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at for the complete corpus and for the single text were fitted seperately to the function. Determination coefficients of 0.7379 (corpus) and 0.8789 (single text) were satisfactory up to good. Bohn preliminarily accepts the law for partial sentences and numbers of words and suggests that better segmentation and better text mark-up might lead to more satisfactory results.

Hypothesis 5: The longer sentences are, the shorter the partial sentences they consist of tend to be on average. This hypothesis was again tested on the data from the PH corpus and the hand-segmented text (Bohn 1998:44–50). For each sentence, its length counted by the number of its partial sentences was determined, and then the average length of partial sentences for all sentences of identical length, counted in words, computed, again seperately for the corpus and the hand-segmented single text. The determination coefficient for the corpus showed the fit to be excellent (0.9750), whereas it was very poor for the single text (0.5628). Bohn explains this with the low number of sentences found in the single text (180) which did not yield sufficient data. He thus accepts Menzerath's Law to be valid for the lengths of sentences and partial sentences in modern Chinese only preliminarily for the time being.

It is worthy of notice that the reported findings are valid for 'populations' of the mentioned units, which means, they do not necessarily hold for certain individual specimen. Thus, for the examples given, counterexamples can also be found, but Bohn has been able to show that Menzerath's Law holds for the 'populations' of the units in question.

Clearly, more study on the validity of Menzerath's Law in modern Chinese is needed. At the time of writing, a doctoral dissertation on this law is under way in China which uses a larger corpus and modern segmentation standards (e-mail from Féng Zhìwěi 馮志偉, August 2012).

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Xìnxī jiāohuàn yòng Hànzì biānmǎ zìfújí—Jīběnjí 信息交换用汉字编码字符集基本集 [Coding of Chinese ideogram set for information interchange, basic set] (GB 2312-80), Guójiā Biāozhǔnjú 国家标准局, 1980 edition, Běijīng 北京: Jìshù Biāozhǔn 技术标准出版社, 1981.

Cornelia Schindelin

Metaphor and Metaphorical Language

1. Cognitive Linguistic View of Metaphor: Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Metaphor and metaphorical language became a prominent area of linguistic research with the rise of Cognitive Linguistics in the early 1980s. The publication of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson's seminal book *Metaphors We Live By* in 1980 marks the beginning of fruitful research on metaphor in various languages of the world including Chinese.

Metaphor is a central topic in Cognitive Linguistics. If Cognitive Linguistics is "the study of ways in which features of language reflect other aspects of human cognition, then metaphors provide one of the clearest illustrations of this relationship" (Grady 2007:188). The Cognitive Linguistics theory of metaphor is known as Conceptual Metaphor Theory. According to this theory, the "essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:5). Metaphor, therefore, is not a linguistic phenomenon, but refers to the pattern of conceptual association underlying linguistic expressions. Metaphorical

expressions in language systematically manifest underlying conceptual metaphors as patterns of thought. Systematic studies of these linguistic expressions can help delineate patterns in conceptual systems. Structurally, metaphors consist of conceptual mappings across domains—source and target—which result in correspondences between closely related concepts in two different domains. Thus, while Conceptual Metaphor Theory is concerned with the mapping of inferences from source to target, conceptual metaphors are the conventional patterns of conceptual associations resulting from that mapping.

According to Conceptual Metaphor Theory, metaphorical mappings are not arbitrary, but constrained by our embodied nature as human beings. Embodiment is an idea central to the theoretical position of Cognitive Linguistics. It emphasizes the role of the human body in grounding and framing human cognition within the physical context. In contrast with the Cartesian mind-body dualism, the embodiment hypothesis claims that the body shapes the mind. The mind is therefore embodied in that it is crucially shaped by the particular nature of the human body, including our perceptual and motor systems and our interactions with the physical and cultural world. That is, metaphor is motivated by and grounded in our bodily and cultural experience. Crosslinguistic studies of metaphors in a systematic fashion can help reveal universal and culture-specific patterns characterizing various cultural cognitions (Sharifian 2011) in particular and human cognition in general.

