THE CONCEPTUAL STRUCTURE OF EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCE IN CHINESE

DISSERTATION

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .......................................................... ii

VITA ............................................................................ iii

LIST OF TABLES ............................................................... x

CHAPTER ....................................................................... PAGE

I. INTRODUCTION ............................................................... 1

1.1 FOLK MODELS ............................................................ 3
1.2 THE EMBODIMENT OF MEANING .................................. 10
1.2.1 Folk Models and Categorization ............................... 13
1.2.2 Metaphor and the Literal/Figurative Distinction .......... 15
1.3 METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS ..... 19
1.4 RESEARCH PROBLEMS AND THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS .............................................................. 21
1.5 SCOPE AND LIMITATION OF STUDY ............................ 23
1.6 ORGANIZATION OF THIS STUDY ................................. 26
NOTES ........................................................................ 27

II. EMOTION: BODIES AND MINDS AND OTHER MISCELLANEA ................................................................. 30

2.1 EMOTION ................................................................. 30
2.1.1 The Locus of Emotion: In the Body or in the Mind? .... 32
2.1.2 The Somatic vs. the Psychological Expression of Emotion .... 34
2.1.3 Universals and Particulars ....................................... 38
2.1.4 The Meaning of Emotion ........................................ 43
2.2 SUMMARY ............................................................... 48
NOTES ........................................................................ 49

III. SOMATIZATION: THE LINK BETWEEN LANGUAGE AND BEHAVIOUR ....................................................... 53

3.1 EMOTIONS AND HEALTH IN CHINESE CULTURE: PAST AND PRESENT .................................................. 53
3.2 THE DATA-BASE ......................................................... 57
8.6 ANGER IN CHINESE AND ENGLISH ........................................ 165
8.6.1 The prototypical scenarios in Chinese .............................. 167
8.7 SOME NONPROTOTYPICAL CASES OF ANGER IN CHINESE ........................................ 174
8.7.1 Righteous Indignation ................................................ 174
8.7.2 Lingering Anger ..................................................... 174
8.7.3 Defence of Self-esteem .............................................. 175
8.7.4 Unknown Offending Event ........................................... 175
8.7.5 Terminating Event ................................................... 176
8.7.6 The 'hothead' ....................................................... 176
8.7.7 Immediate explosion ................................................ 177
8.7.8 Redirected anger .................................................... 178
8.7.9 Unexpressible anger ................................................. 179
8.7.10 Concealed anger .................................................... 180
8.7.11 Fake anger ........................................................ 180
8.7.12 Terminating Event and Anger Changes into Joy .............. 180
8.7.13 Ineffective anger ................................................... 181
8.7.14 Controlled Reduction .............................................. 181
8.8 ANGER AND OTHER EMOTIONS ..................................... 182
8.8.1 ANGER and WORRY .............................................. 182
8.8.2 ANGER and FEAR ................................................ 184
8.9 CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY ....................................... 186
NOTES ............................................................................ 188

IX. CONCLUSION ..................................................................... 189

9.1 SUMMARY OF RESULTS .................................................. 189
9.1.1 Knowledge and action ............................................... 189
9.1.2 Physiology and emotion in Chinese .............................. 191
9.1.3 Models of emotions in Chinese and English ................... 196
9.1.4 The Question of Universals ....................................... 199
9.2 IMPLICATIONS FOR A THEORY OF THE CONCEPTUAL STRUCTURE
OF CHINESE AND DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH ...................... 200
9.2.1 Towards a characterization of the conceptual structure of Chinese ........................................ 200
9.2.2 Directions for Further Research .................................. 201
NOTES ............................................................................ 211

BIBLIOGRAPHY .................................................................. 216
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Comparison of Emotion Categories</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Somatic features of emotion categories</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Other features of emotion categories</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Features of emotion categories based on colloquial expressions</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The search for a set of fundamental innate and universal semantic primitives has played a major role in semantics and anthropology over the past few decades. Although the issue of innateness is itself controversial, few would dispute the existence of certain panhuman experiences that show little or no variation cross-culturally. One area often believed to belong to this category is that of the emotions. ¹ Nevertheless, although the belief that this domain is largely invariant cross-culturally may be intuitively pleasing to many, it is as yet supported by little evidence. In fact, the results from recent work in fields such as cross-cultural psychology and anthropology fail to provide any clear-cut answers to the question of whether there is in fact a set of universal emotion concepts common to all cultures. ²

This study examines the conceptual structure of several common emotion concepts in Chinese. One of its main objectives will be to contribute to the ongoing debate on universality in the area of emotions. However this contribution will not be made by trying to 'prove' that the emotions in Chinese either fit a postulated set of a priori universals or that they are completely different from emotions in Western cultures. Instead, the study assumes a balanced view which acknowledges the important role played by both the
universal and the culturally specific. In other words, given certain obvious
panhuman commonalities of human experience and the assumption that
biology and physiology are largely invariant, cross-cultural similarities are to
be expected. At the same time, one also needs to allow for the role played by
cultural belief systems in creating an emotional reality. Ignoring either of
these factors will result in a distorted picture. The neglect of cultural factors,
for example, may lead to the view that members of another culture are
somehow abnormal when the categories of Western psychology are blindly
applied to the analysis of emotion in that culture. This point is illustrated by
Obeyesekere, a Buddhist from Sri Lanka. 3 The predominant ideology of
Buddhism is that life consists of suffering and sorrow. As Obeyesekere notes,
if one applies a Western description of an emotional state like depression to
Sri Lankan culture, the results will clearly not be the same as for Western
cultures. A Buddhist might run the risk of being diagnosed as suffering from
depression if Western analytical categories were used, whereas he might
merely be thought of as a good Buddhist by other Buddhists.

Similarly, the view implicit in modern psychology which assumes that
emotions are naturally existing entities that can be isolated from a cultural
context may not be universally valid. For example, in Chinese, as well as in a
number of non-Western cultures and certain segments of Western culture,
emotions are commonly expressed somatically, i.e., by means of a variety of
aches and pains, insomnia etc. Thus, in Chinese, one may experience a
headache as a result of the excess 氣 qi or energy which flows through one's
body: 氣得頭疼 'To be so qi-ed (angry) that one has a headache'. In still other
cultures, social relationships seem to play an important role in understanding
the emotions. In Ifaluk, an Oceanic language spoken on a Polynesian atoll, Catherine Lutz has pointed out that: 4

'... a translation of the concept fago (compassion/love/sadness) requires an understanding of the way the Ifaluk conceptualize positive relationships with others. Fago is used to alert others to the strength of particular relationships, to talk about the pain involved in the severance of those relations by death or travel, and to signal a readiness to care for the other'.

The work so far done on emotions in other cultures, suggests that the view of emotions as entities or psychological states needs to be complemented by other ways of looking at the phenomenon. For this reason, the present study treats emotion from three main perspectives. These are: physiological reactions, mental states, and social relationships.

1.1 FOLK MODELS

Given the need for examining emotions from more than one perspective, it will also be necessary to complement the current approaches to meaning that have played an important role in Western academic traditions. The present study examines the 'folk models' of several emotion concepts in Chinese. This is a convenient way of exploring the knowledge structures of these concepts and offers important insights into how such abstract concepts are understood. The notion of model has been used successfully in a number of domains where the study of knowledge structures is important. For example, in artificial intelligence and information processing, research has concentrated on the problem of how to provide computers with the background knowledge necessary to understand discourse. 5 in semantics, some scholars have incorporated models, under the rubrics of schemas and cognitive models, into
their analyses. Folk or cultural models are more widely used in anthropology and attempt to understand how people organize cultural knowledge. Although such models are 'folk' models, it would be misleading to assume that to study them is not an important scientific endeavour. The study of folk models needs to be incorporated into currently available scientific theories of human behaviour as a way of showing the role played by human experience, creativity and imagination in our understanding and construction of reality. A common practice in many scientific domains is to aim at understanding the world in apparently neutral terms. This has led to the tendency to attach little importance to humanistic factors such as cultural differences, etc. We can therefore distinguish two necessary but complementary ways of studying the world. Firstly, there is what might be called a 'non-humanistic' approach. This approach has had a long tradition in our own culture. Since it depends on the rigour and formal elegance of mathematical models, it quite naturally has little room for the role of humans. It attempts to construct models of what reality is. But there are many areas where we cannot assume a neutral world that is the same for everybody. We need to take into account those domains of experience where human factors are most apparent. What we might call a 'humanistic' science is therefore necessary for studying the mental or cognitive models of what people think reality is. Such models are based on cultural or folk beliefs which in many cases are at odds with non-humanistic science, or are about domains of experience largely ignored by this approach to knowledge.

The study of folk or cultural models used to understand and explain subjective but psychologically real emotional experiences is based on different assumptions than those on which the study of the phenomenon is often carried
out in academic disciplines, such as psychology, is therefore an important one for the present study. Folk models can be thought of as ways of understanding and accounting for everyday phenomena and perceptions of reality. These models represent a simplified or idealized world that is built up through everyday experiences of interacting within a culture. They might also be known as 'explanatory models', since they represent attempts to understand and explain the way the world is experienced. The knowledge contained in these models then is quite different from that found in standard (non-humanistic) scientific theories, the content of which is obtained by logical procedures. Although science is also interested in seeking explanations, there are realms of experience, such as religious or supernatural phenomena, which are generally considered inaccessible to scientific methods of inquiry. In many cases the same question may receive different and conflicting answers according to the perspective taken, as evidenced by the well-known Creationist vs Evolutionist debate. On the view advocated here, both answers would be equally acceptable, but relative to the particular purpose in mind. Folk models therefore might be studied by a humanistic science. The purpose of a humanistic science is not to oppose the non-humanistic variety, but to complement it and account for those areas that have generally been unmanageable to traditional approaches.

In our own culture it is common practice to attach greater importance to scientific explanations of reality rather than folk explanations of it. However, it is more useful to assume that both explanations are important, since they can offer different perspectives on the same phenomenon. Folk and scientific accounts may in fact even complement each other, so that one version offers an explanation for what the other cannot. This is nicely illustrated by Jean
Comaroff in her paper on medicine and culture. Indigenous peoples of southern Africa, while they may seek Western treatments for relief of typhus, still make use of divination and indigenous therapy as a means of dealing with the question of 'who sent the louse?' (the cause of typhus) in the first place.

Furthermore, folk and scientific conceptualizations of reality may actually interact with each other, as demonstrated by Cecil Helman's study on folk models of infection in an English suburban community. He shows that the treatment and concepts from the scientific biomedical model actually reinforce the folk model. In the relationship between practitioner and patient, the biomedical model is often adapted so as to make sense in terms of the folk model of illness. Helman points out in his study that physicians often prescribe remedies which cannot be justified in terms of the biomedical model, but which nevertheless respond to their patients' needs to explain their illness from the point of view of their folk model.

Since folk and scientific models can be complementary or interactive, it is not useful to conceive of the relationship as a hierarchical one, where the scientific version reflects a truer picture of an underlying reality. In fact, the latter might be considered as a kind of sophisticated folk model which often draws upon ordinary everyday metaphors and symbolism as a source for the elaboration of precise theories. For example psychologist James Averill has demonstrated how the various theories of emotion in his discipline are founded upon the metaphors inherent in the folk models.

The differences between folk and scientific conceptualizations of reality also have broad implications for the methodology used in the present study. Scientific theories of human behaviour are usually interested in
characteristics that may be measured objectively. In the case of phenomena such as emotions or diseases, this usually means in terms of physiological or biological correlates like bodily perturbations. The assumption is that such objects of scientific study can be isolated from their cultural and social environments. As soon as a culture other than that of the investigator is involved, however, it invariably becomes necessary to examine the assumption that science is acultural. Researchers in some fields, such as medical anthropology, have now moved towards treating human beings as simultaneously cultural and biological creatures. In other words, the human beliefs, knowledge, and actions considered to make up 'culture' that play an important role in structuring our experience and behaviour interact with and structure such panhuman experiences of affect (emotion) and disease (illness). Culture can thus be seen as 'constructing' the particular emotions and illnesses. Both these phenomena are therefore construed as cultural, rather than natural, categories.\textsuperscript{12}

In order to show where the present differs from that advocated by non-humanistic approaches to meaning, it will be useful to consider how the domain of emotions might be analyzed if a technique like 'componenational analysis' were to be adopted. This technique has a long tradition in the fields of anthropology, psychology, and linguistics (semantics).\textsuperscript{13} Componenational analysis proceeds by isolating the minimal features or meaning components which yield a precise definition of the concept under analysis. In the same way that 'man' can be said to be composed of $+\text{MALE} + \text{ADULT} + \text{HUMAN}$, and 'woman'-$-\text{MALE} + \text{ADULT} + \text{HUMAN}$, an emotion like 'anger' could also be said to be made up of semantic features. For example, Davitz, a psychologist who has applied this technique to the analysis of emotions, defines anger as
consisting of HYPERACTIVATION, MOVING AGAINST, TENSION, and INADEQUACY.14

Componental analysis, and other non-humanistic theories of meaning, differ from the present approach on two accounts. Firstly, the componental approach is concerned with looking at meaning from a different perspective than the one chosen here. This study treats what is usually known as 'encyclopedic knowledge'.15 Componental analysis focuses on the task of isolating semantic primitives which act as the building blocks of meaning. This emphasis on minimal units is in fact an important basis for non-humanistic approaches to meaning. An interest in encyclopedic knowledge requires an approach which goes far beyond the minimal information contained in such semantic primitives as -MALE etc. to the network of social and cultural beliefs in which such features are embedded. For example, while few would deny the rather obvious universal biological features of females, there are cultural and social meanings attached to the concept of 'woman' that are relative to that of a particular culture, social group, or period in history. It is in areas such as these that we need a humanistic analysis of meaning. This point is nicely illustrated by the Chinese writing system. Each Chinese character, in most cases, is composed of a semantic component (radical) and a phonetic or sound component. An examination of the characters classified with the 'female' radical ( 女) reveals interesting insights into the beliefs or folk models which are, or have been, part of the cultural knowledge associated with the concept of woman by members of Chinese culture. As well as being found in characters related to biological functions or characteristics, such as 奶 'breast', 女 also occurs in less obvious contexts: 娴 'beautiful'; 妒 'jealous', etc. There is no objective way of testing whether females are really beautiful
or jealous, although (male?) members of Chinese, and possibly other, cultures may naturally see beauty and jealousy as feminine traits.

What would a folk model look like? The model for anger in Chinese has two versions; an ideal model and a typical model:

The Ideal Model:

Stage 1: Offending Event
Wrongdoer offends Self
The offending event displeases Self
The offence causes an imbalance in the body

Stage 2: Anger
Anger exists.
S experiences physiological effects (heat, pressure, agitation)

Stage 3: Attempt to control anger
S exerts a counterforce in an attempt to control anger

Stage 4: Release of anger
S releases anger by exhibiting angry behaviour (hitting etc., this may be directed at wrongdoer who is the target)

Stage 5: Restoration of equilibrium
The amount of discharged anger balances the excess in the body
The imbalance disappears and equilibrium is restored

The typical model differs in its Stage 4 and 5 realizations:

Stage 4: Diversion
The force of the anger is diverted to various parts of the body
S exhibits somatic effects (headaches, stomach aches etc.)

Stage 5: Compensating event
The compensating event pleases self (this is usually sympathetic behaviour directed at S)
The intensity of compensation balances the intensity of the offence
The somatic effects of anger disappear
Anger ceases to exist

The above models, then, can be seen as containing all the necessary information or knowledge that a member of Chinese culture would need in order to interpret an event as a typical instance of anger. They are not
mathematical models of reality in the strict scientific (non-humanistic) sense, but instead are mental or cognitive models (requiring empirical validation of psychological reality) used by the layman to understand and explain everyday phenomena. They are constructed on the basis of the linguistic expressions available to native speakers as ways of talking about that particular domain of experience. Folk models, in the case of emotions, can be expected to contain knowledge about physiological accompaniments, concrete behaviour, and in some instances, about the most typical sources or causes of the emotion.

1.2 THE EMBODIMENT OF MEANING

As we pointed out above, there are important distinctions between folk models and scientific models of reality. These distinctions have implications for the way we view the relationship between language and reality. The latter models generally rely on long epistemological traditions (Empiricism and Rationalism) descended from Western philosophy, and are concerned with the production of accurate and objectively true descriptions of reality. A theory of meaning concerned with accounting for scientific models of reality sees language as mapping onto reality in a direct and unmediated way. However, as we mentioned earlier, a humanistic theory of meaning is needed to account for the strategies that people use to construct the interpretations of reality that are found in folk models. These models are considered to be true because members of a culture believe them to be true.

Because folk models can and do vary inter-culturally, and intra-culturally, we cannot expect them to be based on similar beliefs about the world. On the other hand, it would be surprising if we were to find rampant, unconstrained
variation. Folk models are human constructions created with the purpose of explaining the world, and so we would expect different societies or cultures, at least on some occasions, to arrive at similar or identical explanations.

A major factor constraining the nature of such models is that humans tend to use their bodies and everyday concrete experiences as a source for creating a metaphorical understanding of the world around them. Meaning is therefore embodied, i.e. our concepts are constructed from the interaction between our bodies and the physical world. 16 This study thus views the human body as the most important point of departure in understanding how we create meaning from the world. To cite an example, a panhuman experience like 'verticality' may enter into our understanding in a variety of ways. This idea has been developed by philosopher Mark Johnson who argues that meaning emerges from 'image-schemata' which arise from our everyday interaction with the environment. 17 Specifically, he proposes that our experience and understanding are given form and structure by means of the metaphorical elaboration of image-schemata based on our bodily experience. These image-schemata are thus what provide the grounding for our conceptual system. He defines an image-schema as 'a recurring, dynamic pattern of our perceptual interactions and motor programs that gives coherence and structure to our experience.' 18 For example, the 'VERTICALITY schema' emerges from a wide variety of our everyday interactions with our environment, such as an erect posture when standing or walking, our perceptual experience of vertical objects, e.g. trees, buildings, etc.

Although researchers in cognitive semantics have only recently become aware of such important insights, the earlier work of anthropologists with similar ideas should not be overlooked. For example, anthropologists such as
Marcel Mauss and Mary Douglas have also assumed a similar role for the human body. Mauss wrote an important paper on the 'techniques du corps' over fifty years ago, and Mary Douglas has done extensive studies on the 'natural symbols' which play a vital role in our cultural meaning systems. 19

More specifically, anthropological field work has shown that there is a (possibly universal) correlation between physical elevation and social elevation. 20 Thus we find that the correspondence between vertical dominance and social dominance is illustrated in ritual acts such as bowing, kissing the feet, begging etc., which are performed by an inferior in front of a superior, or as a way of showing respect. The ritual of raising or taking off one's hat can also be understood in terms of an attempt at making oneself 'lower' in front of the object of respect. However, there is more to this domain of experience than one or two isolated rituals. It could be conceivably argued that such rituals are purely conventionalized and have lost their original symbolism, but the metaphor plays a major part in structuring our social behaviour in general. In Western cultures, there is a tendency for the rich and powerful to live on hillsides or on the upper floors of apartment buildings. Business corporations also commonly operate with this same symbolism; one climbs the corporate ladder and when one finally makes it to president, one will invariably occupy an office on the top floor of a tall office building. 21

Such correlations not only exist in our behaviour, but are also apparent in our language. The folk model for the concept of 'respect' in English is a case in point. When we respect somebody, we put them above us, or as with royalty, we may address them as 'your Highness'. Kövecses gives the following metaphors: THE RESPECTED PERSON IS UP/HIGH and THE OBJECT OF RESPECT IS A DEITY, which serve as an illustration of this point. 22
THE RESPECTED PERSON IS UP/HIGH

Young children look up to older ones.

People regard him highly.

He puts all his girlfriends on a pedestal, and then gets frustrated every time.

THE OBJECT OF RESPECT IS A DEITY

He idolizes his father.

His admirers worshipped at his feet.

She deifies money.

Not only does our body play an important role in grounding our conceptual systems by means of image-schemata, but it also serves as the basis for the emergence of the interactional properties used to categorize the world around us. Our bodies and our everyday experiences are the most common source domains for the metaphorical elaboration of concepts. These two strategies for the construction of meaning, categorization and metaphor, will be discussed below.

1.2.1 Folk Models and Categorization

The traditional approach to categorization is generally based on the logical notion of 'set inclusion'. When we deal with folk models and the way that humans actually categorize the world around them, we find that the classical view is largely incompatible. Eleanor Rosch's seminal work on 'prototypes' in this domain has now gained wide acceptance in a number of disciplines. A prototype is the best example of a category. Members of a category are
organized around this central member and may deviate from the prototype in various ways. For example, most native speakers of English would see a 'sparrow' or 'blackbird' as being more of a typical bird than a penguin.

The traditional account of categorization is based on the idea that membership in a category is dependent on set inclusion, i.e. that all members possess some objective property which guarantees membership. It is often assumed that it is generally applicable. However, prototype research has shown that there are also graded categories where membership is in terms of degree and the boundaries are fuzzy. Furthermore, the properties themselves are interactional properties which are characterizable in terms of the interaction of human beings as part of their environment. Categories are likewise organized in terms of basic-level concepts which are in the middle of a hierarchy. In other words, objects can be named at different levels. We can label an object by calling it 'furniture', a 'table', or a 'coffee table' or 'dining room table'. However, the preferred level of reference is that corresponding to table. Psychologists have found this basic level of categorization to have a cognitive basis, since at this level objects and organisms tend to have parts or functions.

The point is, then, that humans categorize the world around them. In most cases there are no ready made categories waiting for us to attach labels. This is especially apparent when we examine the way the plant and animal kingdom is classified by different cultures. For example, in Chinese we find the character for 'insect' 虫 can be used as the semantic component in the characters for 'shrimp' 虾 and 'bat' 蝙. Similarly, 'fish' 鱼 is used to classify 'whale' 鯨 and 'crocodile' 鳄. There are thus different ways in which we may divide up the world, depending upon the different criteria we choose.
1.2.2 Metaphor and the Literal/Figurative Distinction

Most non-humanistic theories of meaning make a strict distinction between literal and non-literal (usually metaphorical) language. Since these theories operate with the assumption that language maps directly onto an unmediated reality, this distinction is necessary as a way of separating linguistic expressions which have 'truth conditions' and thus refer to objects, events, states etc. in the real world, from those which do not. In fact, such theories might be thought of as literal, while a humanistic theory of meaning that can account for the way that folk models construct interpretations of reality would need to be metaphorical. A non-humanistic view of meaning is not restricted to areas of linguistics such as truth-conditional or model-theoretic semantics. It is also closely connected with the empiricist approach to meaning which has until now been implicit in such traditional domains as medicine.

On the other hand, many scholars now see metaphor and tropes in general as being cognitive processes that often construct, rather than merely describe, an object or phenomenon. Traditional accounts assume that words have literal meanings. It is generally believed that an expression such as 'Time is money' is based on the logical form 'A is like B' in certain definite respects and depends on there being certain isolated similarities between the two concepts. For example, they can both be saved, wasted etc. However the meaning of this expression is more than a list of the properties and relations shared by the two concepts.26

Even when we use metaphors with two concrete objects, the similarities may also be created, rather than an intrinsic property of the object concerned.
For example, we might say 'My car guzzles gas'. In terms of semantic features 'car' and 'guzzles' do not go together, since we would have to call the former -ANIMATE and specify that the latter requires a + ANIMATE subject. Linguists have observed that selection restrictions are often violated in metaphorical uses of language. Geoffrey Leech has argued that sentences like 'My gasmeter eats up 10ps' are interpreted because 'eat' in this sentence means 'uses up 10ps like an animal eating something'. However, this account fails to explain how metaphoric processes operate.

In fact, it seems both cars guzzling gas and gasmeters eating up 10ps, are only part of a more general tendency to humanize our machines. An excellent example of this is some of the recent computer terminology. Not only are computers 'user friendly', but it recently became apparent that they could also 'catch' or 'be attacked' by 'viruses' and could be 'injected' with 'vaccines' to protect them. Unless we are mechanics or engineers, most of us do not have much knowledge about the workings of machines and appliances. On the contrary, we have a large store of folk knowledge which helps us describe and account for human behaviour. Lakoff and Johnson also point out that our conceptual system has a conventional metaphor AN INSTRUMENT IS A COMPANION which they draw on to explain why 'with' is used both to show companionship, 'Mary went to town with John' and also instrumentality 'Mary hit John with her shoe'.

In those cases where meaning can most profitably be formalized and thus studied from a context-free perspective, it may be important to maintain the literal/figurative distinction. For example, it may be that a non-humanistic account of meaning is most useful when we deal with basic-level objects. At this level there seems to be little that is figurative. It is here that the
important insights of philosophers such as Tarski are relevant. Tarski's well-known example ""Snow is white" is true if and only if snow is true', is at least unproblematic for basic-level objects. However, in some instances it seems unnecessary, or even impossible, to maintain a literal/figurative distinction. Data from non-cognate cultures suggest that there is no way that literalness and figurativeness can be discussed outside of a specific language and culture. What is literal for one language/culture may be metaphorical for another, and vice-versa. This may even vary for different speakers. For example, Chinese philosophy, medicine and folk beliefs operate with the concept of qi 氣, a type of energy believed to flow through the body and which is present in natural phenomena. Since Westerners do not operate with this concept, how can semanticians decide if such expressions as shengqi 生 氣 'produce qi' are literal or figurative? In fact, sheng also includes the usage 'to be born'. Does it really mean 'to be born' and 'produce' is an extended figurative meaning. This difficulty becomes extreme when we consider qi itself. When a native English speaker encounters the expression shengqi, he feels it is figurative, since there is, for him, no objective concept of 'qi'. However, for a speaker of Chinese who is familiar with the practice of acupuncture, this refers to something which exists in the real world. On the other hand, we might want to say that this is a compound in which the literal meanings of the two morphemes have been lost. But this is easily demonstrated as problematic. We can also split up the compound: bie sheng wo de qi 'Don't produce my qi' 别生我的气, i.e. 'don't get angry at me'. Qi can also function as the head of a verbal expression: qi de yaoming 氣得要 命 'to be qi-ed to the extent that one is going/wants to die'. One could argue that this expression is figurative because it doesn't really mean that the speaker
will die. However, for at least some members of Chinese culture, there is the belief that it is possible to die from too much qi. For speakers of Chinese who do not believe that our bodies actually have qi in them, any such expressions may seem to be figurative and not grounded in experience.

We thus do not intend to argue with the view that the distinction between literal and metaphorical or figurative language is necessary for non-humanistic analyses of meaning concerned with the direct correspondence between language and reality. This distinction can be dispensed with in the study of folk models however. Folk models are 'interpretations' of reality, not maps of it. Interpretations can therefore never be true in any absolute sense, but are instead relative to the particular (cultural) perspective taken. As we pointed out above, we cannot decide, in any acultural way, whether qi is a literal or figurative concept.

This study will however make use of the term 'metaphor' in the sense of 'conceptual metaphor' employed by Lakoff and Johnson. Conceptual metaphors are concerned with whole structured semantic domains of experience which map onto basic level objects or which elaborate image-schemata. For example, in English, as in Chinese, the emotion of anger is understood in terms of fire: He was fuming. He suddenly flared up. etc.

It will also be useful to make a distinction between 'metaphor', a process concerned with 'similarity' and 'metonymy' which is related to what Roman Jakobson calls 'contiguity'. In other words, we may use a part of the model for an emotion as a way of indicating the emotion itself. Thus, facial expressions like 'smiling' are frequently associated with 'joy'. In fact, in general, in both Chinese and English, we find a metonymy the
PHYSIOLOGICAL AND BEHAVIOURAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION.

1.3 METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS

The assumptions of this study are rooted in a number of traditions. For example, they closely parallel those of the relatively new field of 'cognitive grammar'. Cognitive grammar claims that language is not independent of cognition and that there exist general cognitive and experiential mechanisms or processing capacities that can be specified to language tasks. On this view, the grammar of a language is seen as reflecting a conceptualization of reality. With respect to Chinese, James Tai has attempted to uncover part of the conceptual system underlying Chinese grammar. An important result of Tai's work has been the finding that at least some of the syntax of this language operates by 'iconic' principles, such as the 'whole-part principle' and the 'principle of temporal sequence'.

The tenets of the movement known as 'social constructionism', which are largely sympathetic with cognitive grammar, also underlie the theoretical orientation of the present work. Social constructionism is a method of epistemological inquiry which sees knowledge as a social or cultural process. In other words, as Gergen notes 'knowledge is not something that people possess in their heads, but rather, something people do together'. Although, social constructionism does not belong to any discipline, per se, it has a close affinity with those domains of study concerned with how people make sense of their world, such as, symbolic anthropology, ethnomethodology, and the history and sociology of knowledge. Language necessarily plays a major role
in the construction of our reality. As Grace has pointed out, '...language (is) the means by which ... reality construction is accomplished, it is also the means by which the realities, once constructed, are preserved and transmitted from person to person and from generation to generation.'

