms and abilities, which relate in some salient sense to goal-oriented interaction with the world. (Grady, 1999: 24)

As Goatly comments,

Grady convincingly takes a conventionally touted conceptual metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS and shows it is unsatisfactory because there are unused parts of the metaphor which cannot be explained, and there are overlaps, that is, in my terms, multivalency and diversification. We can build societies, marriages as well as theories, so the source, building, is multivalent. Similarly, theories can be textiles, so we have diverse sources for the same target. (Goatly, 2007: 271)

Therefore, raising the metaphor themes to a higher level of generality may make them more universal because when the sources/targets become more general,

they will be semantically simple. On the other hand, lowering the metaphor theme to a lower level of specificity may also make metaphors more specific because when the sources/targets become more specific, they will be semantically complex. What Grady calls the primary metaphors are the superordinate metaphor themes that are more abstract and image-poor. Although the primary metaphors can better reveal the potential universalities of the various diverse or multivalent lexical metaphors, they lack the specific information about which the lexical items are aimed to deliver. Thus in order to perform effective communication in different contexts, more detailed and specific complex metaphors and their lexical instantiations have to be used to give an accurate and vivid expression of meanings. But the metaphors used in different contexts may vary at the level of generality. For this reason, the substrate metaphor themes have lexical realizations, and the more general metaphor themes at the higher levels do as well.

Between the substrate metaphor themes and the superordinate metaphor themes are the intermediate metaphors with different level of generalities, higher than that of the substrate metaphors but lower than that of the superordinate metaphors. The most important intermediate metaphors are those at the basic level, corresponding to Rosch's assumptive conception of basic level concepts which assumes that

There is at least some hierarchical structure in our concepts, with more general ones like 'furniture' subsuming less general ones like 'chair', it should be possible to work out which level in the hierarchy gives the most information (i.e. involves the most components in each concept) in return for the least effort (i.e. using the smallest number of distinct concepts). (Hudson, 1980: 93)

Namely the basic level concepts are the most informative ones. But one of the problems for the hierarchical structure hypothesis of the CMT is that the basic level concepts, the most informative and hence the most important ones, and their metaphors are seldom explored, which is in sharp contrast to the massive studies of the metaphors at the superordinate level of generality.

Basic level concepts are regarded as the most active and informative ones for human cognition, “at a privileged level of taxonomic specificity, which are learnt early, and around which a great deal of our knowledge in a given semantic field is organized” (Grady, 1997: 189). Then how could these basic level concepts be marginalized as the non-typical sources for primary metaphors? Grady conjectured that it was “probable because they can participate in so many different types of scenes, and because the ability to recognize them is not part of our fundamental perceptual and cognitive repertoire.” (Grady, 1997: 190) Lakoff (2001) interpreted this phenomenon with the metaphor theme LOVE IS A JOURNEY. He explained that

In the LOVE IS A JOURNEY mapping, a love relationship corresponds to a vehicle. A vehicle is a superordinate category that includes such basic-level categories as car, train, boat, and plane. Indeed, the examples of vehicles are typically drawn from this range of basic level categories: car (*long bumpy road, spinning our wheels*), train (*off the track*), boat (*on the rocks, foundering*), plane (*just taking off, bailing out*). This is not an accident: in general, we have found that mappings are at the superordinate rather than the basic level. Thus, we would be surprised to find fully general submappings like A LOVE RELATIONSHIP IS A CAR; when we find a love relationship conceptualized as a car, we also tend to find it conceptualized as a boat, a train, a plane, etc. It is the superordinate category VEHICLE (not the basic level category CAR) that is in the general mapping in this case, and that is common in the system (though there may be cases where it is not so).⁹

Lakoff’s interpretation may apply to the English lexical realizations of LOVE IS A JOURNEY, but it is of no universal significance. In fact, it happens to contradict the Chinese lexical realizations of love metaphor, e.g. in Chinese the basic level metaphor LOVE RELATIONSHIP IS A BOAT is more common than its superordinate theme LOVE IS A JOURNEY. The following most typical lexical realizations of LOVE IS A JOURNEY in Chinese do not use the image schema of

⁹ This passages is taken from Lakoff, George. "Cognitive Linguistics." PsyArt: A Hyperlink Journal for the Psychological Study of the Arts, article 0112M1. December 18, 2001. Available HTTP: http://www.clas.ufl.edu/ipsa/journal/2001_lakoff01.shtml, Dec. 31, 200.

journey but that of *boat* as their source to construe the concept of *devoted love or friendship*.

风雨同舟 [feng yu tong zhou, lit: ‘standing in the same boat and braving the storm’; met: ‘the devoted love or friendship’];

同舟共济 [tong zhou gong ji, lit: ‘pulling together in the same boat’; met: ‘the devoted love or friendship’].

Grady’s preference for the general and image-poor primary metaphors is in agreement with Lakoff’s claim that metaphorical mappings are at the superordinate rather than the basic level. Lakoff (2001) argued:

It should be no surprise that the generalization is at the superordinate level, while the special cases are at the basic level. After all, the basic level is the level of rich mental images and rich knowledge structure. A mapping at the superordinate level maximizes the possibilities for mapping rich conceptual structure in the source domain onto the target domain, since it permits many basic-level instances, each of which is information rich.¹⁰

In my opinion, the above claims and interpretations of Lakoff and Grady about the non-productivity of basic level metaphors are open to challenge. It seems to me that basic level concepts would have an important effect in the metaphorical mappings which befit their roles in human cognition. Therefore, Lakoff’s following explanation is unconvincing and unacceptable.

It is not clear what significance this observation has, if any, for the theory of metaphor. There is nothing in the general theory that requires mappings to be on the superordinate level. It is simply an empirical fact that they tend to occur that way. This tendency may just follow from the fact that mappings at the superordinate level do more conceptual work than mappings at lower levels. It could be that mappings tend to

¹⁰ Ibid.

be optimized for information content, but that occasional mappings at the basic-level occur for other reasons, for example, when there is an experiential basis for a mapping at the basic level but not at the superordinate level.¹¹

For me, the significance of studying the metaphorical mappings of basic level concepts is fairly visible. I assume that the basic level concepts involve the metaphorical mappings in a way that is much more complex than what Lakoff and Grady have hypothesized. This topic is important and needs exploration, but which goes far beyond my present study. Nevertheless, I agree with Grady on his suggestion that “the relationship between primary metaphor and ‘basic-level actions’ will have to be established through further research on both topics.” (Grady, 1997: 191)

1.3 Emotion and Emotion Metaphors

1.3.1 Emotion Metaphor

Emotion is the most universal and important but least tangible experience of human life. It is generally believed that emotion is a kind of inner response to the outside world, based on human experience, and influenced by cultural modes¹². But it is quite complex in nature and thus presents a real enigma for those who try to define it. Fehr and Russell once commented, “Everyone knows what an emotion is, until asked to give a definition” (Fehr & Russell 1984:464). *Columbia Encyclopedia* defines *emotion* in great detail:

(term) commonly and loosely used to denote individual, subjective feelings which dictate moods. In psychology, emotion is considered a response to stimuli that involves characteristic physiological changes—such as increase in pulse rate, rise in

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Etymologically, the word *emotion* is a composite formed from two Latin words. ex/out, outward + motio/movement, action, gesture. This classical formation refers to the immediate nature of emotion as experienced by humans and attributed in some cultures and ways of thinking to all living organisms, and by scientific community to any creature that exhibits complex response traits similar to what humans refer to as emotion. (<http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/emotion>)

body temperature, greater or less activity of certain glands, change in rate of breathing—and tends in itself to motivate the individual toward further activity. Early psychological studies of emotion tried to determine whether a certain emotion arose before the action, simultaneously with it, or as a response to automatic physiological processes. In the 1960s, the Schachter-Singer theory pointed out that cognitive processes, not just physiological reactions, played a significant role in determining emotions. Robert Plutchik developed (1980) a theory showing eight primary human emotions: joy, acceptance, fear, submission, sadness, disgust, anger, and anticipation, and argued that all human emotions can be derived from these. Psychologists Sylvan Tomkins (1963) and Paul Ekman (1982) have contended that "basic" emotions can be quantified because all humans employ the same facial muscles when expressing a particular emotion. Studies done by Ekman suggest that muscular feedback from a facial expression characteristic of a certain emotion results in the experience of that emotion. Since emotions are abstract and subjective, however, they remain difficult to quantify: some theories point out that non-Western cultural groups experience emotions quite distinct from those generally seen as "basic" in the West.¹³

Wikipedia Encyclopedia makes a distinction between emotion and feeling:

Emotion, in its most general definition, is a neural impulse that moves an organism to action. Emotion is differentiated from feeling, in that, as noted, emotion is a psycho-physiological state that moves an organism to action. Feeling, on the other hand, is emotion that is filtered through the cognitive brain centers, specifically the frontal lobe, producing a physiological change in addition to the psycho-physiological change.¹⁴

Daniel Goleman, in his book *Emotional Intelligence*, discusses emotion and feeling at length.

Emotion is complex, and the term has no single universally accepted definition.

¹³ <http://columbia.thefreedictionary.com/emotion>.

¹⁴ <http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/emotion>.

Emotions are mental states that arise spontaneously, rather than through conscious effort. It is unclear whether animals or all human beings experience emotion. Emotions are physical expressions, often involuntary, related to feelings, perceptions or beliefs about elements, objects or relations between them, in reality or in the imagination. The study of emotions is part of psychology, neuroscience, and, more recently, artificial intelligence.¹⁵

Hence, although the contemporary definitions of emotion are different in some respects, they have all acknowledged that emotions are complex, determined by different factors: physiological, mental or cultural factors which correspond respectively to feelings, perceptions or beliefs about elements, objects or relations between them, in reality or in the imagination. Although there seems to be no clear understandings for the differentiation of *emotion* and *feeling* in the above three definitions¹⁶, there are at least one point that is certain: emotion is both physiologically and culturally determined.

Kövecses (2000: 131-33) summarized a number of expert theories that have emerged in the 20th century as:

Emotion as physical agitation or bodily disturbance (Young 1943).

Emotion as a kind of force or drive that impels the person to respond (Plutchik 1980).

Emotions as subjective physical sensations (Schachter 1971).

Damasio (2003) listed the distinctions between emotion and feeling:

Feelings, on the other hand, are always hidden, like all mental images necessarily are, unseen to anyone other than their rightful owner, the most private property of the organism in whose brain they occur” (Damasio, 2003: 28).

¹⁵ <http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/emotion>.

¹⁶ *Wikipedia Encyclopedia* regards feeling as a more specific kind of emotion that has been processed by cognition. But according to *Columbia Encyclopedia*, cognition play a very significant role in determining emotion.

Feelings have a conscious element for their owners, a perceptual and cognitive element “the idea of the body being in a certain way”, whether this awareness is of emotional responses or other homeostatic reactions (Damasio, 2003: 85; Goatly, 2007: 227)¹⁷.

Emotions, for Damasio, are physiological changes. Feelings involve thoughts about these emotions. Therefore feelings are more complex, and more likely to involve culture. Hence, as is shown before, both specificity and universality¹⁸ obtain for emotions and emotion metaphors.

Kövecses (1990) had made an overall survey of the attempts in psychology, anthropology, linguistics, philosophy, and made a comparative study of the views in the different branches. His major findings in this study can be summarized as

Emotion is something triggered by our cognitive structure in the mind. It is a kind of cognitive mechanism based on our physiological effects. An emotional concept is constituted by four parts:

- (a) a system of conceptual metonymies;
- (b) a system of conceptual metaphors;
- (c) a set of related concepts;
- (d) a category (set) of cognitive models; (Kövecses, 1990: 199).

¹⁷ Goatly (2007) comments on the definition of Damasio (2003): “Most interesting for experiential theories of emotion metaphor is Damasio’s contention that feelings are perceptions of varied bodily states and changes.”

¹⁸ The universality of emotion metaphors explored in this study is a kind of substantive universality, i.e. “universal characteristics of human language in terms of what units or elements or components a language contains”, which are on the semantic level associated with “universal categories of conceptual content”. (Leech, 1981: 231). Leech divided these substantive universals into two types: strong universality (= “all languages contain x”) and weak universality (= “x is a member of a universal set” or “there exists a universal set of semantic features, of which every language possesses a subset”). This distinction of Leech applies to the use of universality in this study, which refers to both cases of universality in emotion metaphors. In fact, the universals/commonalities explored in this study are different in their degrees between strong and weak universals, but not “an all-or-nothing affair”. So this study follows the usual practice of study of semantic universals, “referring to both cases as ‘universal’, distinguishing where necessary between strong universality and weak universality” (Leech, 1981: 232). However, in an effort to avoid making too strong claims, I will use “commonality between English and Chinese” instead to refer to those weak universals in most of this dissertation.

The above four characteristics of emotion concepts are important for further expositions of the conceptual structure of human language, especially for the cross-cultural studies, because in cross-cultural comparisons, by comparing the prototypical features of a specific emotion concept in different cultures we can find the universals and specific differences in the conceptualization of emotions which metaphor and metonymy are supposed to perform.

Wierzbicka (1999) demonstrated in great detail that the concept of emotion is different from its counterparts in German, Russian, and Samoan. She elaborated what the word *emotion* means for English speakers, “The English word *emotion* combines in its meaning a reference to ‘feeling’, a reference to ‘thinking’ and a reference to a person’s body. For example, one can talk about “a feeling of hunger”, or a “feeling of heartburn”, but not about an “emotion of hunger”, because the feelings in question are not thought to be related. One can also talk about a “feeling of loneliness” or a “feeling of alienation” but not “an emotion of loneliness” or an “emotion of alienation”, because, while these feelings are clearly related to thoughts (such as “I am all alone”, “I don’t belong”, etc.), they do not suggest any associated bodily events or processes (such as rising blood pressure, a rush of blood to the head, tears, and so on)” (Wierzbicka, 1999: 2).

In ancient Chinese, the concept of emotion was expressed by the character 情 while that of feelings by the character 感. The word 情感 didn't appear in Chinese writings until 1921 when it was first used to introduce the concept of emotion in western education. But its basic meanings are the same as 情 in ancient Chinese. With later popularity of 情感 in modern Chinese, 情感 has replaced 情 as the most commonly used noun for the concept of emotion in modern Chinese¹⁹. It is worthy of remark that in the meanings of 情感 a reference to ‘feeling’, a reference to ‘thinking’ and a reference to a person’s body are welded together. Moreover, in Chinese, we can say 饥饿感 (a feeling of hunger) or 感到饥饿 (feel hungry), but we can not say 饥饿的情感 (emotion of hunger). Similarly, in Chinese, we can talk about 孤独感

¹⁹ In other words, 情感 is the synonymous successor of the ancient Chinese character 情 in modern Chinese.

(feeling of loneliness) or 感到孤独(feel lonely) but not about 孤独的情感(emotion of loneliness) . It follows from the above analysis that the two remotely related languages, English and Chinese, happen to share more common features (like in the concept of emotion and its expressions) than those closely related languages.

In Chapter 4 which focuses on the diachronic comparison of the emotion metaphors in the two languages, I will further observe the similarity in the character 情 and other ancient Chinese expressions of the concept “emotion”, with the aim to prove that the commonness in the concept of emotion shared by English and Chinese is not caused by the unconfirmed possibility that 情感 might be borrowed from the English word *emotion*. Generally speaking, this possibility could not be very high because what are borrowed in Chinese are loan translations from the foreign languages. Even so, we can not deny that “Not only, of course, may general abstract categories like ‘emotion’ be language and culture specific, but also more specific kinds of feelings or ‘emotions’” (Goatly, 2007), because human beings from different cultures may have their own historically developed understandings toward the concepts of emotion and feelings, and because “human beings from different cultures may not be essentially alike in their emotional lives” (ibid.). So we can only assume that the English word *emotion* and its Chinese counterpart 情感 share a similarity in their semantic structures and collocations. That is to say, the legitimacy of the diachronic reason for the cultural specificity of the more general abstract concept of emotion depends on how and by what criteria we judge the differences and similarities between *emotion* and 情感.

Wierzbicka claimed that in all languages there are three ways by which body and emotion may be connected: (1) via some bodily events regarded as characteristic of these feelings; (2) via bodily sensations; (3) via figurative “bodily images” (Wierzbicka, 1999:276).

She further gave a quite convincing illustration for the reasons of universality and specificity of emotion:

Although human emotional endowment is no doubt largely innate and universal,

people's emotional lives are shaped, to a considerable extent by their culture. Every culture offers not only a linguistically embodied grid for the conceptualisation of emotions, but also a set of "scripts" suggesting to people how to feel, how to express their feelings, how to think about their own and other people's feelings, and so on (Wierzbicka, 1999: 240).

What are important in these definitions are not the definitions themselves, nor the differentiation of emotion and feeling, but how they summarize the former discoveries of how the conceptualizations of emotion are affected by our physical, social, or cultural experiences, because the aim of defining and differentiating emotion and feeling is to serve our understandings of how emotions are conceptualized in language.

My most fundamental idea about the concept of emotion, which has shaped the guidelines for this corpus-based approach to emotion metaphors, is to treat emotion as unities of three opposites: body vs. spirit; bodily experiential universality vs. cultural specificity; synchronic cross-cultural variations vs. diachronic changes within one culture.

From the point of this view of emotion concept, I regard emotion metaphor as

- (a) something based on the embodied experiences, which shares a cross-cultural universality to some extent, but is affected by the specificities of the cultures that it involves;
- (b) the cultural product that needs to be observed in the backgrounds of specific cultures;
- (c) the historical product which was created at a specific time of history.

Namely, this dissertation takes the folk definition of emotion, which Kövecses uses and which is closer to Wierzbicka's definition than Damasio's.

Generally speaking, emotional expressions can be divided into two groups. The first group includes emotion terms such as *Wow! What a good idea!* (When pleased or impressed), *oh! So you are here!* (when pleased or surprised), etc. They are

interjections. Since they are of little relation to this present study I will not touch upon them unless it is necessary. This study targets the other group of emotion words and expressions that are used to describe emotions. This group can be subdivided into two. One includes words like *anger*, *happiness*, etc. which seem to be the literal expressions of emotion, but in fact they are metaphorical in their etymologies, i.e. “dead metaphors” (Goatly, 1997:34). The other group is conventional figurative expressions, which are metaphorical or metonymical. In terms of CMT, metaphorical expressions are manifestations of conceptual metaphors, which bring two distant concepts into play. One of the concepts is usually more concrete than the other so that the more abstract one is understood in terms of the more concrete. For example, under the theme ANGER IS FLUID (QI) IN A CONTAINER, we have the following linguistic expressions:

English: *get steamed up, make one's blood boil, boiling with anger, simmer down, blow off steam.*

Chinese: 气鼓鼓 (balloon up with *qi*, i.e. be inflated with anger),
一肚子气 (a belly of *qi*, i.e. be filled with anger).

Besides, the metonymy EMOTION AS PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION also gives rise to the following linguistic expressions:

English: *burst a blood vessel, be scarlet (with rage), shake (with anger),*

Chinese: (气)炸了肺 (burst one's lungs with rage),
(气得)脸红脖子粗 (one's face flushes and neck swells with rage).

1.3.2 Prototypical Cognitive Model of Emotion Metaphors

The Prototypical cognitive model of emotion metaphor proposed by Kövecses has been mentioned above. In his cooperative study with Kövecses, Lakoff (1987) imagined a prototypical scenario of English-speakers' emotional process of anger, which can be applied to other emotional processes: stage1: offending event; stage 2: anger; stage 3: attempt at control; stage 4: loss of control; stage 5: act of retribution (Lakoff & Kövecses 1987:211). Kövecses further explained the prototypicality of an emotion concept: “it has a cause, the cause produces the emotion, the emotion forces

us to respond, we try to control the emotion but usually fail to do so, and there is a response” (Kövecses 2000b: 128). The above proposals are based on the assumption that emotion concepts are prototypically organized cognitive models (Kövecses 1990: 35-41). Thus, emotion concepts are not just the collections of features but a script based on relevant image-schematic knowledge that is composed of certain entities and certain predicates. For example, the entities that are used to represent the concept of anger in the above five-stage model are the person who has experienced the emotion, somebody or something that has caused the person to experience the emotion. The predicates here are their relations and properties.

Evidently, this anger-based interpretation cannot be applied to all emotions. Consider the script of *happiness*. It can not be described with the five-stage model. But this doesn't mean that there exists no idealized cognitive model for the concept *happiness*. The ICM for every emotion does exist because the emotion concepts are prototypically organized. Not all emotions are the scripts of five stages, some are two, some are three, and some may even be ten. They are just like the real scripts on TV, some are long and complex, and some are short and simple, because the complexities of different emotion concepts are not the same. However, the ICM can be used to analyze the metaphorical structures of emotion metaphors.

So the 'anger script' activates knowledge of the sequence of events associated with anger (such as provocation, desire for retribution, attempts at suppression, acts of retribution, return of equilibrium ...) Knowledge of the script makes it possible to assign 'default values' to unobserved episodes. Thus, by observing certain outward signs, a person can infer the entire pattern of events, including the mental state of the angry person. (Taylor, 1995:11)

In this way, we can not only unveil the physiological effects that trigger the metaphorical/metonymic relations but the image-schematic cultural knowledge of sources that is taken as the basis of the metaphorical projections or metonymic references.

1.3.3 A Survey of Emotion Metaphor Studies: Current Status, Characteristics and Problems

1.3.3.1 The Studies of Emotion Metaphors in English

So far several hundreds of papers and about a dozen books have been published on the topic of English emotion metaphors. Most of them are about the psychological study of emotion metaphor, using the methods of psychological experiment to reveal interrelationships among the psychological factors and cultural factors that participate in processes of metaphorical thinking, understanding, and the production of metaphorical language. Despite the fact that in most of the psychological experiments on emotion metaphor the experiment designers and practitioners have racked their brains about their methodologies, these experiments have produced very few advances. Most of them are no more than the confirmation of some conclusions that are either intuitively deducible from human experience or formerly attested by the Lakoffian linguists in their metaphorical studies. In this sense linguistic approaches have become the pilot science in the studies of emotion metaphor. Nearly all the important findings in this field have been made with the help of linguistic analysis.

So far as the linguistic approach to emotion metaphors is concerned, some important progress has been achieved, including the publications of a dozen monographs and several hundred relevant papers. Over the past twenty years cognitive studies of emotion metaphor saw two different orientations in their seeking for the universal patterns of emotion metaphors. One is represented by the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) approach of Anna Wierzbicka which finds universality in the deepest core of semantic structures; the other is represented by the cognitive approach of Zoltán Kövecses, which sees embodied metonymies as the basis for the universality of metaphor themes.

Wierzbicka believes that people either use primitive concepts like “I feel good,” or use a comparison, e.g. “I feel like an abandoned child.” to describe their feelings. (Wierzbicka, 1999: 12–16) “Both of these modes of description can be expressed in a

language-independent meta-language and therefore understood by a speaker of any language.”²⁰ Wierzbicka’s approach to emotion metaphors as discussed by Kövecses (1990) is characterized by the application of her NSM model and the concept of semantic primitives, i.e., to interpret the meanings of emotion concepts by giving paraphrases composed of words which are simpler and easier to understand. The basic principles of NSM and semantic primitives are as follows:

Assuming that reductive paraphrase can be made to work as a method of analyzing meanings, it follows that every language has an irreducible "semantic core" which would be left after all the complex expressions had been dealt with. This semantic core must have a language-like structure, with a lexicon of indefinable expressions ("semantic primes") and a grammar, i.e. some principles governing how the lexical elements can be combined. The semantic primes and their principles of combination constitute a kind of "mini-language" with the same expressive power as a full natural language.²¹

These irreducible semantic primes (primitives) are supposed to be semantic fundamentals in all human languages²². For Wierzbicka, the concepts of emotion are to a great extent culture and language specific, but the NSM that are used to express these emotion concepts are universal. Thus by decomposing the meanings of emotion concepts into the semantic primes, “it is possible to elucidate the meanings of emotion concepts, and their similarities and differences across cultures, within a principal, formal framework” (Goddard, 1991: 265). By applying NSM in emotion study, Wierzbicka (1999) shows how the bodily expressions of emotion vary across

²⁰ <http://www.sil.org:8090/silebr/2004/silebr2004-009>.

²¹ <http://www.une.edu.au/arts/LCL/nsm/nsmpage1.htm#model>.

²² In Anna Wierzbicka's writings the terms 'semantic' and 'conceptual' are used more or less interchangeably, the idea being that semantic primes represent elements of linguistic conceptualisation, i.e. elements out of which complex linguistic concepts are built. Some critics find this usage (i.e. semantic = conceptual) objectionable and insist that independent psycholinguistic evidence is required before one can make any conceptual deductions from purely semantic analysis. Wierzbicka's view (like that of Leibniz before her) is that semantic analysis is by its nature a conceptual inquiry, because meanings are not external or objective entities, but, so to speak, creatures of the mind. (<http://www.une.edu.au/arts/LCL/nsm/nsmpage1.htm#model>)

cultures while they share a common “semantic core”. She further proposed a “cultural script” theory which has proved useful for the study of emotions from a cross-cultural perspective. Based on her cross-language componential analysis of the semantic structures of emotional terms, she made a convincing summary;

Every culture offers not only a linguistically embodied grid for the conceptualisation of emotions, but also a set of “scripts” suggesting to people how to feel, how to express their feelings, how to think about their own and other people’s feelings, and so on. (Wierzbicka, 1999: 240)

The second orientation represented by Kövecses is chiefly characterized by its orthodox Lakoffian tradition, e.g. it is carried out within the frame of the Lakoffian CMT, it is based on a series of CMT’s basic assumptions (universality hypothesis, the embodiment hypothesis, the invariance hypothesis, etc.), and it aims at examining and defending the Lakoffian universalistic hypothesis. Kövecses’ studies of emotion metaphor go back more than 20 years to 1983. As the most productive researcher of emotion metaphors in the world, he has published a series of papers and books in this field, continually refreshing and developing his theory and research methods for better describing the complex phenomena of emotion metaphors, although most of his publications principally involve synchronic analysis based on the Lakoffian CMT as represented by *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind* (Lakoff, 1987a.). By persistently examining not only the universality of metaphors and the reasons for their universality but the ways by which metaphors vary across languages and cultures and the reasons for these variations as well, he has greatly improved CMT.

Having reviewed Kövecses’ publications in the last twenty years (Kövecses, 1986; Lakoff and Kövecses, 1987; Kövecses, 1990, 1995, 1998, 2000, 2002a, 2002b, 2005), I summarize their major contents and characteristics as follows:

Firstly, in these twenty years, Kövecses has obviously experienced remarkable changes in both his research methods and ideas of CMT. His earlier publications (Kövecses, 1986; Lakoff and Kövecses, 1987; Kövecses, 1990, 1991) chiefly

observed and described emotion concepts by decomposing them into a series of prototype scenarios or mapping correspondences between sources and targets of emotion metaphors, and analyzing these “cognitive primitives”²³ and grounds in terms of CMT’s basic assumptions. These publications seem to be featured by their arguments for the strong experientialist theory of metonymy-based conceptual metaphor with a universalistic tendency. For example,

As Kövecses demonstrated long ago (1986) most metaphors for emotions are, to a very large extent, based on metonymies, which encapsulate the conventional beliefs (folk models) about the effects—physiological or behavioural – of emotions on people (people are believed to go red if they are angry, walk erect if they are proud etc.). These metonymies provide an array of inherent dynamic image-schematic structures for the target domains of emotions. A large part of their inherent image-schematic structure seems to have been built on the basis of EMOTION-DRIVEN BEHAVIOUR/PHYSIOLOGY and other experientially accessible and contiguous (sub) domains. (Barcelona, 2000a: 47)

Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) claimed that “the conceptual metaphors and metonymies used in understanding anger are by no means arbitrary; instead they are motivated by our physiology” (Lakoff and Kövecses, 1987: 219). They further assumed that both the conceptual metaphor and cultural model have a basis in bodily experience (ibid. 221). And since human physiology is assumed to be universal, Lakoff and Kövecses expected that the metonymy PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF ANGER STAND FOR THE EMOTION OF ANGER which implied a universal form of physiological embodiment for anger, would be the basis for the universality of the master theme ANGER IS HEAT. As support for this assumption, Kövecses has long been observing the physiological metonymies for basic emotions. Table 5 is a summary of what he has done in his monograph *Metaphor and Emotion* (Kövecses, 2000a).

²³ This coinage is made after Wierzbicka’s “semantic primitives”.

PHYSIOLOGICAL PHENOMENA	EXAMPLE	CORRESPONDING METAPHOR THEME
Change in body temperature	Drop in body temperature for FEAR	FEAR/UNPLEASANT EMOTION IS COLD
	Rise in body temperature for ANGER	ANGER IS HEAT
	Rise in body temperature for PASSION	LOVE/PASSION IS HEAT
Change in skin color/skin condition	Redness in face and neck area for ANGER	(EMOTION IS LIGHT/COLOUR)
Release of sweat, tears, saliva	Moist hands for FEAR, tears for SADNESS	EMOTION IS LIQUID?
Change of respiration and heart rate	Quickening of heartbeat for ANGER	(EMOTION/CHARACTER IS BODY-PART/FLUID ?)
Unnatural condition of stomach/bowels	Feeling nauseated for DISGUST, FEAR	?BAD IS SMELLY (BAD EMOTION IS DISCOMFORT/PAIN) (EXPERIENCE IS FOOD/EATING)
Bodily tension/release of tension	Fists and teeth clenched for ANGER	ANTAGONISM / ANNOYANCE IS FRICTION
	Relaxation of body and lungs (sighing) for RELIEF	NERVOUSNESS IS TENSION
	Tension of muscles for ANXIETY	NERVOUSNESS IS TENSION
Specific kinds of physical movements	Slow shuffling movements for SADNESS	? SAD IS LOW
	Heavy walk, stomping for ANGER	(CONTROL IS PUSH/PUT DOWN??)
	Being startled for FEAR	(EMOTION IS MOVEMENT)
	Jumping up and down for JOY	HAPPY IS HIGH
	Touching, hugging, kissing for LOVE	RELATIONSHIP IS PROXIMITY/COHESION
	Grabbing for DESIRE	DESIRE IS ATTRACTION
	Approach for ENJOYMENT, PLEASURE	DESIRE IS ATTRACTION
	Approach for ANGER	ANTAGONISM/ANNOYANCE IS FRICTION
	Moving away for FEAR	(NO RELATIONSHIP IS DISTANCE/SEPARATION)
	Slumping for SADNESS	SAD IS LOW
	Looking down for SADNESS	SAD IS LOW
	Looking with fixed gaze for WONDER	AWARENESS/INTEREST IS FIXING/CAPTURE

Table 5: An Overview of Physiological Metonymies for Basic Emotions (Based on Kövecses, 2000a: 123-4, 134)²⁴

²⁴ Table 5 is quoted from Goatly (2007).

In his later publications (Kövecses, 1995, 1998, 2000, 2002a, 2002b, 2003), Kövecses began to take up the methods of comparison between language and culture, and across languages. He began to pay more attention to the cultural diversities of metaphor themes across languages and the reasons for these diversities. Kövecses (2000) tends to regard this universality as a result of shared human biology (Kövecses, 2000a: 162). He claimed:

Without the constraining effect of embodiment it is difficult to see how such a surprisingly uniform category (of metaphors) could have emerged for the conceptualization of anger. The widely different cultures we have examined should have produced a great deal more diversity in (metaphorical) conceptualization than what appears to be the case on the basis of the data available to me in this study. (Kövecses 2000a: 160).

He further concluded::

Given universal real physiology, members of different cultures cannot conceptualize their emotions in a way that contradicts universal physiology: but nevertheless they can choose to conceptualize their emotions in many different ways within the constraints imposed on them by universal physiology. (Kövecses 2000a: 165)

Kövecses (2000a) demonstrates how cultural aspects, metaphorical language, and human physiology are part of an integrated system. This book challenges the simplistic division between the body and culture by stressing how human emotions are to a large extent "constructed" from individuals' embodied experiences in different cultural settings.²⁵

In his latest monograph *Metaphor in Culture: Universality and Variation* (2005), Kövecses came to acknowledge the absence of CMT in cultural and diachronic aspects.

Obviously, then, the use of the humoral view as a form of cultural explanation extends far beyond anger and the emotions. In addition to being an account of emotional

²⁵ See the introduction on the second cover of *Metaphor and Emotion* (Kövecses, 2000a).

phenomena, it was an explanation of a variety of issues in physiology, psychology, and medicine. In other words, the humoral view was a key component of the classical-medieval cultural context and it exerted a major impact on the emergence of the European conception of anger as a fluid in a pressurized container. (Kövecses, 2005: 234)

He even assumed that “universal embodiment can be overridden by either social-cultural context (experiences) or cognitive processes (cognitive preferences)” (Kövecses, 2005: 293).

Language Lexical item	English	French	Dutch
phlegm	Phlegmatic 'calm, cool, apathetic'	Avoir un flegme imperturbable 'to be imperturbable'	Valling (dial.) 'cold'
Black bile	Spleen 1. 'organ filtering the blood'; 2. 'sadness'	Mélancolie 'sadness, moroseness'	Zwartgalling 'sad, depressed' (lit: 'black-bilious')
Yellow bile	Bilious 'angry, irascible'	Colère 'anger'	Z'n gal spuwen 'to vent (lit: 'spit out' one's gall)'
Blood	Full-blooded 'vigorous, hearty, sensual'	Avoir du sang dans les veines 'to have spunk, pluck, spirit'	Warmbloedig 'passionate' (lit: 'warm-blooded')

Table 6: Lexical Vestiges of the *Humoral Doctrine* (Geeraerts & Grondelaers, 1995: 163).

Only in his paper “Anger: its language, conceptualization, and physiology in the light of cross-cultural evidence” (1995) did Kövecses first resort to the diachronic method to analyze the cultural influences on the formation of metaphorical language and try to confute Geeraerts and Grondelaers’s conclusions about the influences of cultural traditions on metaphorical patterns. Geeraerts and Grondelaers drew their conclusions from their diachronic analysis of the influences on emotion metaphor patterns of Western conception of emotion as reflected in the theory of humors. (Geeraerts & Grondelaers, 1995: 153-179) Geeraerts and Grondelaers even showed that the folk and medieval theories influenced the emotion metaphors to a greater extent than the embodied experiences. For example, the following lexical realizations of emotion metaphors from English, French, and Dutch (Table 6) are the legacy of the

humoral theory which “would remain etymological puzzles if the historical medical background were not taken into account.”(Geeraerts & Grondelaers, 1995: 164).

Geeraerts and Grondelaers’s edifying paper first revealed the physiological components of humors and their influences on emotion metaphors in terms of Western traditional folk theories. Although Kövecses tried to respond to Geeraerts and Grondelaers by appealing to some cross-cultural evidence derived from synchronic comparison in terms of the conceptual metaphor theory in the Lakoffian tradition, his arguments were not very convincing because he pleaded against Geeraerts and Grondelaers’s results by a synchronic comparison of the metaphoric expressions in modern Chinese and English rather than deploying his arguments in the diachronic way of Geeraerts and Grondelaers. Supposing Kövecses wanted to justify his arguments, he would have to prove how those metaphoric expressions in modern Chinese and English that he had taken for examples could reflect the ancient Chinese and English metaphoric thinking, how the relevant concepts were expressed in ancient Chinese and English, and in each of the two languages how the former evolved into the latter.

Kövecses’ long and persistent studies of emotion metaphor have undoubtedly contributed a lot to our understandings of emotion metaphor and represented an attractive theory. Kövecses did greatly upgrade the studies of emotion metaphors because in his studies he has shed more cultural light on the physiological basis of emotion conceptualization than any other Lakoffian scholars, and thus his cognitive expositions of emotion metaphors provide more cultural account and a more solid foundation in physiological and mental experiences.

1.3.3.2 Weaknesses in Emotion Metaphors Studies

There exist four shortcomings in the present studies of emotion metaphors.

1.3.3.2.1 Neglect of Diachronic Analysis

This shortcoming in metaphorical studies might arise from the synchronic linguistics of Ferdinand de Saussure. Cognitive linguists in the Lakoffian School

forcefully criticized Saussure for his principle of the arbitrary relationship between language and symbol and asserted that there existed a motivational relationship between language and symbol. (cf. Ding, 2000: 24-46) But the Lakoffian linguists seem to have not paid enough attention to the diachronic changes of language which in usual cases are responsible for most motivations of language. Goatly (1997: 14-40) discussed the relationships between metaphors and semantic changes. From his discussions, we can see metaphorical influences on semantic changes: narrowing, widening, transfer of meanings. And polysemy also originates from metaphoric usages. For example, usually a metaphoric expression, as an inventive usage, should go through a diachronic process in which it has been influenced by cultures and human physiological experiences, but when it is accepted into the language as a conventionalized deviation of its original form, it will be synchronically related by the lexical polysemy. Therefore, the semantic structures of lexis in a synchronic state are in fact the results of diachronic changes (often metaphorical). For this reason, the descriptions of emotion metaphors without an etymological approach to their diachronic changes are certainly fallible.

Eve Sweetser (1990) in her *From Etymology to Pragmatics* attacked Generative Grammar for having “rigidly separated synchronic semantic structure from historical change” and most formal semantic analyses for having “treated meaning change as inherently irrelevant to analysis of the synchronic system” (Sweetser, 1990: 2). She studied the semantic changes and pragmatics of English perception verbs in terms of metaphorical extension, culture and cognition. As indicated by the title of her book, Sweetser’s exploration was often a process moving from etymology to pragmatics, in which she concentrated on the metaphorical and cultural aspects of semantic structure. What Sweetser meant by “etymology” (something approximating to lexical archeology) in the title is in fact a diachronic study, while “pragmatics” (the study of practical usage of language) is used to indicate the synchronic study of semantic structure. In a word, Sweetser developed a new method of metaphor study in which she had effectively integrated the diachronic method of etymology into the Lakoffian pattern of synchronic metaphor study, and in this way she had found “the coherent

and regular structuring within the metaphorical system of interconnections between semantic domains” and “a more transparent view of the general principles” underlying their semantic histories (Sweetser, 1990:47-48).

1.3.3.2.2 Top-down Research Strategy Starting with the Universal Intrinsic Pattern of Metaphor Study

Methodologically speaking, the Lakoffian approaches to metaphors tend to start with some hypothesized intrinsic patterns of conceptual metaphors, namely by using a top-down research strategy. *The Master List of Metaphors at Berkeley* typically shows this. It invited speakers of English to submit the examples of metaphors in terms of their intuitions. This, in fact, might not be regarded as a weakness if they are applied to other aspects of metaphorical studies. But it does become a weakness when they are applied to the exploration of cultural influences on and experiential basis of metaphors, as I will propose to do in this study, that is when metaphor studies are no more a kind of formal semantic study, but instead a kind of cultural hermeneutics of metaphorical language. For example, the Lakoffian School presumes that the event schema is universal.

The Event Structure Metaphor can be considered as one of the most widespread of all the conceptual metaphors. It maps from the source domain of space to the target domain of events, and leads to the following concepts, according to Lakoff,

States are locations (bounded regions in space).

Changes are movements (into or out of bounded regions).

Causes are forces.

Actions are self-propelled movements.

Purposes are destinations.

Means are paths to destinations.

Difficulties are impediments to motion.

Expected progress is a travel schedule; A schedule is a virtual traveller, who reaches pre-arranged destinations at pre-arranged times.

External events are large, moving objects.

Long-term, purposeful activities are journeys.

Each of the above extends to further conceptual metaphors. An example of this is the Life Is A Journey metaphor, which results from our cultural consideration of life as purposeful, with a beginning and end.²⁶

As one of the most important sub-divisions of Event Structure Metaphor, the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor inherits the schema structure of its superordinate theme ACTIVITY IS MOVEMENT FORWARD, which, as noticed by Goatly (2007) in discussing education reforms in Hong Kong, “focus on all three parts of the schema: (1) the beginning point, where force is applied by the authorities to determine that reformed education takes place; (2) the path – the methodology by which the teacher guides the student, (MEANS IS ROAD / TRACK); and (3) the end point which is predetermined by the objectives of the curriculum (PURPOSE IS DIRECTION / DESTINATION)”.

The Lakoffian analyses of LIFE IS A JOURNEY, although not completely consistent, basically follows the frame semantic analysis:

JOURNEY frame

A Traveler Departs from a source and travels along a Path to a Destination, using some Mode of Transportation. Optionally, he may have some Baggage, and an Itinerary and Co-Traveler(s). He may also encounter Obstacles along the way.

Presuppositions

The traveler takes on the journey voluntarily (self-propelled motion), i.e. not being transported or escorted around.

Frame

Source Domain

Journey

Traveler

Source

Destination

Path

Target Domain

Task

Agent

Initial State

Goal State

Means of getting from Initial to Goal

²⁶ <http://bluejoh.com/dungeon/archives/MSc/metaphor.html#EVENT>

Itinerary	Schedule / Plan
Mode of Transportation	Tools to assist execution of plan
Baggage	Useful resources brought to the task; But they can also be extra weight, Increasing difficulty of execution of plan
Obstacle	Difficulties
Co-Traveler	Agent / Teammates

Image schemas of source for lexical realizations of LIFE IS A JOURNEY in English

<i>set out:</i>	‘Start of the journey, departing from the Source’,
<i>back on track:</i>	‘Resuming the journey, possibly after encountering an Obstacle, which caused a delay in Itinerary’.
<i>roadblock:</i>	‘Obstacle that is very hard to overcome and forces alternate path’.
<i>ahead of schedule:</i>	‘Traveling along the Path at a faster rate than planned in the Itinerary’.
<i>crossroads:</i>	‘Choice of multiple Paths’.
<i>reorient:</i>	‘Re-planning the Path towards the Destination, possibly after getting lost’.
<i>detour:</i>	‘Obstacle along intended Path and choosing an alternative Path, usually a longer route’. ²⁷

On this basis Lakoffian scholars work up a logically reasonable or idealized drama plot for this metaphor theme. At first glance, this procedure seems workable, at least it provides a description of the detailed correspondences between journey and life. And it is also true that metaphors are the mapping of a part of the image schemas of sources onto the targets. However, in my opinion, the mappings, although being the uni-directional projection from sources to targets, are also influenced by people’s image schemas of targets as well, and both the image schemas of sources and targets are to a great extent culture-based. So the biggest problem for this Lakoffian procedure is its negligence of the em-minded cultural notions about the image schemas of sources and targets. So far as the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY is concerned, it totally neglects the cultural aspects that this metaphor involves, which

²⁷ This passage is written by integrating some relevant materials from the web of Berkeley University (inst.eecs.berkeley.edu/~cs182/sp06/assignments/A7_-_Solution.pdf). Also see Kövecses (2005: 43-49).

in fact play a fundamental role in the formation and understanding of LIFE IS A JOURNEY. One sure point is that cultural image schemas do provide the different cultural motivations for this metaphor theme and make it a cultural specific theme rather than a universal one. This point also accords with Goatly's critique of the Event schema which shows that for Blackfoot speakers the event schema does not exist as a model of events and actions. (Goatly, 2007)

Even at the less specific level there are 'exotic' languages such as Blackfoot where even the most general cognitive patterns do not seem to apply, such as the distinction between objects and processes caused by or acting on those objects. The result is that the Event Structure schema, which might seem, from the point of view of Western languages a candidate for universal general metaphorical patterns (CAUSE IS FORCE, CHANGE IS MOVEMENT, ACTIVITY / PROCESS IS MOVEMENT FORWARD, DIFFICULTY IS OBSTACLE etc. etc.) may not apply to all languages. In other words the paradigm metaphor of activity – that independently existing objects exert a force on other independently existing objects to move them – is not a universal metaphor for actions or events. (Goatly, 2007: 216)

1.3.3.2.3 Neglect of Cultural Influences

This shortcoming could be ascribed to the negligence of diachronic analysis, because cultures, whether expressed in languages or in other aspects of human lives, have been accumulated in a long historical process and are not the product of an instantaneous action. Therefore, introduction of the diachronic method into the metaphor study would benefit the exploration of cultural motivations in metaphorical extension.

I believe that there are two different kinds of motivations underlying the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor. The first one is the embodied experiences about practical life and journey which provide the embodied metonymic basis for the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, while the second, the em-minded cultural notions, provide the em-minded metonymic basis for the same metaphor. The commonality of English and Chinese as shown in the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor only reflects the same

embodied experiences that ground this metaphor, but not the two nations' cultural notions of life and journey that also influence this metaphor. Indeed for both English and Chinese, life and journey roughly mean the same things, but these same things are mentally treated in different ways in these two cultures. For English the journey in the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor is walking down along a straight road, and when they arrive at the destination, they will receive the final judgment: either to enter an eternal paradise or go to the hell forever. But in neither case will the dead come back to the world. However, for Chinese, life is a cyclic process²⁸: death is not the final ending, but instead a new beginning (Figure 2). For Chinese, paradise is a place for the Taoist immortals to live and few people could become the Taoist immortal living in the paradise. Most Chinese dead are expected to return to the world by reincarnation and restart their life journey. The ancient Chinese believed that a kind-hearted person would have a good fortune and live happily in the hereafter life, and an evil person would expiate his/her crimes by living in bitterness. Therefore the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor is not universal but rather culturally specific to a great extent.

Obviously, the above Lakoffian procedure is a typical Chomskyan one in its top-down strategy and quest for universals. However, there are two evident facts that propel me to question this methodology. The first fact is that Chomskyan achievements in linguistic studies have little to do with cultural semantic analysis and little contribution to the exploration of the cultural influences on human languages. The second fact is that although Lakoffians have severely criticized the Chomskyan scholars for negligence of experiential basis in linguistic analysis and paid more attention to the physiological basis of metaphorical formation, they still seem to have left a big gap in the cultural account of metaphors, especially in the exploration of cultural influences on the metaphorical extensions in the semantic categories of lexis in different languages. Sweetser (1990) in her study of perception

²⁸ By the way, there has been a lot of serious misunderstandings about the traditional Chinese conception of time as we can see in the quotations of Goatly (2007: 263-265). The biggest problem is that they had mistaken the ancient Chinese conception of life and fortune for that of time.

verbs in English, and Geeraerts & Grondelaers (1995) in their study of emotion metaphors in English, seem to have tried to fill up the gap, but to a limited extent.

Figure 2: Chinese Cyclic Conception of Life

1.3.3.2.4 Disdain of Corpus-based Lexical Evidence

Surely the most important weakness of the Lakoffian School is their disdain of corpus-based lexical evidence. This is an extremely important reason for starting my corpus-based lexical approach to CMT. For example, Goatly (2007) demonstrates with lexical data from Metalude that lexically ANGER IS HOT LIQUID IN A CONTAINER is not an important theme in English. He argues that:

It is now a platitude to say that the most important metaphor theme for anger in English is ANGER IS HOT LIQUID IN A CONTAINER. This may be something of a distortion of the lexical evidence. For a start, the previous examples in which anger is a boiling liquid have nothing particular to say about containers, though, of course, liquids are usually encountered in vessels. Secondly, several of the lexical items which might be thought to belong to that theme can actually be used for negative emotions in general such as stress rather than just anger: **let off steam** ‘get rid of strong feelings by behaving noisily’ (*singing opera is a way for me to let off steam*), **safety-valve** is ‘a means to release negative emotions’ (*doing exercise is a good safety valve for stress*) and **pressure cooker** ‘an emotionally stressful situation’ (*playing in the pressure cooker of the European Cup finals is a mental challenge*). The one exception, which does seem to

apply almost uniquely to anger, is **boil over** ‘have such strong uncontrollable feelings that you have to express them’ (*many people are boiling over with rage at the support the US gives to Israel*).

Thirdly, most of the lexis which is cited to support this platitude is better covered by the more prolific metaphor theme EMOTION IS EXPLOSION: **explosion** ‘outburst of strong feeling’ (*the teacher’s explosion of anger shocked the pupils*), **explode** ‘show sudden and strong emotion’ (*I didn’t want to explode with anger, so I left the room*), **explosive** ‘tending to express strong and sudden anger’ (*my son has an explosive temper*), **blow up** ‘lose your temper’ (*I blew up when I discovered how two-faced she’d been*), **blow a gasket** and **flip your lid** ‘lose your temper or control’ (*when I told him I was resigning he blew a gasket*), **blow your stack / top** ‘become extremely angry’ (*he blew his stack when she threatened to walk out on him*), **erupt** ‘become angry and violent’ (*the Asian districts of the city erupted*), **fireworks** ‘strong expression of anger’ (*if my parents know I was home late there will be fireworks*), **outburst** ‘expression of anger’ (*my outburst yesterday was unforgivable*). Part of the schema is what leads up to the explosion, which is equivalent to the cause of the anger, what might **spark it off** ‘cause an emotional reaction’ (*the speech sparked off an angry protest*), or the fact that such an explosion is quick with people who have a **short fuse** ‘tendency to get angry easily’ (*he has a very short fuse – try not to annoy him*), and the need to ‘calm a dangerous or emotional situation’ (to **defuse** it (*the TV broadcast was an attempt to defuse the situation*)). In none of these lexical items is there any suggestion of a heated liquid, but rather a sudden violent outwards movement, implying, if, anything, an expanding or hot gas.

Fourthly, in the equally prolific metaphor theme EMOTIONAL EXPRESSION IS OUTFLOW there is seldom any mention of heat, and the emotions concerned are of many kinds, not always or just including anger. Emotion in this theme is certainly a liquid, sometimes understood to be in a container as any schema for liquids would predict, but not hot: **ooze** ‘display an emotion or attitude very strongly’ (*the second candidate oozed confidence throughout the interview*), **gushing** ‘expressing feelings insincerely’ (*she’s a very gushing person*), **gush** ‘empty expression of feeling’ (*his*

performance was a load of gush), **outpouring** ‘uncontrollable expression of feeling’ (*I was amazed by his outpourings of adoration*), **pour out** ‘express strongly and uncontrollably’ (*she poured out her feelings of resentment*), **effusion** ‘uncontrolled expression of strong emotion’ (*I hate his effusions of self-pity*), **outlet** ‘way in which emotion can be expressed’ (*poetry provided an outlet for her emotions*), **overflow** ‘express strong feelings’ (*suddenly her anger overflowed*), **well** ‘increase to the point where they have to be expressed’ (*feelings of deep sorrow welled up inside me*), **brim over** ‘express a feeling without restraint’ (*he was brimming over with enthusiasm*), **exude** ‘display an emotion or attitude’ (*Tiger Woods exudes confidence at every hole*), **express** ‘communicate an emotion’ (*this poem expresses Plath’s despair as well as any other*). Refusal to express an emotion involves exerting pressure to stop it flowing out, but this is not normally a pressure caused by heat: **bottle up** ‘refuse to talk about or express emotions’ (*it’s bad for your mental health to bottle up your emotions for too long*), **choke back** ‘prevent the expression of emotion’ (*I choked back my anger and tried to remain calm, despite the provocation*). (Goatly, 2007: 245-246)

As shown in this quotation, the once well-accepted assumption that the most important metaphor theme for anger in English is ANGER IS HOT LIQUID IN A CONTAINER is now proved to be false by the massive lexical evidence from Metalude. Obviously it would contribute to the development of CMT and show the significance of lexical corpus to the cognitive linguistics which fails to overcome its shortcoming because of its disdain of seeking for corpus-based support of lexical evidence. CMT indeed may profit from the corpus linguistics in different aspects: showing the basic rules of language and its development, testing the linguistic hypotheses, and providing data to support some linguistic theories. But this profit depends to a great extent on the academic attitude and methodology of researchers. For example, in recent years, corpus is now emphasized in the Chinese scholars’ metaphorical studies. Up to now they have in fact found a large sum of data (including lexical evidence) to support the universality of the Lakoffian CMT. One of the truths of CMT that has been proved to be applicable to Chinese is the platitude

that has been convincingly shown to be inapplicable to a large extent to English, i.e. the assumption that the most important metaphor theme for anger in English is ANGER IS HOT LIQUID IN A CONTAINER. Yu (1998) and Bao (2003) both set up a corpus of about a dozen Chinese lexical items to prove this assumption, which contradicts my corpus-based observations of Chinese LEMS as is shown in Chapter 3. Yu's corpus-based observations are also found to be false, which, as is shown in Chapter 4, results from his incorrect understanding of Chinese LEMS. Besides, my present corpus-based lexical approach to emotion metaphors in English and Chinese has proved that CMT is not very powerful for interpreting the diachronic developments of LEMS in Chinese, neither can it include all the synchronic aspects of LEMS in Chinese.

In my opinion, the basic reason that has caused the contrastive differences between the results of my present corpus-based lexical approach to emotion metaphors and those of Yu (1998) and Bao (2003) may be due to the following two points:

- (a) my corpus-based critical standpoint toward CMT vs. the biased and prejudged intention of Yu and Bao to find data to support CMT;
- (b) my persistent bottom-up exploration vs their top-down interpretations at times.

I believe that a critical mind and a bottom-up methodology are inevitable for making new findings in the corpus-based explorations of metaphors. This belief will be incorporated in the whole process of this project.

It must be said that Lakoff himself seems to have noticed this weakness. He claimed that his theory of conceptual metaphor needs to be supported by a large sum of linguistic evidence which should be included in a systematic database. So he and his colleagues at Berkeley set up a database of conceptual metaphor, which is entitled "*the Master List of Metaphors at Berkeley*" (Master List).

The Master List invites speakers of English to submit examples of metaphors that,

according to their intuitions, they would use, and to group these together under conceptual metaphor categories, and is less concerned whether these metaphors have become conventionalized and lexicalized.²⁹

But the problem is that a single metaphorical usage of a word in a peculiar context would have no impact on the semantic changes of the lexis, if this usage would not appear again. Thus, how can we analyze the cultural influences or physiological basis in metaphorical formation based on those possible unconventionalized metaphors from the *Master List*? Andrew Goatly noted these problems and felt it necessary to set up a new database of metaphors. He began his database in 1992 and has by now completed a new database called “Metalude”. Metalude distinguishes itself from the Master List in the following characteristics:

- (a) Metalude is different from the Master List because it takes a lexicographical rather than a purely cognitive and intuitive approach;
- (b) Metalude has stricter lexicographical criteria for the lexis it includes and the conceptual metaphors/root analogies it hypothesizes. For inclusion lexis has to be attested with that particular metaphorical meaning in a dictionary of contemporary English. For a root analogy to be posited, the total number of lexical items realizing the root analogy should be at least six, and the number of tokens of these lexical items occurring in the *Cobuild Bank of English/Words Online* corpus should be at least 200. (ibid.)

No doubt, Metalude is more important than the Master List for the cultural and lexical approaches to metaphors in English, and contributes a lot to bridge the gap between theory and data.

1.3.3.3 The Studies of Emotion Metaphors in Chinese

²⁹ See the introduction to METALUDE (http://www.ln.edu.hk/le/cwd03/lnproject_chi/home.html).

In ancient Chinese, metaphors were usually regarded as a kind of *Biyu* (which includes metaphor, simile, and trope). The study of *Biyu* can be traced back to the Pre-Qin Period, when Confucius talked about the importance of *Biyu* in making effective communication through which to practice benevolence.

Shijing (also known as *The Book of Songs*), is the earliest collection of the most ancient Chinese poetic works. It was printed in the Pre-Qin Period, but now it is called “the most resplendent pearl” in the treasure of Chinese literature. It has preserved the most authentic data of the Chinese language from antiquity. What amazed the Chinese linguists most is the abundance of metaphorical/metonymic language and its refined application, which has established its importance as the most valuable heritage of ancient Chinese culture and language.

The study of metaphors, though rooted in a resourceful culture, is very underdeveloped, which is in a sharp contrast with the rapid developments in the West. But the progress is evident. The first book on metaphor, written by Su Dingfang, was published by Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press in 2000. It is entitled *Studies in Metaphor*. The second book, *A Cognitive Approach to Spatial Metaphors in English and Chinese*, was written by Lan Chun and published by Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press in 2003. The third book is entitled *Metaphor and Cognition*. It is written by Hu Zhuangling and published by Beijing University Press in 2004. Nevertheless, all of them are the introductions of western scholars’ metaphorical theories or are aimed at verifying the universality of CMT with Chinese data, and for some unknown reasons, without any section devoted to Kövecses’ studies on emotion metaphor. By now only a few books on Chinese metaphors have been found, including Yu Ning (1998) which has devoted a whole chapter to emotion metaphors in Chinese.

Besides, the linguistic journals of China also published a number of papers which are brief comparisons of emotional expressions in English and Chinese. Most of these papers are extremely short, making no thorough exposition of the topic, and being published in those journals of obscure institutes. But from them, we can easily see a big gap in Chinese emotion metaphor studies that calls for a much more

detailed and deeper contrastive study based on a corresponding lexical corpus of certain scale, which should be in comparison with the rich cultural resources in English and Chinese.

Five publications in this field are noteworthy. The first two are the papers published in the prestigious academic journals. The first paper “‘愤怒’的概念隐喻” (The conceptual metaphor of anger) (Lin, 1998:9-13) tries to examine CMT with some Chinese evidence; The second one “汉英情感概念形成和表达的对比研究” (Conceptualizations and expressions of emotions in Chinese and English) (Zhang, 2000:27-32) explores the similarities and differences of English and Chinese in conceptualizing and expressing the concepts of emotion. It discovers that “English and Chinese employ many common source domains due to certain shared physiological and psychological bases. The differences lie in the fact that Chinese and English elaborate on different aspects of metaphors and metonymies which not only reflect but also constitute their culture” (Zhang, 2000:27). The third one is the book authored by Yu Ning (1998). The fourth one is the doctoral dissertation of King (1989). Yu (1998) and King (1989) seem to be the great steps forward in the studies of Chinese emotion metaphors. The former introduces the theory of *yin-yang* and the five elements to account for the cultural motivations in the Chinese LEMS. The latter presents a systematic application of CMT in the studies of the conceptual structures of emotion in Chinese. The fifth publication is the doctoral dissertation of Bao Zhikun (2003) in which he compares the emotion metaphors of Chinese with those of English.

Following Yu (1998), Bao (2003) has extended his exploration to more emotion concepts. He tried to base his exploration on a solid database of sentential emotion metaphors in English and Chinese by collecting Chinese data from *Hong Lou Meng* (*A Dream of Red Mansions*), one of the most famous literary works in the Qing dynasty (AD 1644~1912) which is written in pre-modern Chinese and two other modern Chinese dictionaries, and English data from Lakoff & Kövecses (1987b), Kövecses (1990; 1991; 2000a), and various English dictionaries. This might be regarded as the first attempt to carry out a corpus-based approach to sentential

emotion metaphors in English and Chinese, and it also attempted to interpret the synchronic similarities and differences of emotion metaphors in English and Chinese by exploring, in terms of the doctrine of the four humors, and that of *yin-yang* and the five elements, their cultural influences through etymological tracing to the original senses of relevant lexical items in these sentential emotion metaphors. This is a new development of Yu (1998) and contributes to our understanding of emotion metaphors to some degree. But just like the most Chinese metaphor studies carried out by Chinese scholars, it has one big failing, i.e. it adopts CMT unquestioningly that it takes some of the basic hypotheses of the latter as established and assumes that they are applicable to Chinese as well. Its other weaknesses include:

(a) Little importance has been attached to the exploration of cultural influences on the semantic structures of emotion terms or sentential emotion metaphors from the texts and historical backgrounds in which their original senses were formed or the metaphor-propelled semantic changes happened to them;

(b) Though claiming to be a corpus-based study, it does not show the corpus in any part of Bao's dissertation, nor does it provide any structural information about the corpus, except its sources and several dozen sentential examples and some other lexical emotion metaphors from English and Chinese;

(c) It aims at providing cross-language data to support the universals of CMT. This slavish attitude greatly constrains its critical ability and attempt to find some possible exceptional cases for CMT. In the sixth chapter of his dissertation, Bao summarizes his two findings. The first one is about the embodiment hypothesis of CMT and the embodied metonymic basis of emotion metaphors. He found that

In both English and Chinese, emotions are largely conceptualized and expressed in metaphorical and metonymical terms. On the one hand, both English and Chinese follow the same metonymical principle: they talk about emotions by describing the physiological, psychological or behavioural responses of the emotions. The two languages share some central conceptual metaphors in the conceptualization of emotions and these metaphors can be reduced to an overarching master metaphor –

EMOTION IS FORCE, which organizes various subordinate metaphors and forms a coherent and systematic network in the conceptualization of emotions in both English and Chinese. On the other hand, there also exists, it is revealed, culture-specificity in the metaphorical and metonymical conceptualization of emotions in English and Chinese. (Bao, 2003: 5)

Thus he argued that

The universality is caused by the fact that the conceptualization of emotions is embodied, namely it has a basis in bodily experience or it is closely related to the physiological functioning of human body while the culture-specificity is accounted for by the underlying cultural models. (ibid.)

It is the physiological correlates of anger and fear (as described by the metonymies) that form the basis of, or motivate the kinds of metaphorical conceptualization (as described by the metaphors) of the two emotions (Bao, 2003: 121)

The second finding of Bao is about the relationship between metaphors and cultural models, which is instantiated by the author in his exploration of the “well-accepted” universal theme ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER.

The general BODY HEAT metaphor leads to two different versions in English and Chinese: ANGER IS A HOT FLUID in English and ANGER IS A HOT GAS in Chinese. As we have shown, this difference in choice can be attributed to the contrast in the cultural models for the conceptualization of anger between English and Chinese cultures. The theories of *Qi*, *yin-yang* and *five-xing* (part of the Chinese cultural model for the conceptualization of emotion) motivate the preference for ANGER IS A HOT GAS while the humoral theory (part of the English cultural model for the conceptualization of emotion) accounts for the choice of ANGER IS A HOT FLUID. In other words, cultural models constrain the selection of metaphors. This conforms to Quinn’s conclusion that cultural models play a major role in constituting our

understanding of the world. (Bao, 2003: 125)

This finding of Bao is basically a repetition of Yu (1998). His major development is his open support for Quinn's claim, which might be seen as a step forward from Yu (1998). For this reason I really hope that my present study might contribute to some extent to the uncritical approach of CMT which is widespread in the present China.

1.4 The Major Contents and Goals of Present Study

1.4.1 Major Contents of This Study

On the basis of a corpus-based synchronic comparison of LEMS in English and Chinese, this study applies the method of "Comparative Etymology" to interpret how and why the em-minded cultural notions interact with the embodied experiences to form the metonymic bases of the LEMS in English and Chinese.

