

Metaphorical Expressions of Anger and Happiness in English and Chinese

Ning Yu

*Program in Second Language Acquisition and Teaching
University of Arizona*

This article presents a comparative study of metaphorical expressions of anger and happiness in English and Chinese. It demonstrates that English and Chinese share the same central conceptual metaphor "*ANGER IS HEAT*," which then breaks into two sub-versions in both languages. Whereas English has selected "*FIRE*" and "*FLUID*" metaphors, Chinese uses "*FIRE*" and "*GAS*" for the same purpose. Similarly, both English and Chinese share the "*UP*," "*LIGHT*," and "*CONTAINER*" metaphors in their conceptualizations of happiness, although they differ in some other cases. These two languages also follow the same metonymic principle in talking about anger and happiness by describing the physiological effects of these emotions. A descriptive difference observed throughout the study, however, is that Chinese tends to utilize more body parts, especially internal organs, than English in its metaphors of anger, happiness, and other emotional states. A principled explanation of the differences between the two languages is then made on the basis of referring to the theories of *yin-yang* and of the five elements of Chinese medicine. These theories form a cognitive or cultural model underlying the metaphorical conceptualization in Chinese. This study shows that metaphors of anger and happiness are primarily based on common bodily experience, with surface differences across languages explainable from cultural perspectives. It also provides empirical evidence, from a language other than English, to support the claim that metaphor is essential in human understanding, meaning, and reasoning.

The study of metaphor has a very long history. Traditionally, metaphor is viewed as a matter of special or extraordinary language—a set of deviant

Requests for reprints should be sent to Ning Yu, Program in Second Language Acquisition and Teaching, Modern Languages Building, Room 445, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 85721.

linguistic expressions whose meaning is reducible to some set of literal propositions. Viewed as such, it is called "a figure of *speech*," and its study was confined mostly to rhetoric. This view can be traced back as early as Aristotle, who believed metaphor to be primarily decorative and ornamental in nature. According to this view, metaphors are not necessary; they are just nice. The more popular current approach, however, views metaphor as pervasive and essential in language and thought (e.g., Johnson, 1987; Lakoff, 1987, 1990, 1993; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). It is, as Lakoff (1986) argued, not just a way of naming, but also a way of thinking; it is a figure of *thought* as well as a figure of speech. On this view, a metaphor "is a process by which we understand and structure one domain of experience in terms of another domain of a *different kind*" (Johnson, 1987, p. 15). Hence, the study of metaphor is central not only to rhetoric but also to the study of language and cognition in general.

Language is part of culture. Metaphor is one of the most important features in language that reflects cognitive vision and epitomizes cultural context. The cross-language study of metaphor, therefore, should shed much light on cross-cultural similarities and dissimilarities in ways of thinking and speaking. However, this area of study has remained almost uncultivated and this article represents an initial effort in the area.

Extensive studies have been made on the function of metaphor in the conceptualization of emotions in English (Fesmire, 1994; Kövecses, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1991; Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff & Kövecses, 1987). A central claim of these studies is that human emotions, which are abstract in nature, are largely understood and expressed in metaphorical terms. Although this claim is meant to be universal, the evidence supporting it is mainly derived from English. The question remains as to whether, and to what extent, the claim could hold up in other languages. This article intends to provide an answer from Chinese. To do this, I make a cross-language study of metaphor to see how English and Chinese are similar and different in metaphorical expressions of anger and happiness. My comparative study is based mainly on Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff and Kövecses (1987), and Kövecses (1991), from which the English examples are taken. I also demonstrate an underlying model in the Chinese culture that can offer a principled explanation of the differences between English and Chinese.

METAPHORICAL CONCEPTUALIZATION OF ANGER

In English, according to Lakoff and Kövecses (1987), "The cultural model of physiological effects, especially the part that emphasizes HEAT, forms the basis of the most general metaphor for anger: *ANGER IS HEAT*" (p. 197). As Lakoff and Kövecses suggest, however, this central metaphor has two

versions in English: one in which heat is applied to solids and the other in which it is applied to fluids. When “*ANGER IS HEAT*” is applied to solids, the version of metaphor is “*ANGER IS FIRE*.” Under this metaphorical concept, there is a large group of metaphorical expressions that encode and elaborate the general concept in one way or another. For instance:

- (1) a. *“Those are inflammatory remarks.”*
- b. *“She was doing a slow burn.”*
- c. *“He was breathing fire.”*
- d. *“Your insincere apology just added fuel to the fire.”*
- e. *“After the argument, Dave was smoldering for days.”*
- f. *“Boy, am I burned up!”*
- g. *“Smoke was pouring out of his ears.”*

This kind of systematic conceptualization of emotion in metaphorical terms is not specific to English. It is also true in Chinese. I have found that the general metaphorical concept that “*ANGER IS HEAT*” is exactly applicable in Chinese and that it also yields two sub-versions. When “*ANGER IS HEAT*” is applied to solids in Chinese, we get exactly the same metaphorical concept as “*ANGER IS FIRE*,” of which the metaphorical expressions are all quite conventionalized:¹

- (2) a. Bie re wo fa-huo.
 don't provoke me shoot-fire
 “Don't set me on fire.”/“Don't cause me to lose my temper.”
- b. Ta zheng-zai huo tou shang.
 he right-at fire head on
 “He's at the height of flare.”/“He's at the height of his anger.”
- c. Ni zai huo shang jia you.
 you PRT fire on add oil
 “You're pouring oil on the fire.”
- d. Nei jiahuo zenme zheme da huo.
 that guy how so big fire

¹In this article, the Chinese examples are provided with a word-for-word gloss and an English translation. In the gloss, the following abbreviations are used: ASP = aspect marker, PRT = particle, MOD = modifier marker, COM = complement marker, CL = classifier, and BA = preposition *ba* in the so-called *ba*-sentences. In the English translation, two versions are given where possible or necessary, the first being more literal and the second, more idiomatic.

"How come that guy's got such a big fire?"/"How come that guy is so hot-tempered?"

- e. Ta gan-huo hen wang.
he liver-fire very roaring
"He's got a roaring fire in his liver."/ "He's hot-tempered."
- f. Ta da dong gan-hou.
he greatly move liver-fire
"He got flamed up in liver."/ "He flew into a rage."
- g. Ta xin-huo zheng wang.
he heart-fire PRT roaring
"He's having a roaring fire in his heart."/ "He's very angry."
- h. Ta xin-tou huo qi.
he heart-head fire flare-up
"Fire started to flare up in his heart."/ "He flared up with anger."
- i. Ta ya-buzhu xin-tou nu-huo.
he press-unable heart-head angry-fire
"He was unable to control the angry fire in his heart."/ "He was unable to control his anger."
- j. Ta man qiang nu-huo.
he full cavity angry-fire
"His thoracic cavity is full of angry fire."/ "He is filled with anger."
- k. Ta qi de qi-qiao sheng yan.
he get-angry COM seven-aperture emit smoke
"He was so angry that smoke was shooting out of his eyes, ears, nose and mouth."/ "He's fuming with anger."
- l. Ta wo le yi duzi huo.
he hold-in ASP one belly fire
"He held in a belly of fire."/ "He was simmering with rage."
- m. Ta nu-huo zhong shao.
he angry-fire middle burn
"He has angry fire burning inside him."/ "He's burning with anger."

- n. Ta huó mào sān zhāng.
 he fire rise three *zhang*
 "His fire/anger is flaming up as high as ten meters."
- o. Ta nu-huó wān zhāng.
 he angry-fire ten-thousand *zhang*
 "His anger is thirty thousand meters high."

Although English and Chinese share exactly the same conceptual metaphor "ANGER IS FIRE," the actual linguistic expressions they use for the conceptualization may be similar or different. In both languages, the emotion of anger is conceptualized as a destructive force that may be harmful not only to the angry people but also to people around them.