One advantage of the constructionist approach is that it allows us to see reality as having many potential versions. For our present purposes this is valuable, since, as pointed out earlier, conceptual problems often arise when we try to apply Western categories to those of non-cognate cultures. On the constructionist view, then, we do not have to try and force different conceptualizations of reality into our own, equally culturally constructed version. Another advantage is that it attempts to transcend the traditional dualism to which the empiricist and rationalist schools of Western philosophy have long been committed.

The major criticism of constructionism is that it appears to favour a rampant relativism. However, our knowledge does have a foundation on this view. As well as coming from our participation in a community of shared intelligibility, our knowledge is firmly grounded in our everyday experiences interacting with our environment.

Another criticism of this view which is especially relevant to the present study is concerned with the role played by language in the construction of reality. This is the problem of psychological validity. Although it may be possible to isolate conceptual metaphors in our everyday language, as pointed out by Lakoff & Johnson, we are still a long way from being able to show that we really live by these metaphors, i.e. think and act in terms of them, as these scholars claim. This criticism is taken seriously in the present study. We shall therefore need to complement this approach with a way of testing the
relationship between our folk models and how members of Chinese culture actually behave. With respect to the emotions in Chinese, we are fortunate in having several important empirical studies by researchers in anthropology and medicine on this topic. \(^{37}\) These scholars offer us an unbiased view of how members of Chinese culture act in time of stress and distress, unbiased, at least, in terms of the relationship between language and cognition. Although essentially concerned with pathological disorders from a clinical perspective, their studies offer us a way of entering the world of experience.

1.4 RESEARCH PROBLEMS AND THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

This study addresses a number of important questions:

(i) Are beliefs about the emotions in Chinese culture, as represented in linguistic data, linked to socially sanctioned action and behaviour?

(ii) Does the linguistic evidence point out any correspondence between physiology and type of emotion in Chinese folk models?

(iii) Are there differences in the way emotions are conceptualized in English and Chinese, e.g. in terms of the prototypical models used to understand them?

(iv) To what extent do the Chinese categories of emotion correspond to universals - at least to what we might expect, given a Western cultural bias, to be potential universals?

(v) What are the implications for understanding the organization of the conceptual system of Chinese?

In attempting to answer the above questions, this study expects to throw light on several important theoretical issues. Firstly, since the current work uses a framework that makes it possible to examine the conceptualization of an area of basic human experience, that of the emotions, the results will be
useful in testing the hypothesis on Chinese that the emotions are purely
cognitive and that there are no physiological differences among them.
Emotion, according to this view, consists merely of a generalized state of
arousal, with the individual emotion itself being determined by the person’s
particular frame of mind.38 Other research however, shows a correlation
between pulse rate and skin temperature and particular emotions.39 Lakoff
and Kövecses have shown that the English metaphors and metonymies used
in our folk model of anger are motivated by our physiology.40 The current
work will test the extent to which this is true in Chinese, both for anger and
the other emotions. Secondly, the results are relevant to a general theory of
meaning. In other words, is there additional evidence in support of the view
that our concepts are embodied. In other words, to what extent does the
human body act as a point of departure for the metaphorical elaboration of
abstract concepts.

Although there is convincing evidence in support of this hypothesis, as yet
most of the data has come from English. There is therefore a need for detailed
studies on other languages and cultures before any claim to general validity
can be made.

Last, but not least, the findings are relevant to a theory of discourse or
textual understanding. As de Beaugrande notes, 'the question of how people
know what is going on in a text is a special case of the question of how people
know what is going on in the world at all'.41 For the purpose at hand, this
might be rephrased as: the problem of how speakers of a particular language
understand expressions relating to emotion is a special case of how they
understand the meaning of abstract concepts in general.
1.5 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF STUDY

Although there is no doubt a large number of members in the category of 'emotion' in Chinese, this study is restricted to a detailed analysis of only five. The choice of which emotions to examine is largely determined by the existence of a ready-made folk classification known as the 'Seven Emotions' 七情 qiqing). (We shall explain why we have only chosen five below.) It seems logical to assume that since these have been grouped by the Chinese in this way that they consist of the most prototypical emotions. However this is not as obvious as it appears, since there are at least three different versions of the 'Seven Emotions'. The different versions are the influence of each of the various religions/philosophies that have made their mark on Chinese culture throughout its long history. The main difference in content is that the Buddhist and Confucian versions list 'love' and 'hate', whereas the version influenced by Religious Daoism/folk religions does not. This study uses the latter version for a number of reasons. Firstly, Buddhism was a religion imported from India rather than a native-grown one. On the other hand, Confucianism was the philosophy/religion of the ruling elite. Religious Daoism, however, evolved from a combination of local folk beliefs and practices. Religious Daoism developed in the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D., from a fusion of Philosophical Daoism and popular religious cults. However, the religious beliefs themselves, such as the idea of yin and yang, the two complementary forces which maintain the harmony of the universe, goes back earlier than this period. The version based on Religious Daoism has a well-developed theory which sought to explain the way the universe operated and man's relationship with the world in general. Traditional Chinese medicine
owes many of its assumptions to this belief-system, especially to the idea of 'balance', explicit in the concepts of yin and yang. Since the influence of emotion on one's health is considered a part of medical theory, there are implications for the present study.

The emotions that we shall be examining are: 'anger' 怒 nu; 'fear' 恐 kong; 'worry' 憂 you; 'sadness' 悲 bei; and 'joy' 喜 xi. In deciding only to treat five of the traditional seven, we have chosen to eliminate 'longing' 思 si, since this character is usually used with the meaning of 'think' in modern Chinese. There is also a lack of linguistic evidence to support the inclusion of this term as a separate emotion. Similarly, the other character 驚 jing, usually glossed as 'fright' refers to a concept that is related to 'fear'. It is revealing to look at the other versions of the emotions. In Confucianism, we find 'joy' 喜 xi; 'anger' 怒 nu; 'grief' 哀 ai; 'fear' 懼 ju; 'love' 愛 ai; 'hate' 惡 wu; and 'desire' 欲 yu. Buddhism agrees partly with Daoism and partly with Confucianism. Its seven consist of: 'joy' 喜 xi; 'anger' 怒 nu; worry 憂 you; 'fear' 懼 ju; 'love' 愛 ai; 'hate' 惡 zeng; and 'desire' 欲 yu.

Why do we find such differences in the members of the 'Seven Emotions'? We might also add, why 'seven'? Firstly, the use of the number 'seven' is probably symbolic rather than reflective of the actual number of emotions freely expressed in Chinese culture. Secondly, the Daoists, Buddhists and Confucians obviously had their reasons for including the various emotions in their respective versions. The Daoists were concerned with the relationship between the emotions and illness. The emotions they chose reflect that interest. Both Buddhism and Confucianism were concerned with morality and human relationships. It is not surprising that they included 'desire' and 'love' and 'hate' in their sets. The fact that Buddhism contains no emotion
equivalent to sadness/sorrow/grief is no doubt a result of the nature of that religion. 43

Although the main point of this study is linguistic and such discussions of traditional Chinese medicine and philosophy may seem marginal and only useful as a cultural background, we should bear in mind that there is now a substantial body of literature, mentioned earlier, which suggests that culture in fact plays a major role in creating or constructing meaning. 44 At the same time, this point brings up some important limitations on what exactly a study of this nature can uncover about the conceptual structure of emotion in Chinese. For example, it does not enable us to find out, in most cases, the types of actions that can be considered the causes of certain emotions. Secondly, it does not give us access to individual variation or variation across social classes or groups. 45 Finally we may not be able to say anything about the psychological reality of the models uncovered.

It is difficult to know if the Chinese actually use the models or are even aware of them. However this last limitation may be less true for Chinese than for English. There is enough evidence in the medical literature to suggest that members of the Chinese culture not only understand illness in terms of a cultural model based on the belief THE BODY IS A HOMEOSTATIC ORGANISM, but that they also base their actions on that model. The idea of 氣 qi, the energy that is believed to flow through the body and which plays a vital role in maintaining health, and its associated folk models, is thus perceived as having the same psychological reality for the Chinese (at least for those who have not given up Chinese medicine in favour of Western medicine) as 'germs' and 'bacteria' etc. do for the Westerner. 46 This is not as strange as it may first appear. Schweder, in an interesting paper on the comparative study of
emotions, makes the point that it is not necessary for something to have weight and extension in space to be considered real. On the contrary, if something has 'an effect on the way we understand, treat, and react to things (that are material)', then it can be considered to be real. Thus for qi to be real in Chinese culture does not mean that its material existence in the human body has to be proven in the human body by scientific methods. It is thus not too farfetched to assume a similar perceived reality for the emotions.

1.6 ORGANIZATION OF THIS STUDY

This study develops as follows: Chapter II reviews the main issues in the literature on emotion. Chapter III looks at the relationship between the somatic experience of emotion in Chinese and the linguistic realization of that experience. The emotion of WORRY is treated in Chapter IV. Chapter V examines GRIEF and chapter VI FEAR. JOY is dealt with in Chapter VII. The metonymies and metaphors which go to make up the folk model of ANGER. are presented in chapter VIII. Finally, Chapter IX summarizes the results obtained in this study and their implications for theories of conceptual structure. Some potential applications are suggested and directions for further research are identified.
NOTES:


2. See Boucher, 1979, for discussion.

3. Obeyesekere, 1985. Obeyesekere gives the following quote from Brown and Harris, 1978: 235, a work concerned with the exploration of depression as caused by social and psychological conditions:

"The immediate response to loss of an important source of positive value is likely to be a sense of hopelessness, accompanied by a gamut of feelings, ranging from distress, depression, and shame to anger. Feelings of hopelessness will not always be restricted to the provoking incident - large or small. It may lead to thoughts about the hopelessness of one's life in general. It is such generalization of hopelessness that we believe forms the central core of depressive disorder."


5. See, for example, Schank & Abelson, 1977.


8. This term is from the work of Arthur Kleinman.


15. Haiman, 1980, distinguishes the 'encyclopedia/dictionary' distinction.


24. Basic level categorization was first pointed out by Brown, 1958, in his study of categorization in child language acquisition.
32. As outlined by Langacker, 1987. The work of Lakoff, 1987 is also in the same vein, as is Tai's, 1989 research on Chinese. Kövecses, 1986 is an attempt at applying this approach to the analysis of the structure of several emotion concepts in the English lexicon.
34. See Gergen, 1985, for a good review of social constructionism in psychology.
41. de Beaugrande, 1980: 30.

42. See Crump, 1982, for a discussion of the connotations of 'seven' in a variety of cultures. The psychological significance of the number 'seven' is discussed by Miller,

43. Cf. Obeysekere's, 1985, comments on the inadequacy of Western categories to automatically fit other cultures. He points out that what is considered an emotional state in Western culture would be a natural part of being a Buddhist.


45. There is some evidence, e.g. Leff, 1981, in the psychiatric literature that different social classes use different ways to talk about their emotions. This is related to Bernstein's, 1958, well-known and controversial distinction between 'elaborated' and 'restricted' codes.


47. Schweder, 1985: 197.
CHAPTER II

EMOTION: BODIES AND MINDS AND OTHER MISCELLANEA

2.1 EMOTION

The study of emotion has played a central role in a number of related disciplines and has given rise to several issues which often gain attention in neighbouring fields. Ideally, we should be able to give a neutral review of these main issues that researchers have attempted to address. However, it is not possible to ignore the context of underlying philosophical assumptions which have guided research questions about emotion. For example, the field of psychology has not only long debated the problem of whether or not there are specific bodily response patterns for the different emotions and also whether cognition plays a role, but has also devoted much of its research towards finding an answer to this problem. In other words, where are the emotions, in the body or in the mind? But such a question is strongly influenced by our own cultural assumptions. Not all cultures believe in a separate body and mind. Nor do they necessarily have a long academic tradition of studying the workings of the mind in isolation from the body. The question itself is therefore a cultural one, framed within a Cartesian philosophical paradigm, as in fact are the majority of questions that have been asked about the nature of emotion. At the same time, it would be foolish to overlook the usefulness of this research. Perhaps our biggest mistake is in the assumption that one theoretical approach is correct. It is more likely
both somatically and psychologically, and that there are important universal and cultural factors to be considered. By looking at the phenomenon from a number of different perspectives we can also gain a greater insight into its many potential realizations.

Before we undertake an overview of some of the major issues that have been treated in the vast literature on the emotions, it is important to point out that the term 'emotion' itself is problematic. We cannot identify emotions as objects in the outside world the way we can trees, stones, and dogs. Unfortunately, few researchers in psychology, psychiatry and anthropology have stopped to ask themselves just what exactly they are trying to investigate. Our own predominantly linguistic concern with the problem of abstract concepts thus turns out to have important consequences for the practices of the academic disciplines involved in the very investigation of the concepts themselves. The general tendency in the case of the emotions is to treat them as objects or psychological states which have some prior reality.\(^1\) We briefly consider the problem of the emotions and the body/mind split in 2.1.1.

The relatively new field of inquiry known as cross-cultural psychiatry has gathered an impressive amount of data on the expression of both normal and pathological emotional states in a number of cultures around the world. The most noteworthy finding from this research has been the discovery that many cultures (the tendency is to oppose Western vs. non-Western cultures) express emotion through a variety of aches and pains, insomnia, loss of appetite etc., as opposed to the Western practice of referring to psychological states. This has particular relevance for a study of emotion in Chinese, since it is often observed that Chinese culture favours this way of emotional expression.\(^2\) We
take up the issue of the somatization vs. the psychologization of emotion in 2.1.2.

The problem of whether there are universals of human emotion is an issue that has stimulated research in cross-cultural psychology. This topic has been tackled from two directions. Firstly, experimental work has been done on the recognition of facial expression across a wide range of different cultures. Secondly, the cultural variation of the issue has led to an examination of the ways in which various languages/cultures talk about their emotions. We examine some of the evidence for the universalist and non-universalist positions in 2.1.3.

Finally, we look at an issue which is central to the present research. This has to do with the meaning of emotion (and, we might add, with the meaning of abstract concepts in general). Much of the impetus for the need for a new approach to meaning has come from a realization that the important insights of Western science need to be complemented with an approach that acknowledges the major role played by culture in the construction of our understanding. Different approaches to meaning are treated in 2.1.4.

This section thus reviews the main issues encountered in studies on the emotions in general and in research on emotion talk in non-Western cultures in particular. The four central concerns mentioned above are treated. These are: i.) theoretical disagreements about the locus of emotion; ii.) the somatization vs. the psychologization of emotional expression; iii.) universal and cultural specific aspects of emotion; and, iv.) the meaning of emotion.

2.1.1 The Locus of Emotion: in the Body or in the Mind?
Lyons identifies four main theoretical streams in the literature on emotion. What these theories have in common is the recognition of a biological component in the emotions that is viewed as a pan-human trait. Where they differ is in whether they allow for the role of cognition in differentiating one emotion from another. We thus find two conflicting viewpoints emerge from these theoretical approaches. Firstly, there is the hypothesis that there are specific bodily response patterns for the different emotions. The second, and conflicting, view is that there is no physiological response patterning in emotion. The relevant research in support of the latter hypothesis was that done by Schachter and Singer. These scholars hypothesized that the emotions are characterized by a general state of arousal and that which emotion one feels is a matter of what frame of mind one is in. These two views thus suggest that the emotions are, on the one hand, either completely physical, bodily feelings, devoid of conceptual content, or, on the other, purely cognitive.

It is thus significant that much recent work on emotion has been dedicated to experiments which prove or disprove the physiological response patterning hypothesis. However, in spite of the proliferation of psychophysiological research on the topic, the evidence has as yet failed to coalesce into a meaningful pattern. A further problem for the view that emotions must be either in the body or the mind, is the discovery that in some cultures neither situation is the case. For several Oceanic peoples, for example, emotions are seen in terms of social relationships, and are neither psychological states nor bodily feelings. In the last chapter we mentioned the work of Catherine Lutz on the Ifaluk, as an example of this way of viewing emotions.
Next we turn to an issue that has been a natural problem for theories which have seen emotion as belonging to the mind. If emotion is a purely cognitive or psychological phenomenon, then how does one handle cases of 'somatization', where emotion is expressed bodily? Furthermore, we might add, why is it that this manner of expressing emotion tends to exist in non-Western cultures? This topic is treated in our next section.

2.1.2 The Somatic vs. the Psychological Expression of Emotion

Although the somatization of emotional states is no doubt present in all cultures,\textsuperscript{11} it has been found to be most widespread among non-Western cultures. This observation has given impetus to a burgeoning new field of inquiry known as 'cross-cultural psychiatry'.

The revelation that there are cultures that favour somatization was brought to light by anthropologists and psychiatrists during their investigation of cross-cultural differences in the symptomatology of mental disorders. The area where the most progress has been made has been in the cross-cultural study of depression. It has generally been noted that whereas Western patients suffering from depression tend to emphasize psychological factors such as feelings of sadness, hopelessness and worthlessness, their non-Western counterparts tend toward a somatic symptomatology expressed in terms of aches and pains, stomach malaise, insomnia, and loss of vitality.\textsuperscript{12}

Julian Leff, a researcher in cross-cultural psychiatry, has used linguistic evidence from the lexicons of several languages to support the hypothesis that some cultures are less developed in terms of the expression of emotional states.\textsuperscript{13} Although this viewpoint has been severely criticized by both Lutz and Beeman,\textsuperscript{14} it does merit attention here because of its relevance for an
understanding of emotion in Chinese. Leff found in attempts at studying cultural variation in neurotic conditions that there were several languages/cultures with no verbal equivalents for anxiety and depression. For Yoruba, a Nigerian language, no direct translations could be found for 'depression' and 'anxiety'. The only terms available meant literally 'the heart is weak' and 'the heart is not at rest'. For Chinese, Leff, rather surprisingly found only one word which corresponded to 'anxiety', 'tension', and 'worrying'. Leff unfortunately does not give the Chinese word he is referring to. Similarly, Leff also quotes work by Cheetham and Cheetham on the Xhosa of South Africa. The Xhosa apparently use the term 'his heart is very sore' to mean 'he is depressed'.

Leff is working within a framework based on Schachter and Singer and thus sees such somatic expression as the accompanying bodily symptoms of unpleasant emotional experiences. However, since emotions, on this view, are seen as purely cognitive, the physical feelings represent an undifferentiated state of emotional arousal. Leff develops this idea at some length and goes on to give an account of the historical development of English words for unpleasant emotions. For example, the English word 'anxiety' is derived from a Greek root with the original meaning of 'to press tight' or 'to strangle'. Leff notes that 'anger', 'anguish', and 'anxiety' have a common root and 'embody (literally) some of the somatic accompaniments of unpleasant emotion'. He proposes that emotion words develop in four steps by referring to the following experiences: undifferentiated bodily experiences; undifferentiated bodily and psychological experiences; undifferentiated psychological experiences; progressive differentiation of distinct psychological experience.
Although Leff suggests that 'many non-Indo-European languages are still at stage 1 or 2 (of this scheme)' (emphasis mine), he does admit that it is possible for Indo-European languages such as English to refer directly to the somatic experience of emotion. Leff believes that the references to bodily experiences in English have lost their original meanings and have become metaphors. They have apparently been superseded by a large number of words which have been developed as a way of expressing the psychological experience of emotion. It is thus possible, according to Leff, to view the historical process as one from the somatization to the psychologization of emotional experience. However since the physical expression of emotion is seen as a relatively undifferentiated state of emotional arousal (à la Schachter and Singer), what this means is that some languages/cultures are seen as undeveloped in terms of emotional expression. Leff goes on to note that there are class distinctions within a culture where people of lower class and lower education tend to express emotion in somatic terms. The view that there are differences in the language and cognitive style between social classes owes much to the theory of 'restricted' and 'elaborated' codes proposed by the British sociologist Basil Bernstein. Leff is therefore able to advance his hypothesis of differences in learning experiences and social environment as a way of accounting for both variation across cultures and within them.

Although Leff is certainly aware of variation within the same culture, his approach does leave us is with a more or less neat dichotomy between languages/cultures which somatize the emotions and those which psychologize them. While it is certainly true that some cultures express emotion somatically, it may not be an all-or-nothing affair as Leff believes. For example, Cheung cites clinical evidence from a study carried out in Hong
Kong which showed that although patients diagnosed as suffering from depression initially complained of bodily aches and pains, they did talk about feeling sad and depressed when asked. One of the major problems with Leff's argument appears to stem from the mistaken view that words have literal meanings that map directly onto an objective unmediated reality. This means that Western categories, such as 'depression' or 'anxiety', are immediately assumed to be universal. When the categories of other cultures, usually non-Western, are found not to correspond in any direct way, it is concluded that these cultures are undeveloped in terms of the expression of emotion. This study rejects such simplistic arguments. As we pointed out earlier, this rigid application of the Western academic paradigm can only lead to such undesirable ethnocentric conclusions as that reached by Leff, since it fails to recognize the role played by cultural belief systems in creating an emotional reality. As Catherine Lutz, an anthropologist who has done extensive work on emotion among the Ifaluk, points out, it would be interesting to reverse the situation and test the ability of Europeans to distinguish between the emotion designated by the Ifaluk word fago ('love/compassion/sadness') and that of lalomweiu ('loneliness/sadness'). It therefore appears that a more productive route would be to examine the whole structure of several common emotion concepts in a non-Indo-European language such as Chinese in an effort to find out how those emotions are understood by members of that culture.

Next we examine some of the problems that have cropped up in the cross-cultural study of emotion with respect to discovering which aspects belong to the domain of universal human experience and which are the result of cultural factors.
2.1.3 Universals and Particulars

We now turn to the field of cross-cultural psychology. One of the main issues in this subdiscipline has been the problem of finding out which aspects of emotion are universal and which are learned as part of culture. Although it is clear that the answer to the question is not an 'either/or' dichotomy, there has been a tendency, as Boucher points out in his review of the literature on this topic, to consider emotion as belonging either completely to the universal domain of human behaviour or wholly conditioned by cultural specific factors.23

One of the main approaches used to study emotion in this area has been the investigation of facial expression. In cross-cultural studies the major issue has been the relationship between culture and the facial expression of emotion. This line of research has important implications for the question of whether or not the facial behaviour concomitant with the experience of emotion can be shown to have cross-cultural generality or is culture specific. This question will have an ultimate bearing on the problem of discovering if there is a biological basis to emotion that includes facial expression.24 Such research will therefore have an important bearing on the issue of universality.

The study of the cross-cultural investigation of emotion began with the work of Darwin.25 Darwin observed facial affective behaviour in different cultures and noted similarities between human facial expression and the facial behaviour of animals. He concluded that there were universals of human facial expression and that these expressions were remnants of our biological evolution from the lower animals.
It is only in the last couple of decades or so that this line of research has resurfaced and gained a certain amount of respectability. Although there is still a lack of consensus in the field as to whether or not facial expressions of emotion are in fact universal, as proposed by Darwin, several important studies by Paul Ekman and his associates have yielded positive results. The latter researchers note that the emotions of anger, disgust, fear, happiness, sadness, and surprise, have been shown to be accurately identified in cross-cultural studies by different investigators. However, although experimental results have been successful in pointing out commonalities in the cross-cultural facial expression of emotion, this does not mean that there is no variation in facial behaviour or other expression of emotion across cultures. Several researchers have suggested that social learning may play a major part in affect display and that certain emotions and/or ways of expressing emotion may be reinforced in certain cultures. This has prompted some theorists to propose a set of 'display rules' that guide members of a particular culture to display culturally acceptable behaviour with respect to the expression of emotion. Others have pointed out the important role played by culture in determining when to express one's emotions.

Other researchers have been concerned with the way different cultures talk about their emotions. Heelas has noted that there are several ways that we may talk about emotions: by directly referring to emotions as inner experiences - 'I feel angry.', 'I hide my fear'; by referring to bodily parts or organs - 'I vented my spleen'; by the use of physiological phenomena - 'I tingled with fear'; by reference to behavioural manifestations - 'Her smile said it all.'; by appealing to contexts - 'You can imagine how I felt when I saw the Alps'; and finally, by the use of diverse metaphors and other figures of speech -
'Love is like a red, red rose'. Heelas further suggests that the main differences between emotion talk across cultures are related to different ideas about the nature of emotions with respect to their loci, their generation, their powers etc. These differences will influence which vehicles are used in emotion talk.

The extent to which the categorization of emotion may differ is best exemplified by the following example from Rosaldo. Her research is on the key emotion terms used by the Ifongot, a small group living in the remote reaches of northern Luzon. According to Rosaldo:

'Liget is associated most readily with a variety of words suggesting chaos, separation, and confusion, words that point to the disruptive qualities of 'anger' uncontrolled by 'knowledge - anger that derives from someone else's fury or success. Red ornaments, signifying the liget of a killer, can irritate the unaccomplished members of his audience; boasts testify, as they give rise, to liget among 'equals'; red in the sky at sunset is a form of liget that can make people ill.'

Furthermore, liget may have positive associations:

'Opposed to the chaotic energy of a distracted heart is liget that is given form or focus, an 'energy' shaped by 'knowledge', and directed to some end. 'I am full of liget when I hunt', a man says, 'because I do not fear the forest'; 'I am moved by liget at the thought of eating game'. Unlike wild 'anger', such 'energy' is creative, and whereas unfocused liget breeds distraction, liget that is concentrated towards a desirable object transcends the challenge and irritation at its roots. Concentrated liget is what makes babies, stirs one on to work, determines killers, gives people strength and courage, narrows vision on a victim or task.'

On the other hand, any display of 'anger' may be discouraged, as it is among the (Inuit) Eskimo, where it is believed that this emotion is a sign of immaturity and it is only expressed by the very young, the mentally retarded, and whites.
It may be also that whole geographic areas use similar strategies to talk about the emotions. There are other cultures where the emotions are viewed in terms of social relationships rather than bodily or psychological experience, as we mentioned earlier as being the case with several Oceanic peoples.

Matisoff's paper on the comparative lexical semantics of psychological terms in English and languages of South East Asia notes that many languages of East and South East Asia appear to be opposed to 'Standard Average European' languages in their semantic treatment of psychological phenomena.\textsuperscript{33} In SAE, expressions for intellectual activities, qualities of personality, or emotion, tend to constitute a covert class, i.e. they contain no reference to a psychological or mental phenomenon. The opposite is true in Southeast Asian languages, where such phenomena are treated overtly by means of multimorphemic set expressions, which usually contain a constituent which refers explicitly to the psyche. Such expressions, termed 'psycho-collocations' or 'psi-collocations' by Matisoff, are made up of a 'psycho-noun'. A psycho-noun is a noun with explicit psychological reference which can be translated into English as \textsc{heart}, \textsc{mind}, \textsc{spirit}, \textsc{soul}, \textsc{temper}, \textsc{nature}, \textsc{disposition}, \textsc{mood}. The psycho-nouns tend to be situated along a psycho-somatic continuum which shows no clear dividing line between mind and body. Matisoff distinguishes three types of psycho-nouns: a) mostly mental - contain words equivalent to English mind, soul, spirit, b) inherently ambiguous - as in the reference to the physical manifestation of emotion in the heart, and c) mostly physical - contain reference to visceral organs such as liver, guts, gall-bladder etc. Matisoff concludes that there are a greater proportion of nouns which refer to body organs in the lexicons of East and Southeast Asian than there are in Western languages, although there are
expressions in English and European languages which contain references to these organs.

Although Matisoff does use some examples from Chinese, there are two papers which deal directly with research on the language of emotion in Chinese and show that this language/culture operates in much the same way.34

The above discussion shows that the issues surrounding the universals vs. particulars debate are complex. Not only do they involve different theoretical positions and methodologies, but also different philosophical assumptions. Although as we noted above, the study of the facial expression of emotion has revealed a set of six pan-cultural emotions, this set is only a set and not the set.35 The earlier objections we raised to the practice of searching for a priori universals is also valid here. Research in this area has started with a pre-defined set of discrete emotions or emotion dimensions, based on emotion terms in English, and has then attempted to locate universals by comparing this set across cultures. This commits the error of assuming that the categories of Western academic psychology should somehow be free of cultural bias. Kleinman has expressed similar sentiments about the dangers of imposing our own culturally constructed categories on the categories of other cultures.36 It is debatable to what extent we may talk about an emotion being universal if, although the facial expression exists cross-culturally, the way in which members of a given culture act when experiencing the emotion and the situations which trigger the emotion differ widely. Are we talking about the same emotion when comparing these factors cross-culturally?

The research surveyed also raises important questions about the nature of meaning which have a bearing on deeper philosophical and epistemological
problems. Any serious attempt at studying emotion, especially in the context of another culture, will thus have to come to grips with these important issues. This brings us to our final topic in this chapter, one which we shall be building on throughout the rest of the current work, that of the problem of how we (or any culture) use our knowledge of the world to give meaning to our emotional experience.

2.1.4 The Meaning of Emotion

We already discussed the problems with the empiricist or mapping view of language and reality in the last chapter. We noted that the componential approach, which breaks the meaning of a concept into ostensibly universal semantic primitives, is a natural consequence of the assumption that language is a representation of reality and that meaning is independent of human understanding. Componential analysis is one way that researchers have chosen to look at the meaning of emotion.