1.4.2 Comparative Etymology and Its Roles in Cultural Turn of Semantics

The term "comparative etymology" and its theoretical framework were first suggested by Wu Tieping in the Chinese Department of Beijing Normal University in 1984. He found, through the comparative study of the semantic evolution of words indicating smell and scent in Chinese and Russian respectively, that languages belonging to different language families may overlap in terms of etymology, as a result of the fact that all human beings share, to some extent, similar modes of thinking and ways of living. In Wu Tieping's opinion, the comparative etymology put forward by him has at least two obvious facts as its grounds: one is that human beings share a lot in common in their logical thinking; the other is that they also share a lot in terms of life styles. The famous American Anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan pointed out in his *Ancient Society*: "that the experience of mankind has run in nearly uniform channels; that human necessities in similar conditions have been substantially the same; and that the operations of the mental principle have been uniform in virtue of the specific identity of the brain of all the races of mankind."

(Morgan, 2000: 8) And in Wu's opinion, these anthropologically established axioms have already included the two grounds on which to carry out comparative etymology studies (Wu Tieping: 1985:3). It seems to me that Lewis Henry Morgan had already provided anthropological evidence for the birth of the theory of comparative etymology.

Precisely speaking, comparative etymology is a new branch of science, which derived from historical comparative linguistics, absorbed some of its beneficial ingredients, while breaking many of its restrictions.

Wu Yuzhang gave a brief definition of comparative etymology based on Wu Tieping's statement, which is as follows:

Comparative Etymology can be defined tentatively, as the semantic comparison of the etymology of words from different, especially unrelated, languages, aiming at providing linguistic evidence for the study of ancient human thinking and material civilization (Wu Yuzhang, 1991: 10).

Since Wu first put forward the notion of "comparative etymology" in 1984, this branch has won concentrated attention from Chinese linguists, especially for those in the fields of Chinese etymology, for its effectiveness in illuminating the influences of cultures and human thinking on the word formation and semantic development of the Chinese lexis, and about 25 papers on this topic written by Chinese scholars have been published.

The above-mentioned ingenious studies of Sweetser (1990) and Geeraerts & Grondelaers (1995), which were also made by etymological comparison, show to a great extent that comparative etymology is a useful tool in metaphorical studies, the reason for which might be that metaphor is a complex of diachronicity and synchronicity. The former refers to the historical processes in which the metaphorical meanings were formed and evolved into polysemous words as revealed by etymological analyses. The latter refers to synchronical metaphorical relations resulting from the pragmatic usages or the semantic relations between the original

meanings and the metaphorical meanings in the polysemous words. What make things more tricky are not just the linguistic diachronicity and synchronicity of metaphors. These two aspects of metaphors are in fact culture-attributed: produced and used in cultural contexts by culture-embodied man with cultural experiences. Metaphors, whether diachronically or synchronically speaking, are cultural. Analysis of metaphors can not be separated from cultural analyses and should go beyond the pure linguistic analysis that Saussure once called for in his famous *General Linguistics*. For this reason metaphorical research should cover not only the diachronic changes and synchronic structures of metaphors but also the cultural factors underlying them. So comparative etymology, which can provide a more convincing cultural account of metaphors, might be a potential candidate for our cultural metaphorical studies.

1.4.3 The Goals of This Study

This study has two basic goals. The first goal is to portray the commonalities and distinctions of semantic changes caused by the metaphorical expressions of emotion in English and Chinese; the second goal is to illuminate by comparison the cultural motivations of emotion metaphors in English and Chinese, to trace the ancient cultural information retained in the metaphorical structures of emotion and make a comparison of them by consideration of their cultural backgrounds. Since it is based on a series of the basic assumptions of CMT, it is also expected to test and rectify them by making this cross-cultural comparative study of LEMS in English and Chinese.

1.4.4 The General Framework of the Present Study

This dissertation includes five chapters. The present chapter serves as an introduction to the relevant background, objectives, contents, methodology, and the general framework of this study.

Chapter 2 is devoted to the discussion of the relationships between metaphor and etymology which should be regarded as the basis of this study, because if there

exists no such a relation, then how could we imagine the possibility of the present study?

Chapter 3 reveals the synchronic patterns that obtain for LEMS in English and Chinese. By investigating the synchronic variations of LEMS in the two languages, findings of this study on cross-language commonalities and variations are significant for examining the key assumptions of CMT about the universals of conceptual metaphor, the metonymic basis of emotion metaphor, and the relations among mind, body and culture;

Chapter 4 is a diachronic interpretation of LEMS in English and Chinese. It will not only show the commonalities and differences in the metaphorical extension of the semantic categories of the lexis in English and Chinese but in the cultural models and physiological effects that shaped the metaphorical patterns in both languages as well. In this way, it tries to examine some of the most basic assumptions of CMT by observing the historical developments of emotion concepts in English and Chinese cultures, and etymological analysis of lexical representations of the cultural variations over the conceptualization of emotion in English and Chinese.

Chapter 5 will serve as the conclusion of this dissertation, in which I will explore the significance of this study, summarize the major findings in this study, comment on the unresolved problems that arise in this study, and propose some suggestions for further research on these problems.

1.5 Database and Methodology

1.5.1 Database

Linguistic evidence of English and Chinese in this study will be drawn from the following dictionaries and databases:

(a) For English :

Goatly, A. Metalude³⁰. Hong Kong: Lingnan University, 2005.

³⁰ <http://www.ln.edu.hk/le/cwd03/lnproject/home.html>.

Onions, C. T. 1989. *Oxford English Dictionary*. London: Oxford University Press.

Roget, Peter Mark. 1972. *Roget's Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases*.

New York : Shalom Pub. Inc. 1972.

Kövecses, Zoltán. 1990. *Emotion Concepts*. New York: Springer-Verlag.

Kövecses, Zoltán. 2000. *Metaphor and Emotion: Language, Culture, and Body in Human Feeling*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

(b) For Chinese:

Eyou Soft Company, 2003. *The Digit Book for the Thirteen Classics of Confucianism*.

(in Chinese) Beijing: Eyou Soft Company.

Li, Enjiang, et al. *The Modern Chinese Translation of Shuowen Jiezi*. (In Chinese)
Zhengzhou: Zhongyuan Peasants' Publishing House, 2000.

Li, Gefei. 1996. *Great Dictionary of Chinese Characters*. (In Chinese).

Wuhan: Hubei Lexicography Publishing House.

Li, Yunyi. 1992. *Contemporary Chinese Dictionary of Metaphors*.

Sichuan: Sichuan Dictionary Publishing House.

Wang, Li. 1982. *Etymological Dictionary of Chinese Words*. (in Chinese)

Beijing: Commercial Press.

Wang, Li. 2000. *Dictionary of Ancient Chinese Characters*. (In Chinese)

Beijing: Zhonghua Books Publishing House.

Wang, Fengyang, 1993. *Identifications of Ancient Chinese Characters*. (In Chinese)

Changchun: Jiling Culture and History Publishing House.

Xu, Shen. 2003. *Shuowen Jiezi*. (in Chinese)

Shanghai: Shanghai Educational Press.

Yuan, Hui. 2002. *Modern Chinese Dictionary of Polysemous Words*.

Taiyuan: Shu Hai Publishing House.

1.5.2 Research Methodology

This study is in fact a Dictionary/corpus-based contrastive study of emotion metaphors within the framework of cognitive linguistics. It takes the basic

assumptions of the Lakoffian School on "experiential realism", hypothesizing that there exists an intermediate level "cognition" between language and the world (Lakoff, 1987), that metaphor is essentially a mapping across conceptual domains, that metaphorical thinking is part of the cognitive processes through which the human mind conceptualizes the world, that underlying the numerous linguistic expressions of metaphor there is a huge coherent system of conceptual metaphors operating without our consciousness and organizing our thinking, and that studies of the basic conceptual metaphors of a language can reveal a lot about how the native speakers of that language come to terms with the world. (Lakoff, 1980, 1987, 1999) This study is based on the above assumptions with a purpose to test and support, and modify them by making a corpus-based cross-cultural comparative study and diachronic interpretation of LEMS in English and Chinese.

Considering that Metalude is a synchronic database and provides little knowledge of the metaphorical extensions in semantic changes, I plan to base my diachronic study of LEMS on Metalude, starting with synchronic comparative study of emotion metaphors in English and Chinese and then tracing back their metaphorical extensions by the method of comparative etymology.

Figure 3 is the revised procedure for this project: This procedure will be more ideal for the lexis-based comparative study of emotion metaphors in English and Chinese. And by using this procedure I will aim my comparison at revealing both the commonalities and variations of metaphorical expressions in English and Chinese, and on this basis exploring the culture that is hidden in the expressions.

It should be pointed out that I just made a general introduction of basic methodology and corpus in this chapter. The methodology of synchronic comparison will be explained in detail at the beginning of Chapter 3, and that of diachronic interpretation also gets further elaboration in Chapter 2 and 4.

Figure. 3: Procedures for a Corpus-Based Approach to LEMS

Chapter 2

Metaphor and Etymology

2.0 Introduction

This chapter explores one of the important theoretical bases of this dissertation, i.e., what makes the diachronic study of metaphors possible. As Trim (2003) put it, the diachronic aspect of conceptual metaphor appears to have been neglected in recent years (Trim, 2003). In fact, as far back as 1990, Sweetser already noticed the similar phenomenon, “the general study of semantic change has undergone a long period of relative neglect, largely because the phonological part of word history proved so much more immediately tractable to systematic analysis. Semantic shifts have been felt to be random, whimsical, and irregular; general rules concerning them are nearly impossible to establish” (Sweetser, 1990: 23) Sweetser ascribed it to the difficulties in establishing general rules for semantic shifts, which are in essence the difficulties of the contemporary cognitive linguistics in seeking for the universal patterns. Yet thirteen years later, in 2003 Trim still considered “one of the reasons for its neglect was that concrete findings in the past were often scanty due to the apparent haphazard nature of semantic evolution”, a fact that had been pointed out by Stern in 1969.

Then we have to ask: what caused such a long time of stagnation or unsatisfactory progress in the diachronic description of lexical meanings? Does it mean that the contemporary cognitive linguistics has not attached importance to the diachronic aspect of lexical meanings or is it impotent in describing the semantic shifts over time? The former assumption is obviously too frail to stand, since as is well known, from its very start, cognitive linguistics has recognized the diachronic change of lexical meanings over time and the important roles of metaphor and metonymy in the diachronic semantic developments. Nor can the second assumption stand. Sweetser (1990) remarked that “semantic polysemy relationships, and

semantic changes, frequently involve such metaphorical mappings” (1990: 25) and that these metaphors “are of the highest importance for synchronic and diachronic semantic analysis” (1990: 45). She further pointed out the correlations of synchronic and diachronic semantic analysis and the advantages of incorporating synchronic analysis with diachronic method in the study of lexical meanings. That is to say, conceptual theory of metaphor (CMT), which is an important part of the contemporary cognitive linguistics, provides a powerful tool for the study of diachronic semantic development over time. Thus the stagnation or unsatisfactory progress in the diachronic description of lexical meanings can only be construed as the negligence of the cognitive linguists in their study of lexical meanings.

This negligence is easily suggestive of the addiction of these linguists for the universals of language, since in lexical studies, it would be easier to establish universal patterns for the lexical meanings synchronically than diachronically. Thus contemporary cognitive linguistics, on the one hand lays stress on the relationships of metaphor and etymology, but on the other hand lacks a thorough study on the relationships. In fact, contemporary cognitive linguistics has by now produced only a few instances of the diachronic study of metaphors. The better known among them might be Sweetser (1990) and Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995). This dissertation, which was prompted by Sweetser’s advice of incorporating synchronic analysis with diachronic method in the study of lexical meanings, is aimed at filling this gap. Therefore Chapter 3 of this dissertation will be devoted to the synchronic comparison of LEMS in English and Chinese and displays the commonness and variations in the patterns of LEMS in the two languages, while Chapter 4 will be devoted to the diachronic interpretation of LEMS in English and Chinese, with an attempt to explore the influences of culture, i.e. the cognition, ideologies, mentalities, institutions, customs, beliefs or religions in the two societies, on the variations in the patterns of LEMS in the two languages.

2.1 Metaphors in Etymology

According to CMT, metaphor and metonymy are the two major devices of

semantic change in lexis which result in lexical polysemy. (cf. Kövecses, 2002: 146-147) One important universal phenomenon revealed by linguistics is that in nearly all human languages all over the world, lexical meanings are frequently extended through metaphor and metonymy. This fact testifies to one of the basic assumptions of contemporary cognitive linguistics, i.e. people all over the world have the corresponding conceptual systems of metaphor or metonymy which dominate their thinking and lead to the metaphorical extensions in the lexis of their languages. Another fact found in the cross-language generalizations about diachronic semantic change, is that meaning more frequently shifts from concrete to abstract than in the opposite direction (Sweetser, 1990; Jakel, 1995; Wu Tieping, 1984), “its original—almost always a concrete, tangible thing or action—has been transferred to something else—often quite abstract—that in some way resembles the thing originally referred to” (Claiborne, 1988: 13). This supports one of the Lakoffian hypotheses that metaphor is a cross-domain mapping from the concrete source to the more abstract target. Emerson also tells us that:

Every word which is used to express a moral or intellectual fact, if traced to its root, is found to be borrowed from material appearance. Right means straight; wrong means twisted; spirit primarily means wind; transgression, the crossing of a line; supercilious, the raising of the eyebrows. We say the heart to express emotion, the head to denote thought, and thought and emotion are words borrowed from sensible things, and now appropriated to spiritual nature. Most of the process by which this transformation is made is hidden from us in the remote time when language was formed...³¹

Emerson in the above interpretation explored the two aspects of lexical

³¹ Quoted from Barfield (1970: 26). English seems to have a more strict dichotomy of the heart and the head: the heart is the seat of feeling and emotion while the head is that of reason and thinking. In Chinese this dichotomy is more vague: 心 (xing, literal meaning: ‘heart’) is the seat not only of emotion but of the thought. Moreover, it is shown in the motivation of the character 腦 (nao, literal meaning: ‘brain’) that the ancient Chinese who made this character had already regarded the head as the seat of thinking. So in Chinese both the head and the heart are the seats of reason and thinking.

meanings: material/concrete and immaterial/abstract. The relationships between metaphor and etymology that he had interpreted can be diagrammed as (taking the case of *right* for instance):

Figure 4: Correspondence of Metaphor and Etymology

Thus the word *right* is related to the original material literal meaning by two mechanisms which, according to the studies of cognitive linguistics, have been recognized as metaphorization and metonymization (Traugott and Dasher, 2002: 27-33). Emerson correctly pointed out that many of the now hidden processes of metaphorization and metonymization that once motivated the semantic “transformation” (in his terms) have now become opaque, although the use of the word “most” may sound a little exaggerated. In case of *right*, the diversification of meanings caused by the metaphor theme RIGHT/CORRECT IS STRAIGHT happened even before it entered English. According to *OED Online* (<http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/>) and *Merriam-Webster Online* (<http://www.m-w.com/dictionary>), it came from the Latin word *rectus* which meant both ‘straight’ and ‘right’, but “the base being the root *reg-* to make or lead straight”. From the perspective of Peircean semiotics, the iconic origin³² that the word may have, lost its motivating function. And for the reason of the symbolic familiarization on the part of sign users, even the native English speakers who know very well the different meanings and usages of *right* would be rarely cognizant of the metaphor theme that is hidden in its semantic structure and once motivated its iconic origin on which its semantic structure formed and developed.

³² As for the concept of iconicity and its relations with the origins of language, cf. Goatly (1997: 78, 127, 164, and 246).

Anyway, these facts demonstrate that metaphor is an important source of lexical polysemy. It associates normally unassociated domains to create new meanings through semantic transfer or the extension of the senses of words, in which family resemblance, analogy, and other cognitive mechanisms play an important role. In fact, just as claimed by Goatly (1997), "there are two distinct metaphorical diachronic processes by which word-forms acquire polysemy (i.e. two or more related meanings)" (Goatly, 1997:31), and thereby the relations of metaphor and etymology are established too. "The first is the narrowing³³ or extending of the sense, perhaps as the concepts referred to changed or diverged." (Goatly, 1997: 31) The semantic extensions of words are more likely to be realized by metaphors, e.g. the word *brother* originally came from the old English word *brōther* (akin to Old High German *bruodor*, meaning 'a male who has the same parents as another or one parent in common with another ') but it was later extended to mean 'a man who is a member of the same group as you or shares an interest with you or has a similar way of thinking to you'³⁴ by metaphors SOCIAL GROUP IS A FAMILY, and NATION IS A FAMILY, or the metonymies FAMILY AS COMMON INTEREST OR THOUGHT.

The semantic evolutions of the word *germ* involve the process of semantic narrowing, as is shown in its following etymological description:

1644, "rudiment of a new organism in an existing one," from M.Fr. *germe*, from L. *germen* (gen. *germinis*) "sprout, bud," from PIE base **gen-* "to beget, bear" (cf. Skt. *janman* "birth, origin;" see *genus*). The original sense is preserved in *wheat germ* and *germ of an idea*; sense of "seed of a disease" first recorded 1803; that of "harmful microorganism" dates from 1871.³⁵

As a synchronic result of this diachronic narrowing, i.e. "rudiment of a new

³³ Narrowing of meaning is not perceived as a metaphorical process by Lakoff, since there is no cross-domain mapping.

³⁴ see *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* (cd-rom) and *Cambridge Advanced Learners' Dictionary* (cd-rom).

³⁵ <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?search=GERM&searchmode=none>.

organism in an existing one"→ "harmful microorganism" (the referents have been narrowed down with the hedge word *harmful* and prefix *micro-* in the definition for its new meaning), the word *germ* began to refer to a new thing, the later-found bacteria.³⁶

The second process would be the deliberate metaphorical transfer of a word from a distant semantic field, as, for example, the use of *leg* to refer to part of a table, or "birdie", "eagle" for 'one under par' and 'two under par' in golf. The result of the two processes - widening and transfer - appears the same in many instances. So we may be surprised that, diachronically, the two senses of *current*, i.e. 'flow of water' and 'movement of electrons', developed from one unitary meaning which included the two modern senses (Waldron 1967: 173). But synchronically, for users of the contemporary language system, the polysemic relation seems just as much an example of metaphorical transfer as *leg* or *eagle*. (Goatly, 1997: 31)

What is important for these semantic changes is that most of the semantic changes are generated and powered by metaphors. Moreover,

the important point is that the metaphorical process has left its mark on the vocabulary of the language, by dint of the fact that various metaphorical extensions and transfers have been lexicalized, that is to say have found their way into the dictionary with a second and separate conventional meaning. (Goatly, 1997: 31)

That is to say, word-forms, as the symbolic constructions of concept, are built upon the metaphorical relations which often result in the creation of new senses in the word-forms and set up the analogical relationships between their original (literal/metaphorical) and metaphorically derived senses. Hence metaphor is the cognitive mechanism that motivates the semantic derivations in the words or in their

³⁶ The point Goatly (1997: 31) was trying to make with the example of *germ* is that from a synchronic perspective what appears to be metaphorical transfer may in fact have been, from a diachronic perspective narrowing or widening.

etymologies. But on the other hand, as a consequence of the semantic changes, the original unitary and concrete meanings in a lexical item are split by metaphors and metonymies into two or more meanings, which form the polysemous mixture of abstract and concrete meanings. The polyvalence of words which has been discussed by Ullmann (1962a: 158-159) is in fact a direct consequence of this diachronic semantic split by the multivalent metaphors. For example, Ullmann took for instance the noun *board* which split from its original sense ‘a thin plank’ into new senses:

- a. ‘a tablet’;
- b. ‘a table’;
- c. ‘food served at the table’;
- d. ‘persons sitting at the council-table’;

and so on, respectively in the following ways:

- a. metonymy: OBJECT AS MATERIAL CONSTITUTING THE OBJECT ;
- b. metonymy: OBJECT AS MATERIAL CONSTITUTING THE OBJECT;
- c. metaphor: FOOD IS PLANK;
- d. metaphor: PERSON IS PLANK.

Diachronically these metaphors and metonymies brought about the extensions of *board* into new semantic fields, but synchronically, as a result of the diachronic extension, the *board* is split into ‘tablet’ and ‘table’. Ullmann thus interpreted metaphor as a fruitful source of polysemy:

A word can be given one or more figurative senses without losing its original meaning: old and new will live on side by side as long as there is no possibility of confusion between them. In this way a number of metaphors may, as a pioneer of modern semantics put it, ‘radiate’ from the central sense. (Ullmann, 1962a: 162)

Three centuries ago, the Italian scholar Giambattista Vico (1668-1744) published his *La Scienza Nuova* in which he had discovered some of the metaphorical patterns in the primitive languages and tried to reconstruct, based on

the etymological evidence of metaphor, a model of primitive mind, i.e. “a mind that did its work on the basis of bodily experience, not analysis and deduction”, which was operated upon the ‘poetic wisdom’ of metaphorical character (cf. Danesi, 1993:52). For Vico, the etymology of words reflects human origins. He believed that history of words, “like the history of myths, offers valuable evidence of changing values and modes of thought” (Burke, 1985: 84). “We find that the principle of these origins both of languages and of letters lies in the fact that the first gentile peoples, by a demonstrated necessity of nature, were poets who spoke in poetic characters.” (Bergin and Fisch, 1984: 21-22). And these poetic languages are metaphorical in nature. Thus “in general metaphor makes up the great body of the language among all nations” (Bergin and Fisch, 1984: 147). Therefore,

from the perspective of current semantic theory, Vico’s insight that metaphor is the progenitor of conceptual meaning is even more significant. The recent book by Eve Sweetser (1990), *From Etymology to Pragmatics*, is based on this cardinal Vichian principle, even though Sweetser seems to be unaware of it. Like Vico, she argues cogently that the conceptual system that emerges from human experience is grounded in metaphor, and that etymology provides the access route to this system. (Danesi, 1993:64).

In the long-term application, the words and their meanings as the iconic signs of referents³⁷ have gone through a process of symbolic familiarization, as a result of which at least two advantages have been produced,

First, a certain degree of similarity between the sign and its referent is no longer required; even bad bird imitators are able to use the sign for communication. Second, a symbol icon becomes less context-bound; a demotivated cooing sound uttered in any place at any time can be associated with its referent (pigeons) through the linguistic

³⁷ As Danesi (2004:58) put it, “language is the primary semiotics means we have for encoding ideas and for reinforcing, spreading, and preserving them. As Vico characterized it, language is the memoria of a culture, the repository of its meaning”. Considering that in nearly all the primitive languages of human beings, the primary semiotic systems were constructed chiefly by observing the similarities between the sign and its referents. This iconicity has left a trace in the words and their meanings.

knowledge of the sign users. (Ding, 2005: 276)

That is to say, the iconic motivations that once triggered the creation of word-forms or their new meanings have been fading out gradually as if they are covered with continually thickened dust, yet they are there, just ignored by the ordinary speakers in their daily speech.

Ignorance about the ground links of metaphor and metonymy is not only unproblematic for people in their daily communication but benefits their communication as well. However, in academic studies this ignorance has brought some serious problems, as Ding put it, “symbolization of icons as an inevitable stage in the process of sign evolution is often neglected in our discussion of the relationship between language and culture” (Ding, 2005: 276). This ignorance even affects our judgment of the nature of metaphors in language, because the metaphoricity of words relies to a great degree on the ancient people’s ideas about the new referents. For example, Vico found that the primitive language was poetic and thus metaphorical. It has been hypothesized that the understanding of body was prior to that of the outside world. Primitive people tended to refer to the outside world with the words denoting the different parts of their own body. Two hundred years ago, Giambattista Vico had noticed this anthropocentric tendency in the metaphorization of the world.

In all languages, the greater part of expressions referring to inanimate objects is taken by transfer from the human body and its parts, from human senses and human passions. Ignorant man makes himself into the yardstick of the universe. (Ullmann, 1957: 214).

This anthropocentric tendency can be attested in many languages.

But this metaphoricity of language is observed from the viewpoint of descendants, not that of the ancient people at that time, who perhaps looked at it in a different way. In other words, this is an asymmetric metaphor, “where metaphorical intentions or interpretations do not match across the speaker and the hearer” (Goatly, 1997: 136). This asymmetry in metaphors originates in fact from what I would

prefer to name as “historical subjectivity” which is a historical asymmetry, caused by the trans-time differences in the subjective mentalities, i.e. the differences between the ancient metaphor-makers’ viewpoint and that of present metaphor-users.

The most important discovery that the metaphorical asymmetry has brought about is that the metaphors are the result of the dynamic cultural processes and thus need a diachronic exploration of the cultural sediments that ground the metaphors. The following interpretation of Goatly (2007) is obviously about the historical subjectivity of the asymmetric metaphors:

An interesting example is with the vocabulary of the four humors. “When we describe somebody as having hot blood, or a cold heart, or a dry wit we realise that we are talking metaphorically, whereas in the past we would have believed ourselves to have been talking about physical qualities” (Pope 1985: 179). The word *germ* which originally meant ‘seed’ (as still detectable in the compound *wheat germ*, the embryo within the seed), was once used quite literally when referring to disease – it was believed that disease was actually caused by seeds. What happened was that the seed theory of disease died out, and the meaning of *germ* also narrowed to mean microbe, so that we only have left the originally literal, then metaphorical, and now new literal meaning. (Goatly, 2007: 119)

This interpretation applies to the LEMS of *yin-yang* and the five elements in Chinese as well. But Goatly’s concerns on the asymmetric metaphors seem to focus more on the synchronic aspect of the asymmetric metaphors, whose details I would not go into here.

In a word, the above discussion has demonstrated the existence of metaphor in etymology and the important interdependence that metaphor and etymology hold for each other. Here is where the importance of a diachronic study of metaphor lies. Since the common form of metaphorical thinking is operative in both the contents of myth and language, “we have to pursue the ways of myth and language not in their progress, but in regress—back to the point from which those two divergent lines emanate” with “the nature and meaning of metaphor” as what we must start with

(Cassirer, 1946: 84).

So far as lexicalized metaphor is concerned, the extension and transfer of meaning, coinage of new words, and thereby cognate words often come from or are interpreted retrospectively as of metaphorical thinking. And the words produced by the metaphorical thinking in one language are usually cognate. By now the cognitive linguists and etymologists have found many metaphorical patterns in the etymological structures of cognate words in both English and Chinese (Ren, 1992; Wu, 1984. Trim, 2003; Traugott & Dasher, 2002). The following sections will shift to the discussion of the practical instances of metaphor in the etymology of English and Chinese words (characters).

2.1.1 Metaphors in Chinese Etymology

Unlike alphabetical letters in English, Chinese characters are characterized by their ideographs. This fact means that Chinese characters are iconic to some extent. These pictographic features of Chinese characters as the vestige of their ancestors provide some convenience for the studies of the metaphors in their etymologies, because as observed by Derrida, the earliest writing would be pictographic and “like the first word, the first pictogram is therefore an image, both in the sense of imitative representation and of metaphorical displacement.” (Derrida, 1998: 282)

One obvious fact about the Chinese characters is that they are more complex than the English words, involving the sounds, forms, and meanings of the characters, which can be independent meaning units by themselves while at the same time many of them can be compounded with other characters or radicals to form new characters. The latter includes the associative (会意) and picto-phonetic characters in the six major types of Chinese characters in Xu Shen’s classification system of Chinese characters presented in his *Shuowen Jiezi*. According to *Shuowen Jiezi*, all Chinese characters are classified into six categories: 象形(pictographic), 指事(indicative), 会意(associative), 形声(picto-phonetic), 转注(annotative), and 假借(borrowing). All these six categories are given a detailed characterization in Ding (2005: 277-281).

In fact, the Chinese characters are so complex that there is not any well-accepted view on their attributes of Chinese characters. For the same reason, in the history of Chinese character studies, there have been many classification systems which tried to provide a powerful tool for the characterizations of Chinese characters, yet by now no one has been found to be perfect and universally accepted. Ding (2005) reviewed some disputes over the attribute of Chinese characters and compared some of the relatively popular classification systems of Chinese characters from the perspective of semiotics. As a result, he found that from the Peircean perspective, the classification system put forward by Qiu Xi-gui “seems to make the most sense, although the relationship between his different categories still requires some clarification and minor adjustment”(Ding, 2005: 281). Qiu proposed classifying all Chinese characters into three categories: ideographic characters, picto-phonetic characters, and loan characters. By a semiotic analysis of Qiu’s triplicate categorization, Ding expounded the rationality of Qiu’s division. What is more noteworthy is that Ding proposed a binary categorization based on his semiotic observation of Qiu’s triplicate system.

We are thus left with only two categories of Chinese characters, viz. simple icons and compound icons. The former is not analyzable into smaller components while the latter consist of a pair of meta-icons which, through their similarities to two individual icons, signal a related semantic meaning and phonetic pronunciation respectively.” (Ding, 2005: 285)

This binary categorization means much to the studies of Chinese characters.

Ding (2005) pointed out correctly that although “Chinese writing is as symbolic as its phonetic counterparts in the West. This does not mean that the former iconicity of the sign is no longer important as an aspect of Chinese writing. On the contrary, it has always been part and parcel of the traditional discipline of Chinese etymology.”(Ding, 2005: 277) This argument is in fact composed of two sub-themes:

- (1) Since “former iconicity of the sign” is the iconic origin of metaphor that once motivated the semantic changes in a character

or the creation of the character, the first sub-theme that this argument presupposes is that metaphor exists in the etymology of the characters;

- (2) The second sub-theme that it presupposes is that the study of the metaphors in the etymology is of great importance. Although “Chinese writing is as symbolic as any of its phonetic counterparts”, it can be “desymbolized” and “reiconified” (Ding, 2005: 277)³⁸. This reiconification is to reveal the metaphorical relationships hidden in the signs, which have been historically formed and have made the words to be themselves, i.e. to explore the iconic origins of metaphor in the language and hereby expose the diachronic factors underlying the synchronic differences and commonness in the symbolic structures.

We can see from the above discussion that understanding the metaphorical interrelations in the semantic categories of Chinese characters and the words they compose would be of great significance to pursuing the origins of polysemous Chinese characters/words and the exploration of their historical meaning evolution, and thus further improve people's understanding of Chinese culture and Chinese people's cognitive evolution over centuries. And this is what I will try to explore in Chapter 4.

2.1.1.1 Metaphor and Metonymy in the Motivation of Character Formation in Ancient Chinese

The categorization of Ding (2005) is based on the semiotic attributes of Chinese characters rather than their attributes as the characters of languages. In this way, it provides a well-defined categorization that transcends the confusing

³⁸ They can also be called “dying (burying)” and “revitalization”, although awareness of the original vehicle does not necessarily mean awareness of the original grounds.

kaleidoscope in the concrete application of Chinese characters. In other words, its higher abstractness makes it capable of generalizing the patterns underlying the concrete phenomena of characters. This makes it suitable for the generalization of linguistic phenomena. But on the other hand, since this categorization itself is a symbolized definition, it needs to be desymbolized before it is applied to the specification of the individual characters in a concrete context, e.g. the fact that both the simple and compound icons may be phonetic, semantic, or graphical, means that a specification is needed before any desymbolization to make clear which linguistic level that the icon is applied to, and this naturally increases the complexity of the operation. Therefore, in the following analysis of some practical instances of Chinese characters, for the convenience of discussion, I would continue to use Xu Shen's categorization which is of "unparalleled historical significance" but may "contain many inconsistencies or even illogicalities" (Ding, 2005: 280). As put by Ding (2005), among the six categories of Chinese characters, the last two categories are not related to the structural features of Chinese characters, but are about the relationships among the characters. Therefore, in Xu's categorization, there are only four categories of Chinese characters, or four ways of character formation.

What is important to this study is that we can find the iconic origin of metaphor in the formation of all these four characters.

- (1) The first category is the pictographic characters which use the simplified graphic forms to represent the objects they stand for. The Chinese character 建 in the oracle bone inscriptions³⁹ is just like a simplified drawing in which a boatman is standing in a boat with a punt pole in his hands. According to the *Shuowen Jiezi* by Xu Shen (c. 58-120 A. D.) in the Han Dynasty, the original meaning of 建 is 'formulating the law of imperial court'. Thus we can see that in the form of the Chinese character 建, boat

³⁹ the inscriptions on bones or tortoise shells of the Shang Dynasty (16th-11th century B. C.), from which the current Chinese characters have developed. They are the earliest characters that have ever been discovered. Most of them are pictographic to a great extent. They are usually the simple images of the ordinary objects in the ancient Chinese societies.

was metaphorically used to refer to the imperial court, a semantic transfer which realized the metaphor ORGANIZATION IS BOAT while at the same time initializes the dying process of the earliest graphic meaning ‘boat’ in the semantic structure of the character 建,

- (2) The second category is the indicative characters “whose referents are not concrete objects that look very similar to their corresponding signs but abstract relations hinted thereat” (Ding, 2005: 278). For instance, the Chinese characters 上(up, above, over, on) and 下(down, below) were written as two strokes, one long and one short. When the short one is above the long, the form denotes the concept of *up, above, over, on*, but when the long is above the short, it denotes the concept of *down, below*. Thus the meaning of 上 and 下 are expressed in the metaphors UP IS SHORT and DOWN IS LONG.
- (3) The third category is the associative characters which combine two or more meaning components to express a new sense. The associative character 休 ‘repose, sleep on bed’ in the oracle bone inscriptions looks like a man standing under a tree. It acquires and extends its meanings by the metonymic chain: a man under the tree = a good repose= comfortable rest=sleep on bed.
- (4) The fourth category, i.e. the picto-phonetic characters, are composed of “at least one semantic element and one phonetic element, the former being a rough indicator of meaning and the latter being an approximation of pronunciation”(Ding, 2005: 279). For instance, the picto-phonetic character 坟 (grave) is made up of semantic symbol 土 (soil) and the phonetic symbol 文. It is noteworthy that the semantic symbol 土 only suggests the name of a superordinate category that the object 坟 belongs to, but does not directly refer to the sense of the character. The fact that character 坟 took the meaning ‘grave’ in its formation shows that the ancestors of Chinese people found out the indexical contiguity of grave and pile of soil,

and utilized this contiguity as a metonymic motivation in the coinage of the character which got its meaning in the following associative chain:

‘soil’ → (pile of soil) → ‘grave’.

2.1.1.2 Metaphor in the Word Formation of Chinese

Chinese characters, which are the written forms of the Chinese language, are not consistent in the ways of recording language in ancient times and modern times. In ancient Chinese, one Chinese character corresponds to one word, but in modern Chinese, it only corresponds to one morpheme. This results from the disyllabic tendency which began in the ancient Chinese in the Pre-Qin Dynasty before which monosyllabic words prevailed in Chinese. As a result of this disyllabic lexical change in Chinese, Chinese characters began to represent morphemes in most cases. And frequently the formations of the disyllabic words were also greatly affected by the metaphorical relation that the ancient Chinese peoples recognized between the things that the morphemes stand for. For example, in ancient Chinese,

(1) The disyllabic word 方心 (sense of righteousness and justice), composed of the morpheme 方 (square) and the morpheme 心 (heart), realized its meaning in two metaphors.

RIGHTEOUSNESS/JUSTICE IS SQUARE;

SENSATION IS HEART.

(2) 云海 (sea of clouds, stretch of clouds), composed of the morpheme 云 (cloud) and the morpheme 海 (sea), realized its meaning in the following metaphor

INFINITY IS SEA.

2.1.1.3 Metaphor in the Semantic Evolution of Chinese Characters/Words

In ancient Chinese, the frequent metaphorical usages of words tended to provoke the changes in the semantic category of the word. For example, the character 穷 was a pictographic character in ancient Chinese with its inscription depicting a man shut in a cave, therefore it originally meant ‘spatial limit’, then came to mean the different senses by the following chains of metaphorical usages (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Metaphors in the Semantic Extension of 穷

The first semantic change narrowed down the meaning of 穷 ('spatial limit' → 'the end of a road') by the realization of the basic Chinese metaphor LENGTH IS SPACE. For the ancient Chinese, a person standing at the end of a road is hopeless, 'having no way out of difficulty'. This mentality strongly influenced the motivations of ancient Chinese in coining the Chinese characters. So in Chinese a person standing at the end of a road is usually imagined as a hopeless prisoner which is symbolized by the character 囚 (qiu). In the oracle bone inscriptions, 囚 looks like a person kept in a cage (a limited space). Its original sense is 'imprison somebody', but it was later extended to mean that a person was mired in difficulties and looked hopeless (i.e. at the end of a road). Obviously, the traditional Chinese metaphor LENGTH IS SPACE realizes the narrowing of the character 穷 by taking the source of one-dimensional space (length) as a metonymy for the three-dimensional space (a cage or a prison cell), representing the traditional Chinese metonymic thinking of COMPLEX AS SIMPLE.

The second semantic change of 穷 ('the end of a road' → 'exhaust, use up') realizes the metonymy ROAD AS TIME/MONEY/ENERGY which is based on the embodied experience: the path to the end of a road is always assumed to be long (at least for the ancient Chinese), so people reaching the end of road must have taken a long journey and been exhausted. Thus at the end of a road, people would be

exhausted in physical energy, money, and time. Therefore this metaphor that grounds the second semantic change of the character 穷 is itself based on the embodied metonymy:

THE PERSONAL STATUS AT THE LOCATION AS LOCATION.

The third semantic change realizes a derivative metaphor of the TIME/MONEY/ENERGY IS ROAD metaphor. It regards the valuable resources (time, money, and physical energy) as the necessary means for doing things.

It is noteworthy that all the above three metaphors that ground the semantic changes of the character 穷 are transfer metaphors, because they all bring about transfers to the semantic category of the character 穷: the first metaphor transfers its original three-dimensional sense to mean the one-dimensional referent; the second one transfers its sense from the concrete road to the valuable resources (time, money, and physical energy); the third one transfers its meaning from the resources to the means of doing things.

2.1.2 Metaphor in English Etymology

2.1.2.1 Metaphor in the Etymology of English Lexis

Eve Sweetser (1990) analyzed the role of the metaphor CONTROL IS VISUAL MONITORING in the lexical development of Indo-European languages.

The basis for this metaphor is probably the fact that guarding or keeping control often involves visual monitoring of the controlled entity; and the limited domain of physical vision is further analogous to the domain of personal influence or control. (Sweetser, 1990: 32-33)

Therefore the root **weg-* which means ‘be strong, be lively’ developed the English words *watch* and *wake*, and via French and Latin, it produced surveillance and vigil. But these lexicalized metaphors are at the same time elaborating another metaphor CONTROL IS STRENGTH. According to Eve Sweetser, one of the origins of perception verbs, such as *see*, *hear*, and *feel*, etc. is the nouns that denote the perception organ of human beings, for instance, the verb *to eye* came from the noun

eye, the latin word *audire* from the prefix *aus-* [ear]. Both are realized by the metaphor PERCEPTION IS BODY-PART which is based on the metonymy THE FUNCTION OF BODY PART AS BODY-PART (CAUSE AS EFFECT). So it is obvious that even if the semantic changes were brought about metonymically, the results might be synchronically perceived as metaphorical. Therefore, semantic shifts provoked by metaphor or metonymy are diachronic processes, but polysemous phenomena resulting from semantic shift are synchronic, or can be regarded as a result of the historical process of semantic changes.

Eve Sweetser (1990) seemed to suggest a new insight of semantic structural analysis of multiple cognitive domains, which has integrated the Lakoffian synchronic analysis with the diachronic analysis of semantic evolution. As she put it,

The vocabulary of physical perception thus shows systematic metaphorical connections with the vocabulary of internal self and internal sensations. These connections with the vocabulary are not random correspondences, but highly motivated links between parallel or analogous areas of physical and internal sensation. Nor are the correspondences isolated; ...these are parts of a larger system of the kind which they would refer to as a conceptual metaphor. (Sweetser, 1990: 45)

That is to say, these semantic evolutions that had happened to the above English words are not an isolated phenomenon, but are the lexical instantiations of the system of conceptual metaphor, or in other words, it is the conceptual metonymy in the original iconicity of these English words that had motivated the semantic shifts in them.

2.1.2.2 Metaphor as the Motivation for Word Formation in English

Goatly (1997: 106) reduced the strong relationships between word formation and metaphor into two points:

- a) word-formation “involves or prepares the way for metaphorical extensions and transfers of meaning”;
- b) any changes of word forms, “brought about or accompanied

by affixation, compounding or phrasalization will further disguise or bury the metaphor”;

This conclusion is generalized from observing an abundant collection of English lexical instances whose formations involve metaphorical extensions or transfers of meaning. Although it is easily observable that word-formations of English is different to a large extent in their ways from that of Chinese, it has to be admitted that metaphorical extension is the major device of word-formation in both languages.

Conversions		Suffixed adjectives	Compounds	Verb+ preposition/ Adverb	(Classical) burying of adjectives from species
Noun to verb	Noun to adjective/ premodifer				
badger, dog, cow, crow(=boast), fox, hog, wolf (food, down), fleece (victim=sheep)	cub (reporter), chicken, cuckoo, wildcat (strike), husky,	beefy, catty, horsey, kittenish, mousy, mulish, shrewish	catcall, copycat, crowsfeet, frogman, harelip, harebrained, horseplay, monkey-business, night owl, nitwit, outfox, pigheaded, pugnose, pussyfoot, rat-race, roadhog, scapegoat, black sheep	beaver away, clam up, chicken out, hare off, horse around,	bovine, leonine, simian, reptilian

Table 7: HUMAN IS ANIMAL and Its Realization in Word-Formations⁴⁰

For the first point, Goatly (1997), based on his observation of abundant lexical items formed metaphorically, showed that the metaphor themes functions effectively in the word-formations of English lexical items. For example, the metaphor theme HUMAN IS ANIMAL underlies the different formation of a number of lexical items which are summarized in Table 7.

⁴⁰ Table 7 is quoted from Goatly (1997: 95).

Table 7 shows that by means of conversion, compound, suffixation and phrasalisation some animal words are used to describe human behaviours, characters or appearance. For example, the word *dog* is converted from a noun to be a verb referring to human action of ‘hunting , tracking, or following like a dog’. The word *cub* can be used as a premodifier to describe a person who is young and inexperienced. It is believed that animals share some similar characters with human beings. Therefore, some animal words are suffixed to describe human characters. The suffixed word *catty* is used to describe someone who is sly and malicious. Sometimes human beings bear an appearance similar to that of animals. The compound word *harelip* refers to a birth defect characterized by one or more clefts in the upper lip resulting from failure of the embryonic parts of the lip to unite, that is, cleft lip.⁴¹ It follows that word-formation often involves metaphorical meanings.

For the second point about the burying of metaphor in word formations, as noted by Goatly, “morphological changes are used to lexicalize metaphor and incorporate them into the semantic system.” (Goatly, 1997: 105) For example, *ravenous* (adj. ‘extremely hungry’) < *raven* (n. ‘large black bird with a straight beak and long wedge-shaped tail’) realizes the metaphor theme HUMAN IS ANIMAL which is in turn based on an embodied PART AS WHOLE metonymy: RAVEN STANDS FOR THE MOST STRIKING FEATURE OF RAVEN. However, the metaphor that once underpinned this original conversion is lost, people just use *ravenous* to mean ‘extremely hungry’ without being aware of this metaphorical extension. Even the native English speakers would not think of *raven* ['reɪvən] when they use the word *ravenous* ['rævɪnəs]. That is to say, the use of *ravenous* in this sense has become a demotivated symbol (rather than icon) to parallel with the Chinese examples of Ding (2005). This shows that “the productivity of the suffix can give some guide to the likely degree of lexicalization undergone.” (Goatly, 1997: 106) Therefore,

Word-formation, and metaphor, working hand in hand, are devices for

⁴¹ <http://www.m-w.com/dictionary/cleft+lip>

incorporating interpretations which were once highly dependent on the pragmatics into coded meanings which are part of the semantic lexicon: coral polyps, as it were, incorporating the meanings in flux in the sea into the relatively solid structure of the reef of language. (Goatly, 1997: 106)

Similarly, metaphorical extension is the major device of word-formation in Chinese. For instance, in the sentence *他很牛* (*he is very able or strong*), the character 牛 (n. 'ox') is converted from a noun to be an adjective meaning "able, strong". There is also a new word formation in which one noun and one verb are combined to form a new metaphoric compound word, for instance, 鸟瞰 [niao kan, lit: 'bird's-eye view' ; met: 'general survey of a subject']. Phrasalization is also a device of word-formation in Chinese, for example, 炒鱿鱼 [chao you yu, lit: 'fry sleeve-fish'; met: 'be removed from one's job'] is a popular slang derived from Cantonese. Sleeve-fish will curl when heated. Workers who are fired have to roll their bedding and leave. Therefore, the phrase is extended to mean to get the sack. However, metaphorical extension by means of suffixation is lacking in Chinese and classical burying is also lacking in Chinese because Chinese is fonder of loan translations.

2.2 Concluding Remarks

This chapter, by exploring the relationships between metaphor and etymology, has proved that metaphor and metonymy provide the original iconicity in the etymology of words, and function extensively in nearly every aspects of the lexical semantic evolutions. They are both powerful motivators for semantic changes in the words and thus the sources of polysemy. They are both synchronic and diachronic, which means that on the diachronic aspect, they are the things that relate language to its etymology, but in the synchronic aspect they are the creative forces in the pragmatic uses of language.

That is to say, metaphor is a complex of history and reality in language applications: diachronically speaking, it is the motivator of semantic changes and

source of polysemy; synchronically speaking, it is the creative force in the pragmatic usages of lexical items. For this reason, “conceptual metaphors are of the highest importance for synchronic and diachronic semantic analysis. Through a historical analysis of ‘routes’ of semantic change, it is possible to elucidate synchronic semantic connections between lexical domains; similarly, synchronic connections may help clarify reasons for shifts of meaning in past linguistic history.”(Sweetser, 1990: 45-46) This is also the route that I will follow in my exploration of the lexicalized emotion metaphors in English and Chinese with an aim to better reveal their metaphorical patterns and those that are underlying these patterns. So for this purpose, the next chapter (Chapter 3) would be devoted to the synchronic comparison of metaphor patterns as seen in the contemporary lexicon in the two languages while Chapter 4 would be devoted to the diachronic comparison of these patterns and the exploration of cultural models and physiological effects underlying these patterns as well.

Chapter 3

Corpus-based Synchronic Comparisons of Lexicalized Emotion Metaphors

In English and Chinese

3.0 Introduction

This chapter will reveal the synchronic patterns that exist in the English and Chinese metaphorical language by comparing the Conceptual Metaphor Themes (Conceptual Metaphor) and their relevant cultural or physiological motivations in the lexicalized emotion metaphors in the two languages.

As stated in chapter one, a large number of studies have been made by cognitive linguists to explore the roles of metaphor in conceptualizing human emotions, which have contributed to the development of cognitive theory of metaphor. “One central claim of these studies is that human emotions, which are abstract in nature, are largely conceptualized and expressed in metaphorical terms” (Yu, 1998:4). For this reason, George Lakoff, who regards metaphors as the reflections of our conceptual system, endorses the lexical approaches to the conceptual metaphors. He pointed out that

since metaphorical expressions in our language are tied to metaphorical concepts in a systematic way, we can use metaphorical linguistic expressions to study the nature of metaphorical concepts and to gain an understanding of the metaphorical nature of our activities. (Lakoff, 1980: 7).

It seems to the cognitive linguists that since cognition can influence and be influenced by emotions, the study of human emotion constitutes one of the essential components in our probe into human cognition. (Ortony, et al. 1988: 3) Thus lexicalized emotion metaphors have become one of the most important tools of cognitive linguists in their approach to the conceptual systems of emotions. “Using lexicographical evidence we can examine the diverse ways in which a particular language, such as English or Chinese, structures a target.” (Goatly, 2007: 12). So far

as this chapter is concerned, it is aimed at revealing the conceptual models of emotions in the English and Chinese speakers by examining and comparing the metaphorical expressions of emotions in the two languages.

To be more concrete, the primary concerns of this chapter will be such questions as

How are emotions conceptualized in English and Chinese?

What is the interplay of emotion conceptualization with physiology and culture in the two cultures?

What variations do we have in the metaphor themes of emotions in the two languages and cultures?

And to what extent is our thinking and ideology determined by our bodies and the metaphors which they give rise to?⁴²

Researching into these problems inevitably calls for explorations of some of the important issues such as the metonymic basis of emotion metaphor, the relations among mind, body and culture, the commonalities/universalities and differences/specificities in the metaphorical conceptualization of emotions, etc.

I hope that by examining and comparing the lexicalized emotion metaphors in the two languages a better insight into the metaphorical patterns and the conceptual models of emotions in English and Chinese can be achieved, which would support or remedy some of the basic assumptions of cognitive linguistics about the universals of conceptual metaphor and lay a foundation for the diachronic analysis of emotion metaphors in the next chapter.

3.1 Further Methodological Details of the Synchronic Study

I gave a general overview of the methodology to be employed in this dissertation in 1.5, which includes the data used for both the synchronic comparison in chapter 3 and the diachronic study in chapter 2 and chapter 4. However, at this

⁴² The last two questions are proposed by A. Goatly (2007: 217).

point it is necessary to go into more detail about the nature of the databases which I employ for the synchronic comparison of LEMS.

This chapter is devoted to the comparison of the metaphor themes of LEMS in English and Chinese. To accomplish this purpose, a disproportionate amount of time and effort has to be spent in searching for LEMS in language. Luckily, in English, Metalude (Metaphor at Lingnan University Department of English) has provided much convenience for this search. The English lexical data used in this chapter chiefly come from Metalude.

There are two main steps in collecting lexicalized emotion metaphors from Metalude. In the first step, a search based on the target terms “emotion”, “affection”, “anger”, “antagonism”, “bad emotion”, “desire”, “excitement”, “fear”, “feeling”, “happiness”, “love”, “mental disturbance”, “nervousness”, “sadness”, “sanity”, “unemotional”, “unpleasant emotion”, and “worry” was carried out. Totally 1015 instances were extracted from the search. In the second step these instances were reclassified into 41 subgroups according to their metaphor themes such as

1. AFFECTION IS MONEY/ WEALTH
2. AFFECTION IS WARMTH
3. ANGER IS HEAT
4. ANTAGONISM IS FRICTION
5. BAD EMOTION IS PAIN OR INJURY
6. EMOTION IS ANIMAL
7. EMOTION IS BODY
8. EMOTION IS COLOR
9. EMOTION IS DISEASE
10. EMOTION IS ELECTRICITY
11. EMOTION IS EXPLOSION
12. EMOTION IS FOOD
13. EMOTION IS GAS
14. EMOTION IS HIGH
15. EMOTION IS LIQUID
16. EMOTION IS MINERAL
17. EMOTION IS MOVEMENT

18. EMOTION IS OUTFLOW
19. EMOTION IS PERSON BEING CONTROLLED
20. EMOTION IS PLANT
21. EMOTION IS SENSE IMPRESSION
22. EMOTION IS SMELL, TASTE, HEARING, SEEING
23. EMOTION IS SOUND
24. EMOTION IS TOUCH
25. EMOTION IS WAVE
26. EMOTION IS WEATHER
27. EXCITEMENT IS HEAT
28. EXCITEMENT IS LIGHT
29. FEAR IS COLD
30. SENSE IMPRESSION OR EMOTION IS EATING OR BEING EATEN
31. HAPPINESS IS HIGH
32. HAPPINESS IS LIGHT
33. LOVE IS HEAT
34. MENTAL DISTURBANCE IS DIVISION
35. NERVOUSNESS IS TENSION
36. SADNESS IS LOW
37. SADNESS IS DARK
38. SANITY IS BALANCE
39. UNEMOTIONAL IS COLD
40. UNPLEASANT EMOTION IS ROUGH OR OILY
41. WORRY IS WEIGHT

As a result of this reclassification, 41 access tables, each of them including the lexicalized emotion metaphors under one metaphor theme, were worked out.

The Chinese data were manually collected from

The Great Chinese Dictionary (Hanyu Da Cidian, Shanghai: The Publishing House of Hanyu Da Cidian, 2000);

The Classification of Modern Chinese Lexis (edited by Huang Ku et. al. Beijing: China Friendship Publishing Corporation, 1993);

The Classified Lexicon of Modern Chinese (edited by Dong Danian, et. al. Beijing: Great Chinese Lexicon Publishing House, 1998) ;

The Contemporary Chinese Dictionary (edited by the Lexicographic Office of the Language Research Institute under the China Academy of Social Science. Beijing: Foreign Language and Research Press, 2002);

The Modern Chinese Dictionary of Polysemous Words (edited by Yuan Hui, Beijing: Shu Hai Publishing House, 2002);

The Classified Thesaurus of Modern Chinese (Beijing: Publishing House of The Great Chinese Dictionary, 1998);

The Classified Thesaurus of Language Expressions in Chinese (Jilin: Jilin Education Press, 1998);

Ci Lei (The Classified Collections of Chinese Expressions), (Beijing: China Friendship Publishing House, 1993).

and about two dozen other Chinese wordbooks.

There are also two criteria in selecting the lexicalized Chinese emotion metaphors: (a) the qualification for each lexical candidate will be checked on the Chinese web [http:// www.google.com.cn](http://www.google.com.cn). The occurrence numbers of tokens for the qualified lexical items will not fall below 200. Although the searching results from www.google.com.cn might be different from those of Cobuild on which the Metalude is based, they can also show the frequency of a lexicalized Chinese emotion metaphor in the Chinese popular media as Cobuild does. In this sense www.google.com.cn can play the same function that Cobuild does. (b) Each metaphorical theme in the Chinese data will at least dominate 6 qualified lexical items. Thus the two databases made in this way can be regarded to some extent as the parallel lexical corpus of emotion metaphors which will ensure the justness and reliability of the comparison. The selected Chinese data were grouped by the 41 metaphor themes that are summarized from Metalude. It is a surprising fact that all the selected Chinese lexical items found their places in the 41 groups.

Based on the English and Chinese data, 41 correspondence tables (each table corresponds to one metaphor theme) were worked out to further reveal the

correspondence in the two data. See Tables⁴³ 1 to 41 in the appendix of this dissertation.

3.2 Results

3.2.1 Common Emotion Metaphor Themes in English and Chinese

The English data produce a total of 956 LEMS. In the Chinese data, a total of 964 LEMS are included. The breakdown of the two data is shown in Table 42.

Table 42 shows that all the emotion metaphor themes in Metalude also exist in the Chinese LEMS. Since in the search for Chinese data, the 41 metaphor themes were not taken into account as any guideline (they are used as the guideline to classify the selected lexical items only after the search is over), this fact seems to be able to prove to some degree the commonality of these metaphor themes. But the quantities of lexis under the same metaphor theme in the two languages are in most cases different, i.e. the same theme is realized by different numbers of lexical items in the two languages.

Almost all the tables in the appendix show that English and Chinese share the same metaphor themes at a more general level. But when we turn to the more specific metaphors in the lexical items, differences mushroom. Nearly all the 41 tables in the part one of the appendix show that the lexicalized emotion metaphors in English appear to differentiate into three patterns: some overlap considerably with their Chinese counterparts (corresponding lexicalized emotion metaphors); some only partly overlap, while the others find no matched partners in Chinese. This demonstrates that the superordinate metaphor themes that are equivalent to the conceptual structures in thought are more general and tend to be common, at least in English and Chinese, while the lexical metaphors which are a constituent part of language are more concrete and tend to be specific. That is to say, the different languages would tend to show their different expressions in the linguistic forms

⁴³ There are two kinds of tables in this dissertation: those presented in the text and those presented in the appendix. In order to distinguish these two kinds of tables, those presented in the appendix would be underlined, e.g. "Table 42" refers to Table 42 in the appendix.

(specific level), while sharing the same conceptual structure at the superordinate level of generality. It seems to prove that emotion metaphor is a hierarchical conceptual system, existing both in our mind and in our language. There seems to be a downwards vertical development in the conceptual system of emotion metaphor, by which the metaphor concepts are projected onto the specific lexical items. These are easily understood and conform to the Lakoffian hypothesis about the relationship between metaphor concepts and language.

Besides, the 41 metaphor themes vary in their degrees of generality and specificity. For instance, the metaphor theme EMOTION IS SENSE IMPRESSION (Table 21) is evidently more general than some of the others. Figure 6 reveals its relationships with its subordinate themes⁴⁴.

Figure 6: Theme Structure of EMOTION IS SENSE IMPRESSION

As shown in Figure 6, the relationships among the themes are not only related vertically but also interact horizontally⁴⁵. What is more, the themes at the different layers are each realized by a set of lexicalized metaphors. The set of lexis for a superordinate theme is larger than the lexical sets for its subordinate themes since the

⁴⁴ Quoted from Goatly (2007: 224) with a slight modification, the numbers in the bracket refer to the sequence of those tables of metaphor theme in the appendix.

⁴⁵ Although this diagram is not made in terms of levels of generality, yet when it is perceived as circles of metaphor theme around the centre EMOTION IS SENSE IMPRESSION, we still see that the themes at outer circle would tend to be less general and subordinate.

latter usually constitutes a subset of the former. It thus follows that there is multivalency in the mapping of targets onto the same source lexical item while there is diversification in the mapping of the same target onto different source lexical items. In this way, the relationships are much more complex than what have been described in Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Moreover, the substrate row elaborates that there is much multivalency in the metaphor themes for emotion concepts. This structure, as a miniature of the whole system for metaphor themes of emotion, reflects the complexity of the emotion metaphor system, whose hierarchical nature is concretized either as the generality of targets or as that of sources.

3.2.2 Multivalency and Diversification

In the data composed of the 41 corresponding tables of English and Chinese lexicalized emotion metaphors, cases of multivalency and diversification can be found.

Figure 7: Correlation between Theme Structure and Multivalency

Multivalency in English and Chinese can be seen by comparing [Table 29](#) and [Table 39](#): the metaphor themes FEAR/UNPLEASANT EMOTION IS COLD and UNEMOTIONAL/UNFRIENDLY IS COLD both apply to the two languages. The same source *cold* is used to construe different emotions like fear, unpleasant emotion, and unfriendliness. In these two tables, the English lexical items *chill* (lit: ‘slight coldness’; met: ‘feelings of fear or anxiety’), *chilly* (lit: ‘unpleasantly cold’; met:

‘unfriendly, or not enthusiastic, unwelcoming’) and the Chinese lexical item 冰冷 (lit: ‘icy cold’; met: ‘unfriendly/fearful’) are all ambiguous and thus multivalent. The lexical items in these two tables are evidently dominated by the conceptual system shown in Figure 7.

Figure 7 shows that *cold* as a multivalent source obtains at different layers of metaphor theme in the conceptual system hierarchy. But this multivalency of *cold* tends to disappear in the most specific metaphors (which are not metaphor themes for they are too specific to include 6 lexical items) underlying the lexical items in Tables 29 and 39, because in these metaphors *cold* is given a specific form or nature, or is associated with a particular part of the body, setting apart the formerly generic *cold* as the specific and different *cold* and thus reducing the chance of multivalency.

For example, COLD works as a multivalent source in the ambiguous Chinese lexical item 四肢冰凉 [si zhi bing liang, lit: ‘with hands and feet that are low in temperature’; met: ‘in a state of feeling very frightened or angry’] which realizes the metaphor theme UNPLEASANT EMOTION IS COLD. But turn to a more specific metaphor theme FEAR IS COLD, its lexical elaboration is disambiguated by adding the verb determiner 吓得 to the ambiguous Chinese lexical item 四肢冰凉: 吓得四肢冰凉 [xia de si zhi bing liang, lit: ‘with hands and feet that are low in temperature’; met: ‘in a state of feeling very frightened’]. And similarly, by adding the verb determiner 气得 to the ambiguous Chinese lexical item 四肢冰凉, another metaphor theme ANGER IS COLD gets elaborated in the new derivative 气得四肢冰凉 [qi de si zhi bing liang, lit: ‘with hands and feet that are low in temperature’; met: ‘in a state of extreme anger’] which is also unambiguous. Thus by adding the verb determiners 吓得 and 气得⁴⁶, the metaphor theme UNPLEASANT EMOTION IS COLD that underlies 四肢冰凉 is lowered respectively to its two sub-divisions: FEAR IS COLD that gets elaborated in 吓得四肢冰凉, and ANGER IS COLD that gets elaborated in 气得四肢冰凉.

Such cases happen in English as well. For example, in English, COLD works as

⁴⁶ They are also the semantic determiners in 吓得四肢冰凉 and 气得四肢冰凉.

a multivalent source in the metaphor theme UNPLEASANT EMOTION IS COLD which gets elaborated in the ambiguous verb *chill* [lit: ‘become very cold’; met: ‘make suddenly frightened or anxious’]. But both the multivalency and ambiguity in *chill* are dissolved by adding the suffix *-ing*: *chilling* [lit: ‘making colder’; met: ‘frightening’] which is an unambiguous elaboration of the metaphor theme FEAR IS COLD. All these are in accordance with one of Goatly’s point that subtle changes of word-class or subcategories of word class or lexical form are used to differentiate the meanings, so at the lexical level there is little ambiguity. But novel lexical uses by poets might reinstate the ambiguity/multivalency (Goatly, 1997: 88-90).

Obviously, the dissolving of multivalency seems to be affected by two factors: the first one is the multiple sources that are involved in forming the metaphor theme, e.g., *cold* is a multivalent source in construing different emotions in Figure 7, but when it is associated with different parts of the body to elaborate the specific metaphors, the multivalency dissolves in most of the lexical metaphors:

Chinese: 心寒/心冷/心凉 [xin han/xin leng/ xin liang, lit: ‘with a heart that is low in temperature’; met: ‘disappointed’];

寒心 [han xin, lit: ‘a heart that is low in temperature’; met: ‘disappointment’];

冷血 [leng xie, lit: ‘with blood that is low in temperature’; met: ‘cruel’];

血冷/血凉 [xie leng/ xie liang, lit: ‘cold-blooded; cool-blooded’; met: ‘disappointed’];

脊背发凉 [ji bei fa liang, lit: ‘feeling cold at the backbone’; met: ‘feeling frightened’];

English: *in cold blood* [lit: ‘with blood that is low in temperature’; met: ‘without sympathy or kindness; unkind’]

cold-hearted [lit: ‘with a heart that is low in temperature’; met: ‘without sympathy or kindness; unkind’]

spine-chilling [lit: ‘(making your backbone feel cold)’; met: ‘making you feel

very frightened’]⁴⁷

i.e., in the above lexical instantiations of BAD EMOTION IS COLD, *cold blood* and *cold heart* are not multivalent anymore.

The second factor is the specificity of sources. The data seem to show that multivalent sources obtain mostly at some intermediate level of generality, with the sources being no more multivalent in the specific lexicalized metaphors. From the perspective of cognitive linguistics, the basic level categories,⁴⁸ which are most easy for human cognitive processing, should have more opportunities to be selected as the sources to construe human emotions, i.e. they have a higher productivity in producing emotion metaphors.⁴⁹ Hence, what are shown in the data can be reasonably elaborated: the more productive sources have a higher probability to be multivalent; since the basic level categories are potentially the most productive sources in metaphorization, the highest multivalency of sources is expected to appear at the basic level of the conceptual metaphor system with an intermediate specificity and generality. The frequent multivalent sources in the data are *heat*, *red*, *heart*, *face*, *cold*, etc. which are mostly the basic categories of human cognition. Take *heat* for example, which might be the most productive multivalent source in my data.