Descriptively, a difference between English and Chinese is that Chinese tends to use more body parts in its conventionalized phrases of anger, as is illustrated by (2e-1). In these examples, the internal organs—heart and liver, as well as thoracic cavity and belly—are specified as places where "fire burns" when one gets angry. Also, the seven apertures in the head are conceptualized, in (2k), as the outlets of anger when it gets intense. Intuitively or medically, excessive anger will hurt one's body, especially certain parts of the body. For now, I would suggest that the use of body parts for the conceptualization of anger in Chinese provides a piece of evidence supporting the claim that metaphor of emotions cross-linguistically is grounded in bodily or physiological experience. Later I show how this is true.

The second version of "ANGER IS HEAT" in English, according to Lakoff and Kövecses (1987), is "ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER," as the following linguistic metaphors show:

- (3) a. "You make my blood boil."
 b. "Simmer down."
 c. "I had reached the boiling point."
 d. "Let me stew."
 e. "She was seething with rage."
 f. "She got all steamed up."
 g. "Billy's just blowing off steam."

In contrast to the second English version in which "ANGER IS HEAT" is applied to fluids, the Chinese alternative version is applied to gases, and the metaphorical concept thus derived is "ANGER IS THE HOT GAS IN A CONTAINER." This metaphorical concept is actually based on our commonsense knowledge of the physical world: When gas closed up in a container is heated, it will expand and cause increasing internal pressure to the container, with an ultimate consequence of explosion. This process of physi-

cal reaction is exemplified in the following metaphorical expressions grouped under the "GAS" metaphor:

- (4) a. Wo ke shou bu-liao zhe-fen wo-nang qi.
I PRT receive unable this-kind hold-in-bag gas
*"I really can't bear this kind of bagged gas."/**"I really can't bear being subjected to this kind of annoyances."*
- b. Ni you zai qi wo le.
you again PRT gas me PRT.
*"You're again gassing/pumping me up."/**"You're getting me angry again."*
- c. Ta pi-qi hen da.
he spleen-gas very big
*"He's got big gas in spleen."/**"He's hot-tempered."*
- d. Ni you fa pi-qi le.
you again expand spleen-gas ASP
"You've got angry again."
- e. Wo xin-qi bu shun.
I heart-gas not smooth
*"I'm feeling the gas in heart is impeded."/**"I'm feeling unhappy."*
- f. Ta xin-zhong you qi.
he heart-inside have gas
*"He has gas (anger) in his heart."/**"He is angry."*
- g. Ta zuijing gan-qi yujie.
he recently liver-gas pent-up
*"He's been irritable recently."/**"He's been in an irritable mood."*
- h. Ta bie le yi duzi qi.
he hold-back ASP one belly gas
*"He holds back a belly of gas."/**"He is filled with pent-up anger."*
- i. Ta zai sheng-men-qi.
he PRT produce-contained-gas
*"He's producing contained gas."/**"He's sulky."*
- j. Ta qi-gugu de.
he gas-inflate PRT
*"He's ballooned with gas."/**"He's inflated with anger."*

- k. Ta qi-huhu de.
 he gas-puff-and-blow PRT
*"He's puffing and blowing with gas."/**"He's gasping with anger."*
- l. Ta qi-shi xiongxiong.
 he gas-force surge-surge
*"His fierce air is surging higher and higher."/**"He's blustering with rage."*
- m. Ta nu-qi chongchong.
 he angry-gas soar-soar
*"His angry gas is soaring and soaring."/**"He's in a state of fury."*
- n. Ta na wo chu-qi.
 he take me vent-gas
*"He took his gas out on me."/**"He vented his anger on me."*
- o. Ta nu-qi chong-tian.
 he angry-gas soar-sky
*"His angry gas is gushing into the sky."/**"He's in a towering rage."*

Here, the emotion of anger is mapped onto gas. Therefore, it can be "received" or "pumped" into a container in (4a–b). It has its volume, "big" in (4c), and can be "expanded" in (4d). This will increase the internal pressure to the container, as in (4e–j). The force of the contained gas can be very strong, as in (4k–m), "surging" upward as hot gas always does. When increasing the internal pressure, the gas has to exhaust through some outlet, as in (4n), or it may lead to explosion, as in (4o).

Although "FLUID" and "GAS" are very different source domains, they share some basic metaphorical entailments which, according to Lakoff and Kövecses (1987), are details of knowledge carried over from the source domain to the target domain. It is the identity of these entailments, which include "HEAT," "INTERNAL PRESSURE," and "POTENTIAL AND DANGER OF EXPLOSION," that makes it possible for them to be carried over from different source domains (fluid and gas) to the same target domain (anger). Although only "INTERNAL PRESSURE" is highlighted in the "GAS" metaphors, as in (4), "HEAT" is understood from the common sense: The internal pressure of gas to its container is increased by the increasing heat.

Again, as (4c–h) show, Chinese seems to use more body parts than does English in the conceptualization of anger in terms of gas. Also, it is interest-

ing to note that when the "GAS" metaphor is used, the associated internal organs are liver, heart, and spleen, as shown in (4c-g).² Of these three, liver and heart also appear in the "FIRE" metaphors, but spleen never does.

In addition to the general metaphorical concept "ANGER IS HEAT," Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) suggested that, governed by the common cultural model, English also makes use of a general metonymic principle: *The physiological effects of an emotion stand for the emotion.*

With this principle, the cultural model yields a system of metonymies for anger:

(5) "BODY HEAT"

- a. "Don't get hot under the collar."
- b. "Billy's a hothead."
- c. "They were having a heated argument."
- d. "When the cop gave her a ticket, she got all hot and bothered and started cursing."

"INTERNAL PRESSURE"

- e. "When I found out, I almost burst a blood vessel."
- f. "He almost had a hemorrhage."

"REDNESS IN FACE AND NECK AREA"

- g. "She was scarlet with rage."
- h. "She got red with anger."
- i. "He was flushed with anger."

"AGITATION"

- j. "She was shaking with anger."
- k. "I was hopping mad."
- k. "He was quivering with rage."

"INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION"

- m. "She was blind with rage."
- n. "I was beginning to see red."
- o. "I was so mad I couldn't see straight."

Apparently, Chinese observes the same metonymic principle, and similar metonymic expressions are found common in everyday use. For instance:

²I am aware of the interesting fact that spleen is also used in the metaphorical expression of anger in English. The examples are: "He was in a fit of spleen" and "He vented his spleen on me." However, these are no longer common expressions, and hence not comparable to the Chinese "SPLEEN" metaphors, which are indispensable in everyday use.

(6) "BODY HEAT"

- a. Wo qi de lian-shang huo-lala de.
I gas COM face-on fire-hot PRT
*"I got so angry that my face was peppery hot."/**"My face was peppery hot with anger."*

"INTERNAL PRESSURE"

- b. Bie ba fei gei qi zha le.
don't BA lung PRT gas explode PRT
"Don't burst your lungs with gas/rage."

- c. Bie qi po le du-pi.
don't gas break PRT belly-skin
"Don't break your belly skin with gas/rage."

- d. Ta ejiao shang baoqi le qing jin.
he temple on bulge PRT blue vein
"Blue veins stood out on his temples."

"REDNESS IN FACE AND NECK AREA"

- e. Tamen zheng de gege mian-hong-er-chi.
they argue COM everyone face-red-ear-red
"They argued until everyone became red in the face and ears."

- f. Tamen zheng de lian-hong-bozi-chu.
they argue COM face-red-neck-thick
"They argued until their faces turned red and their necks became thicker."