2. Cognitive Linguistic Studies of Metaphor in Chinese

In China, as much as in the West, metaphor is traditionally taken as a figure of speech, and its study is confined to rhetoric and poetics as a matter of literary language for the purpose of stylistic ornamentation and decoration. It is not until the 1990s that Chinese linguists started to apply Cognitive Linguistics approach to studying metaphor as a cognitive mechanism or "figure of thought" (Lakoff 1986), focusing on linguistic

patterns in ordinary language. The most significant findings are that Conceptual Metaphor Theory is largely applicable to Chinese as well as to English, and that conceptual metaphors can be shared by different languages and cultures. For example, Conceptual Metaphor Theory argues that even most fundamental concepts in human experience, such as time, state, change, process, action, cause, purpose, and means, are understood, at least partially, through metaphor in terms of space, object, motion, and force (Lakoff 1993). Yu (1998) found that in Chinese, for instance, time can be conceptualized metaphorically either as moving objects that move in a linear sequence toward and past a stationary ego (e.g., (1a) and (1b)) or as a stationary path over which a moving ego travels (e.g., (1c) and (1d)) (see also Yu 2012).

1. a. 新的 "太平洋世紀" 正在向我們走來。
     Xīnde "Tàipíngyáng shìjì" zhèngzài new Pacific century is
     xiàng wǒmén zǒulái.
     toward 1PL walk.come
     'The new "Century of the Pacific" is walking toward us.'
   b. 酷暑提早到來而又遲遲不去。
     Kùshǔ tízǎo dàolái éryòu hot.summer earlier arrive but
     chíchí bú qù.
     belated not go
     'The sweltering hot summer arrived earlier but is reluctant to leave.'
   c. 他已步入中年。
     Tā yǐ bùrù zhōngnián.
     3SG already step.into middle.age
     'He's already stepped into middle age.'
   d. 中國正健步邁向21世紀。
     Zhōngguó zhèng jiànbù China right.now with.vigorous.step
     mài xiàng 21 shìjì.
     stride toward 21 century
     'With vigorous steps, China is striding toward the 21st century.'

The fact that time can be conceptualized via metaphor in terms of both location and object is known as the dual nature of such metaphorical

conceptualizations. A similar duality is also found in the Event Structure Metaphor system, which consists of two special cases: the location-dual and the object-dual (Lakoff 1993). The location-dual, for instance, includes the following conceptual metaphors, which are found to underlie the Chinese linguistic expressions below as linguistic instantiations of the conceptual metaphors (from Yu 1998).

2. a. STATES ARE LOCATIONS
   經濟走不出危機圈。
   Jīngjì   zǒubùchū   wēijīquān.
   economy   walk.not.out   crisis.circle
   'The economy cannot get (lit. walk) out of the crisis (lit. circle of crisis).'

   b. CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS
   大多數農民已走出貧困。
   Dàduōshù nóngmín yǐ   zǒu
   most   peasants   already   walk
   chū   pínkùn.
   out.of   poverty
   'Most peasants already got (lit. walked) out of poverty.'

   c. CAUSES ARE FORCES
   改革推動了市場經濟的起步。
   Gǎigé   tuīdòng-le   shìchǎng
   reform   push.move-ASP   market
   jīngjì   de   qǐbù.
   economy   SUB   make.initial.step
   'The reform pushed the market economy to make the initial step.'

   d. ACTIONS ARE SELF-PROPELLED MOTIONS
   我們要推進經濟國際化。
   Wǒmen   yào   tuījìn   jīngjì
   1PL   must   push.forward   economy
   guójìhuà.
   internationalize
   'We should push forward the internationalization of economy.'

   e. PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS
   他們正快步走向小康。
   Tāmen   zhèng   kuàibù   zǒu
   3PL   right.now   quick.step   walking
   xiàng   xiǎokāng.
   toward   being.well-off
   'They are taking quick steps toward (the goal of) becoming comfortably well-off.'

   f. MEANS ARE PATHS
   他們尋求擺脫困境的路子。
   Tāmen   xúnqiú   bǎituō   kùnjìng
   3PL   seek   break.out   predicament
   de   lùzi.
   SUB   path
   'They are seeking for a path to break out of the predicament.'

   g. DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOTION
   美日貿易談判擱淺。
   Měi-Rì   màoyì   tánpàn
   US-Japan   trade   negotiation
   gēqiǎn.
   run.aground
   'US-Japan trade negotiations ran aground.'