AFFECTION AS HEAT: It gets elaborated in all lexical items in Table 2 (AFFECTION IS WARMTH);

ANGER AS HEAT: It gets elaborated in all lexical items in Table 3 (ANGER IS HEAT);

ANTAGONISM AS FIRE: It gets elaborated in 擦火 [ca huo, lit: ‘make fire by rubbing’; met: ‘have conflicts’] from Table 4 (ANTAGONISM IS

⁴⁷ The noticeable difference between 脊背发凉 and *Spine-chilling* is shown in their metaphorical meanings.

⁴⁸ In cognitive psychology, a basic-level category is a family of events, objects, patterns, emotions, spatial relationships, or social relationships that are cognitively basic. dog, chair, ball, and cup are examples of basic-level categories. Basic-level categories share a variety of properties with one another. Among other similarities, they are the level first named and understood by children, the level with the shortest primary lexemes, the first level to enter the lexicon of a language, the level at which subjects are fastest at identifying category members, the level at which most of our knowledge is organized, the level that most faithfully mirrors natural kinds, and the highest level at which a single mental image can reflect the entire category. Basic-level categories tend to rest in the middle of typical general-to-specific categorical hierarchies. (quoted from <http://www.wisegeek.com/what-is-a-basic-level-category.htm>)

⁴⁹ The point is that they are in most cases imaginable, which gives them cognitive power. (Goatly, 1997: 89-90)

FRICTION) ;

ENVY AS HEAT: It gets elaborated in 眼热 [yan re, lit: ‘feel hot in the eyes’; met: ‘envy’] (Table 7: EMOTION IS BODY);

ANXIETY AS FIRE: It gets elaborated in 心急如焚 [xin ji ru fen, lit: ‘One’s heart is like to be burning’; met: ‘extremely anxiety’] (Table 7: EMOTION IS BODY);

EXCITEMENT AS HEAT:

发烧 [fa shao, lit: ‘high temperature in the body or fever’; met: ‘zeal ,excitement’];

fever [lit: ‘high body temperature’; met: ‘excitement’]

(Table 9: EMOTION IS DISEASE);

EXCITEMENT AS HEAT: It gets elaborated in all lexical items in Table 27 (EXCITEMENT IS HEAT);

GRATITUDE AS HEAT:

心热 [xin re, lit: ‘feel hot in the heart’; met: ‘feel gratitude and pleasantness’] (Table 21: EMOTION IS SENSE IMPRESSION);

LOVE AS HEAT: It gets elaborated in all lexical items in Table 33 (LOVE IS HEAT);

LACKING INTEREST AS SLIGHT HEAT:

不冷不热的 [bu leng bu re de, lit: ‘slightly warm’; met: ‘without much enthusiasm or interest, between friendly and unfriendly’];

lukewarm [lit: ‘slightly warm’; met: ‘without much enthusiasm or interest’];

Diversification, as the opposite of multivalency, seems to be self-evident. In both English and Chinese, the emotions can be construed by many sources. The data show that not merely may all the targets be conceived by diverse sources, but the superordinate categories are the more diversified targets, having more varied categories of things as their sources. So the diversification runs through all the layers of the conceptual system of emotion metaphor. And there exists a positive correlation between the diversification and generality of targets. For example, the superordinate concept “emotion” has 20 different sources in the total 41 tables (metaphor themes)

in the part one of the appendix while its subordinate concept “sadness” has two sources.

The influences of the multivalency and diversification on the commonality of metaphor themes are apparently indirect. For example, both English and Chinese share the commonness in using the broken heart to construe the emotion of sadness.

心碎 [xin sui, lit: ‘heart-broken’; met: ‘sad’];

Heartbroken [lit: ‘heart-broken’; met: ‘sad’];

Since Chinese also uses another source “broken intestine” to express the same emotion, a cross-cultural variation happens to the metaphor theme SADNESS IS BROKEN BODY.

3.2.3 Conceptualization of Emotions

The 41 tables in the appendix show the conceptualizations of emotions in English and Chinese. Each of them contains the corresponding lexicalized emotion metaphors under one metaphor theme in the two languages, reflecting how emotions are conceptualized by metaphors at the lexical level in the two languages. Many of these themes are interrelated and interact on each other. It seems that all these themes can be classified into two groups: one group centers on the theme EMOTION IS BODY (Table 7), which is characterized by describing emotions on the grounds of the human body and its experiences, and the other describing emotion in terms of natural phenomena, animals, plants, and other things that exist outside and independent of us. Take anger, one of the most common emotions, as an example.

Paul Ekman and his colleagues (1983, 1990, and 1991) found in their studies on American subjects that anger is indeed associated with objectively measurable bodily changes such as increase in skin temperature, blood pressure, pulse rate, and respiration, and that other emotions, such as fear and sadness, are associated with a different set of physiological reactions. Kövecses (1995) found that the metaphorical understandings of anger “are in part based on shared ideas about the human body and certain physiological processes that are associated with anger”. (Kövecses, 1995: 191)

He concluded that anger is not only characterized by the container metaphors but takes the form of conceptual metonymies as well, expressed by the linguistic forms describing physiological responses like body heat, internal pressure, and redness in the face and the neck. He argued that it would be odd “to conceptualize anger as, say, softly falling snow, an image completely incompatible with what our body is like and what our physiology does in anger” (Kövecses, 1995: 192). The data in Table 43 provide full lexical support for these findings.

And as shown in the data, water and fire are the two most important sources for the conceptualization of anger in both English and Chinese. The metaphor theme ANGER IS WATER, which belongs to the metaphor theme EMOTION IS LIQUID (Table 15), applies to both English and Chinese. But in Chinese, the water is in most cases not limited in the containers⁵⁰. Anger in Chinese is not necessarily the water in the pan or kettle, but rather based on a more broad image-schematic structure of water, it is the angry billows that are rolling on the sea. The image-schematic structure of water for anger in Chinese seems to have no evident relationship with heat, and it is not always in containers.

泄愤 [xie fen, lit: ‘let water flow off’; met: ‘vent one’s anger’],

倾吐不满 [qing tu bu man, lit: ‘let water flow off’; met: ‘speak out one’s anger’],

怒潮 [nu chao, lit: ‘monstrous tidal wave’; met: ‘angry inclination or tendency’],

怒涛 [nu tao, lit: ‘raging billows’; met: ‘angry feeling’];

The metaphor theme underlying these lexical items is obviously related to the prototype of the traditional Chinese image-schematic structure of water, i.e. water comes tumbling down the river without ceasing and flows into the sea, rather than the water in a container. The former is called “the living water” while the latter “the dead water” in Chinese. Since emotions have long been regarded as the active things, it is quite natural that in most cases Chinese tend to use the living water to construe

⁵⁰ This applies to English LEMS as well, see Goatly (2007: 245-246).

the dynamic aspects of the emotion while the dead water the stagnant interpersonal relationships. It seems to Chinese that emotion in the normal state is the tranquil flowing water. Then the change in emotion is the ripple on the river (for example, 感情的涟漪 [gan qing de lian yi, lit: 'ripple'; met: 'change in emotion', 'uncollected thoughts']). Anger is thus regarded as the surging wave and tide caused by the obstructions in the flowing process of water. So the basic way to decrease anger is to unblock the waterway and let water flow off. This concept of pacifying anger is instantiated in the following data:

疏导 [shu dao, lit: 'unblock the waterway'; met: 'pacify one's anger'],

想不通 [xiang bu tong, lit: 'be blocked in the thought'; met: 'feel unsatisfied or angry'],

疏通 [shu tong, lit: 'unblock the waterway'; met: 'pacify one's anger', 'please one by bribery'].

And after the obstructed water which symbolizes the source of anger is unblocked, emotion will be restored to a normal and tranquil state, thus when people calm their anger, their emotion would be as peaceful as water: 心平如水 [xin ping ru shui, lit: '(of heart) be as tranquil as water'; met: 'be calm and gentle'].

In English, ANGER IS WATER gets lexical elaborations in different ways:

a) Anger as the concentration of a liquid:

“**dilute** ‘lessen or weaken’ (*these measures should dilute the public anger*)”

(Goatly, 2007: 202);

b) Anger as liquid inside the body:

“**overflow** ‘express strong feelings’ (suddenly her anger overflowed)”;

“**boil over** ‘have such strong uncontrollable feelings that you have to express them’ (many people are boiling over with rage at the support the US gives to Israel)”;

“**choke back**, ‘prevent the expression of emotion’ (I choked back my anger and tried to remain calm, despite the provocation)”;

(Goatly, 2007: 203);

c) Anger as heating water until it boils:

“**boil** ‘be angry’ (all the time I was boiling with rage, but dare not object), **boiling point** ‘state of anger which is likely to get out of control and become violent’ (the crowd was at boiling point, and the police started firing tear gas), but slightly more controlled anger is less vigorous boiling: **simmer** ‘be almost unable to control anger’ (she was simmering with rage when I left the room), **seethe** ‘experience unexpressed anger’ (she is seething at all the bad reviews she received)” (Goatly, 2007: 245);

d) Anger as conversion of liquid into vapour:

“**steamed up** ‘very annoyed and showing your anger’ (he got very steamed up about his boss’s mistreatment of him), **fume** ‘express impatience and anger’ (‘that’s your last chance,’ he fumed). Someone who is ‘easily angered’ is therefore **volatile** (she has a volatile temper).” (Goatly, 2007: 245);

e) Anger as a mixture of gas and liquid:

“**froth at the mouth** (the customer was frothing at the mouth over the terrible service) or **in a lather** (he got in a lather when his car wouldn’t start)” (Goatly, 2007: 245);

f) Anger as the outflow of liquid:

In the equally prolific metaphor theme EMOTIONAL EXPRESSION IS OUTFLOW there is seldom any mention of heat, and the emotions concerned are of many kinds, not always or just including anger. Emotion in this theme is certainly a liquid, sometimes understood to be in a container as any schema for liquids would predict, but not hot: **ooze** ‘display an emotion or attitude very strongly’ (*the second candidate oozed confidence throughout the interview*), **gushing** ‘expressing feelings insincerely’ (*she’s a very gushing person*), **gush** ‘empty expression of feeling’ (*his performance was a load of gush*), **outpouring** ‘uncontrollable expression of feeling’ (*I was amazed by his outpourings of adoration*), **pour out** ‘express strongly and uncontrollably’ (*she poured out her feelings of resentment*), **effusion** ‘uncontrolled expression of strong emotion’ (*I hate his effusions of self-pity*), **outlet** ‘way in which emotion can be expressed’ (*poetry provided an outlet for her emotions*), **overflow** ‘express strong feelings’

(*suddenly her anger overflowed*), **well** ‘increase to the point where they have to be expressed’ (*feelings of deep sorrow welled up inside me*), **brim over** ‘express a feeling without restraint’ (*he was brimming over with enthusiasm*), **exude** ‘display an emotion or attitude’ (*Tiger Woods exudes confidence at every hole*), **express** ‘communicate an emotion’ (*this poem expresses Plath’s despair as well as any other*). Refusal to express an emotion involves exerting pressure to stop it flowing out, but this is not normally a pressure caused by heat: **bottle up** ‘refuse to talk about or express emotions’ (*it’s bad for your mental health to bottle up your emotions for too long*), **choke back** ‘prevent the expression of emotion’ (*I choked back my anger and tried to remain calm, despite the provocation*). (Goatly, 2007: 246)

The lexical realizations of ANGER IS GAS in English and Chinese show some commonalities in the liquid-as-source conceptualization of anger. In English anger or other strong emotions are the water in the body, so *overflow* is the expression of one’s strong feelings which include anger. After the anger has overflowed, it still exists. But for Chinese, *anger* is caused by the excessive *qi* bottled up in the body/container and the effective way to adjust emotion is venting the overfed *qi* out of the human body. In this case, it is a container metaphor: ANGER IS QI IN A CONTAINER. As a reflection of this conception in lexicalized metaphors, we have the metaphors 消气 [xiao qi, lit: ‘eliminate the *qi*’; met: ‘give vent to one’s anger’], 忍气 [ren qi, lit: ‘bear the *qi*’; met: ‘manage to keep one’s temper’], 动气 [dong qi, lit: ‘move the *qi*’, met: ‘become angry’], 气消了 [qi xiao le, lit: ‘the *qi* is eliminated’; met: ‘anger is dissipated’], 憋气 [bie qi, lit: ‘with *qi* bottled up in the body’; met: ‘choking with resentment’], 出气 [chu qi, lit: ‘vent the *qi* out of the body’; met: ‘vent one’s anger’], etc.. It seems that the metaphor theme ANGER IS QI IN THE BODY is realized with delicate differences in English and Chinese.

But it is easy to note that Chinese doesn’t have the conception that anger is the

hot water in the body⁵¹. It must be pointed out that ANGER IS QI IN THE BODY can not be regarded as a subordinate metaphor theme under the metaphor theme ANGER IS HEAT as is shown in Figure 8⁵². This contradicts most of the previous researchers' intuitions which do not have much lexical evidence to back them up, even for English. In fact, *qi*, as an important concept in Chinese culture, involves many complex factors and notions which will be given a historical analysis Chapter 4 to show the specificities of its relevant metaphors.

The theme ANGER IS HEAT (Table 3) seems to be structured in the following ways:

Figure 8: Conceptual Structure of the Metaphor Theme ANGER IS HEAT

The theme ANGER IS HOT WATER /FLUID only applies to English. The dominant themes for Chinese data which correspond to ANGER IS HOT WATER /FLUID might be ANGER IS QI IN BODY and ANGER IS FIRE IN BODY. The theme ANGER IS BURNING SUBSTANCE is a common theme for English and Chinese in which the degrees of anger are associated with different forms of fires with different strengths representing the intensities of anger. In English, anger is the flaming fire, *flaming* [lit: ‘burning strongly’; met: ‘angry’], *flare-up* [lit: ‘sudden burst of light or flame’; met: ‘sudden outburst of anger or other violent activity or

⁵¹ According to Yu (1998), for the metaphor theme ANGER IS HEAT, English selects FIRE and FLUID metaphors while it is FIRE and GAS metaphors for Chinese. And “both languages observe the same metonymic principle, describing the emotion of anger by referring to its related physiological effects.”(Yu, 1998: 59)

⁵² Qi in Chinese culture is a broader concept than gas, and it is not necessarily hot in most cases when it is used to construe the emotion of anger, at least the image-schema of Qi is not hot in ancient Chinese.

feelings’], *fume* [lit: ‘smoke, gas or vapor that smells strongly’; met: ‘be very angry at something’], *incendiary* [lit: ‘designed to cause fires’; met: ‘likely to cause anger or violence’], *slow burn* [lit: ‘burning slowly’; met: ‘slowly increasing anger’], *sparks fly* [lit: ‘fire particles are produced’; met: ‘angry fighting occurs’], etc.. In Chinese, the angry fires can be ignited: 发火 [fa huo, lit: ‘emit fire’; met: ‘become angry’]; be burning: 怒火上升 [nu huo shang sheng, lit: ‘the flame is climbing up’; met: ‘anger is increasing’], 怒火熊熊 [nu huo xiong xiong, lit: ‘the flaming fire’; met: ‘the uncontrollable anger’]; it can also be 一点火 [yi dian huo, lit: ‘a spark of fire’; met: ‘slight anger’]; the fire would be accelerated by pouring oil on it: 火上浇油 [huo shang jiao you, lit: ‘pour oil on the fire’; met: ‘aggravate the anger’]; and it can be put out: 消消火 [xiao xiao huo, lit: ‘put out the fire’; met: ‘become less angry’], 熄熄火 [xi xi huo, lit: ‘put out the fire’; met: ‘become less angry’], 强压怒火 [qian ya nu huo, lit: ‘hold down the fire’; met: ‘suppress one’s anger’]. It thus follows that both English and Chinese share the metaphor theme ANGER IS FIRE and its subordinate theme ANGER IS BURNING SUBSTANCES which are both based on the common image-schematic structure of fire. But fire as a source for anger in Chinese seems to be more specific than that in English.

In the Chinese metaphor theme ANGER IS FIRE IN BODY, the fire as the source of this metaphor theme is the embodied sense impression rather than the real fire or smoke in our daily lives. Clearly, there are two kinds of fire in the metaphor theme ANGER IS FIRE, which is a subordinate theme of ANGER IS HEAT, the real and the unreal or imaginary fire. The real fire is the common source for the metaphor ANGER IS FIRE in both English and Chinese. The unreal or imaginary fire is the specific source for the Chinese metaphor ANGER IS FIRE IN BODY. This fire provides the imaginary bodily experiences that are associated with anger, i.e. the metonymic basis of ANGER IS FIRE, although the identity of the theme depends on our attitudes toward the sources. Table 8 shows the lexical realizations of ANGER IS FIRE IN BODY in Chinese:

In Table 3, under ANGER IS HEAT, we have *flare-up* [lit: ‘sudden burst of light or flame’; met: ‘sudden outburst of anger or other violent activity or feelings’] in English, but

in Chinese we have 眼里冒火 [lit: ‘fire suddenly bursts out of the eyes’; met: ‘the sudden outburst of anger’]. Evidently the *fire* for *anger* in Chinese usually happens to a specific part of the body, in contrast with the various uses of *fire* in English for *anger*. It is evident that Chinese uses more body-part terms to construe *anger* while English tends to focus on the specific descriptions of the various substances in the conceptualizations of *anger*. For example, *short fuse* [lit: ‘short string on a bomb used to ignite it’; met: ‘tendency to get angry easily’] uses a very specific substance to present a vivid image-schematic structure for the target domains of emotions, which finds no corresponding counterpart in Chinese.

Chinese LEM	Pin Yin	Source	Target
肝火	gan huo	the fire from liver	irascibility
心火	xin huo	the fire of heart	mental uneasiness, hidden anger or annoyance
动肝火	dong gan huo	stirring the fire from liver	getting angry
满腔怒火	man qiang nu huo	with one's heart full of fire	filled with indignation

Table 8: Lexical Realizations of ANGER IS FIRE IN BODY in Chinese

3.2.4 Interplay of Culture and Body and the Metonymic Basis of Emotion Metaphors

The appended data show that in most cases, emotions are construed based on the somatic sense impressions or mental images of the sources. This is common in many languages. In fact, the ancient Chinese have long been cognizant of the role of body metaphor in human cognition. Xu Shen, the author of *Shuowen Jiezi*, pointed out 2000 years ago that the Chinese characters are the products of the ancient people’s metaphorical thinking in which they used various things they could find to metaphorically depict their thoughts, the nearest thing they selected is their body, and the farther sources they took are external things besides the body. Since the nearest things are usually the easiest of access, the body has become the most important and common source of metaphor thinking, just as is expressed in the proverb “man is the measure of all things”. According to the Lakoffian experiential theory, “metaphorical

abstract concepts arise from our preconceptual physical experiences as infants”. This Lakoffian insight, as observed by Goatly (1997: 56), can be easily related to the metaphorical Vehicles in the map of Metalude. This on the one hand attests that “these internal physical experiences are sufficient to provide the basic vehicular structure on which metaphorical cognition and the metaphorical lexicon are built” (Goatly, 1997: 57), while on the other hand mirrors the embodied system of conceptual metaphor.

This is proved to be true by the fact that the physiological experiences that constitute the bodily bases of the emotion metaphors chiefly come from the human perceptions of our own bodies (both physiologically and mentally), external objects, and social relationships. So metaphorically speaking, emotions can be construed as physiological feelings, external things, or some kinds of relationships existing in the reality, which have become the most important sources for the emotion metaphors in English and Chinese. Take the theme EMOTION IS BODILY SENSATION for example, I have listed in section 3.2.2 the inter-cultural multivalency and diversification, and the cross-cultural correspondence and variations in the theme. These complex relationships between emotions and feelings indicate that the correspondence in the theme is both interculturally and cross-culturally multivariate. For example, People feel hot when they are angry, and there is some evidence showing that people more easily become angry in hot weather. Goatly (2007) justifies this by quoting the statement of Blumberg (2002):

Research by the psychologist Craig Anderson shows that aggression and violence increase in high temperatures. Baseball pitchers have a greater tendency to hit the batter with a ball on hot days, motorists without air-conditioning honk their horns more. Anderson even suggests that if global warming raises temperatures by 1 degree centigrade in the US this will lead to 24,000 additional murders! (Blumberg, 2002: 157 ; Goatly, 2007: 244)

These relationships are elaborated in a number of lexicalized metaphors in my

data, which justify the metonymic basis of emotion metaphors. But further considerations of these correspondences in the lexicalized emotion metaphors in the two languages will show the cultural influences on the metonymic relations of the emotion metaphors, as I have shown in the last section. However, these influences do not necessarily deny the metonymic contributions to the universals in emotion metaphors. Although there are a lot of lexical items in my data that show the metonymic basis of emotion metaphors, there are still some other lexicalized emotion metaphors that seem less likely to have the metonymic bases.

Taylor points out that not all metaphor themes or conceptual metaphors seem to be motivated by metonymy. In particular he concentrates on various synaesthetic metaphors such as loud music / loud color, sweet cake / sweet music, where “the metaphor does not really develop out of the metonymy. It is simply motivated and constrained by the metonymic model of the target”. (Goatly, 2007: 273).

Lakoff (1987) claimed that the metonymy EMOTION IS THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN EMOTION is a universal principle underlining human conceptual metaphor of emotion. This statement (its truth would be left for discussion in the next section) is supported by many facts. In my data composed of the 41 corresponding tables of LEMS in English and Chinese, there are a mass of data to support the statement, e.g. the data of Table 29 (FEAR IS COLD), Table 39 (UNEMOTIONAL IS COLD), Table 41 (WORRY IS WEIGHT), Table 24 (EMOTION IS TOUCH/IMPACT), Table 35 (NERVOUSNESS IS TENSION), and Table 21 (EMOTION IS SENSE IMPRESSION). For the ease of discussion, I have selected some of the relevant data from these 41 tables and tabulated them into Table 43 *Embodied Physiological Changes and Their Corresponding Emotion Metaphors*.

Table 43 is obviously of real significance for the re-examination of the conceptual metaphor theory, in that it first displays from the perspective of lexicalized emotion metaphors the diversities and complex relationships of the hierarchy system of

conceptual metaphor.

In Table 43, there is much evidence to associate somatic feelings with emotions. For example, both speakers of English and speakers of Chinese would have cold sweat when in fear:

in a cold sweat [lit: ‘perspiring (from fever)’; met: ‘in a state of feeling extremely frightened’],

流冷汗 [liu leng han, lit: ‘cold sweat comes out on the skin’; met: ‘in a state of feeling extremely frightened’],

头上冒冷汗 [tou shang mao leng han, lit: ‘cold sweat comes out on the head’; met: ‘in a state of feeling extremely frightened’];

but in Chinese, if the sweat on the head is not cold or is hot, the emotion it represents would be different: (急得)满头大汗 [(ji de) man tou da han, lit: ‘sweating on the head’; met: ‘in a state of feeling worried, anxious’]. Such examples are abundant in Table 43 which includes most of the embodied physiological experiences that constitute the metonymic basis of emotion metaphor. In fact, Table 43 might be a better revelation of the relationships between the embodied physiological changes and their corresponding emotion metaphors in English and Chinese. Table 43 demonstrates not only the metonymic relationships between the embodied physiological changes and their corresponding emotion metaphors respectively in English and Chinese, but how the diversities and universals of these relationships run across such two unrelated languages.

The identity of lexicalized emotion metaphors in the two languages is often motivated by the same physiological experiences and the same ontological knowledge about experiences. The Chinese expression 血凝固了 [xie ning gu le, lit: ‘blood is solidified’; met: ‘in a state of feeling extremely frightened’] finds two counterparts in English: *make your blood freeze* and *blood-curdling* which are both partially identical with their Chinese counterpart 血凝固了. In 血凝固了, the blood may be either frozen or solidified in other ways. In the first case, 血凝固了 focuses on the liquidity of blood while in the second case it focuses on the tendency of blood

to resist flowing. So in the first case, it is identical with *make your blood freeze*. But in the second case, it is equal to *blood-curdling*. These two lexicalized emotion metaphors are alike in their forms and much of their semantic content, but represent the different folk understandings that English and Chinese speakers may have once had for the fluidity of blood caused by fear. It is observable in the data that a vast number of lexical items are composed of two or more sources, e.g., *in cold blood* [lit: ‘with blood that is low in temperature’; met: ‘without emotion or sympathy’ or ‘cruelly for no apparent reason’] involves the sources from two domains: *temperature* and *body*. So lexicalized emotion metaphors in the two languages can be classified into two groups: the first one is the uni-source metaphors, the second the multi-source metaphors.

The bulk of the data seems to support the hypothesis that the metonyms based upon our common bodily experiences can be common to both English and Chinese, as Goatly put it:

In the conceptualization of emotion, a bodily and metonymic base explains many metaphor themes.... But when we come to consider metaphor themes where the bodily basis is less obviously related to the target, we see that many such themes resist explanation in terms of the experiential metonymic hypotheses, and are certainly not universal. (Goatly, 2007: 276-277)

Most of the sources in my data are related to the body or bodily physiology/behaviors (e.g. [Table 43](#) limits its scope to those emotion metaphors concerned with bodily physiological changes, yet it overlaps with other 15 tables in the appendix). This suggests that the embodied physiology plays a very important role in the conceptualization of emotions, the reason for which might be “that people are most concerned with their causes and effects, and their physiological effects are fairly consistent.” (Goatly, 2007: 223) However, as we have seen in the analysis of EMOTION IS PLANT, the near-same physiological experiences do not always guarantee the commonality of the metaphors at different layers of generality. On the other hand, the commonality and near-commonality of conceptual metaphor based on

the similar physiological experiences is clear at the superordinate layers of generality. Variations of metaphor tend to happen at the lower layer of generality. Kövecses (2000) regards this universality as a result of shared human biology. (Kövecses, 2000: 162) He explained it from the perspective of physiology.

English-speaking, Hungarian, Japanese, Chinese, et cetera, people appear to have very similar ideas about their bodies and seem to see themselves as undergoing the same physiological processes when in the state of anger, duh, ikari, and nu. They all view their bodies and body organs as containers. And as linguistic evidence also suggests, they respond physiologically to certain situations (causes) in the same way. They seem to share certain physiological processes including body heat, internal pressure, and redness in the neck and face area (as a possible combination of pressure and heat). (Kövecses, 2000: 156)

Variations caused by different conceptualizations of physiological experiences can be found in the fact that in Chinese embodied physiological experience “cold limbs” has a wider range than in English, e.g. in Chinese it can stand for the emotion of anger besides the emotion of fear while in English it can only stand for the latter.

Wierzbicka claimed that in all languages there are three ways in which the body and emotion may be connected:

- (1) In all languages people can describe cognitively-based feelings via observable “bodily symptoms” (that is, via some bodily events regarded as characteristic of these feelings).
- (2) In all languages, cognitively-based feelings can be described with reference to bodily sensations.
- (3) In all languages, cognitively-based feelings can be described via figurative “bodily images.” (Wierzbicka, 1999:276)

The first two claims are supported with a mass of data from English and Chinese

in Table 43 “Embodied Physiological Changes and Their Corresponding Emotion Metaphors”. It is right for Goatly (2007: 223) to comment that “Under 1, it is important to note that the metonymy EMOTION AS PHYSIOLOGICAL/BEHAVIOURAL EFFECT may be learned and culturally-specific rather than universal.” But he is wrong to quote Lan Chun’s saying that “In Chinese, the bodily perceived symptoms of anger are different from English: *la chiang lian* (lit. ‘pull long face’), *la xia lian* (lit. ‘pull down face’) are both used to describe becoming angry.” The investigation into these two lexical items shows that both of them can stand for several emotions in Chinese: *拉长脸* [*la chang lian*, lit. ‘pull a long face’; met: ‘be unhappy’, ‘be unfriendly with’, ‘have a superior air toward somebody’]; *拉下脸* [*la xia lian*, lit. ‘pull down face’; met: ‘be unhappy’, ‘be unfriendly with’, ‘beg in a servile way’]. By comparing the metaphorical meanings of these two Chinese expressions, we can see that they have no direct relationships with the emotion of anger. *拉下脸* has more meaning items than *拉长脸*. In addition to referring to the behaviour of displeasure, unhappiness and unfriendly attitude toward somebody like *拉长脸*, it can also refer to the begging behaviour, ‘to beg in a servile way’.

As to the second claim, as observed by Goatly.

It is debatable whether the bodily sensation is caused by the emotion or simply concurrent with it—Damasio says it is not only concurrent but also part of the emotion (WHOLE FOR PART). In any case there will be a metonymic relationship. However, note here, again, that there is a great deal of cultural relativity in the way bodily sensations are matched with emotions. (Goatly, 2007: 223)

In English, the bodily sensation of irregular beating of the heart is associated with shock and surprise, but in Chinese the similar bodily sensation is linked with the emotion of fear. Conversely, similar emotions may be associated with different bodily sensations or physiological changes. In English, when we are angry, our faces *flush* with anger, *get red with anger*, *be scarlet with rage*, but in Chinese the face colors for anger may be purple, pale, blue, etc.:

脸色发青 [lian shang fa qing, lit: ‘with face turning pale’; met: ‘in a state of extreme anger’];

脸红脖子粗 [lian hong bo zi cu, lit: ‘with face turning red and neck becoming thicker’; met: ‘in a state of extreme anger’];

脸上一阵红一阵白 [lian shang yi zhen hong yi zhen bai, lit: ‘with face turning red and pale’; met: ‘in a state of extreme anger’];

脸上青筋暴露 [lian shang qing jin bao lu, it: ‘the blue veins are swelling on one’s face’; met: ‘in a state of extreme anger’];

脸色发紫 [lian se fa zi, lit: ‘with face turning purple’; met: ‘in a state of extreme anger’].

According to Goatly, the third claim is not so relevant to our introduction to metonymy,

since the examples are counterfactual and therefore similes or metaphors: the speaker does not actually believe, for example that their heart is broken when they say ‘she broke my heart’, or that her blood is boiling when they say ‘I was boiling with rage’. However, historically, it may be difficult to know whether a speaker actually believed what was said—in which case it is metonymy or even literal language, or did not believe it, in which case we have metaphor. (Goatly, 2007: 223)

That is to say, such “metaphors” that describe emotions via internal bodily images or imaginary bodily experiences remain uncertain in their origins. But they are still metaphors. This physiological interpretation is applicable to many lexical items in my data, but certainly not all of them. Let me point out two facts. Firstly, both in Chinese and English, the emotion of anger is not always construed as something in a container, i.e. when conceptualizing the emotion of anger, the English and Chinese speakers do not always view their bodies and body organs as containers⁵³. There are a number of lexical cases showing that the fire and liquids as the sources for the

⁵³ This argument is supported by the Chinese LEMS presented in section 3.2.3 for the theme ANGER IS HEAT, and the English LEMS for the theme ANGER IS HOT LIQUID IN A CONTAINER presented in 1.3.3.2.4 which is quoted from Goatly (2007: 245-246).

metaphor themes ANGER IS FIRE and ANGER IS LIQUIDS are not always or necessarily constrained in containers. Secondly, it is quite plain that it doesn't apply to the metaphor theme EMOTION IS PLANT. This metaphor involves more factors than the physiological ones and is much more complex than the sheer physiological interpretation can solve.

Similar cases could be found in some collocations of the data from Table 12 EMOTION IS FOOD/EATING, 甜言蜜语 [tian yan mi yu, lit: 'sweet words and honey phrases'; met: 'words spoken to please or cheat others']; 酸溜溜 [suan liu liu, lit: ' (of taste and smell) sour'; met: 'sad or envious']; 酸溜溜的脸 [suan liu liu de lian, lit: 'a sour face'; met: 'the face of a person who feels sad, jealous, or envious']; sweet words; an acid look; a bitter smile; etc.. Thus some emotion metaphors do not show the experiential relationships which have been regarded by the conceptual metaphor theory as the metonymic basis of conceptual metaphor. Yet in these examples, taking 酸溜溜的脸 for an example, some kind of analogical correlation exists in the combination of two physiologically unrelated concepts (the concept of 酸溜溜 [sour] and that of 脸 [face]) : the way people taste/smells sour is just as ugly as a person who feels sad, jealous, or envious. This analogical correlation can be expressed as a formula:

sour : taste/smell :: jealousy/sadness/envy : emotion.

It is possible for these non-embodied metaphors to be common in different languages: e.g., sweet words; an acid look; a bitter smile; etc. This shows that embodiment is not the necessary condition for a metaphor theme to be universal. Goatly further remarked:

In many cases it is difficult to see a metonymic basis at all. Even in cases where metonymy suggests universal metaphorical patterns, we can see that target concepts and source concepts are only loosely similar in meaning in different languages, cultures and sub-cultures. The strong experientialist theory of metonymy-based conceptual metaphor, with its universalist tendencies, depends upon the idea that the body is in turn universal and purely biological. However, both our bodily movements and the way we conceive of

our bodies are a product of culture. (Goatly, 2007: 277)

3.2.5 Cross-linguistic Differences and Commonalities of Lexicalized Emotion Metaphors in English and Chinese

3.2.5.1 The Correspondences of LEMS in English and Chinese

According to the data, the correspondences of LEMS in English and Chinese falls into four categories: near identity, partial identity, difference and absence of corresponding metaphor.

Near Identity:

Smoke is pouring out of his ears [lit: ‘fumes are coming out of his ears’; met: ‘he is infuriated’]
= 七窍生烟 [lit: ‘one’s ears, eyes, nostrils, mouth and nose are spitting fumes’; met: ‘he is infuriated’]

These two LEMS share the same target and source (ears), but they are different in the ranges of their sources.

In a cold sweat [lit: ‘perspiring (from fever)’; met: ‘in a state of feeling extremely frightened’]

□ 冒冷汗 [mao leng han, lit: ‘break out into a cold sweat’; met: ‘in a state of feeling extremely frightened’];

In a cold sweat and 冒冷汗 share the same source and target, but the range of 冒冷汗 is larger than that of *in a cold sweat*, because the sweating in 冒冷汗 is not restricted to the perspiring from fever.

Partial identity:

Spine-chilling [lit: ‘(making your backbone feel cold)’; met: ‘making you feel very frightened’]

□ 脊背发凉 [ji bei fa liang, lit: ‘feeling cold at the backbone’; met: ‘feeling frightened’]

Spine-chilling and 脊背发凉 are different in that the former refers to the transitive bodily sensations that are carried from the subject to the object, while the latter the intransitive bodily sensations, although they share the same target and

source.

Flaming [lit: ‘burning strongly’; met: ‘becoming angry’]

□ 动肝火 [dong gan huo, lit: ‘stir the fire from the liver’; met: ‘become angry’]

动肝火 and *flaming* share the same source and target, but they are different in two aspects:

- a) The fire in 动肝火 is just ignited and is not so strong as that in *flaming*;
- b) 动肝火 has a smaller range of source than *flaming*;

Difference:

(Get) cold feet [lit: ‘the feet that are low in temperature’; met: ‘loss of confidence before doing something risky’]

□ 气得手脚冰凉 [qi de shou jiao bing liang, lit: ‘with hands and feet that are low in temperature’; met: ‘in a state of extreme anger’];

(get) cold feet and 气得手脚冰凉 are different in their ranges of source, and are targeted at different emotions.

Absence of corresponding metaphor:

cold turkey [lit: ‘the bird meat low in temperature left over after Xmas or Thanksgiving’; met: ‘period of extreme suffering after withdrawal from a drug’];

incense [lit: ‘burn up’; met: ‘make angry’],

寒心 [han xin, lit: ‘cold heart’; met: ‘disappointment’];

The perfect overlapping of lexicalized emotion metaphors in different languages are less common so far as the data are concerned. Many overlapping cases in English and Chinese are just about the same. The motivations for the partial overlapping and non-overlapping cases of lexicalized emotion metaphors in the two languages are also displayed in [Table 43](#).

3.2.5.2 Some Characteristics of the Correspondences and Variations As Shown in the Appended Table 43:

(1) The same emotion may be the same feeling in the different parts of the body:

In Chinese, *anger* is the smoke belching out from every hole of the head: 七窍生烟 [qi qiao sheng yan, lit: ‘one's ears, eyes, nostrils, mouth and nose are smoking’; met: ‘extremely angry’]. In English, the emotion of extreme anger is the smoke coming out of the ears: *smoke is pouring out of his ears* [lit: ‘fumes are coming out of his ears’; met: ‘he is infuriated’]. *Smoke is pouring out of his ears* and 七窍生烟 both realize the metaphor themes ANGER IS FIRE IN A CONTAINER and HUMAN BODY IS A CONTAINER in English and Chinese.

Both in English and Chinese, people would be enraged when some intimate part of their body is touched by others: *Get on someone's tits* [lit: ‘press on someone's nipples’; met: ‘annoy’], *get up your nose* [lit: ‘go inside your nostrils’; met: ‘annoy’]; 摸某人的屁股 [mo mou ren de pi gu, lit: ‘press on someone's buttocks’; met: ‘infuriate somebody’], 摸老虎的屁股 [mo lao hu de pi gu, lit: ‘press on tiger's buttocks’; met: ‘infuriate the fierce and aggressive powerful persons which means a dangerous act’]. In this last case, the tiger is metonymized as a fierce and aggressive powerful person.

Moreover the different strengths of touching buttocks with the hands have activated the metonymies of the complete opposite emotions: 打屁股 [da pi gu, lit: ‘beat one's buttocks’; met: ‘punish somebody by criticism or other methods’], 拍马屁 [pai ma pi, lit: ‘pat on the horse's buttocks’; met: ‘flatter the powerful and important persons’]. (替人)擦屁股 [(ti ren) ca pi gu, lit: ‘rub the buttock for others’; met: ‘take the blame or punishment for others’]. In English, *buttock* is generally used in its literal sense, but its synonymous word *hip* is metaphorized as ‘interested in modern fashions’ or ‘fashionable’.

Another English word *arse* is used to constitute some lexical elaborations that are semantically equal to 拍马屁. For example, *kiss someone's arse* [lit: 'go kissing someone's arse'; met: 'be too respectful and obedient toward someone, in order to get an advantage'] has the near identical meaning with 拍马屁. *Arse-licker* [lit: 'person who goes to lick someone's arse'; met: 'person who tries to win favours by flattering people'] takes a similar elaboration with 马屁精 [ma pi jing, lit: 'person who is good at patting on the horse's buttocks'; met: 'a real flatter']. Similar to 打屁股, beating or pains on the arse/backside is also annoying in English, e.g. *a pain in arse/backside* [lit: 'pain in the arse'; met: 'someone or something that is very annoying'].

(2) The same emotion may be the different feelings in the same part of the body:

flush with anger [lit: 'become red in the face'; met: 'become angry'] and 脸色发黑 [lian se fa hei, lit: 'go black in the face'; met: 'become angry'] stand for the same emotion.

(3) The different emotions may be the same feeling in the same part of the body:

发竖 [fa shu, lit: 'his hairs stand up'; met: 'someone becomes extremely angry'] and *hair-raising* [lit: 'with hairs standing up'; met: 'terrifying or horrifying'], *make one's hair stand on end* [lit: 'make one's hairs standing up'; met: 'fill one with fright or horror'] or *hair standing on end* [lit: 'with hairs standing up'; met: 'be filled with fear or extreme fright'] construe the different emotions in terms of the same feeling in the same part of the body, while 毛骨悚然 [mao gu song ran, lit: 'hair standing up and spine chilling'; met: 'be filled with fear'] equals to *hair standing on end*.

sweat out [lit: 'lose liquid through the skin'; met: 'wait anxiously for situation to improve'] and 汗颜 [han yan, lit: 'sweats on the face'; met: 'feeling deeply ashamed'].

(4) The different emotions may be the same feeling in the different parts of the body:

cold feet [lit: ‘with the two feet that are low in temperature’; met: ‘loss of confidence before doing something risky’] and 吓得手脚冰凉 [xia de shou jiao bing liang, lit: ‘cold hands and feet’ ; met: ‘in a state of feeling extremely frightened’].

(5) The same emotion may be the different feelings in the different parts of the body:

气得四肢冰凉 [qi de si zhi bing liang, lit: ‘(of four limbs-arms and legs) be cold because of the *qi*’; met: ‘be extremely angry’], expresses the same anger as *hot under the collar* [lit: ‘high in temperature around the neck’; met: ‘very annoyed’] and *make the blood boil* [lit: ‘heat the blood to boiling point’; met: ‘make somebody angry’]⁵⁴.

3.3 Discussion: Non-Commonality in Emotion Metaphors and Its Reasons

This section will apply what I have found in the last section to discuss the problems that I have proposed in the first section of this chapter.

Goatly (2007: 256) enumerated six possible reasons for the non-universality in metaphors and metaphor themes. Five of them are found to be applicable to my data of LEMS in English and Chinese⁵⁵. These five reasons are

- No such exact target concept exists in one culture/ language as exists in another, or the target concept is not quite identical in the two cultures (cf. Kövecses 2005: 121, 253-7).
- No such exact source concept exists in one culture / language as exists in another, or the prototypical source concept has cultural variation at the basic category level in different cultures (cf. Kövecses 2005: 118-9, 253-7).

⁵⁴ Minor differences still persist in the correspondences between 气得四肢冰凉 and *hot under the collar*, and 气得四肢冰凉 and *make the blood boil*. Firstly, 气得四肢冰凉 is a intransitive feeling while *make the blood boil* a transitive action; secondly, *hot under the collar* has a larger range in source than 气得四肢冰凉.

⁵⁵ The other one is chiefly about the diachronic changes in the targets and sources of metaphor themes, which are explored to some degree in chapter 4.

- The same target and source concepts exist in both / all cultures, but they are paired differently, or paired in one language and not in another (cf. Kövecses 2005: 70-87).
- Although there is an identity, because the mappings are only partial, different grounds are explored in different languages, including different emotional grounds (cf. Kövecses 2005: 123-25).
- Though source and target are paired similarly at some general level, they are differentiated at a more specific level (cf. Kövecses 2005: 68-70).

3.3.1 Lack of Exact Target Concept in One Culture/ Language as Exists in Another

So far as my data are concerned, the first reason “no such exact target concept exists in one culture / language as exists in another, or the target concept is not quite identical in the two cultures” seems to be counterfactual, because all the metaphor themes I have collected from Metalude find their counterparts in Chinese, which shows that English and Chinese have a lot in common, although they are more loosely related than, for example, English and German. Of course this can not exclude the legitimacy of the reason when comparing English with other cultures, as claimed by Goatly (2007):

Certain of the targets in Metalude simply do not exist for some cultures. In societies where there is no electricity, engines or machines, then ELECTRICITY IS LIQUID, ENGINE IS ANIMAL / HUMAN, MACHINE IS ANIMAL or HUMAN cannot exist. Where there is no vehicle or traffic there will be no metaphor themes TRAFFIC IS LIQUID / BLOOD, VEHICLE IS ANIMAL / HUMAN. Where there is no money there are no themes such as MONEY IS FOOD, and in non-literate cultures it would be pointless to try to locate the themes TEXT IS BUILDING / CONTAINER, TEXT IS PATH or TEXT IS STRUCTURE. (Goatly, 2007: 259)

The above hypothesized instances that Goatly cites as examples are all based on assumptive embodied experiences, by which “societies where there is no

electricity, engines or machines” symbolize a kind of specificity caused by an absence of material culture in one culture/language. This assumption, though logically reasonable, does not apply to English and Chinese culture, because these two cultures, reflecting the largest civilized societies in the world, share many similarities in their embodied experiences. So the metaphor themes in the above quotation are basically shared by English and Chinese. This also explains the high correspondence in the metaphor themes of the English LEMS from Metalude with those of Chinese LEMS that I have collected from different Chinese dictionaries.

However, this high correspondence is only a seeming identity, which can not exclude the cognitive and cultural differences of the prototypical structures of these “identical” concepts. So far as emotion metaphors are concerned, I believe that these assumptive metaphorical differences may obtain by em-minded cultural absence which underlies our conceptualization of emotions. For example, Chinese and English share the same basic contents of the love concept. Both “love” include romantic and sexual love (*eros*), family love (*storage*), friendship love (*philia*), religious love (*agape*), and love of things (*khreia*)⁵⁶. But the Chinese “love” is not exactly the same as that of English. These two seemingly same concepts are different to some extent in their prototypes. For example, as a result of the specific understanding of love and spring (the season of the year) in Chinese culture, sexual love is construed by the source “spring” which does not represent the concept of love in English. So the metaphor theme LOVE IS SPRING which obtains for Chinese but not for English, is a specific conceptual metaphor in Chinese:

Metaphor theme: (SEXUAL) LOVE IS SPRING

Lexical realizations:

怀春 [huai chun, lit: ‘thinking of the spring’; met: ‘(esp. of a girl) being lovesick’];

春心 [chun xin, lit: ‘spring heart’; met: ‘desire for (sexual) love’];

春药 [chun yao, lit: ‘spring medicine’; met: ‘aphrodisiac’];

春宵 [chun xiao, lit: ‘spring night’; met: ‘wedding night’];

⁵⁶ This classification is made by Tissari (2001: 217).

春画 [chun hua, lit: 'spring pictures'; met: 'pornographic pictures'];

叫春 [jiao chun, lit: 'spring call'; met: '(of animals) give off a mating call'];

3.3.2 Lack of Exact Source Concept in One Culture/ Language as Exists in Another

The second reason “No such exact source concept exists in one culture / language as exists in another, or the prototypical source concept has cultural variation at the basic category level in different cultures” is more strongly supported by the data, because the cross-language variations of the metaphor theme in the two languages show that “the prototypical source concept has cultural variation at the basic category level in different cultures”.

For example, the semantic structures of the lexicalized emotion metaphors under the theme EMOTION IS COLOUR are not simply the result of the CAUSE AS EFFECT or EFFECT AS CAUSE metonymies but rather affected to a great extent by the cultural ideologies. According to Burgoon and Saine (1978), the white color would create the moods of joy, lightness, and cold (see Goatly, 2007: 230-233). But in Chinese, the white color symbolizes death and sadness, so the Chinese would wear white clothes in the funeral rites. It is obvious that the color-triggered emotions are not the direct embodied effects of the colors but result from people's cultural notions of the colors. The colors, although sharing to a high degree the cross-cultural commonness in the human physiological perception as Berlin and Kay have revealed, represent different emotion implications in the two cultures. In other words, the color of white is a culture-specific source for the conceptualization of emotions in that its prototypical concepts have cultural variations at the basic level in English and Chinese cultures.

In terms of Lakoff's theory that “the sources of metaphor themes derive from our infant experience of our bodies and their interaction with objects in space. Hence, we would expect such sources to be universal features of bodily human experience.” (Goatly, 2007: 260) The colour of white is such an idealized source for this Lakoffian

hypothetic proposition. It should be common, because both the English and Chinese speakers share a lot of common embodied living experiences in their perception of the white color. However, major differences occur even for such a seemingly common source of metaphor themes, which derives from the same embodied living experiences of English and Chinese speakers. And for our present cases, I should say instead that the concepts of colours in a given culture are an integral part of the cultural model of people's lives in the culture, that the embodied metonymic bases are not always the sound grounding for the commonality of metaphors, i.e. the embodied metonymic bases will not always assure the commonality of metaphor themes in different cultures.

Besides, different ways of living and environment can also cause the cross-cultural variations/absences of the prototypical source concepts: *cold turkey* [lit: 'the bird meat low in temperature left over after Xmas or Thanksgiving'; met: 'period of extreme suffering after withdrawal from a drug']. Since traditionally Xmas or Thanksgiving is absent in Chinese culture, this LEM does not obtain for the Chinese lexicon. Yet, this does not mean that Chinese lacks the metaphor theme which is realized in the semantic structure of *cold turkey*. In fact, the metaphor themes EXPERIENCE IS FOOD and FEAR/UNPLEASANT EMOTION IS COLD are found to underlie a number of Chinese LEMS.

3.3.3 Differences in the Pairing of Target and Source

This reason might be exemplified by the fact that the same source can stand for different emotions. So different lexicalized emotion metaphors can be found under the same metaphor theme with the same target and source. We have a number of examples of this kind in the data. The following are some examples:

(a) EMOTION IS HEAT

In Table 43, 热血沸腾 [lit: 'one's blood boils'; met: 'in a state of feeling extremely excited'] and *blood boils* [lit: 'one's blood boils'; met: 'in a state of

extreme anger’] elaborate the same metaphor theme EMOTION IS HEAT, but they are different at a more specific level: in Chinese the metaphor is changed into EXCITEMENT IS BOILING BLOOD, while in English, it is ANGER IS BOILING BLOOD. Consider a more specific metaphor: ANGER IS SMOKE IN BODY. In English, the lexical instantiation is *smoke was pouring out of his ears*, but in Chinese 七窍生烟 [lit: ‘one’s ears, eyes, nostrils, mouth and nose are spitting fumes’; met: ‘in a state of extreme anger’]. In fact, we can see in [Table 7](#) EMOTION IS BODY and in [Table 43](#) “Embodied Physiological Changes and Their Corresponding Emotion Metaphors”, that its differences in the two languages arises either from the mapping of the different parts or sensations of the body onto the same emotion, or from the differences in the observing and recognizing the embodied physiological changes or feelings that are thought to be twinborn with the emotions. Both of these two aspects are closely related and culture-dependent, reflecting the influences of people’s cognition and cultural notions on the metaphorical structures of emotion concepts which are developed historically and require a diachronic exploration.

The powerful effects of culture and ideology on the metaphors are also shown in the data. “Even with the emotion metaphors based on the metonymies of physical responses, there are important cultural variations.” (Goatly, 2007: 7) For example, the two schematic images in 火气 [huo qi, lit: ‘fire *qi*’; met: ‘anger’] and 动肝火 [dong gan huo, lit: ‘stir the fire from the liver’; met: ‘become angry’] are obviously culture specific.

A typical case is the metaphor theme ANGER IS HEAT which Kövecses studied at length. However,

Kövecses suggests that Chinese does not seem to have metonymical expressions that mention the bodily heat effects of anger, lacking, for example equivalents to get hot under the collar. This is a sign that the conceptualisation of the physiology of anger is slightly different. However, he maintains that there is a real embodiment which involves blood-pressure rising and body heating up when anger occurs for Chinese as for the rest of us. (Kövecses, 2000a: 159; Goatly, 2007: 249)

This claim is somewhat divorced from the reality. For example, Chinese uses the high temperature of eyes or heart to construe strong emotions:

HEAT IN THE EYES AS ENVY

热眼 [re yan, lit: 'high temperature in the eyes'; met: 'envy'];

眼热 [yan re, lit: 'feel hot in the eyes'; met: 'feel jealous, envy'];

HIGH HEAT IN THE EYES AS ANGER

双眼冒火 [Liang yan mao huo, lit: 'the temperature of eyes is so high that they seem to emit sparks'; met: 'in a state of extreme anger'];

眼冒金星 [yan mao jin xing, lit: 'the temperature of eyes is so high that they emit sparks'; met: 'in a state of extreme anger'];

The fact that Chinese don't often use the word 热 (heat/hot) to metaphorically speak of the emotion anger, is not because they don't feel hot when they get angry, but because they have frequently used this word in the metaphorical expressions of other emotions like *excitement* and *enthusiasm* and because they think that the word 热 (heat/hot) can not express the violence of anger and they should use more violent heat (e.g. fire and explosion of gas) to depict the strength of anger, its harmful damage to the body, and the strongest sufferings that people feel when they are angry (cf. [Table 3](#) in the appendix). Ancient Chinese saints regarded anger as the harmful fire that would burn out everything in the world, and took the controlling of anger as one of their fundamental norms. Some other examples provided by Kövecses to elaborate the metaphor theme are also inapplicable to Chinese. For example, the physiological experiences "my blood is boiling" (Kövecses, 1995) and "my face was pepperily hot with anger" (Kövecses, 2000:156)⁵⁷ which were quoted as the triggers of the universal metaphor theme ANGER IS HEAT, are both doubtful in Chinese where the physiological experience "my blood is boiling" has nothing to do with anger but generally stands for the emotions of excitement and enthusiasm, while "my face was pepperily hot with anger" stands for the emotion of embarrassment and shyness. One

⁵⁷ He cited this example from Yu Ning (1998).

reason for Kövecses' and Yu Ning's mistakes is that they had a preconception that universal physiological experiences should exist in Chinese and stand for the same emotion. However, the fact is that they do exist in Chinese but they can stand for different emotions⁵⁸. Obviously, this cross-language variation can not be ascribed to the physiological factors, but involves many complex cultural factors such as people's cultural notions of blood and anger. Since this has to do with historical and diachronic influences that ground people's cognition in different cultures, it will be highlighted in the next chapter.

(b) CONTEMPT IS NOT TO LOOK DIRECTLY AT SOMEBODY

In both English and Chinese, we have the concept of “lofty contempt over others”. In English, this concept is expressed by the phrases *look down on somebody*, and *turn your nose up at somebody*. But in Chinese, the same concept is conceived as 不用正眼瞧人 (not to look directly at somebody). It is obvious that both English and Chinese have the metaphor CONTEMPT IS NOT TO LOOK DIRECTLY AT SOMEBODY. This metaphor is quite specific and is therefore multivalent since NOT TO LOOK DIRECTLY AT SOMEBODY can stand for other emotions too. However, the vital point shown in this common metaphor is that although the source and target, the metaphor, and the pairing of the source and target, are all identical, the ways of avoiding to look at somebody are different, i.e. their grounds are different. It is noteworthy that Chinese uses more frequently and finely the body parts to construe human emotions than English does. Take EYE for example, at least 20 lexicalized emotion metaphors use the eye as their sources, but in Metalude I find that emotion metaphors of this kind are less than five in number. Another Chinese expression of the concept “contempt” is 冷眼看人 (look at somebody with the cold eyes), but this time the meaning of contempt is not expressed by the way of looking but by others' sense

⁵⁸ Consider the fact that both EXCITEMENT IS HEAT and EMOTION IS HEAT obtain for English as well, this cross-language variation is chiefly the different lexical realizations of the same metaphor themes EMOTION IS HEAT and ANGER IS HEAT in English and Chinese. Thus the same lexical forms might elaborate different metaphor themes in the cross-cultural backgrounds.

impressions of your eyesight which might correspond to the English expression *a glacial stare* or *a frosty stare*. Their chief difference is that 看人(look at somebody) in 冷眼看人(look at somebody with the cold eyes) is a metaphor while the *stare* in *a glacial stare* or *a frosty stare* is a literal expression.

(c) EMOTION IS SWEAT/LIQUID

The different realizations of the metaphor theme EMOTION IS SWEAT/LIQUID in English and Chinese are related to a large measure to the asymmetric pairing of sources and targets caused by the multivalency of the metaphor theme EMOTION IS SWEAT/LIQUID in these two languages. In Chinese, sweat is a polysemous source for the target of emotion: it stands for the emotions of shame, anxiety, and excitement, and fear as well. Different sweat-related LEMS seem to realize different themes respectively, thus though each of the sweat-related LEMS is not ambiguous itself, the metaphor themes that get elaborated by them are often ambiguous or polysemous. The following are some examples in Chinese:

吓出一身冷汗 [xia chu yi shen leng han , lit: ‘cold sweat all over the body ’; met: ‘in a state of feeling extremely frightened’];

急得满头大汗 [(ji de) man tou da han, lit: ‘sweating on the head’; met: ‘in a state of feeling uneasy, worried, anxious’]

激动得满面油光 [ji dong de man mian you guang , lit: ‘the face glimmers with sweat’; met: ‘in a state of feeling excited’].

The multivalency of the metaphor theme EMOTION IS SWEAT/LIQUID in English is quite similar to that in Chinese. The following are some of its lexicalizations in English:

in a cold sweat [lit: ‘perspiring’; met: ‘in a state of feeling extremely frightened’];

sweat out [lit: ‘lose liquid through the skin’; met: ‘wait anxiously for situation to improve’];

By comparing the above LEMS in English and Chinese, the metaphor themes FEAR IS SWEAT and ANXIETY IS SWEAT are realized in both languages, but the

metaphor theme SHAME IS SWEAT is realized in Chinese but not in English, which accounts for the asymmetry in the metaphorical pairing of the emotion and sweat concept in English and Chinese.

(d) EMOTION IS EXPLOSION

Other typical instances are *dynamite* [lit: ‘type of explosive containing nitro-glycerine’; met: ‘stimulating or exciting person or thing’] and 吞了火药 [tun le huo yao, lit: ‘have swallowed the gunpowder’; met: ‘easily become angry’], which both belong to the metaphor theme EMOTION IS EXPLOSION. Dynamite and gunpowder are two explosives with roughly the same function, which seem rather difficult and unnecessary for the ordinary people to differentiate. Gunpowder had been used to kill persons since it was first invented in ancient China; while *dynamite* was first invented for the purpose of promoting the civilian industries and city constructions where it got wide applications in the European countries since its invention. In other words, though *dynamite* and *gunpowder* are of the same source and similar function, they once shared different imaginary schematic structures in the mentality of the ancient Chinese at the time of the invention of *gunpowder* and that of the Westerners at the time of *dynamite*.

(e) EMOTION IS PLANT

Besides, in Table 20 EMOTION IS PLANT, all the lexical items under the theme depict emotion in terms of plant. In English, the pleasing emotion is mapped onto a peach (lit: round fruit with juicy sweet yellow flesh; met: excellent, pleasing) whereas in Chinese it is mapped onto flowers:

心花怒放 [xin hua nu fang, lit: ‘with the heart flower in full bloom’; met: ‘being elated, being wild with joy’.]

脸上笑开了花 [lian shang xiao kai le hua, lit: ‘with face smiling like flower in full bloom’; met: ‘being elated, being wild with joy’.]

Although Yu Ning (1998: 65) pointed out that the Chinese has the metaphor theme HAPPINESS IS FLOWERS IN THE HEART which is not applicable in English, my data of corresponding metaphor themes in the two languages show that they share at least the more superordinate metaphor theme: EMOTION IS PLANT. My data further show that the metaphor theme HAPPINESS IS FLOWERS in Chinese might be applicable to some other parts of the body besides the heart (e.g. face). Since HAPPINESS IS FLOWERS is subordinate to EMOTION IS PLANT, the differences of English and Chinese in the metaphor theme HAPPINESS IS FLOWERS can be regarded as the variations of the more superordinate and common metaphor theme EMOTION IS PLANT in the substrate of the hierarchical conceptual system. In Table 20, the English word *peach* is metaphorically used to depict a pleasing emotion. In Chinese, 桃花 (sound: tao hua, lit: ‘peach flower’) is a very important symbol of happiness, sexual love, and beautiful young ladies⁵⁹ in Chinese culture. In Chinese 桃花盛开 (sound: tao hua sheng kai, lit: ‘the peach flowers in full bloom’) symbolizes the emotion of happiness and joy, as we can see in the popular expressions 在那桃花盛开的三月 (in the March when the peach trees were in full bloom) and 在那桃花盛开的日子里 (in the days when the peach trees were in full bloom). It also symbolizes the sexual love as in the lexical item 桃花运 [tao hua yun, lit: ‘the fortune of peach flower’; met: ‘good luck in love affairs’] and 桃色 [tao se, lit: ‘color of peach’; met: ‘illicit love affairs’]. In ancient Chinese, 桃花 (peach flower) symbolized the beauty of females. Later it was metonymized as the pronoun for young lady and beautiful things. For this reason, in Chinese, 世外桃源 (sound: shi wai tao yuan, lit: ‘land of Peach Blossoms’) is used to depict a peaceful, happy and beautiful place, or an imaginative beautiful world (*Shangri-la*). In English, the lexical item *peachy* which means literally the colour of peach or something similar to it, refers to the favourite things or persons. The word *peach* may also be used to depict the good and attractive person (Metalude, under the metaphor theme HUMAN IS FRUIT). Although its sexual association might not be so strong

⁵⁹ In English, *peach* is also used to refer to beautiful girls. So the major difference of English and Chinese is in the ranges of source.

as its counterpart 桃色 (color of peach) in Chinese, it still has some sexual applications in English literature (cf. the lexical item *peachy* in *Collins Cobuild English Dictionary*). It is obvious that English and Chinese share the metaphor theme PLEASING IS PEACH⁶⁰, although it remains uncertain whether the metaphor theme HAPPINESS IS FLOWER is applicable to English. Hence, the emotion metaphor (of happiness) is realized in Chinese by attributing part of the features of plant to a specific part of the body (the heart or the face in my data), but in English it only tells that it is a peach, and it doesn't give detailed information about the peach. Evidently, the information provided by the former is more detailed while the latter more sketchy.

One apparent difference between the two metaphorization of happiness/pleasing is that the Chinese metaphorization is a multi-source metaphor whereas the English metaphorization a single-source one. Considering the cause-effect relationship between the peach flowers and its fruits, it seems that happiness is associated with different parts of the plant tree and the different phases in the development of fruit tree in the two languages. In Chinese, there are some popular metaphors that people's emotions (especially the devoted love between a couple) can 开花结果 [kai hua jie guo, lit: 'blossom and produce the fruits'; met: 'succeed'], 茁壮成长 [zhuo zhuang cheng zhang, lit: 'grow vigorously like a tree'; met: 'develop smoothly'], or 凋零 [diao wei, lit: 'the withering of a plant'; met: 'suffering some major setbacks'], reflecting that the emotions are construed in Chinese culture as the fruit tree. In fact this phenomenon also exists in English where the lexical items such as *blossom*, *flourish*, *bloom* and *wither* can be metaphorically used to construe human emotions in some specific contexts.

It is also noteworthy that cultural notions determine people's image-schematic structure of the sources and the parts of the sources which are selected to construe the targeted emotions. Both English and Chinese share the metaphor ATTRACTION IS

⁶⁰ The two concepts PLEASING and HAPPINESS are physiologically related by the cause-effect relationship: the former being the cause of the latter.

PEACH:

桃花 [tao hua, lit: ‘peach flower’; met: ‘female beauty’],

桃花运 [tao hua yun, lit: ‘the fortune of a peach flower’; met: ‘good luck in love affairs’],

桃色 [tao se, lit: ‘color of peach’; met: ‘illicit love affairs’],

粉面桃花 [fen mian tao hua, lit: ‘the pink face is like a peach flower’; met: ‘an attractive face’],

桃花三月 [tao hua san yue, lit: ‘April when the peach is in full blossom’; met: ‘an attractive season or environment’]⁶¹,

peach [lit: ‘round fruit of peach with juicy sweet yellow flesh’; met: ‘excellence, pleasing things’],

peach [lit: ‘round fruit with juicy sweet yellow flesh’; met: ‘good, attractive person’],

peachy [lit: ‘of or like peach’; met: ‘excellent’].

Their difference lies in that they focus on different parts of the peach tree because of their respective cultural ideologies and cognitions. Such differences are so important to influence the meanings of the metaphor themes and their relevant lexicalized metaphors.