- g. Ta qi de lian-shang hong-yi-zhen, bai-yi-zhen,
ta gas COM face-on red-a-while white-a-while
qing-yi-zhen, zi-yi-zhen.
blue-a-while purple-a-while
*"He was so angry that his face turned red, pale, blue, and purple."/**"His face turned red, pale, blue and purple with rage."*

"AGITATION"

- h. Ta nu fa chong guan.
he angry hair push-up hat
*"His angry hair is pushing up his hat."/**"He is extremely angry."*

- i. Ta qi de liang-yan deng de liuyuan.
 he gas COM two-eye glare COM very-round
*"He was so angry that his eyes glared until they became very round."/**"His eyes were round with anger."*
- j. Ta qi de shu-mei deng-yan.
 he gas COM upright-brow glare-eye
"He was angry with upright brows and glaring eyes."
- k. Ta qi de cui-huzi deng-yanjing.
 he gas COM blow-moustache glare-eye
"He was so angry that he was blowing his moustache and opening his eyes wide."
- l. Ta qi de hun-shen fadou.
 he gas COM whole-body tremble
"His body was shaking all over with rage."
- m. Ta qi de shuang-shou chandou.
 he gas COM both-hands quiver
"His hands were quivering with anger."
- n. Ta qi de hi duo-jiao.
 he gas COM constantly stamp-foot
"He kept stamping his feet with rage."
- o. Ta qi de yao-ya-qie-chi.
 he gas COM gnash-teeth
"He was gnashing his teeth with anger."
- "INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION"**
- p. Wo qi de liang yan fa hei.
 I gas COM two eye become black
*"I was so angry that my eyes turned black."/**"I was beginning to see black with anger."*
- q. Wo qi de tou-hun yan-hua.
 I gas COM head-giddy eye-blurred
*"I was so angry that my head became giddy and my eyes turned blurred."/**"Anger made my head giddy and my vision blurred."*
-

From these English and Chinese examples, we can see that the metonymic expressions for the emotion of anger are very similar between the two languages. This is expected because, as is assumed, these expressions are primarily based on bodily experience that should be universal among all human beings. As some examples show, however, cultural models do enter and influence the selection of linguistic expressions for a particular physical experience. This is well illustrated by the contrast between (5n) and (6p), which both express the interference of anger with visual perception. The English example selects "see red" but the Chinese one selects "see black." However, the physiological effects of anger they refer to should be the same among speakers of both languages.

A most remarkable descriptive difference between English and Chinese, as manifested in (5) and (6), is again that Chinese tends to specify more body parts in its conventionalized linguistic expressions of anger than English does. In (5), only "head" and "vessel" are specified in two of the 15 English examples. In contrast, all 17 Chinese examples in (6) specify one or two body parts, which include "face" (four times), "eyes" (five times), "lungs," "belly skin," "temples," "veins," "ears," "neck," "hair," "brows," "moustache," "hands," "feet," "teeth," "head," and the whole "body." In short, both English and Chinese make use of body parts in their metaphorical expressions of anger; the difference between them seems to be that body parts tend to be implied in English, whereas they are expressed in Chinese.

In summary, both English and Chinese use the central conceptual metaphor "ANGER IS HEAT," as (1), (2), (3), and (4) have shown. For English, its two sub-versions are (a) "ANGER IS FIRE" and (b) "ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER." For Chinese, however, they are (a) "ANGER IS FIRE" and (b) "ANGER IS THE HOT GAS IN A CONTAINER." Also, as (5) and (6) show, both languages observe the same metonymic principle, describing the emotion of anger by referring to its related physiological effects.

It needs to be noted, however, that there is a very important difference between Chinese and English in the use of the "HEAT" metaphor. The difference can be described as follows in Figure 1. In Figure 1, the capitalized words refer to abstract concepts, whereas the italicized words are lexical items. In English, FIRE and FLUID, the source domains, are mapped onto ANGER, the target domain, with the arrowheads of the dotted line indicating the direction of the mapping. At the lexical level, however, there exists a difference between the word *fire* and the word *fluid*. The word *fire* has acquired its metaphorical meaning of "anger." Different from *fire*, the word *fluid* itself does not have such a metaphorical sense (hence "?"), whereas the conceptual matching between FLUID and ANGER is realized by those lexical items associated with FLUID (*boil, simmer, stew, seething, steamed, etc.*). In either case, however, the word *anger* is a more basic lexical item that

	Source		Target
English:	FIRE ----->		ANGER
	<i>fire</i> ---> <i>anger</i> --->		ANGER
	FLUID ----->		ANGER
	? ---> <i>anger</i> --->		ANGER
Chinese:	FIRE ----->		ANGER
	<i>huo</i> ----->		ANGER
	GAS ----->		ANGER
	<i>qi</i> ----->		ANGER

FIGURE 1 An important difference between English and Chinese in the conceptualization of anger.

names the ANGER concept literally. On the other hand, in Chinese, the two source domains that are mapped onto the target domain ANGER are FIRE and GAS. At the lexical level, both words *huo* 'fire' and *qi* 'gas' refer metaphorically to the ANGER concept, but they seem to have no literal counterpart that is more basic and equivalent to the English word *anger*.

It also needs to be noted that although the Chinese words *fen* and *nu* (both meaning 'indignation,' 'rage,' 'fury,' and 'anger') are literal lexical items for the emotion of anger, they are different from *huo* 'fire' and *qi* 'gas' in shades of sense and style and are, by far, less common words that cannot substitute for *huo* 'fire' and *qi* 'gas' most of the time. In fact, *huo* 'fire' and *qi* 'gas' are the most basic words referring to the emotion of anger in Chinese. This seems to suggest that to a greater extent the emotion of anger is understood and expressed metaphorically in Chinese. For this reason, *huo* 'fire' and *qi* 'gas' are so conventionalized metaphors for anger in Chinese that they appear more literal than metaphorical to native speakers of Chinese. It is worth mentioning that the words *huo* 'fire' and *qi* 'gas' are highly derivational, and they form compounds with other words. In Chinese, for instance, *fa-huo* 'shoot-fire,' *nao-huo* 'irritate-fire,' *dong-huo* 'move-fire,' *mao-huo* 'emit-fire,' *guang-huo* 'light-fire,' *shang-huo* 'raise-fire,' *gua-huo* 'hang-fire,' *sheng-qi* 'produce-gas,' *dong-qi* 'move-gas,' *qua-qi* 'gang-gas,' and so forth all mean "get angry" in daily use.

Based on the examples collected in Chinese, it may be assumed that the

selection of internal organs in the conventionalized metaphors of anger is not random. Specifically, only liver and heart are found in the "FIRE" metaphors, whereas liver, heart, and spleen appear in the "GAS" metaphors. In a later section, I try to answer some basic questions as to why in Chinese the "GAS" rather than "FLUID" metaphor is selected, why Chinese tends to use more internal organs, and why certain internal organs are chosen over others in the anger metaphors.

METAPHORICAL CONCEPTUALIZATION OF HAPPINESS

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Kövecses (1991), a major conceptual metaphor for the notion of happiness in English is orientational: "HAPPY IS UP." Under this metaphorical concept some of the metaphorical expressions are:

- (7) a. *"I'm feeling up."*
 b. *"That boosted my spirits."*
 c. *"My spirits rose."*
 d. *"Thinking about her always gives me a lift."*
 e. *"We had to cheer him up."*
 f. *"They were in high spirits."*

Chinese shares exactly the same metaphorical concept and has a number of conventionalized lexical expressions that express happiness in terms of an upward orientation. Again, most of them are so conventionalized that they are no longer taken as metaphorical.