Significantly enough, the bulk of the research on emotion that has made use of componential analysis has been concerned with the meaning of emotion terms in English. Thus Davitz, in his cluster analysis of the meaning of 50 such terms defined 'anger' in terms of HYPERACTIVATION, MOVING AGAINST, TENSION and INADEQUACY, and 'fear' as HYPERACTIVATION, MOVING AWAY, TENSION, INCOMPETENCE: DISSATISFACTION, and INADEQUACY. Other researchers, such as de Rivera used different dimensions but also based their methodologies on componential analysis.37

The assumptions of social constructionism, however, allow us to take a completely different view of meaning. As we pointed out in the last chapter, a basic tenet of scholars working in this framework is that meaning is created
by human beings. Academic theories thus cannot reflect or map reality in any direct or decontextualized manner. What this means for a theory of emotion, is that we cannot expect Western academic psychology, or any other discipline to yield culture free categories for us to carry out our investigation. The valuable, although culturally constructed, insights of our academic disciplines thus need to be reexamined in light of research on a number of non-cognate cultures. In particular, scientific approaches need to be complemented by work on the folk models which form a part of our own cultural belief systems.

Pioneering work by psychologists who view emotion as socially constructed, such as James Averill and T.R. Sarbin, has switched the focus to looking at emotions as social roles, rather than as physiological processes in the body. This constitutes an important new step in recognizing the social and cultural contributions to the construction of meaning. The tradition of looking at meaning as part of the domain of a specialized field of semantics which is largely concerned with abstract mathematical symbols can therefore be complemented by an approach that examines how humans make sense of the world around them. In attempting to accomplish this latter goal, it becomes apparent that researchers in linguistics, anthropology, psychology and medicine share much in common. In some instances their concerns may merge as they investigate the interaction between humans and language, society and culture.

Much of the research in this tradition has been concerned with the discovery of cognitive or folk models and with semantic networks. The degree to which scholars who adopt this approach rely on detailed and systematic analyses based on linguistic data depends on the particular discipline in which they are working. However, one important application of
linguistic methodology has been the study of the role played by metaphor in the construction of emotional experience. Recent work on the study of the conceptual structure of the emotions in English has proposed that there is an intimate relationship between our conceptual system and our everyday language. Such an approach shows the important role played by metaphor and metonymy in the conceptual organization of our everyday experience as a way of understanding difficult, complex, abstract, or less clearly delineated concepts. For example, the concepts of love, anger, and pride can be partly understood in terms of the following conceptual metaphors.40

LOVE IS A NUTRIENT

She's starved for affection.
I need love.
He's love-starved.
I can't live without love.
He thrives on love.
She's sustained by love.
He hungered for love.

ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL

He has a ferocious temper.
He has a fierce temper.
It's dangerous to arouse his anger.
That awakened my ire.
His anger grew.
He unleashed his anger.
Don't let your anger get out of hand.
He lost his grip on his anger.
His anger is insatiable.

PRIDE IS A PERSON

His criticism hurt her pride.
They humbled his pride.
His pride revolted against the treatment he received.
His national pride was roused/awakened by the stupid comments.
Don’t say anything that may wound his pride.
His pride was deeply injured.

We can also find, in English, a number of recurring metaphors which are used to understand a variety of different emotions. For example, THE CONTAINER METAPHOR, which gives us THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS, can account for some of the expressions used to talk about love, anger, pride, and fear:

**ANGER**

He was boiling with anger.
His pent-up anger welled-up inside him.
He blew his stack.

**LOVE**

She was filled with love.
Warm feelings welled-up inside him.
He poured out his affections on her.

**PRIDE**

Her pride rose as she watched her children perform.
He swelled with pride.
His good performance filled him with pride.

**FEAR**

Fear was rising in him.
The sight filled her with fear.
He was full of fear.

Another recurring metaphor for the emotions is that of the BURDEN metaphor, which occurs when the target domain is considered unpleasant or bad:
ANGER

He carries his anger around with him.
You’ll feel better if you get it off your chest.
Unburdening himself of his anger gave him a sense of relief.

FEAR (DANGER)

He was greatly relieved when the danger was over.
His fears were alleviated when the neighbors came home.
He was burdened by the possibility of not seeing his friend anymore.

Not only are these concepts understood by an elaborate system of metaphors, but they are also composed of (for English): a system of metonymies; a system of related concepts, and a system of cognitive models.

In spite of the detailed work that has been done on the structure of the emotions in English, there as yet has been no attempt to follow up this type of analysis for other languages. There is reason to believe, as shown in our review, that not all cultures conceptualize emotions in the same way. In light of the work by Kövecses, and Lakoff discussed above, as well as the issues which emerge from the literature, there is a need for a detailed in-depth analysis of abstract concepts, such as the emotions, in a non-Western culture. The present study, by concentrating on the conceptual analysis of several common emotion concepts in Chinese, is thus expected to fill an important gap in our knowledge. In chapter 3 we examine the relationship between the somatic expression of emotional experience in Chinese culture and linguistic resources used to talk about this experience. In Chapter 4, and subsequent chapters, we shall be taking a look at the folk models for several common emotion terms in Chinese as reflected in the conventionalized linguistic expressions used to talk about them.
2.2 SUMMARY

The above discussion outlined the central problems and issues which surround the study of emotion. Four areas of concern were picked out as being most relevant to an understanding of this topic. They were: the problem of whether emotions are located in the body or in the mind; the somatization vs. the psychologization of emotion as reflected cross-culturally, and to a certain extent, across social classes; the issue of what should be considered universal and what should be classed as cultural specific in the study of emotion; and, finally, we took a look at two ways of analyzing the meaning of emotion. The first was the use of componential analysis, an approach based solely on sense relations, and the second, a view which sees meaning as socially or culturally constructed and knowledge as organized in terms of cognitive or folk models.
NOTES:

1. Harré, 1986: 53, makes the point that:

'Psychologists have always had to struggle against a persistent illusion that in such studies as those of the emotions there is something there, the emotion, of which the emotion word is a mere representation. This ontological illusion, that there is an abstract and detachable 'it' upon which research can be directed, probably lies behind the defectiveness of much emotion research. In many cases the only 'it' is some physiological state which is the basis of some felt perturbation. Swayed by the ontological illusion, it is easy to slip into thinking that that state is the emotion. But in the case of the emotions, what is there is the ordering, selecting and interpreting work upon which an act of management of fragments of life depend. We can do only what our linguistic resources and repertoire of social practices permit or enable us to do. There has been a tendency among both philosophers and psychologists to abstract an entity --- call it 'anger', 'love', 'grief' or 'anxiety' --- and try to study it. But what there is are angry people, upsetting scenes, sentimental episodes, grieving families and funerals, anxious parents pacing at midnight, and so on. There is a concrete world of contexts and activities. We reify and abstract from that concreteness at our peril.'


7. See Wolff and Wolff 1947; Ax 1953; Lacey 1967.


9. Grings and Dawson, 1978:6, review much of the relevant research and reach the following conclusion:

'Although our personal experience may lead us to believe that different emotions are associated with different bodily reactions, the research results do not strongly support this hypothesis.' (p. 6)

Similarly, Lyons, 1980:19, makes the following remark:

'...the claim that there are patterns of physiological changes peculiar to each emotion is at best supported by conflicting evidence and at worse should be considered falsified.'
10. This is the case with the Ifaluk, a people who live on a Micronesian atoll. See Lutz, 1986. Other researchers have found similar results for other Oceanic peoples. See for example, Gerber, 1975, on the Samoans, Myers, 1979, on the Pintup Aborigines, and White, 1981, on the A'ara speakers of the Solomon Islands.

11. Research indicates that somatization is most commonly restricted to the lower class in Western societies. See, for example, Leff 1973; 1977; 1981.


16. There are in fact several words in Chinese that would serve to translate the English terms, e.g., 沮喪; 着急, etc.


19. He cites this passage as evidence:

'...My heart was in my mouth as I strode up the driveway. Although I hated his guts, my stomach turned over as I approached his house. I knocked on the door and my heart leapt as I heard his footsteps inside. Shivers went down my back as he fumbled with the catch, then as he flung open the door my skin crawled at the sight of him. "I speak from the heart when I say I can't stomach you" I blurted out. He laughed sneeringly and I felt my gorge rise. "You're a pain in the neck", he growled. His retort stuck in my throat. "I am here because of the woman whose heart you have broken", I asserted, and the thought of Amanda brought a lump to my throat. He turned his back on me so suddenly that I almost jumped out of my skin. My brain reeled as I reached for my ...'(p.46)

20. Bernstein, 1958. Bernstein found that children from English middle-class backgrounds had a more differentiated vocabulary than those from working-class backgrounds. He explained this in terms of the different learning environments which children from different social backgrounds are subjected to. He also stated that the way in which working-class people use language limits the verbal communication of feeling.


27. See, for example, Caudill and Weinstein, 1969; Bond and Shiraishi, 1974.


29. Myers, 1979: 349, notes that:

'The determination of when one ought to be angry, when sad, when sorry when lonely, and how to act, is largely a cultural matter.'


34. The first paper is Liang's, 1939, study entitled 'Verbal Expressions of Emotion'. Liang used common verbal expressions of emotion in Chinese obtained from earlier research and presented them to a group of 51 patients (Liang does not mention what kind of 'patients' are being referred to). The words were arranged under the headings of 'elation', 'fear', 'depression', and 'anxiety', and patients were asked to check the words which they themselves would use to express those emotional states. Although Liang fails to present a clear and systematic analysis of the results, s/he does note the existence of a large number of expressions of emotion which relate to different parts of the body, e.g. the use of mei 眉 'eyebrow' in choumei 愁眉 'knitted eyebrows' to mean 'worry', and shenmei 伸眉 'stretched eyebrows' to mean 'gratification'. Liang also mentions danpo 膽破 'rupture of the gall bladder' to mean 'fear' and fazhi 髮指 'the hair stands up straight' to suggest anger.

Another paper, by Klineberg, 1938, examines emotional expression in Chinese literature. Klineberg points out that social factors play an important role in the patterning of emotional expression. Klineberg illustrates his point by mentioning parts of the Chinese classic Liji 禮記 The Book of Rites which are devoted to giving elaborate instructions on how to express grief in a socially acceptable manner. The works read for the study were The Dream of the Red Chamber (read in Chinese) and All Men are Brothers (read in its English translation). From these works the author gives several examples, which are unfortunately all given in English with no mention of the original Chinese expressions. Among these are references to sweating, trembling, and loss of control of bowels and bladder for fear, the gnashing of teeth, fainting, staring
with one's eyes round, and death for anger. Unfortunately, Klineberg's paper is anecdotal and also gives no exact references to the original sources.

CHAPTER III

SOMATIZATION: THE LINK BETWEEN LANGUAGE AND BEHAVIOUR

3.1 EMOTIONS AND HEALTH IN CHINESE CULTURE: PAST AND PRESENT

The relationship between the emotions and illness in traditional Chinese medical theory is well developed. The Chinese naturalist philosophy of the Zhou (ca. 1100-221 B.C.) and Han (206 - 221 A.D.) dynasties operated under the fundamental belief that the universe was governed by the ever-changing balance between the yin and yang principles. These principles represented opposing yet complementary aspects of the universe. This is an idea implicit in the Daoist conceptualization of the universe which assumes that every concept carries within it the seeds of its opposite. Thus: 樂極生悲 ('Extreme joy begets sorrow'). Every object, event, and action was thus influenced by this constantly changing relationship between the two principles. The human body was viewed as a microcosm of the universe and a balanced body resulted in health. Much of traditional Chinese medical practice, such as acupuncture, is aimed at restoring a natural and healthy state of equilibrium, internally and with respect to the external environment and therefore operates with this same belief-system.¹

Three types of factors may be responsible for imbalance, and thus may cause illness. Firstly, there are environmental factors, such as the six climatic phenomena of wind, cold; heat or fire; dampness; dryness; and
summer heat. Secondly, life style factors, such as diet, sexual activity, and physical activity could upset the balance of yin and yang in one's body. Finally, there were the 'Seven Emotions', which we have chosen as the point of departure for our study. These emotions are first mentioned in the Classic of Internal Medicine, or Nei Jing, compiled between 300 and 100 B.C., which is the earliest written source of Chinese medical theory.²

Another important concept in the understanding of traditional Chinese medicine and the relationship between the body and the emotions is that of qi, or energy that is believed to flow through the body. This concept is not only related to the emotions, but also plays an important role in understanding both the universe and the human body. Qi in the body is believed to have three origins: original qi which is handed down from one's parents; the qi which is extracted from the food we eat; and, finally, the qi that is extracted from the air we breathe. Qi is believed to be in all parts of the body. It not only flows through the meridians which connect all parts of the body, but is also in the internal organs themselves. Any relative excess or deficiency of qi results in disease.

For our immediate purposes, the most interesting aspect of qi is the way it is influenced by the emotions. The Nei Jing gives the following relationship between the emotions and the behaviour of qi:

怒則氣上 - the qi rises when there is anger

喜則氣緩 - the qi is slow when there is joy

悲則氣消 - the qi is weak when there is sadness
恐則氣下 - the qi descends when there is fear

驚則氣亂 - the qi is chaotic when there is fright

思則氣結 - the qi is obstructed when one is pensive

There were also correspondences between the emotions and the organs of the body which were formulated in an elaborate system that matched up various aspects of the universe and human experience, such as colours, tastes, directions etc., with the five fundamental elements: metal, wood, fire, water, and earth. However, in this system, since it was based on the number 'five', two of the emotions were ignored.

Although these traditional beliefs have played an important role in the medical practices of members of Chinese culture for at least two thousand years, it would be misleading to assume that they ever represented a monolithic system. It seems clear that they have always existed alongside, as they do today, a plethora of different explanatory models for coping with illness, such as shamanism, astrology, physiognomy, and geomancy, as well as herbal and, more recently, Western medicine. It is not surprising, then, that for the emotions, we can find different sets corresponding to the three major religions/philosophies of Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism.

The close relationship between the emotions and the body is also apparent in modern China. We have already stated that a key finding of cross-cultural psychiatry and psychology has been the strong tendency for non-Western cultures to express emotional states, both pathological and non-pathological, in somatic terms. Arthur Kleinman, a leading scholar in the field of cross-cultural psychiatry, has combined insights from both psychiatry and
anthropology in the study of somatization in China. His comments on this
phenomenon are revealing: 3

‘In many non-Western societies 'somatization' (the presentation of
personal and interpersonal distress in an idiom of physical complaints
together with a coping pattern of medical help-seeking) has been shown to
be the predominant expression of difficulties in living. That is to say,
individuals experience serious personal and social problems but interpret
and articulate them, and indeed come to experience and respond to them,
through the medium of the body. Loss, injustice, failure, conflict --- all are
transformed into discourse about pain and disability that is a metaphor for
discourse and action about the self and the social world. The body
mediates the individual’s perception, experience, and interpretation of
problems in social life. Mental disorder is a prime instance.’

Somatization, then, does not consist merely of undifferentiated bodily
experiences which accompany emotional arousal, as others have believed.
Rather than the indication that a culture has failed to reach the epitome of
emotional development, i.e. the psychologization of emotion, somatization
consists of a complex system of communication ('idiom') for managing
interpersonal relationships and coping with the experiences of everyday life.
In other words, pain and illness have meaning within a particular culture. 4

The many studies that have been done on somatization in China, and
elsewhere, generally agree about the way in which somatic complaints are
expressed. Most common are headaches, stomach aches, insomnia, lack of
energy, loss of appetite, general aches and pains, weight loss, and agitation.
Chinese patients also complain of a lack of qi. 5 Below we shall be looking at
our data-base of chengyu (four character expressions) in terms of the
frequency of occurrence of these features in expressions pertaining to
emotional experience.
3.2 THE DATA-BASE

There are potentially a number of methods we could use for the compilation of a data-base. Perhaps the ideal situation would be to conduct anthropological fieldwork in a rural area of China in an attempt to collect those linguistic expressions which are most currently used by the majority of the members of Chinese culture. However, constraints on time and financial resources have meant that we have had to rely on published sources of data. The advantage of this type of data is that it has already been classified into a number of categories, including emotions. There are also several disadvantages. Firstly, the most accessible data was in the form of *chengyu*. These are four character expressions usually believed to be literary in origin. Many of these expressions may therefore not be used in everyday language. Even if they are used, it will be by the educated elite, rather than by the peasants or farmers who make up approximately 80% of China's population. Another problem with *chengyu* is that they are durable expressions which have, in many cases, been in use for hundreds or even thousands of years. Many can be traced back, in their written forms, over two thousand years. (see discussion on sources of *chengyu* below). We therefore have no way of knowing if they are learned as unanalyzed wholes, or if the native speaker is actually aware of the individual meanings of each character. In at least some cases, it appears that they must be unanalyzed. *Chengyu* often contain rare or obscure characters which would be rarely used in colloquial speech.

At the same time it should be emphasized that the issue is not whether or not all native speakers understand or use each of the expressions in question. The point is that there are certain ways of conceptualizing emotions in Chinese culture. Linguistic expressions describing the emotions can be
expected, to a certain degree, to reflect the underlying conceptual system. As a way of testing this intuition, we also carried out a pilot project to see if the most common colloquial expressions used by a small number of native speakers did in fact elaborate emotional experience in terms of the same experiential domains. The results of this pilot project are given in 3.3.

We also made limited use of another kind of data, known as xiehouyu. Although these are colloquial expressions (usually puns) and would in principle be an excellent source of data for our present purposes, we did not have access to a classified xiehouyu dictionary. The only published collection available was a four volume set containing approximately 60,000 expressions (歇后语大全, published by 中國民間文藝出版社). After a preliminary classification had been made, we decided to draw on these as secondary material. A similar situation was apparent for other types of conventionalized colloquial expressions, such as 俗語 suyu 'colloquial sayings' and 顏語 yanyu 'proverbs'. Once again the dictionaries were not classified by subject, and so we were only able to make limited use of such data.

We decided, then, to make use of four-character expressions for two important reasons. Firstly, even though chengyu may be unanalyzed wholes, they are still cultural products. This is important for our task at hand because the beliefs they express are a valuable clue to cultural values and often embody explanatory models which show how the world should be understood. Chengyu, then, can be construed as parts of what we have referred to as 'folk' or 'cultural' models, or as what de Sousa calls 'paradigm scenarios'. Paradigm scenarios are found in the myths, fairy tales etc. of a culture and play an important role in shaping our beliefs. For example, most
people in the West continue to believe that wolves are cruel and vicious animals that will attack man on sight. This is an image that has been constructed by means of our fairy tales, literature, and sensationalized media accounts. However, this picture is completely false when compared with the results of research by biologists on the living habits of wolves.

Secondly, there are many readily available dictionaries compiled by native Chinese containing these expressions. At the same time, so as to avoid the problem of deciding if a given chengyu referred to a certain emotion category, our choice was limited. The only dictionary that we were able to locate which was classified according to the meanings of chengyu was 漢語成语分類詞典 Hanyu chengyu fenlei cidian (A Classified Dictionary of Chinese Chengyu), compiled by Ye Zixiong et al. This dictionary contains a total of 6,300 chengyu divided under nine major headings. A heading entitled 情感 友誼 Qinggan youyi (Feelings and Friendship) revealed categories corresponding closely to the folk classification of the 'Seven Emotions'. These were: 喜樂 xile 'happiness'; 憤怒 zengnu 'anger'; 悲哀 beiai 'sadness, grief'; 愁苦 chouku 'worry, anxiety, distress'; 思念 sinian 'longing'; and 驚懼 jingju 'fear'. There were some notable differences in the way emotion concepts were classified in the various versions of the 'Seven Emotions' and in the chengyu dictionary, however. Firstly, all the modern terms used compounds, rather than single characters. This reflects the trend away from monosyllabicity, which was a characteristic of the classical language. Many of the compounds are constructed from two characters which essentially mean the same thing, as in 喜 xi and 樂 le which both mean 'happy'. There was no distinction between 'fear' and 'fright', as there was in the traditional Daoist version. Similarly, 'worry' was expressed by 愁 chou,
rather than 愛 'you'. The category sinian, which we have translated as 'longing', was problematic. Whereas in all the three versions of the 'Seven Emotions' contained words for 'anger', 'joy', 'fear', and 'sadness, grief', only one contained the character 惜 si. Since the meaning of this character is given as 'pensive', in some translations of the 'Seven Emotions', we decided to eliminate it from consideration on the grounds that 'pensive' and 'longing' did not appear to be sufficiently close in meaning. Table 1, below compares the different classifications for emotion concepts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Confucian</th>
<th>Buddhist</th>
<th>Daoist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JOY 喜</td>
<td>JOY 喜</td>
<td>JOY喜</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANGER怒</td>
<td>ANGER怒</td>
<td>ANGER怒</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRIEF哀</td>
<td>WORRY憂</td>
<td>WORRY憂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEAR懼</td>
<td>FEAR懼</td>
<td>GRIEF悲</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOVE愛</td>
<td>LOVE愛</td>
<td>FEAR恐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HATE惡</td>
<td>HATE憎</td>
<td>FRIGHT驚</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DESIRE欲</td>
<td>DESIRE欲</td>
<td>LONGING思</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Below we discuss some of the characteristics of chengyu.

3.2.1 Chengyu 成語

The term chengyu is often translated into English as 'idiom'. However this rendering is too vague and imprecise. Whereas in English we can find idiomatic expressions varying from those consisting of phrasal verbs, such as 'chicken out', 'buzz off', 'fuck off', etc., to those composed of longer phrases, like
'get your finger out', 'at the end of one's tether', etc., the situation is not the same in Chinese for chengyu. The chengyu, on the contrary, is almost always restricted to a four character expression. Although the formal criterion of being composed of four characters is an important characteristic of chengyu, there are other features which need to be examined in order to understand how they function as linguistic units.

The common belief that chengyu are literary in origin is only partially accurate. Sui gives a total of ten different sources. 8 The following are modified from Sui.

a. historical events

For example, the expression wan bi gui zhao 完璧歸趙, which means 'to return something intact to it's owner', originates from an event that is recorded in the Shiji 史記 or Book of Historical Records. During the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.), the ruler of the state of Zhao acquired a piece of jade. The ruler of the state of Qin offered to exchange fifteen cities for the jade. The ruler of Zhao didn't trust the Qin ruler and agreed only on the condition that the jade would be returned intact to him if the latter didn't keep his part of the bargain. The expression used to describe the situation was eventually adopted as a chengyu to mean any situation where something is returned intact to its owner.

b. stories

Another source of chengyu is from stories about individuals and events from the past. Very often the significance of the story was moral rather than anything outstanding about a certain character. An expression from the story
came to have a certain rhetorical effect as a result. For example, xiong you cheng zhu 胸 有 成 竹, 'to have a well-thought-out plan in mind' (lit. 'to have a complete image of a bamboo in one's breast'), was used by a writer in the Song dynasty (960 - 1279 A.D.) to describe the artist Wen Tong's approach to painting bamboos.

c. fables and legends

Traditional fables and legends are another source. The expression Qi ren you tian 杞 人 愚 天 'to worry about something needlessly', is from a legend which tells of a man from the state of Qi who was unable to sleep or eat because he was worried that the sky was going to fall on him. Incidentally, as with many chengyu, this expression is also found incorporated in a xiehousy (see discussion below). Thus apart from the chengyu occurring by itself, we also find: Qi ren you tian - danxin guofen le 杞 人 愚 天 - 擔 心 過 分 了 'The man from Qi worried that the sky was going to fall - overworried'.

d. quotes

The words of famous scholars, poets etc. have, in many cases, become chengyu. The Song poet and writer Su Shi 蘇 式 wrote a line in Chi Bi Fu 赤 壁 賦 'The Red Cliff' which was a description of natural scenery: Shan gao yue xiao, shui luo shi chu 山 高 月 小, 水 落 石 出 'The mountains are high and the moon is small, when the water subsides the rocks emerge'. The last four characters have become a chengyu, but with the metaphorical meaning 'doubts will clear up when the facts are known'. Other chengyu are modifications of quotes.
e. *chengyu* derived from folk sayings and proverbs

Many *chengyu*, although at some time recorded in the classical language, were actually derived from the folk sayings and proverbs of the spoken language. Some of the ancient writers in fact mentioned explicitly that an expression had such an origin. For example, the *chengyu*: *wang yang bu lao* 亡羊補牢, 'better late than never', is mentioned in the *Zhan Guo Ce* 戰國策: *Chen wen bi yu yue: wang yang bu lao, wei wei chi ye*.臣聞齊語曰: 亡羊補牢, 未為遲也,'According to a proverb, it is not too late to fix the fence after the sheep is lost'.

f. translations of foreign expressions

In various times throughout China's history there have been periods of contact with other cultures. The result has been that there are some *chengyu* which are translations of original foreign expressions. For example *Shi zhe jin ye* 時者金也 'Time is money'.

g. modified versions of traditional *chengyu*

Often for political or cultural reasons, a *chengyu* is modified by substituting one character for another or reversing the order of some of the characters. Sometimes the result is that a 'new' *chengyu* is coined with a meaning that is completely the opposite of the original one. For example, *Zhi nan er jin* 知難而進, 'Press forward in the face of difficulties', is a modern *chengyu* constructed on the basis of *Zhi nan er tui* 知難而退, 'withdraw after learning of the difficulties'. Obviously, in a political and social environment where difficulties are seen as something which must be overcome (cf. the slogan *kefu kunnan* 克服困難, 'overcome our difficulties'), the new version
conforms more closely to the acceptable way of reacting to one’s difficulties. Sui, in fact, sees such changes as inevitable and natural, since many *chengyu* reflect the 'outmoded rules and conventions' 清規戒律 of the Old Society (i.e. pre-1949). The type of language used must therefore reflect the new social reality.

h. newly-created *chengyu*

To conform to the need to express new ideas resulting from social and cultural changes, new *chengyu* have been created. For example, the movement to break with past traditions has spawned new *chengyu* which reflect this idea, such as *Hou jin bo gu* 厚今薄古, 'lay more stress on the present than on the past'.

3.2.2 Other data - *xiehouyu* 歌後語

We shall also make reference to conventionalized expressions known as *xiehouyu*. Although there are many of these in common use, there is unfortunately no available classified dictionary. Our source for these expressions was the four volume set containing approximately 60,000 *xiehouyu*, mentioned earlier. A limited use was made of colloquial sayings and proverbs. Since only a preliminary classification was feasible, we were only able to draw on these as secondary data. They differ quite radically from *chengyu* in terms of composition. Whereas in nearly all cases, *chengyu* consist of four characters, this is not true for *xiehouyu*. *Xiehouyu* are distinctive in that they are divided into two parts. The relationship between the two parts is that the first part is (usually) a metaphorical description and the last part is an explanation of that situation. In many instances the latter
part also contains a pun. The following examples illustrate the mechanics of xiehousy:

A

(i) 封嚴的爐子
feng yan de luzi
seal tight POSS oven
A tightly sealed oven

B

－肚子火
yi duzi huo
one stomach fire
A belly full of fire/anger

An oven that is tightly sealed will have a big fire raging inside of it. Of course, without an understanding of the metaphorical meaning of 'fire', which is an important part of the conceptual structure of anger in Chinese (as well as English), we cannot make much sense of this saying. Once we know that the metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS is one way in which the emotions are understood in Chinese, the meaning of the saying is clearer. We can also see that there are correspondences between the source domain and the target domain. Thus the container (the oven) corresponds to the body and the fire inside the oven is the anger inside the body. Since the oven is tightly sealed and the fire is unable to escape, we can understand that the stage of anger that is being described is one where the anger inside the person's body is unable to find an outlet. Part B is also a common expression used by itself to metaphorically refer to unexpressed anger. The following example also contains a pun:

A

(ii) 公廁裏丢炸彈
gongce li diu zha dan
public toilet in drop bomb
To drop a bomb in the public toilet

B
激民憤/糞
ji qi min fen/ fen
stir up people indignation (shit)
To stir up the people's indignation/ shit

Since the character for 'indignation' (憤) and 'excrement' (糞) are both pronounced in the same way (fen), the relationship between A and B is once again metaphorical. Part A contains the notion of explosion to be found in several common expressions concerned with anger. For example, qí de fēi
dou yào zha le 氣得肺都要炸了, 'to have so much qi that one's lungs explode',
and qí po dú pí, '氣破肚皮 to have so much qi that one's stomach bursts open',
are part of the 'pressure' component for the folk model of anger in Chinese (cf. English 'to have a hernia', 'to burst a blood vessel', 'to have a haemmorraghe'). The explosion of one's body or bodily organs is a result of the build-up in pressure from the anger. In the above xiehuiyu, the container is the public toilet and the excrement inside is the indignation or anger. Thus we have something inside of a container which causes the container to explode and its contents to come out. The explosion is thus the loss of control of the people over their emotions.

The types of domains used in these expressions have implications for a theory of meaning. Traditional views of metaphor see the relationship between such domains as possible because the concepts in each case share common objective features. In (ii) there is a metaphorical relationship between fen 憤, 'indignation, anger', and fen 糞, 'excrement'. However it would be silly to insist that these two concepts had anything in common. Although no doubt one could come up with a set of features to distinguish excrement from other substances, one would be hard pressed to define
indignation along the same lines. Such abstract and less clearly delineated concepts as the latter are instead created by metaphorical thought processes capable of restructuring our conceptual boundaries. The concept of indignation/anger (and emotional concepts in general) is created by an ontological metaphor EMOTIONS ARE SUBSTANCES. Furthermore, as we saw earlier with example (i), THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS is a common conceptual metaphor for viewing the emotions. Thus both excrement and indignation/anger are substances, the former physical and the latter metaphorical, which are emitted from the body. The use of jiqi 辣 起 'stir up' with both 愤 'indignation, anger', and 粪 'excrement' is thus an entailment resulting from the ontological substance metaphor.