3.3.4 Different Grounds or Partial Mapping of Potential Correspondences

This reason arises from the partial mappings of metaphors.

In this case of non-universality, although there is an identity in pairing, because the mappings are only partial then different grounds or aspects of the source schema are mapped or explored in different cultures / languages. In terms of the individual lexical item this would mean that the target and source are identical, but the ground is different. In terms of metaphor themes with the same target and source this would mean that different aspects of the ICM or schema are elaborated by the lexical items found under that metaphor theme. In either case, but particularly the latter, this

⁶¹ In the lunar calendar, the third month of the year is not March, but April.

represents a challenge to the universal experientialist hypothesis. (Goatly, 2007: 267)

Here I reinforce Goatly's remark with other data from Table 10 "EMOTION IS ELECTRICITY", which show that different features of electricity or electrical devices are used to conceive different kinds of emotions in these two languages. In Chinese, there are only 4 lexicalized emotion metaphors which are characterized by their focuses on the subjective feelings of being touched by the electricity: 触电似的 [chu dian shi de, lit: 'feel like being touched by the electricity'; met: 'in a state of feeling shocked', 'be transfixed with terror']; 来电 [lai dian, lit: 'electricity comes ']; met: 'begin to be affectionate for somebody']; 不来电 [bu lai dian, lit: 'no electricity comes'; met: 'have no feeling of love for somebody']; 充电 [chong dian, lit: 'be filled with electricity'; met: '(of affection) refreshed with new efforts']. But in English, only in *Metalude* have we already found 16 lexicalized emotion metaphors with electricity as their sources which cover many aspects of electricity and many electrical devices: *live wire, AC/DC, wired, galvanize, supercharged, etc.*⁶²

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) noticed this phenomenon and gave their explanation:

MORE IS UP has a very different kind of experiential basis than HAPPY IS UP or RATIONAL IS UP. Though the concept UP is the same in all these metaphors, the experiences on which these UP metaphors are based are very different. It is not that there are many different UPs; rather, verticality enters our experience in many different ways and so gives rise to many different metaphors....Take, for example, a metaphor like UNKNOWN IS UP; KNOWN IS DOWN. Examples are "that is up in the air" and "the matter is settled". This metaphor has an experiential basis very much like that of UNDERSTANDING IS GRASPING, as in "I couldn't grasp his explanation." With physical objects, if you can grasp something and hold it in your hands, you can look it over carefully and get a reasonably good understanding of it.

⁶² If the shock for emotion conceptualization in English is the electrical one, then English and Chinese would share a higher similarity than *Metalude* suggests.

It's easier to grasp something and look at it carefully if it's on the ground in a fixed location than if it's floating through the air (like a leaf or a piece of paper). Thus UNKNOWN IS UP; KNOWN IS DOWN is coherent with UNDERSTANDING IS GRASPING. (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 19-20)

Verticality (that is used to explain the multivalency of UP in different metaphor themes) is in fact a means of cognition in different contexts and is applicable to the different cognitions in different cultures where the different ways of cognition would give rise to different understandings of the source. "Verticality enters our experience in many different ways" means that the different conceptions of verticality are based on different experiences. In the cross-cultural comparison of the metaphor theme ATTRACTIVENESS IS PEACH where the PEACH enters the visions of the Chinese and English speakers in the same way, and it is recognized on the same physical basis (it is unlikely that the peach would taste different or look different in the two cultures), and the role of cultural ideology is highlighted. The different parts or attributes of the peach tree are selected as the source to construe the emotion of happiness, reflecting people's cognitions of pleasing or of attractiveness, and of peach in the two cultures: Chinese choose the flower of peach as the source because flowers are the most typical symbol of attractiveness in Chinese culture; the English choose the peach fruit as the source, since they think that attractiveness is as sweet as the taste of the peach fruit. The commonness between the two cases is that both traditional ideologies and physiological feelings engage in people's cognitions. Hence the formation of metaphor themes involves a multitude of interactions between the cognitive subject and object, between culture and physiology, between source and target, and among the sources themselves.

3.3.5 General Identity of Pairing with Specific Differences

As it has been shown in the last section, the emotions are conceptualized in the two languages by 41 metaphor themes (concepts) which form the hierarchical system

of emotion concept. Then if we turn to the higher layer, the metaphor themes decrease in number. But if we turn to the substratum of the system, there will be 1920 English and Chinese lexical items in total (English and Chinese are roughly in equal portions). The 1920 lexicalized emotion metaphors represent a large number of more concrete metaphors (each lexical item has its own metaphor, but some lexical items would share one metaphor even at the substratum). This system shows that our understanding or conceptualization of emotion is so complex that a great variety of sources can be used for the target of emotion. At the higher level, both the images of sources and targets will be simpler, less specific and higher commonality; while at the lower level the reverse happens: more specific, richer images, and more complex. This is the general situation of the hierarchical system of emotion concept that underlies my data. What makes the hierarchical system more complex is that lexical instantiations of the metaphor themes in this system are realized both vertically (i.e., each metaphor theme in this system would find its lexical instantiations in the lower substratum) and horizontally (i.e., each metaphor theme at different levels of this system would be horizontally elaborated by a set of lexical items). It is obvious that the more superordinate theme in this system would dominate more subordinate themes and lexicalized metaphors. Namely, the primary metaphors would cut cross more lexical items than the more specific complex metaphors. In this way, the emotion metaphorical concepts are clearly presented as a system which, nonetheless, is grounded in complex factors.

The corresponding data as shown in the appendix display the correspondence (overlapping and differences) of lexicalized emotion metaphors in English and Chinese. They also show a positive correlation between the commonality of a metaphor theme and the level of its corresponding concept, and between the commonality and the degree of abstractness of the metaphor theme. This seems to support Kövecses' recent assertion that "the shared metaphors are on a generic level. Thus, conceptual metaphors such as we have found for anger, time, event structure, and the self tend to be potentially common at a fairly high level of abstraction---- the superordinate level" (Kövecses, 2005: 64). However, when they are considered at a

lower level of concept, they are different metaphors and touch upon different emotions. Thus the same physiological feeling leads to different emotion metaphors, i.e. the emotions that the physiological feelings are used to metonymize in the two languages are different to some extent. These facts reinforce the fifth reason of Goatly (2007), “though source and target are paired similarly at some general level, they are differentiated at a more specific level”, which arises from the levels of generality that a metaphor is at. This reason has also been interpreted by Barcelona,

Metaphors and metonymies are to a large extent culture specific, because the domains of experience are not necessarily the same in all cultures, but the most abstract over-arching metaphors and metonymies seem to have as input or source domains universal physical notions like “verticality”, “container” etc. known as image schemas, which are acquired on the basis of our earliest bodily experiences. (Barcelona, 2000: 6)

In the following, I will give some examples of corresponding LEMS in English and Chinese to show the relationship between the commonality/specificity of emotion metaphors and the hierarchical structure of emotion concepts.

(1) EMOTION IS BOILING BLOOD

Figure 9: Lexical Realizations of EMOTION IS BOILING BLOOD

Variations caused by cultural ideology are exemplified in the case of the above-mentioned *my blood is boiling*(Figure 9). In English *my blood is boiling*

realizes the metaphor theme ANGER IS BOILING BLOOD, because according to the humoral theory, “an excess of blood shows up not only in the redness of the skin and swollen veins, but also in carelessness and a certain degree of recalcitrance” (Geeraerts & Grondelaers 1995:156). But in Chinese, it realizes the metaphor theme EXCITEMENT/ENTHUSIASM IS BOILING BLOOD, e.g. 热血沸腾 [re xue fei teng, lit: ‘the hot blood is boiling over’, met: ‘excited’], because in terms of the theory of *yin-yang* and the five elements, blood corresponds to heart, which is regarded as the source of enthusiasm and excitement. These variations which exist in the metaphorical structures of *my blood is boiling* and 热血沸腾 are associated to some extent to the hierarchical structure of emotion concepts.

(2) ANGUISH IS EATING BITTER PLANT

Figure 10: Lexical Realizations of ANGUISH IS EATING BITTER PLANT

Some physiological feelings, which result from the culturally specific diets, may also metaphorize the same emotion: 吃黄连 [chi huang lian, lit: ‘eating the Chinese goldthread’; met: ‘feeling anguished’] metaphorizes the same emotion as *wormwood* [lit: ‘very bitter tasting medical plant’; met: ‘very vexing or bitter emotion’]. The former is an intransitive feeling, while the latter a transitive one. A more specific theme for 吃黄连 may be ANGUISH IS EATING CHINESE GOLDTHREAD. And the more specific theme for *wormwood* is VEXING

EMOTION IS WORMWOOD or MAKING SOMEONE FEEL ANGUISHED IS MAKING HIM EAT WORMWOOD. So the different lexicalized realizations in 吃黄连 *吃黄连* and *wormwood* can be diagrammed as in Figure 10.

As a superordinate concept, the target concept ANGUISH includes FEELING ANGUISHED and MAKING SOMEONE FEEL ANGUISHED. It seems obvious that 吃黄连 *吃黄连* and *wormwood* share the same metaphor theme at the level of FEELING ANGUISHED, but they turn to realize different metaphors at a lower level. These variations are caused by the level shift that happens to the target concepts of the metaphor themes.

(3) ENVY IS EYES

Both the English and Chinese speakers have the emotion of jealousy, but in Chinese jealousy is 红眼 [hong yan, lit: 'red eyes'; met: 'jealousy'], while in English it is green-eyed [lit: 'with eyes that are green in colour'; met: 'jealous']. The sources involved here are two unreal or imagery sensations of eyes. And the variations over the metaphor theme ENVY IS EYES are caused by the level shift that happens to its source concepts (Figure 11).

Figure 11: Lexical Realizations of ENVY IS EYES

Although as early as 1980 Lakoff and Johnson have pointed out the hierarchy of conceptual metaphor, problems about the hierarchical structure of metaphor themes with different generalities and their relevance to the universality and specificity of metaphors remain a weak point for the conceptual metaphor theory. However, the

work by Grady (1997) on the primary metaphors reveals the importance of solving these problems for the development of conceptual metaphor theory, which has been remarked upon by Goatly (2007: 270-273). I have also tried to discuss these problems in this chapter, based on the data that I have collected. These data seem to suggest that even though language is the product of human thinking, the production itself is not a one-step process, but rather a multi-step diffraction process in which every concept level plays the role of receiving and changing the rays' directions. As a result of this diffraction, the high commonality at the superordinate conceptual level are changed gradually to be less abstract and common in the diffractions that the concepts meet as they descend. Therefore, the conceptual system is a hierarchical structure in which the concepts at the higher level tend to be more abstract and common while those at the lowest bottom level (the language level) less abstract and more specific.

These data prove that people in different cultures that were not related for a long time in their development histories partly share the same conceptual system, and that the differences between English and Chinese in lexicalized emotion metaphors arise as a result of cultural notions and cognitive preferences in selecting the sources to construct the substrate conceptual metaphor. Once more they justify our hypothesis about the hierarchical structure of emotion concepts.

Moreover, I make a bold assumption from these interactions between the levels of the conceptual system: there should be some kind of interactive forces that are responsible for the vertical changes of metaphor themes when they are projected from the higher layer to the lower one. This force might be the interaction of cognitive relationships just as those that are represented in the above figures: Figure 6 “The Theme Structure of EMOTION IS SENSE IMPRESSION” (p. 102), Figure 7 “Correlation between Theme Structure and Multivalency” (p. 103), Figure 8 “The conceptual structure of the metaphor theme ANGER IS HEAT” (p. 113). Figure 8 “The conceptual structure of the metaphor theme ANGER IS HEAT” provides the conceptual map underlying the data of Table 3. The Chinese word 满腔怒火 [man qiang nu huo, lit: ‘with one’s heart full of fire’; met: ‘being extremely angry’] from

Table 3 is obviously cut across by the complex metaphor ANGER IS FIRE IN THE BODY which is at the substrate of the conceptual structure of the metaphor theme ANGER IS HEAT and which is meanwhile more specific and image-rich than its superordinate themes: ANGER IS FIRE and ANGER IS HEAT. The complex metaphor ANGER IS FIRE IN THE BODY is composed of two primary metaphors ANGER IS FIRE and BODY IS CONTAINER which are obviously more general and image-poor than their compound. Thus the complex metaphor that is realized in the semantic structure of 满腔怒火 results from the compounding of the primary metaphors ANGER IS FIRE and BODY IS CONTAINER. In other words, the image-schematic structure of fire for the metaphor ANGER IS FIRE IN THE BODY comes from the Chinese merging of the metaphors ANGER IS FIRE and BODY IS CONTAINER. It is the Chinese deep-rooted notions about the relationships among anger, fire, body, and container that motivate the combination of the metaphors ANGER IS FIRE and BODY IS CONTAINER into the metaphorical elaboration in the semantic structure of 满腔怒火. These notions are the “groundings”, i.e., the correlations in physiological experiences and cultural belief that provide the motivations for metaphors.

From the above analyses of the five reasons for the non-universality of metaphor themes, we can see that all the reasons fall into the category of cultural (including social and cognitive) differences, and can be regarded as the results of different cultural (social or cognitive) effects on the different parts of metaphorical structures of the emotion concepts, e.g. on the sources, targets, or grounds of emotion metaphors.

3.4. Conclusions

In the last sections I have analyzed in detail the cross-cultural variations of the metaphor themes in English and Chinese, based on my corresponding data of lexicalized emotion metaphors in the two languages. By these analyses, I have revealed that the emotions are conceptualized in both English and Chinese by a

hierarchical system of conceptual metaphors, composed of the different themes with different levels of generalities. Each metaphor theme in this system has its own lexical instantiations both vertically and horizontally. The levels of generality where a metaphor theme appears affect to some degree its cross-language commonality and its multivalency and diversification. The theory of primary metaphor proposed by Grady (1999) may remove the multivalency and diversification in the metaphor themes by elevating the generality of themes, yet it can not avoid the cultural variations in some cases.

Having examined the interplay of emotion conceptualization with bodily physiology and culture as reflected in the metaphorical patterns of the lexical data in my correspondence tables of English and Chinese lexicalized emotion metaphors, I found that most lexicalized emotion metaphors in the two languages have their origins in the physiological experiences which provide the metonymic basis for conceptualizations of emotion. However, there are also some other cases in the data showing that there might be some other non-embodied bases, [e.g. the analogical correlations in 酸溜溜的脸 (a sour face)] for the emotion metaphors. It is also demonstrated in this study that metaphors without a metonymic basis could be common in two different languages.

The ways and the reasons by which Chinese is different from English in the patterns of emotion metaphors are also displayed. In my data composed of the 41 corresponding tables of lexicalized emotion metaphors in English and Chinese⁶³, there is a mass of data showing some of the cross-language variations over the emotion metaphors based on the embodied physiological experiences. These data are formulated into Table 43 from which we can see what variations we have in the metaphors across languages and cultures. Thus, it demonstrates the effects of culture and ideology on emotion metaphor.

This study further demonstrates that the metaphor themes are cultural and ideological constructs to some extent. As Goatly (2007: 276-279) has written, both our

⁶³ See the part one of appendices.

bodily movements and the way we conceive of our bodies are a product of culture. In fact, the cross-language variations on the metaphor themes are to some extent caused by the cultural models that the languages belong to, which provide their respective ways to observe and understand the emotion-related physiological phenomena.

Although human emotional endowment is no doubt largely innate and universal, people's emotional lives are shaped, to a considerable extent by their culture. Every culture offers not only a linguistically embodied grid for the conceptualisation of emotions, but also a set of "scripts" suggesting to people how to feel, how to express their feelings, how to think about their own and other people's feelings, and so on (Wierzbicka, 1999: 240).

To sum up, this study has revealed the interactions of embodied commonality and cultural specificity on the metaphor themes of the lexicalized emotion metaphors in the data. It is evident that these two aspects of metaphor themes both play their roles simultaneously in the formation of metaphors. They coexist and interact with each other on the themes of emotion metaphors as shown in the data.

However, any cultural model is formed and develops over time. Still more, many cultural influences on the metaphor themes in English and Chinese, as the above discussions show, occurred long ago. Therefore, these cultural models in the metaphor themes, on the one hand, were historically constructed, while on the other hand have experienced the changes that have happened to their respective national cultures in the different periods of history. For example, Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995) argued that the *heat* and *fluid* metaphors for *anger* in English "could well be reflexes of a highly elaborated theory of emotion, one that held sway over popular and scholarly thought in the West for over 2000 years, namely, the theory of the four humors." (Taylor, 1995: 14) This argument also applies to Chinese concept of anger, the conceptualization of which seems to be greatly affected by the Chinese folk understandings of the human body and Chinese traditional medicine.

Therefore, the cross-language synchronic correspondent patterns of lexicalized emotion metaphors in English and Chinese are only "the reflections of their diachronic

developments” as claimed by Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995), behind which there are more complex cultural origins and motivations that call for a diachronic comparison, in which, as suggested by Geeraerts and Grondelaers, “it is necessary to take into account the historical background of our emotion concepts to get a clear picture of the present-day situation, ...this investigation naturally entails a longitudinal historical analysis of the development of our emotional vocabulary”(1995: 173), because “it is only by investigating their historical origins and their gradual transformation that their contemporary form can be properly understood.”(1995: 177). These are also my motives for writing the next chapter which is aimed at explaining some of the cultural variations that have been revealed in this chapter from a diachronic perspective.

Chapter 4

Diachronic Comparisons of LEMS in English and Chinese

4.0 Introduction

This chapter is chiefly aimed at solving and interpreting the problems that have been proposed or found in Chapter 3, i.e. to make a diachronic comparison and cultural interpretation of LEMS in English and Chinese. Based on this, it aims to examine some of the most basic assumptions of CMT by observing the lexical representations of the cultural variations over the conceptualization of emotion in English and Chinese. Finally, it will try to propose some remedial alternatives for CMT.

4.1 The Concepts of Emotions in Chinese

4.1.1 Emotion as a Native-born Concept in Chinese

It is assumed in this study that 情感 has the equal identity with its counterpart in English (i.e. *emotion*). 情感 is not borrowed from the English word *emotion*. It can be traced back to as early as the Pre-Qin periods two thousands years ago, when *emotion* became one of the most important concepts in Confucianism. *The Analects of Confucius* not only repeatedly illustrates the concept of emotion and its importance in moral education, but abounds with emotion terms that represent different emotions in different degrees. For instance, the characters 喜 (xi), 乐 (le), 愉 (yu), 悦 (yue), and 怡 (yi), are used to express the concept of happiness in different degrees or with minor differences. Theoretically speaking, the exploration of the concept of emotion in the *Analects of Confucius* sheds light on my present study of emotion metaphors in at least two aspects. First, it confirmed my previous hypothesis that 情 (qing) is a native-born concept in the Chinese culture. Secondly, the study of how 情 (qing) is discussed in the *Analects of Confucius* could contribute to the description of its semantic structure.

4.1.2 Cultural Influences on the Conceptualization of Emotions

4.1.2.1 Theory of *Yin-yang* and the Five Elements

The conception of *yin-yang* can be traced back to as early as Yin and Zhou dynasties (about 1600 BC to 770 BC). It was systematically proposed and discussed for the first time in a book entitled 《周易》 (the *Book of Changes*). The first character 周 in this book title means that the book was written in the period of Zhou (周) dynasty (1122 to 221 BC); the second character 易, is composed of two radicals, the upper part being 日 (the sun), the under part being 月 (the moon), which symbolize the alternation of the sun and the moon.⁶⁴

The *Book of Songs*, when describing the Duke Liu's land reconnaissance, mentions "scrutinizing the *yin* and *yang* sides of hills"⁶⁵ The *yang* side of hills refers to the side of hills that is facing the sun, while the *yin* side is the one that is facing away from the sun. In Chapter 14 of *Shuowen Jiezi*, the character 阴 (*yin*) is defined as "darkness, especially referred to as the southern bank of rivers and the northern side of hills"; while the character *yang* "brightness, the upper part of hills that faces the sun",⁶⁶ particularly refers to the northern bank of rivers and the southern side of hills. (Li Enjian, 2000:163) So it is generally believed that the original sense of *yin* is "covered by cloud", while that of *yang* "shone on by the sun".

According to the *yin-yang* theory, life is the product of the interactions between the *yin qi* and the *yang qi* in the human body. Without *qi*, humans could not possibly exist, and imbalance of the *yin qi* and the *yang qi* in the human body would lead to disease. Thus, emotion, as a part of life, is also composed of the *yin qi* and the *yang qi*. And good emotion is based on their balance and their imbalance would cause bad emotion.

⁶⁴ 《说文解字》(*Shuowen Jiezi*): “日月为易，象阴阳也。”

⁶⁵ 《诗经·公刘》(the *Books of Songs*): “相其阴阳。”

⁶⁶ 《说文解字》(*Shuowen Jiezi*): “阴，暗也，水之南，山之北。”“阳，高明也。”

Gradually the ancient Chinese found that the principle of the unity of opposites of *yin* and *yang* was applicable to nearly everything as large as the cosmos or as small as the ant. According to the theory of *yin-yang*, “all things in the universe are governed by the law of the unity of opposites, which can be summarized by two Chinese words: *yin* ‘feminine; negative’ and *yang* ‘masculine; positive’”. (Yu, 1998: 72) These binary properties of *yin* and *yang* are given in Tables 9 and 10⁶⁷.

<i>Yin</i>	Moon	Land	Night	Cold	Water	Winter
<i>Yang</i>	Sun	Heaven	Day	Heat	Fire	Summer

Table 9: Some Opposites of *Yin* and *Yang*

<i>Yin</i>	Stative	Controlled	Dim	Cold	Soft	Weak
<i>Yang</i>	Dynamic	Excited	Bright	Hot	Hard	Strong
<i>Yin</i>	Passive	Covert	Internal	Lower	Downward	Fluidic
<i>Yang</i>	Active	Overt	External	Upper	Upward	Gaseous

Table 10: Some Binary Properties of *Yin* and *Yang*

The theory of the five elements was first proposed in the *Book of Shangshu* (perhaps by Confucius). “The five elements are: 1. water; 2. fire; 3. wood; 4. gold; 5. earth.”⁶⁸ These five elements were regarded at that time as the representations of five different attributes of things. Afterwards, it was developed into a system of mutual promotion and restraint of the five elements. But in the *Book of Shangshu*, the correspondence between *Zang*⁶⁹ and the five elements is different from that of Yu (1998: 74) (Table 11).

⁶⁷ Tables 9 and 10 are taken from Yu (1998: 72).

⁶⁸ 《尚书·洪范》(the *Book of Shangshu*) “五行：一曰水，二曰火，三曰木，四曰金，五曰土。”

⁶⁹ It refers to the five internal organs of the body (liver, spleen, heart, lungs and kidneys) which was thought to be of primary importance in the ancient China.

Correspondence between <i>Zang</i> and the five elements					
Elements	water	fire	wood	Gold	Earth
<i>Zang</i>					
<i>Book of Shangshu</i>	kidney	lung	spleen	Liver	Heart
Yu(1998)	kidney	heart	liver	Lung	Spleen

Table 11: Correspondence between *Zang* and the Five Elements

Here, we can notice a diachronic change of the correspondence between the five elements and *Zang*. Since the conception about the attributes and functions of the five elements in the Han dynasty (206 BC to 220 AD) changed significantly as compared with the earlier periods (e.g. the Pre-Qin periods and the Qin dynasty), it follows that the change might have happened to the conception of the *Zang*, which resulted in the new arrangement of the correspondence between *Zang* and the five elements.⁷⁰

4.1.2. 2 Textual Approaches to the Cultural Legacy in the Semantic Structure of the Character 情 (qing)

情 (qing) is a picto-phonetic character, whose left radical indicates that it is semantically associated with the heart⁷¹, while its right radical marks its pronunciation, expressing no meaning at all.⁷² According to the *Great Dictionary of*

⁷⁰ The theory of the five elements, on the base of which Yu (1998) made his investigation into the emotion metaphors in Chinese with special reference to the emotion metaphors in English, is obviously not the original version that was popular in the Pre-Qin periods and the Qin dynasty, but the new one, that began to prevail in the Han dynasty, is quite different from the conceptions of the five elements in the previous dynasties. So Yu was in fact using the conception of the five elements in the Han dynasty as the representation of the traditional Chinese thinking model to analyze the emotion metaphors, but made no further diachronic trace back of its origin and evolutions. Such an investigation is certainly not convincing enough.

⁷¹ 忄 and 心 are the same radical in Chinese, representing the heart.

⁷² *Shuowen Jiezi* (《说文解字》): “情，从心，青声。”

Chinese Characters, 情 (qing) has the following common meaning items in ancient Chinese:

- (2) emotion;
- (3) the real character of human beings, human nature;
- (4) ambition;
- (5) common sense;
- (6) truth, true situation;
- (7) love;
- (8) sexual desire;
- (9) interest;
- (10) honesty;

These can be classified into three types. The first type is to use the character 情 to mean ‘emotions’. The *Book of Rituals* says: “What are the emotions of human beings? They are happiness, anger, sadness, fear, love, dislike, and desire.”⁷³ The *Book of Shangshu* says: “民情大可见”⁷⁴ (The true emotions of the people can be found).

The second type is to use the character 情 (qing) to refer to something that has no direct relationship with emotion, as in the line “如得其情，则哀矜而勿喜” (When you have found out the true details of a crime, you should feel pity for the accused and should not be complacent at your success)⁷⁵

The third use of 情 (qing) in the Chinese classics of the Pre-Qin period is apparently different from the above two. In the *Zuo's Commentary* (《左传》), it is recorded that the ancient Chinese in the Pre-Qin periods had already assumed that emotions resulted from different *qi* and would result in different physiological

⁷³ 《礼记·礼运》 (the *Book of Rituals*): “何谓人情?喜怒哀惧爱恶欲七者，弗学击能”。

⁷⁴ See 《尚书·周书·康诰》 (the *Book of Shangshu*).

⁷⁵ Chapter 19 of the *Analects of Confucius* (《论语》).

behaviours. It says that “the ordinary people have likes, dislikes, pleasure, anger, sadness, and joy which are produced by six different *qi*”.

People weep when they are sad; they dance and sing when they are joyful; it is easy for them to be generous when they are pleased; it is easy for them to fight with others when they are angry; so pleasure comes from liking while anger from disliking.⁷⁶

Although the whole passage is about emotions, the character 情 (qing) does not appear. This way of applying the character 情 (qing) is very common in the *Book of Songs* which is characterized by metaphorically expressing the concepts of emotions without using it.

The above discussion has convincingly demonstrated that among all the meaning items of the character 情 (qing), only two meanings occur in the earliest classics. The first one is the meaning item ‘emotions’ which appears in the *Book of Changes* and in the *Book of Songs*, two of the earliest Chinese classics. The second one is the meaning item ‘truth’ which appears in the *Book of Changes*. Since the chronology of the *Book of Changes* and the *Book of Songs* remains a problem, we can not judge the original sense of 情. As to this question, there are three major different opinions. Firstly, Wang Li conceived that the original sense of the character 情 (qing) was ‘emotion’. He (2000) specifically pointed out that the first/original meaning of the character 情 (qing) is ‘emotion’, from which the meaning item ‘the truth’ derived. But here I want to point out that the following semantic evolution pattern for 情 (qing) (Figure 12), proposed based on the first opinion in the *Etymological Dictionary of Common Chinese Words*⁷⁷, is also wrong, because while the original sense ‘emotions’ gave birth to the meaning items ‘love’, ‘human nature’, and ‘truth’, it still prevailed in ancient Chinese as a prototypical usage of the

⁷⁶ 《左传·昭公二十五年》(Zuo's Commentary): “民有好、恶、喜、怒、哀、乐，生于六气。” “哀有哭泣，乐有歌舞，喜有施舍，怒有战斗，喜生于好，怒生于恶”。

⁷⁷ 《古汉语常用词源流词典》(Etymological Dictionary of Common Chinese Words), edited by Zhou Xuquan & Wang Chengyu, Chongqing: Chongqing publishing House, 1991.

character 情 (qing) for about two thousand years until it was replaced by the words 情感 and 感情 in modern Chinese.

Figure 12: Semantic Evolution in 情 (qing)

The second opinion claims that the original sense of the character is ‘truth’⁷⁸.

The third opinion believes that the character 情 (qing) semantically developed in the following way:

‘(human nature or natural endowment)’ $\Rightarrow$ ‘emotions’ $\Rightarrow$ ‘truth’ (Wang Fengyang, 1993: 455).

Scholars holding the third opinion include A. C. Graham and Sarah Allan. One of Graham’s arguments that has been widely taken or quoted is that 情 (qing), “the word that means passions or emotions, does not acquire this sense until the Han Dynasty; in the early texts, it refers to one’s natural endowment, but not specifically one’s passions” (Graham, 1986; quoted by Allan, 1997: 85), which proved to be wrong as I have shown in the above textual investigation of the Pre-Qin classics.

Wang Fengyang (1993) provided an example from Volume 19 of *The Annals of Lu Buwei* which says: “The ordinary people joined with them yet they didn’t know why they did it. This can be called ‘being in accord with the natural endowments of human beings’ ”.⁷⁹ But *The Annals of Lu Buwei* appeared much later than the *Book of Changes* and the *Book of Songs*, so the authenticity for Wang’s argument remains uncertain.

⁷⁸See “论‘情’在中国古代文学艺术中的原创意义” (On the original significance of qin in the literatures and arts of ancient China), authored by Gao Nan, published in the web of China center of academic papers, December 12, 2005.

⁷⁹ 《吕氏春秋·第 19 卷·上德》(*The Annals of Lu Buwei*): “(其)教变容改俗而莫得其所受之, 此之谓顺情。”

However, whether the original sense of the character 情 (qing) is ‘emotion’ or ‘truth’, it is clearly metaphorically constructed and developed. The first meaning ‘emotion’ is based on the metaphor EMOTION IS HEART, whereas the metaphor underlying the second meaning depends on the original sense of 情 (qing). Thus, if the original sense is ‘emotion’, then it is underpinned by a metaphor EMOTION IS TRUTH in the semantic extension from the meaning item ‘emotion’ to ‘truth, true fact’; but if the original meaning is ‘truth’, then the semantic extension from ‘truth’ to ‘emotion’ is governed by the metaphor TRUTH IS EMOTION. As for the third hypothesis about the original sense of the character 情 (qing), what is involved in the semantic extension of ‘human nature or natural endowment’ $\Rightarrow$ ‘emotions’ (Wang Fengyang, 1993: 455) is a PART AS WHOLE metonymy, because for the mentality of the ancient Chinese, emotions are a constituent part of human endowment.

4.1.3 Concluding Remarks for this Section

The concepts of emotions in ancient Chinese are basically construed in terms of the concepts of *yin-yang*, the five elements, *qi*, blood, and heart. This model of emotional interpretation is in essence entailed by a series of metaphors:

EMOTION IS YIN;

EMOTION IS QI;

EMOTION IS BLOOD;

EMOTION IS HEART.

which are rooted or established in the ancient Chinese culture. But lexically speaking, all the five elements and both *yin* and *yang* can be the sources for construing emotion, as we can have a lot of Chinese lexical items to realize the following metaphors:

EMOTION IS YIN;

EMOTION IS YANG;

EMOTION IS EARTH;

EMOTION IS GOLD;

EMOTION IS WATER;

EMOTION IS FIRE;

EMOTION IS WOOD;

These metaphors, though seemingly inconsistent with the above-mentioned conceptual system of emotions in ancient Chinese, are actually in accordance with it. The *yin-yang* theory has been applied to different levels of the hierarchical conceptual system of emotion in ancient Chinese. As a result of this application, the metaphor EMOTION IS YIN applies to the generic concept of emotion while the metaphors EMOTION IS YIN and EMOTION IS YANG both apply to the more specific emotions. For example,

HAPPINESS IS YANG while SADNESS IS YIN

JOY IS YANG while WORRY IS YIN.

which are elaborated in the following lexical realizations:

阳气 [yang qi, lit: ‘*yang qi*’; met: ‘happiness’];

阳舒 [yang shu, lit: ‘with the *yang qi* and body stretching out’; met: ‘happy; delightful’];

阴沉 [yin chen, lit: ‘with the *yin qi* going down’; met: ‘sad’];

阴霾 [yin mai, lit: ‘the *yin qi* and the dust in the wind’; met: ‘one’s unhappy memory’];

To put it more precisely, the metaphor EMOTION IS YIN, which is generalized from a more concrete metaphor EMOTION IS THE YIN QI IN BODY, is essentially a metonymy which construes emotion as the *yin qi* in our body. Although *qi* can be felt by our body, it can not tell which part of the *qi* is the *yang qi* or which one is the *yin qi*. Thus the metaphors EMOTION IS YIN or EMOTION IS THE YIN QI IN BODY are not embodied but em-minded.

4.2 The Concept of Emotions in English With Reference to Its Chinese Counterpart

情 (qing)

4.2.1 Understanding the Emotion Concept in the West

The concept of emotion came to the attention and discussion of the Western scholars as early as several centuries BC, though the degrees of disagreement over the issue of what is emotion was much higher in the ancient Greece than in the Pre-Qin China. The disputes over the nature of emotion in the Pre-Qin China and the ancient Greece present different patterns: the former, despite diverse opinions, centered around a theoretical hard core, i.e. the theory of *yin-yang* and the five elements; while the latter was so diversified that it contained no theoretical hard core at all. The following are some of the better known opinions of the ancient Greek scholars on emotions⁸⁰:

Heraclitus (500 BC) defined emotion in terms of body temperatures and humidity. For him, a state free from strong emotion would be dry and cold. Thus the metaphors that underlie this definition are EMOTION IS BODY TEMPERATURE PLUS BODY HUMIDITY.

According to Empodocles (490 BC), “men think and feel with their body” which tells literally that emotion is embodied and has close relationships with thinking and feeling, i.e. it is a physical sensation and cognitive process.

According to Democritus (460 BC):

Happiness (positive emotion) is characterized by a state of mental and physical equilibrium. Thoughts (cognitions) are the result of a distributed interaction of some localized corporeal components. For Example:

Rationality: in the chest

Control of behavior: in the head

Resentment: in the heart

Appetite: in the Liver.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Following discussed definitions of emotions made by the ancient Greek scholars are quoted from <http://emotion.bme.duke.edu/Emotion/History/Plato/BPlato.html>.

⁸¹ <http://emotion.bme.duke.edu/Emotion/History/Plato/BPlato.html>.

Democritus' conceptualization of emotion is similar to that of the ancient Chinese in the Pre-Qin periods: firstly, both of them regarded positive emotions as the results of a state of mental and physical equilibrium; secondly, both of them attributed different emotion to different body organs. Yet there are more fundamental differences between them: the former is embodied, i.e. based on somatic feeling; whereas in the latter the chief components of emotions come from em-minded⁸² images. The third difference lies in the different mappings of body organs to the specific emotions. For example, for the ancient Chinese, *rationality* and *control of behavior* were in the charge of the heart and brain, *resentment* was related to the damage to the heart and intestine, and the body organs responsible for the appetite were not the liver but the stomach and spleen.

Hippocrates (460 BC) was the first Greek philosopher and doctor who categorized human emotions in terms of the humor theory. He said:

The emotional states are characterized by brain temperature, moisture and aridity. Fear arises from brain overheating, e.g. flushed face, red eyes. It is due to the flow of bile. Melancholy is a state of persistent fear, i.e. continuous flow of bile. Grief and anxiety arise from brain cooling. It is due to the flow of phlegm. In normal states, corporeal elements are mixed in a balanced manner. Pain results if one or several elements are dysfunctional. This is considered as the first biological theory of pain. The ease of circulation and amount of pneuma (air, within the body) is [sic] besides the brain, a second source of emotional control, through its influence on blood supply, and intimate relation with blood itself. Emotional expressions (symptoms) are mediated by organs such as:

Diaphragm: active in unexpected joy or grief.

⁸² My concept of "em-minded images" is different from that of "the embodied-mind" (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999), the former is regarded as a cultural symbol in the human spirit or mentality which, though initially might originate from the embodied experiences, has been highly symbolized through a process of symbolic familiarization, while the latter is inherently embodied. Therefore in this sense, it also differs to some extent from the concept of "the bodily images" proposed by Anna Wierzbicka (1999:299).

Heart: contracts in surprise and strong passions, dilates in good humor.

Lungs: in outbursts of anger.⁸³

Aristotle defined anger both as a “seething heat in the region of the heart” and as “a desire for retaliation”: “these two definitions are complementary descriptions of one and the same emotional state, the former referring to the physical, the latter to the psychological.”⁸⁴ It seemed to Aristotle that anger was an emotion both *em-minded* and embodied. Bodily it was construed as high temperature in the heart, ANGER AS HIGH HEAT IN THE HEART; but mentally it was regarded as a desire. The former is a metonymy while the metaphoricity of the latter depends on the cognition of the relationship between emotion and desire.

Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995) commented that the theory of the four humors “was not only the basis of pre-modern medical practice, it was integrated into a whole cosmology, with the establishment of correspondence between the humors and such diverse domains as the plant, and animal kingdoms, dietary practices, the seasons, and the planets” (Taylor, 1995: 13-14), a situation quite similar to that of the five element theory in ancient China. Therefore this theory of the four humors and that of the five elements alike are “the product of historical processes” (Taylor, 1995: 14). Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995) further argued that “the heat and fluid metaphors in English could well be reflexives of a highly elaborated theory of emotion” (Taylor, 1995: 13). Similarly, many emotion metaphors in Chinese could also be the reflexives of the theory of *yin-yang* and the five elements. What we notice is that Hippocrates’ definition of emotion is evidently based on the embodied feelings in accordance with the basic tenet of experientialism, and that the four humors are all secretions from the body, forming a sharp contrast with the *yin-yang* and the five elements which originate from people’s notion of the natural world.

The Stoicism which “arose after the death of Aristotle and, in major part, in

⁸³ <http://emotion.bme.duke.edu/Emotion/History/Plato/BPlato.html>.

⁸⁴ http://www.wellcome.ac.uk/doc_WTX023667.html

response to the ethics of Aristotle”,⁸⁵ regarded emotions as different types of judgements.

The first judgement being that there is good or bad at hand, and the second judgement concerning the appropriateness to act. Four emotions were selected as being the most generic; distress, pleasure, fear, and appetite. So, in the case of distress, harm is judged to be at hand (in the present) and it is judged appropriate to have a sinking feeling. With pleasure, benefit is judged to be at hand (in the present) and an expansion (of the mind) is felt. With fear, a judgement is made that something bad is at hand (in the future) and it is appropriate to avoid it. With appetite, benefit is at hand (in the future) and it is judged that it should be reached for.⁸⁶

Thus the stoic theory of emotions had already provided some metaphorical conceptions for emotions, for example, DISTRESS IS A SINKING SENSATION (which corresponds to the theme SADNESS IS LOW in Table 36) and DESIRE IS ATTRACTION. Comparing this Stoic conceptions of emotion with the Confucian ones of 情 (qing), we will find that the former focused more on the embodied feeling, while the latter focused more on the interactions of cosmos on the human body: *yin*, *yang*, *qi*. For the Confucians, emotion is the *yin qi* closely related with desire. Yet the Confucians in the Pre-Qin periods regarded the concept of 情 (qing) as the necessary component of human beings, emphasizing the importance of cultivating human emotions and desires through music, moral codes, and rites. The Stoics, however, “are persuaded that these judgements (emotions) are actually false. Their reasoning is that part of each judgement presupposes that things are either good or bad. This position clearly contradicts the Stoic theory of indifference, and so the ideal state that the Stoic sage must aspire to is one that is free from emotions”⁸⁷. But for the Confucians in the Pre-Qin periods, only the excessive emotions are harmful and should be avoided. Besides, for the Stoics, emotions are the judgements

⁸⁵ Quoted from the comments of PoE on my thesis (April, 2007).

⁸⁶ <http://www.emotionalprocessing.org.uk>

⁸⁷ <http://www.emotionalprocessing.org.uk>.

which belong to the category of intelligence, or the feelings which belong to the category of physiology; but for Confucians, they are the *qi* which exists everywhere in the cosmos⁸⁸. This shows a traditional idea of the ancient Chinese philosophy which is also metaphorical in essence: HEAVEN IS HUMAN.

4.2.2 The Cultural Influences on Emotion Metaphors

	PHLEGM	BLACK BILE	YELLOW BILE	BLOOD
Characteristic	Cold and moist	Cold and dry	Warm and dry	Warm and moist
Element	Water	Earth	Fire	Air
Temperament	Phlegmatic	Melancholic	Choleric	Sanguine
Organ	Brain/bladder	Spleen	Liver/stomach	Heart
Colour	White	Black	Yellow	Red
Taste	Salty	Sour	Bitter	Sweet
Season	Winter	Autumn	Summer	Spring
Wind	North	West	South	East
Planet	Moon	Saturn	Mars	Jupiter
Animal	Turtle	Sparrow	Lion	Goat

Table 12: The Four Humors and Their Correspondence in Medieval Medicine⁸⁹

Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995) presented a brief introduction to the development and influences of the four humors doctrine in the West. The four humors and their correspondence in medieval medicine as elaborated by this theory are summarized in Table 12.

⁸⁸ Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995) showed that the experience has external correspondences, although this correspondence might not be based on *qi*.

⁸⁹ Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995: 158).

Elements	Wood	Fire	Earth	Metal	Water
Locations	East	South	Center	West	North
Seasons	Spring	Summer	Late summer	Autumn	Winter
Climates	Windy	Hot	Wet	Dry	Cold
Organs					
Zang	Liver	Heart	Spleen	Lung	Kidney
Fu	Gall	Small intestine	Stomach	Large intestine	Bladder
Sense	Eyes	Tongue	Lips	Nose	Ears
Emotions	Anger	Happiness	Anxiety	Grief	Fright

Table 13: Five Categories under the Five Elements⁹⁰

Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995) showed that this doctrine had a strong influence on the metaphors of emotion in English and left some vestiges in the English LEMS, just as the doctrine of *yin-yang* and the five elements did to Chinese lexicons. According to Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995:156), the humoral doctrine involves three kinds of knowledge: “the physiological, the psychological and the medical.” Physiologically, the four fluids are seen as the governors of the vital processes within the human body. Psychologically and medically, they are determinants for the four prototypical temperaments. Similarly, the humoral doctrine is also a systematic correspondence between different categories, such as the body secretions, the characteristics of the liquids (secretions), elements, human temperaments, body organs, colours, tastes, seasons, etc. As a matter of fact, the ancient medicines in the West and in China both categorized human emotions in terms of different elements. Thus emotions were conceptualized in ancient Chinese medicine in terms of the five

⁹⁰ Quoted from Yu (1998:74).

elements: wood, fire, earth, metal, and water with the correspondent relations.⁹¹ (Table 13) And by contrast, they were conceptualized in the ancient Western medicine in terms of the four elements: water, earth, fire, and air.

Having shown that human emotions were conceptualized very differently in Shakespeare's time, Paster (2004) argued that the traditional theory of humors (until the time of Shakespeare) did not regard the mind and the body as exclusive categories. And resembling the construal of emotions in minds of the ancient Chinese, for both the ancient Greek and the early modern Westerners, "passion is a change of inner state knowable as and also by means of changes, defined as broadly as possible, in the outer world. In such governing beliefs are constituted the link between psychology and the constitution of the world." (Paster, 2004:9) Therefore, for the ancient Chinese, the ancient Greek and the early modern Westerners, the conceptualizations of emotions were both *em-minded* and *embodied*. Paster further discovered that "the phenomenological character of early modern experiences of emotion—what passions of many sorts might have felt like in a penetrable body containing wriggling animal spirits, a heart whose blood did not yet circulate, and, perhaps most important, the four humors whose attributes of hot, cold, wet, and dry carried enormous emotional, psychological, and what I want to call ecological significance", and thus "it is the intellectual dominance of psychophysiology in the early modern period that requires literary historians to accept it as a significant basis for a cultural history of emotion." (Paster, 2004: 20). Obviously this comment made by Paster also applies to the importance of accepting the theory of *yin-yang* and the five elements for the cultural history of emotion in Chinese.

4.2.3 The Humoral Interpretation of Emotions in the West Compared with *Yin-yang*

Just like the doctrine of *yin-yang* and the five elements, the dominant theory of Hippocrates and his successors also emphasized the importance of humoral

⁹¹ It should be pointed out that Table 13 is based on the doctrine of the five elements of Han Dynasty, which is different to some extent from that of the Pre-Qin periods.

equilibrium for the positive emotions. However, the theory of the four humors is quite vague in the interpretations of the concept “blood”, which, for example, was thought as one of the four basic humors, the conveyer of the other humors, and the mixture of the humors that were conveyed through the body. Thus it is supposed in Galen’s modified form of the four humors doctrine that “In a continuing and cumulative refining process, the heart produces the vital spirit (which regulates the temperature of the body and controls the passions), and the brain produces the animal spirit.” (Paster, 2004: 20) In this way, the concepts of emotions are construed of as embodied physiological activities. But it is obvious that this conceptualization of emotions⁹² may result from the em-minded image-schematic conceptual structure of “emotions are in humors” which is a PART AS WHOLE metonymy, or another em-minded imaginary scheme of “emotions are produced by the humors” (EFFECT AS CAUSE), as noted by Goatly (2007):

The theme EMOTION IS BODY-PART / BODY-FLUID, provides a number of items connected with body liquids which bear some relation to the medieval medicine categories: ***phlegm** ***phlegmatic** ‘ability or characteristic of remaining calm in anxious circumstances’ (*with his normal phlegm he worked on steadily as the rain splashed down*), ***bile** ***bilious** ‘bitter / bitterness’ or ‘anger / angry’ (*he reserves his bile for his much hated colleagues*), ***gall** ***galling** ‘rudeness / rude, cheekiness / cheek’ (*I didn’t have the gall to ask him for a 20 mile lift*), and **bad** ***blood** ‘negative feelings towards others’ (*there had been bad blood between them for years*). However another item which does not seem to fit in is **spunk** (literally ‘semen’) ‘bravery and determination’ (*don’t give up now – where’s your spunk!*). (Goatly, 2007: 252)

Since some LEMS in modern English are part of the lexical legacy of the four humors theory, “the conceptual model of anger that we attribute to the humoral doctrine has indeed entered the language under the influence of the popular

⁹² Namely, the humours-based notions of emotions.

dissemination of the latter” and the diachronic analysis of LEMS “follows in an obvious manner from the humoral hypothesis” (Geeraerts and Grondelaers, 1995: 170). This comment obviously applies to the contemporary Chinese LEMS as well. However, cultural differences between English and Chinese in the conceptualization of emotions should be more clearly discerned and convincingly explained by a diachronic analysis of LEMS in terms of their respective cultural models that their conceptualizations of emotion have been attributed to. And these are what I am going to do in the following sections.

4.3 Diachronic Interpretations of Cultural Variations in LEMS in English and Chinese

This section aims to explore how the cultural variations over the metaphor themes of LEMS in English and Chinese have been formed in the historical development of emotion concepts and their resulting lexical representations in these two cultures.

Chapter 3 has explored the five reasons for the non-universality in metaphors and metaphor themes.⁹³ The first reason partly obtains in the different conceptualizations of love in English and Chinese.⁹⁴ The third one shows up more often in the metaphor theme EMOTION IS HEAT (including its sub-division ANGER IS HEAT).⁹⁵ The second one and the fourth one chiefly involve the interplay of traditional ideologies and physiological feelings engaging in the conceptualizations of emotion, which might be better revealed by the metaphor theme EMOTION IS BODY.⁹⁶ The fifth one has been exemplified in Chapter 3 with the following three metaphor themes:

EMOTION IS BOILING BLOOD

SENSATION OF BITTERNESS AS BITTER TASTING MEDICAL PLANT

⁹³ See Section 3.3 and Goatly (2007: 256)

⁹⁴ See Section 3.3.1.

⁹⁵ Section 3.3.3.

⁹⁶ The examples presented in Section 3.3.4 are all realizing the subordinate themes of EMOTION IS BODY.

which are subordinate to the metaphor themes EMOTION IS BODY, EMOTION IS HEAT, and EMOTION IS COLOUR.

So I select the following representative metaphor themes as the object of my exploration in this section:

- (1) EMOTION IS BODY;
- (2) EMOTION IS COLOUR;
- (3) ANGER IS HEAT;
- (4) ANGER IS COLDNESS;

4.3.1 EMOTION IS BODY

Both in English and Chinese, the metaphor theme EMOTION IS BODY, as a major way of emotion conceptualization, is chiefly realized through a number of metonymies:

EMOTION AS BODY COLOURS;

EMOTION AS BODY HEAT;

EMOTION AS BODY LIQUIDS;

EMOTION AS INTERNAL ORGANS OF BODY;

EMOTION AS OTHER BODY PARTS (HANDS, BONE, FEET, etc.).

Figure 13: The Conceptual Structure of EMOTION AS BONE/SPINE

⁹⁷ Section 3.3.5.

The first metonymy will be discussed in 4.3.2, while the metonymies from the second one to the fourth one will be elucidated in 4.3.3 and 4.3.4. So this section will focus on the fifth one. And since among the fifth type of metonymies, EMOTION AS BONE/SPINE is the most productive, and since the bone/spine is closely related to the body and mind, the spinal conceptualizations of emotions are selected as the chief object explored in this section. The conceptual structure of EMOTION AS BONE/SPINE could be sketched as in Figure 13.

4.3.1.1 HUMAN CONSCIOUSNESS AS BONE/SPINE

Both in English and Chinese, bones/spines represent human consciousness in some cases.

feel in your bones [lit: ‘sense physically strong hard parts of the skeleton which support the body’; met: ‘feel sure without evidence’];

骨子里 [gu zi li, lit: ‘in one’s bones’; met: ‘in one’s true inner thoughts’];

恨入骨髓 [hen ru gu sui, lit: ‘hatred in one’s bones’; met: ‘extremely strong and unforgettable hatred’] ;

The metonymies that ground *feel in your bones* are based on the analogy:

Bone : body :: certainty : thinking

which involves a semantic chain of metonymic shifts:

BODY AS BONE (WHOLE AS PART);

MIND AS BODY;

→MIND AS BODY.

In English, BODY AS BONE might be embodied on the fact that in ancient western society “the bone was the part of animals that was offered in sacrifices”⁹⁸. *Sacrum* came from the Latin word *os sacrum* which means ‘the sacred bone’ (from the belief that the soul resides in it)⁹⁹. Similarly, for the ancient Chinese, bone was also the

⁹⁸ <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?search=bone&searchmode=none>

⁹⁹ *Concise Oxford English Dictionary* (eleventh edition).

place where the soul resided. The *Rites of Zhou Dynasty* says that “骨直以立”¹⁰⁰ (lit: ‘an erect backbone supports a man to stand up’; met: ‘a man is established by his integrity’). 骨直 (an erect backbone) in this phrase means ‘(of human character) stoutness, uprightness, and integrity’. The analogical bases for HUMAN CONSCIOUSNESS AS BONE are realized in different ways:

English: Bone → body (embodied) → mind (em-minded belief);

Chinese: Bone → mind/ human character (em-minded belief);

So it is the common-shared cultural notions that ground the metonymy HUMAN CONSCIOUSNESS AS BONE, which accounts for the similar metaphorical patterns in the semantic structures of *feel in your bones*, 骨直, 骨子里, and 恨入骨髓.

4.3.1.2 COURAGE AS BONE/SPINE

软骨头 [ruan gu tou, lit: ‘a weak backbone’; met: ‘lacking in courage, being coward’];

硬骨头 [ying gu tou, lit: ‘a firm and hard backbone’; met: ‘having courage, being brave’];

有骨气 [you gu qi, lit: ‘having qi in backbone’; met: ‘having courage, being brave’];

没骨气 [mei gu qi, lit: ‘having no qi in backbone’; met: ‘lacking in courage, being cowardly’];

没骨头 [mei gu tou, lit: ‘having no backbone’; met: ‘lacking in courage, being cowardly’];

spineless [lit: ‘(without a backbone)’; met: ‘lacking in strength and courage’]

backbone [lit: ‘spine’; met: ‘courage to do what is necessary’];

a shiver down the spine [lit: ‘(slight shaking caused by cold along the backbone)’; met: ‘feeling excited, happy or frightened’];

send a shudder down your spine [lit: ‘make your backbone shake’; met: ‘make you feel very anxious or frightened’];

The above lexical realizations of COURAGE AS BONE/SPINE are based on the analogy:

bone : human body :: courage : personality

¹⁰⁰ 《周礼·考工记》(*Rites of Zhou Dynasty*): “骨直以立”。

Thus the spine is the pillar of the human body and the source of the human courage, and lack of the spine in one's body or *qi* in one's bone means that this person lacks courage; so having a spine in one's body or *qi* in one's bone means that he or she has the courage to take a risk. A spine with *qi* is a firm and hard spine which is not easy to shake, while a spine lacking in *qi* is a weak one that easily shivers or shudders. The only difference between English and Chinese in COURAGE AS BONE/SPINE is that *qi* is involved in Chinese while it is absent in English.

Although modern science has shown that the spine is a very important sensory organ, at least in no small measure the spinal sensations that involve the above metonymy are rather imaginary than real bodily. Even the embodied experiences that ground this metonymy are affected by the spiritual factors that are noteworthy for their absence in the doctrines of the four humors and the five elements. This seems to show that the em-minded cultural notions that ground the metonymic basis for LEMS are from some other sources of cultures apart from the doctrines of the five elements and the four humors which once prevailed.

This analogy incorporates the em-minded conventional belief that backbone is the pillar of an erect human body¹⁰¹, and the embodied experience that a brave person who has the courage to take any risk to do what is necessary is always strong and erectly standing, just like the gallant soldiers that are going to the front. This seems to be a shared experience or sense for people of different cultures, who have extended 脊梁骨 (backbone) to its non-physiological senses. So the metonymy COURAGE AS

¹⁰¹ This conventional belief seems unrelated to either the humoral theory or the theory of *yin-yang* and the five elements. It does not accord with them either. It might be initially embodied but it is later highly conventionalized after its long establishment in the mentalities of the ancient Chinese and English peoples. Despite the medical confirmation of the major role of backbone in supporting the human body, I still believe that it is the folk belief of the ancient people that should be chiefly responsible for the semantic changes in the words relating backbone and 脊梁骨. According to Chapter 42 of *the Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine* (《黄帝内经·第四十二》), the most famous traditional Chinese medical classic in the Pre-Qin periods, the *Yellow Emperor* and his doctors at that time believed that the spinal aches which made people difficult to stand up, was usually because of the invasion of wind into the kidney (肾风之状, 脊痛不能正立。) Obviously this conception about the relations among the wind, the spine, and the kidney could not be based on the real embodied experiences, but rather imaginary based on the relevant mental images of Pre-Qin Chinese. So metonymies based on such a conventional belief cannot but be em-minded.

BONE/SPINE that underpins the semantic structure of *backbone* is composed of two metonymies: the em-minded metonymy SPINE AS THE PILLAR OF HUMAN BODY which is based on the common conventional belief, and the embodied metonymy COURAGE AS STANDING ERECTLY which is based on the embodied experiences.

4.3.1.3 EMOTION AS COLD SENSATION IN BONE/SPINE

Both in English and Chinese some emotions are construed by the COLD SENSATION IN BONE/SPINE.

spine-chilling [lit: ‘making you backbone feel cold’; met: ‘making you feel very frightened’];

send chills up or down someone’s spine [lit: ‘make someone feel cold at the backbone’; met: ‘make someone feel very frightened’];

a shiver down the spine [lit: ‘slight shaking caused by cold along the backbone’; met: ‘feeling excited, happy or frightened’];

脊梁骨发冷(凉) [ji liang gu fa leng (liang), lit: ‘feel cold along the backbone’; met: ‘feel frightened’];

心骨寒 [xin gu han, lit: ‘feel cold in the heart and bone’; met: ‘feel frightened’];

骨寒毛竖 [gu han mao shu, lit: ‘one’s bones are cold and hair is standing’; met: ‘in a state of being extremely frightened’];

The metonymy EMOTION AS COLD SENSATION IN BONE/SPINE that grounds these lexical realizations is realized by the following metonymic chains:

BONE/SPINE AS THE PILLAR OF HUMAN BODY (em-minded);

BODY AS BONE/SPINE (WHOLE AS PART) (embodied);

FEAR AS COLD IN BODY (embodied);

FEAR AS BODILY SHIVER (embodied).

The only difference between the two languages in this metonymy is that English has a larger scope than Chinese, i.e. this metonymy is multivalent in English while it is

not in Chinese. But the lexical realizations of this metonymy in English accord to some degree with their counterparts in Chinese. The major difference is that in Chinese the cold sensation in the bone/spine can not be used to construe the emotions of excitement and happiness. This non-consistency is not embodied on physical experiences, because it is caused by the Chinese cultural notion. According to the theory of yin-yang and the five elements, chilling belongs to the category of *yin*, while the concepts of excitement and pleasure belong to the category of *yang*. So chilling can not be used to construe the emotions of excitement and pleasure¹⁰². This can be regarded as an instantiation of the em-minded cultural influences on the metonymy EMOTION AS BODY.

But on the other hand, the metonymic basis for EMOTION AS COLD SENSATION IN BONE/SPINE is also based on some bodily experiences. For example, chills do produce bodily shivers, fear does make people shake, and strong emotions of excitement and happiness do make one shiver.

Since the conception of *yin-yang* and the five elements does not directly involve the spinal physiology, this Chinese cultural notion which has put the shivering bodily experience out of application in the conceptualizations of excitement and happiness belongs to the non-*yin-yang* Chinese culture. But it is em-minded, because it is mentally based on the Pre-Qin Chinese medical notion about the interactive relations between the bodily standing and the spine.¹⁰³

4.3.1.4 EMOTION AS PAIN IN BONE/SPINE

Since emotions include both the positive and negative ones, the conceptual structure of EMOTION AS PAIN IN BONE/SPINE can be sketched in Figure 14.

The metonymy POSITIVE EMOTION AS PAIN IN BONE/SPINE is specific to English:

¹⁰² But Chinese also use the shivering body (not the spine/backbone) to construe the emotions of happiness and excitement, because in terms of the *yin-yang* doctrine, shivering as a kind of activity belongs to the category of *yang*.

¹⁰³ The *qi* that makes the spine strong was thought in the Pre-Qin Chinese medical notion to be produced by the Kidney. In this way, the bodily standing ability depends to a great extent on the Kidney

spine-tingling [lit: ‘a stinging feeling at the backbone’; met: ‘a state of feeling excited, or happy’],¹⁰⁴

Figure 14: The Conceptual Structure of EMOTION AS PAIN IN BONE/SPINE

The metonymy NEGATIVE EMOTION AS PAIN IN BONE/SPINE is realized in both languages:

痛入骨髓 [tong ru gu sui lit: ‘pain enters the bone marrow’; met: ‘in a state of feeling extremely sad or hating bitterly’]¹⁰⁵;

spine-tingling [lit: ‘a stinging feeling at the backbone’; met: ‘feeling frightened’],¹⁰⁶

Obviously, both English and Chinese share the same embodied experience PAIN IN BONE/SPINE which is the multivalent source for the conceptualizations of emotions in both languages. In English it realizes the metonymies EXCITEMENT AS PAIN IN BONE/SPINE, HAPPINESS AS PAIN IN BONE/SPINE, and FEAR AS PAIN IN BONE/SPINE. In Chinese it realizes the metonymies HATRED AS PAIN IN BONE/SPINE and SADNESS AS PAIN IN BONE/SPINE. These differences in the metonymy EMOTION AS PAIN IN BONE/SPINE might be due to the different cultural notions of the English and Chinese toward the bone and spine. 痛入骨髓 first appeared in the *Stratagems of the Warring States* (《战国策》) two thousand years

¹⁰⁴ *Tingle* means ‘to feel a ringing, stinging... sensation.’ (www.m-w.com/dictionary/tingling.)

¹⁰⁵ This idiom first appeared in 《战国策》 (the *Stratagems of the Warring States*)

¹⁰⁶ *Tingle* (n.) means ‘a slight prickling or stinging sensation’ (*Concise Oxford English Dictionary*), or ‘A prickly or stinging sensation’ (The American Heritage® Dictionary of the English Language, Fourth Edition. Houghton Mifflin Company, 2004. <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/tingle>).

ago. For the ancient Chinese at that time, bone is the deepest place in the body where the soul resides. So 痛入骨髓 represents the greatest hatred and sadness.

Literally *spine-tingling* is ‘a sensation of slight prickles’. But it is used to construe the strong emotions such as BEING VERY FRIGHTENED, BEING VERY EXCITED, and BEING VERY HAPPY. So the metonymies realized by *spine-tingling* can be generalized as STRONG EMOTION AS A SLIGHT PRICKLE IN BONE/SPINE. This strong contrast suggests to a great degree the possibility of some non-physical effects on the metonymic basis of *spine-tingling*.

In English, *spine* and *backbone* have long been synonyms. *Spine* was borrowed from the Latin word *spina* whose earliest meaning was ‘thorn, prickle’. *Backbone* is a native English compound which was made from *back* + *bone* in 1300. It was later extended to mean ‘strength of character’.¹⁰⁷ So for the ancient English, the spine (backbone) is the source of the ‘strength of character’, the slight prickle on the spine would stimulate the source of the ‘strength of character’ and produce the strong emotions of BEING VERY EXCITED and BEING VERY HAPPY.

However, physically chills produce bodily shivers, and that fear does make people shake, which provides the embodied metonymic basis for *a shiver down the spine* [lit: ‘slight shaking caused by cold along the backbone’; met: ‘feeling excited, happy or frightened’]. In fact, it is difficult to tell the difference between the sensation of *a shiver down the spine* and that of a slight prickle at the backbone. Therefore the metonymic basis of *spine-tingling* is both embodied and em-minded. This interplay of the embodied and em-minded metonymies in the semantic structure of *spine-tingling* interprets the cross-language differences in the metonymy EMOTION AS PAIN IN BONE/SPINE.

4.3.1.5 Different Types of Metonymies that Ground the Metaphor EMOTION IS BODY

From the above analysis, we can see that there exist three types of metonymies

¹⁰⁷ <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?search=brother&searchmode=none>

underlying the semantic structures of the selected lexical items in English and Chinese. They are as follows

- a) Embodied metonymies;
- b) Em-minded metonymies;
- c) Metonymies based on the interactions of both the embodied physiologies and the em-minded cultural notions.

Metonymies of type a) are numerous, as we can see in the appended Table 7 and Table 43, which shows that “the strong correlation between emotion and the bodily experience and perception of the body gives a real-world or metonymic basis, which can be elaborated metaphorically”(Goatly, 2007: 215).. Metonymies of this type are characterized by their conceptualization of emotions in terms of the embodied physiological responses.