The contrast and interaction between the location-dual and the object-dual of the Event Structure Metaphor system is illustrated by the following pair of examples:

3. a. 這次韓國之行將有利於推動朝鮮半島形勢進一步走向和平與穩定。
   Zhècì Hánguó   zhī xíng jiāng
   this   South.Korea SUB trip   will
   yǒulìyú   tuīdòng   Cháoxiān
   help   push.move   Korean
   bàndǎo   xíngshì jìnyíbù   zǒu
   Peninsula situation a.step.further walk
   xiàng   hépíng   yǔ   wěndìng.
   toward   peace   and   stability
   'This trip to South Korea will help push the Korean Peninsula situation (to walk further) toward peace and stability.'

   b. 這次韓國之行將把和平與穩定帶到朝鮮半島。
   Zhècì Hánguó   zhī xíng jiāng
   this   South.Korea SUB trip   will
   bǎ   hépíng   yǔ   wěndìng   dàidào
   OBJM   peace   and   stability bring.to
   Cháoxiān   bàndǎo.
   Korean   Peninsula
   'This trip to South Korea will bring peace and stability to the Korean Peninsula.'

In (3a), the "situation" of the Korean Peninsula is an "object", which will be "pushed" by the

trip (i.e., the visit of the premier of China in 1990s), the external "force" (CAUSES ARE FORCES; CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS), toward "peace and stability" as "locations" (STATES ARE LOCATIONS) or, rather, as "destinations" (PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS). The situation of the peninsula will be peaceful and stable by being in the "locations" or "destinations" of peace and stability. In (3b), "peace and stability" are "objects" (ATTRIBUTES ARE OBJECTS/POSSESSIONS) to be "brought" to the peninsula (CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS) by the trip as the external "force" (CAUSES ARE FORCES, PURPOSES ARE DESIRED OBJECTS) that carries the "desired objects" to the peninsula, which will then have these "desired objects" as its "possessions" (i.e., attributes).

It is worth noting that the Cognitive Linguistics approach to metaphor studies in Chinese has shown that systems of conceptual metaphors like the Event Structure Metaphor are capable of making generalizations over widespread linguistic patterns in everyday Chinese language use, which are claimed to systematically manifest underlying conceptual structures in our conceptual systems. Because the Chinese language is not genetically related to English, and because earlier Conceptual Metaphor Theory studies are largely limited to English even though their theoretical claims for embodiment as the experiential basis for conceptual metaphor mappings are of potentially universal significance, Conceptual Metaphor Theory studies in Chinese have made important contributions to Conceptual Metaphor Theory by reinforcing its claims for the cognitive status of conceptual metaphor. That is, Conceptual Metaphor Theory can indeed account for widespread linguistic phenomena in everyday Chinese as systematic linguistic manifestations of underlying conceptual metaphors. Metaphor is a fundamental mode of thought, especially in the realm of abstraction, and is essentially characteristic of human cognition in general. While human cognition is embodied in nature, it depends, to a great extent, on metaphor for mapping physical domains of human experience onto abstract cognitive domains, thus shaping the understanding of the latter, the target domains, through the structure of the former, the source domains. As

such, Conceptual Metaphor Theory is a theory of linguistic study in particular and of cognitive science in general, distinguishing itself from the traditional approach to studying metaphor as a rhetorical device only.