- (8) a. Ta hen gao-xing.
 he very high-spirit
"He is very high-spirited/happy."
- b. Ta hen xing-fen.
 he very spirit-lift
"He is very spirit-lifted/excited."
- c. Ta chu-yu kang-fen zhuangtai zhizhong.
 He situate-in high-lift state inside
"He is in the state of high liftedness/extreme excitement."
- d. Tamen qingxu gao-zhang.
 they mood high-rise
*"They are in a high mood."/**"Their spirits are running high."*

- e. Tamen gege qingxu gao-yang.
 they everyone mood high-raise
*"They're all in high-raised spirits."/**"They're all high in spirits."*
- f. Tamen gege xing-gao cai-lie.
 they everyone spirit-high color-strong
*"They're all in high spirits and with a strong glow."/**"They're all in great delight."*
- g. Ta xing congcong de.
 he spirit rise-rise PRT
*"His spirits are rising and rising."/**"He's pleased and excited."*
- h. Ta xing-tou hen gao.
 he spirit-head very high
*"The head of his spirits is very high."/**"He's very high in spirits."*
- i. Ta zheng zai xing-tou shang.
 he PRT at spirit-head on
"He is at the head/height of his spirits."
- j. Zhe-xia tiqi le wo-de xingzhi.
 this-moment raise ASP my mood
"This time it lifted my mood/interest."
- k. Ta deyi yangyang.
 he complacency raise-raise
"He looked triumphant."
- l. Ta yangyang zi-de.
 he raise-raise self-pride
"He looked immensely proud of himself."

Obviously, the data from Chinese support the claim that metaphorical orientations are not arbitrary, but have a basis in the physical and cultural experience (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). It is apparent that English and Chinese are

very similar in this aspect, that is, the concept *happy* is oriented "UP," and *sad* or *unhappy* is oriented "DOWN."³

However, there cannot always be a one-to-one relation between English and Chinese due to cultural differences. In English, according to Kövecses (1991), closely related to the "HAPPY IS UP" metaphor is another conceptual metaphor of upward orientation: "BEING HAPPY IS BEING OFF THE GROUND." Instances of this type include:

- (9) a. "I was flying high."
 b. "She was on cloud nine."
 c. "I'm six feet off the ground."
 d. "We were in the clouds."
 e. "I was just soaring with happiness."
 f. "After the exam, I was walking on air for days."
 g. "They were riding high."
 h. "I was floating."

However, the metaphorical concept "BEING HAPPY IS BEING OFF THE GROUND" does not seem to be applicable in Chinese. I think the reason for the difference is that in Chinese, although "BEING HAPPY IS

³In English the "SAD/UNHAPPY IS DOWN" metaphors include:

- (i) a. "I'm feeling down."
 b. "He's really low these days."
 c. "I fell into a depression."
 d. "My spirits sank."

In Chinese, however, the concept "SAD/UNHAPPY IS DOWN" has a twin version: "SAD/UNHAPPY IS HEAVY." These two can be used separately, or in combination, as the following examples show:

- (ii) a. Ta qingxu di-luo.
 he mood low-sink
 "He's feeling low and down."
- b. Ta xin-qing chen-zhong.
 he heart-state weighty-heavy
 *"He is in a heavy state of mind."/**"He has a heavy heart."*
- c. Ta qingxu di-chen.
 he mood low-weighty
 "He's feeling down and heavy."

The coherence of the "DOWN" and "HEAVY" metaphors is intuitively supported by our physical experience: What is heavy tends to be down, and vice versa.

BEING UP," this upward orientation has its upper limit. It is desirable only when it reaches as high, and stays in the air as long, as one can "jump" or "leap," as shown in (17a–c) later; that is, being momentarily off the ground. It follows that being sustainedly off the ground is undesirable: It is not mapped positively onto happiness but negatively onto complacency and pride. Thus, when the Chinese say *Ta piaopiaoran* 'He's floating,' or *Ta you zai yunli-wuli le* 'He is again in clouds and fog,' it means that the person is so smug that he has lost his senses. This is contrary to the accepted virtues of modesty and steadiness. Chinese believe in the sayings *deyi buneng wang-xing* 'When complacent, one should not forget one's manner (Don't let complacency turns one's head)' and *jiao ta shi di* 'One should have one's feet planted on solid ground (Be earnest and down-to-earth).' Being sustainedly off the ground is seen, in this culture, as being out of self-control and, therefore, is not good. Although happiness should be oriented upward, it should also be "well-grounded."

The following lexical examples, which form a complimentary–derogatory contrast, should provide some indirect linguistic evidence in support of the claim that being sustainedly off the ground is not desirable in Chinese:

(10) Complimentary compounds meaning "steady and firm":

- a. *wen-zhong* 'stable and heavy'
- b. *chi-zhong* 'steady and heavy'
- c. *chen-wen* 'weighty and stable'

Derogatory compounds meaning "frivolous and superficial":

- d. *qing-fu* 'light and floating'
- e. *qing-piao* 'light and drifting'
- f. *piao-fu* 'drifting and floating'

Here the words in (10a–c) all have semantic features of [+ downward] and [+ on-the-ground], whereas those in (10d–f) are featured by [+ upward] and [+ off-the-ground]. The complimentary–derogatory contrast, as I tend to believe, reflects the established values in the Chinese culture.

Although some English metaphorical concepts such as "*BEING HAPPY IS BEING OFF THE GROUND*" are not applicable in Chinese, Chinese also has some that are not applicable in English. An example is "*HAPPINESS IS FLOWERS IN THE HEART*." For instance:

- (11) a. Ta xin-li le kai le hua.
he heart-inside happy bloom ASP flower
"He's so happy that flowers are blooming in his heart."
- b. Ta xin-hua nu-fang.
he heart-flower wildly-bloom
"Flowers are blossoming wildly in his heart."

In these two examples, flowers are mapped onto happiness, with “*blooming*” or “*blossoming*” suggesting its increasing intensity. This metaphorical concept, though a minor one, is rooted in the Chinese culture in which flowers, particularly “big red flowers” (*da hong hua*), are traditionally symbols of happiness. From a cultural perspective, this “*FLOWER*” metaphor reflects the more introverted character of Chinese: Reactions to happiness in the heart are highlighted. This serves as a contrast to the English “*BEING HAPPY IS BEING OFF THE GROUND*” metaphor that characterizes a more extroverted character.

According to Kövecses (1991), another major metaphorical concept of happiness in English is “*HAPPINESS IS LIGHT*,” under which the metaphorical expressions are, for instance:

- (12) a. “*When she heard the news, she lit up.*”
- b. “*Nothing to worry about, brighten up.*”
- c. “*He radiates joy.*”
- d. “*She has a sunny smile.*”
- e. “*You are the sunshine in my life.*”
- f. “*He was gleaming.*”
- g. “*She was shining with joy.*”

“*HAPPINESS IS LIGHT*” is also applicable in Chinese, as illustrated by the following examples, in which (13a) is a repetition of (8f) cited in the group of the “*UP*” metaphors earlier:

- (13) a. Tamen gege xing-gao cai-lie.
 they everyone spirit-high color-strong
 “*They’re all in high spirits and with a strong glow.*”/“*They’re all in great delight.*”
- b. Ta rong-guang huanfa xi-qì yangyang.
 he face-light glow happy-air raise-raise
 “*He has a glowing face, and an air of happiness high and strong.*”
- c. Ta xī xing yu sè.
 he happiness show in color
 “*His happiness showed in his (facial) color.*”
- d. Ta xiao zhu yan kai.
 he smile drive color beam
 “*He smiled, which caused his face to beam.*”/“*He beamed with a smile.*”

- e. Ta xi-xiao yan-kai.
 he happy-smile color-beam
 "He smiled happily, his face beaming." / "He beamed with a happy smile."

It is worth mentioning here that the word *yan* in (13d–e) means both 'color' and 'face,' or rather, 'happy glowing face' in Chinese. A relevant and important fact is that *yan*, when it means 'face,' is always used, asymmetrically, in a happy but never unhappy sense. Thus, one can say *xiao yan* 'smiling face,' but not *ku yan* 'crying face.' In contrast, with *lian*, another word meaning 'face,' the asymmetry in usage is not existent. So one can say, for instance, both *xiao lian* 'smiling face' and *ku lian* 'crying face.'