Metonymies of type b) refer to the correlations between some specific body organs and the emotions they define, which are motivated by the em-minded cultural notions of ancient societies which took for granted the correspondences of emotions with relevant body parts in terms of some predominant doctrines (for Chinese it is the theory of *yin-yang* and the five elements while for English it is the humoral hypothesis). Both in English and Chinese, the metonymic correlations between internal body organs and emotions that they stand for, lack to a very large extent the experiential bases that are, in terms of the embodiment hypothesis, the necessary basis of metonymies or metaphors¹⁰⁸. These metonymies are chiefly based on the conventional beliefs (folk models) about the effects of emotions on people. Most of these em-minded metonymies have no obvious physiological basis, i.e. they have no evident relation with the embodied physiological experiences. For instance, it seems

¹⁰⁸ For example, Lakoff (1987) interpreted the concept of embodiment as in the follows: “our concept of anger is embodied via the autonomic nervous system and that the conceptual metaphors and metonymies used in understanding anger are by no means arbitrary; instead they are motivated by our physiology.”(Lakoff, 1987a: 407)

quite doubtful that the ancient Chinese would really feel their gallbladder broken when they were scared, although we have the LEM 吓破了胆 [lit: ‘the gallbladder is broken’; met: ‘in a state of feeling extremely frightened’] in Chinese. The correlation between gallbladder and fear is obviously less based on the physiological experiences than motivated by the conceptual association among the ancient Chinese who took for granted the corresponding sequences of emotions with relevant internal organs in the body that belonged to the same category of *yin-yang* or the same attributes of a specific element. The same observation applies to English as well. For example, in *phlegm* [lit: ‘thick yellowish mucous in your throat when you have a cold’; met: “ability or characteristic of remaining calm in anxious circumstances”], the correspondence between the *phlegm* and the behaviour of calmness is rather more em-minded than embodied.

Metonymies of type c) are based on the interactions of both the embodied physiologies and the em-minded cultural notions, characterized by their conceptualizations of emotions in terms of various imaginary bodily experiences, which has been exemplified at great length in this section.

It seems evident that the Chinese and English spinal conceptualizations of emotions are not completely based on the embodied physical experiences, but to a larger extent based on the em-minded spiritual or cultural notions about their bodies and universe, or in other words, culture and bodily experiences both have a strong influence on metaphor and metonymy, but culture can override embodiment in the realization of some metaphor themes. For example, in the metonymy EMOTION AS PAIN IN BONE/SPINE, the source of the same embodied experience is directed by the different cultural notions of the English and Chinese toward the bone and spine to realize the totally different emotion targets. This not only causes the cross-language/culture variations in the metaphorical patterns of two different languages, but even in the same language, it can produce the completely opposite metaphor or metonymic themes such as POSITIVE EMOTION AS PAIN IN BONE/SPINE and NEGATIVE EMOTION AS PAIN IN BONE/SPINE.

The body parts that are used as the sources for the metaphor theme EMOTION IS

BODY and its subordinates include the internal body parts (e.g. liver, gallbladder, intestine, heart, spine, etc.) and the external body parts (e.g. face, hand, foot, skin, hair, etc.). There are in fact two types of sub-divisional themes under the metaphor theme EMOTION IS BODY: the first one uses the internal body parts to give metaphorical elaborations of emotions; the second one uses the external body parts as the metonymies for emotions. According to my exploration so far, the first type is, in most cases, grounded in the em-minded cultural notions or the interplay of the embodied experiences and the em-minded cultural notions; the second type, as it has been explored in Chapter 3, is grounded in three different metonymic bases: the em-bodied physiological experiences, the em-minded cultural notions, and their interplay.

It follows from the above analysis that metaphors are not based on the embodied experiences alone, but rather on the em-minded spiritual experiences, beliefs, cultural notions, and myths as well. Metaphors and metonymies are often the compound of a series of more specific metaphors and metonymies which contribute to the compound by interacting on each other. Most metaphors can find some metonymies as their bases, but these bases themselves are in turn based on different types of knowledge: the embodied knowledge, the em-minded knowledge, or the interactions of these two types of knowledge. We can regard the em-minded cultural notions as a semiotic system of the spiritual beliefs, conventions, and traditions, hidden in people's unconscious mind and coming down chiefly by learning. Logically speaking, metaphors, as the symbols of metaphorical thinking, are indeed the abstraction of human experiences; so it is quite natural that they derive from the embodied experiences, but not always so, for the operation of mind does not directly operate on the embodied experiences, but rather often goes far beyond them. Thus, it is inappropriate to attribute all metaphorical phenomena to their embodied metonymic basis. It seems to me that the interplay between the em-minded cultural notions and the embodied physiological experiences depends more heavily on the em-minded cultural notions.

So far, I have demonstrated these three types of metonymies in LEMS in English and Chinese. For the convenience of discussion, I will call this model that I

hypothesize the Three Types of Metonymy Model, as distinguished from the One Type of Metonymy Model, i.e. the general metonymic principle for the conceptualization of emotions proposed by Lakoff and Kövecses (1987): THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION.¹⁰⁹ My investigation in the above has shown the overgeneralization of this one type model, and proved that the Three Types of Metonymy Model functions better in generalizing the different metonymies underlying the conceptualization of emotions in English and Chinese. The following sections will further show its applicability to other important metaphor themes in English and Chinese.

4.3.2. EMOTION IS COLOUR

4.3.2.1 EMOTION AS FACIAL COLOUR

The metaphor theme EMOTION IS COLOUR, which is based on the interactions of the embodied physical experiences and the em-minded cultural notions of colours, is important for explaining the cross-language cultural variations over the metaphor themes. It cuts across a number of metaphor themes such as EMOTION IS BODY, EMOTION IS SENSE IMPRESSION, FEAR IS COLD, ANGER IS HEAT, HAPPINESS IS LIGHT, etc. Both in English and in Chinese, facial colours, as the embodied basis of emotion metonymies, play an important role in the conceptualization of emotions. According to my observation of the relevant LEMS in the appended Tables from 1 to 43, there are two different metonymies that use colours to conceptualize emotions,¹¹⁰ i.e.

- a) the embodied metonymies (type a) using facial colours to metonymize the emotions that are thought to have the embodied cause-effect relationships with the physiological sensations that the facial colours stand for, but without the mediation of cultural notions. In Table 43, we can see that some

¹⁰⁹ It is the same as the metaphor theme EMOTION AS PHYSIOLOGICAL RESPONSES OF A SPECIFIC EMOTION discussed above.

¹¹⁰ The metonymies of type b) are absent here, because these metonymies are based on facial colours (embodied).

metonymies using the same embodied facial colours for the same emotions were shared by English and Chinese, i.e.

FEAR: *blanch* [lit: ‘boil until white’, met: ‘show fear in the face by going pale’]

脸色苍白 [lian se cang bai, lit: ‘a pale face’; met: ‘fear’];

ANGER: *Face flushes with anger,*

get red with anger,

be scarlet with rage,

气得脸红脖子粗 [qi de lian hong bo zi cu, lit: ‘with face turning red and neck becoming thicker because of the *qi*’; met: ‘in a state of extreme anger’],

气得脸上一阵红一阵白 [qi de lian shang yi zhen hong yi zhen bai, lit: ‘with face turning red and pale because of the *qi*’; met: ‘in a state of extreme anger’];

All these metonymies are obviously based on the observations of the angry persons, from which no evident trace of cultural intervention has been found. But if we carefully observe the relevant data I have provided in Table 43 we will find that even with the emotion metaphors based on the metonymies of the common physical responses, there are important cognitive variations. These differences may not be ascribed to any cultural notions, but they are just the differences in the degree of the carefulness of observation by different people at different times. For example, anger is metonymized by the facial characteristics of blushing in English but in Chinese the facial characteristics that are used as metonymies for the emotion of anger are more specific and detailed, including not only the blushing on the face but with a swollen neck as well: 气得脸红脖子粗 [lit: ‘with a face turning red and neck becoming thicker because of the *qi*’; met: ‘in a state of extreme anger’], or being characterized by an alternating appearances of redness and whiteness on the face 气得脸上一阵红一阵白 [lit: ‘with a face turning red and pale because of the *qi*’; met: ‘in a state of extreme anger’].

- b) the embodied metonymies using facial colours to metonymize the emotions that are mediated by the cultural notions of colours.

For a better demonstration of the cultural influences on this type of metonymies, let us first take a look at the distributions of the facial colours as sources for anger in the lexical realizations in the two languages (Table 14).

Colours of face used to construe emotion of anger	English	Chinese	(Lexical) Instantiations in English	(Lexical) Instantiations In Chinese
Red	√	√	He blushed with anger	他气的脸红脖子粗
Blue	√	x	He was so angry that he turned blue in the face.	
Yellow	x	√		他脸都气黄了 ¹¹¹
Orange	x	x		
Purple	√	√	She turned purple with rage. Girl with the Purple Face ¹¹²	她脸都气紫了
Green	x	√		她脸都气绿了
Black	√	√	He left angrily with a face as black as thunder.	他脸都气黑了
Brown	x	√		他脸都气成猪肝色了
White	x	√	He went white with anger.	他脸都气白了

Table 14: Facial Colours as Sources for Anger¹¹³

The similarities in the metonymies in English and Chinese are shown in Table 14. But absence of a specific source for the lexical metaphor of anger in one language does not necessarily mean that the corresponding conceptual metaphor is also absent in the culture of the language. For example, English lacks the lexicalized realizations

¹¹¹ As a source for emotion metaphors, *yellow* in English has a larger range than 黄 in Chinese. It means not only 'yellow' but 'brown' as well. However, the brown face in English is not used to construe any emotion whereas it is used as metonymy for the emotion of anger in Chinese, which is also shown in Table 14.

¹¹² Title of an English song (<http://www.stendhalnoise.com/Lyrics/TheGirlWithThePurpleFace.htm>) which describes the mental activity of an angry girl.

¹¹³ √=applicable, x=non-applicable.

for the theme ANGER IS THE PURPLE COLOUR ON THE FACE, however this does not mean that the English speakers do not know that the face of an angry people might turn purple when he is angry, because the themes ANGER IS THE BLUE COLOUR ON THE FACE and ANGER IS THE RED COLOUR ON THE FACE obtain in English, and according to the experimental results of Berlin and Kay (1969)¹¹⁴, purple, as the intermediate colour between the colour of blue and that of red, is the compound colour of blue and red.

Hence, the borderline between the colour of purple and that of blue or that of red is easily visually blurred and need not be marked clearly when they are used to conceptualize the emotion of anger. After all, the facial construal of anger is less likely to be precise. Even the black face that is used as metonymy for anger does not mean that the angry person really has a black face, which also holds true for other metonymies of anger from the sources of yellow face, blue face, purple face, etc. with the colours of red and white as the only two exceptions¹¹⁵. So I assume that there might at least be two different types of metonymies in Table 14, despite the fact that they are all underpinned by the metaphor theme ANGER IS THE FACIAL COLOUR.

The first type which includes some of the metaphor themes (e.g. ANGER IS THE RED COLOUR ON THE FACE and ANGER IS THE WHITE COLOUR ON THE FACE) seems to be based more on the observations of the embodied skin colours on the face, and seems to be less mediated by the cultural notions of colours in the two cultures, whereas the second type, a typical example of which might be the theme ANGER IS BLACK ON THE FACE¹¹⁶, seems to be the opposite, i.e. relying

114 Berlin, B & P. Kay. *Basic Colour Terms: Their Universality and Evolution* [M]. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.

115 In ancient Chinese, colours are divided into two types. The first type including red, black, white, yellow and blue, is regarded as the pure and primary colours (正色), which are supposed to correspond to the five elements in the theory of yin-yang and five elements. The other colours are regarded as the impure and less important colours (间色). This insight is also testified by the saying of *The Art of War* (《孙子兵法》): “色不过五，五色之变，不可胜观也。”(There are not more than five primary colours (red, black, white, yellow and blue), yet in combination they produce more hues than that can ever been seen).

116 It might also interact with the metaphor theme EMOTION IS WEATHER in which anger is a thunderstorm, as it is realized in the lexical items such as 暴躁如雷 [sound: bao zao ru le, lit: ‘as the loud sound that comes after

more on the cultural notions of colours and less on the observations of the embodied skin colours on the face. As a matter of fact, when we say that an angry person's face turns black, we don't literally mean that he has a black face indeed, but figuratively mean that an angry person usually has a ghastly look on his face. Obviously the word *black* here is metaphorically used with its meaning given by the metaphor GRUESOMENESS IS BLACK. So this metaphor could be the basis for the metonymy ANGER IS BLACK ON THE FACE.

This interaction of metonymy and metaphor in the same linguistic expression, following Kövecses (2000: 160-161), could be described as “metonymy from metaphor”, a case of metonymy within a metaphor that is reflecting the cultural notions. This assertion applies both to Chinese and English cultures.

And in our embodied experiences, “the effect of the different degrees of light on mood, at different seasons and in different weathers, does provide a causal metonymic motivation for the metaphor themes SADNESS/PESSIMISM IS DARKNESS, HAPPINESS/HOPE IS LIGHT and EMOTION IS WEATHER” (Goatly, 2007: 233). These experiences are the embodied bases for the metaphor themes: HAPPINESS/HOPE IS LIGHT and SADNESS/PESSIMISM IS DARK”. (ibid)

4.3.2.2 Colours and Their Symbolic Meanings

For Chinese, the black colour is also thought to promote the moods of “sadness, anxiety, fear, despondence, dejection, melancholy, unhappiness”¹¹⁷. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been using the character 黑 (*hei*) to refer to the colour of black¹¹⁸, which was found in its earliest form inscribed on the oracle bones,

a flash of lightning’; met: ‘an impetuous anger’] and *black as thunder* [lit: ‘very dark as though there will be a storm (of clouds)’; met: ‘extremely angry’]

¹¹⁷ There is a metonymic basis for SADNESS IS DARK which is extended to the metonymy of ANGER AS BLACK FACE. As for the seasonal affective disorder in the body, please refer to Chapter 6 of Goatly (2007).

¹¹⁸ In ancient Chinese, there were other three characters also referring to the colour of black, which included 烏 (*wu*, lit: ‘crow (a kind of bird with black feather)’; met: ‘pure blackness’), 皂 (*zao*, lit: ‘oak seed which was used in ancient China as the material for making the black dye’; met: ‘the colour of black’;), and 墨 (*mo*, lit: ‘ink’; met: ‘the blackness of ink’). However, these three characters will not be explored in this dissertation because they have not been found to be used literally or metaphorically in relationship with emotions.

with the original meanings ‘the darkness of night characterized by the absence of light (sunlight or moonlight)’ and ‘the dark animal’ (Wu Dongping, 2003: 52).

Figure 15: Semantic Extensions in the Character 黑

It is certain that in its earliest application in the inscriptions on the oracle bones, the character 黑 was used to refer to those concrete objects and animals with the colour of black instead of the abstract quality of colours. So we can generalize its original meaning as ‘the black things (animate or inanimate)’. For this reason, many dictionaries of Chinese characters published in the ancient China defined it by instantiating a typical thing of black colour that was familiar to people at that time.¹²⁰ For example, Xu Shen in his *Shuowen Jiezi* defined the character 黑 as ‘the colour of things that has been fumigated in the fire’.¹²¹ And in the *Book of Songs*, it refers to the black pigs or sheep. “来方禋祀,以其骍黑。”¹²² (The black animals as the

¹¹⁹ In the Beijing operas, actors with black faces represent the virtuous heroes while those with white faces represent men who are wicked, treacherous or crafty. On the Chinese stages, Bao Gong is one of the honorable black-faced heroes, while the white-faced Lord Cao (Cao Cao) is the most well-known villain.

¹²⁰ This fits into a pattern in Latin, which is still productive in English, as is shown in the metaphor themes COLOUR IS MINERAL and COLOUR IS PLANT in Metalude.

¹²¹ “黑,火所熏之色也。”——《说文》(*Shuowen Jiezi*)

¹²² The character 黑 in this line means “the black domestic animals that are used as the victims for the sacrificial rites, usually including pigs, sheep, and cattles, etc.”. The character 骍 is an associative character which is composed of two characters 马 and 辛, the former meaning “horse” while the latter “cut by a knife”, so the meaning of 骍 is “the slain domestic animals” which based on the metonymy of WHOLE AS PART.

sacrificed victims are presented with their red blood in the Lord's rite of worshipping the Heaven).¹²³ In the *Book of Changes*, it designates the black earth. “坤为黑。”(Black is the Kun which represents the earth).¹²⁴

Generally speaking, the character 黑 was later extended to mean a lot of other things, mostly by metaphor and metonymy, which can be roughly schematized in Figure 15. According to my investigation of other basic colour terms in Chinese, such as the characters 红(hong), 白(bai), 黄(huang), and 青(qing), which were regarded in the Pre-Qin periods as the pure colours in contrast with the secondary impure colours, these three ways of semantic extensions obtaining for the character 黑 also obtain for them as well.

黑: 'the black things or animals' $\Rightarrow$ 'the black colour' $\Rightarrow$ 'the things being burnt' ...

Swart: 'the things being burnt' $\Rightarrow$ 'the black colour' $\Rightarrow$ 'the black things or animals' ...

Figure 16: Semantic Extensions of 黑 and Swart

In English the corresponding colour term is *black* which as recorded by the *OED Online*, stemmed from the original Old Saxon colour-word *swart* with the original sense 'burnt, scorched'. Hence, it is clear that the ancient English and Chinese both endowed the colour word denoting the colour of *black* with the meaning referring to the same activity that resulted in the blackness of things, based on the metonymy COLOUR AS CAUSE OF COLOUR. But obviously the starting points for the semantic extensions of the character 黑 and the word *swart* are different, which show the opposite in some phase of their semantic development. These can be illustrated with diagrams (Figure 16).

Nevertheless, many meaning items of *black* developed from its most basic meaning 'the black colour' also fall into the above three types of semantic extension. The semantic extensions of the *black* can be roughly sketched in Figure 17.

¹²³ See the piece entitled “farm fields” in the *Book of Songs* (《诗·小雅·大田》).

¹²⁴ 《易·说卦》(the *Book of Changes*).

Figure 17: Three types of Semantic Extension in *Black*

Considering that these three types of semantic extension are the basic mechanisms of semantic development for lexical items, this is not surprising. However, what is important for me is that this common pattern of semantic extensions of *black* and 黑 shows that the colour terms, which are thought to create bad moods, can metonymically develop into some elevated meanings. Thus we are now confronted with the following questions: how is it possible that the concepts of *black* and 黑, which are generally taken as the sources for evil, illegality, sadness or lack of hope, can be used to construe the positive images? And then what are the metonymic bases for the metaphor BLACK IS GOOD which grounds the above two elevated semantic extensions?

Observing the meaning items of the words *black* and 黑 enlisted in the dictionaries of English words and Chinese words/characters convince us that the majority of them express degradation or neutrality, only one or two of them are elevated. The colour of *black* chiefly functions as the metonymic source for negative emotions:

black as thunder [lit: 'very dark as though there will be a storm (of clouds)'; met: 'extremely angry'];

black [lit: ‘having the darkest colour there is’; met: ‘very miserable and depressed’]¹²⁵;

黑心 [lit: ‘black heart’; met: ‘evil mind’];

阴暗的心理 [lit: ‘dark mentality’; met: ‘a pessimistic mind’, ‘a dirty mind’].

However, in some specific cases, it can motivate the elevated meanings of the words *black* and 黑 in English and Chinese. According to Burgoon & Saine (1978), the colour of black could not create the positive mood in English. Then how can it have an elevated semantic extension? The answer is quite simple: the motivation for *TO BE IN THE BLACK* to get the elevated meaning ‘to show a profit’ is not the metonymy based on the embodied physiological experiences but that based on the em-minded knowledge about the social practice of keeping accounts. The metaphor *BLACK IS BEAUTIFUL*,¹²⁶ also lacking embodied physiological experiences (at least for the white people decades ago), expressed a revolt of the black people against the racial discrimination, and it seems to have brought changes to many white people’s symbolic feeling toward the black people and the colour of black¹²⁷. This might be regarded as the influence of the em-minded ideology on the embodied metonymic bases for *GOOD IS CLEAN/WHITE* and *EVIL IS DARK / BLACK*.¹²⁸

Despite the fact that these cases are not related entirely to the concept of emotions, they still demonstrate that a concept that is believed to be related closely with the negative moods can motivate some positive metaphorical meanings in some cases. A direct reason for this is that culture as a multi-component system, being established and developing in different ways, has an influence on the conceptualization of emotions in different ways and provides the metaphorical system of language with different metonymic bases. This might be better illustrated with the metaphor theme *BLACK IS GOOD* which underlies the Chinese lexicalized metaphor

¹²⁵ The *Cambridge Advanced Learners’ Dictionary*.

¹²⁶ The slogan of black consciousness since the 1960s and 1970s in USA.

¹²⁷ Although they have now abandoned this and prefer to be called “the coloured people”, possibly because *EXCITEMENT IS COLOUR*

¹²⁸ The metonymic bases for *GOOD IS CLEAN/WHITE* and *EVIL IS DARK / BLACK* are explored in length in Section 4.3.2.3.

黑脸包公 [lit: “the black-faced Lord Bao”¹²⁹; met: “the respected official of noble character and sterling integrity”].¹³⁰ Here the black face does not represent anger, sadness and other negative emotions, but rather a serious and solemn mood. According to some archival historical materials, Lord Bao (Bao Zheng) as a real person in life was a white-faced scholar¹³¹. But in the Chinese novels, dramas, and popular legends, he has been portrayed as the black-faced man, which is obviously related with the symbolic meanings of black and the moods that it created in ancient Chinese. In fact, in the ancient Chinese culture, the so-called five major (pure) colours¹³² were all used to describe the colours of face which respectively represented different symbolic moods and emotive meanings. These metonymies of EMOTION AS FACIAL COLOUR THAT IT EVOKES result from the interaction of the em-minded cultural notions of colours and the embodied sense impressions which are affected to a considerable extent by the cultural notions of colours in their mentalities.

Table 15 presents a rough opposition of two poles of the metaphorical meanings and moods that have obtained for the five major colour terms in the Chinese culture and language. A more careful investigation would show a third party existing in the borderline areas of these two opposite poles which is neglected in this table, because my purpose of making Table 15 is only to show the contrastive differences of the metaphorical meanings that the same colour term has developed, and of the different moods that the same colour has created. Table 15 shows that the colours could create totally different moods, even the opposite moods, and consequently the different or opposite metaphorical meanings of colour terms.

Table 15 indicates that even the same color could create totally different moods and symbolic meanings in Chinese. Next I am going to look into English colour terms

¹²⁹ Lord Bao (i.e. Bao Gong, his true name is Bao Zheng) who was once the mayor of Kaifeng city in the Song Dynasty, is famous for his honesty in performing the official duties, justice in enforcing the law, and bravery in defying the malevolent near-royalty and officials.

¹³⁰ Cf. Table 15 “The Five Major Colours and Their Symbolic Meanings in Ancient Chinese”.

¹³¹ http://www.tjarts.edu.cn/tj%20arts/whyj_31.html.

¹³² As mentioned above, the five pure or major colours (正色) in ancient Chinese are black, red, white, yellow, and blue.

to find out whether the case is specific to Chinese or a common phenomenon for both English and Chinese.

Having compared the metaphorical meanings of colour terms from Metalude with the moods evoked by colours as found by Burgoon & Saine (1978) (Table 16), Goatly (2007) observes that

Going through the colour spectrum we can start with red, which seems to be associated with strong uncontrollable emotion especially anger: **see red** ‘become very angry’ (*she saw red when she caught him stealing*), **a red rag to a bull***, ‘something certain to produce a violent and angry reaction’ (*arguing for nationalisation is like a red rag to a bull to him*), **ruddy***, literally ‘reddish’, a weaker form of the swear word ‘bloody’, indicating annoyance rather than anger (*when are they going to fix this ruddy light?*); though red can also apply to strong-sexual feelings **red-blooded** (*he was a red-blooded male teenager*). Pinkish colours tend to represent optimism and positive emotions **rosy** ‘hopeful’ (*the economic situation is quite rosy at the moment*), **rose-tinted / coloured glasses / spectacles***, ‘tendency to see things optimistically’ (*my uncle thought I could get into Oxford, but he always looks at me through rose-tinted glasses*), while **tickled pink**, means ‘very pleased’, (*when she praised his leadership he was tickled pink*). Yellow is rather negative: **yellow** ‘nervous to the extent of being cowardly’ (*go on jump--don’t be so yellow*) and **jaundiced**, (from the French *jaune*) ‘pessimistic, unfairly critical’ (*she had a jaundiced view of psychiatrists*). **Green with envy** means ‘extremely envious’, **blue** ‘sad’ (*he’s been very blue since failing his exams*) and **purple*** ‘shocking or offensive’ (of writing) (*the novella ‘The Lover’ is full of purple prose*). Not on the spectrum at all we have **brown study** ‘very serious mood’ and **black humour/comedy*** ‘comedy that involves frightening or unpleasant things’ (*black humour is used as a defence against the horrors of the war*). Note that with the asterisked items above, strictly speaking we do not have EMOTION AS CAUSE OF EMOTION, because it is the cause of the emotion, the ECS, to which the word applies, not the emotion itself. (Goatly, 2007: 231-232)

Color	Mood	Emotion	Metaphorical meaning	Five element	Five season	Spatial direction	Typical Chinese Figure
黑 (hei)	solemnity, seriousness	fright	fair, serene, unselfish,	water	winter	north	the black-faced Lord Bao (Bao Zheng)
	sadness, mystery, eeriness, coldness		sad, evil, unlucky, illegal, secret,				
红 (hong)	warmth, being full of vitality, being lucky, being happy, excitement,	happiness	lucky, fortunate, happy, popular	fire	summer	south	the red-faced Lord Guang (Guang Yu) ¹³³
	anger, being uncontrollable, hostility, impulsion		angry, bloody, revolutionar, hostile,				
白 (bai)	being clean, purity, emptiness	grief	innocent, noble, pure, legal, empty, free, frank	gold	autumn	west	the white-faced Lord Cao (Cao Cao) ¹³⁴
	fear, sadness, ghastliness,		sad, fearful, terrifying, reactionary,				
黄(huang)	nobility , holiness, luck, fortune, niceness	anxiety	propitious; lucky, royal, noble	earth	late summer	center	the yellow-faced wife (黄脸婆) ¹³⁵
	eroticism, decadence, degradation, failure		pornographic , failed, fearful, weak				
青 (qing) ¹³⁶	openness, bright, hope, being far-reaching	anger	(of the sky) azure, (of grass) luxuriant, (of sky) sunny and cloudless	wood	spring	east	the blue-faced Judge (青面判官) ¹³⁷
	fear, frightfulness		frightening, fearful				

Table 15: The Five Major Colours and Their Symbolic Meanings in Ancient Chinese¹³⁸.

By looking for the possible correspondence between the colour-as-source LEMS and the moods created by colour in English, we may find that the degree of

¹³³ A famous general in the period of the Three Kingdoms, distinguished for his bravery and loyalism.

¹³⁴ A famous primary minister of the Wei Kingdom in the period of the Three Kingdoms, remarkable for his tricks and deceitful cleverness.

¹³⁵ The wives that have been married for a long time and been disliked by their husbands.

¹³⁶ The character青 in ancient Chinese is used to refer to the colours of blue, green, and sometimes black either. But according to *Shuowen Jiezi*, its original meaning is “the colour of the sky in the east”, namely the blue colour of the sky that it shows in the east when the sun rises in the early morning.

¹³⁷ The formidable judge in the underworld who decides the fate of the dead.

¹³⁸ Table 15 is a brief summary based on the relevant knowledge in the Section “Plain Questions” of *The Yellow Emperor's Canon of Internal Medicine* (《素问·黄帝内经》), Chen Lizhong (1996) and other Chinese dictionaries.

correspondence is very low.

It is interesting to look for any correspondences with Burgoon and Saine’s findings in Table 23¹³⁹, and what they might tell us about metaphor theory. For **red** ‘angry’ and ‘full of vitality’ seem to correspond to the metaphorical meanings; for **yellow** ‘unpleasant’ corresponds to some extent; for **black** ‘anxiety’, ‘fear’; and for brown ‘melancholy’. The moods evoked by blue, purple and green apparently correspond to none of the metaphorical meanings, indeed sometimes contradict them, as with **purple** ‘dignified’ and *blue* ‘pleasant’. The moods for white and black do seem to correspond quite strongly to another pair of metaphor themes: HAPPINESS / HOPE IS LIGHT and SADNESS/ PESSIMISM IS DARK – of which more later. (Goatly, 2007: 232)

<i>Colour</i>	<i>Moods</i>
Red	hot, affectionate, angry, defiant, contrary, hostile, full of vitality, excitement, love
Blue	cool, pleasant, leisurely, distant, infinite, secure, transcendent, calm, tender
Yellow	unpleasant, exciting, hostile, cheerful, joyful, jovial
Orange	unpleasant, exciting, disturbed, distressed, upset, defiant, contrary, hostile, stimulating
Purple	depressed, sad, dignified, stately
Green	cool, pleasant, leisurely, in control
Black	sad, intense, anxiety, fear, despondent, dejected, melancholy, unhappy
Brown	sad, not tender, despondent, dejected, melancholy, unhappy, neutral
White	joy, lightness, neutral, cold

Table.16: The Moods Created by Colour in the English Culture¹⁴⁰

4.3.2.3 Interplay of the Em-minded Cultural Notions and the Embodied Physical Experiences in the Coloured Conceptualization of Emotions

¹³⁹ i.e. Table 16 “The Moods Created by Colour in the English Culture” in this dissertation.

¹⁴⁰ From Burgoon & Saine (1978) .

Moreover, the moods for white and black also correspond quite strongly to another pair of metaphor themes in English: GOOD IS CLEAN/WHITE and EVIL IS DARK / BLACK which are respectively realized in larger numbers of lexicalized metaphors in English.

GOOD IS PURE/CLEAN/WHITE

white knight ‘person or organisation that rescues a company from financial difficulties’, **fair** ‘morally correct or just’, **whiter than white** ‘having a reputation for high moral standards’, **lily-white** ‘faultless in character’, and even **white lie** ‘harmless untruth’, and **whitewash** ‘cover up mistakes or bad behaviour’. Under the second we find mostly pejorative terms. These can either mean evil or wrong, as in **black** meaning ‘bad’ (*the future of the environment is very black*), or ‘cruel or wicked’ (*this is a blacker crime than most I’ve investigated*), **black and white** ‘with clear distinctions between what is morally wrong and right’, **black mark** ‘fault or mistake that has been noted’, **blackguard** ‘a wicked person’, **blackleg** ‘someone who treacherously continues to work while other workers are on strike’; they can mean illegal, as in **black market**, **black economy**; or they can be associated with loss of reputation: **black sheep** ‘bad person in a family who brings it into disrepute’ and **blacken** ‘destroy the good reputation of’. (Goatly, 2007: 46)

EVIL IS DARK / BLACK

black meaning ‘bad’ (*the future of the environment is very black*), or ‘cruel or wicked’ (*this is a blacker crime than most I’ve investigated*), **black and white** ‘with clear distinctions between what is morally wrong and right’, **black mark** ‘fault or mistake that has been noted’, **blackguard** ‘a wicked person’, **blackleg** ‘someone who treacherously continues to work while other workers are on strike’; they can mean illegal, as in **black market**, **black economy**; or they can be associated with loss of reputation: **black**

sheep ‘bad person in a family who brings it into disrepute’ and **blacken**
‘destroy the good reputation of’. (ibid)

Distinct opposites between black and white, evil and good, and dirty and clean seem to dominate the Westerners’ cultural notions, and are well mapped onto the lexicalized metaphors in English. These phenomena obtain extensively for Chinese as well. In modern Chinese, both GOOD IS CLEAN/WHITE and EVIL/BAD IS DARK / BLACK are very productive in lexical realizations:

GOOD IS CLEAN/WHITE

白璧无瑕 [bai bi wu xia, lit: ‘flawless white jade’; met: ‘impeccable moral integrity’];

清白 [qing bai, lit: ‘clean and white’; met: ‘innocence’];

黑白分明 [bai hei fen ming, lit: ‘with a sharp contrast between white and black’; met: ‘with clear distinctions between what is morally right and wrong’];

EVIL/BAD IS DARK/BLACK

颠倒黑白 [dian dao hei bai, lit: ‘to turn black over the white’; met: ‘to turn the wrong over the right’];

黑心 [hei xin, lit: ‘black heart’; met: ‘evil mind, evil designs’];

黑心肠 [hei xin chang, lit: ‘black heart and intestine’; met: ‘evil mind, evil designs’];

黑白分明 [hei bei fen ming, lit: ‘with a sharp contrast between black and white’; met: ‘with clear distinctions between what is morally wrong and right’];

混淆黑白 [hun xiao hei bai, lit: ‘to confound black and white’; met: ‘to confound wrong and right’];

Then these apparent correspondences of English and Chinese in the metaphor themes GOOD IS CLEAN/WHITE and EVIL/BAD IS DARK / BLACK seem to suggest the embodied common metonymies that ground these metaphors:

DARKNESS AS BLACK + NEGATIVE SENSE IMPRESSIONS IN DARKNESS →
BAD IS BLACK;

DIRTY AS BLACK + DIRTY AS EVIL/BAD → EVIL/BAD IS DARK/BLACK;

CLEAN AS WHITE + CLEAN AS GOOD → GOOD IS CLEAN/WHITE;

BRIGHTNESS AS WHITE + POSITIVE SENSE IMPRESSIONS IN BRIGHTNESS →
GOOD IS WHITE;

The black-as-source and white-as-source metaphors in Chinese show to a greater extent the effects of the embodied experiences and the cultural notions on them. For example, on the one hand, there are sufficient embodied experiences which provide the metonymic bases for the metaphor themes GOOD/RIGHT IS WHITE and BAD/WRONG IS BLACK:

GOOD/RIGHT IS WHITE

GOOD AS POSITIVE SENSE IMPRESSION

WHITE AS SUNLIGHT BRIGHTNESS

POSITIVE SENSE IMPRESSION AS SUNLIGHT BRIGHTNESS¹⁴¹

GOOD AS WHITE

RIGHT AS GOOD

RIGHT AS WHITE

BAD/WRONG IS BLACK

BAD AS NEGATIVE SENSE IMPRESSION

BLACK AS ABSENCE OF BRIGHTNESS (DARKNESS) OR DIRTY

NEGATIVE SENSE IMPRESSION IN ABSENCE OF BRIGHTNESS (DARKNESS) OR DIRTY

BAD AS BLACK

WRONG AS BAD

WRONG AS BLACK

¹⁴¹ This metonymy is realized in *sunshine* [lit: 'sunlight'; met: 'pleasure'] in English and 心中是阳光灿烂 [xin zhong shi yang guang can lan, lit: 'sunshine in the heart'; met: 'pleasure'].

On the other hand, there also exist a number of other black-as-source and white-as-source metaphors which contradict these two metaphor themes. For example, it is recorded in the *Book of Rites* that the colour of black was worshipped in the dynasty of Xia (the first dynasty that has been recorded in the history of China which is supposed to last from 2070 to 1600 BC).¹⁴²

Xia Housi, the first emperor of the Xia dynasty, so revered the colour of black that he ordered that the placing of the corpse in the coffin and the funeral should be performed in the dusk, that the army should ride on the black horses at the moment of military actions, and that the animals chosen as the victims of the sacrificial rites should be in black colour.¹⁴³

This record is in conformity with what is described in the above-quoted line from the *Book Of Songs*: “来方禋祀,以其骍黑。”(The black animals as the sacrificed victims are presented with their red blood in the Lord's rite of worshipping the Heaven). Thus for a period in the earliest Chinese societies, the colour of black was associated with the solemn things in the daily lives, which gradually resulted in the em-minded metonymy SOLEMNITY IS BLACK in the cultural notions of the ancient Chinese.

The Pre-Qin Chinese regarded black as the colour of the revered heaven. It is said in the *Book of Changes* that “the colour of the heaven is (reddish) black while that of the earth is brown or yellow”¹⁴⁴. The reverence for black had been predominating the mentality of ancient Chinese for many hundred years. Thus the black colour began to symbolize the stateliness of political powers in many ancient

¹⁴² http://www.jwb.com.cn/gb/content/2006-12/12/content_402247.htm.

¹⁴³ 《礼记·檀弓上第三》(the *Book of Rites*): “夏后氏尚黑,大事斂用昏,戎事乘骍,牲用玄。”

¹⁴⁴ 《周易·坤卦第二》(the *Book of Changes*): “天玄而地黄.” The original sense of the character 玄 in ancient Chinese is “the reddish black colour”, but it was generally used to refer to the colour of black; the character 黄 in ancient Chinese refer to both the colours of yellow and brown, which held a larger range than the English word *yellow* did so far as they were used to construe emotions.

Chinese dynasties in which the court officials were required to wear the black hat and robes on formal occasions. For this reason, the term 乌纱帽 (sound: wu sha mao, lit: ‘the black cloth hat’) became the pronoun of the official positions in the court or government. So it is the social institution and cultural construction of the colours that directed the sense impressions of the body for the colour of black, which has gone beyond the biological significations. Thus the black hat (乌纱帽) represented the official position and a noble social status, while the white clothes (白衣) the ordinary people. The ancient Chinese societies accorded great importance to the imperial examinations, but those losers in these examinations were called “the white bodies” (白身) or ‘the white men’ (白丁). On the Chinese stages, the white face is used to designate the treacherous characters, while the black face the honorable ones. During the Civil Wars (1927-1937 and 1945-1949) and the Great Cultural Revolution (1966-1975) in China, all the political, economical, and civic criminals were called “黑五类” (the five types of black people), and the hostile KMT¹⁴⁵ armies “白匪” (the white bandits), the KMT government “白色政权” (the white regime). Thus the metaphor themes BAD IS BLACK and BAD IS WHITE once predominated both the ideology and political discourses of these periods of time in China. This can be seen as a linguistic symbol of the mental confusion of black (wrong) and white (right) for the Chinese people during those periods. But it can also be seen as the merging of *yin* and *yang*, because in terms of the doctrine of *yin-yang* and the five elements, black, as the absence of light, represents *yin*; while white, as the result of sunshine, represents *yang*. Therefore, the colour of black corresponds to the season of winter.¹⁴⁶ In the mentality of ancient Chinese, it was endowed with a series of attributes of winter which is based on the image schema¹⁴⁷ that winter was a depressing season in which everything seemed to be desolate. These two symbolic significations of black and white are obviously in well accordance with the original senses of *yin* and *yang*.

¹⁴⁵ Kuo Min Tang (中国国民党).

¹⁴⁶ See Table 13 “Five Categories under the Five Elements”.

¹⁴⁷ This seems to be universal for English and Chinese. So it may be regarded as a case of universality based on em-minded cultural notions or the interactions of em-minded culture and em-bodied physiology. Cf the discussion of sad in Goatly (2007: 224-259).

These conflicts in the black-as-source and white-as-source metaphors seem to be caused by the different types of the metonymic bases that these metaphors have. For example, based on some Chinese cultural notions in terms of the embodied experience (embodiedly), white corresponds to the east where the sun rises every morning, symbolizing brightness and life brought by the sunshine. Therefore, a large number of lexical items emerged as a result of the metaphor themes GOOD/RIGHT IS WHITE. But in terms of the theory of *yin-yang* and the five elements (em-mindedly), white is defined to correspond to the west where the sun falls, symbolizing the darkness and death. So in the Chinese culture, the mourning dressing for the funeral is 披麻戴孝 (pi ma dai xiao, lit: ‘to wear brownish yellow or white flax garment and white hat’ met: to put on the mourning apparel’). Other mourning decorations include the white ropes that are tied around the mourners’ waists, the white paper flowers, the white paper lanterns, etc. For this reason, the funeral is called “白事”(bai shi, ‘the white matter’), and the funeral for an aged person is called “白喜”(bai xi, ‘the white happiness’).

So even for a society in which a certain metaphor theme predominates, some contradictive metaphor themes will still be productive to some extent in their lexical realizations. Take for example the above-listed 颠倒黑白 [dian dao hei bai, lit: ‘to turn black over the white’; met: ‘to turn the wrong over the right’], which is the most common idiom in modern Chinese but enjoys a very long life. It first came from the famous line “变白以为黑兮，倒上以为下”¹⁴⁸ [change the white (morally right) into the black (morally wrong), and turn upside down so the lower (person of low morals) becomes the upper (person of high morals)] in the *Odes of Ch’u* by Qu Yuan, a well-known poet in the Pre-Qin periods. The metaphor themes GOOD/RIGHT IS WHITE and BAD/WRONG IS BLACK, which get elaborated in the long-lived lexicalized idiom 颠倒黑白, seem to contradict to some degree the dominant cultural notions of the Pre-Qin periods that are characterized by their worship of black and white. That is because Shang Dynasty (1766-1066 BC)¹⁴⁹, the successive dynasty of

¹⁴⁸ 《楚辞·九章·怀沙》(the *Odes of Ch’u*).

¹⁴⁹ <http://www.greatchinese.net/emperors/shangchao.htm>.

Xia Dynasty (2070-1600 BC)¹⁵⁰ who worshiped the colour of black, worshipped the colour of white. Qu Yuan lived in the years about 340-278 B. C., i.e. the late Pre-Qin periods. People at the time generally believed that it was a good thing for the more civilized Shang Dynasty to replace the corruptive Xia Dynasty, a mentality that is clearly depicted in the poems of Qu Yuan.

Based on this social mentality, it was quite natural for Qu Yuan to make the metaphorical line: “变白以为黑兮，倒上以为下” which developed the metaphor themes GOOD/RIGHT IS WHITE and BAD/WRONG IS BLACK and their most common lexical realization, i.e. the long-lived lexicalized idiom 颠倒黑白 in Chinese. Thus these two metaphors ground themselves in the diachronic change brought about by the shift of dynasties to the conceptions of black and white in the minds of the Pre-Qin Chinese. And since nearly two thousand years had passed from the happening of the shift to the period in which Qu Yuan lived, the then generally accepted belief that grounded the metaphor themes GOOD/RIGHT IS WHITE and BAD/WRONG IS BLACK should not be regarded as embodied, but em-minded to a larger extent.

Colour	Mood	Metonymic basis	Metaphorical meanings
Black (黑)	solemnity, seriousness	This metonymy of BLACK AS SOLEMNITY originates from the em-minded cultural notion of black colour which is based on the theory of <i>yin-yang</i> and the five elements.	fair, serenity, unselfishness,
	mystery, eeriness,	This metonymy is based on the embodied experience that people are more apt to feel mysterious and frightened in the dark night.	evil, being illegal, in secret,
	sadness, coldness	This metonymy is based on the interactions of the embodied experience that the body would feel cold in the dark night, and the em-minded notion that black represents the depressed season of winter in which rivers are desolate, plants dying, and animals going into hibernation.	sadness, unlucky,

Table 17: The Black Colour and the Metaphorical Meanings of the Character 黑

¹⁵⁰ http://www.jwb.com.cn/gb/content/2006-12/12/content_402247.htm.

In contrast to their counterparts in English, the moods of the five major colours in the Chinese culture correspond quite well to the metaphorical meanings of the five major colour terms in Chinese (Table 15). Briefly speaking, the moods created by the colours are binary opposites, which are in rough correspondence to the binary oppositions of the metaphorical meanings of the colour terms in Chinese. And the moods created by the colours often become the metonymic bases for the metaphors that motivate the corresponding metaphorical meanings of the colour terms. Take the character 黑 (black) for example. The correspondence of the moods created by the black colour and the metaphorical meanings of the character 黑 are listed in Table 17.

From these correspondences of the moods created by the colour of black and red, and the metaphorical meanings of these two colour terms in English and Chinese, we can see that colours can create different types of moods which would possibly motivate different metonyms that underlie the metaphorical meanings of the colour terms. But the correspondence of the moods created by the colour and the metaphorical meanings of the colour terms in English as found by Goatly (2007) are quite different from what I have found in Chinese, which may be due to the different ways in these two cultures in which the moods or emotions have been related to the colours, and the different cultural notions of colours in these two cultures. Anyway, it is hard to imagine that a culture that has been embedded in the doctrine of the four humors for a long time would share a highly similar pattern of metaphorical thinking with another culture that has long rooted in the doctrine of *yin-yang* and the five elements. After all, metaphor is the product of human thinking oriented by his or her own cultural model.

The different metaphorical meanings of the character 黑 realizing the metaphor theme EMOTION IS BLACK (Table 17) are not all motivated by the one way metonymy proposed by Lakoff and Kövecses (1987), but by the three different types of metonymies which are in perfect consistence with the metonymy model that I developed as an alternative. Obviously, the metonymy which motivates the first metaphorical meanings ‘fair, serenity, unselfishness’ of the black face (the first type of semantic extension), was not based on the facial or somatic sense impressions, but on

the cultural notion of the ancient Chinese that related the colour of black to the solemn moods¹⁵¹. The second type of semantic extension in the character 黑 is based on the embodied metonymy EFFECT AS CAUSE (i.e. The negative sense impressions caused in the dark or by dirty things are metonymized by the colour of dark which is supposed to be responsible for the negative feelings). Since this metonymy is based on the embodied physiological experience, it is expected to be a cross-language commonality, which is proved by comparing Table 15 with that of Burgoon & Saine (Table 16). The third type of semantic extension of the character 黑 under the theme EMOTION IS BLACK seems not to be motivated by the purely embodied experiences, nor by the purely em-minded cultural notions about the colours, but by the synergistic contributions of the em-minded cultural notions and the embodied sense impressions of the black colour. The em-minded metonymy SAD AS BLACK is the deep-rooted conception of *yin-yang* and the five elements in the mentality of ancient Chinese which associates the colour of black with the depressed season of winter in which rivers are desolate, plants dying, and animals go into hibernation. Based on this connection the ancient Chinese used the colour of black as a metonymic source for the moods and emotions in terms of their embodied experiences in the winter. But at the same time darkness in winter is a common experience, and darkness does produce depression, so this metonymy SAD AS BLACK is also based on the common embodied experience, i.e. the embodied commonality. Thus it is the interaction of the em-minded cultural notions and the embodied common experience in the metonymic structure of SAD AS BLACK that determines the role of the theme EMOTION IS BLACK in the third type of semantic extension of the character 黑. Even in this type of metonymic basis for the metaphor EMOTION IS BLACK, the principal determinant is still the em-minded cultural notions, because it is the cultural notions that determine people's cognitive preference in selecting related experiences to construe their emotions.

¹⁵¹ Despite that the em-minded cultural notions overrides in this metonymy, yet its embodied physiological basis is still to some extent traceable. For example, we have the embodied basis for EXCITEMENT IS COLOUR. And because black is absence of light (colour), it denotes lack of excitement, i.e. serenity.

It thus follows from the above discussion of the black-as-source and white-as-source metaphors in Chinese that the meanings of both the characters 黑 (hei, 'black') and 白 (bai, 'white') can be metaphorically elevated or degraded, depending on the cultural notions, embodied experiences, or their interplay that grounds the metaphorization in these semantic changes. So far as the metaphor theme EMOTION IS COLOUR and its subdivisions, e.g. GOOD/RIGHT IS WHITE and BAD/WRONG IS BLACK, are concerned, cultural notions override the embodied experiences in most cases. And as a consequence of the diachronic changes of the cultural notions over the historical periods, the Chinese culture has always been a big melting pot of different cultural notions from different sources, which are responsible for the existence of the non-consistent and in some cases, even opposite concepts in the Chinese cultures in the different historical periods of China. These non-consistent or contradictory cultural concepts in the Chinese culture in turn result in the non-consistency and oppositions in the metaphorical patterns in the Chinese language. This seems not to be unique to Chinese. Even in English where the metaphor themes GOOD/RIGHT IS WHITE and BAD/WRONG IS BLACK predominate, exceptional cases for the black-as-source and white-as-source metaphors also obtain. The following are some examples:

White elephant [lit: 'an abnormally whitish or pale elephant, usually found in Thailand'; met: 'a possession unwanted by the owner but difficult to dispose of']

White-livered [lit: 'having a white liver'; met: 'lacking courage; coward']

White flag [lit: 'an all-white banner or piece of cloth'; met: 'surrender or truce']

This also applies to another dominant theme FESTIVE MOOD IS RED which originates from the ancient Chinese worship of the sun. But English culture also shares this metaphor realized by the lexical items such as *red-letter day* which means 'a joyful day', *rosy* which, is a colour between red and pink, means 'hopeful'; *roll out the red carpet for somebody* which means 'to welcome in a big way', etc.. However, this cross-language commonality is not based on the common embodied experience but should be more properly regarded as a cultural accident, which justifies from

another perspective the argument that I have proposed in Chapter 3, i.e. that the common embodied experiences are not the necessary condition for the metaphor theme to be common.

Zhang Yimou, a famous film director in the mainland of China, directed a controversial film entitled *Raise the Red Lantern* (大红灯笼高高挂) which described the common family life of a landlord, his wife and concubines, and his sons and daughters, in a large courtyard house. What was explored in this film is in fact the symbolic significance of the red lanterns and courtyard houses for a patriarchal polygamous family. The red lanterns seem to have two handles: literally it is an embodied custom to show the room whose occupant the master of the family will have sexual intercourse with (his wife or one of his concubines); but this embodied literal meaning is extended by the metaphor FESTIVE MOOD IS RED which is based on the Chinese em-minded cultural notions about the red colour, to show the occupant's happiness and honor to serve the master of the family. Since the favorite and lucky things are always expected to come with the red festivals, thus some more specific metaphors derive from FESTIVE MOOD IS RED:

FAVORITE IS RED;

LUCK IS RED;

HONOR IS RED;

which are prolific in modern Chinese lexical items:

很红 [hen hong, lit: 'very red'; met: 'very popular'];

走红 [zou hong, lit: 'go red'; met: 'have a good run'];

红人 [hong ren, lit: 'a red person'; met: 'a favorite by somebody in power'];

红极一时 [hong ji yi shi, lit: 'very red in a period'; met: 'at the height of one's popularity'];

开门红 [kai meng hong, lit: 'see red when you open the door'; met: 'make a good start'];

红火 [hong huo, lit: 'red fire'; met: '(of business) prosperity'];

So the red lanterns symbolize the occupant's being favored by the Master of the family who is generally imagined as the occupant of the largest middle room no matter whether he would stay in that room or not, which accordingly elaborates the metonymy MASTER AS THE CENTER OF HOUSE. It is this mastership of man that established his dominant status in the love and sex relationships of the Chinese patriarchal polygamous system based on the Confucian ethical doctrine about love and family, which in turn grounds the cultural specificity of FAVOURITE IS RED and FESTIVE MOOD IS RED in the Chinese culture.

4.3.3 ANGER IS HEAT

According to the analysis of Chapter 3, the two versions of the conceptualizations of anger in Chinese are realized by LEMS that express different levels of concepts which can be sketched respectively as in Figure 18, while the two corresponding versions of the conceptualizations of anger in English can be structured as in Figure 19.

Figure 18: Conceptualizations of Anger in Chinese

Comparing 18(a) and 19(c) in these two figures, we can see commonality between English and Chinese in conceptualizing anger: both are related to the “hot” feeling of body when one is angry, but it is evident that even with this embodied

metonymy, i.e. the physiology-based metonymy EMOTION AS PHYSIOLOGICAL RESPONSES OF A SPECIFIC EMOTION, there still exist the cross-language cultural variations.

Figure 19: Conceptualizations of Anger in English

In English anger is conceptualized by the following analogy:

Anger : human :: fire : flammable substance,

which is based on the experience of feeling hot when one is angry¹⁵³; but for Chinese, the analogy is

Anger : internal organs of body :: fire : container,

which does not attribute anger to the feeling of anger but reinterprets the feeling with the doctrine of *yin-yang* and the five elements. Thus the embodied experiences have been modified as a combination of the em-minded cultural notions and the embodied experiences. Therefore, in the latter case, the metonymy EMOTION AS

¹⁵² Figure 19 (d) is taken from Goatly (2007: 247).

¹⁵³ The fire is applied to the flammable substance. The only example for the metaphor ANGER IS FIRE IN A CONTAINER in English may be “the smoke was pouring out of his ears”(Yu, 1998:51), and if we believe that smoke is the necessary result of fire, then we may take such an assumption in our mental schema that there should be fire in our body that produces the smoke pouring out of ears.

PHYSIOLOGICAL RESPONSES OF A SPECIFIC EMOTION does not apply, even though it is based on the embodied physiological experience.

Comparison of 18 (b) and 19(d) shows that the Chinese conceptualization of anger is more complex and utilizes more levels of source concepts than that of English by incorporating the em-minded cultural notions of body with the embodied physiological experiences of anger, which, however, is not apparent from the synchronic aspect of LEMS in English.

Thus the historical investigations of the possible cultural influences on the contemporary LEMS in English and Chinese can provide a more convincing interpretation of a synchronic cross-language variation in emotion metaphors, i.e. how it is possible that the same somatic physiological experience can be used as metonymies for the same emotion in different ways, as we see in the metonymy ANGER AS HOT SENSATION IN THE BODY. By comparing the diagrams of a, b, c, and d, it becomes clearer that there exist several ways in which an embodied physiological experience might be associated with the emotion metaphors that it stands for, whether it is in English or in Chinese. According to my above analysis of the four diagrams, it seems that there are two ways by which the bodily feelings are used to construe the emotion of anger. The first way is the direct one, i.e. ANGER AS HOT SENSATION IN THE BODY, which is in accordance with the general metonymical principle made by Lakoff and Kövecses (1987), i.e. THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION (Lakoff & Kövecses 1987:196). The second one is the indirect way mediated by the em-minded cultural notions, which are then divided into two types: the first type being mediated only by the em-minded cultural notions without the apparent involvement of embodied physiological experiences in the construal of anger; the second one being mediated by the knowledge from both the em-minded cultural notions and embodied physiological experiences. So there are three different types of construal of anger in LEMS in English and Chinese. According to my investigation of LEMS in the ancient Chinese classics, anger and other emotions are conceptualized in the ways that are in accordance with the three types of construal.

Now let's take a look at the conceptualization of anger in LEMS in the ancient Chinese classics:

- a) The bodily-perceived symptoms of anger stands for anger:

发竖 [sound: fa shu; lit: 'hairs stand up'; met: 'to be extremely angry']¹⁵⁴;

- b) Embodied metonymy for anger in terms of the doctrine of *yin-yang* and the five elements:

目眦尽裂 [sound: mu ci jin lie; lit: 'eyes open so wide as if they were splitting';

met: 'to be extremely angry']¹⁵⁵;

- c) Em-minded metonymy for anger in terms of the doctrine of *yin-yang* and the five elements:

肝火[sound: gan huo; lit: 'liver fire'; met: 'anger'];

It is easily observable that a) is a purely bodily-perceived symptom of anger, having nothing to do with the cultural notions of the ancient Chinese. And in b) the metonymy of ocular symptoms for anger first refers by hyperbole to a bodily-perceived symptom of *anger*, and in the second place, the choice of *eyes* as a reference point to construe anger is evidently not made at random but motivated by the correspondence of *anger* and *eyes*, both of which belong to the same category of *wood* according to the theory of *yin-yang* and the five elements¹⁵⁶. Thus it results from the coalescence of the embodied physiological experience and the em-minded cultural notion based on the doctrine of *yin-yang* and the five elements. c) is obviously the em-minded metonymy of an internal body organ for the emotion that is thought in their cultural notion to be closely related with the organ, but it is obviously not based on the embodied physiological experience, because physiologically it would be doubtful to assume that an angry person would feel hot in his liver, though a person who has problems in the liver might be more easy to get angry than others.

¹⁵⁴ See the Biography of Xiang Yu in the *Book of History* (《史记.项羽本记》)

¹⁵⁵ See the Biography of Xiang Yu in the *Book of History* (《史记.项羽本记》)

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Table 13 "Five categories under the Five Elements".

However, according to the doctrine of *yin-yang* and the five elements, the liver and the emotion of anger belong to the same category of wood and are closely related to fire, since the former, because of their attributes of wood, is restricted by the latter. This cultural notion of the traditional Chinese medicine is apparently responsible for the conceptualization of anger in ancient Chinese as represented in the LEM 肝火.

Here I should point out that despite the fact that both English and Chinese have the metonymy ANGER IS LIVER, say, *liverish* in English [lit: ‘of liver’; met: ‘irascible’]¹⁵⁷ and 肝火 in Chinese, this cross-language similarity in the embodied metonymy of liver for anger is not necessarily based on common physiological experience but rather results from the coincidence of the cultural notions of English and Chinese, i.e. the doctrine of the four humors and that of *yin-yang* and the five elements both happen to make the liver correspond to anger. Hence, it is determined more by the em-minded cultural notions than by the embodied physiological feeling.¹⁵⁸ Thus we can be fairly certain that not only the embodied physiological experiences but the em-minded cultural notions as well can be the basis of metonymic commonality.¹⁵⁹ And in some cases the em-minded cultural notions can even be a more important basis of the common metonymies.¹⁶⁰

Now let’s have a look at how the concept of anger is expressed in the Pre-Qin Chinese classics. In the Pre-Qin classics, the characters that are used to describe anger or express the concept of anger include

愤 [sound: fen; original meaning: ‘the qi is pent-up in the heart’];

愠 [sound: yun; original meaning: ‘hiding displeasure in one’s heart and stopping it from showing up’];

忿 [sound: fen; original meaning: ‘the shown anger which has been hidden in the heart’];

¹⁵⁷ see Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995: 163) and the definition of *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary*.

¹⁵⁸ Although we might be aware of some externally observable physiological symptoms of anger, such as limbs shaking, going red in the face, we are not aware of the internal organs’ positions and changes of state in the body. So these metaphors must then have an ‘existential’ rather than an ‘experiential’ basis, at least to a considerable extent.

¹⁵⁹ Although cultures are generally specific and different, it can not be denied that the different cultures might share some commonalities which might be the metonymic basis for the universals of metaphors.

¹⁶⁰ So far as this study is concerned, no lexical evidence has been found to prove that the reverse could be true.

怒 [sound: nu; original meaning: ‘the violent anger which is clearly shown’];

It is recorded in the *Analects of Confucius* that the character 愤 had been used by Confucius to express the meaning ‘thinking hard without any distraction’ in his famous remark “不愤不启” which means ‘the teacher should not instruct his students only after they have racked their brains with all their attention being concentrated on the heart’. The ancient Chinese believed that emotions were the function of the heart, so it seems quite natural that the character 愤 belongs to the radical of heart. It is quite plain that the character 愤 was originally structured by the metaphor ANGER IS THE QI IN A CONTAINER. But this metaphorical structure was later changed by Confucius as a new metaphor THOROUGH THINKING IS TO CONCENTRATE ALL ATTENTION ON THE HEART. It is noteworthy here that Confucius extended the meaning of 愤 from the category of emotion to that of non-emotion (thinking) by applying the metaphorical analogy:

Qi : anger :: attention : thinking.¹⁶¹

Despite the fact that the character 愤 means its original sense, i.e. ‘anger’, when Qu Yuan said: “发愤以抒情” (give vent to anger in the heart and express the internal passions) in his *The Odes of Ch’u*¹⁶², the word 发愤 was later used to mean ‘concentrate all your efforts to do something’ in its development and lost its original sense ‘anger’. For this reason, the word 发愤 in modern Chinese has no sense related to the concept of *anger*.

The character 愠 elaborates the metaphor DISPLEASURE IS THE SUBSTANCE HIDDEN IN A CONTAINER. It belongs to the radical category of heart and has the same sound as the character 蕴 which means ‘contained’, thus it has been developed to mean ‘the substances hidden in a container’ based on the principle of ancient Chinese that the characters with similar sounds are usually related

¹⁶¹ This is a sharp contrast to the analogy underlying Damasio’s controversial link (2003: 89) between feelings and thoughts: feeling : body :: perception : thinking, which is the metonymic basis for the metaphor WELL-THINKING IS WELL-BEING.

¹⁶² 《楚辞·九章·惜诵》(*The Odes of Ch’u*).

in their meanings. So it is constructed based on an em-minded metonymy which involves the understandings of ancient Chinese toward the Chinese characters and their own emotions.

The character 忿 is constructed by the metonymy ANGER AS PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF ANGER. In the *Stratagems of the Warring States*¹⁶³, a book of history published in the Pre-Qin periods, the character 忿 is used in the sentence 韩王忿然作然，攘臂按剑 (The king of the Han state made a very indignant appearance and put his hand over the sword that was hung on his waist belt) which depicts the extreme anger of the king of the Han state by describing his angry physical behavior. Structurally speaking, the character 忿 is composed of two parts. The upper part is the character 分 [sound: fen] which according to *Shuowen Jiezi*, is also composed of two characters: the upper part is the character 刀 which means ‘cut something apart’; the lower part is the character 刀 [sound: dao] which means ‘knife’. So the character 分 means ‘sever with a knife’. The lower part of 忿 is the character 心 [sound: xin; literal meaning: ‘heart’]. Thus what the ancient Chinese were trying to deliver in the making of the character is that it represents an anguished anger which is a serious injury either mentally or physically, just like that one’s heart is cut into two by a knife. Hence a more specific metaphor underlying the structure of the character 忿 is ANGER IS KNIFING THE HEART APART, which is subordinate to the theme BAD EMOTION IS HURT/INJURY.

Then last but by no means least, the character 怒 is formed by the metonymy EFFECT AS CAUSE or CAUSE AS EFFECT. The character 怒 in Pre-Qin Chinese was synonymous with the character 恚 [sound: hui], their original sense being ‘hatred’ which was later extended to mean ‘the most violent anger’. And these two meanings co-existed in the character 怒 in Pre-Qin Chinese. Since in the folk belief of ancient Chinese, anger and hatred are two concepts which mutually promote the other, so on this ground we can assume that the structure of the character 怒 is metonymically formed on the causality of anger and hatred which may be both

¹⁶³ 《战国策》(the *Stratagems of the Warring States*)。

imaginative and physical as well.

From the above analysis of the ancient Chinese characters that refer to the different degrees of anger, we can see that the Three Types of Metonymy Model applies to the above three types of metonymies underlying the pictographic and semantic structures of the Chinese characters referring to the concept of anger. And in the above, I have tried to demonstrate that these three types of construing anger form the basic metonymies for LEMS in the ancient Chinese classics and for the semantic or pictographic structures of the Chinese characters signifying different degrees of anger in the ancient Chinese.

By now, it has been proved that the Three Types of Metonymy Model is applicable to the lexicalized metaphors of anger in both contemporary English and Chinese, to the lexicalized anger metaphors in ancient Chinese and to the semantic or pictographic structures of the ancient Chinese characters. Now let's turn to apply this model to the etymologies of some English words signifying the concept of anger.

According to the *OED Online*¹⁶⁴, *anger* came from the old English root *ang* which means 'pain, painful' with its earliest meaning being 'that which pains or afflicts, or the passive feeling which it produces; trouble, affliction, vexation, sorrow'. It is obviously the physiological causes of *anger* that are used to construe the emotion of anger, which is based on the metonymy ANGER AS THE PAIN OF ANGER, which is subordinate to the metonymy EMOTION AS DISCOMFORT OF EMOTION. The latter provides the metonymic basis for the metaphor BAD EMOTION IS DISCOMFORT/PAIN.