Furthermore, metaphor studies in Chinese have also made another important contribution to the theorizing of Conceptual Metaphor Theory in terms of universality and diversity in conceptual metaphors across cultures and languages (see, e.g, Kövecses 2005, 2010). The earlier version of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, based mainly on linguistic evidence from English, emphasized universal aspects of metaphors: namely, metaphors are grounded in bodily experience, which is common among all humans and, therefore, metaphors derived from common bodily experience are potentially universal. This idea is of course in line with the embodiment hypothesis, which is a central notion of Conceptual Linguistics. Metaphor studies in Chinese and other languages have found, however, that metaphors can indeed be shared by different languages and cultures, but they also vary across languages and cultures, determined by various cultural models.

For example, Yu (1995; see also 1998) studied anger metaphors in Chinese in comparison with those in English based on Lakoff and Kövecses (1987). According to Lakoff and Kövecses (1987), the central metaphor for anger in English is anger is heat, which has two subversions: anger is fire (e.g., *He was breathing fire*, *Those are inflammatory remarks, Boy, am I burned up!*) and anger is hot fluid in a container (e.g., *She was seething with rage, She got all steamed up, Billy's just blowing off steam*). Yu (1995) found that anger is heat and its first subversion anger is fire are applicable in Chinese (e.g., *nùhuǒ* 怒火 'fury'; *fāhuǒ* 發火 'get angry'; *màohuǒ* 冒火 'flare up'; *guānghuǒ* 光火 'fly into a rage'; *dònghuǒ* 動火 'flare up'; *wōhuǒ* 窩火 'simmering with rage'), but its second subversion is anger is hot gas in a container (e.g., *nùqì* 怒氣 'rage'; *shēngqì* 生氣 'get angry'; *dòngqì* 動氣 'lose one's temper'; *guàqì* 挂氣 'flare up'; *wōqì* 窩氣 'pent-up anger'; *chūqì* 出氣 'vent one's spleen'; *fāpíqi* 發脾氣 'lose one's temper'). Yu (1995) accounted for the selection of the gas metaphor over the

fluid metaphor in Chinese with the *yīn-yáng* 陰陽 theory of ancient Chinese philosophy and traditional Chinese medicine, which, he argued, shapes the way Chinese culture categorizes and conceptualizes the world and, as such, constitutes Chinese cultural models as shared understandings of Chinese culture.

For another example, Yu (2003) presented a case in which a culturally constructed metaphorical understanding of an internal organ, the gallbladder, forms the base of the cultural model for the concept of "courage". According to traditional Chinese medicine, the gallbladder, metaphorically conceptualized as the "Office of Justice" (*zhōngzhèng zhī guān* 中正之官), has the function of making judgments and decisions in mental processes and activities, and it also determines one's degree of courage. This culture-specific understanding of the gallbladder leads to a pair of conceptual metaphors that in part constitutes the Chinese cultural model for courage: gallbladder is container of courage and courage is gaseous vital energy (*qì*) in gallbladder (e.g., *dǎnqì* 膽氣 'courage'; *dǎnlì* 膽力 'boldness'; *dǎnzhuàng* 膽壯 'fearless'; *dǎnxū* 膽虛 'timid'; *dǎnliàng* 膽量 'guts'; *dǎndà* 膽大 'bold'; *dǎnxiǎo* 膽小 'cowardly'; *luòdǎn* 落膽 'extremely scared'; *sàngdǎn* 喪膽 'terror-stricken'). In this case, that is, an abstract concept, "courage", is understood in part via a pair of conceptual metaphors grounded in the body, but shaped by a culture-specific metaphorical understanding of an internal organ, the gallbladder, inside the body.