From (12) and (13), it is apparent that both English and Chinese depict happiness in terms of "LIGHT." It is predictable that they both also conceptualize unhappiness/sadness in terms of "DARK."⁴

A third major metaphor conceptualizing happiness is the "CONTAINER" type, namely, "HAPPINESS/JOY IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER." The conventional linguistic expressions encoding this conceptual metaphor in English include:

- (14) a. "We were full of joy."
 b. "The sight filled them with joy."
 c. "I brimmed over with joy when I saw her."
 d. "She couldn't contain her joy any longer."
 e. "Joy welled up inside her."
 f. "He was overflowing with joy."
 g. "My heart is filled with joy."

In a similar vein, Chinese also applies the "CONTAINER" metaphor in its expression of happy feeling, which is mapped onto "FLUID" in the "CONTAINER":

⁴For "SADNESS/UNHAPPINESS IS DARK," examples in English and Chinese include:

- (i) a. "He's feeling overcast."
 b. "He's feeling gloomy."
 c. "He's in a dark temper."
 (ii) a. Ta qingxu yinyu.
 he mood gloomy
 "He's feeling gloomy."
 b. Ta anran lei xia.
 he dim/faint tears down
 "She felt gloomy/dim and burst into tears."
-

- (15) a. Ta xin-zhong chongman xiyue.
 Ta heart-inside fill happiness
"His heart is filled with happiness."
- b. Ta man-xin huanxi.
 he full-heart joy
"His heart is full of joy."
- c. Ta zai-ye anna-buzhu xin-zhong de xiyue.
 she no-longer press-unable heart-inside MOD happiness
"She could no longer contain the joy in her heart."
- d. Xiyue zhi qing ru quan-shui liu ru ta-de
 happy MOD feeling like spring-water flow into her
 xin-li
 heart-inside
"The feeling of joy flowed into her heart like spring water."/
"The feeling of joy welled into her heart."
- e. Ta man-huai xiyue.
 he full-bosom happiness
"His bosom is filled with happiness."

Although it is obvious that English and Chinese share the "CONTAINER" metaphor in expressing happiness, there is a descriptive difference between English and Chinese within the limited scope of examples given. That is, in English the container is largely the body, whereas in Chinese it is mainly the heart inside the body. Given the fact that in English the heart can also be the container of happiness, as in (14g), and in Chinese such a container can also be a larger bodily part—bosom or thoracic cavity, as in (15e)—the difference between Chinese and English on this point can be put like this: Chinese places more emphasis on the heart as the container than does English. In English, examples without using "heart" are very common. On the other hand, in Chinese such examples are rarely, if ever, seen. Generally, heart, and sometimes bosom or chest, are specified as the container of happiness.

Although the difference here seems to be one of degree, it does contribute to the more general difference between the two languages, namely, Chinese tends to use more body parts than does English and that the difference in the relative prominence given to the heart as the container of happiness nicely coincides with the difference in national character (between extroversion and introversion) mentioned earlier. When the body is the container, the fluid of happiness that overflows is more readily seen than if the heart is the con-

tainer, because the heart is but an internal organ and whatever overflows it is still inside the body.

According to Kövecses (1991), some behavioral reactions to happiness are associated with the emotion of happiness, and therefore, the expressions of such response are metonymic of the emotion. For instance, "JUMPING," "DANCING," "SMILING," and "BRIGHT EYES" are associated with happiness. Thus, in English there are:

- (16) "JUMPING"
- a. "He jumped for joy."
 - b. "He was leaping with joy."
- "DANCING"
- c. "We were dancing with joy."
 - d. "They kicked up their heels."
 - e. "She had a ball."
- "SMILING"
- f. "She was smiling with happiness."
 - g. "They were all smiles."
 - h. "He grinned from ear to ear."
 - i. "He was all teeth."
- "REACTIONS IN EYES"
- j. "Amusement gleamed in his eyes."
 - k. "His eyes glinted when he saw the money."
 - l. "His eyes were shining."
 - m. "Her eyes were sparkling like diamonds."

In Chinese, similar expressions are also common:

- (17) "JUMPING"
- a. Haizimen gao-xing de huo-beng luan-tiao
kids high-spirit COM energetically-skip wildly-jump
"The kids were jumping and skipping for joy."
 - b. Tamen huan-hu que-yue.
they merrily-hail bird-leap
"They were hailing merrily and jumping like birds."
- "DANCING"
- c. Tamen xi-yue bian-wu.
they happy-leap glad-dance
"They were jumping and dancing for joy."

- d. Tamen xing-fen de shou-wu zu-dao.
 they spirit-lift COM hands-dance foot-dance
*"They were so happy, their hands and feet dancing."/**"They were dancing for joy."*

"SMILING"

- e. Ta gao-xing de zuiba dou he bu long.
 he high-spirit COM mouth even shut not close
"He was so happy that he could not close his mouth."

- f. Ta xiao-rong man-mian.
 he smile-expression all-over-face
*"He was all smiles."/**"He had a broad smile on his face."*

"REACTIONS IN EYES AND BROWS"

- g. Ta mei-kai yan-xiao.
 he brow-open eye-smile
*"His brows were open and eyes smiling."/**"He was all smiles."*
- h. Ta xi-mei xiao-yan.
 he happy-brow smile-eye
*"His brows were happy and eyes smiling."/**"He was all smiles."*
- i. Ta shu-mei zhan-yan.
 he smooth-brow stretch-eye
*"His brows smoothed and his eyes stretched."/**"He has a happy face."*
- j. Ta xi-shang mei-shao.
 he happiness-climb brow-tip
"Happiness crawled up to the tips of his brow."

Note that in expressing the emotion of happiness in terms of the facial features, Chinese highlights not only eyes, as English does, but also brows. Brows are regarded as one of the most obvious indicators of internal feelings. This can be further illustrated by some four-character set phrases metonymic of unhappiness: *meitou-jinsuo* 'brows are tightly locked/knitted,' *choumei-suoyan* 'worried brows and knitted eyes,' and *choumei-kulian* 'worried brows and bitter face.' Although both English and Chinese use eyes as indicators of happy feelings, a difference seems to be apparent with regard to the focus of emphasis. English emphasizes the increase of brightness of eyes, as (16j-m) show, whereas Chinese focuses on the change in the physical shape of eyes, as illustrated by (17g-i). It is arguable that the eye expressions in both

English and Chinese are rooted in common bodily experience, whereas the choice of one aspect over the other for emphasis is largely a matter of cultural convention.

From the examples given in this section, we can see that Chinese does match English in the use of a number of major conceptual metaphors of happiness. These include: "*HAPPY IS UP*," "*HAPPINESS IS LIGHT*," and "*HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER*." In addition, Chinese is also similar to English in describing one's happiness by referring to some common behavioral reactions to the emotion, such as jumping, dancing, smiling, and response in eyes and/or brows. That is, both languages observe the same metonymic principle. However, English and Chinese do not share some other conceptual metaphors, as illustrated by (9) from English and (11) from Chinese. The examples concerning happiness in this section reinforce the observation made in the previous section that Chinese tends to use more body parts in the expression of emotions.

THE UNDERLYING MODEL OF THE METAPHORS

In this section, I try to answer two questions that arose in the previous sections. First, as I have shown, both English and Chinese utilize exactly the same central conceptual metaphor for anger: "*ANGER IS HEAT*." However, although they both share one sub-version of the "*HEAT*" metaphor "*ANGER IS FIRE*," they differ in the use of the other one: In English, "*ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER*"; in Chinese, "*ANGER IS THE HOT GAS IN A CONTAINER*." Although similarities between the languages are due to the common human bodily experience, this question remains to be answered: Why does Chinese differ from English in using the "*GAS*" rather than "*FLUID*" metaphor?