Of course this doesn't tell us why excrement has been chosen as a way of understanding indignation/anger. However the use of lexemes which refer to basic bodily functions and organs themselves is a common way of 'venting' one's anger in Chinese, as well as English and a number of other languages. In English we find: 'Don't crap on me', 'Don't take your shit out on me', 'the shit hit the fan' etc.

Not all of the xiehouyu dealing with emotion refer to anger. The following example is related to sadness:

A

(iii) 高梁桿上掛個破氣球
gao liang gan shang gua ge po qi qiu
gaoliang stalk on hang a broken balloon
A broken balloon hung on a gaoliang (sorghum) stalk

B

垂頭喪氣
chui tou sang qi
hang head lose qi
To hang one's head and be depressed (to have no qi/air)
A possible universal expression of sadness is hanging the head downward.11 Again we find a play on the different meanings of qi 氣: one being 'air' and the other the qi from the emotion metaphor. In the same way that a burst balloon cannot function normally without air, the human body is in an abnormal state when it is lacking in qi. The reason that the above examples of xiehouyu can be understood the way they are is because they fit into the cognitive models for anger and sadness. They are not merely isolated examples but are part of a complex system of relationships and entailments between domains.

3.3 RESULTS

Table 2, below shows the somatic characteristics found to occur in our sample of 222 chengyu pertaining to the five emotion concepts with which we are concerned. Table 3 shows that there are other features also associated with the body which occur in chengyu and are commonly used to understand emotional experience. In particular, references to facial expression and bodily organs are frequent. Other features also refer to the concrete sensual experience of the emotion, such as sighing for WORRY; crying for GRIEF; laughing for JOY; and shouting for ANGER. The fact that WORRY can have a direct detrimental effect on the health was only present in one example. However, this aspect of emotion is apparent in a less general way in the individual features given in Table 2. The other features are also immediately associated with the body in some way or other or refer to aspects of social interaction that are involved in the model for the emotion. Finally, in Table 4, we give the features of emotion categories found in the 95 colloquial everyday
expressions elicited from our four native speakers of Chinese. The features in Table 4 have been generalized as much as possible, owing to the small number of expressions collected. For example, although we had a feature 'appetite' in Table 1, we classified expressions referring to an inability to eat under 'interference with normal functioning' in Table 4. However, this did not affect the results. The finding that nearly all the colloquial expressions used somatic features as a way of expressing emotional experience is of course only based on a small amount of data. It is therefore not necessarily significant that, with the exception of a small number of expressions that were difficult to classify, all these expressions were oriented towards the somatic aspects of emotional experience. Nevertheless, it is more than clear that the domains of experience in all three tables are closely tied to the body, or to concrete behaviour. Our results, then, although tentative, are able to give some support to the validity of the features obtained from the more literary chengyu. This suggests that there is a common conceptualization of emotional experience underlying both literary and colloquial expressions. Future studies will need to develop more precise methodologies and data collection techniques as a way of accurately assessing the extent to which somatization is a psychologically real experience.
Table 2: Somatic features of emotion categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>WORRY N = 37</th>
<th>GRIEF N = 25</th>
<th>FEAR N = 63</th>
<th>JOY N = 54</th>
<th>ANGER N = 43</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>headache</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>insomnia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>energy/fatigue</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appetite</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pain</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weight loss</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agitation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>10/37</td>
<td>8/25</td>
<td>24/63</td>
<td>7/54</td>
<td>3/43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(37%)</td>
<td>(32%)</td>
<td>(37%)</td>
<td>(12%)</td>
<td>(7%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3: Other features of emotion categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>WORRY N = 37</th>
<th>GRIEF N = 25</th>
<th>FEAR N = 63</th>
<th>JOY N = 54</th>
<th>ANGER N = 43</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>facial expression</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>body</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sound</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>effect on health</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heat/fire</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taste</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interference with perception</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>15/37</td>
<td>10/25</td>
<td>16/63</td>
<td>20/54</td>
<td>20/43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(42%)</td>
<td>(40%)</td>
<td>(25%)</td>
<td>(36%)</td>
<td>(25%)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
## Table 4: Features of emotion categories based on colloquial expressions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>WORRY N=14</th>
<th>GRIEF N=12</th>
<th>FEAR N=22</th>
<th>JOY N=19</th>
<th>ANGER N=28</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>facial expression</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>health/body</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sound</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agitation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secretion of body fluids</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interference with normal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>functioning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interference with perception</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>behaviour</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>14/14</td>
<td>12/12</td>
<td>21/22</td>
<td>14/19</td>
<td>28/28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(95%)</td>
<td>(75%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.4 SUMMARY

In this chapter, we began by discussing traditional medical theory which accords a special role to the emotions as a factor influencing health. Next we cited evidence from clinical studies which have found that there is an overwhelming tendency for Western categories of mental or emotional disorders, such as depression, to be expressed by means of somatic complaints in Chinese culture. We then went on to examine the linguistic expression of some of these common somatic complaints in a sample of four-character conventionalized expressions that had been classified in a Chinese dictionary as referring to several emotions. Not only were somatic characteristics a frequent component of chengyu, but other features also associated with the bodily accompaniments of emotion also figured prominently. A small sample of colloquial expressions elicited from four native speakers of Chinese showed a similar conceptualization of emotional experience. Metaphors based on taste and fire/heat were also present. On the basis of the chengyu examined, we may therefore assume a close interaction between language and experience in the domain of the emotions. In other words, the linguistic expressions reflect the beliefs that members of Chinese culture have about the emotions. In future chapters we shall be examining individual emotion concepts with respect to the various experiential aspects which make up the structure of their respective folk models. Our analysis of the models will take the features in Tables 2 and 3 as a point of departure.
NOTES:

1. Such a relationship between cultural belief-systems, the conceptualization of the body and medical practices is widespread in different cultures. For example, ancient Egyptian physiology described the body as a series of conduits for carrying the blood and the humours. Floods and droughts formed the experiential basis for the corresponding metaphorical floods and droughts in the body that were believed to cause illness. (See Martí-Ibáñez, 1962). With respect to Ayurvedic medicine as practiced in Sri Lanka, Obeyesekere, 1977, has shown that diseases are created as a result of this conceptualization. Such diseases could not exist in a different system. Many diseases treated by Ayurvedic physicians in Sri Lanka belong to disorders of the urinary and reproductive systems. Such symptoms as vaginal discharge in women and nocturnal emission in men are interpreted in terms of a humoural imbalance which results from too much 'heating food' or 'bad living'. Treatment is based on herbal remedies that serve to reestablish the equilibrium of the body. Explanatory models based on cultural beliefs thus form the basis for understanding how the body works and how it should be treated.

We would also argue that an objective, acultural view of disease is impossible. The Western conceptualization of disease is itself embedded in cultural assumptions. As pointed out by Osherson and AmaraSingham, 1981, the Western model is based on the belief that the human body is a machine.

2. See Unschuld, 1985; Porkert, 1974; for a discussion of Chinese medicine and the philosophical background.


5. See references in note 3.


7. See Death of a legend, documentary movie made by the National Film Board of Canada


CHAPTER IV

WORRY

In the previous chapter we pointed out that the tendency for members of Chinese culture to express emotional distress somatically in clinical settings is also reflected in conventionalized linguistic expressions which describe the emotions. In this chapter we look at a number of these expressions pertaining to the concept of WORRY in terms of the somatic features given in Table 2, as well as the other features associated with the body, as given in Table 3. Apart from these features, we also find that this emotion is seen as being detrimental to the health in a general way, by causing sickness. It is also viewed metaphorically as a BURDEN and as a substance in the body.

4.1 SOMATIC SYMPTOMS OF WORRY

There are two types of systems to be found in folk models. The first is based on metonymies, and the other on conceptual metaphors. For our immediate purposes of understanding the structure of emotion concepts in Chinese, we can identify two main metonymic principles (which also apply to English). These are THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF THE EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION and THE BEHAVIOURAL REACTIONS OF THE EMOTIONS STAND FOR THE EMOTION. Thus we find, for worry, expressions constructed
around the somatic characteristics given in Table 2: INSOMNIA; INABILITY TO EAT; FATIGUE; PAIN. Furthermore, it can also give rise to SICKNESS.

4.1.1 INSOMNIA AND AGITATION

An important component of WORRY is AGITATION. AGITATION refers to sleeplessness, and a general inability to be able to relax one’s body or mind ('spirit'). With the following expressions, we can use both 急得 jide 'be anxious to the extent that' and 愁得 choude 'worry to the extent that'. However, we should not assume that they are interchangeable, since there are areas where only one of them can be used. For example, SWEATING is a physiological accompaniment of AGITATION, but it can only be used with ANXIETY. In the following example we can only use 急得 jide. If we were to use 愁得 choude, the result would be a semantically ill-formed expression.

(1)  *愁得通身流汗
chou de tong shen liu han
worry DE through body flow sweat

急得通身流汗
ji de tong shen liu han
anxious DE through body flow sweat
To be so anxious that one’s whole body is streaming with sweat

(2) 枕席難安
zheng xi naan an
bed difficult peace
To be unable to sleep (because of worry or anxiety)

(3) 寢寐不安
qin mei bu an
sleep NEG peace
To be unable to sleep (because of worry or anxiety)

(4) 急得坐臥不安
ji de zuo wo bu an
anxious DE sit sleep NEG peace
To be so anxious that one cannot sit or sleep

(5) 急得一宵沒合上眼
ji de yi xiao mei he shang yan
anxious DE one night NEG close up eye
To be so anxious that one didn't sleep a wink all night

WORRY may also be experienced in terms of a general state of agitation and an inability to relax, as the following examples attest:

(6) 心神不安
xin shen bu an
heart spirit NEG peace
To be anxious

(7) 上下不安
tan te bu an
disturbed NEG peace
To be on edge

(8) 坐立不安
zuo li bu an
sit stand not peace
To be fidgety

(9) 焦慮不安
jiao lu bu an
worried NEG peace
worried and uneasy
4.1.2 SICKNESS

WORRY is seen as having a likely causal relationship to sickness, or it may go hand in hand with poor health. The folk model thus lends support for both the traditional Chinese idea of the relationship between the emotions and health, as well as the results of research in the West which show that a decontextualized biomedical model of disease is limited.\(^2\)

(10) 愁成疾病
chou cheng ji bing
worry become disease ill
To be worried sick

(11) 憂慮成疾
you lu cheng ji
worry become disease
To get sick from worry

(12) 積憂成疾
ji you cheng ji
pile worry become disease
To get sick from worries

(13) 多愁多病
duo chou duo bing
many worry many sickness
To be laden with worries and maladies

(14) 多愁善病
duo chou shan bing
many worry apt sick
To be always worried and prone to illness
4.1.3 PAIN

WORRY is also conceptualized in terms of physical pain in one’s body:

(15) 愁腸寸斷
chou chang cun duan
worry guts inch break
With anxiety gnawing at one's insides

(16) 愁腸百結
chou chang bai jie
worry guts hundred knot
One's insides are tied in a hundred knots

(17) 懸腸掛肚
xuan chang gua du
hang guts hang stomach
To hang one's guts and stomach

(18) 揪心揪肺
jiu xin jiu fei
squeeze heart squeeze lungs
To have one's heart and lungs squeezed

(19) 牽腸掛肚
qian chang gua du
pull guts hang stomach
To pull one's guts and hang one's stomach

WORRY is expressed in the face by frowning or 'worried looks'. It is interesting to note that WORRY was not one of the emotions found to correlate universally with facial gestures by Ekman, Wallace, Ellsworth. 3 However,
members of both Chinese and English speaking cultures are able to speak of a person 'looking worried'. Given the number of expressions referring to the eyebrows and frowning, one could expect there to be strong similarities between the two cultures. For example, in English, we can talk about 'knitting the brows', 'furrowing the brow', etc.

(20) 愁容滿面
chou rong man mian
worry face full face
To look worried

(21) 面有愁色
mian you chou se
face have worry colour
To have a worried expression on one's face

(22) 面帶愁色
mian dai chou se
face carry worry colour
To wear a worried expression on one's face

(23) 面帶愁容
mian dai chou rong
face carry worry face
To wear a worried look on one's face

(24) 面有憂色
mian you you se
face have worry colour
To have a worried expression on one’s face

(25) 滿面愁容
man mian chou rong
full face worry expression
One's whole face has a worried look

(26) 愁眉不展
chou mei bu zhan
worry brows NEG spread
To frown with worry

(27) 愁眉鎖眼
chou mei suo yan
worry brows lock eyes
To look worried

(28) 愁眉漸展
chou mei jian zhan
worry brows spread
To frown with worry

(29) 愁眉苦臉
chou mei ku lian
worry brows bitter face
To have worried brows and a bitter face

(30) 愁鎖眉梢
chou suo mei shao
worry lock brows tip
To lock one's brows in a frown

(31) 愁眉蹙額
chou mei cu e
worry brows forehead
To look worried

Also by looking haggard and feeling tired:
4.2 METAPHORS

The emotion of worry is also understood via metaphors. We find: WORRY IN THE BODY; WORRY IS A BURDEN; and WORRY IS HEAT.

4.2.1 WORRY IS IN THE BODY

(34) 滿心憂慮
man xin you lu
full heart worry worry
To be full of worries

(35) 滿腹憂愁(慮)
man fu you chou (lu)
full stomach worry worry
To be full of worries

(36) 滿腔愁悶
man qiang chou men
full orifice depress
To have one's bodily orifices full of depression

(37) 愁緒滿懷
chou xu man huai
worry mood full breast
To have one's breast full of worry

(38) 解愁释悶
jie chou shi men
free worry release depression
To eliminate worry and depression

(39) 解除忧虑
jie chu you lu
relieve worries
To free oneself of worry

4.2.2 WORRY IS A BURDEN

As in English negative emotions are conceptualized as a BURDEN. The INTENSITY of the emotion is thus understood in terms of a scale between HEAVY and LIGHT. This is a consequence of visualizing WORRY as a substance in the body, as in 4.3.

(40) 顾虑重重
gu lu zhong zhong
worries heavy
To be weighed down with worries

(41) 愁心忡忡
you xin chong chong
worry heart laden
To have a worried heart

(42) 解除顾虑
jie chu gu lu
remove worries
To remove worries

(43) 被憂慮壓得心情沉重
bei you lu ya de xin qing chen zhong
BEI worry press DE mood heavy
To be weighed down with cares

The following xiehouyu is a pun based on the common compound word for 'worry' 擔心 which is composed of 'carry' 擔 and 'heart' 心:

A  B
(44) 扁擔挑肝子 - 擔心
bian dan tiao gan zi dan xin
carrying pole carry liver carry heart/worry

4.2.3 'WORRY IS HEAT'

The pain may also be felt as a burning sensation. The metaphor is that of being fried or scorched:

(45) 五内俱焚
wu nei ju fen
five inside all burn
One's five organs are burning

(46) 五内沸然
wu nei fei ran
five inside boil
One's five organs are boiling

(47) 憔悴枯槁
qiao cui ku gao
withered withered
To be worn haggard with worry

(48) 憂火熾然
you huo zhi ran
worry fire blaze burn
Worry fire is blazing

(49) 憂心如煎
you xin ru jian
worry heart like fry
One’s heart feels like it’s being fried

(50) 心裏油煎
xin li you jian
heart in oil fry
One’s heart is being fried in oil

(51) 心焦
xin jiao
heart burn
One’s heart is burning

(52) 煎心
jian xin
fry heart
To fry one’s heart

(53) 憂心如焚
you xin ru fen
worry heart as burn
One’s heart is burning from worry

(54) 心裏火辣辣的
xin li huo la la de
heart in fire hot hot NOM
Burning in one's heart

(55) 火燒火燎
huo shao huo liao
fire burns fire blazes
The fire (in one's heart) burns and blazes

(56) 心急如火
xin ji ru huo
heart anxious as fire
One's heart is anxious like fire

(57) 焦灼
jiao zhuo
burn scorch
To be scorching

(58) 焦燥
jiao zao
burn restless
To be burning with restlessness

In (59a) we have etymological evidence for the presence of heat. The character 煩 'fan', which appears in compounds related to 'bother', 'trouble' etc., is composed of 火 'fire' and 頭 'head'. This suggests the subjective feeling that one's head is on fire. This is further supported by (59b).

(59a) 焦心煩燥
jiao xin fan zao
burn heart worry restless
To have a burning heart and be restless with worry
(59b)  火如疾首
chen ru ji shou
hot sickness as headache
To burn as if one has a headache (To have something on one's mind)

(60)  燥灼
zao zhuo
dry scorch
To be scorching

(61)  焦心如焚
jiao xin ru fen
burn heart as burn
To have a burning heart

The following xiehouyu makes use of both HEAT and AGITATION:

A
(62)  熱鍋上的螞蟻
re guo shang de mayi
hot pot on POSS ant
An ant on a hot pot

B
坐立不安
zuo li bu an
sit stand NEG peace
To be fidgety (because of worry or anxiety)

(63)  焦心若慮
jiao xin ruo lu
burn heart as worry
One's heart is burning with worry

The following expression is the B part of a xiehouyu:
There are several variants which may occur as the first part:

We also find:

4.3 SOURCE OF WORRY

There are cultural norms in terms of what is considered an acceptable source of worry. The legends and myths of a culture play an important role in regulating, or perhaps establishing these norms. For example, the following xiehouyu is based on a story about a man from the state of Qi who couldn't eat or sleep because he worried that the sky was going to fall on him.
Another more legitimate source of worry may be the everyday concerns of having food and clothing:

(67) 不愁吃不愁穿
bu chou chi bu chou chuan
NEG worry eat NEG worry wear
Not to have to worry about food and clothing

4.4 STRATEGIES FOR HANDLING WORRY

Our data can also give us some idea of how one is expected to handle worry.

Drinking is one way of eliminating worry, but it's not the preferred way:

(68) 飲酒解愁, 愁更愁
yin jiu jie chou, chou geng chou
drink wine relieve worry, worry even more worry
To relieve one's worries by drinking wine will only bring more worries

Another way of eliminating worries is to share them with others:

(69) 分憂解愁
fen you jie chou
share worries eliminate worry
To share worries with somebody

4.5 THE FOLK MODEL OF WORRY
The metonymies and metaphors examined in this chapter give us the following picture of the concept of WORRY:

1. There is a potential, imagined or real situation which is threatening to Self's (S's) well-being and over which S has no control of the outcome. (See #66)
2. S experiences physical pain, agitation, and interference with normal functioning, such as sleeping and eating. In some cases S may suffer fatigue and sickness. S expresses state facially in terms of frowning and worried looks. (#15, 2, 8, 33, 20)
3. S attempts to eliminate worry by sharing with others (#69)
4. S successfully eliminates worry (#38)
5. S is safe and feels relieved (#67)

4.6 SUMMARY

In this chapter we showed that even an emotion that is relatively static, like WORRY, still has a fairly elaborate folk model. Although this emotion is more metonymically than metaphorically based, the metonymical subsystems do not refer to generalized states of negative emotional arousal, but to the particular aspects that form a part of the whole emotional experience.
NOTES:

2. See Mishler et al, 1981.
CHAPTER V
SADNESS/GRIEF

SADNESS/GRIEF also makes use of some of the somatic characteristics given earlier. These are: pain; agitation; loss of weight, and a lack of qi. We also find descriptions of crying; the head hung down; and the image of the body as a container for the emotion.

5.1 THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF SADNESS/GRIEF

Social factors often play a role in shaping the expression of emotion. Thus while the existence of a panhuman substrate of affect based on physiology seems to be highly likely, the situation under which the emotion is expressed and the degree to which it is expressed depend on cultural values. The broad area of emotional experience which we have classified under the rubric of 'sadness', and which for us might also encompass 'sorrow' and 'grief', seems to be especially susceptible to the forces of social conventions in Chinese culture. In this chapter, in addition to our data from conventionalized linguistic expressions, we draw on another source in support of our belief that the expression of this emotion is shaped by cultural factors. This is in the form of a brief extract of a letter written to a young child by her grandparents which
shows how they go about describing their feelings of sadness at being apart after having lived with the child for several years.

Firstly, from our conventionalized expressions we observe that there is a prototypical cause for this emotion. This is SEPARATION or DEATH:

Thus the following proverbs illustrate this idea:

(70) 生離死別悲哀最切
sheng li si bie bei ai zui qie
life apart death separate grief most cut
The most painful is being apart in life or separated by death

and

(71) 自古多情傷離別
zi gu duo qing shang li bie
from old many feeling hurt separation
Since olden times many people have been hurt by the pain of separation

The following chengyu nicely points out how SEPARATION is commonly associated with SADNESS/GRIEF and UNITY with JOY:

(72) 悲歡離合
bei huan li he
sadness joy parting reunion
The vicissitudes of life

The ultimate cause of this emotion is the death of one’s parents:

(73) 如喪考比
ru sang kao bi
as lose mother father
To look as if one’s parents have died

or that of a close friend:
(74) 哀悼亡友
ai dao wang you
mourn deeply die friend
To mourn for a dead friend

In order to see to what extent the expression of SADNESS is socially constructed in Chinese culture, we first point out that De Sousa sees his paradigm scenarios (equivalent to our 'cultural models') as emerging in three stages.¹ Firstly, as small children we interact with the adults around us. Secondly, there are the fairy tales and stories to which we are exposed, and, finally, there is literature and art. One might also add the influence of T.V. and movies to this list. As Kövecses observes, we are able to build up a simplified or idealized version of reality from this information.² The following extract is from a letter written by the grandparents of a 3 1/2 year old child who had spent most of her life with them and had moved to Beijing from another part of China to live with her parents. It nicely illustrates the role of such interactions in creating a social reality:

(75) 親愛的XX:
今天接到你的來信，我們非常高興，我和奶奶都又哭了。實際上我們每時每刻都在想念你，特別是奶奶，日日夜夜都在念你。X奶奶常在我們屋里玩，一玩就提到你，奶奶就流眼淚，三姨也想你，來問了幾次，問你們來信沒有。XX弟弟也很想你，他一來就喊姐姐。這裏的X奶奶，X叔叔，XX都很想你，還有你的好朋友XX，她也多次問你回不回來，什麼時候回來。

Dear XX
We were really happy to get your letter today. However your grannie and me cried again. In fact, we miss you all the time, especially Grannie. We miss you all day and all night. Grannie X (not necessary a relative) likes to stop by our place and chat. Right away she mentions you and your Grannie starts to cry. Auntie misses you a lot too. She's been here several times
asking if we've heard from you guys yet. Your little 'brother' (playmate) also misses you and always yells out "big sister" (term of address) as soon as he gets here. All your 'aunts' and 'uncles' miss you as well. There's also your best friend XX. She's been here several times to ask if and when you're coming back.

This short extract suggests how a child might be acculturated into the Chinese culture and 'taught' how and when to feel sad. Most obvious are the references to the child's family and friends and how much each of them misses her. The mention of crying also plays a major part in painting a picture of the feelings that accompany the separation.

Of course, since this is only one letter written to one child by one set of grandparents, this alone is not evidence that it represents a typical case. However, when seen alongside some of the common conventionalized linguistic expressions related to this emotion, it fits into the prototypical model. The idea of SEPARATION is therefore a prime candidate for the cause component of the prototypical cognitive model for SADNESS, and as such, may be used as a metonymy for the emotion itself, as is the case in the above extract.

As our examples given above show, there is an intimate connection between being apart from one's family and friends and having a close relative or friend die. Death is thus an instance of SEPARATION.

Many of the following expressions can be preceded by 哭得 kude 'cry so much that', 悲傷得 beishangde 'be so sad that', 傷心 得 shangxinde 'be so grievied/broken-hearted that', or 悲痛 得 beitongde 'be so full of sorrow that'. This gives us a linguistic test that can help us decide whether or not the expressions do in fact belong in this category. However, in some cases where we cannot insert the above resultative compounds, there may be syntactic factors at work. For example, if one of the words (characters) in a chengyu is
already serving as a verb, then we cannot precede it with one of the above verbals.

5.1.1 PHYSICAL PAIN

Although it would be possible to talk of a metaphor EMOTIONAL PAIN IS PHYSICAL PAIN in Chinese, it seems that this is not really necessary. We could just as well say that there is no distinction between the physical and the emotional. This point is underlined by the number of expressions which build on the imagery inherent in the notion of physical pain. Thus we find references to the heart being pierced by arrows etc:

(76)  沈痛的心情
chen tong de xin qing
deep pain POSS feeling
A feeling of deep pain in one's heart

(77)  萬箭齧心
wan jian zuan xin
10,000 arrows pierce heart
10,000 arrows pierce the heart

(78)  心如刀割
xin ru dao ge
heart as knife cut
To feel as if a knife were cutting one's heart

(79)  錘心泣血
chui xin qi xue
beat heart weep blood
To beat the heart and weep blood

(80)  五内俱崩
wu nei ju beng
five organs have burst
All one's five organs burst

5.1.2 AGITATION
The pain that we saw above may also be self-inflicted:

(81) 锤胸大恸
chui xiong da tong
beat breast big grief
To beat the breast in grief

(82) 锤胸大哭
chui xiong da ku
beat breast big cry
To beat the breast and cry loudly

(83) 锤胸跌足
chui xiong die zu
beat breast stamp feet
To beat the breast and stamp the feet

(84) 锤胸顿足
chui xiong dun zu
hit breast stamp feet
To hit the breast and stamp the feet

呼天抢地
(85) hu tian qiang di
cry heaven hit the earth
To lament to heaven and hit one's head on the earth

5.1.3 DEATH WISH
The desire to die is also related to pain and the infliction of self-injury:
(86) 痛不欲生
tong bu yu sheng
pain NEG wish live
To be so full of pain that one doesn't want to live

(87) 悲憤欲絕
bei fen yu jue
grief indignation wish die
To be so full of grief that one wants to die

(88) 悲痛欲絕
bei tong yu jue
grief pain wish die
To be so full of grief that one wants to die

5.1.4 LACK OF QI IN THE BODY; LACK OF ENERGY

(89) 意氣沮喪
yi qi ju sang
spirit depressed
To feel sad and dejected

(90) 意氣消沉
yi qi xiao chen
spirit downhearted
To feel depressed

(91) 垂頭喪氣
chui tou sang qi
hang head lose qi
To hang the head and have lost one's qi

(92) 灰心喪氣
hui xin sang qi
ash heart lose qi
One's heart is ashes and one's qi has been lost

5.1.5 LACK OF ENERGY, LOW SPIRITS
Closely related to the lack of qi in the body is a general lack of energy or lifelessness.

(93) 没精神
mei jing da cai
not have spirit
In low spirits

(94) 無精神
wu jing da cai
(variant of above)

(95) 心灰意懶
xin hui yi lan
heart ash spirit lazy
To be discouraged

(96) 心神沮喪
xin shen ju sang
heart spirit dejected
To be depressed

(97) 神志沮喪
shen zhi ju sang
spirit will dejected
To be discouraged

(98) 楠木死灰
gao mu si hui
rotten wood dead ash
Dispirited

(99) 萬念俱灰
wan nian ju hui
everything all ash
Everything is hopeless

(100) 委靡不振
wei mi bu zhen
depressed not vigour
Dejected and dispirited

5.1.6 WEIGHT LOSS

(101) 哀毁骨立
ai hui gu li
grief destroy bone stand
To be emaciated with grief (weight loss)

5.1.7 CRYING

(102) 滿眼含淚
man yan han lei
full eyes hold tears
One's eyes are full of tears

(103) 哭得滿臉淚痕
kude man lian lei hen
cry DE full face tears tracks
To be tear stained

(104) 哭得滿臉是淚
kude man lian shi lei
cry DE full face be tears
To cry so much that one's face is covered in tears
(105)  以淚洗面
yi lei xi mian
use tears wash wash
To bathe one's face in tears

(106)  泣不成聲
qi bu cheng sheng
cry NEG become voice
To choke with sobs

(107)  聲淚俱下
sheng lei ju xia
voice tears all fall
To have a tearful voice

(108)  凄然淚落
qi ran lei lue
sad tears fall
To shed tears in sorrow

(109)  豪陶大哭
hao tao da ku
wail big cry
To cry loudly

(110)  豪陶痛哭
hao tao tong ku
wail pain cry
To cry loudly

(111)  涕泗滂沱
ti si pang tuo
tear snot torrent
Tears and snot ran together in torrents
(112) 痛哭流涕
tong ku liu ti
hurt cry flow cry
To cry and shed bitter tears

(113) 向隅而泣
xiang ou er qi
face corner and weep
To be left to grieve in the cold

(114) 飲泣吞聲
yin qi tur sheng
drink tears swallow voice
To sob bitterly

(115) 凄流涕
qi cang liu ti
sad flow tears

(116) 泣涕如雨
qi ti ru yu
weep tears as rain
To weep tears like rain

(117) 淚如泉涌
lei ru quan yong
tears as spring well
Tears welling up like a spring

(118) 淚如雨下
lei ru yu xia
tears as rain fall
Tears fall like rain
(119) 垂泪满面
chui lei man mian
shed tears full face
To have one's face full of tears

(120) 忍住泪
ren zhu lei
endure tears
To hold back tears

5.2 METAPHORS

5.2.1 DARKNESS

(121) 黯然销魂
an ran xiao hun
gloomy disappear soul
Low-spirited

(122) 黯然神伤
an ran shen shang
gloomy spirit hurt
To be lost in sadness

5.2.2 SADNESS IS DOWN

The potentially pancultural symbolism of SADNESS/GRIEF as being DOWN is present in this expression:

(123) 情绪低落
qing xu di luo
mood low drop
To be sad and depressed
5.2.3 SADNESS IS IN THE BODY

(124) 滿懷悲痛
man huai bei tong
full bosom grief
To have a bosom full of grief

(125) 滿腔悲憤
man qiang bei fen
full orifice sad indignation
To be full of sadness and indignation

(126) 悲憤填膺
bei fen tian ying
sad indignation fill breast
To have a breast full of sadness and indignation

(127) 悲從中來
bei cong zhong lai
sad from middle come
Grief comes from the heart

(128) 禽不住淚
qin bu zhu lei
hold NEG ZHU tear
To be unable to hold back one’s tears

(129) 禽住熱淚
qin zhu re lei
hold ZHU hot tear
To hold back hot tears

(130) 禽着眼淚
qin zhe yan lei
hold ZHE eye tear
To back tears

5.2.4 GRIEF IS A PHYSICAL FORCE

(131) 悲不自勝
bei bu zi sheng
grief not self win
To be overcome with grief

5.3 SOURCES OF SADNESS

We noted earlier that the prototypical cause or source of this emotion was DEATH or SEPARATION. In the case of DEATH, the closer the relationship to S of the deceased, then the more intense is the emotion.