According to the explication of the *OED Online*, *vex* originates from the Latin word *vexāre* 'to shake, agitate, disturb, etc.' It is evident that the semantic structure of *vex* is based on the embodied metonymy ANGER AS BAD SENSATION OF BEING DISTURBED. The same is true of *agitate*, which derives from Latin *agitāto* 'move to and fro', from which *agitate* evolved to mean 'disturb, perturb, and excite'.

Rage (v.) originates from the Latin *rabere* which means 'rave'. The word *rave*

¹⁶⁴ <http://dictionary.oed.com/>

in English means ‘speak irrationally or foolishly’¹⁶⁵. Obviously, the embodied experience that in everyday life the angry person would always speak wildly and incoherently is quite common for both English and Chinese¹⁶⁶, nevertheless this common embodied experience has only motivated the metonymy of ANGER AS WILD TALK in English, which for example, underlies the semantic structure of *rage*, yet it fails to function in the semantic structures of the anger-related characters and words in either ancient or contemporary Chinese.

These cross-language cultural variations do not originate from the cognitive differences of these two cultures but from the differences in their cognitive attitudes toward the embodied experiences, which are influenced by their cultural notions. Both cultures certainly share some of the common senses in the bodily responses to anger, but in one culture the common senses motivated the embodied metonymy underlying the semantic structures of LEMS while in the other culture it failed to do so. The ancient Chinese did know and experience the fact that angry people would speak irrationally or foolishly, yet this knowledge did not become the attention focus of the ancient Chinese in their cognition of anger. The core of this matter is that this common embodied experience seems to be less important for the ancient Chinese than for the Westerners, so far as this particular case is concerned. That is to say, the same embodied experience faces two different cognitive attitudes in the two cultures, which may account for the cultural variations over the metonymies that underlie the semantic structures of the anger-related words or characters in the two languages.

In some cases, different embodied experiences of the same thing or two near identical things can also cause the different applications of the same source or near identical sources in describing emotion concepts. For example, *dynamite* and 火药 (gunpowder) are two near identical explosives. Most people don’t differentiate between them. But just as shown in Chapter 3, *dynamite* [lit: ‘type of explosive

¹⁶⁵ see the definitions of the *Cambridge Advanced Learners’ Dictionary* (CDROM) and the *Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary* (CDROM).

¹⁶⁶ These physical behaviours of anger which are used as metonymies for the emotion of anger, as they are realized in the semantic structures of *rage* (v.) and *vex*, fall into Wierzbicka’s observable “bodily symptoms” (that is, via some bodily events regarded as characteristic of these feelings). (cf. Wierzbicka, 1999: 276.)

containing nitro-glycerine’; met: ‘stimulating or exciting a person or thing’] and 吞了火药 [tun le huo yao, lit: ‘have swallowed the gunpowder’; met: ‘easily become angry’] realize two different sub-divisions of the metaphor theme EMOTION IS EXPLOSION: in Chinese 火药 has motivated the metonymy of ANGER AS EXPLOSIVE, but in English *dynamite* has motivated the metonymy of EXCITEMENT AS EXPLOSIVE. The fact that *dynamite* has become a source for the emotion of excitement in English while gunpowder for anger in Chinese seems to have something to do with their origins: the more powerful dynamite was invented in the West, though based on gunpowder. The noteworthy point is that the metaphor EXCITEMENT AS EXPLOSIVE in *dynamite* regards the dynamite as the stimulator of positive emotions, while the 吞了火药 sees the gunpowder as a noxious substance in the human body which would evoke the negative emotion. This difference might be caused by people’s cultural notions toward *dynamite* and *gunpowder*, which have been historically formed.

In some other cases, the same embodied experiences can motivate similar metonymies in the semantic structures of the anger-related words. *Fury* came from old French, also meaning ‘to be mad’.¹⁶⁷ The extended meaning item ‘anger’ in the semantic structure of *fury* seems to be realized by embodied metonymy ANGER IS INSANITY/MADNESS. *Rage* as a noun initially came from another Latin form *rabies* which means ‘canine madness’. The metonymy underlying the semantic structure might be ANGER IS INSANITY or HUMAN IS ANIMAL, which are both based on the common physical experiences of human beings that an extremely angry person would behave insanely as a mad dog. Contrary to the case of *rage* (v.), these metonymies have motivated the lexical instantiations in Chinese. For example, in Chinese the extreme anger is expressed by the LEM 气疯了 [sound: qi feng le; lit: ‘become mad because of *qi*’; met: ‘become extremely angry’]. This time the same embodied feeling has motivated the same metonymy which is lexically realized in both English and Chinese. Thus we have every reason to assume that the common

¹⁶⁷ <http://dictionary.oed.com/>

embodied physiological experiences do not necessarily become the bases for the common metonymies that underlie the semantic structures of the words or characters in different languages. Moreover, it seems quite clear that there exists an em-minded cultural mediation in using the embodied physiological experiences as metonymies for emotions, which seems to be carried out in two ways: the em-minded cultural influences on the selection of some of the embodied physiological sense as lexical motivations, and the selections of cognitive reference points in observing the same embodied physiological experiences. Therefore the metonymy underlying the semantic structure of *rage* is not based on the purely embodied physiological experiences but on a compound of the em-minded cultural notions and embodied physiological experiences, or in other words, it is an embodied metonymy for anger mediated by the em-minded cultural notions.

4.3.4 ANGER IS COLDNESS

The metaphor theme ANGER IS COLDNESS is instantiated by the conventional Chinese saying 气得四肢冰凉 [qi de si zhi bing liang, lit: '(of the four limbs-arms and legs) to be cold because of the *qi*'; met: 'to be extremely angry'], which seems to be both culturally and physiologically related to another synonymous LEM 气死 [qi si, lit: "die from the *qi*"; met: "feel extremely angry"] which is underpinned by the theme ANGER IS DEATH.

The cultural notions of Chinese that might have contributed to the interplay of these two themes could be that in the mentalities of the ancient Chinese the dead belonged to the world of *yin* which, as explained above, is dark, cold, cool, and down as a result of an absence of sunlight. On the other hand, this interplay is also based on the embodied experience that corpses of the dead are always cold and some people are killed by anger (die from anger). Therefore, the metaphor theme ANGER IS COLDNESS is based on the interactions of the em-minded metonymy DEATH AS COLDNESS and two other embodied metonymies DEATH AS COLDNESS and ANGER AS DEATH.

There seem to be two versions of metonymies for the metaphor DEATH IS

COLD, the em-minded metonymy DEATH AS COLDNESS being specific to the Chinese culture, while the embodied metonymy DEATH AS COLDNESS based on the universal physiology that the corpses of the dead are always cold. This metaphor is realized in Chinese by a number of sayings indicating that a person is dead, a common one is 身体都冰凉了[shen ti dou bing liang le, lit: ‘the body becomes cold’; met: ‘the person is dead’], and in English by the saying *be cold in the grave*[lit: ‘the body in the grave is cold’; met: ‘the person is dead’].

It is noteworthy that there are three different metonymies functioning in the metaphor theme ANGER IS COLDNESS, two of which are em-bodied and one em-minded. However, the effect of the two em-bodied metonymies together is less powerful than that of the em-minded one in affecting the conceptual structures of the metaphor theme ANGER IS COLDNESS. It shows that in some metaphor themes like this, the em-minded cultural models might override physiological factors. Obviously, this metaphor, which is quite supportive of my assumption and to some extent against that of Kövecses, seems to be convincing evidence in favor of the diversification of the metonymic bases for the metaphor themes of emotion, at least in Chinese.

The metaphor theme ANGER IS COLDNESS which is specific to Chinese does not obtain for English¹⁶⁸, and the reason might not be related with embodied physiological experiences. Otherwise it would be supposed that the English and Chinese speakers have the opposite physiological sense impressions for anger, and this might result in the opposite conceptualization of anger, i.e. a result challenging the claim of Kövecses that members of different cultures cannot conceptualize their emotions in a way that contradicts to universal physiology (as shown in the above section, the metaphor ANGER IS HEAT is based on the embodied universal physiology). As a matter of fact, the metaphor theme ANGER IS COLDNESS, is culturally specific because the em-minded metonymy DEATH AS COLDNESS

¹⁶⁸ Though HOSTILITY IS COLDNESS does.

which functions as its basis may not happen to English, which can be interpreted with the em-minded cultural notion of English that their posthumous worlds, either hell or paradise, are not cold.

4.4 Concluding Remarks

For those EMOTION AS BODY metonymies that are based purely on the embodied physiology, embodied common physiology may explain the cross-language commonality in the conceptualization of emotions.

The most obvious case is in conceptualizing emotion, since emotion is very often defined in terms of disturbance to bodily equilibrium, or is manifest in changes to the body. The strong correlation between emotion and the bodily experience and perception of the body gives a real-world or metonymic basis, which can be elaborated metaphorically. (Goatly, 2007: 215)

But as we have noted, emotions with the same or similar physiological effects are conceptualized differently in some cases, which has been found to result from the interventions of culture. That is to say, cultural interventions should be responsible for the cross-language variations over the metaphor themes that are based on the embodied common physiology.

Kövecses seems to have noticed the challenges that face the embodied experiential hypothesis, which he defends with the following explanation:

Without the constraining effect of embodiment it is difficult to see how such a surprisingly uniform category (of metaphors) could have emerged for the conceptualization of anger. The widely different cultures we have examined should have produced a great deal more diversity in (metaphorical) conceptualization than what appears to be the case on the basis of the data available to me in this study. (Kövecses 2000: 160)

So he claimed:

Given universal real physiology, members of different cultures cannot conceptualize their emotions in a way that contradicts universal physiology: but nevertheless they can choose to conceptualize their emotions in many different ways within the constraints imposed on them by universal physiology. (Kövecses, 1995: 165).

However, from the above analysis of the metaphor theme EMOTION IS COLOUR and its metonymic bases in English and Chinese, it is quite clear that the claim of Kövecses only applies to the type of metaphors that are based on the embodied experiences, but not those that are based on the em-minded cultural notions or the interaction of the embodied sense impressions and the em-minded cultural notions of, say, colours. For the latter, since the cultural notions of colours as a consequence of a stereotyped semiotic system of culture are highly familiarized, the metonymies based on the em-minded cultural notions of colours should not be viewed as the product of embodiment. On the contrary, in some cases, some embodied metonymies can result from the em-minded cultural notions, for example, the metonymy EFFECT AS CAUSE for the metaphor FESTIVE MOOD IS RED in Chinese is a culture-motivated “metonymy from metaphor”, a case of metonymy within a metaphor that is em-minded on the worship of the sun in ancient China¹⁶⁹. Thus the metaphor FESTIVE MOOD IS RED should not obtain without the em-minded cultural notions. Similarly in English, the metonymy EFFECT AS CAUSE in the metaphor ANGER IS RED¹⁷⁰ was also to some extent related to the em-minded English cultural notions of blood.

The culturally specific metaphor theme ANGER IS COLDNESS has also shown the overriding effect of the em-minded cultural model on the cross-language

¹⁶⁹ The sun is also worshipped in the ancient Western societies. This common cultural background and the common embodied sensation of the sun in the lives of the English and Chinese people may account for the universality of this theme.

¹⁷⁰ This “metonymy from metaphor” is based on the interactions of the embodied experience that the face and neck would turn red when one is angry, and the em-minded notion that sin is in the blood, “Sin is in the blood, not just in the head or in the emotions. When a person lives in sin, they [sic] have contaminated blood”. see <http://www.pawcreek.org/articles/endtimes/WhatIsInYourBlood.htm>.

variations over the metaphor themes composed of both the em-minded cultural notions and the em-bodied universal physiology. For this reason, the claim of Kövecses is in need of a revision based on the incorporations of his idea of the embodied restriction on the cultural variations for metaphor and metonymy with my em-minded one, so that it can better exhaust all the types of the cross-language cultural variations over the themes of emotion metaphors and metonymies.¹⁷¹

Therefore for the large divergences in those metaphors that are based on the em-minded cultural notions of colours, we may make the following bold assumption¹⁷²:

Given universal embodied physiology and the specific em-minded cultural notions, members of different cultures can not conceptualize their universal physiology of emotions in a way that contradicts their respective cultural models; but nevertheless they can choose to conceptualize their universal physiology of emotions in many different ways within the constraints imposed on them by their respective cultural models.

The overriding effect of the em-minded culture in ANGER IS COLDNESS provides supportive evidence for my claim which emphasizes the dominant effect of culture on some specific emotion metaphors.

That is to say, metonymy is not always based on human embodied experiences. It can be based on the em-minded cultural notions and the interactions of the em-minded cultural notions and the embodied physiological experiences as well. So there exist three different types of metonymies in the conceptualization of emotion both in English and in Chinese. For this reason, even with the emotion metaphors based on the metonymies of physical response, there are important cross-language variations. And in some cases, the em-minded cultural models may override physiological factors. This seems to contradict to some extent the basic assertion of

¹⁷¹ Kövecses (2005) has recently emphasised the importance of culture to metaphorical patterns of vocabulary. For example, he even assumed that “universal embodiment can be overridden by either social-cultural context (experiences) or cognitive processes (cognitive preferences)” (Kövecses, 2005: 293). Yet he has not revised his above important claims.

¹⁷² This claim is contrary to that of Kövecses (1995: 165).

CMT that the em-minded cultural notions derive from the embodied physical experiences. But in my opinion, this assertion only applies to the earliest knowledge of human beings. It can not apply to the later development of human knowledge. I have demonstrated in the above that once human knowledge developed into a familiarized semiotic system, it was no more purely embodied but to a greater extent em-minded; and since human thinking does not directly operate on the embodied experiences, but to a great extent on a symbolic activity which usually goes far beyond the embodied experiences, it is thus wrong to attribute all metaphorical phenomena to their embodied metonymic bases. So from the viewpoint of semiotics, the Lakoffian experientialist theory of metonymy-based conceptual metaphor is questionable, because the cultural notions as a consequence of a stereotyped semiotic system of culture, like the doctrines of the five elements or the four humors, should not be viewed as the product of embodiment. This semiotic system has actually become a part of the em-minded cultural notions or beliefs, and has been separated from their initial embodied origins.

But this does not mean that embodied physical factors can not override the em-minded cultural models in some other cases. In my opinion, for each metonymy in my model, there should have some lexicalizations of the metaphor themes in which it would play a predominant role, i.e. the predominance of a metonymy is theme-dependent. So it would be very interesting and important to investigate what kind of metaphor themes a type of metonymy could play the decisive role.

By applying the semiotics and cognitive metaphor theory to the studies of metaphors in the etymological structures of LEMS in English and Chinese, this empirical diachronic study on a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural basis has also shown the shortcomings of the Lakoffian CMT for its overgeneralization, negligence of diachronic analysis, and disregard of cultural influence. In this way, it demonstrates that a corpus-based diachronic comparison of lexicalized metaphors that incorporates the insights of comparative etymology, cognitive linguistics, and semiotics, into the studies of cultural and semantic structures of lexicalized metaphors in different languages will open a window to the complexity of human cognition, and thus

contribute to the development of CMT.

Chapter 5

Conclusions and Reflections

Although the study of metaphors is very ancient, the last thirty years have seen an explosive growth of the cognitive study of conceptual metaphor and its relation to aspects of human language and cognition. The Lakoffian contemporary theory of metaphor (or conceptual metaphor theory, abbreviated as CMT) is undoubtedly the most important achievement of this cognitive trend and the hard core of contemporary cognitive linguistics. It can not be denied that the Lakoffian contemporary theory of metaphor has made significant contributions to the development of cognitive study of language and thought, and many of its claims are useful and important for describing the relationships between language and cognition. However, as it is put by Geeraert and Grondelaers (1995), there are two aspects usually absent from cognitive theories of metaphor, the diachronic and the cultural” (Goatly, 2007: 250). Another aspect absent from CMT is pointed out by Lakoff himself that as Lakoff suggested, it needs to be supported by a large sum of linguistic evidence which should be included in a systematic database, so this study contributes a lot to bridge the gap between theory and data as a corpus-based contrastive study of LEMS in English and Chinese. Therefore, one aim of this study is to fill up the gaps of CMT in these aspects, which also distinguishes this study as a corpus-based cross-language diachronic study of the relationships among LEMS, the em-minded cultural notions and the em-bodied physiological experiences. For this reason, this study seems to be an exploration in a vast wasteland, and as described by Leech (1981),

The only sensible course is to follow one’s own path through the wilderness, using the well-tried routes where they exist, but not hesitating to beat one’s own trail, where

necessary, into little-known territory¹⁷³.

It is in the same spirit that Leech wrote his *Semantics* that I made this tentative exploration.

As expected in the initial research proposal, it has preliminarily demonstrated that emotions are conceptualized in a way that is much more complex than the Lakoffian theory of CMT claims, and that CMT needs a revision for a better interpretation of the complex conceptualizations. And it has also suggested that as a result of emotion conceptualization, emotion metaphor forms a hierarchical conceptual system of metaphor themes and their lexical realizations both in our mind and in our language. In this hierarchical system, the superordinate metaphor themes that are equivalent to the conceptual structures in the thought are more general and inclined to be common, while the lexical metaphors which are a constituent part of language are more concrete and inclined to be specific. That is to say, the different languages would tend to show their different expressions in the linguistic forms (specific level), while sharing the same conceptual structure at the superordinate level of generality.

However, the main objective of this study is to find out the interplay of emotion conceptualization with bodily physiology and culture that are underlying the synchronic variations and diachronic changes of LEMS in English and Chinese within the framework of cognitive linguistics, which is also the main line running through the full dissertation. Chapter 1 reviews CMT and its progresses, pointing out its limitations in explaining language phenomena for its absence of data support, diachronic insight, and cultural perspective. It argues for a corpus-based diachronic study of the cross-language LEMS, and proposes the method of comparative etymology as an alternative for interpreting the diachronic changes that have happened to metaphor themes in the semantic structures of LEMS in English and

¹⁷³ Quoted from the introduction of Leech (1981).

Chinese.

Chapter 2 further applies the semiotic insights into the analysis of the relations between metaphors and etymology. It reveals the iconicity of etymological metaphors and the process in which the etymological metaphors have undergone the changes from symbolic familiarization to motivational opacity, a process which deprives the etymological metaphors of their initial embodied motivational transparency. By exploring the relationships between metaphor and etymology of word, it has shown that metaphor and metonymy as the iconic origins in the etymology of words function extensively in nearly every aspect of the lexical semantic evolutions. And by showing the pervasive existence of metaphors in the diachronic changes of lexicalized metaphors in English and Chinese, it further demonstrates that iconization and metaphorization are two basic mechanisms of lexical development, and that comparative etymology is an effective and necessary method for exploring the metaphor themes functioning in the lexical developments of English and Chinese. In this way it explores some basic methodological problems of this dissertation, i.e. what makes the diachronic study of metaphors possible, how and why to make it.

By a corpus-based investigation of commonalities and variations over the metaphor themes of LEMS, Chapter 3 demonstrates some facts that contradict CMT to some extent. For example, it is found that both embodied and non-embodied metaphors are possible to be common in different languages; that the cross-language variations of emotion metaphors are often characterized by the cultural variations of the prototypical source concept at the basic category level in different cultures; that the commonality and specificity of a metaphor theme are closely related to the levels of generality of the metaphor theme, etc. It reveals that although our thinking and ideology are determined to some extent by our bodies and the metaphors that they give rise to, or vice versa, the em-minded cultural notions are the important ingredient producing the cross-language variations over the themes of emotion metaphors. It thus infers that metaphor themes are cultural and ideological constructs to a large extent.

Chapter 4 has two major objectives: to provide a historical interpretation of the

cross-language variations over the metaphor themes that have been exposed in Chapter 3, and to examine some of the most basic assumptions of CMT by observing the historical developments of emotion concept in the English and Chinese cultures, and etymological analysis of lexical representations of the cultural variations over the conceptualization of emotion in English and Chinese. Some significant cross-language commonalities are shown in this chapter that the em-minded cultural notions play an important role in the conceptualization of emotions; that the embodied conceptualization of emotion are sometimes subject to the em-minded cultural notions; that there exist three different types of metonyms underlying the conceptualization of emotions in English and Chinese; etc. It also shows that in some cases the em-minded cultural models might override physiological factors. Based on these findings, it proposes a Three Types of Metonymy Model which functions better in generalizing the different metonymies underlying the conceptualization of emotions in English and Chinese. It further reveals that the cultural pluralism or multi-source resulted from the diachronic changes in cultural notion over the times are the major reasons for the non-consistency and oppositions in the metaphorical patterns of a specific language. In a word, this study has contributed to the development of CMT by proposing an alternative for the Lakoffian one type of metonymy model.

Besides, this study is also important in many other aspects.

The corpus-based integration of synchronic and diachronic studies of LEMS that has been made in this study distinguishes itself by showing why and how the embodied conceptual metaphors have been affected by the em-minded cultural notions. In this way it presents a clearer picture of the interactions of body, mind, and culture in the conceptualizations of emotion in different cultures.

It has filled a gap in the CMT approaches to emotion metaphors.

It opens the way for applying the semiotics and cognitive metaphor theory to the studies of metaphors in the etymological structures of LEMS in English and Chinese which might be of great importance for the future development of CMT.

It further contributes to the etymological and historical semantic study in English and Chinese, especially to the development of comparative etymology.

For language teaching, it would benefit vocabulary teaching in English and Chinese, because understandings of the historical motivations in semantic change of lexis in the two languages would amuse the students and enhance their memory of lexis in the two languages.

Results of this study might be useful for the editing of an English-Chinese metaphor dictionary on historical principles.

However, despite the important findings and great significance of this study, it still has a number of limitations.

- (1) Although a parallel corpus of LEMS in English and Chinese is build up as the basis of this comparative study with the same strict criteria as that of Metalude, it still can not assure a complete inclusion of all the relevant lexical items of both languages in this database, because any living database is an open system which needs to endlessly add to its data. Neither my parallel corpus nor Metalude are exceptions;
- (2) There are also limitations on the content of this study. What has been touched by the Lakoffian CMT is very extensive, but this study only touches some of the basic assumptions of CMT in the aspects of lexicalized metaphors and the relations among mind, body and culture. Thus, it will be difficult to give an overall evaluation of CMT based on the present study.
- (3) As noted in Chapter 4, the em-minded cultural models may, in some specific cases, override physiological factors. But it is assumed that embodied physical factors can also override the em-minded cultural models in some other cases. In my opinion, for those metaphors which have a multi-metonymic basis, there exists a competition for dominance between their different types of metonymies in deciding whether the metaphor theme is culture-dependent or

physiology-dependent. In other words, for each type of metonymy in my model, there should have some lexicalizations of the metaphor themes in which this type of metonymy would play a predominant role, i.e. the predominance of a metonymy is theme-dependent. So it would be very interesting and important to investigate the interactions of different types of metonymy in a metaphor theme and their competitions for the leading role of deciding the quality of the metaphor theme. This problem has been briefly touched in this dissertation but has not been addressed properly. It really needs another PhD dissertation to give an exhaustive exploration of this important topic.

- (4) Another finding made in Chapter 4 that needs further explorations is the non-consistency and oppositions in the metaphorical patterns caused by the diachronic changes in the cultural notions that ground the black-as-source and white-as-source metaphors. Such non-consistency and oppositions obviously are expected to obtain for a wide range of metaphors and metonymies in different languages. These wide-ranging non-consistencies and oppositions of metaphor themes which are in well accordance with the universal diversity in different cultures, may produce a strong shock wave on CMT which usually lacks due attention to the specific non-consistent phenomena in the linguistic realizations of metaphor themes. In this way, the study of the non-consistency and contradictions in metaphor themes and their lexical realizations will propose serious challenges to CMT. It should be acknowledged that this is a very important problem that deserves our attention but it has only been explored briefly in my dissertation. However, in my opinion, it also needs a monograph to further show how the non-consistent and contradictory metaphors are shaped under the influences of the different cultural notions that have different sources and have experienced diachronic changes over the

history of a specific culture. I believe that the results of such a study will bring some new reflections on CMT.

At the end of this dissertation, I would like to point out that this study is but one small step of a long journey of corpus-based diachronic comparative study of human conceptualization of emotion in different cultures. And the following steps might be taken to overcome the limitations of this study:

- (1) Textual approaches to the metaphor themes underlying LEMS of the ancient classics in English and Chinese may have further findings about the interplay of body, mind and culture in the conceptualization of emotion;
- (2) More metaphor themes underlying LEMS in English and Chinese need to be explored for more possible findings and testify or disprove the basic assumptions of CMT;
- (3) More research should be carried out on the overriding of metonyms in the metaphor themes to present a clearer picture of the interactions of body, mind, and culture in the conceptualization of emotions in different cultures and to find out the relations between metonyms and metaphors in motivating the semantic evolution in LEMS.
- (4) Seeking for a better semiotic model of metaphorical analysis that can more adequately explain the synchronic variations and diachronic changes of LEMS in a cross-language context, which will make up for the absence of CMT in the diachronic and cultural aspects of metaphors.

Appendix

Part One: Corresponding Metaphor Themes of LEMS in English and Chinese (232—361)

1. AFFECTION IS MONEY/ WEALTH (232—233)
2. AFFECTION IS WARMTH (234—235)
3. ANGER IS HEAT (236—238)
4. ANTAGONISM IS FRICTION (239-240)
5. BAD EMOTION IS PAIN OR INJURY (241-247)
6. EMOTION IS ANIMAL (248-249)
7. EMOTION IS BODY (250—258)
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17. EMOTION IS MOVEMENT (289-291)
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20. EMOTION IS PLANT (296-297)
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22. EMOTION IS SMELL, TASTE, HEARING, SEEING (301-302)
23. EMOTION IS SOUND (303-305)
24. EMOTION IS TOUCH (306-309)
25. EMOTION IS WAVE (310-312)
26. EMOTION IS WEATHER (313-317)
27. EXCITEMENT IS HEAT (318-319)
28. EXCITEMENT IS LIGHT (320-321)
29. FEAR IS COLD (322-324)
30. EMOTION IS EATING OR BEING EATEN (325-327)
31. HAPPINESS IS HIGH (328-330)
32. HAPPINESS IS LIGHT (331-332)
33. LOVE IS HEAT (333-334)
34. MENTAL DISTURBANCE IS DIVISION (335-339)
35. NERVOUSNESS IS TENSION (340-341)
36. SAD IS LOW (342-343)
37. SADNESS IS DARK (344-346)
38. SANITY IS BALANCE (347-349)
39. UNEMOTIONAL IS COLD (350-353)
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Part Two Other Tables (358—372)

- 42: The Breakdown of Lexicalized Emotion Metaphors in English and Chinese (358—360)
43. Embodied Physiological Changes and Their Corresponding Emotion Metaphors (361—369)

1. AFFECTION IS MONEY/ WEALTH						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
一诺千金	yi nuo qian jin	promise that is worth a thousand pieces of gold	solemn promise			
				credit	having rather than owing money	honour, pride, reputation
				pay back	return money that has been loaned to you	take revenge on someone who has treated you badly
珍爱	zhen ai	rare ,treasured love	deep love,	dear	expensive	beloved
珍贵的情感	zhen gui de qing gan	rare,expensive emotion	precious ,great affection	dearness	expensive emotion	great affection
人情债	ren qing zhai	the debt of human emotion	gratitude for help given	debt	money which is owed	appreciation
风流债	feng liu zhai	romantic debt	dissolute love affairs	free love	(given without payment___)	sexual activity to many partners without loyalty to any
				gem	jewel	good, pleasing or useful person
欠人情	qian ren qing	owe sb a debt of gratitude	feel grateful for a favour done	indebted to	owing money to	grateful for help given
欠情	qian qing	owing a debt of gratitude	gratitude for help given	indebtedness	state of owing money	gratitude for help given
欠	qian	have debts to	feel gratitude and the need to reciprocate	owe	have debts	feel gratitude and the need to reciprocate
				at the expense of	(at the cost of)	to the disadvantage of
				pay your dues	settle your membership fee	do your duty
				repay	give money back to someone	do something good to somebody in return for past favours
算账	suan zhang	do or work out accounts	get even with sb, take	settle	(pay all the money you owe)	take revenge by repaying an insult or

1. AFFECTION IS MONEY/ WEALTH

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
			revenge (after suffering a loss or defeat)	accounts/old scores		harm
打折扣	da zhe kou	give a discount	fall short of requirement, standard or promise	short-change	give less money back than you are owed when making a purchase	give inferior or inadequate service or treatment to
				treasure	wealth in form of precious metals and stones	helpful and useful person
				allowances	(pocket money)	refraining from criticism or judgement
				appreciate	increase in value	feel gratitude for
				appreciation	increase in value	gratitude
				asset	valuable property that can be used for payment	useful or valuable quality or skill for an organisation
				jewel	precious stone used for decoration	kind person
廉价	lian jia	cheap, low-priced	be depreciated, be thought of unimportant	cheap	inexpensive, low-priced	despicable, not worthy of respect
透支	tou zhi	overspend, make an overdraft	use up in advance			
投入	tou ru	invest in	be engrossed in, do with concentration and passion	invest	use (money) to buy shares, property, etc, in order to earn interest or bring profit	give (time, effort, etc) to a particular task, esp in a way that involves commitment or self-sacrifice
情债	qing zhai	love debt	results of dissolute love affairs			
出卖	chu mai	to offer for sale	to betray	sell out	be all sold	betray

2. AFFECTION IS WARMTH						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
心暖	xin nuan	slightly high in temperature in heart	be moved and comfortable			
暖洋洋	nuan yang yang	slightly high in temperature in heart	be moved and comfortable			
温暖	wen nuan	moderately hot	friendly and affectionate	warm	moderately hot	friendly and affectionate
温情	wen qing	warm feeling	tender feeling			
温馨	wen xin	warm and fragrant	warm, cosy			
温柔,	wen rou	warm and gentle	gentle and soft			
融化	rong hua	melting of ice and snow on the ground melt	improvement of good terms	thaw	melt	become friendlier
溶化	rong hua	dissolve solid matter	become less harsh in emotion and become harmonious	melt	turn from solid to liquid	become less harsh in emotion
热恋	re lian	hot love	passionate love			
“冷”屁股 ¹	“leng” pi gu	“cold” buttocks	indifference			
热心/热肠	re xin/re chang	slightly high in temperature of heart/ of intestines	generous and affectionate	warm-hearted	(slightly high in temperature__)	generous and affectionate
热心	re xin	warm-hearted	be friendly and helpful	warm to	(become moderately hot__)	become more friendly towards
热情	re qing	hot feeling	friendliness/ zeal, enthusiasm	warmth	moderately hot	friendliness

¹ “冷”屁股 belongs to UNEMOTIONAL IS COLD, but it is collected here as the opposite realization of the theme.

2. AFFECTION IS WARMTH						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
					temperature	
热爱	re ai	hot love	deep love, love with gusto			
热衷	re zhong	hot inner feelings	fondness or craving			
热血	re xue	hot blood	devotion to a just cause			
热泪	re le	hot tear	being moved			
春风	chun feng	warm spring breeze	kindness and pleasure			
冰释	bing shi	thaw or melt like ice	(of ill feelings, suspicions, misunderstandings, etc) disappear, vanish			
				get on like a house on fire	(__a burning dwelling)	quickly become close friends
				break the ice	(smash the frozen water on the surface)	create a friendly atmosphere amongst people who have never met before
				thaw	melting of ice and snow on the ground	improvement and increasing friendliness between countries

3. ANGER IS HEAT

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
白热化	bai re hua	white heat, incandescence	intense or violent (argument, fight) reach of a climax	blazing row	(brightly burning___)	nosiy excitement and angry argument
				what the blazes?	(___ brightly and vigorously burning fire__)	what the hell (expression of anger)
火气	huo qi	heat in human body	anger, temper			
				boil	heat liquid so that it changes to vapour	get angry
				seethe	boil so as to form bubbles	experience unexpressed anger
动肝火	dong gan huo	stir the fire from the liver	be angry	hotheaded	high in temperature in the head	easily angered; quick-tempered
满腔怒火	man qiang nu huo	with one's heart full of fire	with indignation	hot under the collar	(high in temperature___)	very annoyed
燃烧	ran shao	burn ,kindle	rage, get angry	flaming	burning strongly	angry
发火	fa huo	emit fire	become angry	flare, flare up	sudden burst of light or flame	sudden outburst of anger or other violent activity or feelings
热战	re zhan	hot war	emotional argument	flare-up	sudden increase in the size and brightness of flames	sudden emotional argument
火药味	huo yao wei	smell of gunpowder	hostility, confrontation	fume	smoke, gas or vapor that smells strongly'	being angry at something'
火了	huo le	lighted, ignited	angry or emotional	heated	made hot	angry or emotional (situation

3. ANGER IS HEAT

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
						or discussion)
火性	huo xing	with temper like fire	made angry easily	hot tempered	(high in temperature___)	made angry easily
				boiling point	temperature at which liquid turns to gas	state of anger which is likely to get out of control and become violent
				hotly	(high in temperature___)	in an angry way (of arguing/speaking)
大发雷霆	da fa lei ting	thunder	fly into a rage, be furious	incandescent	so hot that it emits a bright light	extremely angry
煽风点火	shan feng dian huo	fan the flames	make some one feel angry	incendiary	designed to cause fires	likely to cause anger or violence
				incense	{burn up}	make angry
				simmer	keep heated to just below boiling point	feel almost unable to control anger
心火	xin huo	fire in heart	hidden anger, pent-up fury	slow burn	burning slowly	slowly increasing anger
				sparks fly	fire particles are produced	occurrence of angry fighting
七窍生烟/ 冒烟	qi qiao sheng yan/ mao yan	one's ears, eyes, nostrils, mouth and nose are spitting fumes/belch smoke	one is mad with rage, infuriated/fly into a rage be infuriated	hot under the collar	high temperature around the neck	very annoyed
火冒三丈	huo mao san zhang	fire flies into a towering height	fly into rage	tempers flare	(___(of flames) become suddenly larger and brighter)	become suddenly angry
气鼓鼓	qi gu gu	be swelled and bulged with anger	highly displeased , angry	blistering	baking hot so as to cause swelling of the skin	angry and unkind
炸	zha	erupt ,suddenly burst out	erupt, break out strong	blow your	(make the boiler on a	become extremely angry

3. ANGER IS HEAT

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
			emotion	stack/top	river boat explode)	
点火	dian huo	light a fire; ignite fire	aggravate anger; aggravate trouble	kindle	(cause sthto) catch fire	arouse or stimulate (feelings, etc)
火爆性子		fiery temperament	tendency to get angry easily			
肝火	gan huo	fire from the liver	irascibility			
两眼冒火	lian yan mao huo	fire bursts out of the eyes	one is furious			
怒火熊熊	nu huo xiong xiong	the flaming fire	uncontrollable anger			
火上浇油	huo shang jiao you	pour oil on the fire	aggravate the situation or anger	pour oil on the flames	add fuel to the flames	make a bad situation worse
眼冒火花	yan mao huo hua	fire sparks in the eyes	one is furious			
				smoke was pouring out of his ears	fumes are coming out of his ears	he is infuriated
				smoke was pouring out of his ears	fumes are coming out of his ears	he is infuriated

4. ANTAGONISM IS FRICTION						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
磨缠	mo chan	rub, scrape	nag, plague , pester			
刺耳	ci er	grating on the ear, ear-piercing	harsh	grate	rub together with a sharp unpleasant sound	annoy
				grind	rubbing repeatedly against a hard surface	boring time-consuming and tiring activity
				rough	uneven and not smooth	unpleasant and dangerous
尖锐	jian rui	sharp, keen	rude, caustic	abrasive	with rough surface used for cleaning	unkindly rude and harsh
擦火	ca huo	make heat and fire by rubbing	become annoyed or have conflicts	chafe	make sore or warm by rubbing	become annoyed, lose patience
折磨	zhe mo	wear down	torment, treat harshly or cruelly	grind down	reduce by rubbing hard against a surface	treat harshly or cruelly
				frayed	worn through friction so that the threads separate at the edges	irritable, annoyed and nervous
摩擦	mo ca	resistance from rubbing two objects together	disagreement or unfriendliness	friction	resistance from rubbing two objects together	disagreement or unfriendliness
小摩擦	xiao mo ca	slightly rubs	unpleasant meeting or disagreement	brush	touching as you walk past	unpleasant meeting or disagreement
				grind on	(rub repeatedly against a hard surface_)	continue too long
润滑剂	lun huo ji	substance that makes machines run smoothly	factor that helps people go along well with each other	lubricant	substance that makes machines run smoothly	factor that helps people socialise
润滑	lun hua	lubricate	help a social group be	oil the wheels	(add lubricant to_)	help a social group be friendly

4. ANTAGONISM IS FRICTION

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
			friendly and co-operate or make things go on smoothly			and co-operate
				rub along	(move past while touching or scraping against)	work together in a friendly way, better than expected
				rub in	apply with an up and down or circular pressure	remind repeatedly
往伤口撒盐	wang shang kou sa yan	scatter salt to the wound	remind of your failures and so depress you about an unpleasant situation	rub salt in the wound	(roughly apply NaCl to a cut)	remind of your failures and so depress you about an unpleasant situation
				rub up the wrong way	stroke the fur of an animal in the wrong direction)	annoy
				ruffle	make smooth hair uneven	cause to be angry or upset
				fret	wear away with friction	worry or be unhappy about

5. BAD EMOTION IS PAIN OR INJURY

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
伤口	shang kou	injury to a body in which the skin, muscle and mucous membrane are broken, cut	lasting bad effect on someone's mind or feeling	wound	injury to part of the body caused by piercing	lasting bad effect on someone's mind or feeling
伤害	shang hai	injure a body	upset or hurt emotionally	wound	injure	upset or hurt emotionally
伤疤	shang ba	mark left on the skin by a wound, sore, etc	feelings of great sadness, guilt, etc after an unpleasant experience	scar	mark left on the skin by a wound, sore, etc	feelings of great sadness, guilt, etc after an unpleasant experience
				cut to the quick	(cut nails down to the point that hurts)	hurt badly someone's emotions
心如刀割	xin ru dao ge	the heart is incised by the knife	one feels pain as if a knife were piercing one's heart	be cut to the quick	(cut nails down to the point that hurts)	hurt badly someone's emotions
心伤	xin shang	hurt one's heart	become sad, grieved	broken-hearted	damaged or separated heart	overwhelmed by grief
				pinprick	(small hole made by a thin needle)	slight temporary annoyance
千疮百孔	qian chuang bai kong	riddled with gaping wounds	afflicted with all kinds of ills or bad emotions			
				get under your skin	(penetrate beneath the natural outer layer of the body)	annoy
切肤之痛	qie fu zhi tong	cut the skin and feel pain	keenly feel pain			
万箭穿心	wan jian chuan xin	pierce thousand arrows one's heart	feel grief- stricken			
淤积	yu ji	silt up, deposit	emotions as anger, sadness			

5. BAD EMOTION IS PAIN OR INJURY

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
			still affect			
				bruise	cause a yellowish purple mark on the skin by hitting	damage someone's feelings
(贱)骨头	(jian) gu tou	strong hard parts of the skeleton which support the body	an unlucky person who is always suffering	close to the bone	(__strong hard parts of the skeleton which support the body)	unpleasant and upsetting and true
肝肠断裂	gan chang duan lie	torn up liver and intestines	become deeply grieved, heart-broken	cut up	divided with a knife into small pieces	emotionally hurt
				balm	ointment	comfort or calming influence
				salve	(ointment)	calm or soothe the emotions
定心丸	ding xin wan	a pill that is capable of setting sb's mind at ease	reassurance			
退缩	tui suo	shrink back	cower, withdraw	flinch	make a small sudden movement away when something hurts you	refuse to think about or do something unpleasant
摸老虎屁股	mo lao hu pi gu	touch tiger's button	annoy the powerful or difficult person	get on someone's tits	(press on someone's nipples)	annoy
拿草棍儿戳老虎的鼻子眼儿		poke the stick at a nose of a tiger	provoke the mighty person	get up your nose	go inside your nostrils and cause irritation	annoy
				goad	push an animal with a sharp stick	deliberately anger or irritate into a response
头痛	tou tong	continuous pain in the head	person or thing that causes worry	headache	pain in the top part of the head	cause of worry or difficulty
痛心	tong xin	continuous pain in heart	pained, distressed, grieved	heartache	(__continuous dull pain)	very sad feelings

5. BAD EMOTION IS PAIN OR INJURY

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
伤害	shang hai	injure, wound, harm	cause emotional pain	hurt	injure, cause pain to	cause emotional pain to
伤痛	Shang tong	injured, painful	causing emotional pain	hurtful	(pain__)	sensitive and causing emotional pain
				irritable	responsive to physical stimulus	made angry easily, in a bad mood
					substance which causes soreness or itchiness	annoyance
刺激	ci ji	stimulate sensory end of organs by material things and phenomena to cause physical sensation	provoke, upset	irritate	cause soreness or itchiness	annoy
刺激	ci ji	stimulation of sensory end of organs by material things and phenomena	upset, defeat	irritation	feeling of pain or discomfort	annoyance
手痒	shou yang	an uneasy irritating sensation on the upper surface of the skin of hands	eagerness, impatience	itch	unpleasant irritating feeling on the skin	eagerness, impatience
恶心	e xin	make one feel like vomiting	disgust	nauseate	make one feel like vomiting	disgust
使人恶心的		feeling like vomitting, feel sick	disgusting, repugnant	nauseous	feeling as if one will vomit	extremely unattractive
				niggle	cause slight discomfort or pain	worry slightly over a long period
如坐针毡	ru zuo zhen zhan	feeling as though sitting on a rug full of needles	worried or anxious	on pins and needles	(on thin sticks of metal for fastening/sewing cloth)	worried or anxious
				on the rack	(on the torture instrument that pulls limbs apart from the body)	suffer from great mental pain

5. BAD EMOTION IS PAIN OR INJURY

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
痛苦	tong ku	physical suffering	mental pain or emotional suffering	pain	physical suffering	emotional suffering
痛处	tong chu	painful place	sore point, a tender spot			
心病	xin bin	sickness of heart	worry , hang-up, mental discomfort,	pain in the neck/backside/arse)	(physical suffering__)	very annoying person or thing
剧痛	ju tong	acute or severe pain	painful emotion	pang	sharp feeling of hunger	painful emotion
心如刀扎	xin ru dao zha	prick the heart by the knife	feel bitterly disappointed sad , suffering	piercing	(making a small hole through)	experienced strongly
刺伤	ci shang	pierce, stab	cause to feel an emotional pain	prick	make small hole in the skin	cause to experience an emotion
带刺的	Dai ci de	with stings or thorns ,	sarcastic, bitter, (esp of words)	prickly	covered in thin sharp points	easily angry or annoyed
伤痕	shang heng	make a mark on your skin by wounding	produce an emotional effect (of an unpleasant experience)	leave a scar	make a mark on your skin by wounding	produce an emotional effect (of an unpleasant experience)
刮鼻子	gua bi zi	scrape sb's nose (with one's fore finger)	scold , tell off or to shame other people	slap in the face	(hit hard with the flat of the hand__)	cause insulting, disrespectful or thoughtless action
敲打	qiao da	strike, beat sb	say sth to irritate sb, keep sb in their place by criticism	slap on the wrist	(hit hard with the flat of the hand__)	gentle warning or punishment
				smack of	(hits forcefully with the flat of the hand__)	seem to possess an undesirable quality
				smart	feel a stinging pain	be upset

5. BAD EMOTION IS PAIN OR INJURY

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
				sore	painful and uncomfortable (of body part)	angry
				spiky	having sharp points	easily annoyed
辗转反侧	zhan zhuan fan ce	toss and turn, turn over in bed	feel anxious and restless	squirm	move your body from side to side with discomfort	suffer embarrassment or shame
刺	ci	pierce , prick, cause sharp temporary pain	criticize, satirize	sting	cause sharp temporary pain	annoy or upset
撕心裂肺	扰乱, 使不适, 使心烦	tear up one's heart and lung	feel greatly grieved	tear...apart	(rip into two pieces)	make you feel worried, upset or unhappy
牢骚满腹	lao sao man fu	preoccupy stomach with grumbles	fill with resentment	the gripes	stomach pain	complaint
脸皮厚	lian pi hou	a thick outer covering of the face	aptness to not be bashful or to feel shy	thick-skinned	(with a thick outer covering of the body)	insensitive, not easily hurt by criticism or insult
脸皮薄	lian pi bao	a thin outer covering of the face	aptness to be bashful or feel shy	thin-skinned	(with a thin outer covering of the body)	sensitive, easily hurt or made unhappy by criticism
肉中刺	rou zhong ci	something thorn in one's flesh	bad emotion one has and is difficult to get rid of	thorn in the flesh	(sharp prickle on plant stem __)	continual annoyance
触痛	chu tong	touch a tender or sore spot in the body	upset or hurt some one emotionally	touch a raw nerve	(place the fingers on a sore fibre in the body that sends pain signals)	upset someone
				touch a raw nerve	(place the fingers on a sore fibre in the body that sends pain signals)	accidentally upset somebody by mentioning a sensitive topic
呆若木鸡	dai ruo mu	dumb as a wooden chicken or a	affected deeply with a	transfix	pierce deeply so as to paralyze	affect deeply with a

5. BAD EMOTION IS PAIN OR INJURY						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
	ji	post	powerful emotion, esp after hearing bad news			powerful emotion
				twinge	slight physical pain	experience of slight negative emotion or conscience
不舒服的	bu shu fu de	physical unwell, indisposed	in an bad mood, embarrassed	uncomfortable	giving slight pain or discomfort	slightly worried or embarrassed
				wrench	sudden violent twist or pull	unhappiness accompanying the leaving or abandoning of something
缠绕	chan rao	twine , wine	bother, pester, harass	writhe	make twisting movements of the body due to pain	undergo unpleasant emotions
创伤	chuang shang	sore spot, tender spot	subjects that cause pain or embarrassment	a sore point/spot	a small painful area of the body	subject that cause pain or embarrassment
				agonize	(pain__)	spend time anxiously trying to make a decision about
透心儿凉	tou xinr liang	chill to the heart	feel bitterly disappointed	chill to the marrow	feel very cold	feel very shocked
刀山	dao shan	mountain of swords	difficult or unpleasant situation or way of life	bed of nails	wooden rectangle with nails sticking up through it	difficult or unpleasant situation or way of life
恶心	e xin	feel nausea	disgust	feal nausea	feel that you are going to vomit	disgust
令人作呕	ling ren zuo ou	make sb vomit	make one sick	make sb vomit	make sb throw up (the content of the stomach)through the mouth	disgust
倒胃口	dao wei kou	pour down from the stomach	disgust			

5. BAD EMOTION IS PAIN OR INJURY

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
肠断	chang duan	intestine is broken	one feels sad			
没胃口	mei wei kou	not want to eat or not be able to eat or digest	be reluctant to do something because you dislike it			
吊胃口	diao wei kou	hang the stomach	arouse interest in something			
				turn my stomach	move around my stomach	make me feel sick or upset
				have no stomach for	not want to eat or not be able to eat or digest	be reluctant to do something because you dislike
				stomach	organ inside body	courage or inclination for something difficult
				stomach churning	feel uncomfortable in the stomach	feel nauseated
龋牙咧嘴	zi ya lie zui	bare one' s teeth	feel angry, feel anguish	grind your teeth	rub one' s upper and lower teeth together making a noise	express one' s fury
咬牙切齿	yao ya qie chi	grind the teeth	feel angry, have a feeling of hatred			

6. EMOTION IS ANIMAL						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
上套	shang tao	harness, hitch up an animal to a cart	fall into a trap, be caught in a snare			
纵容的	zong rong de	release and let it do what it want	indulge, connive			
被宠坏的	bei chong huai de	be cheated as a pet	be spoiled, indulged			
受困	shou kun	be surrounded, be trapped	feel troubled, tired, exhausted			
面具	mian ju	covering to disguise the face	false appearance	mask	covering to disguise the face	false appearance
				couch	(type of high bed)	express in a certain way
伪装	Wei zhuan	change the appearance to avoid recognition	keep (feelings) hidden	disguise	change the appearance to avoid recognition	keep (feelings) hidden
驾驭	jia yu	fit a set of leather straps and metal links on a horse so it can pull a cart	control and use an emotion	harness	fit a set of leather straps and metal links on a horse so it can pull a cart	control and use an emotion
解套	jie tao	free (a dog) from its lead, remove the harness from the horse	produce or express a strong immediate effect of	unleash	free (a dog) from its lead	produce or express a strong immediate effect of
				pedigree	ancestry of a particular animal	history of an idea or activity
宠儿	chong er	animal kept for company or pleasure	favourite	pet	animal kept for company or pleasure	favourite (idea or emotion)
毒害	du hai	injure by feeding harmful	spoil or damage a situation or	poison	injure by feeding harmful	spoil or damage a

6. EMOTION IS ANIMAL						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
		chemicals to	relationship		chemicals to	situation or relationship
				prostitute	force someone to give sex for money	use for unworthy purposes
				reside	live or stay	(of a quality) be present in
				suffer	feel pain	deteriorate
				ghost of a chance/idea	(spirit of a dead person __)	the slightest one

7. EMOTION IS BODY						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
肺腑	fei fu	bottom of one's heart	basis on deep feeling and emotional reactions rather than on reason or thought	visceral	(large organs inside the body__)	basis on deep feeling and emotional reactions rather than on reason or thought
用鼻子看人	yong bi zi kan ren	turn nose up and look at sb with nose	look down upon	turn your nose up at	(lift the organ of smell away from)	reject as inferior
				take/lose heart	(__organ in the left of the chest cavity which pumps blood around the body)	become more/less courageous
肚量	du liang	capacity of stomach, appetite	endurance, toleration	stomach	organ inside the body where food is first digested, tummy	courage or inclination for something difficult; Endure tolerate; eagerness , desire
胆色	dan se	color of gallbladder	bravery	spunk	semen	bravery and determination
脾气	pi qi	spleen air	bad temper, feeling of anger	spleen	organ near the stomach which produces blood before birth	feeling of anger and dissatisfaction
没骨头的	mei gu tou de	without a backbone	lacking in courage, coward	spineless	(without a backbone)	lacking in strength and courage
嗤鼻	chi bi	give a snort	insult (someone) by not giving them any attention or treating them as if they are not important	snub	short flat slightly tuned up nose	insult (someone) by not giving them any attention or treating them as if they are not important
致敬	zhi jing	greet and show respect by raising your hand to your forehead	pay tribute to, express one's respect	salute	greet and show respect by raising your hand to your forehead	praise

7. EMOTION IS BODY						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
绞尽脑汁	jiao jin nao zhi	rack one's brains	think very hard, intensely and desperately	rack your brains	(torture by pulling the limbs apart from the body)	think very hard, intensely and desperately
				put a brave face on	(__front part of the head from chin up to forehead)	pretend publicly not to be upset or unhappy about
				phlegm	thick yellowish mucous in your throat when you have a cold	ability or characteristic of remaining calm in anxious circumstances
胆量	dan liang	guts , plucks	bravery, courage	nerve	long thin fibre that carries information between brain and the rest of the body	bravery or confidence necessary to do something difficult, unpleasant or rude
				hip	(part of the body between the top of the legs and the waist)	interest in modern fashions
鼓舞人心的	gu wu ren xin de	heartening	inspiring , encouraging	heart-warming	(organ in the left of the chest cavity which pumps blood around the body__)	encouraging, inspiring confidence
同情心	tong qing xin	organ in the left of the chest cavity which pumps blood around the body	sympathetic and kind feelings	heart	organ in the left of the chest cavity which pumps blood around the body	sympathetic and kind feelings
胆	dan	internal parts, gall	courage, bravery	guts	intestines	courage
				gut reaction/feeling	(intestine__)	deeply felt instinctive response without evidence or reason to back it up
				gall	bile	rudeness, cheek

7. EMOTION IS BODY						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
				fibre	thread like structure in the body	strength of character or emotional commitment
脸面/面子	lian mian	front part of your head from the chin up to the forehead	pride, self-respect	face	front part of your head from the chin up to the forehead	pride, respect, reputation
脸子	lian zi	face, look	unpleasant facial expression, lack of respect	cheek	part of your face which is below your eye and between your mouth and ear	rudeness or lack of respect
变心	bian xin	change of heart	change of feelings or ideas	change of heart	(__organ in the left of the chest cavity which pumps blood around the body)	change of feelings or ideas
令人心碎	ling ren xin sui	break someone's heart	make someone feel very unhappy or sad	break someone's heart	(__organ in the left of the chest cavity which pumps blood around the body)	make someone feel very unhappy or disappointed
				bile	liquid produced by the liver which helps digest fats	bitterness or anger
				balls	testicles	courage
				bad blood	(__red liquid which carries oxygen around the body)	negative feelings towards others
一身傲骨	yi shen ao gu	with proud bones all over the body	lofty and unyielding character	backbone	spine	courage to do what is necessary
爱面子	ai mian	love one's face	concern about one's			

7. EMOTION IS BODY						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
	zi		prestige, reputation			
心肝	xin gan	heart and liver	darling, precious emotion			
体面	ti mian	appearance of body and face	prestige, dignity			
铁面无私	tie mian wu si	iron face	impartiality and incorruptibility			
赤胆忠心	chi dan zhong xin	red gall and heart	absolute loyalty			
有头脑	you tou nao	with the mind	clever, intelligent			
肺腑之言	fei fu zhi yan	words from the bottom of one's heart	sincere words			
骨肉	gu rou	bone and flesh	kindred, blood realations			
发毛	fa mao	grow hair	scare, frighten			
勇敢地面对	yong gan de mian dui	face sth bravely	treat, deal with things ,expecially troubles ,difficulties bravely			
脑袋活	tou nao huo	agile brains and mind	nimble, quick			
没心没肺	mei xin mei fei	without heart and lungs	lacking of gratitude			
露脸	lu lian	show one's face	look good as a result of receiving honor or praise			
有面子	you mian zi	have the face	enjoy respect and prestige			
骨气	gu qi	bone and the air, spirit	moral integrity			

7. EMOTION IS BODY

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
皮	pi	skin	naughtiness, mischievousness			
死脑筋	si nao jin	dead brains	stubbornness			
冷眼	leng yan	cold eye	indifference			
青眼	qing yan	green eye	favour, good graces			
白眼	bai yan	white eye	supercilious or scornful look			
红眼	hong yan	red eyes	envy			
眼红	yan hong	reddened eyes	be jealous of sb.; feel envy at sth.			
眼热	yan re	hot eye	envy; a longing eye (on sth.)			
头脑发热	tou nao fa re	have got a hot head	become over-optimistic, cherish impractical grandiose ideas			
断肠	duan chang	cut up the intestines	be overwhelmed with grief			
撕心裂肺	si xin lie fei	tear the heart and lungs	feel deeply grieved			
肝火	gan huo	the fire from the liver	irascibility			
肝气	gan qi	liverly gas	irritability			
肝胆相照	gan dan xiang zhao	shed light the liver and gall on each other	express genuine meeting of minds, show utter devotion to sb			
静心	jing xin	quiet heart	state of being not excited, nervous, or agitated, quiet, untroubled			

7. EMOTION IS BODY

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
安心	an xin	rest one' s heart	feel at ease, be relieved,	set one' s mind at ease	rest one' s heart	cause or enable one to stop worrying
交心	jiao xin	change hearts	open one' s heart to, frank	heart-to-heart	hearts face each other	open one' s heart to, frank
心焦	xin jiao	the scorched heart	anxiety, worry			
心火	xin huo	the fire of heart	internal heat, symptoms of which include mental uneasiness, hidden anger or annoyance			
心直口快	xin zhi kou kuai	straight heart and swift mouth	frankness and outspokenness, and straightforwardness			
手足	shou zu	hands and feet	brothers			
心血	xin xue	heart and blood	painstaking effort			
负心	fu xin	carry a heart	become ungrateful in love, untrue, heartless			
花心	hua xin	flower' s heart	affection and easiness to change affection the moment one sees another			
心花怒放	xin hua nu fang	bear the flower of heart	burst with joy, be elated, be wild with joy			
心硬	xin ying	harden the heart	lack in feeling or sympathy	hard-hearted,	harden the heart	lack in feeling or sympathy
心暖	xin nuan	warm heart	warmth and touched feeling			
心乱	xin luan	disorder heart	be utterly confused and disconcerted, feel upset	confused heart	disorder heart	be utterly confused and disconcerted, feel upset
心软	xin ruan	soften heart	sympathize sometimes to too great extent	soft-hearted	soften heart	become sympathetic and kind, sometimes to too great and

7. EMOTION IS BODY

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
						extent
心气	xin qi	the air of heart	intention, ambition, state of mind, tolerance			
心眼	xin yan	the eyes of heart	intention, ambition, intelligence, unfounded misgiving, oversensitive			
脸面	lian mian	front part of the head from the forehead to the chin	self-respect, sb's feelings	face	front part of the head from the forehead to the chin	expression shown on the face
脸色	lian se	colour of the face	emotion, facial expression			
红脸	hong lian	become red in the face	get angry or shy	blush	become red in the face	be ashamed, blush with embarrassment
眼红	yan hong	red eyes	jealousy, fury	green-eyed	green eye	jealous
脸黑了下來	lian hei le xia lai	blacken face	get angry			
脸吓黑了	lian xia hei le	blacken face because of scare	feel scared, fearful			
脸吓白了	lian xia bai le	whiten face because of scare	become scared, fearful			
脸色苍白	lian se cang bai	face turns pale	feel fearful	blanch	suddenly become pale	find something unpleasant and avoid doing it
肠断了	chang duan le	broken reak intestine	extreme sadness			
心肠坏	xin chang huai	break down heart and intestine	become malevolent			
坏心肠	huai xin	bad heart and intestine	a person of evil mind, a malevolent			

7. EMOTION IS BODY						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
	chang		person			
心急如焚	xin ji ru fen	burning of one's heart	extreme anxiety			
心如火烧	xin ru huo shao	burning of one's heart	extreme anxiety			
心如刀割	xin ru dao ge	cut of one's heart by a knife	extreme sadness or disappointment			
五脏俱裂	wu zhang ju lie	break five major organs (liver, heart, spleen, lung, kidney) in the body	become anger, sadness			
吓破胆	xia po dan	break gallbladder because of fear	become extremely frightened			
憋气	bie qi	qi is oppressed in the body	feel angry			
气冲冲	qi chong chong	qi goes up	feel angry			
气呼呼	qi hu hu	breath thickly	feel angry			
气粗	qi cu	thick breath	irascibility pride			
哭到上气不接下气	ku dao shang qi bu jie xia qi	breathless from a hard cry	anguish			
不敢喘气	bu gan chuan qi	dare not breath	fear	heart leaps into the throat	heart jumps into the throat	Be frightened
				breathless	difficulty in breathing	excitement, fear
				heart bounds with joy	heart leaps	feel extremely joyous

7. EMOTION IS BODY						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
心悸	xin ji	(of the heart)up and down	fearful	have palpitations	one' s heart beats quickly and irregularly	be very shocked
七上八下	qi shang ba xia	(of the heart)up and down	fearful			
心提到了嗓子口	xin ti dao le sang zi	heart leaps into the throat	one feels frightened	heart leaps into the throat	heart jumps into the throat	be frightened
				the fast pounding of heart with fear	heart beats very quickly	be frightened
				heart misses a beat	heart stops beating for a second	one feels frightened
心砰砰跳	xin peng peng tiao	heart pounds	one feels excited, one feels fearful			
热血沸腾	re xue fei teng	blood is so hot as to boil	one is very excited or eager to do sth			

8. EMOTION IS COLOR						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
				flicker	unsteady shining	slight experience or faint expression of emotion
				flicker	shine unsteadily	feel a positive emotion for a very short time
				ruddy	red	weaker form of the swear word 'bloody'
				tinge	very slight amount of colour	very slight amount of feeling
				tinge	slight amount of colour	slight amount of an emotion or idea
				vivid	very brightly coloured	very clear (memory/dream) that produces emotion
红眼	hong yan	red eyes	envy, jealousy	green with envy	(the colour of leaves and grass__)	extremely envious
				a red rag to a bull	(the red cape used in bull-fighting)	something certain to produce a violent and angry reaction
				colour	change the hue of	affect the opinions or attitudes about
变色	bian se	change the hue of	feel bad or angry			
				true blue	real blue	completely loyal
				radiate	spread heat and light	show emotion in your face or behaviour
				aglow	shining with light and colour	shining with emotion
				rose-tinted/coloured	(glasses that have pink	tendency to see things

8. EMOTION IS COLOR						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
				glasses/spectacles	lenses)	optimistically
				tickled pink	(__light or whitish red colour)	pleasure
				beacon	signal fire or light on a hill or a tower	inspiring or encouraging person
				spectrum	set of colours into which light can be separated	range (of opinions/feelings)
				gleam	small bright light	sign of positive emotion
黑色幽默	hei se you mo	(the darkest colour there is__)	comedy that involves frightening or unpleasant things	black humour/comedy	(the darkest colour there is__)	comedy that involves frightening or unpleasant things
				jaundiced	with yellow skin because of liver disease	pessimistic
黄色	huang se	colour of lemon or gold or the sun	pornographic or foul emotion; noble status			
				yellow	colour of lemon or gold or the sun	cowardice
				lurid	too strong or extremely bright in colour	shocking because of sex, violence or immorality
火花	huo hua	tiny bright piece of burning material	small but noticeable amount of feeling	spark	tiny bright piece of burning material	small but noticeable amount of feeling
火冒三丈	huo mao san zhang	fly in to a rage	become very angry	see red	(__colour of blood or first colour in the rainbow)	become very angry

8. EMOTION IS COLOR						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
				blue	colour of the sky	sadness
玫瑰色的	mei gui se	of the colour of red roses	tendered-minded	rosy	of a colour between red and pink	hopeful
				flash	suddenly shine brightly	show emotion in the eyes
				glint	reflect small bright flashes of light	express emotion in the face or eyes
苍白	cang bai	become unattractively pale	become pale with fear, cold	blanch	suddenly become pale	find something unpleasant and avoid doing it
				streak	long thin noticeable mark	unpleasant mental characteristic
				project	shine a picture or film onto a screen or wall	imagine people have the same feelings as you
褪色	ui se	lose colour or brightness	become less intense or strong	fade	lose colour or brightness	become less intense or strong
				brash	startling or shocking in style or colour	excessively confident and aggressive
				red-blooded	(red liquid which carries oxygen around the body__)	showing a strong interest in sex
				purple	dark reddish blue colour	shocking or offensive (of writing)
颜色	yan se	colour	rudeness			
本色	ben se	natural colour	bravery, courage			
好色	hao se	like colour	have or show excessive interest in and desire for sexual pleasure, lecherous			