Second, as I have suggested, Chinese tends to utilize more body parts than English in conceptualizing anger and happiness, and it seems that the selection of certain body parts over others is not all random. The question here is then: Why should this be so? However, I limit myself to the internal organs because I believe the reason for selecting external body parts is "visible," and hence relatively apparent. For instance, the reason why Chinese selects eyebrows, in addition to eyes, for the conceptualization of happiness or anger is visible there on the face: Even children can interpret facial expressions and know how to draw the simplest happy and angry faces.

In trying to answer these two questions, I offer an underlying model of the conceptual metaphors discussed in the previous sections by referring to some fundamental theories of Chinese medicine. These include the theory of *yin-yang* and the theory of five elements. Chinese medicine applies these theories to account for the relations between humans and nature, between the internal

organs inside the human body, and between the internal organs and the external body parts.

To answer the first question, I first give the dictionary meanings of the Chinese word *qi* as follows (from Wu et al., 1981, pp. 535–536):

- (18) a. gas (as opposed to fluid and solid; *du-qi* ‘poison gas’)
- b. air (*dakai chuanghu touyitou qi* ‘open the window to let in some fresh air’)
- c. breath (*tingxialai xie kou qi* ‘stop to catch one’s breath’; *qi gong* ‘breathing exercises’)
- d. smell, odor (*xiang qi* ‘a sweet smell’; *chou qi* ‘a bad odor’)
- e. weather (*qiu gao qi shuang* ‘fine autumn weather’)
- f. airs, manner (*guan qi* ‘bureaucratic airs’)
- g. spirit, morale (*da qi* ‘pump air, i.e., boost the morale/cheer on’)
- h. make angry, enrage (*Wo guyi qi ta yixia* ‘I got him angry on purpose’)
- i. get angry, be enraged (*Ta qi de zhi duosuo* ‘He trembled with rage’; *Ta shuo de shi qi hua* ‘He just said it to vent his anger’)
- j. bully, insult (*ai da shou qi* ‘be beaten and bullied’)
- k. vital energy, energy of life (in Chinese medicine)

Apparently, the (18h–j) senses are directly related to the discussion of the “GAS” metaphor. However, (18k), the term in Chinese medicine is also very relevant, as we will see shortly. What is that “vital energy or energy of life?” According to Chinese medicine (Chen, 1989b), the human body is composed of three basic kinds of substance: *qi* ‘gas,’ *xue* ‘blood,’ and *jinye* ‘fluids other than blood,’ which serve as the basis on which the organs, tissues, and so forth function. The so-called *qi* is “the moving but invisible, nutritive substance which functions as the motive power for the physiological movement of internal organs” (Chen 1989b, p. 1010). Also, *qi* and blood are mixed together, and circulate through *jingluo*, which is defined in Chinese medicine as “main and collateral channels, regarded as a network of passages, through which vital energy circulates and along which the acupuncture points are distributed” (Wu et al., 1981, p. 359). However, it is *qi* that pushes blood forward rather than vice versa. Wherever *qi* is locally impeded, it will affect the circulation of blood and local pain may occur as a result of increased internal pressure in that area. This is where acupuncture can come in to stimulate the circulation of *qi*, and hence, of blood. If the impediment is sustained, illness will occur in that area and related areas. The causes for the impediment of circulation of *qi* are various, but negative emotions, especially anger, are most significant. This may point to the reason why *qi* is one of the basic words for the emotion of anger.

Furthermore, the theory of *yin–yang* also accounts for the reason Chinese

has chosen the "GAS" metaphor over the "FLUID" one under the central conceptual metaphor "ANGER IS HEAT." According to this theory, all things in the universe are governed by the law of the unity of opposites, which can be summarized by two Chinese words: *yin* 'feminine/negative' and *yang* 'masculine/positive.' Some examples are listed in Table 1 (from Chen, 1989a, p. 997). The opposites of *yin* and *yang* have a set of binary properties as are given in Table 2 (from Chen, 1989a, p. 997).

Considering Tables 1 and 2, it should be obvious why Chinese has chosen the "FIRE" and "GAS," instead of "FIRE" and "FLUID" as in English, for the conceptual metaphor "ANGER IS HEAT." The fundamental contrast between *yin* and *yang* has cast fire and gas on one hand, and water and all other fluids on the other, into two opposing categories. The former is naturally related to heat, whereas the latter is closely associated with cold. It should be noted, however, that the theory of *yin-yang* contrast also states that *yin* and *yang* are not only opposed to each other but also depend on each other and can even turn into one another under certain conditions. A simple example is that, in nature, water and other fluids (*yin*) evaporate into vapor or gas (*yang*) when being heated and that vapor or gas (*yang*) liquifies (*yin*) when cold. This dialectical nature of *yin-yang* makes the "HOT FLUID" metaphor easily understandable to Chinese-speaking people, although they themselves have made little or no use of this metaphorical mapping.

It is notable that, although the "GAS" metaphor highlights the property of internal pressure to the container, the internal pressure cannot be separated from heat, and heat is actually the cause of the increasing internal pressure, which is the effect. Although heat itself is not highlighted in the "GAS" metaphors, it is understood from commonsense knowledge that the gas in a closed-up container expands and causes increasing internal pressure until explosion, with increasing heat. Therefore, both "HEAT" and "INTERNAL PRESSURE" are present in both "FLUID" (of English) and

TABLE 1
Some Opposites of *Yin* and *Yang*

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

TABLE 2
Some Binary Properties of *Yin* and *Yang*

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

"GAS" (of Chinese) metaphors, although one property is more highlighted in one metaphor than in the other. This difference is also consistent with our commonsense knowledge that the difference between fluid and gas is temperature (i.e. fluid will turn into gas when heated, whereas gas will turn into fluid when cold). Therefore, a "FLUID" metaphor cannot be an anger metaphor unless "HEAT" is emphasized, whereas a "GAS" one can be an anger metaphor without "HEAT" being highlighted because "HEAT" is already a necessary condition of "GAS." This difference between fluid and gas is obvious in the theory of *yin-yang*, in which gas is categorized with heat and fluid with cold. It is interesting to note that, in expressing anger in Chinese, the "GAS" metaphor, with its less emphasis on "HEAT," generally indicates less intensity than does the "FIRE" metaphor, which emphasizes "HEAT." This difference suggests that the intensity of anger expressed relates directly to the intensity of "HEAT" in the metaphor.

I now turn to the second question: Why does Chinese make use of more internal organs than English, and why is their specific selection not random? To answer this question, I refer to the five-elements theory of Chinese medicine. According to this theory, the universe is composed of five basic elements—*wood, fire, earth, metal, and water*—which are in a relation of mutual promotion and restraint, as shown in Figure 2 (from Chen, 1989a, p. 1000).

In Figure 2, the lines forming the outer circle indicate the relation of promotion, and the lines forming the inner five-pointed star indicate the relation of restraint, with arrowheads indicating directions of promotion or restraint. Specifically, wood promotes fire as its fuel, fire promotes earth because whatever is burned turns into earth, earth promotes metal because

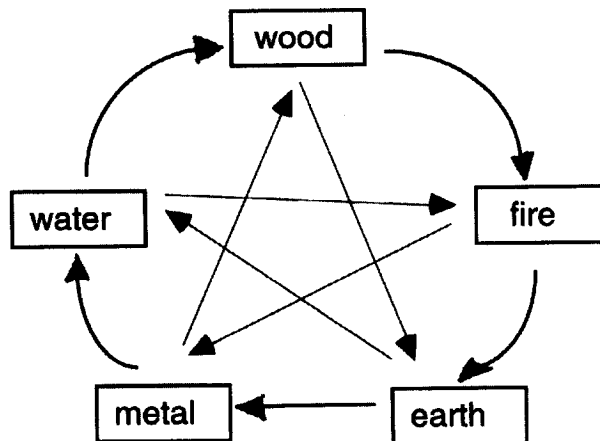


FIGURE 2 Relation of mutual promotion and restraint between the five elements.

the latter comes from the former, metal promotes water because the former is melted into fluid when being heated, and water promotes wood as its indispensable nutrient. On the other hand, wood restrains earth because trees can "hurt" the soil by absorbing its nutrients, earth restrains water because floods can be contained by earth banks or dams, water restrains fire with its potential to put fire out, fire restrains metal because all kinds of metal will be melted by fire, and metal restrains wood because metal tools are used to cut wood. It is with this relation of mutual promotion and restraint among the five elements that the balance of the universe is achieved.