(132) 泣血稽桑
qi xie qi sang
weep blood knock forehead
To weep blood and knock one's head on the ground (at the death of father or mother)

Another source is extreme JOY. This relates to the Daoist concept (and Chinese belief in general) of balance or moderation.

(133) 樂極生悲
le ji sheng bei
happy extreme produce sorrow
Extreme joy begets sorrow
We may also be moved emotionally by a naturally scene.

(134) 触景伤情
chu jing shang qing
touch scene hurt feeling
The scene strikes a chord in one's heart

5.4 SADNESS/GRIEF

The prototypical model for this emotion is as follows:

1. There is a situation where S. is separated permanently from loved ones (parents, spouse, friend, etc.) in life or death (#75)
2. Grief exists.
   S experiences emotion in terms of intense physical pain and agitated behaviour. Also weight loss and loss of qi. (#101, 91, 79)
3. S receives support of friends and relatives (#113 - by implication)
4. S expresses grief through crying (#111)
5. Grief gradually and slowly ceases to exist

5.5 SUMMARY

Many of the somatic features associated with distress are present in the linguistic expressions which describe SADNESS/GRIEF. The model for this emotion, as with that of WORRY, relies heavily on metonymies closely related to the body, rather than metaphors. The high value placed on the family as a unit plays an important role in shaping the expression of this emotion. Although an indepth discussion of this topic would need to draw on anthropological and sociological research, it does seem that the display of intense sadness/grief is sanctioned by Chinese culture.
NOTES:

CHAPTER VI

FEAR

The concept of FEAR is examined in this chapter. The evidence strongly supports the hypothesis of conceptual embodiment for emotions, i.e., that emotion concepts are understood in terms of metonymies (and sometimes metaphors) based on our physiology. The metonymies either refer to physiological effects and behavioural reactions commonly associated with the experience of this emotion, or they are conceptual metonymies which use a part of the total model as a way of implying the emotion itself. Not only are the physiological metonymies virtually identical to those found in English, but also similar origins can be found for common expressions relating to fear in Indo-European languages in general. Given that similar results are found for a non-Indo-European language like Chinese, we can assume a panhuman biological substrate to be responsible for the structuring of this concept.

6.0 FEAR - SOME ETYMOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

A useful point of departure for our discussion on FEAR in Chinese might be to take a brief look at the etymology of a few common expressions related to this emotion in the more familiar languages of the Indo-European family.
Whereas many compound words in Chinese have a certain semantic transparency, aided by the writing system, the origin of many English words is obscured because of the preponderance of technical terms that were introduced from Latin and Greek. However, once we examine their origins, they do in fact turn out to have very humble beginnings. For example 'phobia' Greek phobor (IE bhégwe-) meaning 'to flee', 'horror' from IE ghers- 'to bristle' (also related to 'gorse' - a kind of prickly plant common to parts of Europe), 'tremble' and 'terror' are related to the IE root tres- 'tremble', which turned up in Latin as a causative 'to frighten' (i.e. to cause to tremble). While there is by no means enough evidence to give us an idea of what the cognitive model for fear in Proto-Indo-European might look like, it does prepare us for the Chinese model which draws heavily on metonymies based on physiological and behavioural reactions.

6.1 METONYMIES

Chinese has the following set of metonymies based on the physiocological effects and behavioural reactions associated with fear: PHYSICAL AGITATION, INCREASE IN HEART RATE, ABSENCE OF BLOOD IN THE FACE, SWEATING, INABILITY TO BREATHE, PANTING, DROP IN BODY TEMPERATURE, HAIR STANDS ON END, RUPTURE OF BODILY ORGANS, INABILITY TO ACT, (INvoluntary RELEASE OF BOWELS OR BLADDER); SHRINKING BACK; SCREAMING; AND HIDING.

6.1.1 PHYSICAL AGITATION

Physical agitation is expressed in numerous expressions related to trembling, shaking etc.
(139) 膽戰心驚
dan zhan xin jing
gall tremble heart fear
The gall trembles and the heart is afraid

(140) 心驚肉跳
xin jing rou tiao
heart fear flesh jump
The heart is afraid and the flesh jumps

(141) 嚇得心直跳
xia de xin zhi tiao
scare DE heart straight jump
To be so scared that one's heart pounds

(142) 嚇得渾身發抖
xia de hunshen fa dou
scare DE whole body start shake
To be so afraid that one's whole body starts to shake

(143) 嚇得直多索
xia de zhi duo suo
scare DE straight tremble
To tremble with fear

(144) 戰戰兢兢
zhan zhan jing jing
tremble
To tremble with fear

(145) 戰栗恐懼
zhan li kong ju
tremble shake fear
To tremble with fear

(147) 戰栗失色
zhan li shi se
tremble shake lose colour
To be pale and shaken from fear

(148) 不寒而栗
bu han er li
not cold but shake
To shiver from fear

(149) 栗栗畏懼
li li wei ju
tremble worry fear
To tremble with apprehension and fear

(150) 惶恐不安
huang kong bu an
terrified not peace
To be extremely frightened

(151) 提心吊膽
ti xin diao dan
raise heart hang gall
To have one's heart in one's mouth

(152) 懸心吊膽
xuan xin diao dan
hang heart hang gall
To be on tenterhooks

(153) 惶惶不可終日
huang huang bu ke zhong ri
anxious not can finish day
To be in a constant state of alarm

(154)  不可終日
bu ke zhong ri
not can finish day
To be unable to carry on for even a single day

(155)  驚慌失措
jing huang shi cuo
scared lose action
To panic and not know what to do

(156)  驚弓之鳥
jing gong zhi niao
fear bow POSS bird
To be like a bird that fears a bow

(156)  非刺在背
mang ci zai bei
prickles at back
To have prickles in one's back

6.1.2 BLOOD LEAVES FACE

(157)  面如土色
mian ru tu se
face as earth colour
To have a face the colour of earth

(158)  面無人色
mian wu ren se
face not have man colour
To look ghastly pale
(159) 驚恐失色
jing kong shi se
alarmed lose colour
To go pale from fear

(160) 嚇得臉發白
xia de lian fa bai
scare DE face start white
To turn white with fear

6.1.3 SWEATING

(161) 悸汗
huang han
fear sweat
To sweat with fear

(162) 捏一把汗
nie yi ba han
hold one handful sweat
To be breathless with anxiety

(163) 汗流夾脊
han liu jia bei
sweat flow back
To be streaming with sweat (from fear)

6.1.4 INABILITY TO BREATHE

(164) 嚇得連大氣也不敢出
xia de lian daqi ye bu gan chu
scare DE even big breath YE NEG dare come out
To be so afraid that one daren't breathe

6.1.5 PANTING
(165) 惶息不安
ti xi bu an
nervous breathe NEG peace
To pant from fear

6.1.6 INCREASE IN HEART RATE

(166) 驚悸
jing ji
fear shake
To palpitate with fear

(167) 令人心悸
ling ren xin ji
make man heart shake
To make one's heart beat with fear

6.1.7 WAYS OF LOOKING

(168) 接目驚心
chu mu jing xin
touch eye shock heart
Startling

(169) 瞪目吃驚
deng mu chi jing
stare eye eat fear
To stare in fright

(170) 瞪目結舌
deng mu jie she
stare eye tie tongue
To stare and be tongue tied

(171) 目瞪口呆
mu deng kou dai
eye stare mouth dumb
To stare speechless

(172) 嚇得呆如木鶏
xia de dai ru mu ji
scare DE stare as wooden hen
To be so scared that one looks like a wooden chicken

(173) 側目而視
ce mu er shi
side eye and look
To look out of the corner of one's eye in fear

6.1.8 LOSS OF SOUL

(174) 魂散魂飛
po san hun fei
soul scatter soul fly
One soul is scattered and the other flies

(175) 嚇得魂飛魄散
xia de hun fei po san
scare DE soul fly soul scatter
To be so scared that one loses one's souls

(176) 驚魂未定
jing hun wei ding
scare soul not settle
To scare the soul

(177) 嚇得魂不附體
xia de hun bu fu ti
scare DE soul not stick body
To be so scared that the soul doesn't stick to the body
6.1.9 Hair Stands on End

(178) 毛骨悚然
mao gu song ran
hair bones terrified
The hair stands on end and one's spine shivers

(179) 毛發直豎
mao fa zhi shu
hair hair straight vertical
One's hair stands on end

(180) 毛髮悚然
mao fa song ran
hair hair terrified
To be terrified

6.1.10 Drop in Body Temperature

(181) 禁若寒蟬
jin ruo han chan
silent as cold cicada
To be quiet as a cold cicada

(182) 通體寒栗
tong ti han li
through cold shake
To shiver all over with fear

(183) 心寒膽怯
xin han dan qie
heart cold gall timid
The heart is cold and the gall timid

6.1.11 Rupture of Body Organs
(184) 心膽俱裂
xin dan ju lie
heart gall all split
The heart and gall both split

(185) 閲風喪膽
wen feng sang dan
hear news lose gall
To hear the news and lose one’s gall

(186) 嚇破了膽
xia po le dan
fear break LE gall
To break one’s gall from fear

6.1.12 INABILITY TO ACT

(187) 張皇失措
zhang huang shi cuo
alarmed lose action
To get into a panic

(188) 驚慌失措
jing huang shi cuo
alarmed lose action
To be panic stricken

(189) 不知所措
bu zhi suo cuo
NEG know which action
To not know what to do

6.1.13 INABILITY TO SPEAK
(190) 嚇得說不出話來
xia de shuo bu chu hua lai
scare DE speak NEG come out word come
To be speechless with fear

(191) 瞪目結舌
deng mu jie she
stare eye tie tongue
To stare with one's tongue tied

(192) 目瞪口呆
mu deng kou dai
eye stare mouth dumb
To stare with one's mouth dumb

6.1.14 (IN VOLUNTARY) RELEASE OF BLADDER OR BOWELS

(193) 嚇得屁滾尿流
xia de pi gun niao liu
scare DE fart roll piss flow
To be so scared that one farts and pisses

6.1.15 SHRINKING BACK

(194) 畏縮不前
wei suo bu qian
fear shrink NEG front
To recoil in fear

(195) 畏思不前
wei xi bu qian
fear fear NEG front
To be too afraid to go forward
6.1.16 SCREAMING

(196) 嚇得哇哇亂叫
xia de wa wa luan jiao
scare DE cry cry confuse call
To cry out in fear

6.1.17 FLIGHT

(197) 把某人嚇跑了
ba mou ren xia pao le
BA some man scare run LE
To scare someone away

6.2 METAPHORS

Although FEAR is predominantly understood by means of metonymies, it is still possible to find some common metaphors. We find that the CONTAINER metaphor handles the INTENSITY of the emotion, the PHYSICAL FORCE metaphor the CONTROL, and the INSANITY metaphor treats the LACK OF CONTROL.

6.2.1 FEAR IS IN THE BODY

(198) 他心裏一陣恐懼
ta xin li yi zhen kong ju
he heart in one MEAS fear
A surge of fear swept through his heart

(199) 掩飾不住內心的恐慌
yan shi bu zhu nei xin de kong huang
cover NEG hold in heart POSS fear panic
To be unable to hide the fears in one's heart
6.2.2 FEAR IS A PHYSICAL FORCE

(200) 她儘力控制自己的增長的恐懼
tajinli kong zhi ziji de zeng zhang de kong ju
she try control self POSS increase POSS fear
She tried to control her increasing fear

6.2.3 FEAR IS INSANITY

(201) 嚇得發瘋
xia de fa feng
scare DE start crazy
To be so scared that one goes crazy

6.3 THE PROTOTYPICAL SCENARIO

The prototypical model for FEAR is as follows:

1. Danger
   There is a dangerous situation
   It involves death or physical pain
   S is aware of the danger through sight or sound (#185)
   The danger produces fear in S

2. Fear exists
   S experiences certain physiological effects: physical agitation, increase in heart rate, absence of blood in the face, sweating, inability to breathe, panting, drop in body temperature, hair stands on end, inability to act (speak, move think), loss of 'soul', secretion of bodily substances (sweating, and involuntary release of bowels or bladder), rupture of bodily organs, (#138, 141, 157, 163, 164, 165, 183, 179, 187, 174, 193, 184,)

3. Attempt at control
   S attempts to control his fear and makes an effort not to display signs of fear (#200)

4. Loss of control
   S loses control over fear
   Outward expression of fear
   S screams and/or shrinks back, flees, or hides (#194, 196, 197)

5. Fear gradually subsides

6.4. SOME NON-PROTOTYPICAL CASES
6.4.1 Source of fear is perceived aurally

(202) 風聲鶴唳
feng sheng he lei
wind sound crane cry
To be frightened by the slightest sound

6.4.2 Source of fear is imagined

(203) 草木皆兵
cao mu jie bing
grass tree all weapon
To think that the grass and trees are weapons

(204) 風聲鹤鳴
xie jian lei zu
cringe heavy foot
To be nervous and apprehensive

6.4.3 Source of fear is not present

(205) 風聲鹤唳
jian hao bian
talk tiger colour change
To turn pale at the mere mention of something horrible

6.4.4 S is safe but fear is still present

(206) 心有餘悸
xin you yu ji
heart have remaining throb
One's heart is still beating

6.4.5 Source of fear is the physical appearance of something
6.5 FEAR IN CHINESE AND ENGLISH

In this section we want to raise the question of whether the differences found in the folk models for fear in Chinese and English have any impact on the way the two languages/cultures view this emotion. The main differences between the Chinese and English conceptualizations of fear are that Chinese makes little use of metaphorical elaboration, whereas English has FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER; FEAR IS A VICIOUS ENEMY; FEAR IS AN ILLNESS; FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING; FEAR IS AN OPPONENT; FEAR (DANGER) IS A BURDEN; FEAR IS A NATURAL FORCE; and FEAR IS A SUPERIOR. For Chinese we only found minimal elaboration of FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER; FEAR IS A PHYSICAL FORCE; and FEAR IS INSANITY.

In English the function of metaphors is to highlight the most important causes of fear, such as death and physical or mental pain. Thus we find metaphors based on a vicious enemy, a tormentor, illness and a supernatural being. These metaphors appear to play an important role in creating the concept of fear. Thus fear becomes an entity with a number of properties that all define a negative relationship between the emotion and the self -- threatening his life, causing pain etc.¹
Since we find so few metaphors in Chinese, it would be easy to conclude that what we find is 'a drastic loss of conceptual content'. Kövecses has suggested that a cognitive model of fear for English based solely on the metonymic system of fear would result in just such a loss.\(^2\) We are therefore justified in asking if the same is true for Chinese.

At first blush this seems to be the case. By far the most common expressions for fear in Chinese are related to the bodily organs are concerned with the various visceral reactions. However such a view would be based on the assumption that Chinese should conform to the SAE way of structuring a concept. It appears that Chinese does handle abstract concepts like the emotions in a different way, but we shouldn't immediately assume that different means deficient. As we saw earlier, in 2.2.2, such an assumption was implicit in the views of Leff\(^3\), who believes that the somatic expression of emotion is a less differentiated and less developed mode of expression. It is in fact not surprising that Leff reached that conclusion. His methodology depended on the translation of several key concepts employed by the Western psychiatric community into various non-European languages. No attempt was made to uncover models or semantic networks associated with these concepts, or even to question their universal applicability.

Chinese does in fact have a way of expressing causes or other related parts of the cognitive model for fear (and any other emotion) and this can be done by using \textit{chengyu} or \textit{xiehouyu}. The result is that this is achieved by making use of 'conceptual metonymies', rather than metaphors.

Conceptual metonymies are a common way of organizing knowledge in Chinese (as well as in English, and probably all languages). The Chinese writing system by means of ideographic characters also made use of this
process as a way of extending semantic categories. There are many expressions related to the emotion of love in English which depend on such a metonymical relationship. Kövecses has pointed out that an English expression like 'I'm so happy with you' can be taken to indicate love, in certain situations, because love and happiness are related concepts. This relationship involves making reference to X which is related in some way to Y as a way of meaning or implying Y. Thus in the first example below, we note that the reference is to a fire (X) in order to bring to mind the emotion experienced in such a situation (Y).

A
(209) 廟里着火 - 慌神了
miao li zhao huo        huang shen le
temple in catch fire     panic god/mind
When the temple - The gods panic/One panics
catches fire

This xiehouyu contains a pun on the word 神 shen which may mean both 'god' and one's mental state. However the pun only makes sense because we know that fires are a common situation where a person might panic. The metonymical relationship is thus A stands for B where A is the cause of B.

Similarly, the agitation that is present in fearful situations is made more real by relating it to a concrete experience of sitting on a prickly plant. In this case, A is the cause of B but only B is part of the model for fear:

A
(210) 板椏上撒疾黎
ban deng shang sa ji li
board stool on scatter puncture vine
Scatter some puncture vine on a bench
The first part of the next xiehouyu makes a reference to the cause of fear, that of being attacked by an enemy, whereas the second part is the reaction to the situation. Thus both aspects are part of the cultural model for fear.

One more example will further underline the role of conceptual metonymies in the understanding of emotional experience in Chinese:

As with the previous example, shared cultural knowledge about the behaviour of a member of the animal kingdom is used as a way of bringing to mind an emotional state.
It might be noted that this type of juxtaposition between an external situation and an emotional state is a particularly commonplace strategy in Chinese poetry. Sun discusses the traditional Chinese notions of 情 qìng 'feeling' and 景 jǐng 'scene'. He notes that Chinese poetry, rather than English poetry, makes greater use of a poetic device which he calls the 'correlative mode'. This device depends on a direct and intimate correlation between 'scene' and 'feeling'. Unfortunately, Sun never attempts to offer any analysis of the relationships between the two notions. It may be that future work can turn up some explanations for the relationships in terms of cognitive or cultural models.

6.6 GALLBLADDERS AND THEIR MEANING

By now it should be apparent that the bodily organs, as well as conceptual metonymies, play a major role in the conceptualization of the emotions in Chinese. In both the last chapter on sadness/grief, and this one on fear, we gave numerous examples which made use of the organs in linguistic expressions as a way of referring to the emotions. In this section we attempt to offer further evidence that there are relatively differentiated physiological effects that accompany the various emotions by examining some ways in which the key organ in fear, the gallbladder, is used as a way of understanding other concepts. If the choice of the gallbladder as the organ that is affected by fear was arbitrary (a conclusion also unsupported by the fact that the English word 'yellow' is from IE ghel- 'gall' or 'bile', hence our use of the word to mean 'coward', and expressions such as 'cowardly cowardly custard'), we would not expect it to appear in the related concepts of COURAGE,
BRAVERY etc. However this is what we do in fact find, as the examples below attest.

As we mentioned earlier, words in Chinese are often semantically transparent. This is extremely useful for our present purposes. We find that linguistic units with the meaning of 'gallbladder' (dan 膽) and 'heart' (xin 心) figure prominently in words and expressions related to 'courage', 'bravery' etc. Our data for fear which refer to these organs were as follows: 膽 戰 心 惊 dan zhan xin jing 'gall tremble heart fear'; 嚇 得 心 直 跳 xiade xin zhi tiao 'scare DE heart straight jump'; 提 心 吊 膽 ti xin diao dan 'raise heart hang gall'; 心 寒 膽 法 xin han dan qie 'heart cold gall timid'; 心 膽 俱 裂 xin dan ju lie 'heart gall all split'; 嚇 破 了 膽 xiaopo le dan 'fear break LE gall'. Although the heart does not appear to play a major role in the metaphorical elaboration of related concepts, we do find many expressions where the gallbladder figures prominently. For example: 膽 量 dan liang (gallbladder + amount) 'courage, guts', 膽 大 dan da (gallbladder + big) 'bold, audacious'; 膽 力 dan li (gallbladder + strength) 'bravery'; 膽 壯 dan zhuang (gallbladder + sturdy) 'fearless' and if these last two characters are reversed we get zhuang dan 'to boost sb's courage'. It is also possible to see why we might expect such qualities and characteristics to be positively evaluated in most cultures. There is an underlying metaphor which sees the high end of a scale as the most desirable. We find BIG, STRONG, STURDY occur with words denoting courage etc, but the opposite are present in words related to fear (e.g. SMALL, FRAGILE etc.). Hence, 膽 小 如 鼠 dan xiao ru shu 'gallbladder small like mouse', not only suggests that somebody lacks courage, but is also a coward.

6.7 SUMMARY
Although the concept of fear in Chinese does rely to a large extent on the use of metonymies based on the physiological effects and behavioural reactions accompanying this emotion, it would be misleading to assume that this is the only strategy that Chinese has at its disposal for the linguistic description of this emotion. Chinese also makes extensive use of conceptual metonymies which employ a typical scene, or a part of it, as a way of evoking the associated emotion. Furthermore, we noted that the linguistic expressions we examined were by no means arbitrary. They stem from the psychologically real experiences that humans have when faced with a dangerous situation. Furthermore, their psychological reality is not only borne out by work on the folk model of fear in English, but also by etymological evidence which shows that some of our common English words related to this emotion are actually the disguised members of an almost identical model.

The folk model for fear is not completely unrelated to the scientific model. The physiological effects which scientific studies have found to accompany fear, are in many cases, just those which are expressed linguistically in our data. For example, Ekman and his associates found a decrease in skin temperature in the case of fear. The folk models for both Chinese and English agree with scientific studies on this account. Thus, in Chinese we find: 通 髓 寒 粟 tong ti han li 'through body cold shake' (To shiver all over with fear), and in English: He froze in his tracks. The sound sent shivers up his spine.

Finally, we took a look at a few other compound words in which the word for gallbladder also occurs. Since these concepts are in some way related to fear, we proposed that this constitutes additional evidence in favour of the
view that the choice of this organ as a vehicle for expression of this emotion is motivated rather than arbitrary.

There is therefore, in the case of fear, a good deal of evidence in favour of the embodiment of meaning hypothesis which proposes that our bodies provide the basis for the content and structure of our concepts.
NOTES:

2. Ibid.
3. Leff, 1981.
4. See King c, to appear.
7. C.f. Osgood et al's, 1975, work on affective meaning
CHAPTER VII

JOY/HAPPINESS

7.1 THE SOMATIC EFFECTS OF JOY/HAPPINESS

For all the emotions examined so far, we have found linguistic evidence that one's emotional state may have an effect on one's health (so far a detrimental one). In the case of JOY/HAPPINESS, however, in particular the behavioural reaction of SMILING/LAUGHING, it is a positive effect that can stop us from becoming sick and even make us live longer. Furthermore, whereas a somatic feature of WORRY and SADNESS/GRIEF is a lack of energy, just the reverse is the case for this emotion. As with the other emotions examined so far, JOY/HAPPINESS is primarily composed of metonymies, where physiological and behavioural aspects are used to indicate presence of the emotional state. We find the following metonymies: HEALTH; ENERGY; SMILING/LAUGHTER; WAYS OF LOOKING; CRYING. In addition, the emotion is elaborated in terms of the following metaphors: FLUID IN THE BODY; TASTE (SWEETNESS); INSANITY; VERTICALITY (UP); LIGHTNESS; FORCE.

7.1.1 JOY and health

(213) 心裏痛快百病消
xin li tong kuai bai bing xiao
heart happy hundred sickness disappear
Sickness disappears when you are happy
(214) 笑笑話話散散心
xiao xiao hua hua san san xin
laugh laugh talk talk scatter scatter heart
Laughing and talking makes you relaxed

(215) 勿笑勿話要成病
wu xiao wu hua yao cheng bing
NEG smile NEG talk want become sick
You'll get sick if you don't laugh and talk

Laughing can also keep you young:

(216) 笑一笑，少一少
xiao yi xiao shao yi shao
laugh one laugh young one young
A little smiling will make you a little younger

惱一惱，老一老
nao yi nao lao yi lao
worried one worried old one old
A little worrying will make you a little older

7.1.2 JOY and energy

JOY is associated with a high level of energy. This is shown, in particular, by one's body movements. Both the hands and the feet seem to play an important role in the bodily display of this emotion. Activities which figure in the model for JOY are dancing, jumping, singing, and clapping the hands:

(217) 樂得手舞足蹈
le de shou wu zu dao
happy DE hand dance foot skip
To be so happy that one's hands dance and one's feet skip

(218) 雀躍欣喜
que yue xin xi
jump glad
To jump for joy

(219) 高興得直跳
gao xing de zhi tiao
happy straight jump
To be so happy that one jumps

(220) 拍手稱快
pai shou cheng kuai
clap hand quick
To clap in glee

(221) 普天同慶
pu tian tong qing
everywhere same celebrate
Universal rejoicing

(223) 額手稱慶
e shou cheng qing
forehead hand say rejoice
Both one’s forehead and hands are rejoicing

7.2 FACIAL APPEARANCE

A person’s facial appearance is an important indicator of their emotional state. For joy we find smiling/laughter; references to one’s facial expression - usually related to the eyebrows; and head up:

7.2.1 SMILING/LAUGHTER

(224) 滿面笑容
man mian xiao rong
full face smile expression
One's face is full of smiles

(225) 滿臉堆笑
tian dui xiao
full face pile smile
One's face is piled full of smiles

(226) 春風滿面
cun feng man mian
spring wind full face
To be radiant with happiness

(227) 堦堂大笑
hong tang da xiao
laughter room big laugh
The whole room rocks with laughter

(228) 歡天喜地
huan tian xi di
joy heaven happy earth
To be overjoyed

(229) 歡欣鼓舞
huan xin gu wu
happy inspire
To be filled with exultation

7.2.2 WAYS OF LOOKING

Eyebrows which are 'open', 'flying', 'stretched' are metonymically understood as expressions of JOY or HAPPINESS. This is in opposition to what was found for WORRY, where 'frowning' figured prominently in descriptions of facial expression. Compare, for example:
(230) 眉飛色舞
mei fei se wu
eyebrow fly expression dance
One’s eyebrows are flying and one’s expression is dancing

with:

(231) 愁眉不展
chou mei bu zhan
worry brows not spread
To frown with worry

where there is a contrast between the eyebrows 'flying' when one is happy and the eyebrows not being spread when one is worried.

(232) 眉開眼笑
mei kai yan xiao
eyebrow open eye laugh
One’s eyebrows are open and one’s eyes are laughing

Likewise, one's face can also be 'open':

(233) 喜笑顏開
xi xiao yan kai
happy smile face open
To light up with pleasure

(234) 笑逐顏開
xiao zhu yan kai
smile pursue face open
To beam with smiles

Furthermore, one can tell that a person is happy from their 'colour' or expression:
7.2.3 HEAD UP

The conceptual metaphor HAPPINESS IS UP, pointed out by Lakoff and Johnson may be based on the potentially panhuman experience of lifting one's head up when one is feeling happy. The following expression combines two physical indicators of positive emotion:

(236) 仰首伸眉
yi shou shen mei
raise head stretch eyebrows
To raise one's head and stretch the eyebrows

Similarly, we find that happiness is expressed metaphorically in terms of high spirits 高興, in itself a common term for 'happy':

(238) 高興採烈
xing gao cai lie
spirit high complexion strong
To be in high spirits

7.3 BEHAVIOURAL REACTIONS

Joy is also understood by means of behavioural reactions such as: INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION and CRYING.