8. EMOTION IS COLOR						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
色情	se qing	colour emotion	relation to sexual acts, pornography			
情色	qing se	emotion colour	relation to sexual acts, pornography			
灰溜溜	hui liu liu	a patch of grey area	sadness because of unexpected failure, crestfallen			
灰色	hui se	the mixture of black and white	state of being sad and depressed, gloomy	grey	the mixture of black and white	state of being uninteresting, unexciting
光彩	guang cai	light colour	state of being proud, honorary	lustre	soft brightness of a smooth or shining surface	state of being proud, honorary
风光	feng guang	wind and colour	feeling proud, honorary			
光明	guang ming	light	open-hearted, guileless, upright and pure in mind			
光火	guang huo	light fire	losing one's temper, flare-up			
光耀	guang yao	light shining	feeling proud, honorary			
光彩照人	guang cai zhao ren	light colour shining one person	brilliance			
沾光	zhan guang	touch light	benefit from association with somebody or someone			
脸上有光	lian shang you guang	face with colour	pride, honour			
青眼	qing yan	green eyes	favour, good graces,			
白眼	bai yan	white eyes	treating people superciliously, looking upon people with disdain			
黑心	hei xin	black heart	evil mind, evil designs			

8. EMOTION IS COLOR						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
心黑	xin hei	heart black	evil mind, evil designs			
色	se	colour	having or showing an excessive interest in and desire for sexual pleasure, lecherous			
满面红光	man mian hong guang	red light shining on the face	excitement, showing happiness			
青睐	qing lai	green eyes	favour, good graces			
开朗	kai lang	open blue sky	become sanguine, optimistic	bright	of a colour intense, vivid	cheerful and lively
面如土灰	mian ru tu hui	face turning to be the colors of ash	fear			
脸色苍白	lian se cang bai	face turning pale	fear	blanch	sddenly become pale	find something unpleasant and avoid doing it
脸色发青	lian se fa qing	face turning pale	fear			
嘴唇苍白	zui chun cang bai	lips turning pale	fear			
大惊失色	da jing shi se	face losing color				
脸上无光	lian shang wu guang	no light on the face	shame			
脸色黯淡	lian se an dan	bleak complexion	disappointment or unpleasantness	face clouds with despair	face is covered as if with clouds	feel disappointed
印堂发暗	yin tang fa hei	darken on the temples of the head	gloomy			
脸色阴沉 c	lian se yin	clouds on the face	worry			

8. EMOTION IS COLOR						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
	chen					
脸上蒙上阴影	lian shang meng shang yin ying	shadow on the face	worry			
脸红脖子粗	lian hong bo zi cu	face turning red and neck becoming thicker	anger			
脸上红一阵白一阵	lian shang yi zhen hong yi zhen bai	with face turning red and pale	in a state of feeling extremely angry			
脸上青筋暴露	lian shang qing jin bao lu	the blue veins swelling on one face	a state of feeling extremely angry			
脸色发紫	lian se fa zi	with face going purple	in a state of feeling extremely angry			
				face flush with anger	become red in the face	become angry
				get red with anger	become red in the face	become angry
				be scarlet with rage	become red in the face	become extreme angry

9. EMOTION IS DISEASE

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
				catching	easily passed on to others (of illness)	easily spread to or shared with other people (of emotion)
				sanitize	clean so it is free from bacteria	change in order to make it less strongly expressed or offensive
心病	xin bing	sickness of heart	worry, anxiety			
相思病	xiang si bing	illness for missing sb	lovesickness			
死心	si xin	heart dies	give up hope or idea, hopeless			
情痴	qing chi	love maniac	one who is infatuated in love			
痴情	chi qing	idiotic love	deep passionate love			
痴心	chi xin	silly, idiotic heart	adoring love, obsession			
				communicable	able to be communicated	infectious, easily spread
攻克(疾病等)	gong ke (ji bing)	get rid of or eliminate (a disease)	get rid of or eliminate (an emotion)	conquer	get rid of or eliminate (a disease)	get rid of or eliminate (an emotion)
传染	chuan ran	infect, pathological reaction of an organic body to the invasion by pathogen	state of being influenced in mood, feeling, usually bad	contagion	spread of disease through touching	spread of bad ideas or emotions
传染性的	chuan ran xing de	infectious, (disease) that can be caught by touching	(emotion/communication) that spreads easily	contagious	(disease) that can be caught by touching	(emotion/communication) that spreads easily
笑断肚肠	xiao	break up one's intestines	uncontrollably laugh	convulsion	fit which makes you shake	uncontrollably laugh

9. EMOTION IS DISEASE

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
	duan du chang				violently	
治愈(疾病)	zhi yu	get rid of a disease	get rid of a bad idea or emotion or habit	cure of	get rid of a disease	get rid of a bad idea or emotion
狂喜	kuang xi	mad , crazy with happiness	mad with joy, ecstatic with emotion	delirious	unable to speak or think clearly because of fever	ecstatic with emotion
恶化	e hua	(disease) deteriorate, go downhill	(feeling or emotion) become worse , bitter	fester	become infected	become more intense
发烧	fa shao	high temperature or fever	zeal , excitement	fever	high body temperature	excitement
发高烧	fa gao shao	have a high fever	become great excitement or interest	fever pitch	(very high temperature___)	point of great excitement or interest
头脑发热的	tou nao fa re de	head getting heat and high temperature because of fever	sudden excitement and emotion	feverish	suffering from a slightly high temperature	excited and emotional in your actions
发作	fa zuo	(illness) act up	a fit of anger, short experience of an emotion take place	fit	short experience of a slight illness	short experience of an emotion
				growing pains	pains felt by young people in the bones and joints as they mature	emotional difficulties or confusion experienced by adolescents
免疫的	mian yi de	protected from a disease by antibodies in the blood	unable to be influenced by an idea or emotion	immune	protected from a disease by antibodies in the blood	unable to be influenced by an idea or emotion
受感染的	shou gan ran de	(wound, cut) tainted , infected by disease	affected, aroused	infected	introduced a disease caused organism into	affected
感染的	gan ran de	easily spread (disease)	influencing the mood of many people	infectious	easily spread (disease)	influencing the mood of many people

9. EMOTION IS DISEASE

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
				inflammatory	causing redness, soreness or swelling (of disease)	intentionally causing negative feelings
				jaundiced	infected with a liver disease	pessimistic
使恶心	shi e xin	make feel sick, feel like vomitting	cause unpleasant emotions	make ill	cause to be unhealthy	cause unpleasant emotions in
恶毒的	e du de	evil, poisonous	vicious, malicious	noxious	poisonous	harmful and unpleasant
瘟神	wen shen	legendary evil god of plague	person or thing that brings disaster to people	off-colour	slightly ill	slightly shocking and obscene (of jokes, remarks)
神经错乱	shen jing cuo luan	mental disorder	showing extreme uncontrolled feelings	pathological	relating to disease	showing extreme uncontrolled feelings
				plague	(serious deadly disease)	cause of pain or worry
毒害	du hai	give a substance to eat which causes harm to the body	do harm to (sb's mind)	poison	give a substance to eat which causes harm to the body	introduce a harmful idea into the mind
有毒的	you du de	poisonous, toxic	very unpleasant, negative	poisonous	of a substance which if ingested causes harm	very unpleasant, negative
偏执	pian zhi	paranoiac	extreme, stubborn	rabid	suffering from rabies (disease of mad dogs)	expressing strong feelings
				respond to	reply to	be treatable by
				spasm	uncontrollable convulsion, muscle contraction	period of intense uncontrolled emotion

9. EMOTION IS DISEASE						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
				transmit	send a message	pass on 遗传
有毒的	you du de	poisonous, toxic	very unpleasant, negative	venomous	poisonous	very unpleasant, negative
狠毒的	hen du de	ruthless and poisonous	wicked and black-hearted	virulent	highly infectious	full of hate and fierce opposition
				brainstorm	state of confusion and being unable to think clearly	clever idea
				bug	infectious disease	enthusiasm

10. EMOTION IS ELECTRICITY

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
				charged/up	at full electrical power	filled with emotion or excitement
				highly-charged	(storing a large amount of electricity)	filled with emotion or excitement
				electrifying	(powering with electricity)	extremely exciting
带电	dai dian	(powering with electricity)	become dangerous or extremely exciting			
				electrify	form power with electricity	make very excited and surprised
				electricity	energy carried along wires for heat and light	excitement
				electric	using energy carried along wires for heat/light	very exciting
				live wire	thin string of metal carrying electricity	lively and energetic person
				generate	produce energy or power	produce interest or excitement
				negative	of the type of electrical charge which is carried by electrons	pessimistic, not hopeful
				supercharged	with a very large amount of electrical voltage in it	with a high degree of emotional feeling
				AC/DC	suitable for alternating current or direct current	bisexual, attracted to both sexes
				impulse	short electrical signal	sudden strong desire
				galvanize	(electrify)	stir into action by exciting emotions

10. EMOTION IS ELECTRICITY

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
				wired	with electrical wires installed	nervous or anxious about an event in the future
				positive	electrical charge of a proton	approval or encouragement
				neutral	terminal on an electric plug that is neither negative or positive	not having strong feelings for or against
来电	lai dian	comes the electricity	have an affection on someone			
不来电	bu lai dian	have no electricity	have no affection of sb			

11. EMOTION IS EXPLOSION

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
气炸了肺	qi zha le fei	explode the lung	fly into a rage			
迸发	bengfa	sudden outbreak of something	bursting out feeling suddenly	burst forth	sudden outbreak of something because of pressure inside	bursting out feelings suddenly
气破肚皮	qi po du pi	explode the belly	get enraged			
气炸胸膛	qi zha xiong tang	explode the chest	get very angry			
气炸肝肺	qi zhag an fei	explode the liver and lung	fly into a rage			
				cracker	firework that makes a series of small explosions	exciting thing
缓和	huan he	make something less severe, violent or painful	calm down one' s anger	defuse	remove fuse to prevent explosion	calm down one' s anger
火药桶	huo yao tong	powder keg	person who is easy to get angry	dynamite	type of explosive containing nitro-glycerine	stimulating or exciting person
喷发	pen fa	(of liquids, flame, etc) come out in a sudden burst	suddenly burst out anger	erupt	explode with lava ash and steam	suddenly burst out anger
爆炸	bao zha	burst loudly with great force	show sudden violent emotion	explode	burst loudly with great force	shown sudden and strong emotion
爆发	bao fa	sudden and violent bursting	sudden outburst of strong emotion	explosion	going off of a bomb or other device	outburst of strong feeling
火爆性子	huo bao xing zi	a substance of explosive strength	irascible temperament	explosive	of a substance used in a bomb	tending to express strong and
火药味	huo yao wei	the smell of gunpowder	aggressive expression	fireworks	small explosive devices which are lit up for entertainment	strong expression of anger
燃点	ran dian	temperature at which the vapour above	point at which	flashpoint	temperature at which the vapour above a	point at which anger

11. EMOTION IS EXPLOSION						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
		a liquid such as oil gives a brief flash, but does not catch fire, when a fire is brought near it	anger breaks out		liquid such as oil gives a brief flash, but does not catch fire, when a fire is brought near it	breaks out
燃起	ran qi	cause something to catch fire	cause strong anger or passion	ignite	cause something to catch fire	cause strong anger or passion
火山等的喷发	huo shan deng de pen fa	suddenly throw of lava	sudden spurt of anger	outburst	rushing out of fluid under pressure	sudden spurt of anger
震动	zhen dong	violent blow or shake caused by a collision or an explosion	sudden violent disturbance of the mind or emotion	rock	shake due to an explosion/earthquake	cause feelings of shock
导火线	dao huo xian	short string on a bomb used to ignite it	tendency to get angry easily	short fuse	short string on a bomb used to ignite it	tendency to get angry easily
触发	chufa	the immediate cause of something	cause of an emotional reaction	spark off	cause to explode	cause an emotional reaction
				a damp squib	event that is much less impressive than expected	disappointing emotion
				blow a gasket	have an engine seal explode	lose your temper or control
裂开	lie kai	break something into two or more parts	lose one' s temper	crack	explode	lose your temper

12. EMOTION IS FOOD						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
				mouldy	covered with a soft green or grey fungus	of little value, unpleasant
				bittersweet	(both sour and sugary)	containing a mixture of sadness and happiness
苦	ku	bitter	pain, suffering	bitter	with an unpleasantly sharp and not sweet taste	extremely disappointing and unpleasant
苦果	ku guo	bitter fruit	bad consequences			
苦涩	ku se	bitter and astringent	agonized, pained			
痛苦	tong ku	pain and bitter	agony, suffering			
				milk of human kindness	(the white liquid food produced by female mammals__)	sympathy for the suffering of others
辣	la	peppery	irascibility	peppery	with a spicy flavour like pepper	bad tempered easily annoyed
				to the bitter end	(__with an unpleasantly sharp and not sweet taste__)	until you have completed something unpleasant
甜美	tian mei	sweet, luscious	refreshing, pleasant	luscious	juicy with a pleasant taste	pleasantness, attractiveness or desire
				mushy	thick and soft through overcooking	unpleasantly emotional
				dose	measured amount of medicine	unpleasant experience

12. EMOTION IS FOOD

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
				leave a bad/sour/unpleasant taste	(leave a __flavour)	leave an unpleasant memory
				succulent	pleasantly juicy	enjoyable
				sustenance	nutrition, the food needed to stay alive	emotional support
陶醉	tao zui	drink in	revel in, enjoy	intoxicated	drunken	to be ravished with joy
醉人	zui ren	make drunk	attract, enchant			
醉人的	zui ren de	making one drunk	intoxicating, enchanting, fascinating	intoxicating	(of drink) capable of making you drunk	exciting and producing strong emotions
心醉	xin zui	make heart drunk	be charmed, be enchanted			
甜	tian	sweet	happy			
甜的	tian de	melliferous sugary	happy	sweet	having a taste like sugar	pleasant, satisfying, charming or attractive
甜如蜜	tian ru mi	as sweet as honey	very happy			
甜言蜜语	tian yan mi yu	sweet words and honeyed phrases	words spoken to please or cheat others			
				takes the biscuit	(__dry hard sweet flat cake)	annoying or surprising
				syrupe	like syrup	good or kind in an insincere way, sentimental
				meat and drink	(food and liquid to swallow)	an experience or activity one enjoys very much
				wormwood	very bitter tasting medicinal plant	very vexing or bitter to the emotions
				crumb	small piece of bread, cake	small amount of an emotion

12. EMOTION IS FOOD						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
					or biscuit	
				rum	strong alcoholic drink or fermented sugar cane	strangeness or peculiarity
醋意	cu yi	vinegar intention	jealousy in the love affairs			
醋性	cu xing	vinegar character	jealousy in the love affairs			
醋	cu	vinegar	jealousy			
添油加醋	tian you jia cu	add fat and vinegar	add inflammatory details to,			
醋坛子	cu tan zi	bottle of vinegar	extremely jealous wife or husband			
				vinegary	covered with ascorbic acid	critical, unkind or bad-tempered
				cry over spilt milk	(_whitish liquid produced by female mammals)	pointlessly regret a past happening
滋味	zi wei	taste, flavor	enjoyment	relish	type of sauce used to flavour food	enjoyment
不是滋味	bu shi zi wei	dislike the flavour of dish	feel upset or bad			
知道味道	zhi dao wei dao	know the flavor	have had the experience and the feeling			
				zest	skin of an orange, lemon or lime	enthusiasm
				consuming	(of eating or drinking)	enthusiastic

12. EMOTION IS FOOD

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
				get you teeth into	(bite deeply into)	become enthusiastically involved with
酸溜溜	suan liu liu	sour, pungent	envious , sad			
酸	suan	acid, sour	sad, miserable	sour	with a sharp taste, not sweet	unpleasant or bad-tempered
				piquant	with a pleasant sharp or spicy taste	interesting and exciting
				delicious	with a very good taste or smell	very pleasant
				picnic	cold meal eaten outside informally	something very pleasant or advantageous
				not my cup of tea	(__mug of a drink made by infusing leaves in boiling water)	not my favourite activity
				aftertaste	taste left after swallowing	feelings experienced after an experience is over
				go/turn sour	become sharp in taste	become unpleasant
没口味	mei kou wei	without flavour	dulling, uninteresting			
不合口味	bu he kou wei	be not to one' s taste	be not to one' s liking			
合口味	he kou wei	to one' s taste	to one' s liking			
开胃口	kai wei kou	appetizing	attractive, raising one' s interest			

12. EMOTION IS FOOD

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
倒胃口	dao wei kou	spoil one's appetite	feel so disgusting as to kill one's interest or dampen one's spirits			
煎熬	jian ao	decoct	suffer ,torment, torture			
糟心	zao xin	terrible heart	annoyance, vexation, dejection			
浓烈的	nong lie de	thick and strong	passionate			
感情很淡	gan qing hen dan	tasteless emotion	indifference			
干脆	gan cui	dry and crisp	clear-cut, straightforward,			
百味杂陈	bai wei za chen	all kinds of flavors together	mixed feelings			
厌腻	yan ni	greasy,oily	be bored, be tired of			
垂涎三尺	chui xian san chi	spittle three feet long	drool with envy			

13. EMOTION IS GAS						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
				safety-valve	device on a pressurised container allowing escape of gas	means to release negative emotions
				puncture	make a small hole in and let the air out (of a tyre or balloon)	reduce self-esteem or confidence, humiliate
酝酿	yun niang	ferment; incubate	arouse negative emotions or unrest	ferment	cause chemical change through organisms such as yeast	arouse negative emotions or unrest
				let off steam	(allow steam to escape)	get rid of strong feelings by behaving noisily
				seethe	boil so as to form bubbles	feel anger without expressing it
				pressure cooker	kind of saucepan used to cook food quickly at high pressure	emotionally stressful situation
				froth at the mouth	produce small bubbles at the corner of the mouth	be extremely angry
				bubble	produce pockets of gas when heated (of a liquid)	experience strong and active emotions
				steamed up	covered with condensation in the form of steam or mist	very annoyed and showing your anger
				in a lather	mass of small soap bubbles in water	state of being upset or excited
				bubbly	covered in or full of balls of air	cheerfully excited
				effervescent	producing bubbles or gas	full of energy and enthusiasm

13. EMOTION IS GAS

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
云消雾散	yun xiao yan san	melt the clouds and disperse the mists	remove negative emotions like fears or doubts	dispel	cause to disappear by scattering in different directions (of a cloud or gas)	remove negative emotions like fears or doubts
				puffed up	(with air blown into it)	feeling very pleased with yourself, proud
闸门	zha men	a throttle valve	expressing an emotion forcefully	vent	(small opening which allows air or gas to enter or escape)	expressing an emotion forcefully
丧气	sang qi	lose gas	feel disheartened, get rid of strong feelings by behaving noisily	deflate	make the air escape from	reduce someone's confidence
气急败坏	qi ji bai huai	urgent breath	anger			
				volatile	easily changed into a gas	easily incited to anger
升华	sheng hua	purify the gas by evaporation	feel like pleasant and positive			
心气	xin qi	heart-qi	ambition, aspiration			
正气	zheng qi	vertical, uplifting gas	integrity, moral courage			
肝气	gan qi	liver gas	irritability			
气坏	qi huai	break down by gas	become furious, enraged			
锐气	rui qi	sharp, acute gas	with drive, energy			
生气	sheng qi	produce gas	get angry			
勇气	yong qi	brave gas	bravery, courage			
脾气	pi qi	spleen gas	bad temper			
胆气	dan qi	gall gas	courage, boldness			
气死人	qi si ren	kill sb with gas	make sb furious, engaged			

13. EMOTION IS GAS						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
泄气	xie qi	air leaking from a container	despair, feeling like giving up			
火气	huo qi	fire gas	anger			
憋气	bie qi	qi is oppressed in the body	one feels angry			
气冲冲	qi chong chong	qi goes up	one feels angry			
气呼呼	qi hu hu	breathe thickly	feel angry			
气粗	qi cu	thick breath	irascibility pride			
哭到上气不接下气	ku dao shang qi bu jie xia qi	breathless from a hard cry	anguish			
不敢喘气	bu gan chuan qi	dare not breathe	fear	heart leaps into the throat	heart jumps into the throat	Be frightened

14. EMOTION IS HIGH						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
怒气冲天	nu qi chong tian	qi soaring into the air	sudden extreme angry	hit the roof, go through the roof	impact, penetrate the ceiling	suddenly become extremely angry
				hung up	suspended in a high position	obsessively interested or worried
舒心	shu xin	flat the heart	relax, comfort	laid- back	(in a lying or backward leaning posture)	relaxed
				fly off the handle	(be separated from the handle and move fast through the air (of an axe head))	lose temper and self control
				fly into a rage	move upwards into the air	become angry suddenly
安心	an xin	rest heart	become calm, less restless	settle down	(move lower and rest on a surface)	become calm
				simmer down	(__lower or towards the ground)	become calm
				leap	make a large jump	experience sudden emotion
七上八下	qi shang ba xia	seven buckets coming up and eight buckets going down	worry, perturbation			
				leap at	jump a long way	be enthusiastic about
心悬	xin xuan	in a relatively high position__)	nervous	uptight	(in a relatively high position__)	repressed or nervous
				hang-up	(suspend)	unreasonable feeling of anxiety about an aspect of oneself
				hit the ceiling	(impact the roof)	lose your temper, become extremely angry

14. EMOTION IS HIGH						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
忐忑不安	tan te bu an	the state of heart being up and down	mental disturbance, unease, restlessness			
高兴	gao xing	high spirit	happiness, gladness , cheerfulness	in high spirits	spirit in high position	happiness, gladness , cheerfulness
兴高采烈	xing gao cai lie	interest high and animated mood	showing great happiness, excited, jubilant	high-spirited	spirit in high position	liveliness and cheerfulness, vivacity
冒火	mao huo	emit fire	get very angry			
上火	shang huo	suffer from excessive internal heat (with such symptoms as constipation)	get angry			
雀跃	que yue	sparrow-like jump	jumping for a joy, showing great happiness			
跃跃欲试	yue yue yu shi	wanting to leap and have a try	be full of interest or desire to have a try			
心潮起伏	xin chao qi fu	the tide of heart rising and falling	disturbance, uneasiness			
火冒三丈	huo mao san zhang	fire rising ten metres	showing violent anger			

15. EMOTION IS LIQUID						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
消退	xiao tui	fall to a lower level (of water)	diminish (of feelings)	subside	fall to a lower level (of water)	diminish (of feelings)
				soppy	soaked or saturated	showing too much emotion
				slushy	half-melted (of snow)	overly sentimental
				sloppy	having more liquid in it than it should	sentimental, having too much emotion
				sappy	full of or oozing the liquid that flows up the stems of plants and trees	extremely and embarrassingly emotional
				pour oil onto troubled waters	(cause thick, sticky liquid to flow onto the surface of rough seas)	pacify, calm someone down
				mushy	soft and pulpy	overly romantic
注射, 注入	zhu she, zhu ru	put liquid into the body with a syringe	give emotion to sb.	inject	put liquid into the body with a syringe	make more interesting or exciting
沉浸	chen jin	immerse in, steep in	fill with an emotion	infuse	soak in hot water to make tea	fill with an emotion
充满	chong man	completely occupied by (liquid)	experiencing a high degree (of emotion)	full of	completely occupied by (liquid)	experiencing a high degree (of emotion)
升华	sheng hua	purify the gas by evaporation	feel like pleasant and positive	evaporate	change from liquid to gas	disappear (of attitude or emotion)
低潮	di chao	low tide ,low ebb	(of relation, emotion) be at lowest point or less intense	ebb	sink lower (of sea or tide)	become less intense, disappear
干巴巴的	gan ba ba de	without water or liquid in	uninteresting, unexciting	dry	without water or liquid in	uninteresting, unexciting

15. EMOTION IS LIQUID						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
				drunk with	unable to speak or act from the effects of alcohol	experiencing excited, uncontrolled emotion
干的	gan de	(without moisture)	lacking of emotion	drily	(without moisture)	in an unfriendly or unemotional way
				drain	remove the liquid from	make emotionally tired
排泄	pai xie	excrete	emotion fade, let bad emotion out of mind			
				distil	condense a gas into liquid	express the essence of an emotion
淡了	dan le	mix a liquid with water to make it less strong	(of emotion or relationship) weaken	dilute	mix a liquid with water to make it less strong	lessen or weaken
深	shen	distance down from the surface of water	strength of an emotion or feeling	depth	distance down from the surface of water	strength of an emotion
深	shen	with a long distance from the liquid's surface to its bottom	(of feelings) profound, intimate	deep	with a long distance from the liquid's surface to its bottom	strongly felt or experienced
				course	flow quickly	be experienced strongly
				corrosive	able to attack and destroy metal (of liquids)	negative and bitter (of feelings)
欲海	yu hai	desire sea	endless desire			
沉醉	chen zui	immerse oneself, become intoxicated	indulge, be totally attracted by			
蚀人的	shi ren de	corrosive to one's (feeling, character)	harmful to one's character, feelings			
迎面泼冷水	ying mian po	pour cold water in one's	calm someone down or disappoint			

15. EMOTION IS LIQUID						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
	leng shui	face	someone			
沸腾	fei teng de	boiling water	excitement	seethe	bubble and forth as if boiling	get very angry , agitated
情深似海	qing shen shi hai	emotion as deep as the sea	deep feeling, devotion			
充满激情	chong man ji qing	full of water	excited, passionate	full of (passion)	holding or containing(liquid) as much or as many as possible	excited, passionate
淡泊	dan bo	diluted liquid	indifference to fame and wealth			
心血来潮	xin xue lai chao	the blood flood	have a sudden impulse to do something, a short burst of enthusiasm			
黏糊	nian hu	glutinous , pulpy	persistent in love affairs			
胶着	jiao zhuo	stage of a dispute at which further action or discussion by either side seems to be impossible	hesitation, different emotions at the same time			
倾吐	qing tu	pass air, gas, liquid etc out of or into a confined space	open one's heart to sb., say freely what is on one's mind	vent	pass air, gas, liquid etc out of or into a confined space	open one's heart to sb., say freely what is on one's mind
泄愤	xie fen	pass out anger	get resentment out of one's mind	give vent to one's anger	pass out anger	get resentment out of one's mind
畅快	chang kuai	free from inhibition	happy, carefree			
舒缓	shu huan	slow and unhurried	relaxed			
翻腾	fan teng	bubble and forth as if	be very angry , agitated	(waves) seethe	bubble and forth as if	be very angry ,

15. EMOTION IS LIQUID						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
		boiling			boiling	agitated
波涛汹涌	bo tao xiong yong	have high tide or high waves	experience strong feelings	(waves) run high	have high tide or high waves	experience strong feelings
澎湃	peng pai	rise in the level of the sea or a river	sudden increase of emotion like exciting	surge	rise in the level of the sea or a river	sudden increase of emotion like exciting
平息	ping xi	sink to a lower r t the normal level	calm down, become less violent, active, intense	subside	sink to a lower r t the normal level	become less violent, active, intense
荡漾	dang yang	have a wave-like movement or appearance	increase and decrease of emotion	undulate	have a wave-like movement or appearance	increase and decrease of emotion
满脸泪水	man lian lei shui	face covered with tears	sadness, chagrin			
(紧张得) 手心出汗	(jing zhang de) shou xin chu han	sweat at the centre of the palms	feel embarrassed, feel worried			
(急得) 满头大汗	(ji de) man tou da han	sweat over the head	anxiety			
汗颜	han yan	sweat on the face	feel deeply ashamed			
流冷汗	liu leng han	cold sweat coming out on the skin	fear			
头上冒冷汗	tou shang mao leng han	cold sweat coming out on the head	fear			
(急得) 满头大汗	ji de man tou da han	sweat coming out on the head,	anxiety			
				sweat out	lose liquid through the skin	wait anxiously for situation to improve
				in a cold sweat	in a state of being	in a state of feeling

15. EMOTION IS LIQUID						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Liter al Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
					perspiring (from fever)	extremely frightened
热泪盈眶	re lei ying kuang	eyes abrim of tears	excitement			
眼泪汪汪	yan lei wang wang	a pool of tears	excitement, sadness, etc.			
伤心落泪	shang xin luo lei	shed tears	feel sad			
(气愤得) 掉下眼泪	(qi fen de) diao xia yan lei	shed tears	feel angry			
				be dissolved in tears	eyes abrim of tears	sadness
流口水	liu kou shui	saliva comes out of mouth	one is eager to do something	slobber	saliva dribbles from the mouth	one indulges over sb
垂涎	chui xian	saliva hangs down from the mouth	one is eager to do something			
垂涎三尺	chui xian san chi	saliva of three feet long hang s down from the mouth	one is eager to do something			
垂涎欲滴	chui xian yu di	Saliva is going to drool from the mouth	one is eager to do something			
热血沸腾	re xue fei teng	blood is so hot as to boil	one is very excited or eager to do sth			

16. EMOTION IS MINERAL						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
净化	jing hua	purify metals	purify the emotions			
				gem	jewel	something or someone that one treasures highly or is very fond of
提纯	ti chun	make something pure by removing dirty, harmful or foreign substances	make feelings, sentiments true, sincere	purify	make something pure by removing dirty, harmful or foreign substances	purify the emotions
珍贵	zhen gui	of great value	dearly loved	precious	of great value	highly valued, dearly loved
积淀	ji dian	accumulate and form sediment	deepen feelings			
沉积	chen ji	liquids or river cause mud, silt, etc.	Feelings and passions become profound			
喷发	pen fa	(of liquids, flame, etc)come out in a sudden burst	sudden burst of anger	erupt	explode with lava ash and steam	become angry and violent
爆发	bao fa	sudden and violent bursting	sudden outburst of strong emotion	explosion	going off of a bomb or other device	outburst of strong feeling

17. EMOTION IS MOVEMENT

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
颤抖不停	chan dou bu ting	body shaking continually	fear			
上蹿下跳	shang cuan xia tiao	run and jump all over the place	feel nervous and anxious	jumpy	Jumping, or inducing to jump	nervous and anxious through fear or guilt
震动	zheng dong	shake, quake	shock ,astonish	jolt	cause to move suddenly or violently	shock
				jar	shake abruptly and unpleasantly;jolt	cause unpleasant feelings
沉重的打击	chen zhong de da ji	deal a severe blow to somebody	make extremely upset or disappointed	hit/knock for six	(strike the ball in cricket so it crosses the boundary without bouncing)	make extremely surprised or upset and unable to speak or act
打击	da ji	strike	have a strong emotional effect on	hit	strike	have a strong emotional effect on
忐忑不安	tan te bu an	the state of heart being moving up and down	unease, nervousness	have butterflies (in your stomach)	insects with large often brightly covered wings flying	feeling very nervous
				get/be carried away	(be lifted and taken somewhere else)	become very excited and lose control
				flip	turn over quickly	become very angry; become insane or irrational
手足无措	shou zu wu cuo	not knowing where to put the hand and foot	disconcerted , at a loss as what to because of excitement, confusion	flap	move the wings up and down when flying	be anxious or agitated
激动	ji dong	stir up the movement	cause strong feelings of eagerness, happiness, nervousness, etc	excite	call to activity in any way	make feel happy,eager or enthusiastic
打扰	da rao	hit and harass	break the state of rest or calmness	disturb	move from the usual position	cause worry or anxiety ;

17. EMOTION IS MOVEMENT						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
			of someone			render uneasy
被占据	bei zhan ju	be possessed by	Be influenced or controlled by a powerful force such as a strong emotion			
脊背发凉	ji bei fa liang	slight shaking caused by cold along the backbone	feeling of fright	a shiver down the spine	slight shaking caused by cold along the backbone	feeling of excitement, pleasure or fright
激荡	ji dang	fierce sway of water	excitement	surge	rolling swell of water; the motion of, or produced by, a great wave	feeling angry suddenly or intensely
拂袖	fu xiu	give a flick of one's sleeve	get anger	go off in a huff	leave with a wind	show great anger and annoyance
拍案	pai an	strike the table	become angry, surprised, admiring			
舒畅	shu chang	spread and stretch without obstacle	entirely free from worry; happy	laid- back	in a lying or backward leaning posture	leisurely and carefree
眉飞色舞	mei fei se wu	dancing eyebrows and radiant face	feeling great delight or joy, enraptured, exultant			
眉开眼笑	mei kai yan xiao	stretching eyebrows and smiling eyes	a beam of joy, great happiness			
震撼	zhen han	blow or shake violently	cause someone to feel disgust, indignation, horror	shock	blow or shake violently	cause someone feel disgust, indignation, horror
受到打击	shou dao da ji	be struck	suffer from a bad or sudden effect	be hit	be struck	suffer from a bad or sudden effect
翻江倒海般的	fan jiang dao hai ban de	overturning of the river and sea	great excitement			
热锅上的蚂蚁	re guo	an ant on a hot pan	failure to be still, quiet because	have ants in	there are ants in one's short	be very restless or

17. EMOTION IS MOVEMENT						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
	shang de ma yi		of anxiety, restlessness	one' s pants	quick breath	excited about something
七上八下	qi shang ba xia	seven buckets coming up and eight buckets going down	worry, perturbation			
怒气冲天	nu qi chong tian	send anger into the air	suddenly become extremely angry	hit the roof, go through the roof	impact, penetrate the ceiling	suddenly become extremely angry
直上青云	zhi shang qin yun	soar straightly into the clouds	show violent anger suddenly			
怒火上升	nu huo shang sheng	the flame is climbing up	anger is increasing			
火冒三丈	huo mao san zhang	raise fire thirty feet height	show violent anger	fly into a rage	move upwards into the air	become angry suddenly
上火	shang huo	rise of excessive internal heat (with such symptoms as constipation)	get angry			
神魂颠倒	shen hun dian dao	spirit and soul reverse	be infatuated, confused			
颠三倒四	dian san dao si	put or turn upside down	disorderly confused			
七颠八倒	qi dian ba dao	turn upside down	disorderly confused			
吓得发抖	xia de da dou	quake with fear	feel angry,;be in the worried state of mind			

18. EMOTION IS OUTFLOW						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
(火山的) 喷发	(huo shan de) pen fa	erupt	sudden, violent expression of feeling	outburst	a bursting forth	sudden, violent expression of emotion
				pour scorn on	make contempt flow from a container	criticise severely
				well	flow or spring to the surface from the earth; come up	increase to the point where they have to be expressed (of emotion)
爆发	bao fa	burst out	sudden, violent expression of feeling			
迸发	beng fa	burst out	give expression to one's feeling			
				boil over	bubble so much with heat that it flow over the top of the container	have such strong uncontrollable feelings that one have to express them
倾泻		pouring out liquid	uncontrolled expression of emotion	effusion	pouring out liquid	uncontrolled expression of strong emotion
流露	liu lu	pour out	show unintentionally one's thoughts or feelings			
				overflow	flow over the edges of a container	express strong feelings
				outlet	pipe or hole for fluid to drain out of	way in which emotion can be expressed
排泄	pai xie	(fluid) drain out	express emotion			

18. EMOTION IS OUTFLOW						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
倾吐	qing tu	pour out water	express one's feeling			
倾泻	qing xie	making a substance flow outwards from a container	uncontrollable expression of strong feeling	outpouring	a flowing out; making a substance flowing outwards from a container	uncontrollable expression of feeling
倾泻而出	qing xie er chu	make a substance flow from a container	give expression to one's feeling	pour out	make flow from a container	express strongly and uncontrollably
封口	feng kou	seal, close	prevent the expression of emotion	choke back	prevent one coughing up	prevent the expression of emotion
				ooze	flow slowly and in small quantities	display an emotion or attitude
渗出	sheng chu	flow out slowly and in small quantities	reveal a little emotion			
				exude	come or pass out slowly ooze out	display an emotion or attitude
洋溢	yang yi	overflow of waters from a container	overflow with happiness, excitement			
一吐(为快)	yi tu (wei kuai)	pouring out water	expression of one's feeling			
				brim over	overflow the edges of a container	express a feeling without restraint
涌出	yong chu	flowing of large amounts of liquid	expression of strong emotion			
喷涌而出	pen yong er chu	gush, spout	express feelings insincerely	gush	flow or pour out suddenly in great quantities	express admiration, praise, or pleasure, in such a strong and enthusiastic way that it does not seem sincere

18. EMOTION IS OUTFLOW						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
				gushing	flowing outwards in large amounts of liquid	expressing feelings insincerely
挤出	ji chu	squeeze out	express emotion reluctantly, do not have much feeling but be forced to express a little			
				bottle up	put inside a round tall container with a neck	Not allow (emotions) to be seen;restrain or suppress (feelings)

19. EMOTION IS PERSON BEING CONTROLLED						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
放纵	fang zong	set sb free and let sb have his own way	give loose to feeling, like love or hatred			
被俘虏/被虏获	bei fu lu/bei lu huo	be captured, be taken prisoner	be occupied by an emotion			
解放	jie fang	liberate, free	express feelings or emotions freely			
松绑	song bang	untie a person	allow to be expressed			
束缚	shu fu	bind up ,fetter	control ,repress one's feeling			
解套	jie tao	remove the harness	express feelings or emotions freely			
唤起	huan qi	gather together soldiers to fight	produce or encourage (emotion)	muster (up)	gather together soldiers to fight	produce or encourage (emotion)
				recapture	retake into one's possession by force	cause to re-experience (an emotion)
释放	shi fang	give freedom to	allow to be expressed	release	give freedom to	allow to be expressed
抑制	yi zhi	restrain or control	hold back emotion	repress	restrain or control	cause to restrain or suppress emotion, etc
征服	zheng fu	defeat and rule oppressively	deny wishes or beliefs in favour of others, control your emotions	subjugate	gain control or; subdue	deny your wishes or beliefs in favour of others'
不可掌控的	bu ke zhang kong de	impossible to control or rule	uncontrollable	ungovernable	impossible to control or rule	uncontrollable

20. EMOTION IS PLANT						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
心乱如麻	xin luan ru ma	heart is like a bundle of flax	utter confusion			
耕耘情感	geng yun qing gan	plough and weed	cultivate the affection			
柳啼花怨	liu ti hua yuan	weeping willow trees and complaining flowers	sadness for parting from lover			
杨柳依依	yang liu yi yi	poplar and willow (trees)' s reluctance to be separate	(of the man and the woman) deeply attachment to each other; ardent love between a man and a woman			
感情的收获	gan qing de shou huo	harvest of affection, especially love	response or answerback of affection, love			
芒刺在背	mang ci zai bei	prickle in one' back	feel uneasy and nervous			
花心	hua xin	flower' s heart	inconstant love, turning one' s coat, a change of heart			
心花怒放	xin hua nu fan	heart flowers in full bloom	elation, joy			
爱情的温床	ai qing de wen chuan	seedbed of love	somewhere love comes into being			
播种爱情	bo zhong ai qing	plant seeds of love in the ground	giving birth to affection that may turn into love in later days			
红豆之思	hong dou zhi si	small red beans	small red beans used as token of love and lovesickness			
				peach	round fruit with juicy sweet yellow	thing that is good or attractive and causes one to

20. EMOTION IS PLANT						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
					flesh	be fond of
				harrowing	raking the earth to prepare for sowing	upsetting, emotionally disturbing

21. EMOTION IS SENSE IMPRESSION

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
气色	qi se	natural appearance of the skin of the face	mood or emotion			
(心头)痒	(xin tou)yang	tickle	eagerness and desire			
心惊肉跳	xin jing rou tiao	shocked heart and trembling flesh	palpitation with anxiety and fear			
心急	xin ji	anxious heart	impatience, anxiety			
心悸	xin ji	palpitation	dread , fear			
令人发指	ling ren fa zhi	raise one's hackles	abominate			
触目惊心	chu mu jing xin	eyes seeing and heart startled	startling, shocking			
横眉冷对	heng mei leng dui	scowl	great anger			
汗颜	han yan	face with a lot of perspiration	feel ashamed			
触景生情	chu jing sheng qing	sightly strike a chord in one's heart	be moved			
感触	gan chu	feeling and touching	a stirring of emotion			
芒刺在背	mang ci zai bei	feel prickles down one's back	feel nervous and uneasy			
麻痹	ma bi	paralyse	unfeeling; lull			

21. EMOTION IS SENSE IMPRESSION

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
麻木不仁	ma mu bu ren	muscle numb	insensitive, unfeeling, indifferent, not an ounce of sympathy			
撕肝裂胆的	si gan lie dan de	liver broken	extremely sad			
气粗	qi cu	speak in a gruff voice	become conceited			
面色	mian se	one's complexion	general nature or character	complexion	natural appearance of the skin of the face	general nature or character
丑陋的	chou lou de	unattractive to look at	threatening, unpleasant	ugly	unattractive to look at	threatening
横心	heng xin	transverse heart	a state of becoming desperate			
情感	qing gan	feelings	emotions			
感情	gan qing	feelings	affections and sentiments			
吃醋	chi cu	feel like drink vinegar	be jealous			
醋意	cu yi	vinegar	jealousy			
恶心	e xin	feel sick, feel like vomiting	feel like disgusting			
发热	fa re	produce heat	be hotheaded			
心寒	xin han	freezing heart	bitter disappointment			
心冷	xin leng	cold heart	disappointment			
心凉	xin liang	cool heart	less enthusiasm or excitement			
(心头)痒	(xin tou) yang	itch in the heart	desire, longing			

21. EMOTION IS SENSE IMPRESSION

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
心酸	xin suan	vinegar in heart	sadness, distress			
心惊胆战	xin jing dan zhan	heart and gall trembling	scared and terrified			
心颤	xin chan	vibrating heart	subtle emotion			
麻醉	ma zui	numbness	senselessness			
毛骨悚然	mao gu song ran	hair and bone rising	horrified			
毛发竖起	mao fa shu qi	hair rising	furious or scared			
脊梁骨发冷 (凉)	ji liang gu fa leng(liang)	feel coldness along the backbone	feel scared			
发抖	fa dou	to shiver	to be frightened; to be terrified			
令人发指	ling ren fa zhi	hackles rising	abominable			
毛发倒竖	mao fa dao shu	hair erecting	abominable ,terrifying			
心热	xin re	hotness in the heart	gratitude and pleasantness			
刺激	ci ji	thorn stabs	stimulate ,irritate			

22. EMOTION IS SMELL, TASTE, HEARING, SEEING						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
伸长耳朵	shen chang er duo	push ears to hear	eager to know something			
				stink	smell very unpleasant	cause one to dislike
臭	chou	smelly, stinking	cause to be disgusted with	stinking	smelly bad	unpleasant, disgusting
乏味的	fa wei de	tasteless	dull, uninteresting			
没味的	mei wei de	not having taste	dull			
甜美	tian mei	sweet	pleasant ,refreshing			
甜蜜	tian mi	sweet,honeyed	happy , comfortable			
苦	ku	bitter	suffering ,pain			
苦涩	ku se	bitter and astringent	pained,agonized			
辛酸	xin suan	hot and sour	sad			
火辣	huo la	spicy,peppery	fiery,excited			
酸溜溜	suan liu liu	sour,pungent	feel a little envious,sad			
心酸	xin suan	sour heart	feeling sad ,sorrowful			
				make a stink	create a bad smell	make a strong public dislike and complaint
辛辣的	xin la de	very strong or unpleasant (of smelling)	strongly expressed (of feelings, ideas)	pungent	very strong or unpleasant smelling	strongly expressed (of feelings, ideas)
嗅到	xiu dao	become aware by smelling	perceive,detect	scent	become aware by smelling	anticipate
甜心	tian xin	sweet heart	person you are in love with	sweetheart	taste of sugar	person you are in love with
芬芳	fen fang	fragrance	feel pleased ,comfortable			

22. EMOTION IS SMELL, TASTE, HEARING, SEEING						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
甜如蜜	tian ru mi	sweet as honey	happy , comfortable			
甜	tian	sweet	happy, pleased			
酸气	suan qi	sour gas	boredom, disgust			

23. EMOTION IS SOUND						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
				note	single sound at a particular pitch	emotional tone
安静, 安宁	an jing, an ning	silent, without noise	calm, without worry or interruption	peace	a state of quiet or tranquillity	calm; a state of having no worry or interruption
				quiet	silent	not excited
				tumult	loud noise produced by an excited crowd	state of confusion or uncertainty
刺耳的	ci er de	sounding loud and rough	feeling unpleasant, repugnant			
				strident	sounding loud, unpleasant and rough	expressed in forceful emotional language
				thunder	the loud sound that comes after a flash of lightning	shout loudly and angrily
单调的	dan diao de	not having any musical quality to the voice	feeling dull, or not expressing any emotion	toneless	not having any musical quality to the voice	not expressing any emotion
				undertone	a low or subdued tone or utterance	subdued emotional quality underlying an utterance
				vibes	vibraphone	general feeling of a place or emotional response of a person
动人心弦	dong ren xin xian	strike or touch a deep chord in one's heart	become moved, touched	pluck at someone's heartstrings	pull with your finger then release the strings of a musical instrument	cause strong feelings of love or sympathy
				jangle	make a noise like metal	cause unpleasant or worried

23. EMOTION IS SOUND						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
					hitting metal	feelings
				rattle	shake and produce a sound like a series of knocks	worry or make nervous
				hum	make a low continuous sound	be full of excitement and engaged in an activity
共鸣	gong ming	produce or show resonance	arouse sympathy	resonate	produce, increase or fill with sound	mutual understanding or trust and agreement between people
鼓起	gu qi	protrude because of air	pluck up (one's courage)			
酣歌	han ge	sing lustily	sing heartily, to one's heart's content			
回音	hui yin	sound reflected off a surface	making a strong response, strong emotion			
反响	fan xiang	sound reflected off a surface	making a response with strong emotion	echo	sound reflected off a surface	sympathetic recognition; response
				shrill	unpleasantly high-pitched and loud	producing unpleasant emotions through its forcefulness (of protests, complaints etc)
降调	jiang diao	a falling tone	make feeling less forceful	tone down	deaden (a sound or noise)	make feeling less strong or intense
狂想曲	kuang xiang qu	piece of music lacking formal structure but expressing powerful feelings	enthusiastic and highly emotional speech or piece of writing	rhapsody	piece of music lacking formal structure but expressing powerful feelings	enthusiastic and highly emotional speech or piece of writing
				rumblings	continuous low sounds like distant guns or thunder	signs of dissatisfaction
闹心的	nao xin	noises in heart	vexed			

23. EMOTION IS SOUND						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
	de					
气嘟嘟	qi du du	full of air	highly displeased, angry			
				murmur	continuous low sound	feel or express dissatisfaction or discontent
耸人听闻的	song ren ting wen de	sound loudly	deliberately try to create a sensation or to make startled			
				buzz	continuous low sound like that of a bee	excitement
喧嚣, 骚动	xuan xiao, sao dong	a lot of shouting and noise	widespread angry criticism and debate	uproar	a lot of shouting and noise	noise and excitement or anger
				tone	quality of sound	mood or emotion
				pitch	height of a note	emotional intensity; the extreme point or degree of elevation or depression
				resound	sound loud and long	repeat in agreement; to praise or celebrate with the voice, or the sound of instruments
韵味	yun wei	harmony of sound	lingering charm; special pleasing quality			
铮铮	zheng zheng	clank	be very strong and remarkable			
奏出和声	zou chu he sheng	play two or more harmonious notes at the same time on a piano or organ	make you feel pleasant and calm	strike a chord	play two or more harmonious notes at the same time on a piano or organ	make you feel sympathy or enthusiasm

24. EMOTION IS TOUCH

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
握手言欢	wo shou yan huan	hold hands and chat cheerfully	shake hands to show emotional attachment			
握手	wo shou	shake hands	expressing congratulation, consolation, welcoming, and pacification			
拍巴掌	pa ba zhang	clap the hands	express welcoming, congratulation, and happiness			
抚摸	fu mo	stroke, caress	love			
爱抚	ai fu	love touching	love			
破碎的情感	po sui de qing gan	crushed emotion	sadness, desperation			
破碎的心	po sui de xin	broken heart	sadness			
				feel in bones	sense by physically strong hard parts of the skeleton which support the body	feel sure without evidence
麻木的	ma mu de	unable to feel anything physically by touching	indifferent, uninterested	numb	unable to feel anything physically	not able to experience any emotions
				massage someone's ego	rub and press with regular repeated movements	flatter, make someone feel proud
五体投地	wu ti tou di	prostrate oneself on the floor before somebody	admire somebody from the bottom of one's heart, worship somebody	knock dead	kill with a blow	greatly amuse, astonish, or thrill someone
				knock ...for six	hit over the boundary	surprise or shock and leave

24. EMOTION IS TOUCH						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
					without the ball touching the ground	unable to act
				knee-jerk reaction	kicking of the lower leg as a reflex response to a tap on the knee	spontaneous, habitual and unconsidered response
				kick	blow with the foot	have a feeling of excitement and pleasure
				hit it off	strike	have a friendly relationship; to be compatible
感觉	gan jue	experience of physical touching	experience of an emotion	feeling	experience of touching	experience of an emotion
				personal touch	coming into contact with	way of making every individual in a group feel special
				crush	press very hard so that it is broken or has its shape destroyed	upset or shock badly
				get kicks from	get blows of the foot	find pleasure in
				take it on the chin	receive a punch on the chin	accept unpleasant events bravely and without complaining
				bowl over	knock someone to the ground by running into them	overwhelm with surprise, wonder, or bewilderment
				bed of roses	a place full of flowers from a rosebush	easy and happy existence
拍肩膀	pai jian bang	hitting with an open palm the part of the body behind the chest and stomach	warmhearted expression	backslapping	hitting with an open palm the part of the body behind the chest and stomach	noisy expression of mutual admiration and positive feeling about successful

24. EMOTION IS TOUCH						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
						activity
触动人的	chu dong ren de	in physical contact with	moving, causing sympathy	touching	physical contact with	moving, causing sympathy
触动	chu dong	place your hand on in order to feel	affect emotionally	touch	place your hand on in order to feel	affect emotionally
				tickled pink	touched lightly to cause laughter	very pleased
				tickle	touch lightly to cause laughter	please
雷击	lei ji	be struck by lightning	be shocked by bad news or announcement	thunderbolt	lightning and thunder occurring together	shocking announcement
拍背	pai bei	clap rear part of one's body with the flat of the hand	encourage or praise someone	pat/slap on the back	hit with the flat of the hand	praise, expression of pleasure at someone's achievement
				stunning	unconscious knocking	surprising or shocking
				stun	make unconscious by a blow	shock or shock (sb)
				smashing	hitting and breaking into pieces	very likeable or enjoyable
				slay	kill	impress or delight a great deal
				shatter	smash into many small pieces	shock and upset completely
敏感的	min gan de	quick physiological or psychological response	a state of being easily upset by what is said or done	sensitive	easily hurt or damaged (of body parts)	easily upset by what is said or done
				ride roughshod over	go over the top without caring about ; treading on	do something regardless of what others feel;treat with brutal force
				callous	rough, thick, hard patch on	unkind, cruel and without

24. EMOTION IS TOUCH						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
					the skin caused by friction	sympathy for other people
如遭电击	ru zhao dian ji	hit by thunder and lightning	extremely surprised, astonished	thunderstruck	hit by thunder and lightning	extremely surprised, astonished
促膝谈心	cu xi tan xin	knees touch with each other and hearts talk	two people talk honestly about their feelings	heart-to-heart talk	two hearts talk	frank conversation about personal feelings
结拜	jie bai	knit and bend knees	become sworn brothers and sisters			
结交	jie jiao	knit and cross	make friends with			
扣人心弦	kou ren xin xian	strike and pluck the string of heart	become exciting and thrilling			
亲密	qin mi	being close	being intimate			
血肉联系	xue rou lian xi	connection between flesh and blood	a very close relationship, intimacy			

25. EMOTION IS WAVE						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning
				undertow	strong current beneath and in a different direction from the surface water	hidden feeling that influences the way one behaves
				groundswell	slow wave motion of the sea caused by a storm	growth of strong feeling amongst a large group
暗流	an liu	water flowing in the opposite direction from that on the surface	rise and fall of emotion without expressing it			
				undercurrent	water flowing in the opposite direction from that on the surface	negative or dangerous hidden emotion
				wave	raised line or mass of water which goes up and down on the lake/sea surface	sudden increase of emotion
波涛	bo tao	raised line or mass of water which goes up and down on the lake/sea surface	increase and decrease of emotion			
波涛汹涌	bo tao xiong yong	have high tide or high waves	experience strong feelings	run high	have high tide or high waves	experience strong feelings
潮起潮落	chao qi chao luo	moving out and in (of water or tide)	fickle emotion; increase and decrease of emotion	ebb and flow	rise and fall (of water or tide)	increase and decrease (of emotion)
				tide	rise and fall of the sea that happens twice a day	strong uncontrollable experience (of emotion)
潮汐	chao xi	rise and fall of the sea that	rise and fall of emotion			

25. EMOTION IS WAVE						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning
		happens twice a day				
冲击波	chong ji bo	a sudden wave of increased pressure or temperature	distressing reaction	shock wave	a sudden wave of increased pressure or temperature	distressing reaction
				swell	increase in the volume of water in (a river)	increase of emotion
涟漪	lian yi	small wave on surface of water	first awakening of love, or small change of emotion			
				ripple	small wave on surface of water	feeling that spreads through a person or group of people, gradually increasing and then decreasing
退潮	tui chao	flow out and sink lower	gradually calm down; emotion or feeling disappear	ebb away	flow back and recede	feeling disappear
澎湃	peng pai	rise in the level of the sea or a river	sudden increase of emotion like excitement	surge	rise in the level of the sea or a river	sudden increase (of emotion)
旋涡	xuan wo	whirlpool	a state of not knowing what to do, ideological confusion			
				vortex	whirlpool	situation that causes negative emotion
				flood	cover with water	create strong feelings
淹没	yan mo	submerge completely	be indulged in			
				overwhelm	submerge completely	overcome with emotion
吞没	tun mo	cover with water or sink in the sea	be in a state of desperation	engulf	cover with water or sink in the sea	overcome (with an emotion)

25. EMOTION IS WAVE

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning
心潮起伏	xin chao qi fu	up and down of the tides in the heart	a state of being excited			
激情	ji qing	surging emotion	excitement			
波动	bo dong	wave moves	be in an anxious state			
翻腾的波涛	fan teng de bo tao	boiling waves	excitement			
舒缓	shu huan	(water) slow and unhurried	(of mood) relaxed			
排泄	pai xie	excrete	emotion fades; make bad emotion out of mind	drain	(cause liquid to) flow away	emotion fade; make bad emotion out of mind
翻腾	fan teng	bubble and move forth as if boiling	be very angry , agitated	(waves) seethe	bubble and forth as if boiling	be very angry , agitated
平息	ping xi	(water) sink to a lower or normal level	calm down, become less violent, active, intense	subside	(water) sink to a lower or normal level	become less violent, active, intense
荡漾	dang yang	have a wave-like movement or appearance	experience increase and decrease of emotion	undulate	have a wave-like movement or appearance	experience increase and decrease of emotion

26. EMOTION IS WEATHER

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
雨过天晴	yu guo tian qing	the sun shines again after the rain	go through a distressing emotional experience	weather	survive (a storm)	go through a distressing emotional experience
咆哮如雷	pao xiao ru lei	be like the loud sound that comes after a flash of lightning	shout loudly and angrily	thunder	make the loud sound that comes after a flash of lightning	shout loudly and angrily
暴风雨的	bao feng yu de	stormy	showing strong emotions	tempestuous	stormy	showing strong emotions
大风暴	da feng bao	violent storm	violent outburst or display of inner conflicts or feelings	tempest	violent storm	emotional situation
温和的	wen he de	warm, neither too hot nor too cold (of climate)	restrained in emotions	temperate	neither too hot nor too cold (of climate)	restrained in emotions
阳光灿烂	yang guang can lan	sun shining	cheerful	sunny	sun shining	cheerful
				sultry	uncomfortable warm and humid	sexy
雨雪交加的	yu xue jiao jia de	of violent rain or snow	with fierce bad emotion	stormy	with strong wind, heavy rain and often thunder and lightning	fiercely emotional
平地风波	ping di feng bo	storm out of the flat land	sudden and unexpected disturbance	storm in a teacup	violent windy, rainy or snowy weather	unnecessary anger or anxiety
阴云密布	yin yun mi bu	dark water vapour in the air which means bad weather	threat of war or other disturbance; bad emotions	storm cloud	dark water vapour in the air which means bad weather	threat of war or other disturbance; bad emotions
暴躁如雷	bao zao ru lei	be like the loud sound that comes after a flash of lightning	be impetuous, rude and angry	storm	an extreme weather condition with very strong wind, heavy rain and often thunder and	emotional reaction like anger

26. EMOTION IS WEATHER						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
					lightning	
风暴	feng bao	bad weather with a lot of wind, rain or snow	sudden violent outburst or display of strong feeling	storm	an extreme weather condition with very strong wind, heavy rain and often thunder and lightning	sudden violent outburst or display of strong feeling
疾风骤雨	ji feng zhou yu	violent storm	moving noisily and angrily	storm	an extreme weather condition with very strong wind, heavy rain and often thunder and lightning	move in or out of a room noisily and angrily
暴跳如雷	bao tiao ru lei	thunder	stamp with fury and shout loudly and angrily	storm	an extreme weather condition with very strong wind, heavy rain and often thunder and lightning	shout loudly and angrily
				rumblings	sounds of distant thunder	signs of people's discontent
风雨交加	feng yu jiao jia	the wind howls and the rain pours down	be emotionally taxing	rough	stormy	emotionally taxing; not calm or gentle:
乌烟瘴气	wu yan zhang qi	foul ,unpleasant fog with a bad smell	unpleasant general feeling about the character of a situation or place	miasma	unpleasant fog with a bad smell	unpleasant general feeling about the character of a situation or place
				lift	disappear or reduce (of cloud, fog)	improve (of emotion or mood)
				intemperate	too hot or too cold	violent and unrestrained in emotions
				ill wind	strong horizontal current of	surprising benefit from

26. EMOTION IS WEATHER						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
					air	a bad event
(情感) 风暴	feng bao	cyclone or typhoon	strong emotional reaction	hurricane	cyclone or typhoon	strong emotional reaction
				gust	sudden short period of strong wind	sudden and intense emotional feeling
乌云密布	wu yun mi bu	black clouds blotted out the sky	annoyance and threat			
阴暗的	yin an de	dim, dark	depressed, pessimistic	gloomy	nearly dark	pessimistic
阴暗	yin an	darkness, gloom	unhappiness or hopelessness	gloom	near darkness	unhappiness or hopelessness
				gales	very strong wind	loud outburst of many people laughing
咆哮如雷	pao xiao ru lei	roar as a thunder	roar with rage	fulminate	flash with lightning	criticize strongly and angrily
冷若冰霜	leng ruo bing shuang	as cold as ice; frosty	unfriendly and unwelcoming	frosty	freezing cold	unfriendly and unwelcoming
探风	tan feng	try to find which way the wind blows	try to find out the true affection or opinions of others toward oneself	find out which way the wind is blowing	discover the direction of the wind	test opinions and feelings
				fair-weather friend	good climate friend	person who abandons you when you have problems
晦暗的	hui an de	dark , dim	moody	dark	not bright, without light	sad or gloomy
晴转多云	qing zhuan duo yun	(weather) turns from sunny to cloudy	show unhappiness or anger	cloud	obscure with a cloud	show unhappiness or anger
天气	tian qi	typical weather conditions	emotional atmosphere	climate	typical weather conditions	general feeling; emotional

26. EMOTION IS WEATHER						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
						atmosphere
				clear the air	make the atmosphere less dark or heavy (as a rainstorm does)	remove bad feelings between people
(风暴)平静下来	pin jing xia lai	become less stormy	become less emotional	calm down	become less stormy	become less emotional
风平浪静	feng ping lang jing	abate the wind and calm down the waves	become calm and tranquil	calm	windless	not feeling upset, angry or excited
(风暴等)酝酿	yun liang	(storm) brew, ferment	deliberate upon, become more intense (of an unpleasant situation)	brew	develop (of a storm or storm clouds)	become more intense (of an unpleasant situation)
拂煦	fu xu	(of wind)bring warmth	become pleasant and comfortable	breezy	slightly windy;exposed to breezes	cheerful;lighthearted
(风, 浪)咆哮	pao xiao	(of wind, torrents) roar , thunder away	speak aggressively or proudly	bluster	blow stormily	speak aggressively or proudly
阴沉	yin chen	(sky) get heavier with dark clouds	become unpleasant, glum, angry	black as thunder	very dark as though there will be a storm (of clouds))	extremely angry
				bask	lie in and enjoy the sunshine	enjoy positive reaction or approval
晴雨表	qing yu biao	weatherglass, barometer	something that shows change or signs of change	barometer	instrument for measuring air-pressure	indicator of opinions or feelings
气压	qi ya	atmospheric pressure	emotional impression of a place or situation	atmosphere	the air surrounding the earth	emotional impression of a place or situation
气宇轩昂	qi yu xiong ang	high airs	dignified appearance			
云开见日	yun kai ri chu	the clouds disperse and the sun shines	all misunderstanding and bad feelings are dispelled			
春天	chun tian	spring	being comfortable , happy			

26. EMOTION IS WEATHER						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Ying	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
寒冬	han dong	severe winter	negative emotions , unhappiness or hopelessness			
冰冻	bing dong	freeze	be in a state of unhappiness, anger			
春暖花开	chun nuan hua kai	warm spring and blooming flowers	being pleasant , hopeful			

27. EXCITEMENT IS HEAT

Lexical Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexical Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
狂热的	kuang re de	very hot	(emotion) uncontrollable fanatic			
心头发热	xin tou fa re	heat one's heart	become touched or excited			
热泪盈眶	re lei ying kuang	brim one's eyes with tears	become very touched or excited			
热血沸腾	re xie fei teng	one's blood boils	be excited			
冷热无常	len re wu chang	alternate between the state of hot and cold	alternate between enthusiasm and lack of it	blow hot and cold	send out warm and cool air through the mouth	alternate between enthusiasm and lack of it
火烧得旺的	huo shao de wang de	burning	showing great excitement	ablaze	burning very strongly	showing great excitement
				warmly	(slightly hot_)	with enthusiasm and positive emotions
				warm to	(become moderately hot___)	start to become interested or enthusiastic about
				tinderbox	box containing small pieces of dry wood or paper used to light fires	dangerous or uncontrolled situation in which violence is likely
赤热的, 炽热的	chi re de, chi re de	so hot it is red (of rock or metal)	very passionate, enthusiastic or exciting	red-hot	so hot it is red (of rock or metal)	very passionate, enthusiastic or exciting
				on fire	burning so that it causes damage	enthusiastic, excited or passionate
				hot	high in temperature	exciting or interesting