In Chinese medicine, the theory of the five elements is applied to define nature and the human body as well as the potential relations between them. Natural phenomena, human organs, and human emotions are classified, according to their properties, into five categories headed by the five elements. Some of the relevant examples are given in Table 3 (from Chen, 1989a, p. 1001).

In Chinese medicine, the internal organs of primary importance, which are called *Zang*, include the liver, heart, spleen, lungs, and kidneys. Each of these are closely related to an internal organ of secondary importance called *Fu*, respectively the gall, small intestine, stomach, large intestine, and bladder. Similarly, the five *Zang* organs are also each related closely to a sense organ, accordingly eyes, tongue, lips, nose, and ears. Therefore, liver and gall are complementary to each other in function, and liver disease will usually affect the gall (and vice versa), and its clinical symptoms will show in the eyes. Also, the emotion of anger is regarded as one of the major internal factors that causes liver diseases. It is believed that there exists a correlation between the emotion of anger and liver disease: Those who are quick to anger are especially vulnerable to liver disease; conversely, those with liver disease are symptomatically quick to anger (Shen, 1989). It is also believed that the liver diseases with excessive heat usually start in spring when the weather is windy and the woods are luxuriant. This is how the theory of five elements is applied in Chinese medicine. What is particularly relevant here, however, is that the

TABLE 3
Five Categories Under the Five Elements

<i>Elements</i>	<i>Wood</i>	<i>Fire</i>	<i>Earth</i>	<i>Metal</i>	<i>Water</i>
Locations	East	South	Center	West	North
Seasons	Spring	Summer	Late summer	Autumn	Winter
Climates	Windy	Hot	Wet	Dry	Cold
Organs					
<i>Zang</i>	Liver	Heart	Spleen	Lung	Kidney
<i>Fu</i>	Gall	Small intestine	Stomach	Large intestine	Bladder
Sense	Eyes	Tongue	Lips	Nose	Ears
Emotions	Anger	Happiness	Anxiety	Grief	Fright

categorization and conceptualization based on the five-elements theory, as is illustrated in Table 3, have actually influenced the usages of the Chinese language. This influence is manifested in the metaphorical use of internal organ names to refer to such abstract concepts as emotions.

It should now be apparent why Chinese uses more internal organ terms in its conceptualization of emotion. The underlying cognitive model based on the fundamental theories of Chinese medicine has led to a cultural emphasis in China of sensitivity to the physiological effects of emotions on the internal organs. This, in turn, has influenced the way Chinese people talk about emotions. In the following section, I limit my discussion mainly to the emotions of anger and happiness, in keeping with the theme of this article, but I also make references to other abstract concepts metaphorically expressed by the names of the internal organs.

Let us first consider the only positive emotion of happiness in Table 3. As is shown, the internal organs categorized with it are the heart and small intestine. Probably because the former is viewed as the actual container for the emotion of happiness, only the heart, but not the small intestine, is used to refer to happiness metaphorically, as is illustrated in (15). However, it should be noted that the heart and small intestine do occur in other metaphorical expressions; (19) shows some examples:

- (19) a. Ta xin-chang hen ruan.
 he heart-intestine very soft
"He has a very soft heart."
- b. Ta zhen shi yi-ge hao xin-chang de ren.
 he really is a-CL good heart-intestine MOD man
"He is really a kindhearted man."
- c. Ta zhen shi yi-ge re xin-chang.
 he really is a-CL hot heart-intestine
"He is really a warmhearted person."
- d. Ta de xin-chang zhen ying.
 he MOD heart-intestine really hard
"He is really hard-hearted."
- e. Ta zhen shi yi-ge tie xin-chang.
 he really is a-CL iron heart-intestine
"He is really a iron-hearted person."
- f. Ta zhen shi yi-ge hei xin-chang.
 he really is a-CL black heart-intestine
"He is really a black-hearted person."

Here *xin* 'heart' and *chang* '(small) intestine' are used metaphorically to characterize a person. A descriptive distinction between the Chinese originals and their idiomatic English translations is that, although English uses heart only in the depiction, Chinese uses both heart and (small) intestine for exactly the same purpose. This surface difference across the languages is readily explained by the underlying model illustrated in Table 3. It is worth mentioning that in the Chinese examples, although only the more general term of *intestine* is used—instead of the more specific *small intestine* which should be categorized with *heart*—we can assume that *small intestine* was originally meant. *Small* is left out because metaphorical language use does not need to be as accurate as medical science. More importantly, it would violate the language-internal principle of balance and parallelism should *small* be added.

Next, let us turn to the emotion of anger. As shown in Table 3, the internal organs categorized with this emotion are the *Zang* and *Fu* organs liver and gall. A difference between the two, which is parallel to the difference between heart and (small) intestine in the preceding case, is that the *Zang* organ liver is the one selected in the metaphorical conceptualization of anger, as exemplified in (2). However, gall, the *Fu* organ, is also used metaphorically in some other expressions, together with liver, as in (20):

- (20) a. Ta qi de gan-dan ju lie.
 he gas COM liver-gall both split
 "He was so angry that his liver and gall both split."
- b. Tamen gege gan-dan xiang zhao.
 they all liver-gall to treat
 "They all have utter devotion (to friends)."
- c. Ta gan-dan guo ren.
 he liver-gall surpass people
 "He is unsurpassed in valor."

In (20a), "liver" and "gall" are containers, and split as the "GAS" inside them, that is, anger, expands with heat. In (20b–c), however, "liver" and "gall" are used together to refer to devotion and courage, respectively. Given Table 3, it is understandable why "liver" and "gall" should go together in the Chinese metaphors. It is interesting to note that, when "gall" is chosen alone in Chinese, it stands for courage rather than anger. In Chinese, for instance, *dan-liang* 'gall capacity' means "courage"; *dan-da* 'gall big' means "bold/brave," whereas *dan-xiao* 'gall small' means "timid/cowardly," and a coward is called a *dan-xiao gui* 'gall-small devil.' The reason behind the conceptual metaphor "GALL IS (THE CONTAINER FOR) COURAGE" is that, according to the theory of internal organs in Chinese medicine, gall also has the

function of influencing thinking activities and determining personality (Chen, 1989b).

Although liver and gall are categorized with the emotion of anger in Table 3, it does not mean that the other internal organs are not related to, or affected by, the emotion of anger in the five-element schema. For instance, liver, as the “storeroom” of blood, promotes heart, the “pump” of blood, in the same way wood promotes fire. This kind of “metaphorical” relation is shown in Table 3, in which heart is categorized under fire. In addition, according to the theory of internal organs in Chinese medicine (Chen, 1989b), the heart governs the whole human body, including all the other internal organs, and it also commands mental or psychological activities, including all the emotions. Therefore, although the heart seems to be the only internal organ used in the happiness metaphors, it is also one of the major internal organs that appear in the anger metaphors, the others being liver and spleen.

The spleen, as in Table 3, is categorized together with the stomach because both of them are responsible for digestion and absorption. The spleen is an internal organ of primary importance, that is, *Zang*, in the sense that it digests and absorbs nutrition only and transports it to the whole body. It is closely related to the liver and heart in the same way earth is related to wood and fire. Although the emotion with which it is categorized is anxiety, it is also related to anger, a more intense kind of emotion. As noted earlier, in the anger metaphors, spleen collocates only with gas (*qi*), but not fire (*huo*). An interesting parallelism to be noted here is that doctors of Chinese medicine only talk about *pi qi* ‘spleen gas,’ but not *pi huo* ‘spleen fire.’ On the other hand, when it comes to liver and heart, they talk about both *gan huo* ‘liver fire’ and *gan qi* ‘liver gas,’ and *xin huo* ‘heart fire’ and *xin qi* ‘heart gas.’ This use in the medical language is paralleled in the use of everyday language, as Table 4 illustrates.