A further example along this line is presented in Yu (2009a), a study of the Chinese cultural conceptualization of the heart (*xīn* 心). The study exemplifies a fundamental difference in the shaping of the body by cultural models between Western and Chinese (along with some other Asian) cultures in the conceptualization of "person". This difference can be expressed by two formulas: (a) Western PERSON = BODY + MIND and; (b) Chinese PERSON = BODY + HEART. That is, the Western conceptualization of "person" is dualistic in that a person is "split" into two distinct and separate parts: the body and the mind. This mind-body dichotomy defines Cartesian dualism, which has been the dominant philosophical view in the West for hundreds of years. In contrast to the Western dualistic view, the Chinese take on a more holistic view that sees the heart, an internal organ inside the body, as the center of both emotions and thought. In the traditional Chinese conceptualization, therefore, although a person also consists of two parts, the body and the heart, these two are not separate, the latter being an integral and central part of the former as its "Ruler/Emperor" (*jūnzhǔ zhī guān* 君主之官). According to this cultural conceptualization, the heart is regarded as the central faculty of cognition. For this reason, the Chinese concept of "heart" is lexicalized in a great number of compounds and idioms related to all cognitive and affective aspects of a human person, such as mental, intellectual, rational, moral, emotional, dispositional, and so on (e.g., *chéngxīn* 誠心 'sincerity'; *liángxīn* 良心 'conscience'; *zhīxīn* 知心 'intimate'; *xīnxiǎng* 心想 'think to oneself'; *xīnfú* 心服 'genuinely convinced'; *xīngān* 心甘 'willing'; *hǎoxīn* 好心 'good intention'; *chéngxīn* 成心 'on purpose'; *yòngxīn* 用心 'with concentrated attention'; *juéxīn* 決心 'determination'; *wéixīn* 違心 'against one's will'; *héngxīn* 恆心 'perseverance'; *xiǎoxīn* 小心 'careful'; *cūxīn* 粗心 'careless'; *jiāoxīn* 焦心 'terribly worried'; *kāixīn* 開心 'happy'; *xīnzuì* 心醉 'enchanted'). The contrast outlined characterizes two cultural traditions that have developed different conceptualizations of person, self, and agent of cognition.

The implication of these studies to Conceptual Metaphor Theory is that, while our mind is embodied, it is not shaped universally because the body itself may take different "shapes" in different cultural models in the first place. Cultures may construe the body and bodily experiences differently, attributing different values and significances to various body parts and organs and their functions. Various cultural conceptualizations of the body and bodily experiences may motivate culture-specific metaphors, which give rise to varied perspectives in the understanding of the world (see also Yu 2009b, 2015). This view is what cognitive linguists call "socioculturally situated embodiment" as they seek a better understanding and articulation of the relationship between body, culture, and cognition.

3. More Recent Development of Conceptual Metaphor Theory

A newer version of Conceptual Metaphor Theory distinguishes between two kinds of conceptual metaphors: primary metaphors and complex metaphors (e.g., Grady 1997; Lakoff and Johnson 1999). Primary metaphors, such as those listed under the Event Structure Metaphor above, are motivated by conceptual domains closely related in experience, or experiential correlations which pair subjective experience and judgment (target) with sensorimotor experience (source), whereas complex metaphors are composed of primary metaphors and cultural beliefs. For example, A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY, a complex metaphor, consists of two cultural beliefs, PEOPLE SHOULD HAVE PURPOSES IN LIFE and PEOPLE SHOULD ACT SO AS TO ACHIEVE THEIR PURPOSES, and two primary metaphors, PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS and ACTIONS ARE SELF-PROPELLED MOTIONS (Lakoff and Johnson 1999). Because they are derived directly from common bodily experience, primary metaphors are more likely to be widespread or even universal than complex metaphors, which make use of culturally-based knowledge. The neural version of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff 2008) has discovered evidence that correlations in experience grounding primary metaphors are realized in the brain as the coactivation of distinct neural areas, and that concepts paired by primary metaphors are linked as neural circuits linking representations of source and target domains in different regions of the brain. This theory has provided a neural account of the nature and properties of conceptual metaphors.

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Ning Yu

Metaphor Processing

1. Overview

Conceptual metaphors establish a relationship between two concepts, X and Y, which activates a figurative meaning of Y that is different from