27. EXCITEMENT IS HEAT						
Lexical Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexical Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
				fired up	heated to enough pressure to work (of steam engines)	excited
				fire	bake in a kiln	make interested or excited
心里的一把火	xin li yi ba huo	a torch in the heart	anger or excitement			
火热	huo re	as hot as fire	(of emotion)intense	fiery	so hot that almost on fire	having intense emotion
头脑发热	tou nia o fa re	hot head	impetuous or overoptimistic state	hot-headedness	hot head	impetuous or overoptimistic state

28. EXCITEMENT IS LIGHT						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
红光满面	hong guang man mian	red light shining on the face	excitement			
满脸通红	man lian tong hong	reddden one's whole face	become embarrassed			
两眼放光	liang yan fang guang	eyes shining brightly	the state of being very excited, interested			
				colour	hue caused by reflection of light waves	quality that gives interest or excitement
				colourful	with a lot of bright or different hues	lively, interesting amusing and exciting
				colourless	without bright hues	unexciting and boring
				drab	lacking colour	lacking excitement
				dull	not bright or shiny	boring
				glowing	shining softly and steadily	enthusiastic with praise
灰色	hui se	the mixture of black and white	the state of being unexciting, gloomy	grey	colour the mixture of black and white	uninteresting, unexciting
亮点	liang dian	light or bright spot	the most exciting entertaining or interesting part	highlight	narrow strip of contrasting colour in a person's hair	the most exciting entertaining or interesting part
暗灰色	an hui se	dull grey in colour	lacking excitement	leaden	dark grey in colour	lacking excitement
				lustre	brightness from a shiny surface	qualities that make interesting or exciting
单调	dan diao	only one colour	not interesting or exciting	monochrome	using only one colour	not interesting or exciting
				pall	(thick dark cloud of smoke)	become boring
苍白	cang bai	unattractively pale	unexciting	pallid	unattractively pale	unexciting

28. EXCITEMENT IS LIGHT						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
				scintillating	(giving off sparks)	very lively and interesting
容光焕发	rong guang huan fa	shine brightly with flashes of light	reach the state of life and wit	sparkle	shine brightly with very small points of light	become energetic, interesting and exciting
脸上无光	lian shang wu guang	no light on the face	shame			
灰暗的心情	hui an de xin qing	murky grey mood	sad and depressed	gloomy	dark or unlighted	sad and depressed
阴沉的	xin chen de	dark-coloured	showing sadness, dull and dismal	sombre	dark-coloured	showing sadness, dull and dismal

29. FEAR IS COLD

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
变冷	bian leng	become cold	make suddenly frightened or anxious	chill	become very cold	make suddenly frightened or anxious
寒冷, 寒气	han len, han qi	coldness	fear or anxiety	chill	coldness	fear or anxiety
变冷的, 寒冷的	bian leng de, han leng de	becoming colder	frightening	chilling	becoming colder	frightening
				cold feet	(low in temperature__)	loss of confidence before doing something risky
阴森	yin sen	cold and dark	gloomy and horrid			
凄凉	qi liang	bleak, desolate	wretched, dismal			
毛骨悚然	mao gu song ran	have one's hair stand on end	become absolutely horrified			
				cruel	extremely unkind and unpleasant	extremely, painfully cold
				get cold feet	be opposite of hot	be nervous about doing something
				in a cold sweat	in a state of perspiring (from fever)	in a state of feeling extremely frightened
冷血	leng xue	cold blood	cruelty	in cold blood	(low in temperature__)	cruelty for no apparent reason
				make your blood freeze	(__solidify because of low temperature)	make you feel very shocked, frightened or

29. FEAR IS COLD

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
						horrified
				make your blood run cold	(__make your blood lower in temperature)	make you feel very shocked, frightened or horrified
脊背发凉	ji bei fa liang	(making your backbone feel cold)	making you feel very frightened	spine-chilling	(making you backbone feel cold)	making you feel very frightened
手脚冰凉	hou jiao bing liang	(making your feet and hands feel cold)	making you feel very frightened			
四肢冰凉	si zhi bing liang	(making your four limbs feel cold)	making you feel very frightened			
心寒胆颤	xin han dan chan	(making your heart feel cold and your gallbladder shake)	making you feel extremely frightened			
骨寒毛竖	gu han mao shu	(making your bones cold and hair stand on end)	making you feel extremely frightened			
冒冷汗	mao leng han	break out in a cold sweat	feel fearful			
冷汗如雨	leng han ru yu	cold sweat coming out like rain	a state of nervousness or fear in which you start to sweat a lot, even though you are not hot			
胆寒	dan han	feel cold in the gallbladder	become terrified			
吓死了	xia si le	scared to death	very frightened			
				a shiver down the spine	(slight shaking caused by cold along the backbone)	feeling of fright
血凝固了	xue ling gu	make your blood	be fearful			

29. FEAR IS COLD						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
	le	solidified				

30. EMOTION IS EATING OR BEING EATEN						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
				prey on the mind	(hunt in order to catch and eat__)	make unhappy by causing worry
				consume	eat or drink	obsess and control completely
				eat up	eat completely	cause to experience strongly
				gnaw	bite or chew repeatedly	cause to feel anxious or uncomfortable
				prey to	(hunted by)	feeling unhappy because of
				devour	eat greedily	obsess and control completely
				what's eating you?	(__consume by chewing and swallowing__)	what's annoying or worrying you?
				savour	eat food slowly to appreciate it more	enjoy an experience thoroughly
				get stuck into	eat enthusiastically and quickly	do something enthusiastically
				no picnic	(__meal eaten out of doors in the countryside or at the beach)	unpleasant or difficult to do

30. EMOTION IS EATING OR BEING EATEN

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
垂涎三尺	chui xian san chi	saliva of three feet long hanging down from the mouth	eagerness			
吞下苦果	tun xia ku guo	swallow the bitter fruit	not express one's discomfort			
开胃口	kai wei kou	appetizing	attractive, raising one's interest			
合口味	he kou wei	suit one's taste	be to one's liking			
喝蜜	he mi	drink honey	have sweet and happy feelings			
吃蜜	chi mi	eat honey	have sweet and happy feelings			
吃黄连	chi huang lian	eat bitter herbs	suffer one's discomfort			
吃醋	chi cu	drink vinegar	become jealous			
心醉	xin zui	drunken heart	fascination			
醉人	zui ren	make drunk	attract, enchant			
陶醉	tao zui	drink in	revel in, enjoy	intoxicated	drunken	ravished with joy
倒胃口	dao wei kou	(of things) spoil one's appetite	become so disgusting as to kill one's interest or dampen one's spirits			
喝了蜜	he le mi	drink honey	feel happy			

30. EMOTION IS EATING OR BEING EATEN

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
百味杂陈	bai wei za chen	all kinds of flavours together	mixed feelings			
不是滋味	bu shi zi wei	dislike the flavour of dish	feel upset or bad			
尝到滋味	chang dao zi wei	have a taste of the dishes	feel interested			
知道味道	zhi dao wei dao	know the flavor	have had the experience and the feeling			
品尝（感情的苦果）	pin chang	taste	suffer the loss and sadness(because of love)			
不合口味	bu he kou wei	not suit one' s taste	be not to one' s liking			
没口味	mei kou wei	have no flavour	lose interest in			
吞没	tun mo	swallow up	become involved in a strong and fierce emotion			
望梅止渴	wang mei zhi ke	quench one's thirst by thinking of plums	console oneself with false hopes or feed on fancies			
厌腻	yan ni	greasy,oily	bored, tired of			

31. HAPPINESS IS HIGH						
Lexicalized metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	literal meaning	metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
情绪高涨	qing xu gao zhang	(__far up from the ground)	extremely happy and enjoying oneself	in high spirits	(__far up from the ground)	extremely happy and enjoying oneself
				over the moon	(above the heavenly body that orbits the earth)	very pleased
				bounce back	(move up to its original position after hitting the floor/ground)	return to you usual state of happiness after an unpleasant experience
高潮	gao chao	(far above the ground)	extreme excitement and happiness, orgasm	high	(far above the ground)	extreme excitement and happiness
				high	far above the ground	extremely happy due to drug-taking
高兴	gao xing	high	happy, glad			
欢呼雀跃	huan hu que yue	(spring from the ground__)	be very pleased and show your pleasure/excitement	jump for joy	(spring from the ground__)	be very pleased and show your pleasure/excitement
				emotional roller-coaster	(__big dipper, ride in a fairground which you go up and down dramatically)	sudden changes of mood from happiness to sadness and despair
				upper	(in a relatively higher position)	stimulating drug
眉飞色舞	mei fei se wu	dancing eyebrows and radiant face	exultation, delight			
轻飘飘	qing piao piao	able to float well	very happy, self-satisfied			
飘飘然的	piao	floating	cheerful	buoyant	able to float well	cheerful

31. HAPPINESS IS HIGH						
Lexicalized metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	literal meaning	metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
	piao ran de					
轻松愉快	qing song yu kuai	(not heavy__)	happy and not serious	light-hearted	(not heavy__)	happy and not serious
				lift	raise	make feel happier
腾云驾雾	teng yun jia	(levitate, stay with your feet off the ground)	be extremely excited and happy	walk/float on air	(levitate, stay with your feet off the ground)	be extremely excited and happy
跳跃	tiao yue	spring from the ground	become enthusiastic about	jump at	spring from the ground	become enthusiastic about
兴冲冲	xing chong chong	get up	become excited and cheerful			
兴奋的	xing fen de	lifted up high	experiencing great happiness	exalted	lifted up high	experiencing great happiness
兴高采烈	xing gao cai lie	(being lifted up high)	very strong feeling of happiness	exaltation	(being lifted up high)	very strong feeling of happiness
				bouncy	able to rebound upwards after hitting the ground	happy and energetic
				on the crest of a wave	(on the top part__)	very happy and confident
在九霄云上		(on the mass of water vapour that forms in the sky__)	extremely happy and excited	on cloud nine	(on the mass of water vapour that forms in the sky__)	extremely happy and excited
振奋的	zhen fen de	rouse oneself	become inspired to be happy and cheerful	uplifted	pointing upwards or being held up (of arms or faces)	inspired to be happy and cheerful

31. HAPPINESS IS HIGH						
Lexicalized metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	literal meaning	metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
				perk up	(__to a higher position)	suddenly become happier
直上青云	zhi shang qing yun	go straight into blue cloud	become very happy			
手舞足蹈	shou wu zu dao	dance	feel joyous			
飞上天	fei shang tian	fly to the sky	joy			

32. HAPPINESS IS LIGHT						
Lexicalized metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	literal meaning	metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
眸子如星光般闪烁的	mou zi ru xing guang ban shan shuo de	(with the stars reflected in your eyes)	very attractive or happy			
开朗明快	kai lang ming kuai	open-hearted and lucid	carefree			
灿烂的心情	can lan de xin qing	sunny emotion	happiness			
眼睛发亮	yan jing fa liang	shining eyes	excitement or happiness			
红光满面	hong guang man mian	red light on one's face	one's face glowing with happiness or health			
脸上发光	lian shang fa guang	shining face	extreme happiness			
				glisten	reflect light from a wet or smooth surface	shine with emotion (of eyes)
焕发	huan fa	shine softly and steadily	look attractive with happiness and health, be excited	glow	shine softly and steadily	look attractive with happiness and health
				light at the end of the tunnel	(brightness___)	hopes of a pleasant future situation in an unpleasant one
				carry a torch for	(__small hand-held light usually powered by batteries__)	continue hopefully to love or be passionate about
发亮	fa liang	become bright	become happy	lighten	become brighter	become happier and less anxious (of mood)
发光	fa guang	glowing light	great happiness visible on	radiance	glowing light	great happiness visible on

32. HAPPINESS IS LIGHT						
Lexicalized metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	literal meaning	metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
			the face			the face
				radiant	sent out in the form of rays (of heat, energy)	show joy in the face
				ray	narrow beam of light or heat	small amount of positive emotion
一缕阳光	yi lv yang guang	narrow beam of sunlight	happiness or person that gives happiness to others	ray of sunshine	narrow beam of sunlight	very happy person or person that gives happiness to others
放出异彩	fang chu yi cai	give out a bright light	express happiness	shine	give out a bright light	express happiness
				stardust	(sun of another solar system seen as a point of light in the sky__)	pleasant dreamy or romantic feelings
				starry-eyed	(with the stars reflected in your eyes)	unrealistically optimistic or idealistic
				sunny	brightly lit by the sun	cheerful and happy
光明的	guang ming de	full of light	full of hope or happiness	bright	full of light	full of hope or happiness
发亮	fa liang	become lighter	become more pleasant, happy or optimistic	brighten	become lighter	become more pleasant, happy or optimistic
明亮地	ming liang di,	with plenty of light shining	happily, optimistically	brightly	with plenty of light shining	happily, optimistically
亮堂	liang tang	become bright	suddenly look surprised or happy	light up	become bright	suddenly look surprised or happy

33. LOVE IS HEAT

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
热恋	re lian	hot love	infatuation			
热情	re qing	hot feeling	zeal, enthusiasm			
热爱	re ai	hot love	deep affection, devotion			
				have the hots for	(__high temperature__)	be sexually attracted to
点燃	dian ran	cause to start burning or explode	cause to feel passionate about	ignite	cause to start burning or explode	cause to feel passionate about
				old flame	(__burning part of a fire)	former lover or sexual partner
热爱 ,	er ai	hot love	deep affection			
热心	re xin	hot heart	ardentness			
热泪	re lei	hot tears	deep affection			
头脑发热	tou nao fa re	hot in the head	crazy			
发烧友	fa shao you	'a friend in fever	a person who is crazy about something			
发烧	fa shao	in fever	out of mind			
烧坏了头	shao huai le tou	burn a head	be silly or crazy			
火辣	huo la	fire and peppery	sexually attractive			
				smoulder	burn slowly and smokily without flames	have a sexually passionate nature

33. LOVE IS HEAT

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
				steamy	hot and humid	erotic or passionate
				torrid	extremely hot and dry	with strong (sexual) feelings
炽烈的	chi lie de	be burning fiercely	be emotionally excited	aflame	burning	emotionally excited

34. MENTAL DISTURBANCE IS DIVISION

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
				coherent	combining together as a unit	sensible and intelligible
				collected	gathered together	be in control
				compose	form into a whole	make an effort to calm your emotions
				composed	formed into a whole	calm and controlled
聚精会神	ju jing hui shen	gather oneself together	concentrate one's attention, think hard and long about a subject or problem	concentrate	bring together into a particular area	think hard and long about a subject or problem
垮	kua	collapse, break into pieces	become mentally ill through emotional strain	crack up	break into pieces	become mentally ill through emotional strain
精神分裂的	jing shen fen lie de	mental division, schizophrenia	mental illness	cracked	broken without being separated into pieces	mentally ill, foolish or stupid
				crackers	(break ___)	foolish, stupid or slightly mad
				crackpot	(break__)	foolish or stupid
				crazed	broken in pieces, cracked	behaving strangely due to emotion
				crazy	(made with cracked paving stones (of path))	foolish, extreme in behaviour
分心	fen xin	split or divide the heart	divert or distract sb's attention			

34. MENTAL DISTURBANCE IS DIVISION

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
破镜	po jing	broken mirror	wreckage or rupture of relationship or feeling			
魂不附体	hun bu fu ti	feel as one's soul had left one's body	be shaken to the depths of one's soul			
				dotty	(with many little round marks spread in many different places)	slightly strange eccentric or foolish
(精神) 分裂	(jing shen) fen lie	mental division, schizophrenia	mental illness, the experience of distress	fall apart	separate into pieces	experience distress
				fall to bits	separate into pieces	experience distress
崩溃	beng kui	separate into parts	fail to control emotions	fall to pieces	separate into parts	fail to control emotions
				flake	small piece which has been chipped off or come off a surface	eccentric or odd person
				flaky	easily separating into small thin pieces	unusual in behaviour
易碎	yi sui de	easily broken	liable to be upset or ill	fragile	easily broken	liable to be upset or ill
脆弱的	cui ruo de	easily broken or damaged	not very mentally strong or healthy	frail	easily broken or damaged	not very mentally strong or healthy
				fray	become slightly separated forming loose threads at the end	become irritable, annoyed or nervous
心碎	xin sui	heart separates into pieces	experience distress and sadness	go to bits	(separate into pieces)	experience distress

34. MENTAL DISTURBANCE IS DIVISION

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
(精神) 崩溃	beng kui	nervous breakdown	failure to control emotions	go to pieces	(separate into parts)	fail to control emotions
				have a screw loose	(__untightened small metal pin which is inserted into material by twisting)	be slightly mad
少根筋/缺根弦	shao gen jin	lack a tendon	be crazy, foolish or stupid	have something missing up top	(lacking something in your head)	be crazy, foolish or stupid
				have your head screwed on	(__fastened in place by twisting)	be very practical and wise
				joined-up thinking	(connected__)	intelligent and original way of thinking about a complicated problem
				nutcase	(shell of a nut)	mentally ill or very foolish
				one sandwich short of a picnic	(not having enough filled bread slices for a complete outdoor meal)	slightly mad or very stupid
				pull yourself together	hold your separated parts firmly and forcefully move them so they touch)	control yourself so you behave in a less emotional way and
				run ragged	(__old and torn)	force to work so hard that you make someone mentally and physically exhausted
精神涣散	jing shen huan san	move far apart in different directions	be forgetful and incapable of careful concentrated thought	scatterbrained	(move far apart in different directions __)	forgetful and incapable of careful concentrated thought
				several cards short of a full	with some cards missing out of the 52 you should have in	stupid, foolish or crazy

34. MENTAL DISTURBANCE IS DIVISION

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
				deck	a pack	
				shattered	smashed into many small pieces	extremely shocked and upset
				smashed	broken into pieces	extremely drunk or stoned on drugs
弦断了	xian duan le	string breaks suddenly	lose emotional or mental control	snap	break suddenly or quickly	lose emotional or mental control
				something missing up top	(lacking something in the head)	mad
人格分裂	ren ge fen lie	personality separates into two parts down the middle	persons seem to have two different characters because their moods change so much	split personality	(separate into two parts down the middle__)	person who seems to have two different characters because their moods change so much
				together	in the same place, accompanying each other	organized controlled and confident
				unhinged	taken of its hinges (of doors)	mentally ill
				wholeness	being complete	mental health
				beside yourself	(at the side of your body)	experiencing an emotion so strongly you are out of control
精神崩溃	jing shen beng kui	nervous breakdown	loss of emotional control	break down	disintegrate	lose emotional control and express your sorrow in tears
五脏俱裂	wu zhang ju lie	five major organs (liver, heart, spleen, lung, kidney) in the body	anger, sadness			

34. MENTAL DISTURBANCE IS DIVISION

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
		are all broken				
吓破胆	Xia po dan	broken gallbladder because of fear	fear			
				broken	fractured or cracked open	distressed and changed completely
心碎的	xin sui de	heart broken	extremely unhappy and sad	broken hearted	(fractured or cracked open__)	extremely unhappy

35 NERVOUSNESS IS TENSION						
Lexicalized Metaphors In Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
轻松	qing song	light and slack	carefree, relaxed			
				hang loose	be suspended without any tension	remain calm and relaxed
拉的过紧	la de guo jin	very tightly stretched	unnecessarily anxious	highly strung	very tightly stretched	unnecessarily anxious
				hung up	(suspended by)	excessively interested or worried
放松	fang song	make less tight	become less worried	loosen up	(make less tight_)	become less worried
松懈	song xie	loosen, slacken	be cool, indifferent, uncoordinated	relax	make less tight	become or make calm
				slack	not tight	careless, undisciplined
绷断	beng duan	break suddenly or quickly because tightly stretched	lose emotional control	snap	break suddenly or quickly	lose emotional control
紧绷	jin beng	tightness	anxiety, sullenness	strain	force that stretches	anxiety
紧绷的	jin beng de	tight, taut	anxious, stiff	strung-up	(with strings tightened)	anxious
悬念	xuan nian	hang from a height	be concerned or worried about, excitement or anxiety when you are waiting for something to happen	suspense	(hang from a height_)	excitement or anxiety when you are waiting for something to happen
绷紧的	beng jin de	tightly stretched	worried and anxious	taut	tightly stretched	worried and anxious
紧张	jin zhang	tightly stretched	nervous, edgy, stressed	tense	tightly stretched	stressed

35 NERVOUSNESS IS TENSION						
Lexicalized Metaphors In Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
紧绷	jin beng	tightness	anxiety	tension	force of stretching	anxiety
松绑	song bang	untie, unfasten something wrapped around	relax and get rid of anxiety	unwind	unfasten something wrapped around	relax and get rid of anxiety
				uptight	(__held firmly together)	nervous
				wind down	gradually lose tension (in a spring)	relax
				wind...up	twist to make a clock spring more tense	annoy or worry
				breaking point	tensive force needed to break something	stage at which you can no longer control your nerves or emotions
眉头紧蹙	mei tou ji cu	contracted eyebrow	anxiety			
揪心	jiu xin	contracted heart'	anxiety			
舌头僵硬	she tou jiang ying	tongue is stiff	feel anxious			
关心	guan xin	close the heart	be concerned			
拉长脸	la chang lian	pull a long face	be unfriendly with , have a superior air toward sb			
拉下脸	la xia lian	pull down the face	be unfriendly with , have a superior air toward sb, beg servilely			

36. SAD IS LOW

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
				cast down	(throw towards or to the ground)	unhappy
垂头丧气	chui tou sang qi	droop the head and lose the Qi	feel depressed, feel disappointed			
深陷痛苦	shen xian tong ku	plumb down in the depths of sadness	feel anguish			
阴沉	yin chen	gloomy, overcast	sombre, dismal			
陷入悲痛	xian ru bei tong	fall into great grief	suffer from grief, sadness			
				depress	press down or lower	make unhappy
(绝望的)深渊	shen yuan	abyss, distance down from the surface of water	complete despair	depths of despair	(distance down from the surface of water__)	extreme sadness
低落的	di luo de	low, downcast	depressed, unhappy	down	in a low position	unhappy and apathetic
				down in the dumps	(at a low point in the rubbish heaps)	sad
				down in the mouth	(in a lower position__)	unhappy, depressed
				downcast	(thrown down)	sad, without hope, energy or confidence
				get you down	(push you to the ground)	make sad
(心情)沉重的	chen zhong de	down and heavy	unhappy, sad or despondent	heavy-hearted	(weighing a lot__)	unhappy, sad or despondent
(情绪)低落的	di luo de	down below near the bottom	unhappy	in low spirits	(__down below near the bottom__)	unhappy

36. SAD IS LOW						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
				let down	(allow to descend slowly)	disappoint
跌到谷底	die dao gu di	fall near to the bottom of valley	feel depressed, gloomy, dispirited	low	near the bottom	dispirited
(心)突然下沉	tu ran xia chen	(the heart)fall very quickly	suddenly become unhappy	plummet	fall very quickly	suddenly become unhappy
陷入痛苦的深渊	xian ru tong ku de shen yuan	fall into the abyss of grief	be forced into a bad or unhappy situation	plunge	move quickly downwards by jumping falling or being pushed	be forced into a bad or unhappy situation
(情绪的)最低潮	zui di chao	the lowest point, tide	state of great unhappiness	rock bottom	(__the lowest point)	state of great unhappiness
消沉	xiao chen	drop to a lower level in the middle	lose enthusiasm or happiness	sag	drop to a lower level in the middle	lose enthusiasm or happiness
下沉	xia chen	go below the surface of water	become unhappy or lose hope	sink	go below the surface of water	become unhappy or lose hope
夹起尾巴	jia qi wei ba	clamp the tail	be humiliated or dejected	with tail between the legs	with the tail in the middle of legs	‘in defeat or fear

37. SADNESS IS DARK						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
无光彩的	wu guang cai de	not have shine	feel shameful	lack lustre	(without shine)	lack enthusiasm or liveliness
投下阴影	tou xia yin ying	cast a shadow	make people anxious or less happy	cast a shadow	(throw shade produced by obstructing a light source)	make people anxious or less happy
愁云笼罩	chou yun long zhao	cover with gloomy clouds and mist	make a situation unpleasant	cloud	cover with mist	make a situation unpleasant
满脸愁云	man lian chou yun	have a sad cloud on the face	show sadness, worry or anger	cloud	cover the sky/sun with a mass of water vapour	show sadness, worry or anger
阴云密布	yin yun mi bu	overcast sky	sadness	cloud over	(of the sky) become overcast	express negative emotion
阴沉	yin chen	make less bright or light	make unhappy	darken	make less bright or light	make unhappy
最黑暗的时刻	zui hei an de shi ke	time with the least light	worst or most unhappy period	darkest hour	(time with the least light)	worst or most unhappy period
黑暗	hei an	lightless	sad or gloomy	dark	lightless	sad or gloomy
黯然	an ran	not bright	dejected or depressed	dim	not bright	hopeless
暗淡	an dan	thin dark, near darkness	sadness, pessimism	gloom	near darkness	unhappiness or pessimism
蒙上阴影	meng shang yin ying	cover by shadow	make less hopeful or optimistic	cast a cloud over	(__mass of water vapour in the sky__)	make less hopeful or optimistic
在…阴影中	zai yin ying zhong	being in the shade cast by an object obstructing a light source	being made unhappy , hopeless	in the shadow of	(in the shade cast by an object obstructing a light source)	in a state of being made unhappy by
黑色的	hei se de	darkest color	the state of being very miserable and depressed	black	darkest colour there is	a state of being very miserable and depressed

37. SADNESS IS DARK						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
柳暗花明	liu an hua ming	dark willow trees and bright flowers	bright new vista, hopes of a pleasant future situation in an unpleasant one	light at the end of the tunnel	(__at the end of the long underground passageway)	hopes of a pleasant future situation in an unpleasant one
				muted	not bright	not enthusiastic
脸上蒙上阴影	lian shang meng shang yin ying	shadow on the face	gloom			
				overshadow	block the sun from a building	cause to seem or be less happy
愁云惨雾	chou yun can wu	gloomy clouds and dismal mists	depressing atmosphere, feeling of sadness	pall	thick dark cloud of smoke	feeling of sadness
灰暗的	hui an de	grey dark	sad, not having humour or amusement	sombre	dark or plain (of clothes)	sad, not having humour or amusement
				subdued	not very bright (of colour or light)	not as happy as usual
				a cloud	(mass of water vapour in the sky__)	negative thoughts or emotions
				a cloud hanging over	(mass of water vapour in the sky__)	something unpleasant which may have harmful effects
阴暗的	yin an de	nearly dark	unhappy and hopeless	gloomy	nearly dark	unhappy and hopeless
灰暗的	hui an de	grey dark	pessimistic			
阴沉的	yin chen de	dark	sad			
脸色阴沉	lian se yin chen	clouds on the face	sadness			
黯然神伤	an ran shen	be dim and feel hurt	feel depressed , feel dejected			

37. SADNESS IS DARK						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
	shang					
幽暗	you an	dark	gloom			
阴暗的心情	yin an de xin qing	darksome mood	a state of being unhappy			
脸色黯淡		bleak complexion	disappointment or unpleasantness			
印堂发暗		darken on the temples of the head	gloomy			

38. SANITY IS BALANCE

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
偏激	pian ji	diverging, slanting to extreme	extreme			
偏颇	pian po	inclined or leaning to one side	unfair, biased			
平易近人	ping yi jin ren	balanced and easy	amiable			
平静	ping jing	state of balance and quietness	mental calmness, peace	equilibrium	state of balance	mental calmness
(性情)平和的	ping he de	flat and smooth on a level	gentle, mild, not easily angered	even-tempered	(flat and smooth on a level __)	not easily angered
				flip	turn over quickly	become very angry
				head over heels in love	(somersaulting __)	uncontrollably in love
				jumpy	with sudden movements from side to side	nervous and anxious
平心静气的	ping xin jing qi de	horizontal flat and balanced of heart and feeling	calm and being in control of emotions in difficult situations	level-headed	(horizontal flat and balanced __)	calm and in control of emotions in difficult situations
震撼的	zhen han de	shake and make unsteady	be shocked, surprised or confused	off balance	unsteady	surprised or confused
				off your rocker	(__ part of a machine or chair which allows controlled movement back and forth)	crazy
				off your trolley	(fallen off your cart, the wheeled vehicle used for moving heavy goods)	mad, eccentric, or abnormal in behaviour

38. SANITY IS BALANCE						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
平稳	wen ding	steady, stable, balanced	mentally calm	on an even keel	(floating in a balanced way (of a ship))	mentally calm
				poise	balanced and controlled way of walking and moving	calmness, dignity and self-control
				reel	walk as though about to fall	be shocked and confused
				rock the boat	(cause the boat to move up and down unsteadily)	upset people
忿忿不平/愤愤不平	fen fen bu ping	angry, unbalanced	indignant and resentful	shaky	not steady	emotionally upset
				stagger	walk or move without balance	shock
				throw	push to the ground forcefully	confuse
失衡	shi heng	lose balance, walk or move without balance	mentally disequilibrate, confuse	throw...off-balance	make unstable and likely to fall	surprise, confuse
内心失衡的	nei xin shi heng de	unsteady as if about to fall in heart	mentally ill or disequilibrium	unbalanced	unsteady as if about to fall	mentally ill
翻腾的	fan teng de	surged, churned	worried, unhappy or angry	upset	overturned, knocked over	worried, unhappy or angry
翻腾	fan teng	surge, churn	make worried, unhappy or angry	upset	knock over	make worried, unhappy or angry
(心理) 平衡	ping heng	equilibrium, state where equal weights or forces are operating	mental equilibrium and emotional control	balance	equilibrium, state where equal weights or forces are operating	mental health and emotional control
平衡的	ping heng de	a stable position	calm and clear thinking	balanced	a stable position	calm and clear thinking

38. SANITY IS BALANCE						
Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
				bowl over	knock to the ground	surprise and please someone greatly

39. UNEMOTIONAL IS COLD

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
				smother	stop a fire burning by covering it	control and hide an emotion
变凉	bian liang	become slightly colder	become less friendly or emotional	cool	become slightly colder	become less friendly or emotional
降温	jiang wen	become slightly colder	become indifferent or unfriendly, slowly become less angry	cool down	become slightly colder	slowly become less angry
冰封的	bing feng de	covered in frozen water	with a controlled lack of affection/friendliness	icy	covered in frozen water	with a controlled lack of affection/friendliness
冰冷的	bing leng de,	freezing and cold	very unfriendly or hostile	glacial	of a glacier/completely frozen river	very unfriendly or hostile
不冷不热的	bu leng bu re de	a state of being slightly warm	a state of having not much enthusiasm or interest, between friendly and unfriendly	lukewarm	a state of being slightly warm	a state of having not much enthusiasm or interest
冬天似的, 寒冷的	dong tian si de, han leng de	(of weather)very cold, snowy	unfriendly or hostile (of expression)	wintry	of weather that is very cold, snowy	unfriendly or hostile (of expression)
冻结	dong jie	(become solid because of low temperature__)	become indifferent, ignore in an unfriendly way so as to exclude	freeze out	(become solid because of low temperature__)	ignore in an unfriendly way so as to exclude
				coldness	state or feeling of being very low in temperature	lack of emotions or unfriendliness

39. UNEMOTIONAL IS COLD

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
寒冷的	han leng de	uncomfortably cold	unfriendly or unwelcoming	chilly	uncomfortably cold	unfriendly or unwelcoming
极冷的	ji leng de	frozen	unfriendly or hostile	frigid	frozen	unfriendly or very formal
降温	jiang wen	(make cooler)	make someone less angry, make a situation less emotional	take the heat out of	(make cooler)	make a situation less emotional
冷冰冰	leng bing bing	(frozen water___)	in an unfriendly way	icily	(frozen water___)	in an unfriendly but controlled way
冷淡	leng dan	(low in temperature___)	intentional unfriendliness	cold shoulder	(low in temperature___)	intentional unfriendliness
冷淡地	leng dan di	(very cool___)	in an unfriendly or unemotional way	coldly	(very cool___)	in an unfriendly or unemotional way
冷的	leng de	low in temperature	unfriendly or unkind	cold	low in temperature	unfriendly or unkind
冷静的	leng jing de	(slightly cold___)	calm and unemotional in a crisis or when making a decision	cool-headed	(slightly cold___)	calm and unemotional in a crisis or when making a decision
冷静下来	leng jing xia lai	(reduce heat to just below boiling point___)	become less intense (of feelings, excitement)	simmer down	(reduce heat to just below boiling point___)	become less intense (of feelings, excitement)
冷静些	leng jing xie	(__slightly cold)	remain calm in a stressful situation	play it cool	(__slightly cold)	remain calm in a stressful situation
冷酷无情	leng ku wu qing	cold and unfeeling	ruthless, cold-hearted			
				leave you cold	(__low in temperature)	fail to make interested or enthusiastic
冷落	leng luo	(shut outside in weather of low temperature)	excluded from an activity in an	left out in the cold	(shut outside in weather of low temperature)	excluded from an activity in an unfriendly way

39. UNEMOTIONAL IS COLD

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
			unfriendly way			
冷落	leng luo	(__low in temperature)	treat coldly			
冷屁股	leng pi gu	cold buttock	unfriendliness, indifference			
冷血	leng xue	cold blood	state of having no emotion or sympathy	in cold blood	(low in temperature__)	without emotion or sympathy
冷血的	leng xue de	of cold blood	without emotion and deliberation	cold-blooded	(__red liquid which carries oxygen around the body)	being without emotion and deliberation
凉了	liang le	cool	unfriendly	cool	(slightly cold)	polite but not friendly or positive
				cool	(slightly cold)	temper or unemotional attitude
凉下来	liang xia lai	cool down	become less excited and optimistic	cool off	stop exercising and begin to feel less hot	become less angry and calmer
泼冷水	po leng shui	splash cold water	discourage (enthusiasm for)	pour/throw cold water on	(__very cool__)	discourage (enthusiasm for)
				wet	covered or soaked with liquid	weak or lacking enthusiasm
				dampen	make slightly wet	reduce the strength of feelings
				dampen down	make slightly wet	reduce feelings of excitement or enjoyment
冷若冰霜	leng ruo bing shuang	as cold as icy water	hostile, indifferent	frost	crystals of ice formed in cold weather	hostile attitude which is polite on the surface
				tepid	lukewarm	lacking enthusiasm or energy
熄灭	xi mie	stop a fire burning	destroy (an	extinguish	stop a fire burning	destroy (an emotion/idea)

39. UNEMOTIONAL IS COLD

Lexicalized Metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized Metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
			emotion/idea)			
				frosty	freezing	unfriendly
				a cold fish	(very cool animal without legs that swims in water)	person who is unfriendly or negative in emotions
冷却	leng que	cool, quench	become less intense (of feelings, excitement)			
一脸冰霜	yi lian bing shuang	face full of icy water	austere mannner			
冷眼	leng yan	cold eye	indifference			
寒心	han xin	cold heart	disappointment			

40 UNPLEASANT IS ROUGH OR OILY

Lexicalized metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	literal meaning	metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
				coarse	rough	rude and offensive
				crisp	clean without creases	clear, concise and unfriendly
油腔滑调	you qiang hua diao	oily tone and words	a state of glib, full of insincere politeness and flattery	greasy	covered in a thick oily substance	full of insincere politeness and flattery
				gritty	full of little grains of stone or sand	showing unpleasant details
油滑的	you hua de	covered in smooth viscous liquid	slick, unpleasantly friendly and polite	oily	covered in smooth viscous liquid	unpleasantly friendly and polite
油嘴滑舌	you zui hua she	oily mouth and tongue	slick, extremely polite manner in a deceitful way in order to get advantage	oleaginous	oily	extremely polite in a deceitful way in order to get advantage
				polished	made to shine by rubbing with a cloth	stylish, confident and polite
粗暴的	cu bao de	uneven, haesh, not smooth	violent, not calm or gentle	rough	uneven, not smooth	violent, not calm or gentle
				rough diamond	uncut, unpolished diamond	someone who is more pleasant than they seem
				rough hewn	shaped but not smoothed	no showing normal politeness
粗劣的	chu lie de	simply and roughly made, shoddy	impolite, rude	rude	simply and roughly made	impolite
圆滑的	yuan hua de	smoothy	slick and sly, tactful	slick	(make hair smooth)	operating smoothly and effectively ?? (operating in a smooth and wily way)
				slimy	covered in unpleasant sticky liquid	friendly in an unpleasant way

40 UNPLEASANT IS ROUGH OR OILY

Lexicalized metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	literal meaning	metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
油滑的	you hua de	smooth with oily or greasy substance	slick, foxy or smug	smarmy	made smooth with oily or greasy substance	flattering and smug
滑头的	hua tou de	slippery	sly, cunning, falsely polite, confident and stylish	smooth	perfectly flat and not rough	falsely polite, confident and stylish
滑头	hua tou	slippery fellow	unpleasantly polite, confident and smart person	smoothie	(perfectly flat and not rough__)	unpleasantly polite, confident and smart person
				take the rough with the smooth	(have the uneven with the even)	accept the unpleasant as well as the pleasant
甜腻的	tian ni de	sweet and oily	insincerely pleasant or loving, saccharine	treacly	(covered in syrup)	insincerely pleasant or loving
油滑的	you hua de	oily, greasy	full of insincere politeness and flattery	unctuous	oily, greasy	full of insincere politeness and flattery
粗鲁的	cu lu de	coarse, rough	rude, boorish, not cultured	unpolished	not rubbed smooth or shiny	not cultured
硌人的	ge ren de	press or rub against sb	be unkind and rude	abrasive	rough substance used for rubbing and cleaning	a state of being unkind and rude

41. WORRY IS WEIGHT						
Lexicalized metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	literal meaning	metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
背十字架	bei shi zi jia	(wooden structure used for crucifixion that one has to carry)	unpleasant or painful situation that one has to deal with	cross to bear	(wooden structure used for crucifixion that one has to carry)	unpleasant or painful situation that one has to deal with
沉重的	chen zhong de	(heavy load___)	feel uncomfortable and worried	burdensome	(heavy load___)	difficult or worrying
				onerous	(heavy)	demanding great effort
				weigh on	put downward pressure on	oppress and make anxious
减轻负担	Jian qing fu dan	make less heavy	reduce one's worry	lighten	make less heavy	reduce the amount of worry that one has
				laden	holding or carrying a lot of heavy things	experiencing a negative or worrying state
				lumber	(timber, felled trees)	force someone to do something difficult or inconvenient
				millstone	stone used to make flour	troublesome responsibility
				yoke	wooden bar over the necks of oxen	oppression
轻松的	qing song de	not heavy	relaxing, feeling comfortable	light	not heavy	demanding little effort
				unburden	(take the load off)	get relief by talking about
十字架	shi zi jia	planks fixed at right-angles used to crucify	unpleasant situation to be endured	cross	planks fixed at right-angles used to crucify	unpleasant situation to be endured
				unload	take the load off	tell your problems to
卸	xie	take the load off	get relief			

41. WORRY IS WEIGHT						
Lexicalized metaphors in Chinese	Pin Yin	literal meaning	metaphorical meaning	Lexicalized metaphors in English	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical meaning
卸下包袱	xie xia bao fu	lay down the heavy object that is carried	get relief from worrying or responsibility	load off your mind	(heavy object that is carried___)	relief from worrying
卸下的心理包袱	xie xia de xin li bao fu	heavy object off one's mind	relief from worrying	weight off your mind	(heavy object___)	relief from worrying
卸下的重担	xie xia de zhong dan	heavy object off one's shoulders	relief from responsibility	a weight off your shoulders	(heavy object___)	relief from responsibility
压抑	ya yi	repress	feel constrained, inhibit			
重担	zhong dan	heavy weight that is carried	worrying responsibility	burden	heavy weight that is carried	worrying responsibility
				heavy	weighing a lot	demanding
				onus	(weight)	responsibility
				weight	heavy object	moral or mental responsibility
负担	fu dan	heavy object that is carried	worrying responsibility	burden	heavy weight that is carried	worrying responsibility
累赘	lei zhui	heavy and useless object	worry that lets people feel oppressed and want to load off	nuisance	heavy and useless object	troublesome or annoying feeling

Part 2

Table 42: The breakdowns of lexicalized emotion metaphors in English and Chinese

Metaphor themes	English (number)	Chinese (number)
AFFECTION IS MONEY/ WEALTH	15	25
AFFECTION IS WARMTH	20	18
ANGER IS HEAT	23	9
ANTAGONISM IS FRICTION	10	24
BAD EMOTION IS PAIN OR INJURY	52	61
EMOTION IS ANIMAL	10	19
EMOTION IS BODY	80	31
EMOTION IS COLOR	32	37
EMOTION IS DISEASE	29	35
EMOTION IS ELECTRICITY	3	15
EMOTION IS EXPLOSION	19	18
EMOTION IS FOOD	37	34
EMOTION IS GAS	18	17
EMOTION IS HIGH	14	14
EMOTION IS LIQUID	32	31
EMOTION IS MINERAL	15	18
EMOTION IS MOVEMENT	29	21

EMOTION IS OUTFLOW	17	17
EMOTION IS PERSON BEING CONTROLLED	17	14
EMOTION IS PLANT	25	21
EMOTION IS SENSE IMPRESSION	42	6
EMOTION IS SMELL, TASTE, HEARING, SEEING	27	13
EMOTION IS SOUND	21	30
EMOTION IS TOUCH	25	33
EMOTION IS WAVE	22	20
EMOTION IS WEATHER	47	50
EXCITEMENT IS HEAT	10	12
EXCITEMENT IS LIGHT	13	17
FEAR IS COLD	17	14
FEELING OR EMOTION IS EATING OR BEING EATEN	23	11
HAPPINESS IS HIGH	17	20
HAPPINESS IS LIGHT	17	20
LOVE IS HEAT	10	9
MENTAL DISTURBANCE IS DIVISION	23	55
NERVOUSNESS IS TENSION	13	18
SAD IS LOW	15	18
SADNESS IS DARK	25	23
SANITY IS BALANCE	17	23
UNEMOTIONAL IS COLD	34	38

UNPLEASANT IS ROUGH OR OILY	19	26
WORRY IS WEIGHT	19	29
Total	956	964

Table 43: Embodied Physiological Changes and Their Corresponding Emotion Metaphors

TYPE OF PHYSIOLOGICAL PHENOMENA	Concrete Case	METAPHOR THEME	Lexicalized Emotion Metaphors in English	Lexicalized Emotion Metaphors in Chinese	Reference
Change in body temperature	Drop in body temperature for FEAR or UNPLEASANT EMOTION	FEAR/UNPLEASANT EMOTION IS COLD	<p><i>cold feet</i> [lit: ‘the two feet that are low in temperature’; met: ‘loss of confidence before doing something risky’],</p> <p><i>get cold feet</i> [lit: ‘get the two feet that are low in temperature’; met: ‘lose confidence before doing something risky’],</p> <p><i>in a cold sweat</i> [lit: ‘in a state of perspiring’; met: ‘in a state of feeling extremely frightened’],</p> <p><i>in cold blood</i> [lit: ‘with blood that is low in temperature’; met: ‘without sympathy or kindness’],</p> <p><i>make your blood freeze</i> [lit: ‘(make your blood solidified)’; met: ‘be in a state of feeling extremely frightened’],</p> <p><i>make your blood run cold</i> [lit: ‘(make your blood lower in temperature)’; met: ‘make you feel very shocked, frightened or horrified’],</p> <p><i>spine-chilling</i> [lit: ‘(making your backbone feel cold)’; met: ‘making you feel very frightened’]</p>	<p>手脚冰凉 [lit: ‘(making your feet and hands feel cold)’; met: ‘making you feel very frightened’];</p> <p>脊梁骨发冷(凉) [lit: ‘feeling cold at the backbone’; met: ‘feeling frightened’];</p> <p>冒冷汗 [Lit: ‘break out into a cold sweat’; met: ‘feel fearful’],</p> <p>冷血 [lit: ‘cold blood’; met: ‘cruelty’],</p> <p>冷眼 [lit: ‘cold eyes’; met: ‘indifference’],</p> <p>寒心 [lit: ‘cold heart’; met: ‘disappointment’],</p> <p>血凝固了 [lit: ‘make your blood solidified’; met: ‘be fearful’],</p>	Table29 Table39

	Rise in body temperature for ANGER	ANGER IS HEAT	<p><i>hotheaded</i> [lit: 'high in temperature in the head'; met: 'easily angered; quick-tempered'],</p> <p><i>hot under the collar</i> [lit: 'high in temperature around the neck'; met: 'very annoyed'],</p> <p><i>in the heat of the moment</i> [lit: 'in the moment when it is hot'; met: 'in the moment when feeling angry'],</p> <p><i>smoke was pouring out of his ears</i> [lit: 'fumes are coming out of his ears'; met: 'he is infuriated'],</p>	<p><i>动肝火</i> [lit: 'stir the fire from the liver; met: 'be angry'],</p> <p><i>七窍生烟</i> [lit: 'one's ears, eyes, nostrils, mouth and nose are spitting fumes'; met: 'one is infuriated'],</p> <p><i>眼冒火花</i> [lit: 'fire sparks in the eyes'; met: 'one is furious'],</p> <p><i>两眼冒火</i> [lit: 'fire bursts out of the eyes'; met: 'one is furious'],</p>	Table3
	Rise in body temperature for PASSION	LOVE/PASSION IS HEAT	<p><i>hot-blooded</i> [lit: 'high in temperature in the blood'; met: 'passionate'],</p> <p><i>heartwarming</i> [lit: 'be warm in temperature in the heart'; met: 'make one happy'],</p> <p><i>fever</i> [lit: 'high body temperature'; met: 'excitement'],</p> <p><i>feverish</i> [lit: 'suffering from a slightly high temperature'; met: 'excited and emotional in your action'],</p>	<p><i>热恋</i> [lit: 'hot love'; met: 'infatuation'],</p> <p><i>热情</i> [lit: 'hot emotion'; met: 'zeal'],</p> <p><i>火辣</i> [lit: 'fire and peppery'; met: 'sexually attractive'],</p> <p><i>热爱</i> [lit: 'hot love'; met: 'deep affection'],</p> <p><i>热心</i> [lit: 'hot heart'; met: 'ardentness'],</p> <p><i>热脸</i> [lit: 'hot face'; met: 'complaisance'],</p> <p><i>热泪</i> [lit: 'hot tears'; met: 'deep affection'],</p> <p><i>头脑发热</i> [lit: 'hot in the head'; met: 'crazy'],</p> <p><i>发烧</i> [lit: 'in fever'; met: 'out of mind'],</p> <p><i>烧坏了头</i> [lit: 'burn a head'; met: 'be silly or crazy'],</p> <p><i>发烧友</i> [lit: 'a friend in fever'; met: 'a person who is crazy about something'],</p>	Table33
Change in skin color/skin condition	Color in the face for FEAR	FEAR IS COLOUR	<p><i>blanch</i> [lit: 'suddenly become pale'; met: 'find something unpleasant and avoid doing it'] (cf. SAD IS DARK, HAPPINESS IS LIGHT in METALUDE)</p>	<p><i>脸色苍白</i> [lit: 'face turning pale'; met: 'fear'],</p> <p><i>脸色发青</i> [lit: 'face turning pale'; met: 'fear'],</p> <p><i>面如土灰</i> [lit: 'face turning to be the color of ash'; met: 'fear'],</p> <p><i>嘴唇苍白</i> [lit: 'lips turning pale'; met: 'fear'],</p> <p><i>大惊失色</i> [lit: 'face losing color'; met: 'fear'],</p>	Table8,
	Color in the face for SADNESS or UNPLEASANT EMOTION	SADNESS/ UNPLEASANT EMOTION IS COLOUR	<p><i>Face clouds</i> with despair [lit: 'face is covered as if with clouds'; met: 'one feels disappointed'],</p>	<p><i>脸上无光</i> [lit: 'no light on the face'; met: 'shame'],</p> <p><i>脸色黯淡</i> [lit: 'bleak complexion'; met: 'disappointment or unpleasantness'],</p> <p><i>印堂发暗</i> [lit: 'darken on the temples of the head'; met: 'gloomy'],</p>	Table 37, Table8

				脸色阴沉 [lit: 'clouds on the face'; met: 'gloom'], 脸上蒙上阴影 [lit: 'shadow on the face'; met: 'sadness'],	
	Color in the face for ANGER	ANGER IS LIGHT/COLOUR	Face flushes with anger [lit: 'become red in the face'; met: 'become angry'], get red with anger [lit: 'become red in the face'; met: 'become angry'], be scarlet with rage [lit: 'become red in the face'; met: 'become extremely angry'],	脸色发青 [lit: 'face turning pale'; met: 'anger'], 脸红脖子粗 [lit: 'face turning red and neck becoming thicker'; met: 'anger'], 脸上一阵红一阵白 [lit: 'with face turning red and pale'; met: 'in a state of feeling extremely angry'], 脸上青筋暴露 [lit: 'the blue veins swelling on one's face'; met: 'a state of feeling extremely angry'], 脸色发紫 [lit: 'with face going purple'; met: 'in a state of feeling extremely angry'],	Table 8
	Color in the face for HAPPINESS or EXCITEMENT	HAPPINESS/ EXCITEMENT IS COLOUR	face flushes with excitement [lit: 'become red in the face'; met: 'become excited'], face	满面红光 [lit: 'a reddish face'; met: 'happiness'], 满脸通红 [lit: 'bright red facial complexion'; met: 'excitement', 'happiness', 'embarrassment'],	Table 32 Table 8
Release of sweat, tears, saliva	Moist hands for ANXIETY/FEAR, tears for SADNESS, Sweat on the face for the feel of shame and the emotion of FEAR	EMOTION IS LIQUID	sweat out [lit: 'lose liquid through the skin'; met: 'wait anxiously for situation to improve']; in a cold sweat [lit: 'in a state of being perspiring (from fever)'; met: 'in a state of feeling extremely frightened'],	满脸泪水 [lit: 'face covered with tears'; met: 'sadness', 'chagrin'], (紧张得) 手心出汗 [lit: 'sweat at the centre of the palms'; met: 'feel embarrassed', 'feel worried'], 捏了一把汗 [lit: 'take a handful of sweat in the palms'; met: 'feel fearful']; (急得) 满头大汗 [lit: 'sweat over the head'; met: 'anxiety'], 汗颜 [lit: 'sweat on the face'; met: 'feel deeply ashamed'], 流冷汗 [lit: 'cold sweat coming out on the skin'; met: 'fear'], 头上冒冷汗 [lit: 'cold sweat coming out on the head'; met: 'fear'], 急得满头大汗 [lit: 'sweat coming out on the head'; met: 'fear, anxiety'],	Table 15

	Tears for EXCITEMENT AND SADNESS	EMOTION IS LIQUID	<i>be dissolved in tears</i> [lit: 'eyes abrim of tears'; met: 'sadness']	热泪盈眶[lit: 'eyes abrim of tears'; met: 'excitement'], 眼泪汪汪[lit: 'a pool of tears'; met: 'excitement', 'sadness', etc.], 伤心落泪 [lit: 'shed tears'; met: 'feel sad'], (气愤得) 掉下眼泪[lit: 'shed tears'; met: 'feel angry'],	Table15
	Saliva for desire	EMOTION IS LIQUID	<i>slobber</i> [lit: 'saliva dribbles from the mouth'; met: 'one indulges over sb. ']	流口水 [lit: 'saliva comes out of mouth'; met: 'one is eager to do something'], 垂涎三尺 [lit: 'saliva of three feet long hangs down from the mouth'; met: 'one is eager to do something'], 垂涎欲滴 [lit: 'saliva is going to drool from the mouth'; met: 'one is eager to do something'], 垂涎[lit: 'saliva hangs down from the mouth'; met: 'one is eager to do something'].	Table15
Change of respiration and heart rate	Change of respiration and quickenings of heartbeat for ANGER	EMOTION IS BODY-PART		气急败坏 [lit: 'urgent breath'; met: 'anger'], 憋气[lit: 'Qi is oppressed in the body'; met: 'one feels angry'], 气冲冲[lit: 'Qi goes up'; met: 'one feels angry'], 气呼呼[lit: 'breathe thickly'; met: 'one feels angry'], 气粗 [lit: 'thick breath'; met: 'irascibility', 'pride']	Table13

	Change of respiration and quickening of heartbeat for HAPPINESS and EXCITEMENT	EMOTION BODY-PART	IS	<p><i>breathless</i> [lit: ‘difficulty in breathing’; met: ‘excitement’, ‘fear’],</p> <p><i>heart bounds with joy</i> [lit: ‘heart leaps’; met: ‘one feels extremely joyous’],</p>	心砰砰跳 [lit: ‘heart pounds’; met: ‘one feels excited’, ‘one feels fearful’],	Table7
	Change of respiration and quickening of heartbeat for SADNESS	EMOTION BODY-PART	IS		哭到上气不接下气 [lit: ‘breathless from a hard cry ’; met: ‘anguish’]	Table7 Table13
	Change of respiration and quickening of heartbeat for FEAR	EMOTION BODY-PART	IS	<p><i>have palpitations</i>[lit: ‘(one’s heart) beat quickly and irregularly’; met: ‘to be very shocked’],</p> <p><i>the fast pounding of heart with fear</i>[lit: ‘heart beats very quickly’; met: ‘one feels frightened ’],</p> <p><i>heart leaps into the throat</i>[lit: ‘heart jumps into the throat’; met: ‘one feels frightened ’],</p> <p><i>Heart misses a beat</i> [lit: ‘heart stops beating for a second’; met: ‘one feels frightened ’],</p>	<p>心悸 [lit: ‘(of the heart) palpitate’; met: ‘fear’],</p> <p>七上八下 [lit: ‘(of the heart) up and down’; met: ‘fearful’],</p> <p>不敢喘气 [lit: ‘dare not breathe’; met: ‘fear’] ,</p> <p>心提到了嗓子口[lit: ‘heart leaps into the throat’; met: ‘one feels frightened’],</p>	Table7 Table13

Unnatural condition of stomach/bowels	Feeling nauseated for DISGUST, FEAR	BAD EMOTION IS DISCOMFORT/PAIN;	<p><i>make sb. vomit</i>[lit: ‘make sb throw up (the content of the stomach)through the mouth’; met: ‘disgust’],</p> <p><i>feel nausea</i>[lit: ‘feel that you are going to vomit’; met: ‘disgust’],</p> <p><i>turn my stomach</i>[lit: ‘move around my stomach ’; met: ‘make me feel sick or upset’],</p> <p><i>have no stomach for</i>[lit: ‘not want to eat or not be able to eat or digest’; met: ‘be reluctant to do something because you dislike it’],</p> <p><i>stomach</i> [lit: ‘organ inside body’, met: ‘courage or inclination for something difficult’],</p> <p><i>stomach churning</i> [lit: ‘feel uncomfortable in the stomach’, met: ‘feel nauseated’],</p>	<p>恶心 [lit: ‘feel nausea’; met: ‘disgust’],</p> <p>令人作呕 [lit: ‘make sb. vomit’; met: ‘make one sick’], 倒胃口[lit: ‘pour down from the stomach’; met: ‘disgust’],</p> <p>肠断[lit: ‘intestine is broken’; met: ‘one feels sad’],</p> <p>没胃口[lit: ‘not want to eat or not be able to eat or digest’; met: ‘be reluctant to do something because you dislike it’],</p> <p>吊胃口 [lit: ‘hang the stomach’; met: ‘arouse interest in something’],</p>	Table5
Bodily tension/release of tension	Fists and teeth clenched for ANGER	ANTAGONISM/ANN OYANCE IS FRICTION	<p><i>grind your teeth</i> [lit: ‘rub one’s upper and lower teeth together making a noise’, met: express one’s fury’],</p>	<p>呲牙咧嘴 [lit: ‘bare one’s teeth’; met: ‘feel angry’, ‘feel anguish’],</p> <p>咬牙切齿 [lit: ‘grind the teeth’; met: ‘feel angry’, ‘have a feeling of hatred’],</p>	Table4
	Tension of muscles for NEGATIVE EMOTIONS	NERVOUSNESS IS TENSION		<p>眉头紧蹙 [lit: ‘contracted eyebrow’; met: ‘anxiety’],</p> <p>揪心 [lit: ‘contracted heart’; met: ‘anxiety’],</p> <p>舌头僵硬 [lit: ‘stiff tongue’; met: ‘anxiety’],</p> <p>关心 [lit: ‘close the heart’; met: ‘be concerned’],</p> <p>拉长脸[lit: ‘pull a long face’; met: ‘be unhappy’, ‘be unfriendly with’ , ‘have a superior air toward sb.’], 拉下脸[lit: ‘pull down the face’; met: ‘be unhappy’, ‘be unfriendly with’ , ‘have a superior air toward sb.’, ‘ beg servilely’],</p>	Table 35

Specific kinds of physical movements	Ways of physical movement for SADNESS /UNPLEASANT EMOTIONS	? SAD IS LOW	<p><i>with tail between the legs</i>[lit: ‘with the tail in the middle of legs’; met: ‘in defeat or fear’],</p> <p><i>fallen into the abyss of grief</i>[lit: ‘dropped to the bottom of a deep empty space’; met: ‘forced into a bad or unhappy situation’];</p>	<p>垂头丧气[lit: ‘droop the head and lose the Qi’; met: ‘feel depressed’, ‘feel disappointed’];</p> <p>夹起尾巴 [lit: ‘clamp the tail’; met: ‘be humiliated or dejected’];</p>	Table36
	Heavy walk, stomping for ANGER	(CONTROL IS PUSH/PUT DOWN??)	stamp with fury[lit: ‘lift your foot off the ground and bring it down again very hard’; met: ‘be extremely angry’],	<p>直跺脚 [lit: ‘continuously stomp’; met: ‘feel angry’, ‘be in the worried state of mind’],</p> <p>暴跳如雷 [lit: ‘stamp turbulently like thundering’; met: ‘feel extremely angry’],</p>	Table19
	Being startled for FEAR	EMOTION IS MOVEMENT	<p><i>shake with fear</i>[lit: ‘tremble from fear’; met: ‘fear’],</p> <p><i>quake with fear</i>[lit: ‘shiver from fear’; met: ‘fear’],</p>	<p>吓得发抖[lit: ‘quake with fear’; met: ‘fear’, ‘feel nervous’],</p> <p>颤抖不停[lit: ‘body shaking continually’; met: ‘fear’],</p>	Table17
	Jumping up and down for JOY	HAPPY IS HIGH	<p><i>jump for joy</i>[lit: ‘(spring from the ground___)’; met: ‘be very pleased and show your pleasure/excitement’],</p> <p><i>bouncy</i>[lit: ‘able to rebound upwards after hitting the ground’; met: ‘happy and energetic’],</p> <p><i>buoyant</i>[lit: ‘able to float well’; met: ‘cheerful’],</p> <p><i>light-hearted</i> [lit: ‘(not heavy___)’; met: ‘happy and not serious’],</p> <p><i>jump at</i>[lit: ‘spring from the ground ’; met: ‘be enthusiastic about’],</p> <p><i>dance for joy</i>[lit: ‘leap or skip about’; met: ‘be extremely joyous’],</p>	<p>手舞足蹈 [lit: ‘dance’; met: ‘feel joyous’],</p> <p>兴高采烈 [lit: ‘being lifted up ’; met: ‘joyous’],</p> <p>飞上天 [lit: ‘fly to the sky’; met: ‘joy’],</p> <p>轻飘飘 [lit: ‘able to float well’; met: ‘very happy, self-satisfied’],</p>	Table31 Table14
	Touching, hugging, kissing for LOVE	EMOTION IS TOUCH	<p><i>embrace</i>[lit: ‘hug’; met: ‘support’, ‘love’],</p> <p><i>touching</i> [lit: ‘touch’; met: ‘sympathy’],</p> <p><i>intimacy</i> [lit: ‘being close’; met: ‘sexual love’],</p>	<p>亲密 [lit: ‘being close ’; met: ‘being intimate’],</p> <p>爱抚 [lit: ‘touch tenderly’; met: ‘love’],</p> <p>握手言欢 [lit: ‘shake hands and express joy’; met: ‘be friendly to each other again after misunderstanding is cleared up ’],</p>	Table 24

Grabbing DESIRE	for	DESIRE ATTRACTION	IS	<i>fall for</i> [lit: ‘accidentally drop’; met: ‘love’],	落入爱河 [lit: ‘fall into the sea of love’; met: ‘have sexual love’], 得到她的芳心 [lit: ‘get her sweat heart ’; met: ‘love’], 沉迷 [lit: ‘be fallen and weltering in’; met: ‘be infatuated with’],	Metalude
Approach for ENJOYMENT, PLEASURE	for	DESIRE ATTRACTION	IS	<i>come on</i> [lit: ‘move towards’; met: ‘make sexual interest known to sb.’],	偏向 [lit: ‘lean to ’; met: ‘show favouritism to sb’], ‘be partial to’, 亲近 [lit: ‘be close to ’; met: ‘love’], 近酒色 [lit: ‘be close to wine and color’; met: ‘be infatuated with wine and women’], 缠绵 [lit: ‘be tangled’; met: ‘(of an emotion)be lingering’],	Metalude
Approach ANGER	for	ANTAGONISM/ANN OYANCE FRICTION	IS	<i>brush</i> [lit: ‘touching as you walk past’; met: ‘unpleasant meeting or disagreement’], <i>chafe</i> [lit: ‘make sore or warm by rubbing’; met: ‘become annoyed, lose patience’], <i>friction</i> [lit: ‘resistance from rubbing two objects together’; met: ‘disagreement or unfriendliness’], <i>grate</i> [lit: ‘rub together with a sharp unpleasant sound’; met: ‘annoy’], <i>grind down</i> [lit: ‘reduce by rubbing hard against a surface’; met: ‘treat harshly or cruelly’], <i>oil the wheels</i> [lit: ‘(add lubricant to_)’; met: ‘help a social group be friendly and co-operate’], <i>rub in</i> [lit: ‘apply with an up and down or circular pressure’; met: ‘remind repeatedly’]	磨合 [lit: ‘grind something and make it fit’; met: ‘make harmonious a discordant emotion or relationship’], 摩擦 [lit: ‘rub’; met: ‘quarrel’], 折磨 [lit: ‘fold and grind’; met: ‘torture’]	Table4

	Slumping for SADNESS	SAD IS LOW	<p><i>downcast</i> [lit: '(thrown down)'; met: 'sad, hopeless'],</p> <p><i>get you down</i>[lit: '(push you to the ground)'; met: 'make sad'],</p> <p><i>in low spirits</i> [lit: '(__down below near the bottom__)'; met: 'unhappy'],</p> <p><i>low</i> [lit: 'having little relative height'; met: 'being discouraged or dejected'],</p>	<p>垂头丧气 [lit: 'droop the head and lose the Qi'; met: 'feel sad', 'feel depressed', 'feel disappointed'];</p> <p>深陷痛苦 [lit: 'plumb down in the depths of sadness'; met: 'feel anguish'];</p> <p>(心)突然下沉 [lit: '(the heart)fall very quickly'; met: 'suddenly become unhappy'],</p>	Table36
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