7.3.1 INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION
The emotion of joy, as with the other emotions, can also influence one’s cognitive functioning. These examples show that one is in danger of forgetting one’s duty etc.:

(239) 樂不思蜀
le bu si shu
joy not think Shu
To be so overjoyed that one forgets about the state of Shu

(240) 樂而忘形
le er wang xing
joy and forget shape
To be so happy that one forgets the shape

(241) 樂而忘返
le er wang fan
happy and forget return
To be so happy that one forgets to go home

7.3.2 CRYING

As well as smiling/laughing, we also find crying as a behavioural reaction. Related to this is the idea that extreme joy may turn into sadness:

(242) 樂得流淚
le de liu lei
joy DE flow tear
To be so happy that one weeps

(243) 樂極生悲
le ji sheng bei
joy extreme produce sadness
Extreme joy produces sorrow
7.4 METAPHORS

The following metaphors are used to elaborate the concept of JOY: JOY IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER; JOY IS SWEETNESS; JOY IS INSANITY; HAPPINESS IS UP; JOY IS LIGHT (AS OPPOSED TO HEAVY); JOY IS A FORCE:

7.4.1 JOY IS A FLUID IN THE BODY

(244) 喜氣洋溢
xi qi yang yi
happy qi brimming
To be full of joy

(245) 心滿意足
xin man yi zu
heart full will enough
To be perfectly satisfied

(246) 喜氣洋洋
xi qi yang yang
happy qi brimming
To be overflowing with joy

(247) 喜在心頭
xi zai xin tou
happy at heart
Happy in one's heart

(248) 喜溢眉梢
xi yi mei shao
happy overflow eyebrow tip
Happiness overflows the tip of the eyebrows

(249) 喜盈於色
xi ying yu se
happy full in colour
One's expression is full of joy
(250) 滿心歡喜
man xin huan xi
full heart joy
One's heart is filled with joy

(251) 滿懷喜悅
man huai xi yue
full bosom joy
One's bosom is full of joy

(252) 由衷高興
you zhong gao xing
from bottom of heart high spirit
To be happy from the bottom of one's heart

(253) 歡樂湧出了他的心頭
huan le yong chu le ta de xin tou
joy gush out he POSS heart
Joy welled up in his heart

7.4.2 JOY IS A PHYSICAL FORCE

As with the other emotions, JOY is also conceptualized as a force:

(254) 樂不可支
le bu ke zhi
joy not can bear
To be overwhelmed with joy

(255) 喜不自勝
xi bu zi sheng
happy not self win
To be overjoyed

(256) 破涕為笑
(257) 忍俊不禁
ren jun bu jin
hold back smile not help
Cannot help laughing

(258) 笑容可掬
xiao rong ke ju
smile face can hold
To be radiant with smiles

(259) 心花怒放
xin hua nu fang
heart flower full bloom
To be wild with joy

7.4.3 INSANITY
When we are controlled by the force of emotion, our behaviour is described in terms of the vocabulary of insanity. Although Chinese does not elaborate the WILD ANIMAL metaphor that is found in English, there may be a connection here, since 狂 ‘insane’ is classified with the ‘animal’ radical. The experiential basis for insanity may have been based on an observation of rabid animals.

(260) 欣喜若狂
xin xi ruo kuang
happy like crazy
To be wild with joy

7.4.4 LIGHTNESS
(262) 如释重负
ru shi zhong fu
like remove heavy burden
To feel relieved

7.5 CAUSES AND SOURCES OF JOY

Although it is conceivable that there an infinite number of events in everyday life that may give rise to a feeling of joy, we can find linguistic evidence for a prototype in Chinese culture suggesting that weddings are one of the most important occasions. The following xiehousy underlines the prototypicality of funerals as events which cause SADNESS/GRIEF, as we saw in the last chapter, and that of weddings as JOY causing events:

(263) 出殡遇上娶媳妇
chu bin yu shang qu xi fu
come out funeral meet up marry wife
To come away from a funeral and meet one's future wife

有哭有笑
you ku you xiao
have cry have smile
To feel both sorrow and joy

(264) 出嫁的女孩满面春风
chu jia de gu niang man mian chun feng
marry POSS girl full face spring wind
A girl who is getting married - Radiant with happiness

In addition to the above expressions, we also find lexical compounds as further evidence:
喜事 xishi 'happy' + 'matter' = wedding; 喜酒 xijiu 'happy' + 'wine' = wedding feast/wine drunk at wedding.

We might also attempt to discover why it is that events such as weddings should be given such importance in this emotion. Whereas the emotions dealt with so far in this study do not seem to be analyzable in terms of polar opposites, this does not seem to be the case for SADNESS/GRIEF and JOY/HAPPINESS. In the last chapter we showed that SEPARATION, either in life or death, was a major component of SADNESS/GRIEF. For JOY, the principal component is UNITY. The following expression demonstrates this:

(265) 月有陰晴圓缺
       yue you yin qing yuanque
       moon have cloudy clear full lack
In nature there is hot and cold weather and clear and cloudy skies

       人有悲歡離合
       ren you bei huan li he
       man have sad joy part join
Among men there is joy and sorrow and unity and separation

where JOY is associated with being together and SADNESS with being apart. Such occasions as weddings are natural times for family and friends to get together. This is even more so in Chinese culture, where the family is given a prominent position.

7.6 JOY

The model for JOY is as follows:
1. There is a situation where S is joined or reunited with a friend or loved one (#264)
2. Joy exists
   S experiences physiological effects and behavioural reactions: smiling/laughter, ways of looking (eyebrows spread, head/chin up), and a positive effect on health (#224, 230, 236)
3. Attempt at control
   S attempts to control JOY (#257)
4. Loss of control
   S is controlled by JOY (#254)
   S may experience interference with accurate perceptions (#239)
5. S expresses JOY
   JOY is expressed in terms of dancing, jumping, singing clapping (#217, 218, 220, 221)
CHAPTER VIII

ANGER

8.1. ANGER AND HEALTH

ANGER is experienced in terms of an excess of qi, or vital energy that flows through the body. It is not surprising then, that many expressions to do with ANGER in Chinese make use of this image. We shall begin with a look at the various somatic features that are common bodily symptoms of negative emotion and show that HEADACHE, STOMACH ACHE, DIZZINESS, EFFECT ON APPETITE, WEIGHT LOSS, and AGITATION all show up in metonymic descriptions of anger. Other ways in which one’s health may be damaged are also apparent.

8.1.1 HEADACHE

(266) 氣得頭疼
qi de tou teng
qi DE head hurt
To have so much qi that one’s head aches

8.1.2 STOMACH ACHE
8.1.3 DIZZINESS

(268) 气得昏了头
qi de hun le tou
qi DE hit confused head
To have so much qi that one's head is spinning

8.1.4 EFFECT ON APPETITE

(269) 气得吃不下饭
qi de chi bu xia fan
qi De eat NEG down rice (food)
To have so much qi that one cannot eat

8.1.5 WEIGHT LOSS

(270) 气瘦了
qi shou le
qi thin LE
To become emaciated as a result of qi

8.1.6 SICKNESS

(271) 气病了
qi bing le
qi sick LE
To become sick as a result of qi

(272) 气出一场病来
qi chu yi chang bing lai
qi come out one stage sick come
To get sick for a while from qi

(273) 气坏了一
qi huai le
qi bad LE
To damage one's health from qi

8.1.7 DEATH
(274) 氣得要命
qi de yaoming
qi DE want life
To have so much qi that you want to die

(275) 氣得半死
qi de ban si
qi DE half die
To have so much qi that you are half dead

(276) 氣死了
qi sile
qi die LE
To die from qi

8.2 IMPAIRMENT OF NORMAL FUNCTIONING

Qi may also interfere with one's normal functioning, such as the ability to speak, and think straight:

8.2.1 INABILITY TO SPEAK

(277) 氣得說不出話來
qi de shuo bu chu hua lai
qi DE speak NEG out words come
To have so much qi that one cannot speak

8.2.2 INABILITY TO THINK STRAIGHT

The increase in physiological effects of qi may also affect the normal functioning of our thinking processes, as evidenced by the following examples:

(278) 氣糊塗了
qi hutu le
qi confused LE
To be confused because of qi
8.3 FACIAL APPEARANCE

Ekman has found that anger is one of the basic emotions that peoples from different cultural backgrounds were able to identify from looking at pictures of facial expressions. The claim that there is a small number of basic universal emotions is one that is by no means uncontroversial, and as we have pointed out, is fraught with conceptual problems. Nevertheless, it is interesting to point out that the folk model of anger in Chinese contains a large set of linguistic phrases concerned with facial expression which serve as metonymies for anger. Other behavioural accompaniments, such as gnashing one’s teeth, bristling i.e. hair standing up straight are also represented.

8.3.1 FACIAL EXPRESSION

(279) 怒目而视
nu mu er shi
angry eyes and look
To look at somebody with angry eyes

(280) 怒目相向
nu mu xiang xiang
angry eyes each other face
To glare angrily at each other

(281) 怒目切齿
nu mu qie chi
angry eyes gnash teeth
To glare angrily and gnash one’s teeth

(282) 隽目相向
chen mu xiang xiang
gleare each other face
To glare at somebody
8.3.2 AGGRESSIVE VISUAL BEHAVIOUR

The above metonymies form a subset of a larger set which is composed of descriptions of aggressive behavior in general, such as gnashing teeth, bristling etc. Although there is evidence for a metaphor ANGRY BEHAVIOUR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR in English,² this is by no means obvious for Chinese. With the exception of the expression:
(289) 鷹瞬鄂視
ying shun e shi  
hawk wink osprey look
To wink like a hawk and look like an osprey

which contains direct reference to the behaviour of 'hawks' and 'ospreys', the other examples concerned with one's hair standing straight seem to refer to human behaviour rather than that of animals. For example:

(290) 氣得毛髮倒豎
qi de mao fa dao shu  
qi DE fur start turn stand up
To have so much qi that one's hair stands up straight

Although the above example contains the character 毛 mao 'hair, fur', it could just as easily refer to the small hairs on the human body. The following example could only be used to describe human hair, since 頭髮 toufa 'hair' can only refer to human hair:

(291) 憤怒得頭髮直豎
fen nu de fa zhi shu  
anger DE hair straight stand up
To have so much qi that one's hair stands up straight

(292) 髮指眦裂
fa zhi zi lie  
bristle corner of the eye burst
To bristle and burst the eyes

(293) 令人髮指
ling ren fa zhi  
make man bristle
To make one bristle

(294) 怒髮沖冠
8.4 INCREASED INTERNAL PRESSURE

Pressure is also an important component of the folk model of anger. There are three stages. Firstly, there is the existence of body movement which implies the existence of excess qi in the body. Next, there is a change in the colour of the face from the resulting build up in pressure. Finally, there is the explosion.

8.4.1 AGITATION

The presence of anger is also understood in terms of physical agitation. The various actions, such as stamping the feet, jumping around (cf. English 'hopping' mad), shaking etc. are thus all metonymies for anger.

(295) 垂胸頓足
chui xiong dun zu
hit breast stamp feet
To hit one's chest and stamp one's feet in anger

(296) 暴跳如雷
bao tiao ru lei
violent jump like thunder
To jump violently like thunder

(297) 氣得直多索
ti de zhi duosuo
ti DE until shake
To have so much qi that one shakes

(298) 氣得跳起來
qi de tiao qilai
qi DE jump up
To have so much qi that one jumps around

(299) 氣得發抖
qi de fa dou
qi DE start shake
To have so much qi that one shakes

(300) 氣得跺腳
qi de duo jiao
qi DE stamp feet
To have so much qi that one stamps one's feet

8.4.2 CHANGE IN THE COLOUR OF THE FACE/INCREASE IN BLOOD PRESSURE

Related to facial expression is the visible change in the colour of the face when one is angry. Redness in the face is seen to be the result of an increase in blood pressure and blood flowing to the upper regions of the body. In fact, the first example, which literally means 'to have so much qi that one's brain is full of blood' is understood metonymically to indicate anger.

(301) 氣得腦門沖血
qi de naomen chong xue
qi DE brain full blood
To have so much qi that one's brain is full of blood

(302) 他臉全紅了眼睛冒火來
ta lian quan hong le yanjing mao huo lai
he face all red LE eyes emit fire come
His face turned red and his eyes blazed

(303) 氣得臉發白
qi de lian fa bai
qi DE face start white
To have so much qi that one's face turns white

(304) 氣得臉發青
qi de lian fa qing
qi DE face start blue
To have so much qi that one's face turns blue

(305) 氣得嘴脣發白
qi de zui chun fa bai
qi DE mouth lips start white
To have so much qi that one's lips turn white

(306) 氣得臉色通紅
qi de lian se tong hong
qi DE face colour through red
To have so much qi that one's whole face turns red

(307) 因發怒而漲紅了臉
yin fa nu er zhang hong le lian
because start anger to swell red LE face
One's face turns red with anger

(308) 氣得滿臉通紅
qi de man lian tong hong
qi DE full face through red
To have so much qi that one's whole face turns red

(309) 氣得臉都紫了
qi de lian dou zi le
qi DE face all purple LE
To have so much qi that one turns purple

(310) 作色憤然
zuo se fen ran
make colour angry
To colour with anger

(311) 面帶怒色
mian dai nuse
face carry angry colour
To wear an angry expression on one’s face

(312) 吹鬍子瞪眼睛
chui huzi deng yan jing
blow beard stare eyes
To blow one’s beard and glare

(313) 瞪牙瞪眼
zi ya deng yan
gnash teeth stare eyes
To gnash one’s teeth and glare angrily

(314) 横眉怒目
heng mei nu mu
cross eyebrows angry eyes
To face somebody with frowning brows and angry eyes

(315) 瞪着眼瞧
deng zhe yan qiao
stare ZHE eyes look
To glare

8.4.3 SECRETION OF BODY FLUIDS (SALIVA, BLOOD)
The secretion of blood would seem to be related to the build up of pressure. If our bodily organs burst, we can expect there to be blood. The saliva may also be a result of internal pressure, or it may be related to a metaphor anger is insane behaviour. However, since the insanity component that is so well elaborated in English is not very productive in Chinese, we see it instead as part of the physiological effects of emotion. As will become apparent in future chapters, the secretion of bodily fluids (tears, sweat, urine) is a basic component of emotional experience.

(316) 氣得唾沫
qi de tu mo
qi DE spit saliva
To have so much qi that one spits saliva

(317) 氣得嘔血
qi de ou xue
qi DE throw up blood
To have so much qi that one throws up blood

The increase in internal pressure that is one of the physiological effects of anger in the folk model finds its expression in Chinese in terms of an explosion of the bodily organs caused by a build-up of too much qi. In similar cases in English, we find 'to get a hernia', 'to burst a blood vessel', and 'to have a haemorrhage', all of which point to the psychological reality of pressure as an important part of the experience of anger.

(318) 氣破肚皮
qi po du pi
break stomach skin
To break the stomach skin from qi

(319) 肺部氣炸了
fei dou qi zha le
lungs all explode LE
One's lungs explode from too much qi

8.5 METAPHORS

Anger in Chinese, as in English, is also understood in terms of metaphor. The emotion of ANGER exploits the following metaphors: ANGER IS FIRE/HEAT; ANGER IS QI IN THE BODY; ANGER IS A PHYSICAL FORCE; ANGER IS A NATURAL FORCE; and, to a limited extent, ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL.

8.5.1 ANGER IS FIRE/HEAT

As well as a variety of expressions concerned with fire we also find a set of entailments which are obtained from mapping the source domain (FIRE) onto the target domain (ANGER). The correspondences between a source domain and a target domain may be of two types. Firstly, there are ontological correspondences between the entities in the source and target domains. These correspondences for FIRE are as follows: 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source: FIRE</th>
<th>Target: ANGER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The fire is anger</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The thing burning is the angry person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The cause of the fire is the cause of the anger</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The intensity of the fire is the intensity of the anger.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The physical damage to the thing burning is mental damage to the angry person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The capacity of the thing burning to serve its normal function is the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
capacity of the angry person to function normally
An object at the point of being consumed by fire corresponds to a person whose anger is at the limit
The danger of the fire to things nearby is danger of the anger to other people
The attempt to control the fire is the attempt to control one's anger

The fire corresponds to anger:

(320) 怒火
nu huo
anger fire
Anger

Thus the start or cause of fire is the start or cause of one's anger:

(321) 心頭火起
xin tou huo qi
heart fire start
To get angry

(322) 氣得發火
qi de fa huo
qi DE start fire
To have so much qi that one catches fire

(323) 撩動肝火
liao dong gan huo
stir up liver fire
To stir up fire in one's liver

(324) 他火兒了
ta huor le
he fire LE
He caught fire
For the body to be full of fire is for anger to be intense. The burning of the fire is the effect of the anger on the angry person:

(325) 滿腔怒火
man qiang nu huo
full cavity anger fire
One’s body cavities are full of anger fire

(326) 憤怒的烈火在胸中燃燒
fen nu de lie huo zai xiong zhong ran shao
anger DE intense fire at breast in burn
To have a fierce angry fire burning in one’s breast

(327) 怒火中燒
nu huo zhong shao
anger fire in burn
To burn in angry fire

(328) 七竅生烟
qi qiao sheng yan
seven orifices produce smoke
The seven orifices of one’s body produce smoke

The intensity of the fire corresponds to the intensity of the anger. The relevant conceptual relationship is made explicit by the metaphor MORE IS UP. As the flames climb higher there is more fire; thus there is more anger.

(329) 正在火頭上
zheng zai huotou shang
just at fire head upon
At the head of the fire

(330) 火氣很大
火气很大
fire energy very big
To have a lot of fire qi

(331) 火冒三丈
huo mao san zhang
fire emit three zhang (unit of measure)
To emit fire three zhang

(332) 怒火万丈
nu huo wan zhang
anger fire ten thousand zhang (unit of measure)
One’s anger fire is ten thousand zhang high

Adding more fuel to the fire increases the intensity of the fire and the intensity of the person's anger:

(333) 火上加油
huo shang jia you
fire upon add oil
To add oil to the fire

Fire is dangerous to things nearby, and consequently so is anger:

(334) 冒火
mao huo
emit fire
To send out fire

(335) 两眼冒火
liang yan mao huo
two eyes emit fire
To send out fire from one's eyes
The attempt to control the fire corresponds to the angry person's efforts to control his anger:

(336) 把火頭壓一壓
da huo tou ya yi ya
BA fire head press one press
To press down the top of the fire

(337) 壓不住心頭的怒火
ya bu zhu xin tou de nu huo
Press NEG hold heart head POSS anger fire
To be unable to control the anger fire in one's heart

The epistemic correspondences are:

Source: Things can burn at low intensity for a long time and then burst into flame
Target: People can be angry at a low intensity for a long time and then suddenly become extremely angry

Source: A fire needs fuel to burn and burns with greater intensity when more fuel is added
Target: A person needs a reason to be angry and gets even angrier when the things that made him angry are present in greater quantities

Source: Fires are dangerous to things nearby
Target: Angry people are dangerous to other people

Source: A fire may be kept under control
Target: A person's anger may be controlled

8.5.2 ANGER IS QI IN THE BODY

As well as the many metonymies based on the concept of qi, we also find a metaphorical elaboration of this concept.

Source QI IN THE BODY                          Target: ANGER

The existence of excess qi is the existence of anger
The body with the excess qi is the angry person
The cause of the excess qi is the cause of the anger
The increase in qi is the increase in the intensity of the anger
The build up of qi is the build up of anger
The attempt to control the resultant pressure and restore equilibrium is the attempt to control one’s anger
The explosion is the loss of control of one’s anger
The elimination of excess qi is the elimination of anger
The restoration of equilibrium in the body is the restoration of emotional balance

The production of excess qi is the production of the state of being angry:

(338) 生氣
sheng qi
produce qi
To produce qi

For the body organs to be full of qi is for anger to be intense. The intensity of the anger is thus understood in terms of a SCALE schema where the low end corresponds to 'empty' and the high end to 'full'. This is likewise related to the metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS.

(339) 氣滿胸膛
qi man xiong tang
qi full breast
To have one’s breast full of qi

(340) 怒氣填膺
nu qi tian ying
anger qi fill breast
To have one’s breast full of anger qi

(341) 心中的怒氣始終未能平息
xin zhong de nuqi shizhong wei neng pingxi
heart in POSS anger qi
The anger qi in one’s heart
(342) 滿腔憤怒
man qiang fen nu
full cavity anger
To have one’s body cavities full of anger

The attempt to restore the balance of qi is the attempt to control one's anger:

(343) 沉住氣
chen zhu qi
deep hold qi
To hold one’s qi down

The change in the height and intensity of the qi is the increase in the intensity of the anger. This is a logical extension of the point we made above about the relationship between INTENSITY and the empty - full SCALE. The level of a fluid in a container also goes up as it gets filled. If there is a strong force accompanying this process, then the substance will shoot up. There is thus an underlying metaphor MORE IS UP at work here.

(344) 氣沖牛斗
qi chong niudou
qi hit stars (name of a constellation)
One’s qi hits the stars

(345) 氣湧如山
qi yong ru shan
qi well up like mountain
One’s qi wells up like a mountain

(346) 怒氣沖天
nu qi chong tian
anger qi hit sky
One's anger qi hits the sky

(347) 怒氣沖沖
nu qi chongchong
anger qi hit
One's anger qi hits

The build up in pressure is the build up of anger:

(348) 一肚子氣
bie yi duzi qi
hold back one stomach qi
To hold back a stomach full of qi

(349) 鬱積在胸的怒氣終於爆發了
yuji zai xiong de nuqi zhongyu baofa le
pent up at breast POSS anger qi finally explode LE
The pent up anger qi in one's breast finally explodes

The control of the pressure corresponds to the attempt at controlling one's anger:

(350) 不使脾氣發作
bu shi pi qi fa zuo
NEG make spleen qi start make
To keep in one's spleen qi

8.5.3 ANGER IS A PHYSICAL FORCE

Closely related to the qi metaphor is anger is a physical force. These are both clearly based on a force schema. The difference is that whereas the former is force in a container (i.e. the body), the latter is not necessarily concerned with forces constrained within a physical space and may be an
external force. However, there also seems to be a good deal of overlap between the two. This is accomplished by means of the \textit{CONTAINER} metaphor.

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{Source: PHYSICAL FORCE} & \textbf{Target: ANGER} \\
\end{tabular}

The existence of movement is the existence of anger  
The cause of movement is the cause of anger  
The increase in movement is the increase in anger  
The control of agitation is the control of anger  
The existence of calm is the non-existence of anger

Much of our evidence is lexical, as in:

(351) \hspace{2em} 動怒  
dong nu  
move anger  
To move one’s anger

(352) \hspace{2em} 動氣  
dong qi  
move qi  
To move one’s qi

(353) \hspace{2em} 觸怒  
chu nu  
touch anger  
To touch one’s anger

(354) \hspace{2em} 激怒  
ji nu  
stir anger  
To stir one’s anger

(355) \hspace{2em} 抑制自己的憤怒
yi zhi ziji de fen nu
restrain self POSS anger
To restrain one's anger

(356) 忍不可遏
nu bu ke e
anger NEG can hold back
To be unable to hold back one's anger

Calmness is the non-existence of anger:

(357) 心平气和
xin ping qi he
heart even qi harmony
One's heart is even and one's qi is harmonious

(358) 他怒气稍平了
ta nu qi shao ping le
he anger qi a little level LE
His anger qi calmed down

(359) 平心静气
ping xin jing qi
level heart quiet qi
To have a level heart and quiet qi

Anger as a force can also be understood in terms of NATURAL FORCES: ANGER IS A NATURAL FORCE (WAVES, EARTHQUAKES, FLOODS etc)

(360) 他被怒淹没
he bei fen nu yan mo le
he by anger submerged LE
He was overcome by anger

THUNDER:
(361) 咆哮如雷
bao xiao ru lei
roar like thunder
To roar like thunder

(362) 大發雷廷
da fa lei ting
big start thunderbolt
To fly into a rage

EARTHQUAKE:

(363) 大為震怒
da wei zhen nu
big as shake anger
To shake with anger

8.6 ANGER IN CHINESE AND ENGLISH

We are now in a position to tackle the problem of how the folk model of anger in Chinese differs from that of a European language like English. It will be seen that there are both similarities and differences. The existence of FIRE, PRESSURE, and AGITATION as main components in the central metaphors in Chinese is parallel to what has been found for English by Lakoff and Kövecses. 1

Rather than the presence or absence of any individual components used in the elaboration of anger, probably the most noteworthy observation is the greater reliance in Chinese of metonymy at the expense of metaphor. Whereas Chinese contains a rich and varied set of metonymies which describe the physiological and behavioral effects of anger, the actual number of metaphors is small compared to English. At the same time, the Chinese
metaphors are closely linked to the body and are based on the metonymical principle: THE EFFECT OF THE EMOTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION. The metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS is clearly derived from this source, since the basic assumption of Chinese medicine with which Chinese culture has operated for at least the last two millennia is that the emotions, as well as other factors such as the environment and lifestyle interact in a complex way and influence the body’s homeostasis. In fact a discussion of the relationship between qi and the emotions was contained in the Inner Classic of the Yellow Emperor 黃帝內經 Huangdi Neijing, the earliest book on Chinese medical theory, compiled around 100 B.C.

Lakoff and Kövecses gave the following formula for anger in English. We shall attempt to determine to what extent it is also valid for the prototypical scenario of anger for Chinese:

The ontology of anger for English includes a scale of anger which has an intensity (I(A)), a zero point (Z) and a limit point (L). There is also an offending event (O) and retributive act (R), which likewise have an intensity, a zero point and a limit. The offending event is an action carried out by a wrongdoer (W) against a victim (V). The retribution consists of an act by an agent (A) against a target (T).

The ontology of anger also includes the predicates: displeasing (D), at fault (AF), exert force on (F), cause (C), exist (E), control (CL), dangerous (DR), damaging (DG), balance (B), and outweigh (OW). The kinds of events are: the physiological events (PE); the angry behaviours (AB); and the immediate cause of anger (IC), since this may not always be identical to the offending event.
The prototypical scenario for English is stated by Lakoff and Kövecses in the following way:

Constraints:

\[ V = S: \text{Victim} = \text{Self} \]
\[ A = S: \text{Agent of retribution} = \text{Self} \]
\[ T = W: \text{Target of Anger} = \text{Wrongdoer} \]
\[ IC = O: \text{Immediate cause of Anger} = \text{Offending event} \]
\[ AB = R: \text{Angry behaviour} = \text{Retribution} \]

This gives us the following stages:

Stage 1: Offending Event
\[ O(W,S): \text{Wrongdoer offends Self} \]
\[ AF(W): \text{Wrongdoer is at fault} \]
\[ D(O,S): \text{The offending event displeases Self} \]
\[ OW(I(O),I(R)): \text{The intensity of the offence outweighs the intensity of the retribution (which equals zero at this point), thus creating an imbalance.} \]
\[ C(O,E(A)): \text{The offence causes anger to come into existence} \]

Stage 2: Anger
\[ E(A): \text{Anger exists.} \]
\[ PE(S): S \text{ experiences physiological effects (heat, pressure, agitation).} \]
\[ F(A,S) \text{ SO THAT ATTEMPT (S,R): Anger exerts force on the Self to attempt an act of retribution.} \]

Stage 3: Attempt to control anger
\[ F(S,A): S \text{ exerts a counterforce in an attempt to control anger.} \]

Stage 4: Loss of control
\[ I(A,L): \text{The intensity of anger goes above the limit} \]
\[ CL(A,S): \text{Anger takes control of S} \]
\[ AB(S): S \text{ exhibits angry behaviour (loss of judgement, aggressive actions).} \]
\[ DG(S): \text{There is damage to S.} \]
\[ DR(W): \text{There is a danger to the target of anger, in this case, the wrongdoer.} \]

Stage 5: Retribution
\[ R(S,W): S \text{ performs retributive act against W (this is usually angry behaviour directed at W).} \]
\[ B(I(R),I(O)): \text{The intensity of retribution balances the intensity of the offence.} \]
\[ I(A) = Z: \text{The intensity of anger drops to zero.} \]
\[ NOT(E)(A)): \text{Anger ceases to exist.} \]

8.6.1 The prototypical scenarios in Chinese
At first blush it appears that the Chinese model is almost identical to the one proposed for English. For example, Stage 1 in the prototype scenario for anger in English contains an offending event with a wrongdoer who does something to displease the self (S). Chinese handles this by means of the PHYSICAL FORCE and QI metaphors, where the offending event causes an imbalance in the body. This imbalance is metonymically interpreted as a state of anger. In Stage 2 there are the physiological effects of anger (heat, pressure, agitation) and the need to perform an act of retribution. In Chinese heat, pressure and agitation are also found in the metonymies and metaphors used to talk about anger. The attempt at control and loss of control that are found in Stages 3 and 4, respectively, are likewise elaborated metaphorically in Chinese by means of the PHYSICAL FORCE and QI metaphors.

However, the presence of Stage 5 is by no means as obvious for Chinese. Lakoff and Kövecses argue that there is a connection between anger and retribution. They cite the English expression 'Don't get mad, get even' and the anger is a burden metaphor and suggests that the final stage of the prototypical model of anger is the act of retribution whereby the victim is able to balance the scales of justice.