As Table 4 shows, *pi huo* ‘spleen fire’ is not used in either medical or everyday language. Contrastively, the others are used in both. This example illustrates how Chinese everyday language is influenced by, or correlated to, Chinese medical language.

TABLE 4
Parallelism between Medical and Everyday Uses

	<i>Medical Language</i>	<i>Daily Language</i>
<i>Gan huo</i> ‘liver fire’	Liver heat	Irascibility
<i>Gan qi</i> ‘liver gas’	Liver gas	Irritability
<i>Xin huo</i> ‘heart fire’	Heart heat	Pent-up fury
<i>Xin qi</i> ‘heart gas’	Heart gas	Mood
<i>Pi huo</i> ‘spleen fire’	—	—
<i>Pi qi</i> ‘spleen gas’	Spleen gas	Temperament, bad temper

Incidentally, when the *Zang* organ spleen is paired with its *Fu* partner stomach, that is, *pi-wei* 'spleen and stomach,' they together mean "taste" or "liking" metaphorically, as the following examples show:

- (21) a. Zhe bu he ta de pi-wei.
 this not suit he MOD spleen-stomach
*"This does not suit his taste."/**"This is not to his liking."*
- b. Tamen liang pi-wei xiang tou.
 they two spleen-stomach each-other cater-to
"They two have similar likes and dislikes."

One fact to be noted here is that whenever *Zang* and *Fu* organs are paired in metaphorical expressions, their order is fixed, that is, the *Zang* always comes before the *Fu* organ: *gan-dan* 'liver and gall,' *xin-chang* 'heart and intestines,' and *pi-wei* 'spleen and stomach.' This takes place, as mentioned earlier, because *Zang* organs are taken as more important than *Fu* organs in Chinese medicine.

CONCLUSIONS

In this article, I have made a comparative study of metaphorical expression of anger and happiness in English and Chinese. With regard to anger, English and Chinese share exactly the same central conceptual metaphor "*ANGER IS HEAT*." This central metaphor has two sub-versions for both languages. As for the first one, English and Chinese both have "*ANGER IS FIRE*." However, they differ in their use of the second "*HEAT*" metaphor: It is "*FIRE IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER*" for English, and "*ANGER IS THE HOT GAS IN A CONTAINER*" for Chinese. In conceptualizing happiness, English and Chinese have these metaphors in common: "*HAPPY IS UP*," "*HAPPINESS IS LIGHT*," and "*HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER*." However, they do not share some others, such as the "*OFF-THE-GROUND*" metaphor in English versus the "*FLOWER*" metaphor in Chinese. In addition, both English and Chinese follow the same metonymic principle: They talk about anger and happiness by describing the physiological effects of the emotions. A descriptive difference between English and Chinese that is apparent is that Chinese tends to utilize more body parts, especially internal organs, than English does in depicting anger and happiness.

I have accounted for some main differences between English and Chinese by referring to the theories of *yin-yang* and the five elements of Chinese medicine. It is suggested that these theories underlie the metaphorical con-

ceptualization of emotions such as anger and happiness in Chinese. It is also found that there exists a strong parallelism in Chinese between everyday language and medical language. The two possible kinds of relation between these languages and their underlying theories of *yin-yang* and the five elements is expressed in Figures 3 and 4.

In Figure 3, the underlying theories first influence the medical language, which in turn passes on the influence to the everyday language. In Figure 4, the underlying theories simultaneously influence the everyday and medical languages, which also influence each other. It is not clear to me which one provides a better description. But in either case, the theories of *yin-yang* and the five elements serve as an underlying model that exert a strong impact on the use of Chinese language.

I believe that results of this study have some important implications. Lakoff (1993) claimed that, although there is an extensive range of nonmetaphorical concepts, "as soon as one gets away from concrete physical experience and starts talking about abstractions or emotions, metaphorical understanding is the norm" (p. 205). Lakoff (1990) proposed that the question "as to whether all abstract human reasoning is a metaphorical version of imagistic reasoning" be "a major question for future research in cognitive linguistics" (p. 39). My study is a response to this proposal, and it shows that evidence from Chinese empirically supports his claim from the point of view of emotions. Metaphor is so pervasive and irreducible in the expression of such abstract emotion concepts as anger and happiness that it appears to play an essential or indispensable role in our understanding and speaking. In short, "metaphor is not merely a linguistic mode of expression"; rather, "it is a pervasive mode of understanding by which we project patterns from one domain of experience in order to structure another domain of a different kind," and "it is one of the chief cognitive structures by which we are able

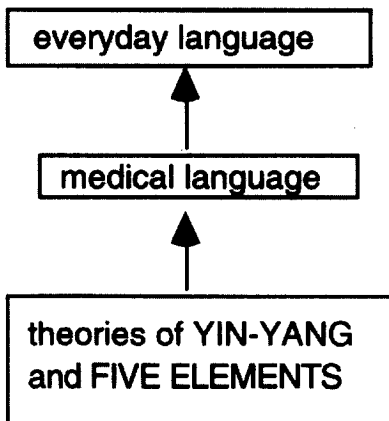


FIGURE 3 One-directional relation.

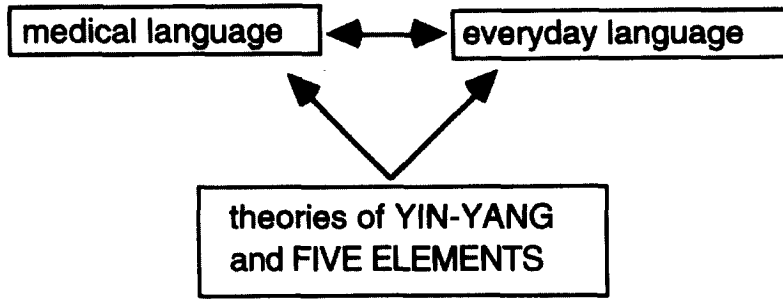


FIGURE 4 Two-directional relation.

to have coherent, ordered experiences that we can reason about and make sense of" (Johnson, 1987, pp. xiv–xv). For further evidence from Chinese supporting the claim, see Yu (1992), in which I showed that synesthetic metaphor is pervasive in Chinese as well as in English in referring to various sensory categories.

Second, results of this study also strongly support the argument about the embodiment of metaphorical understanding:

Metaphorical understanding is not merely a matter of arbitrary fanciful projection from anything to anything with no constraints. Concrete bodily experience not only constrains the "input" to the metaphorical projections but also the nature of the projections themselves, that is, the kinds of mappings that can occur across domains. (Johnson, 1987, p. xv)

Specifically, these results support Lakoff and Kövecses's (1987) prediction that metaphors for anger should not be randomly distributed in the languages of the world and that the emotion of anger should be basically understood in terms of heat and internal pressure. Although English and Chinese differ in their selection of one of the two major conceptual metaphors: "*ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER*" versus "*ANGER IS THE HOT GAS IN A CONTAINER*," it is obvious that both metaphors involve heat and internal pressure. This serves as evidence supporting Lakoff and Kövecses's (1987) suggestion that emotional concepts are embodied; that is, they have a basis in bodily experience. But why should English select the "*FLUID*" metaphor and Chinese select the "*GAS*" one? As I showed, the selection of one over the other is determined by the underlying cognitive or cultural model. In the case of emotion of anger, its physiological effects are various, and which one is actually chosen in a conventionalized conceptual metaphor is largely affected by cultural preference. That is, meta-

phor here is primarily grounded in physical experience but is also constrained by cultural models.

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