Since this metaphor is either minor or non-existent in Chinese, there is little evidence for a retribution component for anger. Rather than the need to balance the severity of the offence with a retribution of equal force, it appears that the emphasis is on correcting the imbalance in one's own body. On the other hand, the existence of a social acts are valuable commodities metaphor which would appear to underlie Kövecses' burden metaphor in English cannot be denied for Chinese. In order to make this statement more
explicit, we first point out the following metaphor uncovered by Kövecses as an important component of the model for love. This is:

**LOVE IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY (IN AN ECONOMIC EXCHANGE)**

for which we find examples like:

This relationship isn't **worth anything anymore.**
She **rewarded** his love by taking care of him.
She's **invested a lot** in that relationship.

etc.

However it seems that it is not only love that is commonly conceptualized as a valuable commodity, but social acts in general. This gives us the more general metaphor: **SOCIAL ACTS ARE VALUABLE COMMODITIES (IN AN ECONOMIC EXCHANGE)** (in turn related to **STATES OF AFFAIRS ARE COMMODITIES**), which we find in both Chinese and English. For English we find examples such as the following:

He **paid his debt** to society for his terrible crime.
You **owe** me a **favour**.
That doesn't **count** as a favour.
He **rewarded** the brave young man for saving his daughter's life.
He **settled** his account with his old enemy.
It wasn't **worth** the **time and effort**.
I'll always be **indebted** to you for your **kindness**.

In Chinese we find evidence for the same metaphor in the following conventionalized sayings and expressions:

(364) **血債要用血來還**  
*xie zhai yao yong xie lai huan*  
**blood debt want use blood come repay**  
Debts of blood must be paid in blood
(365) 恩重如山
en zhong ru shan
kindness heavy as mountain
A great debt of gratitude

(366) 有功必賞
you gong bi shang
have achievement must reward
To give credit where it’s due

(367) 有冤報冤有仇報仇
you yuan bao yuan you chou bao chou
have wrong repay wrong have grievance repay
grievance
An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth

(368) 礼尚往来
li shang wang lai
li still toward come
Courtesy demands reciprocity/ Deal with a man the way he deals with you

In the same way that this metaphor can account for the mutuality and equality found by Kövecses to be part of the prototypical model for love, it can also account for the retribution component in the model of anger for English. As Kövecses pointed out, we expect that the value of goods exchanged in a commercial transaction will be equal. In social interaction we use the same metaphor as part of our concept of justice; hence the Biblical notion of 'an eye for an eye', and our own symbol of a pair of scales. 7

The following examples indicate that offending events may also have 'value' in Chinese:
(369) 不值得為這件事生氣  
bu zhi de wei zhe jian shi shengqi  
NEG worth DE for this CLASS matter produce qi  
It is not worth producing qi over this.

(370) 誰也不欠誰  
shei ye bu qian shei  
who YE NEG owe who  
We're even now.

(371) 氣得我馬上去找他算帳  
qi de wo ma shang qu zhaot suan zhang  
qi DE I immediately go find he count bill  
I had so much qi that I immediately went to find him so that I could get even

However there are only a few such examples and these were constructed with the aid of native speakers rather than being taken from novels or other sources. We might also point out that they are collocations rather than chengyu. The latter are much more conventionalized than the former. Another reason for not accepting the existence of a retribution component for Chinese is that the metaphors ANGRY BEHAVIOUR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR, ANGER IS AN OPPONENT, and ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL are either completely absent or only poorly elaborated. A further linguistic test lends further support to this hypothesis. Whereas for English we can say 'He made me angry, but I did not retaliate', the equivalent Chinese sentence 他讓我生氣,可是我沒有去報復. Ta rang wo shengqi, keshi wo mei you qu baofu. seems to be strange for most native speakers. This may be because for Chinese it is not causing somebody to be angry that is the social act, but the offending event itself. One could predict that if Zhangsan hit Lisi the result would be the same as if John hit Harry. It may therefore be that our linguistic
data is limited in how much it can tell us. We might instead need to rely on a different source to extract this type of information. Descriptions of arguments in Chinese novels might be one possibility. This might be a fruitful way of coming to understand the complex social factors which play a role in the expression of emotion in Chinese culture.

Although we have identified one prototypical model for Chinese, it seems it cannot be the only one. This model would seem to correspond more or less to the ideal that is reflected in traditional Confucian values. This is that one's emotions should be expressed 'harmoniously'. This idea is an integral part of Confucian thought, an ideology that has made a strong impression on Chinese culture for at least the last two thousand years. Several examples can be found in the Chinese Classics. In the doctrine of Mean and Harmony it says: 'While there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow the mind may be said to be in the state of EQUILIBRIUM. When those feelings have been stirred, and they act in their due degree, there ensues what may be called the state of HARMONY.' (喜, 怒, 哀, 樂, 之未發, 謂之中, 發而皆中節, 謂之和). Tseng, a psychiatrist, believes that the above quote '...reflects the traditional Chinese attitude regarding how to handle the emotions: not to overdischarge them and always to express them with harmony'. Of course we unfortunately have no way of knowing, for our present purposes, how exactly one goes about expressing anger harmoniously.

There is also evidence for another prototypical model. The outward display of emotion, especially in the case of anger, naturally involves a confrontation between the parties involved. However this type of interaction, at least between family members, is the least preferred in most daily situations. Hsu points out that conflicts are often mediated by a third party and grievances
may be discussed with other family members and friends rather than with the other party concerned. Furthermore, somatization seems to play a major role in family interactions. For example, somatic complaints and bodily discomforts receive speedy attention from others. A display of concern from others might therefore be seen as a positive force which balances the negative effects of the offending event. One of the strategies used by physicians in ancient China to deal with illnesses was to induce a counter emotion to counteract the one being experienced by the patient that was believed responsible for the patient's poor health. It is therefore not surprising that we are able to uncover a 'typical model' which reflects a somatic manner of expressing anger. Although we have no linguistic evidence as justification for inclusion of a compensating event, there is ample support for this from the anthropological, medical, and cross-cultural psychiatric literature.

The ideal and typical models for anger in Chinese are given below. First, we need to introduce some entities and predicates which are relevant for Chinese. In addition to some of those given by Lakoff and Kövecses, we shall need: imbalance (IB), diversion (DV), somatic effects (SE), discharged anger (DA), excess anger (EA), a compensating event (CE), and pleases (P).

The Ideal Model:

Stage 1: Offending Event
O(W,S): Wrongdoer offends Self
D(O,S): The offending event displeases Self
C(O,E(IB)): The offence causes an imbalance in the body (#338)

Stage 2: Anger
E(A): Anger exists.
PE(S): S experiences physiological effects (heat, pressure, agitation) (#321, 301, 297)

Stage 3: Attempt to control anger
F(S,A): S exerts a counterforce in an attempt to control anger (#355)
Stage 4: Release of anger
AB(S): S releases anger by exhibiting angry behaviour (hitting etc., this may
be directed at wrongdoer who is the target) (#391 by inference)

Stage 5: Restoration of equilibrium
B(DA), (EA): The amount of discharged anger balances the excess in the body
IB = Z: The imbalance disappears and equilibrium is restored (#357)

The typical model differs in its Stage 4 and 5 realizations:

Stage 4: Diversion
DV(A): The force of the anger is diverted to various parts of the body
SE(S): S exhibits somatic effects (headaches, stomach aches etc.) (#266, 267)

Stage 5: Compensating event (See references in note 14)
P(CE,S): The compensating event pleases self (this is usually sympathetic
behaviour directed at S)
B(I(CE),I(O)): The intensity of compensation balances the intensity of the
offence
SE(A) = Z: The somatic effects of anger disappear
NOT(E)(A): Anger ceases to exist

8.7 SOME NONPROTOTYPICAL CASES OF ANGER IN CHINESE

8.7.1 Righteous Indignation

In this example we find that O is an injustice and V = S but D(O,S)

(372) 氣憤不平
qi fen bu ping
qi anger NEG even
To be angry over an unfair situation.

Which also has the variant form:

(373) 憤憤不平
fen fen bu ping
angry NEG even
To be angry over an unfair situation.

8.7.2 Lingering Anger
The attempt to discharge one's anger completely is unsuccessful. The intensity of anger stays above zero and anger continues to exist:

Stage 5: I(A) > Z and E(A)

(374) 他余怒未息地對阿四說
tax yu nu wei xi de dui A Si shuo
he left over anger not rest DE to A Si say
He said to A Si with lingering anger.

8.7.3 Defence of Self-esteem

The source of the anger is not a direct offending event, but stems from one's own feelings.

(375) 惱羞成怒
nao xiu cheng nu
worry shame become anger
To fly into a rage from shame

There is also a variant which is probably a result of dialectal confusion between /l/ and /n/ in the initial characters:

(376) 老羞成怒
lao xiu cheng nu
always shame become anger
To fly into a rage from shame.

8.7.4 Unknown Offending Event

Another nonprototypical case is when the offending event is unknown.

Stage 1: C(O, E(A)) but O = UNKNOWN:
8.7.5 Terminating Event

Another event causes the anger to go out of existence. Stage 4: NOT (CL(A,S)) There is an event such that NOT (e = R) and C (e (NOT (E(A)))).

8.7.6 The 'hothead'

One variant of the prototype is when the offending event and the anger are simultaneous. In many cases this seems to be dispositional and tends to be a character trait, rather than an aspect of one particular angry occasion. Chinese. Chinese has a large number of xiehousy which describe this scenario. Since there are so many expressions which exploit more or less the same conceptual domain (FIRE), we shall merely give the Chinese characters and an English gloss, rather than the usual format we have been following. In many cases the B parts of the xiehousy are also chengyu. The chengyu in these examples show little variation, and in most cases may be the result of dialect differences.

The following xiehousy all have different A parts, but their B parts are identical. Here we find Stages 2 and 4 combined:

(379) 一點就着 'to burst into flame from one spark' occurs with the following:
火種落進干柴 'a spark falls into a dry woodpile'
烈火干柴 'raging fire and dry wood'
爆竹脾氣 'a temper like a firecracker'

(380) With 點火就着 'to burn as soon as lit', we get:
爆筒脾氣 'a temper like a gun barrel'
老煤油桶 'a bucket of old kerosene'

(381) With 沾火就着 'to burn as soon as (something) touches fire':
硫磺腦袋 'sulphur head'
火絨腦袋 'tinder head'

(382) With 見火就着 'to burn as soon as one sees fire', we find:
爆竹捻脾氣 'a temper like a firecracker fuse'

(383) With both 一碰就着 'to burn as soon as touched' and
(384) 一碰就起火 'to ignite as soon as touched', we find:
粗石頭性子 'a temperament like a rough stone'

(385) 冒火 'to flare up' occurs with:
焊條碰鋼板 'the welding rod touches the metal sheet'

8.7.7 Immediate explosion

A closely related nonprototype is 'immediate explosion'. We also find a number of xiehouyu to describe this situation. Very often the B parts are identical to those given above, except we find the character for 'explode' 炸 is substituted in place of the one for 'touch, set light' 着

(386) With 一點就炸 'to explode with one spark', we get the following:
爆竹的脾氣 'a temper like a firecracker'
屬爆竹的 'to be like a firework'
爆竹線子 'a firework fuse'

(387) With 點火就炸 'to explode as soon as it's lit':

敞了蓋的汽油桶 'an uncovered gasoline drum'

(388) and, with 沾火就炸 'to explode on contact with fire', we
find a slightly different dialectal variant:

敞了蓋兒的汽油桶 'an uncovered gasoline drum'

(389) The expression 炸了 'it exploded' occurs with:

滾油鍋里丟把生鹽 'drop a handful of salt into a pot of
boiling oil'
滾油鍋里澆了瓢水 'add a spoonful of cold water to a pot
of boiling oil'

8.7.8 Redirected anger:

Instead of directing your anger at the person who made you angry, you
direct it at someone or something else. Stage 4: NOT (T = W):

(390) 抓不住老虎在貓身上出氣
zhua bu zhu laohu zai mao shen shang chu qi
grab NEG hold tiger at cat body on out qi
To let out one's qi on the cat because one can't catch the
tiger

(391) 打不動牛打車
da bu dong niu da che
hit NEG move ox hit cart
To hit the cart because one can't make the ox move

(392) 打不着野狼打家狗
da bu zhao ye lang da jia gou
hit NEG touch wild wolf hit family dog
To hit one's own dog because one can't touch the wolf

8.7.9 Unexpressible anger:

S is unable to find a target on which to take out anger. Stage 4: I (A) IS NEAR L but T (where T = W) or suitable T (where T = W) is inaccessible:

A
(393) 彭里烧碳
peng li shao tan
peng in burn coal
To burn coal in a peng (a tightly sealed container)

B
有火发不出
you huo fa bu chu
have fire emit NEG out
The fire/anger can't come out

A
(394) 彭里燃碳
peng li ran tan
peng in burn coal
To burn coal in a peng (a tightly sealed container)

B
有火没处发
you huo mei chu fa
have fire NEG place emit
There's nowhere for the fire to come out

A
(395) 盖嚴了的蒸笼
gai yan le de zheng long
cover tight LE POSS steamer
A tightly covered steamer

B

有气难出
you qi nan chu
have qi hard come out
It is hard for the steam/qi to come out

8.7.10 Concealed anger:

There are no physiological effects and S remains in control. S conceals anger by displaying behavioural reaction of JOY (J) (smiling). Stage 2: E (A) BUT NO AB (S) and NOT E(J) BUT HB (S):

(396) 恼在心头笑在脸上
nao zai xin tou xiao zai lian shang
anger at heart laugh at face on
To be angry on the inside, but smiling on the outside

8.7.11 Fake anger:

S pretends to be angry. Stage 2: NOT E (A) BUT AB (S):

A

(397) 唱戏的吹胡子
chang xi de chui hu zi
sing opera POSS blow beard
To blow one's beard as in Beijing opera (a sign of anger)

B

假生气
jia sheng qi
false produce qi
To pretend to produce qi

8.7.12 Terminating Event and Anger Changes into Joy
S's anger is terminated by another event and his anger is transformed into joy. Stage 4: CE(C, (E(J)):

(398) 回嗔作喜
    hui chen zuo xi
    turn anger make happy
    To stop being angry and become happy

8.7.13 Ineffective anger:

S vents anger on T, but T doesn't respond: Stage 5: I (A) = Z but no effect on T:

A
(399) 吹了燈燈眼睛
    chui le deng deng yan jing
    blow LE lamp stare eyes
    To blow at the lamp and stare with one's eyes

B
    出了氣人又不得罪
    chu le qi ren you bu de zui
    out LE qi man still NEG take offence
    After one has vented one's qi the person is still not offended

8.7.14 Controlled Reduction

S expresses anger only partially. Stage 4: AB(S) but only partial release and I(A) GOES DOWN.

A
(400) 不拉胡琴只吹簫
bu la hu qin zhi chui xiao
NEG pull huqin only blow flute
Only blowing the flute rather than play a two-stringed instrument

B
光在眼儿孔里出气
guang zai yan er kong li chu qi
only at eye hole in out qi
Just letting air/qi out through the holes in the flute/one's eyes (Just letting off steam)

A
(401) 黄肿老儿放屁
huang zhong laoer fang pi
yellow swelling person fart
The leper farts

B
消气不消肿
xiao qi bu xiao zhong
dispel qi NEG dispel swelling
Get rid of air/qi but not the swelling (i.e. of the leprosy/one's body full of anger) (Letting off steam)

8.8 ANGER AND OTHER EMOTIONS

How does ANGER relate to other emotions? In this section we show that there are interesting ways in which WORRY and FEAR relate to ANGER.

8.8.1 ANGER and WORRY

Probably the closest relative to ANGER is WORRY. This relationship is seen in the use of the FIRE/HEAT metaphor. However there is also an
important difference. Whereas for ANGER we found the existence of 'smoke' and the increase in the height of the flames as the anger got more intense, for WORRY we find the use of words like 'fry' - a way of cooking that entails little moisture, and 'scorch', which similarly implies dryness. This suggests that it is both the intense heat and the lack of fluid that is relevant here. We find dryness in several expressions to do with WORRY, such as the 息囁语 given earlier where a lack of oil in the lamp results in the wick being burnt. The pun on 心 'heart/wick' 心 ( 心) is based on a variant of the CONTAINER metaphor. The body is a lamp, the heart is the wick, and the qi that flows through the body is the oil. This metaphor also accounts for a host of other expressions that are related to FIRE, for example 心 灰 意 懶. xin hui yi lan 'heart ashes will lazy' with the meaning of 'discouraged'. When there is no longer fire in one's heart there is a lack of vitality or life.

It seems conceivable, then, that WORRY/ANXIETY is a state that can give rise to ANGER. A possible English equivalent might be what we think of as 'irritability'. What this suggests is that ANGER does not always have to have a clearcut cause. An event may initially arouse feelings of WORRY or ANXIETY in a person. This may indirectly lead to a person 'flaring up' or getting angry. Linguistic evidence can be found in such expressions as: 氣 急 了 qi ji le 'to have so much qi that one becomes anxious' and 又 氣 又 急 you qi you ji 'both angry and anxious'. Although 焦 ji is usually glossed as 'anxious', rather than 'worried', we have shown that there is a good deal of overlap between WORRY and ANXIETY in Chinese. This was supported by linguistic evidence which showed that both ji and chou occur in expressions to do with sleeplessness, and also burning or fire in the heart.
It is interesting to note an etymological connection in Indo-European languages between 'anxious' and 'angry'. They both relate to Greek and Latin roots meaning 'constriction' or 'strangle'. Modern German eng 'narrow' is a cousin of the Freudian Angst. Such connections in both Chinese and Indo-European suggest a potentially panhuman substrate.

8.8.2 ANGER and FEAR

There are several obvious differences between our models for ANGER and FEAR. For example we found several well-elaborated metaphors for the former (ANGER IS FIRE/HEAT; ANGER IS QI IN THE BODY; ANGER IS A PHYSICAL FORCE; and ANGER IS A NATURAL FORCE). However for the latter there are few examples in our data which make use of metaphor. The concept of FEAR thus almost completely relies on metonymy. This brings up the important theoretical question as to whether there is a correlation between the physiological effects of an emotion, as reflected in our linguistic data, and particular emotions.

The important physiological effects of anger are: INCREASED PRESSURE; CHANGE IN THE COLOUR OF THE FACE; and AGITATION. Although we do not find the PRESSURE component for fear, there is RUPTURE OF BODILY ORGANS which seems to bear some resemblance. However there is a difference between the way these effects relate to the two emotions. In anger it is an internal build up and explosion of pressure. For fear it is a sudden force that affects the body. Furthermore, in each case it is different organs which are affected. In the folk model, the pressure from the anger affects the stomach and the lungs, but fear attacks the gallbladder and sometimes the heart. It would thus be inaccurate to make a sweeping generalization about the relationship between the emotions and the body organs in Chinese in terms of
the detrimental effect the one has on the other. Similarly, for both anger and fear we find agitation. Once again we can identify a specific type of agitation particular to anger and a different type for fear. For example, anger has jumping, stamping the feet, and hitting the chest. However it is here where we also run into some overlap. For both fear and anger we find shaking and trembling. Not only that, but also we have expressions referring to the hair standing on end for both emotions. There's even one more similarity to be found. Both emotions seem to show a loss of colour in the face.

In fact an introductory psychology textbook believes the physiology of the two emotions of fear and rage are identical. This finding is debated by Kövecses on the basis of his data from English. Kövecses concludes that the English folk theory offers support for the hypothesis that the emotions are characterized by specific response patterns. The Chinese data, however, would lead us to conclude the opposite. How do we account for this finding? We might conclude that there are culturally different responses to these two emotions. In other words, this may be the result of the interaction between culture and biology. However, in this case, this seems unlikely. Darwin's seminal work on the emotions in humans and animals written well over a hundred years ago points out that it is natural for a person's hair to stand up during both emotions of rage and terror, although he fails to offer any explanation. A likely reason for this is offered by Cannon's study of bodily changes in pain, hunger, fear, and rage. Cannon points out the functional nature of bodily reflexes which accompany emotional expression. He notes that they preserve the welfare of the organism or protect it against injury. Both terror and rage (the extreme versions of fear and anger) are experienced in similar situations. However, the difference is that the latter is followed by
a 'flight' response and the former by a 'fight' response. In that both are a preparation for intense activity they both require a lot of energy. Cannon observes that there are obvious reasons for the failure of experimentation to reveal significant differences in visceral accompaniments for the two emotions (such as inhibition of gastric secretion). The bodily needs in either case are identical. The increased action of the heart would thus seem to be a way of giving the body more blood sugar.

8.9 CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

This chapter has reached the following conclusions about the folk model of anger for Chinese:

1. There is a close relationship between health and ANGER in Chinese. The most common way of conceptualizing this emotion is in terms of an excess of qi in the body. Qi is a cultural specific concept that is closely connected to the Chinese view that the body is the world in microcosm. Qi may affect the body in a number of ways, many of which correspond to the somatic complaints found to be a common component of mental and emotional disorders among members of Chinese culture. These were: headache, stomach ache; dizziness; loss of appetite; and weight loss, as well as a general potential for causing sickness, or even death.

2. HEAT, PRESSURE and AGITATION are important elements in the central metaphors for Chinese, just as in English, thus suggesting that these are panhuman physiological reactions belonging more to biology than culture.

3. The metonymies contain both physiological and behavioural reactions common to the folk models for both cultures, however there are also cultural specific elements e.g. one’s hair standing up straight for Chinese, and reference to cultural specific knowledge related to the expression of emotion in Beijing opera, i.e. blowing one’s beard.

4. English makes use of more metaphors than Chinese e.g. ANGER IS AN OPPONENT, ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL either do not exist in Chinese, or are marginally present.

5. There are two prototypical scenarios for Chinese. Whereas one allows for the release of the anger, the other model relies on a diversion of the
anger to various parts of the body. This results in the presence of somatic symptoms. There was no evidence to suggest that anger in Chinese is conceptualized as a BURDEN, as is the case for English. 20

6. The evidence strongly supports the conceptual embodiment hypothesis that our abstract concepts are grounded in our everyday bodily experience. It also shows that, in the case of emotions, our physiology plays an important role in deciding how they are structured. On the other hand, culture can be seen as playing an equally important role.
NOTES:


7. See Johnson's 1987: 80, discussion of the metaphorical extensions of the BALANCE schema.

8. Chin, 1970, has used this methodology as a way of examining the conceptualization of family relationships in Chinese culture. Hsu and Tseng, 1974, looked at ways in which family problems and conflicts were resolved in traditional Chinese opera.

9. Legge 1960:384


12. According to Hsu, 1985: 105

'somatization is in part caused and/or maintained by the characteristic family structure and interaction in the Chinese family'.


14. For example, Kleinman, 1980; 1985.


16. Sperling, 1984: 157 notes that:

fear and rage are physiologically equivalent. The marked internal changes that occur in a person who has been frightened are indistinguishable from those that occur in a person who has been angered.

17. à la Wolf and Wolf 1947; Ax 1953; Lacey 1967.


CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter summarizes the results of the study with respect to the research questions formulated in the first chapter. Implications for a theory of the conceptual structure of Chinese are discussed and directions for further research are identified.

9.1 SUMMARY OF RESULTS

In Chapter I we raised the following questions:

(i) Are beliefs about the emotions in Chinese culture, as represented in linguistic data, linked to socially sanctioned action and behaviour?

(ii) Is there any correspondence between physiology and the individual emotions in the Chinese folk models?

(iii) Are there differences in the way emotions are conceptualized in English and Chinese, e.g. in terms of the prototypical cognitive models used to understand them?

(iv) To what extent do the Chinese categories of emotion correspond to universals

(v) What are the implications for understanding the organization of the conceptual system of Chinese?

9.1.1 Knowledge and action
The main question we were interested in addressing in this work, was whether or not there is a correlation between the beliefs about the emotions in Chinese culture, as found in conventionalized linguistic expressions, and how people act. We pointed out that the findings of researchers in medicine, psychiatry and psychology indicate that members of Chinese culture tend to express emotional distress, at least in clinical settings, in terms of a somatic idiom. This has also been found to have consequences for the type of therapeutic intervention and treatment, the nature of the relationship between the healer and patient and the utilization of medical services, as well as the outcome of treatment. This suggests that culture plays an important role in constructing a 'clinical reality' which influences illness and health care. With respect to the role of language, we have tried to find out to what extent the linguistic symbolization of emotional worlds represents a social or cultural reality in which people act and interact in the ways encoded in the language. In other words, do members of Chinese culture both talk and act in terms of a metaphor that sees emotional/psychological/mental distress in terms of physical distress, suggesting that language and culture interact to form a reality, or is there no necessary relationship between ways of acting and ways of talking?

In chapter 3, we isolated a set of physical symptoms which have been shown to frequently occur in the somatic idiom favoured by members of Chinese culture as a way of communicating personal and interpersonal distress. These were: headache; stomach ache; insomnia; dizziness; a disturbance in the balance or flow of qi in the body; fatigue or a lack of energy; loss of appetite; physical pain; weight loss; and general agitation. An analysis of a total of 222 chengyu belonging to the five emotions of WORRY; GRIEF;
FEAR; JOY; and ANGER showed that around 20% of them chose the above physical symptoms as a way of referring to emotional states. This tendency to depend on organic or other aspects of experience closely tied to the body was even more apparent when it was found that the remaining *chengyu* made use of images from facial expression; sounds associated with emotional expression; a feeling of heat in the body; taste; sickness; interference with perception; and interpersonal relationships; as well as other general references to the body. A pilot study carried out in order to test the degree to which colloquial expressions elicited from four native speakers were based on similar models to those underlying the more literary expressions was also conducted. The results indicated that the somatic idiom is an important way of communicating emotional distress in modern Chinese culture.

The above experiential domains all proved useful in examining the conceptual structure of the five emotion categories. Based on the analysis presented in the present study, it can be concluded that cultural beliefs about emotions and the language used to talk about emotions interact to construct a way of experiencing distress.

At the same time we would not want to assume that everytime somebody utters an expression containing an emotion term and a somatic complaint that they are actually experiencing that complaint. While we have no way of measuring pain, or determining if it is actually present, we should not ignore the importance of the social function of emotion as a way of communicating social or other non-physical distress.¹

9.1.2 Physiology and emotion in Chinese
Our findings support the hypothesis that emotion concepts have conceptual structure that is based on a cultural theory of the physiological changes which accompany those emotions. The conceptual structure of the emotions in Chinese depends to a large extent on metonymies and to a lesser extent on metaphors which elaborate real or perceived bodily experiences. There is thus further evidence that at least some of our concepts are embodied. This raises the question of whether there is a pancultural physiological substrate that is merely shaped by culture, or if both the biological and cultural aspects of emotional experience interact with each other. In other words, is it possible to identify 'basic' emotions with physiologically based universal features, or are biology and culture so closely intertwined that we cannot isolate them?

There are several ways in which the models for emotion concepts resemble those for English. Since English and Chinese do not belong to the same language families, are radically different in structure, and have only had marginal impact on each other through linguistic contact, any similarities might be construed as resulting from potentially panhuman experiences. For example, although we do not as yet have a coherent picture of the folk model for WORRY in English, there are many characteristics of the Chinese counterpart which sound familiar to the speaker of English. An inability to sleep, inability to eat, fatigue, and sickness would all seem to be possible for our own culture. Some of the metaphors for English are also widespread in Chinese. The CONTAINER metaphor where WORRY and other emotions are viewed as substances in a container is also familiar, as is the image of a BURDEN. Descriptions of the facial expressions accompanying WORRY, such as frowning, are also not alien to the Western way of experiencing this emotion.
However, on the other hand, the Chinese model also relies on the image of heat in the body and physical pain, which may be culturally specific (although the etymology of the English word 'worry' is related to the Indo-European root for 'turn', the implication being that one experienced worry in terms of a turning of the stomach or other organs). There is evidence to suggest that pain associated with emotion is experienced differently cross-culturally and acts as an idiom of distress. In other words, pain, while it may in many cases have a physiological origin, is part of a complex network of meaning which conveys social and psychocultural information to members of a culture.

This is also true of GRIEF. The physical pain associated with emotion, crying, agitation, and a lack of qi in the body that figure as the main components in the linguistic expressions for this emotion, are not culture-free experiences. Whereas we can expect all cultures to have ways of dealing with the basic human experiences of death and separation, the culturally sanctioned coping mechanisms differ considerably. Pain may be a result of viewing relationships in terms of ties, bonds, and being united etc. Both English and Chinese have a conceptual metaphor that exploits the image of being attached to others physically. This may very well be a panhuman image. For example, relations may be 'tense', 'strained', 'relaxed', 'cemented', 'cut off' or 'broken off' etc. We talk about marriage as 'tying the knot', 'getting hitched', etc. Distance is also important - 'close ties' are more highly valued than those which are distant. In Chinese culture where there is a heavy emphasis on interpersonal relationships both inside and outside of the family, the concept of 關係 guanxi 'relationship' is important. Although this compound might conceivably be called a dead metaphor which no longer contained any obvious reference to physical attachment, other than the visual
cue inherent in the second character, the physical imagery is difficult to ignore in the phrase 拉關係 la guanxi, literally 'pull a relationship', meaning to exploit a close relationship with others for personal gain. The compound 結婚 jiehun 'to marry' also contains reference to 'joining' (結). Etymologically this character is formed by means of the 'silk' radical, suggesting once again a metaphor of physical attachment. Physical pain, to the extent that it is the experiential basis for the metaphoric elaboration of emotional pain, would be the expected result of both physical and emotional detachment. This accounts for the tendency for death and separation to figure prominently as causes of grief, sadness, and sorrow.

Chinese culture shapes the expression of this domain in a number of ways. Firstly, crying at funerals is sanctioned to the extent that professional 'criers' are often hired (at least in Taiwan). The importance of crying was evident from the many conventionalized expressions which describe this activity in detail. Secondly, there are cultural taboos on who one is allowed to express grief for. For example, a woman cannot express emotion at the death of her brother-in-law. Thus, it is difficult to uncover a natural emotion that has been untainted by the influence of culture. The expectation that we might be able to uncover a set of physiological patterns that are the result of a discrete emotion called grief rests on the misconception that biology and culture are always separable.

The conceptual domain of FEAR in Chinese depends almost solely on a set of metonymies relating to physiological effects and behavioural reactions commonly associated, in folk models, with the experience of this emotion. These metonymies are based, in nearly all cases, on exactly the same experiences as in English, although Chinese makes greater use of imagery
from body organs. These experiences were: physical agitation; increase in heart rate; absence of blood in the face; sweating; inability to breathe; panting; drop in body temperature; hair stands on end; rupture of bodily organs; inability to act; involuntary release of bowels or bladder; shrinking back; screaming; and hiding. Furthermore, many common English words associated with fear are etymologically derived from such behavioural reactions as fleeing, e.g. 'phobia' from Greek phobor and IE bhegwe- 'to flee', and physiological effects as the hair standing up on end, as in 'horror' from IE gher- 'to bristle'. Whereas a culture may decide what one is, or should be, afraid of, there is good reason to assume that a panhuman substrate of physiological responses to situations which threaten the well-being of the human organism is responsible for at least some of the ways that languages choose to talk about their experience of fear. These physiological responses may also have an important function in preparing our bodies for 'fight' or 'flight'.

The physiological effects of JOY turned out to be the opposite of those for the negative emotions like WORRY and SADNESS/GRIEF. We found a high level of energy and activity to be the most noticeable effects. Other experiences of this emotion were smiling and lightness, i.e. lack of a burden. The cause of JOY also seemed to be the opposite to that for the SADNESS/GRIEF domain --- that of unity or festive occasions where people gather together.

ANGER is described in terms of heat, agitation, and pressure metaphors in both Chinese and English. The experiential domains of these metaphors correspond to an increase in pulse rate and body temperature in experiments on physiological response patterning. There is therefore an important similarity between the folk models of two different cultures and the Western
scientific model. Given the conceptual difficulty of actually being able to define what an emotion is, we have no basis for according superior status to the scientific model as being somehow closer to 'truth' or reality. Experiments that purport to measure the physiological responses of emotions are often done by administering drugs to subjects. These drugs are believed to artificially induce a state of anger. However, the only way that we can know if such drug induced states simulate the effects of anger is to compare them to our own folk model of anger! Since science is a Western development, the folk model in question will be that of members of Western cultures. In other words, what we have are three separate conceptualizations of reality --- a Chinese folk model, an English folk model, and a scientific model which might be seen as a sophisticated version of the latter. At least in terms of the bodily accompaniments of anger, we find that these three conceptualizations show a high degree of correspondence. But this should not be construed as meaning that we can talk about a basic universal emotion of anger that has these defining features. As we have shown in the folk models of the emotions presented in the present work, there are many places where the role of culture cannot be ignored. However, if we ignore the culturally specific aspects of emotional experience, we are seldom left with a pristine untouched biology that can be accorded universal status, since both culture and biology tend to interact with each other.²

9.1.3 Models of emotions in Chinese and English

The models for the five emotions studied in Chinese were as follows:
WORRY

1. There is a potential, imagined or real situation which is threatening to Self’s (S’s) well-being and over which S has no control of the outcome. (See #66)
2. S experiences physical pain, agitation, and interference with normal functioning, such as sleeping and eating. In some cases S may suffer fatigue and sickness. S expresses state facially in terms of frowning and worried looks. (#15, 2, 8, 33, 20)
3. S attempts to eliminate worry by sharing with others (#69)
4. S successfully eliminates worry (#38)
5. S is safe and feels relieved (#67)

SADNESS/GRIEF

1. There is a situation where S. is separated permanently from loved ones (parents, spouse, friend, etc.) in life or death (#75)
2. Grief exists.
   S experiences emotion in terms of intense physical pain and agitated behaviour. Also weight loss and loss of qi. (#101, 91, 79)
3. S receives support of friends and relatives (#113 - by implication)
4. S expresses grief through crying (#111)
5. Grief gradually and slowly ceases to exist

FEAR

1. Danger
   There is a dangerous situation
   It involves death or physical pain
   S is aware of the danger through sight or sound (#185)
   The danger produces fear in S
2. Fear exists
   S experiences certain physiological effects: physical agitation, increase in heart rate, absence of blood in the face, sweating, inability to breathe, panting, drop in body temperature, hair stands on end, inability to act (speak, move, think), loss of ‘soul’, secretion of bodily substances (sweating, and involuntary release of bowels or bladder), rupture of bodily organs, (#138, 141, 157, 163, 164, 165, 183, 179, 187, 174, 193, 184.)
3. Attempt at control
   S attempts to control his fear and makes an effort not to display signs of fear (#200)
4. Loss of control
   S loses control over fear
   Outward expression of fear
S screams and/or shrinks back, flees, or hides (#194, 196, 197)
5. Fear gradually subsides
   
   JOY

1. There is a situation where S is joined or reunited with a friend or loved one (#264)
2. Joy exists
   S experiences physiological effects and behavioural reactions: smiling/laughter, ways of looking (eyebrows spread, head/chin up), and a positive effect on health (#224, 230, 236)
3. Attempt at control
   S attempts to control JOY (#257)
4. Loss of control
   S is controlled by JOY (#254)
   S may experience interference with accurate perceptions (#239)
5. S expresses JOY
   JOY is expressed in terms of dancing, jumping, singing clapping (#217, 218, 220, 221)

ANGER

1. Offending Event
   Wrongdoer offends Self
   The offending event displeases Self
   The offence causes an imbalance in the body (#338)
2. Anger
   Anger exists.
   S experiences physiological effects (heat, pressure, agitation) (#321, 301, 297)
3. Attempt to control anger
   S exerts a counterforce in an attempt to control anger (#355)
4. Release of anger
   AB(S): S releases anger by exhibiting angry behaviour (hitting etc., this may be directed at wrongdoer who is the target) (#391 by inference)
5. Restoration of equilibrium
   The amount of discharged anger balances the excess in the body
   The imbalance disappears and equilibrium is restored (#357)

The typical model differs in its Stage 4 and 5 realizations: (see 8.6.1)

4. Diversion
   The force of the anger is diverted to various parts of the body
   S exhibits somatic effects (headaches, stomach aches etc.) (#266, 267)
5. Compensating event (See references in note 14)
The compensating event pleases self (this is usually sympathetic behaviour directed at S)
The intensity of compensation balances the intensity of the offence
The somatic effects of anger disappear
Anger ceases to exist

9.1.4 The Question of Universals

We have already pointed out the conceptual problem inherent in the search for universals. Briefly, the problem is that we do not have access to an objective value-free point of view from which we can look at Reality. The question then becomes, as indeed it has been articulated by Catherine Lutz, 'Compared to what'? If we find a putative 'universal', it may mean one of two things. Firstly, that we are looking at a panhuman phenomenon, or on the other hand, another culture happens to view an area of basic human experience from the same perspective as ourselves. If the latter is the case, then how do we go about making cross-cultural comparisons? It is obvious that there are a lot of similarities between the folk models in Chinese and English. If there were not, it would have been difficult to have done this study in the first place, or perhaps impossible, since we would not have been able to find a point of entry. If we reject an autonomous biology, where then do these similarities come from? It seems that the answer has to come from our shared experiences as human beings. Although this may seem to be a question-begging statement, this is not the case when we consider some of the recent, and not so recent, work in anthropology. A point of departure for examining such experience is the human body.
9.2 IMPLICATIONS FOR A THEORY OF THE CONCEPTUAL STRUCTURE OF CHINESE AND DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

9.2.1 Towards a characterization of the conceptual structure of Chinese

It has often been noted that, compared with non-Western cultures, we in the West tend to reify concepts. This have been seen all too clearly in the field of emotion research. Indeed, in our own attempt to break away from this conceptualization, we have still had to work with a way of describing the phenomenon in terms of an entity. The word 'emotion' is a noun that can be treated like a concrete noun and can be talked about in much the same way. When we talk about 'the emotions in Chinese', it is hard to imagine that we are not referring to discrete things or objects that exist independent of human experience, and which are waiting to be analyzed and dissected. In some respects, then, Whorf was correct in his contention that language affects thought. The English language gives us no other choice than to talk about our subject of study in terms of an entity, or perhaps as an amorphous mass or substance, as in 'emotion'. Whorf, however, never articulated in any coherent way how creativity and new perspectives are possible given such a view. His critics therefore delight in pointing out that since Whorf himself was able to understand something about the Hopi language, a language apparently so radically different from SAE, then Whorf's own experiences demonstrate the contradiction in his hypothesis.

However, what his critics have overlooked, is that it is possible to examine the same phenomenon from different angles, as with the story of the three
blind men trying to describe an elephant. Another example is evident from our everyday life. We think of ourselves as individuals with separate and unique identities. However, who we are depends on the point of view taken. Our neighbour next door, let's call him Joe, who is a member of the National Rifle Association may be described as a 'gun toting redneck' by advocates of gun control. Simultaneously, others who believe in the right to bear arms may see Joe as an 'upholder of the American Way'. On the other hand, Joe's membership in the N. R. A. may not be an issue for others. He would simply be 'daddy' to his four year daughter and she could not be expected to care whether or not Joe belonged to the N. R. A. Joe also has a professional identity. As a professor of Chinese linguistics, he may be the 'dynamic teacher of Chinese 5678', 'the up and coming scholar who has invented a new theory of syntax that proves that Chinese really is like English, after all' etc. Apart from this, of course, Joe has a self image of himself which is likely different from the way anybody else sees him. The point is, when we ask 'who is Joe Smith?', there is no one correct answer, but a number of possible ones. On the other hand, all of these possible answers are not 'correct' in each case, but relative to the perspective taken.

It seems that our new perspectives, though, have to come from extending previously understood experiential domains to those which are abstract and intangible. In switching angles we therefore also extend the language of the concrete domain to the abstract. This is best illustrated by a current tendency to apply a dramaturgic metaphor to disciplines in the social sciences and humanities. This metaphor is not a new way of attempting to construct an explanatory model of human behaviour, as a reading of Shakespeare will make clear. But its current popularity seems to have more recent roots, such
as in the work of Victor Turner and Erving Goffman. What this has meant for emotion research is that we can look at the emotions as social roles that actors assume in their relationships with other actors in a drama. Although an elaboration of this metaphor has not been possible within the methodological framework chosen for the present study, it may turn out to be useful in understanding more about how the Chinese language works. Some of our findings from the study of the conceptual structure of emotions in Chinese may turn out to have far-reaching implications for other aspects of the structure of Chinese other than the lexicon. We consider this possibility below.

As we pointed out earlier, many of the issues in Chinese linguistics, as practiced outside China, have been related to defining grammatical categories such as 'subject', 'topic', 'word' etc. All of these are assumed to be universal a priori given categories which should be applicable to all languages. This is not the place to go into an indepth discussion of the problems surrounding grammatical categories in Chinese, but what is relevant is that Western linguists have been forced to conclude that Chinese is a 'topic-comment' or 'discourse-oriented' language. What this means is that very often it is difficult or impossible to make decisions about the grammatical status of some linguistic items. The way the problem has generally been handled is to consider 'topic' as a discourse notion and 'subject' as belonging to the sentence. However, merely assuming that the units of the sentence are immediately applicable to so-called 'chunks' of speech at the discourse level is problematic. Topics are not entities waiting to be discovered but appear to be negotiated as the discourse unfolds, at least in spoken language. This is one of the major sources of the controversy surrounding the 'topic' - 'subject' distinction. The
familiar conceptual problem we faced with the definition of emotion thus resurfaces.

Are many of the problems we face with meanings and definitions, whether in linguistics or psychology the result of a cultural bias towards the entification of our experience? Although our discussion at this stage is by necessity programmatic and sketchy, there is evidence from our study of emotions to suggest this is a useful way of dealing with differences in conceptualizing emotional experience. Let's take the domain of FEAR as an example. We pointed out in chapter 6 that this emotion is understood in Chinese by means of a set of expressions which refer to the physiological and behavioural accompaniments in the cultural model of FEAR. If we look at the model for English we do not find a great deal of difference in the actual content of the model. In fact, if anything, there is an amazing degree of agreement as to what English and Chinese speakers apparently believe about what goes on in our bodies when we are afraid. However, the most startling difference is in the observation that the metaphorical ways of talking about fear seem to be either unavailable to the speaker of Chinese or at best dispreferred. This point will become clear from the following comparison. English has the following metaphors for FEAR:

FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER
The sight filled her with fear.

FEAR IS A VICIOUS ENEMY
Fear slowly crept up on him.
There was a fear lurking in her heart that it wouldn't work out.

FEAR IS AN ILLNESS
The town was plagued by fear.
FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING

She was haunted by the fear of death.

FEAR IS AN OPPONENT

I was gripped by fear.
They were seized by fear.
Her fear overcame her.

FEAR (DANGER) IS A BURDEN

Fear weighed heavily on them as they heard the bombers overhead.
He was greatly relieved when the danger was over.

FEAR IS A NATURAL FORCE

Fear swept over him.
She was engulfed by panic.

FEAR IS A SUPERIOR
Fear reigned in their hearts.
His actions were dictated by fear.

In English the function of metaphors is to highlight the most important causes of fear, such as death and physical pain. However, these causes all view fear as some kind of entity or thing which has a negative relationship between the emotion and the self. In Chinese these kinds of metaphors are generally dispreferred, although they may exist in contemporary literature as a result of Western influence. In fact, except for ANGER, we have found very little evidence for the kinds of conceptual metaphors that appear to structure the domains of emotional experience in English. Even with ANGER we find that it is either difficult or impossible to entitize the emotion. For example, whereas in English we can find ANGER IS AN OPPONENT; ANGER IS A WILD ANIMAL; ANGER IS A BURDEN, we are once again prohibited from constructing such metaphors by constraints in Chinese.

But what kind of constraints are we dealing with: syntactic, semantic, or conceptual? It seems that the answer has to be conceptual, since it is not only
the structure of the lexicon that is affected but also grammatical structure. But first we need a way of characterizing the phenomenon that appears in Chinese. Let us begin by noting that as well as using a variety of conceptual metaphors in order to elaborate domains of experience, languages also have what Lakoff and Johnson call 'ontological metaphors'. 7 Thus for English we find the source of entification is in an ontology that views physical phenomena as discrete or bounded and then imposes this view on events, activities and states. A race, to use Lakoff and Johnson’s example, is viewed as a discrete entity which exists in space and time and has well-defined boundaries. It is seen as a CONTAINER OBJECT with participants (objects), events like the start and finish (metaphorical objects), and the activity of running (metaphorical substance). The following examples are therefore possible: 8

Are you in the race on Sunday? (race as CONTAINER OBJECT)  
Are you going to the race? (race as OBJECT)  
Did you see the race? (race as OBJECT)  
The finish of the race was really exciting. (finish as EVENT OBJECT within CONTAINER OBJECT)  
There was a lot of good running in the race. (running as a SUBSTANCE in a CONTAINER)  
I couldn’t do much sprinting until the end. (sprinting as a SUBSTANCE)  
Halfway into the race, I ran out of energy. (race as CONTAINER OBJECT)  
He’s out of the race now. (race as CONTAINER OBJECT)

Chinese does not work with this ontology, so it is no surprise that we could not make the English metaphors for the emotions work in that language or that we cannot describe a race in the same way. What can we say about the ontology of Chinese? A likely candidate for ontological status is the 'whole-part' relationship. Although a number of scholars have pointed out the relevance of this relationship in the past for understanding the topic-comment discourse structure of Chinese, it is only recently that its pervasiveness in the
language has been fully appreciated. It has so far been treated the most extensively in James Tai's recent paper. However, it is now clear that we do not have to restrict ourselves to looking at grammatical phenomena. The same principle is operative in the very notion of 'category', a notion that is itself based on what Mark Johnson has called the CONTAINER SCHEMA. As we saw earlier, this schema is an important point of departure for the image that emotions are substances in a container. Johnson proposed that the origin of this schema is our everyday experience of our bodies as container things. When we eat and drink we put things into our bodies and we also emit a variety of wastes from our bodily orifices. The container image has led to the view of set-inclusion, whereby an object is either categorized as being inside or outside its category (container). Although, as we saw in chapter 1, this view has been challenged in recent years by proponents of the prototype approach, it appears to follow naturally from our cultural bias towards entification.

Evidence for a different view of categorization in Chinese is best illustrated by the writing system. Approximately 80 - 90% of Chinese characters can be divided into a phonetic (sound) and a radical (semantic) component. Although recent trends in the PRC have made drastic changes in the structure of Chinese characters and promotion of romanization has now made the traditional practice of arranging dictionaries by radicals less efficient, dictionaries from Taiwan and Hong Kong still make of this method as the primary means of classification. The following examples show what we mean by 'phonetic' and 'radical'. A common character, such as 高 gao 'high' may serve as a clue to the pronunciation of other characters. The extent to which the 'clue' is actually useful as a guide to pronunciation varies, so that we can find differences in tone, as well as finals and initials within the same
family of characters written with a given phonetic. For the sake of simplicity, though, we use an example where this is not at issue. Thus we find the radical for 'hand' as the meaning component in 柄 gao 'to do', i.e. an action with the hands composed of 高 as an indication of the pronunciation. The same phonetic may also be used with other radicals to give characters with similar pronunciations, but different meanings. For example, 木 'tree, wood' + 高 = 槁 'rotten wood', and 竹 'bamboo' + 高 = 篷 'bamboo pole'.

Few scholars have attempted to examine the relationship between the meaning of the radicals and the meaning of the characters classified under a radical in any detail. For example, R. A. D. Forrest, in a book which gives a detailed account of many aspects of the Chinese language, made only the following vague comments about the relationship: 'the radicals) merely suggest an order of ideas to which the meaning of the whole belongs ...'. However, not only do complex systematic relationships exist, but it seems that the whole-part principle is the main strategy used in the categorization process.

A similar claim is implicit in the work of Yau Shun-Chiu on the composition of Archaic Chinese ideograms between the 14th century B. C. and the 2nd. century A. D. Yau argues that there is a universal natural order in the arrangement of linguistic elements in human communication systems in general which is governed by cognito-perceptive constraints and that this order is reflected in the temporal arrangement of Archaic Chinese characters. Yau is essentially interested in the temporal order in the arrangement of the components of the oracle bone scripts and the seal characters. He was able to analyze these early types of characters in these terms because at that time the majority of characters were constructed on iconic principles.
However, between the period of the Warring States (5th century B.C.) and the *Shuowen Jiezi* (2nd century A.D.) there was an increasing tendency to classify characters on the basis of radicals. In discussing this phenomenon Yau assumes that there is a hierarchical relationship between the semantic category base (radical) and the addition grapheme (phonetic). This leads him to apply the terms 'specified' and 'specifier' from his coordination paradigm to the radical and phonetic respectively. Although this correctly accounts for the temporal ordering of these types of characters, it fails to show that many of the same relationships given in Yau's paradigm are in fact still present but at a semantic rather than at an iconic level. These relationships are, in many cases, just the ones that can account for membership in semantic categories. The following table illustrates this point:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>operand ('mouse')</th>
<th>operator ('catch')</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>specified ('car')</td>
<td>木 'tree' specifier ('Renault') 楊 'poplar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>base ('frying pan')</td>
<td>木 'tree' appendix ('handle') 枝 'branch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>focus ('bird')</td>
<td>peripheral ('hand reaching for it')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>topic ('sheep')</td>
<td>comment ('three, fat')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>support ('chair')</td>
<td>土 'earth' supported ('person 坛 'altar' sitting on it')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>container ('wallet')</td>
<td>瓜 'melon' contained ('money')瓢 'pulp'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>location ('road')</td>
<td>田 'field' event ('accident') 敵 'to hunt in a field'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orientation ('East')</td>
<td>movement ('go')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cause ('wine')</td>
<td>雨 'rain' effect ('drunk') 霉 'mildew'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>means ('pen')</td>
<td>手 'hand' action ('write') 打 'hit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>action ('drumming')</td>
<td>食 'eat' result ('sound') 飽 'satisfied'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A significant observation that we can make about radicals is that they seem to correspond to what psychologists have called 'basic level concepts'. At this level of categorization, objects and organisms tend to have parts, e.g. seeds, arms, handles, buttons, etc. or functions, e.g. used for furniture etc. This suggests that the whole-part principle works by picking out an experiential domain and then elaborating on some relationship to this domain. It should be emphasized here that we are not saying that speakers of English and speakers of Chinese classify the world differently in absolute terms. It may very well be that the view which treats concepts as entities is more a part of scientific thinking than it is of the everyday folk models which which we operate. Rosch’s work on prototypes seems to support this idea. However, it is the whole-part strategy of classification that exerts a profound influence on the Chinese language at all levels.

Although it may appear that the invocation of such a principle is so powerful that it explains everything and thus explains nothing, this is not the case. If the ontology of Chinese is actually based on this way of categorization, then future work will need to be directed towards understanding the actual relationships that can hold between a whole and its parts. In this way we shall be able to refine the idea further and also know what to look for when we analyze the structure of Chinese. In any case, it is clear that taking the view of Western scientific thought as our point of departure, as has been the rule in Chinese linguistics, has blinded us to being able to understand the functioning of Chinese in its own terms. Some evidence for the relevance of whole-part relationships to understanding Chinese word order are given
below. Tai points out that Chinese uses the whole-part scheme to talk about
spatial relations. Thus, in (i):

(i) 那本書在桌子的上頭.
neiben shu zai zhuzi de shangtou.
that book exist table de top
The book is on the table.

(ii) 桌子的上頭有一本書.
zhuozi de shangtou you yi beshu
table de top have one book
There is a book on the table.

we note that the phrase zhuozi de shangtou 'table's top' is ordered in terms
of the whole (table) followed by the part (top). Similarly, in (ii) the
relationship is between the table, its top, and then the book that is spatially
related to it. Tai sees the relationship between the top of the table as a whole
and the book as being a contained part. But to our way of thinking there is no
reason to conceptualize this in terms of the CONTAINER schema. It seems that
situations, events etc. are categorized in terms of a whole and its related parts
in Chinese, not in terms of a container where the parts are inside, as in
English. Container-contained may be only one of the many ways in which
wholes and parts may be visualized.

Addresses are also ordered in the same way:

台灣台北羅斯福路三段 三二四巷二弄九十九號三樓.
Taiwan Taipei Luosifulu san duan snersi xiang er nong jiushijiu hao san lou.
Taiwan, Taipei, Roosevelt Road, Section three, Lane 324, Alley 2, No. 99, 3rd
Floor.

An aspect of Chinese grammar which has been the topic of much discussion
and debate, namely the so-called 'ba construction', is also best understood as
structured in terms of this same relationship, as illustrated by the following example from Tai:

我把橘子剝了皮  
wo ba juzi bo le pi  
I ba orange peel le skin  
I peeled the orange.

where one has to hold the whole (the orange) because the part (the skin) can be removed. Although a detailed discussion of this construction is outside the scope of the present discussion, suffice it to say that many of the various properties of ba sentences and their constraints can be interpreted as the result of inferences from the knowledge of wholes and parts that we build up from our everyday experiences with the world around us.

We now turn to some possible directions that future research might take.

9.2.2 Directions for Further Research

There are at least two directions that we might expect future research to follow. Firstly, since our findings are relevant for a theory of emotion, more work could be done in this area. An important problem that such work could be expected to address is the development of suitable methodologies for a more accurate testing of the hypothesis that the experience of emotion in Chinese culture is jointly constructed by language and a system of shared beliefs. One way in which this might be done is by using descriptions from either novels or real life narratives as data. Regardless of which method is used, the results presented here should constitute an important point of departure. Any future work directed at a greater understanding of meaning can also be expected to be a cross-disciplinary endeavour. The view that all meaning belongs to an
autonomous domain of inquiry, known as truth-conditional semantics, seems to be highly questionable. Meaning is firmly embedded in the cultural and social situations in which we interact everyday, as well as in our biology. At least we believe we have shown this to be the case for the emotions in Chinese. At the same time, we should not be so quick to dismiss the importance of pan-human similarities in the ways that the emotions are conceptualized.

One interesting direction in this respect may be the field of 'synesthesia'. Synesthesia refers to the phenomenon whereby physically different stimuli, acting via different sensory systems, yield sensations that are perceived and treated as similar. 14 Marks has shown that if people are asked the metaphorical question, 'Which is brighter, a sneeze or a cough?', the usual answer will be that sneezes are brighter. 15 People apparently equate high-pitched sounds as like bright lights, since they experience sneezes as higher in pitch. Furthermore, even children as young as 4 years are able to reach the same conclusion. Marks, Hammeal, and Bornstein report that young children matched high-pitched sounds to bright lights and low-pitched sounds to dim ones. 16 Such findings thus indicate, as Marks points out, that children have an implicit perceptual knowledge of cross-modal similarities, and that also there is a close parallel between the implicit verbal knowledge used by adults in the comprehension of certain kinds of metaphors. This is especially noticeable in poetry, where it is common to use equivalences across sense modalities as a poetical device. The following quote from Yeats is revealing in this regard:17

All sounds, all colours, all forms, either because of their preordained energies or because of long association, evoke indefinable and yet precise emotions, or, as I prefer to think, call down among us certain indefinable and yet precise powers, whose footsteps over our hearts we call emotions; and when sound, and colour, and form are in a musical relation, a beautiful
relation to one another, they become as it were one sound, one colour, one form, and evoke an emotion.

Suzanne Langer noted that 'It appears that light, smoothness and especially movement are the natural symbols of life, freedom and joy, as darkness and immobility, roughness and hardness are the symbols of death and frustration'. She concluded that sensations from different modalities at once are charged with resemblance when they arouse a common feeling, and, through resemblance, symbolize the feeling. By means of the language of resemblance, sensory qualities speak to one another and, as it were, talk over their common feeling; and by the same language of resemblance, their voices carry beyond the sensory realm, invading qualities that are not primarily sensorial, again to share, in metaphor, a common feeling.\textsuperscript{18}

But let us allow the poets to speak for themselves. For example, Browning talks about the 'quiet-coloured end of evening' (Love Among the Ruins), and Baudelaire, about 'des parfums comme des chairs d'enfants/ Douce comme les hautbois, verts comme les prairies.' (Correspondances). This phenomenon is by no means restricted to European poets. The Chinese scholar Qian Zhongshu gives several examples from Chinese poetry.\textsuperscript{19} One line from ẞulou Chun 玉楼春 by Song Qi 宋祁 juxtaposes 'red' and 'noisy': 紅杏枝頭春意鬧 'Red apricot branches the beginning of spring is noisy'.

Given these kinds of cross modal correspondences, the kind of linguistic data discussed by Williams is no surprise.\textsuperscript{20} Williams examined the historical semantic change of synesthetistic adjectives in English, as well as a few other Indo-European languages, and also Japanese. He notes that it is possible to predict metaphoric transfer across semantic fields of sensory experience. He concludes that there may well be connections among ontogeny, phylogeny, the
neurophysiology of sensation, cognition, and naming. It seems that it is not coincidental that a sensory domain like TASTE is exploited for the emotions in both Chinese and English. Further research might reveal similarities in cross cultural colour symbolism. Is there some explanation for why 'red' is chosen in Chinese culture as the colour for weddings and other festive occasions?  

These occasions themselves, as we pointed out, are connected in several linguistic expressions with the emotion of JOY.

Another direction which we might follow has been briefly discussed above. Our results seem to tie in in an interesting way with other observations about the conceptual principles which play a major role in structuring the Chinese language. Further refinement of the whole-part principle in particular is an important task which promises to help us understand some of the many problems in Chinese from a fresh perspective and thus lead to new ways of analyzing the language on its own terms. Such a cognitive approach can be seen as a valuable aid in uncovering even more of the potentially numerous means which human language in general, and Chinese in particular, has available for making sense of the surrounding world in a motivated and non-arbitrary fashion.
NOTES:


6. The examples are from Kövecses, n.d.


8. Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:


17. Yeats, 1924.


19. Qian, 1953.


21. D'Andrade and Egan's, 1974, work suggests some panhuman relationships between the colours commonly associated with certain emotion concepts.
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